Modernismo and Patronage in Brazil, 1917-1949: the National versus the International

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Abstract

This study analyses art in Brazil from earlier 20th century *modernismo* to the official arrival of abstractionism at the MAM-SP in 1949. It is divided in two parts, and considers the political and socio-cultural realities and the nationalist and internationalist currents that underpinned the two art historical periods. Part 1 covers the first phase of *modernismo* (1917-1929) and argues that, whilst acting towards the renovation of Brazil's aesthetic-literary realm, the movement challenged the political discourse on racial difference and white supremacy implied in the academicist view, thus it undermined the 'coloniality of power' inherent in the traditional academic rhetoric. It also argues that on the international front, Brazilian *modernismo* was original because it extracted from the primitive reference a counter-narrative to Western epistemology. Part 2 analyses *modernismo* from 1930 to the MAM-SP's first international abstract art exhibition of 1949. One of its main arguments is that State patronage, during the Vargas populist dictatorship, appropriated the emancipatory programme of 1920s *modernismo* and turned it into an ideological representation of the nation. The State not only turned this programme into propaganda, but also facilitated its canonisation. The other main argument is that international abstractionism arrived in Brazil thanks to the intersection between the growing need for an international art institution in the country, and the agendas of national and international free-enterprise capitalism.

The thesis establishes a dialogue between the art historical period chosen, and the evolution of patronage and art institutions in the country, thus it explores aspects of the complex relationship between art/culture and patronage/power. It identifies and discusses the two major roles played by patronage in the Brazilian field of cultural production during the first half of the 20th century, that is, its legitimising agency, and its participation in the culture war between aesthetic-literary reformers and traditionalists.

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The help of these institutions allowed me to conduct primary research in Brazil at the Arquivos Históricos Wanda Svevo, Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, to explore the libraries of the Universidade de São Paulo (USP), including at the Museu de Arte Contemporânea (MAC-USP), and to visit several Brazilian art museums and galleries. Without these financial contributions, I could not have followed the path traced by the 1920s Brazilian *modernistas* on their cultural journey through the historical towns of the State of Minas Gerais; I could not have gained a personal understanding of their quest for the origins and identitarian features of Brazil's *modernista* aesthetic-literary production.

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Introduction

This study analyses Brazilian art from *modernismo* (a movement which the historiography has divided into two phases: 1917-1929, and 1930-1945) to the official arrival of abstractionism in the country in 1949. One of the aims of this study is to look into this period in relation to the socio-cultural and political realities that surrounded and fomented each of the phases under study, and by considering underlying nationalist and internationalist currents. The other aim is to put art/cultural production during this period in dialogue with private and public patronage, with an emphasis on the agency that the Brazilian private patrons and State cultural policies had, through their interventionism, in the 'field of culture'. Private sponsorship and governmental cultural policy will be analysed in terms of the positions they took in the field of cultural production and innovation. These positions, as we will see, facilitated cultural exchange, the migration of artworks, artists and intellectuals, and allowed the 'field of power' to incentivise, influence, or manipulate, the 'field of culture'. Key to this study is therefore the interaction between the 'field of culture' and the 'field of power' - the latter being the economic and political forces and agents that, by entering into the realm of cultural production through patronage, contributed to shaping it and interacted with the directions and positions taken by artists and intellectuals. In order to engage in this type of analysis, this study adopts Bourdieu's sociological definitions of these two fields.[1]

According to Bourdieu, the 'field of culture' and therefore also the 'field of art', expresses an intricate mode of 'structured relations between social positions that are both occupied and manipulated by social agents which may be individuals, groups or institutions'.[2] For Bourdieu, individual agents in the 'field of art' are the artists, patrons and dealers; the groups are represented by, for instance, art movements; and the institutions are the galleries, museums and the specialised press. These social agents move within the field occupying different positions, each position being determined by the relational forces running between the agents. The coordinates of given positions are also determined by the act of 'position taking', that is, by 'strategies which are generated and implemented in the sociological plane', and are deployed in order to acquire a specific kind of capital, which Bourdieu named 'symbolic capital'.[3] Also known by the term 'cultural capital', 'symbolic capital' corresponds to the agents' cultural knowledge,

[1] See: Pierre Bourdieu, "The Field of Cultural Production, or: The Economic World Reversed", in: *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, Randal Johnson (ed.), (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 29-73.
[2] Ibid, 29.
[3] Ibid, 33.

recognition and/or prestige within the field, and can be used in favour of, or against, the 'field of power'.

Hence, the 'field of art' is a 'field of forces, but also of struggles tending to transform or conserve this field of forces', and/or to interact with the 'field of power' by favouring or opposing it.[4] Bourdieu's thesis is that the 'field of cultural production' and the 'field of power' are interconnected. He sees cultural production as tending to be subordinated to economic capital and political power, although he also admits that culture in not entirely determined by other forms of social life. The cultural agents with whom this study is concerned will be treated as operating in their field according to Bourdieu's ideas on 'position taking'. Further, we will work in agreement with Bourdieu's premise that 'it is not possible to make of the cultural order (*épisteme*) a sort of [fully] autonomous, transcendent sphere, capable of developing in accordance with its own laws' – or, at the very least, only according to them.[5] This is because we start from the following premise: the cultural/art field's full autonomy is only possible if this field is not subjected to a responsive interaction with the rules of the 'field of power'.

Part 1 of the thesis covers the first phase of *modernismo* (1917-1929) and argues that whilst contributing towards the renovation of Brazil's literary and artistic realms and representing a rupture with the academic past, the *modernista*s not only operated in the 'field of culture', but also challenged the *status quo* of the political domain, i.e., the 'field of power'. In terms of its political agency and national scope, the first phase of *modernismo* represented more than a mere aesthetic-literary 'representation' of the nation, as it stood for a programme of 'emancipation' of ethnic minorities focussed upon a re-evaluation of the popular. Chapter 1 will analyse 1910s-1920s *modernista* artworks and critical texts on cultural production in the light of the socio-cultural context of the Brazil of the First Republic – the main traits of which were 1) a Francophile heritage linked to the economically and culturally dominant class; and 2) the racial and racist views of this class, and its academic representatives, on the popular. We will see how the prevailing ideological position within the Brazilian 'field of power' of the early 20th century - which drew on eugenic laws and social policies that addressed the issue of Brazil's modernisation through a discriminatory approach to the country's ethno-racial constitution - permeated the 'field of culture' and constituted the ethos of the academy.

[4] Ibid, 30.
[5] Ibid, 33.

From this perspective, we will argue that it was precisely the anti-hegemonial content of *modernista* artworks that triggered the backlash of the academicists against the aesthetics of the new artistic-literary generation. The ferocious critique of the academy against the *modernistas*, as we will show, was focussing on the *modernista* way of conveying the modern national soul as a legitimisation of the non-white, of the proletarian and the underprivileged. What gave the *modernistas* a counter-current cultural and political edge was their re-evaluation of ethnic minorities in Brazil, which was formally expressed via a process of appropriation of leading international vanguard trends. This approach to the definition of modern Brazilian cultural identity, based as it was on internationalism and a negotiating stance towards the European, was a further reason for academic retaliation, given the xenophobic nationalism that pervaded the traditionalist cultural circle. However, through this re-evaluation the *modernistas* not only fought a cultural war against the academy, but also challenged the embodiment of colonial structures of knowledge as the very basis of the elitist view on culture and society.

Whilst they were open to a dialogue with the European avant-garde, the *modernistas* rejected the Brazilian historically construed inclination to acritically adopt foreign cultural references, and recognised this stance to be entrenched in the long-lasting academic approach to cultural colonisation. Chapter 1 will address the *modernista* rejection of the persistence of the colonial discourse on culture within the academy. It will focus upon the *modernista*'s notion of 'Brazilianness' as opposed to that of the academy. Further, it will consider the academicist tendency to deny the Europeanised roots of their views on cultural production whilst, contradictorily, maintaining a xenophobic position in relation to the arrival, in Brazil, of new European cultural influences, and it will address how the *modernistas* challenged such tendency.

The *modernista* critical stance, as chapter 1 will argue, undermined the 'coloniality of power' expressed by the academic rhetoric. Under the term 'coloniality', Quijano conceptualises the system historically established on the grounds of race discrimination, serfdom and unpaid work that forced the colonised to learn the rules and discourse of the coloniser.[6] 'Coloniality' therefore is generated by the colonisation of cognitive perspectives, modes of producing and attributing meaning, material existence, the imaginary and the sphere of intersubjective relations within the *socius* and its unceasing

[6] See: Anibal Quijano, "Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America", in *Nepantla: Views From the South* 1(3), (Duke University Press, 2000): 533-580. Available at: <http://www.unc.edu/~aescobar/wan/wanquijano.pdf.> [Last accessed: 23/11/2014]

activity even after the colony has finally achieved its political independence. To put it another way, 'coloniality' implies the perpetuation of the colonial system and its power through its re-enactment within the political, ethical, cultural and subjective realms of the post-colony. As 'coloniality' affects 'cognitive perspectives', 'the imaginary' and the dynamics with which meaning, and thus the symbolic domain, is shaped, it operates within the jurisdiction of culture. By the same token, and given that 'coloniality' has deep implications for 'material existence' and the 'relations within the *socius*' and thus rules over issues concerning social hierarchy and class, it originates in the jurisdiction of power. This is the system against which 1920s *modernismo* functioned, and that was embodied by the academicist mentality, hegemonic socio-economic position, and the academy's discourse on a modernised Brazil and modern cultural identity. *Modernismo*, as we will see, rejected the reproduction of the colonial rhetoric on behalf of the academicists, who insisted on depicting Brazil's minority subjects and subjectivities of non-white or mixed backgrounds as backward elements and embarrassing obstacles to the political, structural and cultural progress of post-colonial Brazil. By doing so, *modernismo* not only challenged the academic 'coloniality of power' but also defined one of the two diametrically opposed approaches to national identity and to the national 'other' that permeated the political and cultural debate of early 20th century Brazil. These two approaches will unfold in analyses made in chapters 1 and 3.

One such approach was that of the elite of European origins and an academic perspective. This approach envisioned a project for modern Brazilian culture and society that repudiated everything European. Yet it also supported notions of national ethno-cultural integration which were blatant proof of inner colonialism – and therefore of the persistence of the European colonial legacy within the Brazilian post-colonial condition. In fact, the dominant strand of the Brazilian elite and academic cultural production, chapter 1 will maintain, believed in the superiority of the white-Brazilian, descendant of the coloniser, over the Afro-Brazilian and the natives. Further, as chapter 1 will argue towards its end, this approach permeated the *modernista* domain, which despite its innovative potential, would suffer ideological fractures and political disagreements from the mid-1920s. In fact, from 1926 up to the early 1930s, radical nationalism and racist ideology would not only characterise the academic stance, but also that of the *verde-amarelos* and the *integralistas*, two of the branches of *modernismo* that resulted from disagreements and the split.

The other approach to modern Brazilian identity and the national 'other' was that of *modernistas* such as Oswald de Andrade (1890-1954) and Tarsila do Amaral (1886-1973).

Andrade was born to an affluent family who had come to São Paulo from Minas Gerais. His father, José Oswald Nogueira de Andrade was an alderman of the city of São Paulo and owned lands surrounding booming urban São Paulo, which went from *Cimitério do Araçá* to *Jardim América* – the latter being, today, one of the most expensive city neighbourhoods. Amaral was born in the São Paulo countryside to a family of 'coffee Barons'. Her grandfather owned several *fazendas* (i.e., farms) and exported coffee internationally; his nickname was *o milionário* ('the millionaire'). Indeed, Amaral and Andrade were born into families of the Francophile and conservative white-Brazilian elite. Yet their challenge to the academy treated the national 'other', that is, the black, the native and the popular, in ways that undermined the value-structure of their class of origins, and the legacy of European colonialism, which was entrenched in the system of cultural and ethnic discrimination by the dominant quarters of the elite. This point will be explored in our discussions of Andrade's article "In Favour of a National Art" (1915) in chapter 1, and of Amaral's painting *A Negra* (1923) in chapter 3.

Amaral and Andrade's discourse on Brazilian modern cultural identity and minorities was also opposed to that of the academicists, the *verde-amarelos* and the *integralistas* due to its being a nationalist-internationalist one. Their cultural discourse was based on the coexistence of a valorisation of national popular elements and the mixed cultural inheritance of the country, and a critical approach to references extracted from their contemporaneous European avant-gardes. This implies that their contribution to *modernismo* rejected any form of cultural isolationism, and, on the contrary, was open to the novelties represented by the latest European cultural production. Despite their inherent receptiveness to cosmopolitanism and the universal - which was expressed in their seasons in Paris that chapter 3 will explore - Amaral and Andrade's *modernismo* stood for a confident appropriation and shrewd re-evaluation of the European. This was the formula with which they deliberately broke away from what they deemed to be the mimicking path of the academy, and a clear sign of Brazil's historical cultural dependence. This stance of *modernismo* in relation to national and international cultural production has been identified by scholars specialising in the subject matter, and our contribution to the scholarship is to show some original aspects of the movement that have so far remained ignored. Our analysis of their Parisian cosmopolitan experience, and the way this experience was processed back in Brazil, will show two such aspects.

Chapter 3 will argue that, aware of the Parisian fascination with the primitive, and conscious that such fascination was a matter of exoticism and of fantasies of faraway 'otherness', Amaral and Andrade began to look into a familiar 'other'; more precisely, into

the epistemological domain of the pre-colonial Brazilian cannibal. This awareness, and the particular type of approach with which they looked into the Amerindian reference are what we have recognised to be themes which remain underdeveloped in the existing literature.

Section 3.1. will show that the Brazilians perceived the Eurocentrism that imbued Paris' exoticism, as much as they recognised the Eurocentric stance of the Brazilian academy. They were aware that the Parisian cultural ebullience of the early 20th century and its distinguished position as the world's centre of cultural production were linked to regional influences that were coming from all over the world, and to the subaltern realities that had been allowed to flourish there. Yet they also perceived the dynamics of power relations behind the Parisian openness to multiplicity; they realised that the European fascination with, and welcoming of, such influences and realities was imbued with a persisting colonial mentality. Aware of the hegemonic perspective that ruled the European commercial excitement and formal enquiry into the 'savage', the tribal and the 'rudimentary', Amaral and Andrade's mission in Paris was to put their perception into fruition. Having identified the European exoticist relationship with black, primitive and subaltern cultures, they used it as means to earn a position and a place of enunciation for Brazilian art and culture within the international aesthetic-literary playground.

The cannibal, which was a theme that the Parisians were exploring, had existed in Brazil since before colonisation, and the practice of cannibalism had been depicted and described in ethnographic literature from the mid-16th century. In section 3.2. we will tackle how Amaral and Andrade enquired into these types of texts and others, which either represented European mis-representations of Amerindian societies, or explored the *Tupi* cannibal's system of belief as a counter-narrative to Western epistemology. And this enquiry, we will argue, was responsible for the emergence of a *modernista* strand which saw in an ancient indigenous culture and its anthropophagic ritual a model of production of knowledge more appropriate to Brazil than the Western one.

As a result, the main task of chapter 3 is to show *modernismo*'s original approach to, and deliberate manipulation of, European exoticism with regard to its use of the primitive reference. In other words, this chapter will maintain that 1920s *modernismo'*s interest in ancient culture differed highly from that of the European dadaists, purists and surrealists, as it did not spring from a fascination and a hegemonic appropriation of an archaic and tribal 'other'. Through Amaral and Andrade's work, it is possible to state that the scope of *modernismo*'s concern with the primitive 'other' was not at all conceptually superficial and formally self-serving, as was that of the European counterpart.

The nationalist-internationalist ethos of the *modernistas* will also be tackled in chapter 2, with a focus on *modernista* social initiatives, magazines and journals that were sponsored by private patrons. Patronage will be the tool with which this chapter will expand on *modernismo* in more ways than one. Firstly, it will provide a context for the movement and its agents in the broader field of cultural production, that is, in relation to factors such as sponsorship, publishing and educational institutions generally fuelled with funds coming from the 'field of power'.

Secondly, it will give to this study the further possibility of investigating the currents of nationalism and cosmopolitanism that shaped the Brazilian cultural landscape of the 1920s. In this respect, we will see how, through patronage, the nationalism implied by the *modernista* return to symbols of Brazil's origins, both in natural and social terms, became imbued with business ideology, the supremacy of São Paulo's coffee industry, and the value of the country's natural resources in terms of capitalist power. Sponsorship on behalf of the aristocratic coffee oligarchy - in this study exemplified by Paulo Prado and Olívia Guedes Penteado - gave new facets to the nationalistic impetus of *modernismo*. Chapter 2 will highlight the sense of emancipation of the nation that the oligarchy was forging through its outstanding economic power, and by boosting the mood of assertiveness, grit and irreverence of the *modernistas*. However, the chapter will also show that this idea and perception of national empowerment remained fundamentally within the internationalist parameters of the *modernistas*. As members of the incredibly wealthy coffee aristocracy, Brazilian patrons were injecting capital into both the *modernista* programme and into the Parisian art market as collectors - this all during the economic depression in Europe in the period between the two World Wars. As a result, Amaral and Andrade, who were well connected with Brazilian patrons buying artworks in Paris from European dealers, had the opportunity to consolidate their important network there, and to address the question of Brazil's cultural dependence on Europe with a sense of entitlement. Patronage therefore allowed the *modernistas* to further open up their emancipative paths in Paris, and to assert in French territory the boldness of their appropriations and the self-confidence of their cultural production.

Thirdly, it will allow us to discuss the occasions of international cultural exchange, such as the *caravana modernista* (1924), and look into the micro-politics that led to opportunities of mutual inspiration and to European and Brazilian cultural production linked to the Brazilian popular and vernacular. We will see how 1920s Brazilian patronage contributed to the formation of an international domain of cultural exchange by facilitating artistic migrations, networks, situations of cross-cultural encounters and joint creative ventures. Yet the chapter will also take into consideration, as its fourth and final

point, the cases in which the will of patrons and the policies of their institutions were in sharp contrast to the innovative strands of the 'field of culture', and represented a deterrent to *modernismo* and its scope. We will see how the Pensionato Artístico de São Paulo - a public institution headed by Senator Freitas Valle (1870-1958) that awarded scholarships to Brazilian artists and musicians for studies in Rome and Paris - intended to maintain the *status quo* of the academy in Brazil by expecting that young Brazilian award winners returned from their studies abroad producing work that conformed with tradition. In this respect, chapter 3 will expand on chapter 1, as it will give a further account of the difficulties that the *modernistas* had to face within the pro-academicist social and cultural context, and on the strategies that they applied to overcome such difficulties.

Part 2 of this study will move into the second phase of *modernismo*, which ran parallel to President Getúlio Vargas' First Administration (1930-1945), and the status of which as a dominant national style began to be questioned upon the arrival of international abstractionism in Brazil in the second half of the 1940s. We will carry on investigating and contextualising *modernismo* in the light of its interaction with the 'field of power', and pinpointing the dynamics through which patronage represents a bridge between power and the field of cultural production, being its agents operative in both fields. Chapter 4 will shift its focus on patronage from the private to the public domain given the changes that the sector suffered due to the profound national ideological and political changes brought about by the fall of the First Republic and the advent of the Vargas populist regime. As we will see, the Vargas era heightened patronage to a sophisticated State apparatus dedicated to cultural management; therefore it tightened the relationship between power and culture. As the transition from the first to the second phase of Brazilian *modernismo* coincided with the ascent of Vargas to power, chapter 4 will analyse the implications of State patronage for the *modernista* cultural project. It will evaluate the mechanisms of dependence, compliance and reciprocity between the 'field of power' and *modernista* cultural production during the 1930s, which accompanied the unfolding of the Vargas regime. Hence, in addition to discussing the new status of patronage in Brazil in the 1930s, chapter 4 will tackle how State support for culture interacted with a new wave of *modernismo,* and facilitated the production and publication of literature on the history of aesthetic-literary *modernismo* around which the discourse on the movement has crystallised.

Given that the main framework of this study is to juxtapose the historical development of *modernismo* up to the official arrival of abstract currents in Brazil, and the progressive institutionalisation of art in Brazil in the first half of the 20th century, chapter 5 will go back into private patronage. As a result, this chapter will deal with the following issues. Firstly, it will give an account of the manoeuvres that led to the opening of the Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo (MAM-SP) in 1949, pinpointing the underlying political forces that ruled both these manoeuvres and the evolution of the institutional art field. In other words, this chapter will lay bare the intersections between the need for an international institution focussing on modern art in Brazil and the agendas of national and international free-enterprise capitalism. It will address the ideological views on culture of the national industrialist elite that the MAM-SP wished to convey through the type of art it was promoting, and their link to the US hegemonic ambitions following World War II. Secondly - and after having exposed the link between the institutional appearance of abstractionism in the country and both, national developmentalist ideals, and the international neo-imperialist impetus - this chapter will show how this link ignited a sharp opposition on behalf of those who advocated the conventionally established figurative language of *modernismo*. Chapter 5 will consider if the goals of the national and international cultural ideologues who worked on the establishment of the MAM-SP in the Brazilian art system's map were achieved in the makings of this museum's first exhibition, and how the latter was received by, and contextualised within, the national cultural arena and its debates.

To expand in this summary of part 2: chapter 4 will show how the cultural management of an authoritarian regime appropriated the *modernista* ideals of the 1920s and turned them into propaganda in order to gain the political endorsement of the masses and to assert State power. Section 4.1. will revisit some of the arguments of part 1 of this study in terms of the *modernista* programme of emancipation of the Brazilian 'other' centred in a legitimisation of ethnic minorities and the popular. It will do so by highlighting three of the fundamental principles of the *modernista* discourse of the 1920s with a twofold purpose. Firstly, to approximate part 1's main argument with principles retrospectively advocated by the *modernistas* themselves will not only substantiate it, but also deepen our study's dialogue with primary literature on *modernismo* whilst positioning it along the path of historiography. Secondly, it will unveil the hard kernel of the *modernista* discourse that the State appropriated and distorted in its propagandistic scheme. By doing so it will highlight the aspects of the 1920s *modernista* programme that were recognised by the State to be precious 'symbolic capital'.

We will see how literature produced in the 1940s and 1950s by Mário de Andrade (1893-1945), Sérgio Milliet (1898-1966) and Alceu Amoroso Lima (1893-1983), three of the masterminds of 1920s *modernismo*, represented the milestones of historiographical narrative on *modernismo*, and built such narrative upon three fundamental values: 'rupture', 'rehabilitation' and 'redemptive originality'. M. Andrade, Milliet and Lima, through their accounts as founders and leading representatives of 1920s *modernismo*, made clear that the movement was based on the idea of 'rupture' from the cultural colonialism that characterised academicist production. In other words, the *modernista* intention to supplant the academy implied an attack on the legacy of colonialism, as much as its innovative aesthetics implied denying further possibilities to a local stance that had historically been subservient to, and acritical of, the European reference. The *modernista* challenge to the Brazilian academy was also a claim to originality in relation to new and contemporaneous European models - an originality that was 'redemptive' because it was able to convert Brazil into an independent cultural producer. The primary as well as the secondary literature analysed in section 4.1. will prove how these writers saw the condition of Brazil's aesthetic-literary independence from Europe to be a process which drew on the 'rehabilitation' of the popular, the native and the ethnic. For the *modernistas*, aesthetic-literary descriptions and depictions of the national subaltern could no longer label it, in the academicist fashion, as shameful, or, at the very best, as exotic elements of the national, which stood diametrically apart from the cultural and political domain of the white dominant class. Finally, it becomes clear from their arguments that they intended the movement they had founded in the 1920s to be a nationalist-internationalist one. They reproached the epigonic rationale and were critical of the notion of copying; however, they were open to cosmopolitanism and the universal as long as these two elements were to be critically processed and merged with the typically Brazilian.

In sum, the 1920s *modernista* challenge to the Brazilian academy, according to these three *modernistas'* retrospective look into their doings, had been also a claim for originality based on the return to pre-colonial Brazil and Amerindian culture. The emancipation of plebeian and quotidian ways of speaking, of the cultural practices of the Afro-Brazilian, had been a proclamation of cultural independence seen by the *modernistas* as a necessary process after political independence. The critical negotiation between national/local elements and leading international cultural trends had been needed in order to avoid either falling into forms of cultural isolationism or succumbing to the homogenising traits that universalism can take when perceived as a hegemonic force. Distilled through an incisive process of appropriation, in which a distinct awareness of the

multifaceted nature of local culture was applied, universal sources had been transformed into elements with which *modernismo* had supplanted the cultural confinement and the regionalism of the academicists. This dialogical rationale between the universal and the particular had been, as the *modernistas* themselves thought, a type of actualisation of the 1920s Brazilian cultural intelligence, and had marked the establishment of the country's creative consciousness. These are the pillars of Brazilian narrative on *modernismo,* which were put on the ground upon which historiography has been built by the very agents of the *modernista* movement through the support of the Vargas regime and its policy for cultural management.

Brazilian historiographical rhetoric from the 1950s to the 1980s relies heavily on the three critical notions of 'rupture', 'rehabilitation' and 'redemptive originality', as much as on this dialectical relationship between the local and the global. It also points to the main difference between the use that the *modernistas* made of the Amerindian and the Afro-Brazilian themes and that made by previous movements[7]. Indeed, within the academy, and as argued by Candido, the themes of the *Indio* and the *mestiço* had been explored, and literary and visual appropriations of the native reference were common since *romantismo*, and preceded the *regionalista* movement of the early 20th century that ferociously opposed the *modernistas*.[8] The romantic idealisation of the autochthonous people attempted to incorporate the *Indio* within the cultural identity of Imperial Brazil by depicting it with the major physical attributes of the white-Brazilian and the moral qualities of Western culture. For instance, Indian women's bodies were painted as slender figures whose positions recalled those of neo-classical nymphs and reworked the formal approaches of European masters such as Poussin and Titian. Their sensuality was restrained by the Western value of chastity and conveyed the nubile condition in mimetic allegories that failed to exalt the actual physical attributes of the Amerindian and to acknowledge the condition of moral freedom which characterised autochthonous tribes. Whilst historiography recognises that *modernismo* emancipated the cultural value of the native and the Afro-Brazilian in the construction of Brazil's modern cultural identity, it claims that the *românticos* either rejected or disregarded the qualities of *mestiçagem* in their deliberate attempts to Europeanise the semblance and habits of the black and the Amerindian in their works. This main difference, which is highlighted in section 4.1. of this study through a discussion of Candido's account, implies a radical innovation of the *modernistas* in terms of the approach of Brazilian cultural producers to the national

[7] See for instance: Antonio Candido, *Literatura e Sociedade: Estudos da Teoria e História Literária* (São Paulo: Editora Nacional, 1976).

[8] See: ibid.

subaltern. When added to the defiant stance towards cultural dependence, and the re-thinking of national culture through an open yet evaluative relation with the universal, this difference constitutes the *sine qua non* of 1920s *modernismo*.

After having discussed the historiographical development that defined the trilogy of values that characterised the first phase of *modernismo*, the chapter will move into an analysis of the ways in which the *modernista* tropes of 'rupture', 'rehabilitation' and 'redemptive originality' were appropriated by the State and used in a highly manipulative representation of official national culture. During the Vargas First Administration, *modernista* culture was turned into national and international propaganda and into a means of the State's self-legitimisation 'at home' and abroad. The fundamental principles of the discourse of 1920s *modernismo* were hijacked by the State cultural policy and used to construe an official vision of 'being Brazilian', and the *modernista* imagery was stolen to articulate a demagogic cultural rhetoric about the Brazilian people which was beneficial to the State's control and authority. As the goals of the policy of the State on culture were achieved through the absorption of several *modernistas* into the governmental cultural apparatus, the chapter will analyse the role that these *modernistas* played in favour of their authoritative and authoritarian employer.

Section 4.2. of this chapter discusses how, during the Vargas First Administration, the State's cultural apparatus became the supreme organ of legitimisation of the cultural field and its mechanisms of production. The 1920s *modernista* production of 'symbolic capital' that the State recognised to be valuable for its ideological agenda, this section argues, put the *modernistas* at the centre of State policy on culture, and gave them educational and institutional positions of power within the national cultural debate. From this perspective, this section will discuss the differing opportunities that the State offered to *modernista* intellectuals by absorbing them into public institutions dedicated to education (i.e., universities, art schools and the publishing of didactic material on culture) and cultural heritage (i.e., art museums). We will give an account, through an overview of scholarship on the subject matter, of the extent to which these intellectuals were willing to affiliate themselves to, or comply with, the ideology of the regime, whilst nevertheless benefiting from the authoritative position of cultural opinion makers that the State was offering them. We will see that even though being employed by an authoritarian government implied a certain level of subordination to the pressures coming from the bureaucratic establishment, to be officially chosen as managers of the cultural politics of the regime had its upside. In fact, it was through this relationship with the 'field of power' that the

modernistas initiated the self-reflexive narrative on *modernismo*, which ultimately led to their historiographical canonisation.

In terms of the State's cultural policy as a means of gaining political consensus across the differing strata of the Brazilian class structure, chapter 4 will argue that the tropes of 1920s *modernismo* were used as propagandistic tools targeted at the masses. Central to the regime's proposition of national culture for the people were *modernismo*'s rupture with an erudite and elitist cultural past, its programme of emancipation of the black, the native and the worker, and its legitimisation of the popular strand of cultural practices. These tenets were used by the State to render itself as the initiator of a political process of erasure of racial and class differences, thus of social inequalities, within the Brazil of the Vargas era. The *modernista* glorification of the native and the Afro-Brazilian as fundamental to the definition of modern 'Brazilianness' was distorted to instil in the national subaltern the values of docility, submissiveness and discipline that would facilitate their surrender to a ruling political system imposed through authoritarianism. In fact, and as section 4.2. will maintain, black rogues from Rio's shantytowns and their tradition of dancing *samba* were transformed, through propagandistic interventions, into symbols of the State's ability to convert criminals and social pariahs into honest workers and to establish a social order freed from illegality and aversion to productive life. The main argument in chapter 4 is that the emancipative programme of 1920s *modernismo* was turned, by the Vargas regime, into an ideological representation of the nation. This representation served the State's national agenda based on populism, and the international one, which favoured art that exalted the image of the Brazilian people as the living impetus and working force behind a progressive and developmentalist government. Section 4.2.4. will address these issues through an analysis of *Cultura Política* (1941-1945), a doctrinaire magazine published during the years of the radicalisation of Vargas' authoritarianism and known as *Estado Novo* (1937-1945). It will consider the type of influence that ideology wanted to have on culture and its manifestations, and how *modernista* concepts and ideas were manipulated and distorted to suit the State through this propagandistic magazine.

Very different was the message on cultural elitism and the non-white Brazilian that the government's cultural management created to consolidate its power within the highest classes of Brazilian society. In fact, the *modernista* tropes were not suitable symbols of 'Brazilianness' for the bourgeoisies and the wealthy Brazilian museumgoers, whose consensus on cultural matters wanted Brazilian culture to stand for a whiter, richer and traditionalist nation. For the Vargas State, to extol the values of humility,

proletarianism and modesty with *modernista* depictions of *mestiço* workers and of black shantytown inhabitants was not the right strategy to gain the endorsement of the top of Brazil's societal pyramid. The popular cultural practices linked to the lowest strata of Brazil's society and non-white ethno-racial strands, which the Vargas regime and its Department of Press and Propaganda so vehemently identified with the *modernista* narrative on emancipation, were rejected by the Brazilian white and therefore did not gain the same starring role in the State's 'temples to high culture'. Through discussion of the Brazilian National History Museum's curatorial project, chapter 4 will reveal aspects of Vargas' cultural management in which the Brazilian non-white is rendered as subaltern to the white. This chapter will argue that when compared to the regime's positive representation of the native and the Afro-Brazilian in propagandistic and mediatic material, the diametrically opposite message on culture that State sponsored cultural institutions put forward denounces the self-serving ambivalence of the government on national cultural matters. In fact the regime had recourse to traditionalist and conservative academic art and its representatives where beneficial to State power, fomenting, as a result, the long-standing battle between the *modernistas* and the academy.

On the one hand, the Vargas regime and its Ministry of Education and Health gave the *modernistas* the chance to publish seminal anthologies on *modernismo* on the basis of which the metanarrative on the movement has flourished. On the other, it also gave the academicists the possibility of officially proclaiming their neo-colonial style, and maintaining their grip on prestigious educational institutions such as the National School of Fine Arts and the National Museum of Fine Arts. In fact, whilst the State was opening privileged publishing avenues to the *modernistas* which allowed them to provide their own historical interpretations of the movement and to categorise themselves as triumphant cultural reformers, it also let the academicists run important national museums whose collections, according to the views of their managers, overshadowed the importance of *modernismo*. This highly contradictory yet acutely systematised State cultural strategy was therefore fuelling the long-standing cultural war between the *modernistas* and the academicists, and was a policy applied not only nationally, but also in relation to foreign affairs. The last section of chapter 4 will focus on instances where the ambivalence of governmental cultural management and its interaction with the national diatribe between traditionalists and innovators were taken abroad, specifically to the US. Section 4.3. of this chapter will discuss how, on the occasion of the New York World's Fair (1939-1940), State foreign cultural policy decided to represent Brazil and 'Brazilianness' to

the Americans through two contemporaneous yet antithetical propositions at two distinct yet related venues in New York. One of such propositions was that of the artist Candido Portinari (1903-1962), who was commissioned by the regime to produce work for the Brazilian pavilion at the international fair. Portinari produced three large *modernista* panels describing Brazil as a nation made of vigorous *mestiço* bodies dignified through the value of labour implied by their daily activities and related to the folklore and popular life in which they engaged. The other one was Brazil's representation at the "Latin American Exhibition of Fine and Applied Arts", which rendered Brazil as white, cultured, and predominantly bourgeois in the academic works on show for the American audiences at the Riverside Museum.

Section 4.3. will end by discussing the reception of these contradictory images of contemporary Brazilian art in America. We will see that American critics abhorred what was on show at the Riverside Museum, while the cultural field's interest in Portinari's work was accentuated by the work's relevance to the controversial racial debates, and the historically violent dynamics of racial segregation in the US. Whilst exported academicism was not contributing to the regime's goal of a good reception of Brazil abroad, Portinari's work attracted the Americans more due to what it had to say about American politics and cultural identity, and less for what it had to say about Brazilian society. For the Brazilian State, Portinari's work was of interest because it suited the governmental nationalist-internationalist agenda, given its potential to show Brazil as an exotically attractive culture in a visually modernist lexicon to which the Americans could relate. However, the American reception of Portinari's work took its own unforeseen direction. In fact, as this section will maintain, the US interest in Portinari's *modernismo* focussed on the political possibilities that its content offered as symbol of a type of American ideology that wanted to keep at bay the country's backward and oppressive treatment of its own black community. Exported to, and re-contextualised within, the American cultural field, Portinari's depictions of Brazil's material culture were opened to re-signification within another post-colonial reality of the Americas in which racial mixing had not been seen, historically, as a viable social dynamic or acceptable moral conduct.

Chapter 5 of this study will tackle the return to the fore of patronage initiatives linked to the private sector as a result of the relative regional control that the Vargas regime allowed the dominant *paulista* class to re-establish over São Paulo in 1933-1934. Towards the end of his Provisional Government (1930-1934), Vargas - aware of São Paulo's vital role as the country's engine of progress and industrialisation - allowed the

paulista liberal aristocracy of the Old Republic to occupy key political roles that would result in the boosting of pro-*modernista* sponsorship by patrons holding liberal views in the city. Chapter 5 will analyse the pro-*modernista* trajectory that the *paulista* industrial elite developed, guided by US agents operating under the Good Neighbour Policy through the Office of Inter-American Affairs during the fully-fledged authoritarianism of the *Estado Novo*. We will see how the liberalist forces that pervaded the still existing aristocracy and the mushrooming industrial class of São Paulo, offered the 1920s *modernistas* an alternative channel for the continuation of their project, away from the Vargas cultural administration. Further, we will see that it was the *modernistas*' connections with patrons holding capitalistic views, and with American agents engaging with US cultural expansionism in Latin America, that triggered a series of events from 1942 to 1946 that would ultimately result in the appearance of an international modern art institution in Brazil, the MAM-SP, in 1948. In the light of this specific national-international configuration, the chapter will argue that the affinity of values and goals surrounding modernist culture which existed between *paulista* and American free enterprise capitalism ideologues opened up new fields to the *modernistas*, upon which to fight for the victory of modernist culture in Brazil. However, the opening of a modernist museum in Brazil resulted in the institutional arrival of abstraction in the country, which opposed the figurative languages of *modernismo*.

Section 5.1. will discuss how Sérgio Milliet's fight for the consolidation of modernism in Brazil during the 1940s became connected with North-American intelligentsia focussing on modernism as a key cultural tool for the re-mapping of the hegemonic frontiers of the world. It will explore the series of events through which Milliet, encouraged and monitored by Carleton Sprague Smith, a US agent of the Office of Inter-American Affairs working in connection with the MoMA, arranged a series of events that led Brazilian industrialist Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho to open the MAM-SP.

Milliet's liaison with the American intelligentsia working in Brazil, as this section will argue, was part of the manoeuvring that began to unfold in 1942 through which Nelson A. Rockefeller, the head of the MoMA in New York, worked on a scheme for the establishment of modern art museums in Latin America. These museums, according to the American plan, needed to comply with the MoMA's model, and host modern art exhibitions organised by, and shown first at, the American museum. Rockefeller and the MoMA's goal, it will become clear, was to propagate modernist art from the US to Latin America with the objective of such art symbolising America's cultural supremacy and the country's 'way of life'. For the American intelligentsia, a modernism springing from North

America was the visual language that crystallised the country's hegemony based on the values of individualism and free-enterprise ideology. Section 5.1. will also assess, through analysing an exchange of correspondence between Rockefeller, Matarazzo and his staff, 1) the extent to which the MoMA was involved with the procedures that led to the opening of the MAM-SP; and 2) the type of support and guidance that the American museum gave to the Brazilian museum with regard to the planning of "From Figurativism to Abstractionism", the MAM-SP's first exhibition of 1949.

Section 5.2. will consider the international art network mobilised for the organisation of "From Figurativism to Abstractionism". It will also analyse the exhibition's aftermath in relation to both the MoMA's policy for its Brazilian satellite museum and the controversial reception of the exhibition (and of two subsequent abstractionist shows at the MAM-SP's biennial) within the national artistic arena.

This section will reveal the curatorial process behind this exhibition, which was based on a triangulation of agents acting between Europe and New York and working on the sourcing of 150 artworks by European and American artists. It will show that due to unforeseen circumstances and financial reasons, "From Figurativism to Abstractionism" ended up being a meagre showcase of American modernist abstract art, with the vast majority of artists on show being European and working in Paris. Further, and in relation to the international dimension of this show, it will tackle the MoMA's inconsistency in terms of wanting the MAM-SP to receive and show modern art from the US.

In relation to the implications of this show within the national 'field of art', this section will discuss the attack by the *figurativistas* on the abstractionism brought to Brazil by the MAM-SP's first exhibition. In this respect, an inherent contradiction will surface. In fact, even if the Brazilian press dubbed the show as *l' École de Paris'*s incursion into the country, it also accused abstractionism of being associated with American interests in the country, a form of cultural neo-imperialism, and clear proof of the servitude of the Brazilian capitalists to those of the US. This section will therefore address the battle that this exhibition caused between opposing national aesthetic factions - a battle which was very similar to the longstanding battle between the academy and the *modernistas*. We will see how distinguished *modernistas*, such as artist Emiliano Di Cavalcanti (1897-1976) and architect João Batista Villanova Artigas (1915-1985), defended their movement by arguing that abstractionism did not speak the language of the people and boiled down to an ivory tower incapable of sympathising with social issues and the struggle of the masses against the elite. The pro-figurativism campaign, as highlighted in this section, opposed abstractionism in the same derogatory and vitriolic manner with which the academy had,

since the early 20th century, lashed out at the *modernistas*. It was as if the group that had until then represented the cultural reformist slice of the Brazilian 'field of culture', all of a sudden, rejected innovation in order to seek to retain their power, acclaim and privileged position in the national field of cultural production.

Part 1 – The Emergence of *Modernismo* (1915-1929)

1- Modernismo, Dominant Culture and Nationalism

1.1- *Modernismo* and its Socio-political Context

According to Aracy Amaral, 1920s Brazilian *modernismo*, takes shape after Anita Malfatti's (1889-1964) "First Exhibition of Modern Art" of December 1917 and explodes in the São Paulo modern art week of February 1922.[9] Malfatti's rebellious exhibition showed 53 works produced by the artist after a few years of training with expressionist masters in Germany and the US. São Paulo's intellectuals and upper class prone to academic art, which pervaded the enlightened circles, perceived the works as too strong and aggressive in their daring handling of colour and deformation of the human figure.[10] The outraged reaction was due to the fact that Brazil had been accustomed to the academicism that began to be institutionalised in the country in its imperial phase, in the early 19th century, which evolved from neo-classicist aesthetics to the styles of the early 20th century: realism, symbolism and parnasianism. Mário de Andrade stated in 1942 that, subsequent to the exhibition, he and another emerging and iconoclastic literary figure, Oswald de Andrade, given their interest in cultural innovation and 'the conviction of a new art, of a new spirit', had aligned themselves with Malfatti to share modernist ideas.[11] The network expanded and resulted in the *semana de arte moderna* (modern art week) 1922. Beyond Malfatti, and Mário and Oswald de Andrade, the event counted on the participation of artists such as Emiliano Di Cavalcanti, Vicente do Rego Monteiro and Victor Brecheret; writers such as Sérgio Milliet, Plínio Salgado and Menotti Del Picchia; and the musician Heitor Villa-Lobos.[12] The culturally conservative, presented with the modern art week's counter-current styles in the form of poetry, literature, art, music and conferences, reacted with disdain, to the extent of booing at the participants.

[9] Aracy A. Amaral, "Modernismo dos Anos 20", in *Revista do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros, n° 33* (São Paulo, 1992): 45-48.

[10] See: Aracy A. Amaral, "Anita Malfatti: Cinqüenta Anos Depois", in *Arte e Meio Artístico: Entre a Feijoada e o X-burguer* (São Paulo: Editora Nobel, 1983), 14-20.

[11] *'De uma arte nova, de um espírito novo'.* Mário de Andrade, *O Movimento Modernista* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora CEB, 1942), 16.

[12] It is not our intention here to give a detailed account of the events and the network formation that from Malfatti's first exhibition led to the Modern Art Week of 1922, yet it is fruitful to point out that Mário de Andrade's *O Movimento Modernista* (1942) is one of the most valuable primary references on the subject matter.

Malfatti's Brazilian solo exhibition of 1917 is largely seen as the landmark of *modernismo* by Brazilian historiography on the subject matter.[13] Apart from Amaral, other authoritative voices such as those of Antonio Candido and Mário da Silva Brito have attached the same importance to the 1917 and the 1922 events. As Amaral argues, the press, such as the magazine *Vida Moderna* and the newspaper *Correio Paulistano* were perplexed by the unexpected formal traits of the works, yet in general, they published balanced critiques. However, Malfatti's exhibition did generate a vitriolic reaction from José Bento Monteiro Lobato (1882-1948), an outspoken critic who had conservative views on art and culture. Lobato was a barrister, consecrated author and highly influential writer and aesthetic-literary critic for several Brazilian newspapers; he was also the founder of a publishing house. His career development included the writing of novels, particularly for children. His voice was often permeated with his ideological position, hence with a critical (and eugenic) analysis of Brazil's ethno-racial constitution, bureaucratic apparatus, urban development and deprived social conditions in both the growing cities and the rural peripheries.

Lobato's shock with regard to the new aesthetics in the arts proposed by Malfatti upon her return from training abroad has been recognised, by many accounts, to be a proof of the artist's innovative potential. This shock was stated in an article published in the *O Estado de São Paulo*, under the title *A Propósito de Anita Malfatti* ("Regarding Anita Malfatti") (1917).[14] From the authoritative standpoint of Lobato, 'modernism […] was merely a movement that caricatured colour and form without committing to rendering a comic idea, aiming only at "bewildering and fooling the spectator"'.[15] In the article, Lobato made a clear distinction between academic and modernist art, offensively describing the latter:

> there are two species of artists. Those who see things normally and consequently make pure art, preserving the eternal rhythms of life and […] the classical processes of the great masters, constitute the first one. […] The other species is

[13] See for instance, and in order of publication, 1) ibid; 2) Antônio Soares Amora, *História da Literatura Brasileira (Séculos XVI-XX) (*São Paulo: Saraiva, 1958); 3) Mário da Silva Brito, *História do Modernismo Brasileiro, Antecedentes da Semana de Arte Moderna* (São Paulo: Saraiva, 1958); 4) Afrânio Coutinho, *Literatura no Brasil: O Modernismo*, vol. 5 (Rio de Janeiro: Sul Americana, 1970); 5) Antonio Candido, "Literatura e Cultura de 1900 a 1945 (Panorama para Estrangeiros)", in Candido, *Literatura e Sociedade: Estudos da Teoria e História Literária*, 109-138; 6) Amaral, "Modernismo dos Anos 20"; 6) Alfredo Bosi, *História Concisa da Literatura Brasileira*, (São Paulo: Cultrix, 1994).

[14] See: Jõao Bento Monteiro Lobato, "A Propósito de Anita Malfatti", *O Estado de São Paulo* (Edição da Noite), São Paulo, 20th December 1917. In: *Brasil: 1° Tempo Modernista – 1917/29, Documentação*, Marta Rossetti Batista, Telê P. Ancona Lopez and Yone Soares de Lima Soares (eds) (São Paulo: Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros, 1972), 78-80.

[15] '*modernismo […] era apenas um movimento caricatural da cor e da forma, sem o compromisso de ressaltar uma idéia cômica mas visando, unicamente, "desnortear e aparvalhar o espectador"*'. Ângela Ancora Da Luz, "Arte Moderna do Séulo XX", in: *Historia da Arte no Brasil – Textos de Síntese* (Rio de Janeiro: Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro), 79.

> formed of those who see nature abnormally, and interpret it in the light of ephemeral theories, under the skewed advice of rebel schools, which appeared here and there as boils of an excessive culture. They are the products of the tiredness and sadism of all periods of decadence: they are end-of-season fruits, spoiled by worms as they are born.[16]

With metaphors that associated the *modernistas* with the psychotic inhabitants of an asylum, or with decadent European aesthetic-literary schools that transgressed the formal harmony established by a long-standing lineage of great masters, Lobato was a firm opponent of innovation.[17] For him, any Brazilian associated with expressionism, futurism or cubism was pathetically trying to *épater les bourgeois* and could not expect to be producing more than a distorted depiction of reality. The aesthetics of Brazil's modernism, according to Lobato's opinion, was neither suitable for, nor friendly towards, the views of the country's dominant classes.

The text therefore signalled the resistance, on behalf of the high bourgeoisie and the members of the upper class holding traditional tastes, to the aesthetics of the new generation of artists. In opposition to this resistance, the São Paulo modern art week brought the emerging Brazilian *modernista* circle of the 1920s together in a venture against aesthetic-literary 'tradition' and the academies, which were a typical expression of *afrancesamento*.

According to Camargos' account, the term *afrancesamento* stands for Brazil's assimilation of the French imagery.[18] The process started in 1504 during the period of French colonisation, when the *nau l' Espoir*, led by Binot de Gonneville, arrived in the extreme South of the geographical area that is now the state of Santa Catarina.[19] As discussed by Camargos, both France and Portugal were involved in the early colonisation of the territories that were later to become Brazil, and, perhaps surprisingly, with the consolidation of Portuguese power, in the 18th century, French ideology, aesthetics, literature, philosophy and sciences became increasingly dominant among the ruling class.

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[16] "*Há duas espécies de artistas. Uma composta dos que vêem normalmente as coisas e em consequência disso fazem arte pura, guardando os eternos ritmos da vida, e […] os processos clássicos dos grandes mestres. […] A outra espécie é formada pelos que vêem anormalmente a natureza, e interpretam-na à luz de teorias efêmeras, sob a sugestão estrábica de escolas rebeldes, surgidas cá e lá como furúnculos de uma cultura excessiva. São produtos do cansaço e do sadismo de todos os períodos de decadência: são frutos de fim de estação, bichados ao nascedouro"*. Lobato, "A Propósito de Anita Malfatti", 45.

[17] See: ibid, 45-48.

[18] See: Márcia Camargos, "Uma República nos Moldes Franceses", *Revista USP n.59,* September/November (São Paulo, 2003): 134-143, and 2) Mônica Raisa Schpun, "Regionalistas e Cosmopolitas: As Amigas Olívia Guedes Penteado e Carlota Pereira De Queiroz", *Arteologie*, *N. 1,* (2011): 1-32. Available <at: http://cral.in2p3.fr/artelogie/IMG/article_PDF/article_a66.pdf>. [Last accessed: 20/03/2013].

[19] The event was followed by the installation of twenty-five French residential units in Rio de Janeiro's Baia de Guanabara in mid-16th century, and a French colony in the Northern State of Maranhão at the end of the 16th century – named Equinoctial France. See: ibid.

Brazil's independence in 1822 resulted in 1) the instauration of a French style art school in 1826, and 2) the establishment of the Historical and Geographical Institute of Brazil, which shaped the mentality of the economic and literary Brazilian elite since 1838. Finally, Camargos analyses the evolution of *afrancesamento* within the Brazilian elite of the early 20th century. She does so focusing on the realities of the cities of Rio and São Paulo in relation to the Brazil political situation that resulted from the establishment of the First Republic.[20] According to her, after the initial tumultuous years of the country's republican reality, the advent of political stability allowed the flourishing of a cultured and elegant urban society whose mentality and customs reproduced those of *fin de siècle* Paris. Other facets of *afrancesamento*, from an anthropological perspective are, for instance, the habit of spending seasons in Europe for shopping for clothes, sport gear, books and art; attending social events, studying, of networking with other members of the foreign and the Brazilian elite; of entertaining at premises owned abroad and so forth.[21] This stance towards products, fashions, mannerisms, ways of expenditure, intellectual, aesthetic, and ideological orientations was expressed at both the European and the Brazilian ends, making the modernising Brazilian cities a local re-staging of realities that had originated in the Old World.

To understand 1920s Brazilian *modernismo* as a counter-cultural movement, it is necessary to consider the background of the cultural tradition – so dear to the academicists - against which emerging artists and intellectuals fought; thus it is necessary to cast a glance into Imperial Brazil, that is, into the historical moment in which the country's cultural a*francesamento* was conspicuously shaped. When *Dom* João VI arrived in the country to flee the Napoleonic invasion of Portugal (1808), he established cultural, scientific and financial institutions in the capital of the Empire, Rio de Janeiro, which mirrored the French ones. In 1816, as Emperor of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and Algarves, *Dom* João VI asked the Bonapartist director of Le Louvre, Joaquim Lebreton,

[20] During the First Republic (1889-1930), most precisely from 1891 to 1911 and under the administration of the conservative Mayor Antônio Prado, the city of São Paulo underwent a deep process of urban *afrancesamento*. Prado's administration aimed at an urbanistic project that would reflect the wealth that the boom of the coffee economy and the international exportation of the product had brought to Brazil. His 'civilizational' project would express Brazil's progress by adopting the style of the Paris of the Second Empire. This was achieved thanks to the help of the engineering and architectural company run by Buvard and Couchet, who were responsible, in France, for the projects of the Universal Fairs and several other ones commissioned by the Parisian administration. A series of public buildings were built, such as the Museu Histórico do Ipiranga, which architecture was a distinguished example of French neoclassicism; and the Teatro Municipal, which drew on the Parisian Opera. See: Nicolau Sevcenko, "A Cidade Canibal e os Artistas Antropófagos", in Paço das Artes (org.), *Rede de Tensão*, *Vol. 1* (São Paulo: Imprensa Oficial do Estado/ Secretaria de Estado da Cultura/ Paço das Artes, 2001) 106-111.

[21] See: Schpun, "Regionalistas e Cosmopolitas". Available <at: http://cral.in2p3.fr/artelogie/IMG/article_PDF/article_a66.pdf>. [Last accessed: 20/03/2013].

[21] See: Camargos, "Uma República nos Moldes Franceses".

to leave Paris with the view of having him as the leader and the initiator of a Brazilian artistic system. Lebreton agreed to contribute to the Emperor's cultural ambitions for Brazil, a manoeuvre that allowed him to flee the French turmoil that had overturned Napoleon and put him in a dangerous political situation. However, Napoleon's defeat and the Bourbon Restoration in France also forced *Dom* João VI to resuming his sovereign duties in Portugal and therefore to return to Europe shortly after the arrival of Lebreton. At this point, his son, *Dom* Pedro I, who favoured Bonaparte but had kept his political views secret due to the blood ties that ran between his family and the Bourbons, could openly show his political views and support all the Bonapartists who had moved to Brazil. Just four years after declaring independence in 1922, he allowed the French artistic system to be formally implanted in Brazil, 'as Brazilian', under the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts in Rio (1826). Lebreton was not the only one to move to Brazil, as he had been followed by Jean-Batiste Debret, Auguste Taunay and Grandjean de Montigny, and together they were in charge of the curriculum of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts and are known as the artistic 'French mission' in Brazil. This academy exemplifies the backdrop against which the Brazilian aesthetic-literary tradition flourished and the type of influence that shaped the Brazilian field of 'high culture'.

During the First Republic (1889-1930), the term *afrancesamento* referred to the *habitus* of the *Belle Époque* Brazilian coffee aristocracy. Therefore it referred to the typology of social being and patterns of thought linked to Brazil's hegemonic social class and its wealth.[22] In other words*, afrancesamento* stood for the behavioural patterns of the ruling class – expressed, for instance, through taste (including for the arts), mannerisms and schemes of actions. In its sense beyond the limits of the cultural domain, the phenomenon implied the political and ethical views of this class - which resulted not only from the historical influence of French ideology over Brazil, but also from the embodiment of colonial social structures (i.e., economic stratification based on race and slavery). The elite's culturally Francophile framework had as a backdrop not only the specific political-economic configuration inherited from colonialism, but also the one resulting from the proclamation of the republic. The configuration of the early republic was based on the autonomy of regional governments, which ensured the economic power of the coffee oligarchy – that is, of the descendants of the Portuguese colonial aristocracy. It was also known as the *Política dos Governadores* (The Politics of the Governors) and

[22] In more details, *habitus* is a category of sociological theory, also adopted in the field of literary theory and criticism by drawing on Bourdieu's definition of the term. Influences on the individual, such as socio-economic status, family origins, religion and level of education determine the *habitus* of specific social groups, that is, social dynamics and preferences, and their ideological and political views.

was an agreement between the wealthy rural landowners of São Paulo and Minas Gerais, which established that the Brazilian Presidents were to be chosen alternatively from the leaders of each state. This implied that fair elections and a centralised and less partial system of government could not take place. Further, the Brazilian judiciary system deemed the cultural practices of the descendant of the slaves that inhabited the metropolitan slums - to which Asbury refers to as 'Brazil's internal *Other*'- illegal.[23] As Asbury put it, black people 'were, until the early 20th century, still persecuted for attempting to practice and maintain their 'African' traditions. […] The practitioners of *Candomblé, Capoeira* and *Samba* ran the risk of police prosecution and imprisonment'.[24] The European colonial legacy had therefore shaped forces that, on the socio-cultural front, favoured the Europeanised culture of the wealthy white-Brazilians as opposed to that of the native and the Afro-Brazilian masses, which, on the contrary, was stigmatised to the extent of becoming the subject matter of penal law. On the political front, this legacy weakened national integration and precluded the mechanisms of capital distribution, the right to education and health care for the population and other basic rights of the national subaltern.

Ideologically, the national modernising project of the First Republic revolved around eugenic laws, which were seen as determinants of a racially and culturally improved population. The thinking of Francisco José Oliveira Vianna (1883-1951) is the clearest example of national debates in the 1920s that addressed the complexity of Brazil's anthropological formation from a racial and racist perspective. Vianna was one of the theorists of the Brazilian eugenic movement, which comprised members of the country's intellectual circles in the disciplines of law, politics, anthropology, medicine, socio-cultural studies and education, and who were questioning the historical mix between white, native and black and its implications for the future of modernising Brazil. They produced a vast body of research on eugenics, which drew on the interest in the subject matter in France, England, Germany and the US, and advocated that the process of 'whitening' the nation through interracial unions would allow Brazil to enter modernity and step onto the pathway to progress. Their endorsement of mixing and of the *mestiço* type was not originating from the idea that the native and the black were ethnic strands whose qualities had to be merged with those of the white one. On the contrary, mixing was thought as a gradual process of extinction of qualities other than the white-Brazilian ones through the predominance of white blood over the native and the Afro-Brazilian ones.

[23] Michael Asbury, *Hélio Oiticica: Politics and Ambivalence in 20th Century Brazilian Art* (PhD thesis, University of the Arts London, 2003), 21.
[24] Ibid.

Therefore, the *mestiço* was not at all legitimised but merely condoned and, in the long run, had to be 'purified' and turned into white. Interracial marriage within Brazilian society, for the *eugenistas*, instead of representing the effacement of the historically construed hierarchy between the three races that constituted the country, stood for a reiteration of the superiority of the white. The movement also advocated a policy of selective immigration and demographic and human reproduction control. In its period of radicalisation, the movement launched a propagandistic publication, the *Boletim da Eugenia* (*Eugenia's Newsletter*) (1929-1933), which proposed extreme measures such as sterilisation and racial segregation as a quick alternative to the long process of whitening. Evidence of Vianna's relevance to the eugenic and racist rhetoric can be found in his book *O Tipo Brasileiro, Seus Elementos Formadores* of 1922, where he advocated that the national psyche and mentality was an incoherent mix of the nature of the 'savage' (the native Brazilian), the 'barbaric' (the Afro-Brazilian) and the 'civilised' (the white-Brazilian).[25] The question of the Brazilian ethnic trinity surfaces here in a negative tone; an ideological question which resonated within the political domain as much as within the cultural one. Silva Brito argued in 1974 that the *modernistas* negated the retrograde perspective that saw Brazil's socio-cultural configuration to be based on the cultural demarcations historically established between the three races.[26] Therefore it can be said that Brazilian *modernismo* challenged such ideology within the 'field of culture'.

Monteiro Lobato's nationalism proves that Vianna's racial-based rationale of discrimination characterised also the Brazilian 'field of culture', and more specifically, the view of the academy. In fact, his literary *oeuvre* took the shape of a regionalist strand which was exoticist, racist and based on class distinction, and ultimately diminished the *mestiço*. As an author interested in literature as much as in urban structural development and rural sanitation, he pigeonholed ethnic minorities as backwards compartments of the Brazilian social structure that had nothing in common with the genetic, racial and cultural superiority of the white-Brazilian. Lobato's regional literature handled figures such as the *Caboclo* (i.e., mix between white and Amerindian), as 'deprived of will and aesthetic sense, ugly and grotesque […; as] the "priest of the Great Law of the Minimum Effort", the one who lives with what Nature gives him, without wasting energy to achieve any goal in life'.[27] His character *Jeca Tatú* was created in 1914 to challenge the dominant Portuguese

[25] See: Francisco José Oliveira Vianna (1922), in: Luiz de Castro Farias, *Oliveira Vianna: de Saquarema à Alameda São Boaventura, 41 - Niterói : o Autor, os Livros, a Obra* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Relume Dumará, 2002).

[26] See: Brito, *História do Modernismo Brasiliero*.

[27] '*desprovido de força de vontade e senso estético, feio e grotesco [; como o] "sacerdote da Grande Lei do Menor Esforço", aquele que vive do que a natureza dá, sem gastar energia para alcançar qualquer objetivo na vida.*' Jõao Bento Monteiro Lobato, in: "Monteiro Lobato: Cidadão e Escritor – Linha do Tempo", in: *Globo.com*. Available at: <http://lobato.globo.com/lobato_Linha.asp> . [Last accessed: 20/04/2013].

literature of the time, which generally consisted in translations of La Fontaine. However, the character was not elevated to a valued symbol of popular culture, but rather treated as a despicable token of indolence resulting from a lower racial and genetic nature – worsened by the lack of hygiene and heath. Although Lobato's literary ambition was to produce work that could compete with that which was produced in Portugal, the academy regarded Brazilian Portuguese as inferior to the language of the Portuguese coloniser. The inherent contradiction here is that, on the one hand, Lobato's intention was to challenge the authority of Portuguese literary production, and, on the other, to reject the transformations that the Portuguese language had suffered in Brazil due to other linguistic influences, and, in particular, the African. His nationalist and academic formula was obviously ambivalent, as it aimed at establishing an original and typically Brazilian literary production, emancipated from Portugal, yet it abhorred Portuguese Brazilian and deemed it to be a devaluation of the original; a language that was the by-product of a mix with inferior influences.

As maintained by Silva Brito, literary *regionalismo*, of which Lobato was a high exponent, was one of the movements opposed by the *modernistas* – along with romanticism, realism and parnasianism.[28] Brito advocates that such opposition was apparent in the writings of Oswald de Andrade and Cândido Motta Filho (1897-1977), the latter being the author of caustic comments on the retrograde notion of culture that Lobato expressed through his *Jeca Tatu*. Indeed Motta Filho criticises Lobato's work in an article of 1921, in which he states that "the burlesque monkey who lives sitting on his heels, indifferent to everything, a laggard of the species and an obstacle to the progress of the country, cannot be the prototype of the national soul." [29] This is the reason why Motta Filho thinks that "the degenerated *caboclo* in the scene of the current books is a fruit of the false realism that impresses France with the "Rougon Macquart" and Portugal with the neurosis of Ramires."[30] The young critic goes even further, as he disowns "national forums and certain books that seek *sertanejo* subjects".[31] For this *modernista*,

> 'these books [...] try to portray the Brazilian as an embarrassing countryside man, as the sick inhabitant of the *Sertão* [i.e., Brazilian backlands], as the abandoned *caatingas* [i.e., Brazilian dry regions] infested with the plague! The ranking of these exaggerated caricature books, mostly written by bachelors of arts [i.e.,

[28] See: Brito, *História do Modernismo Brasiliero*.

[29] *"O mono burlesco que vive sentado sôbre os calcanhares, indiferente a tudo, retardatário da espécie e tropêço ao progresso do país, não pode ser o protótotipo da alma nacional".* Cândido Motta Filho, "A Literatura Nacional", *Jornal do Comércio*, São Paulo, 3/10/1921. In: Brito, *História do Modernismo Brasileiro*, 176.

[30] *"O caboclo degenerado nos cenário dos livros atuais, é um fruto do falso realismo que enxergou a França pelos "Rougon Macquart" e Portugal pelo nevrótico de Ramires".* Ibid.

[31] *"Foros nacionais e certos livros que buscam assuntos sertanejos".* Ibid.

> graduates; educated elite] who see everything according to their status, must fall'.[32]

Motta Filho makes clear that regional literature was outlining an image of the rural masses, of the popular from the countryside which was degenerated and backwards and blames this on the influence of Émile Zola's collection of naturalist novels entitled *Les Rougon-Macquart* (1871-1893). This collection of novels, which explored from a sociological perspective the life of a rural French family, focused on the scientific issues of heredity by drawing on Darwin's evolution theory to explore the relationship between race and environment. In the novels, the members of the Rougon-Macquart family who belonged to lower classes and had parents who faced hardship or social difficulties ended up indulging in alcoholism or committing crimes, such as prostitution and homicide. For Motta Filho, these *regionalistas*, who wrote belittling stories of the national subaltern from the privileged hegemonic position they occupied within the Brazilian socio-political hierarchy needed to be challenged; their ideology needed to be opposed. To be against the academy meant to refuse their negative notion of 'Brazilianness' linked to the historically formed rural identities. One the one hand, this negative notion attacked the rural masses which had been constituted through the mix between the Portuguese, the *Indio* and the African during the colonial era. On the other one, it also stigmatised the one that in both the countryside and the cities was increasingly growing with the conspicuous arrival, from the late 19th century onwards, of immigrants from Italy let into the country to address the need of labour in the coffee plantations and industry. Racism and class discrimination linked to ethnicity and towards the new wave of immigration were indeed present in Lobato's views, and they have been noted by Miceli in his analysis of Lobato's 1917 criticism of Malfatti's exhibition.[33] Miceli claims that the text

> focused, not by chance, and precisely on those works which were most intriguing because of the inconvenience they aroused given the way they treated these embarrassing and still unwanted characters, that is, the immigrants. What would have disturbed [Lobato], above all else, was the outrageous courage of giving individual expressive features to characters who still seemed to him to be in a state of probation, or rather, to be socially illegitimate, inadequate, and improper. [...] The signs of ethnic prejudice, which was the propeller of the inopportune critical reaction, could not be more unequivocal [in the text]. The writer's highly critical language was shaped less by his aesthetic reaction and more by his anti-Italian bias.[34]

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[32] *"Estes livros [...] procuram retratar o brasileiro no matuto opilado, no doente do sertão, no abandonado das caatingas pestíferas! A estadia dêsses livros de caricaturoas exageradas, feitos a mor parte de bacharéis que tudo vêem de acôrdo com seu estalão, precisa cair."* Ibid.

[33] We will return to Lobato's critique of Maltatti's work in chapter 2, subsection 2.1., in order to contextualise our discussion of Prado's support of the *modernistas* through the press.

[34] *'Incidiu, não por acaso, e justamente naqueles trabalhos mais intrigantes, por conta do incômodo que deviam suscitar, derivado [...do...] tratamento desses figurantes embaraçosos, ainda indesejados, que eram os*

Judging by Miceli's account, Lobato's review of Malfatti's work show that the discourse upon which the notion of a modern Brazilian nation took shape not only discriminated against those strands of Brazil's anthropological formation resulting from centuries of colonialism, but also against the new minorities that began to populate the country since the abolition of slavery (1888) and the inception of the industrialisation process. Through this exhibition, Malfatti became known in São Paulo for her expressionist works, such as *A Estudante Russa* (*The Russian Student*) and *O Homem Amarelo* (*The Yellow Man*), both of 1915-16 **{fig. 1 and 2}**. The nationality of the man painted in yellow hues was stated by Malfatti herself, who admitted that he 'was a poor man, excluded and unknown, an Italian immigrant […] with a 'desperate expression'', his shabby jacket is, here, barely straightened out on the contorted body, as if the artist's intention was to emphasise the oppressed gaze of the subject.[35] Psychological state and apparel are also matched in the depiction of the Russian student, whose vacant stare and resigned body language resonate with the humble, plain dress; the fabric's muddy colour as a symbol either of the dull production line or of the exhausting life in the fields that the Russian immigrant attempts to escape through a scholarly education.

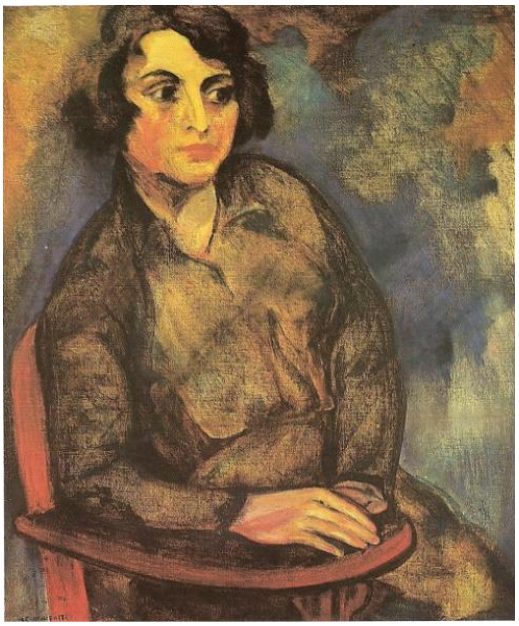

Figure 1:

Anita Malfatti, *A Estudante Russa* (1915-16).

Oil on canvas, 76 x 61 cm.

Coleção Mário de Andrade,
Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros,
Universidade de São Paulo (USP),
São Paulo.

Source:
http://obrasanitamalfatti.wordpress.com/

imigrantes. O que teria perturbado [Lobato], acima de tudo, fora a petulância de dar feição expressiva individual a personagens que ainda lhe pareciam em fase de provação, ou melhor, socialmente ilegítimos, inadequados e impróprios. […] Não poderiam ser mais inequívocos [no texto] os sinais de preconceito étnico, fundamento propulsor da reação crítica intempestiva. O viés antiitaliano plasmou mais fundo a inventiva crítica do que o alardeado reacionarismo estético do escritor'. Sérgio Miceli, *Nacional Estrangeiro - História Social e Cultural o Modernismo Artístico em São Paulo* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996), 111-112.

[35] *'Era um homem pobre, excluído e desconhecido, um imigrante italiano [...] com uma "expressão desesperada"'*. Anita Malfatti, in: *Vírus da Arte & Cia., Site Brasileiro Especializado em Arte e Cultura*. Available at: <http://virusdaarte.net/anita-malfatti-o-homem-amarelo/> . [Last accessed: 14/09/1016].

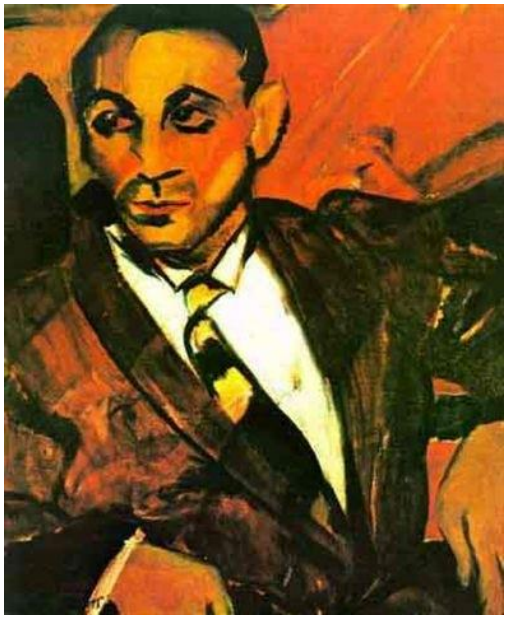

Figure 2:

Anita Malfatti,
O Homem Amarelo (1915-16).

Oil on canvas, 61 x 51 cm.

Coleção Mário de Andrade,
Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros,
Universidade de São Paulo (USP),
São Paulo.

Source:
http://obrasanitamalfatti.wordpress.com/

These paintings were shocking not only with respect to the ways in which they transgressed academic formal production, but also – and here our view is in agreement with Miceli's - because they portrayed the new wave of labour that had arrived in São Paulo to occupy a low social position; to be classified by the dominant class and its culture as yet another 'other' of the Brazilian establishment. To put it in another way, Malfatti's rendering of the human subject was indeed rejected because she adopted large and nervous strokes of vivid and unusual colours, a technique with which the audience accustomed to traditional portraiture would struggle to come to terms. More importantly, they were unsettling for their counter-hegemonic content. They depicted those emerging sections of Brazilian society so diametrically opposite to that which held political, cultural and ideological power. They described ethnic minorities frowned upon (but white) by the white-Brazilian elite of Portuguese origins, and given Lobato's xenophobic views on local culture and society, the shape of his critique to Malfatti's exhibition becomes even more understandable, even if, fundamentally, it contradicts his ideas on eugenics. Malfatti's portraits epitomise the type of ideological content that surfaces from the *modernistas'* formal challenge to the academy (i.e., the traditional educated, often conservative, elite) thus the culturally dominant at a national level. By analysing her work from this perspective, it is possible to state that early *modernismo*'s depiction of several national 'others' functioned as a programme of emancipation of the popular cultural identities and practices of that time. What we see here is not a mere representation of national

minorities, but their political re-evaluation made through the realm of art. So much so that Mário de Andrade, in 1921, called the *Estudante Russa* an "hymn to the race" (and not an 'hymn to the nation'), a succinct yet striking statement which suggests that for the *modernistas* nationalism in art and literature was linked to the racial question, and that the racial question had been expanded to include the new immigrant.[36]

Oswald de Andrade's article *Em Prol de uma Arte Nacional* ("In Favour of a National Art") (1915) stands out clearly as seminal to the nature of the *modernista* formal innovation holding political content, and therefore deserves a discussion.[37] In 1912, Andrade had had a Parisian season during which he had experienced the European avant-garde and developed an interest in Marinetti's futurism. Andrade returned to Brazil with the view that an aesthetic-literary revolution was needed in the country and began to fight for aesthetic-literary revisionism, a fact that resulted in the writing of "In Favour of a National Art". This article is a precursor to the *modernista* programme against the academy and, overall, the rhetoric of Andrade's texts between 1912 and 1915 anticipate the ideas and style of his "*Pau-Brasil* Poetry Manifesto" of 1924.[38] This is Andrade's conscious plea to the local aesthetic-literary circle, and it shows awareness in relation to the long established academic habit of parroting European art and masters without any consciousness of the need to contextualise and adapt such references to the local geographical, cultural and historical reality. The plea happened without mentioning or referring to Marinetti and his futurist manifesto; Andrade here elaborated his own attack on the academy. Judging by the dominant political and class orientation of the newspaper in which the article was published, this attack needed to be not only aggressive, but also effective. In fact, Andrade chose to put forward his caustic voice in the ultra-conservative *Jornal do Estado de São Paulo*, a newspaper read by the political and cultural elite attached to the academy and holding traditional views. No other media could have better reached Andrade's target audience and ensured outrage at his views.

This article revolves around the meaning and implications of José Ferraz de Almeida Júnior's paintings, such as *O Derrubador Brasileiro* (*The Brazilian Tree Cutter*) (1879) **{fig. 3}**. Here the artist depicts a *mestiço*; a rural worker resting against a boulder within a tropical forest, whose vigorous body and dark-toned skin suggests a mix between an African and a Portuguese; between the slave and the master. For Andrade, the academic

[36] "*Hino à raça*". Máio de Andrade (1921), in: Marta Rossetti Batista, *Anita Malfatti no Tempo e no Espaço – Catálogo de Documentação* (São Paulo: Editora 34 / Edusp, 2006), 25.
[37] See: Oswald de Andrade, "Em Prol de uma Arte Nacional", *Jornal do Estado de São Paulo, seção Lanterna Mágica de "O Pirralho"*, São Paulo, 1st January, 1915.
[38] Important bibliographical references on this point are, for instance, 1) Amaral, "Modernismo dos Anos 20"; and 2) Brito, *História do Modernismo Brasileiro*.

traits of Almeida Júnior's style precluded it from standing as a fully-fledged representative of modern Brazilian culture. Yet, and despite the limitations implied by the extent to which the artist complied with artistic tradition, *O Derrubador Brasileiro,* was, as Andrade put it, the most advanced representative of 'the tendency of our [the Brazilian] type, in terms of landscape, isolated studies of the [human] figure or of compositions of historical groups'.[39] Almeida Júnior's paintings, made during the last decades of the 19th century, were 'still what we can present as 'our' (i.e., the Brazilian) utmost example of [local] culture put into fruition'.[40] Andrade here makes explicit reference to the historical formation of social groups and to Brazil's peculiar ethno-racial complexity. This is also proved by Andrade's decision to articulate his argument around the work of Almeida Júnior, whose art depicted not only Brazilian social minorities determined on the basis of race but also of class (i.e. the rural worker, particularly the *caipira*).[41] Andrade also refers to the need to integrate the country's typical natural scenario to artistic expression. He then continues by reproaching young artists for travelling to Europe to study and chase a kind of art that ignores these valuable national characteristics. In his own words:

> it is natural, however, that our youngsters – who, full of a confused dream of an art with a capital 'A', arrive one morning in a noisy Parisian rail station - deviate from this path. [...] Subsequently, the working life begins. What follows is a natural enthusiasm for the art of "there", for the habitat of 'there', for the life of 'there', the landscape of 'there' [...] …this way, what there could be of the personality of our type is, almost always, diluted'.[42]

These words were a challenge to the acritical and reverential adoption of universal artistic standards, of the socio-cultural and even natural landscape of the European; an adoption that the new generations of Brazilian artists had inherited from the *afrancesado* academicists. Young artists were following the aesthetic-literary path that embraced European standards and rejected Brazil and dismissed, similarly to the traditional academia, what Andrade called the 'personality of our type' (and which today may well correspond to the later concept of 'Brazilianness'). Further, this article shows Andrade's

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[39] *'[A] tendência do tipo nosso, em paisagem, em estudos isolados de figura [humana] ou composições históricas de grupos'*. Andrade, "Em Prol de uma Arte Nacional".

[40] *'[São] ainda o que podemos apresentar de mais nosso como exemplo de cultura [local] aproveitada'.* Ibid.

[41] *Caipira* is a term of *Tupi* (Brazil's autochthonous people) origins that became incorporated within the Brazilian Portuguese language, and is used to designate the inhabitants of Brazil's vast and remote rural inner-land. It means 'bush cutter'.

[42] *'É natural, no entanto, que se desviem desse caminho os nossos moços, que cheios dum sonho confuso de Arte com maiúscula desembarcaram uma manhã numa gare rumorosa de Paris.[...] Depois inicia-se a vida de trabalho [...] E segue-se todo um natural entusiasmo pela arte de lá, pelo meio de lá, pela vida de lá, pela paisagem de lá'. [...] Desta maneira, o que poderia haver da personalidade do nosso tipo é dissolvido quase generalmente'*. Andrade, "Em Prol de uma Arte Nacional".

critical stance towards colonialism. Evidence of this is Andrade's opinion about the views of the young Brazilian art student upon his return from the Parisian training. As he put it:

> [a]nd when he returns, not rarely disgusted [*dégoûte*] with our poor bourgeoisie and financial life and with our coyness, of which harsh appearance is inherited from the early colonial Jesuits. When facing our landscape our man gets shocked […]: - Oh! This is not a landscape! What a horror, look at that bunch of coconut trees breaking the composition line!' [43]

Back home, Andrade is here suggesting, the artist utilizes the colonial gaze when confronted with the Brazilian middle-class and economic realities, deeming them as inferior, unprivileged and backwards when compared to those of the Old World. According to Andrade, the artist is 'horrified by our [the Brazilian] tropical and virgin nature that expresses fighting, disorderly strength and victory against the dried-up insect that wants to own it'.[44] Hence, the artist perceives Brazil's nature like the coloniser, or as Andrade put it, the 'dried-up insect', that although overwhelmed by the wild forest wants to explore and exploit it. The colonial perspective is so entrenched into the artist's mentality and vision of the world that he sees Brazil exactly like the Portuguese when he first arrived in the country. And this entrenchment is, in our view, a clear signal of the 'coloniality' of the artistic mentality, which stands for the reproduction of the colonial discourse within artistic subjectivity and practice.[45] Hence Andrade's statement implies the colonial question. This question emerges by means of his pointing out the issue of ownership of Brazil's rich, exuberant and vigorous land; what clearly shows his negative view on colonialism is the diminishing stance with which he addresses those who came to conquer Brazil's nature and land by comparing them to 'dried-up (colonising) insects'. Yet this statement also points to 'coloniality' within Andrade's contemporary cultural landscape. In fact, here Andrade uses his sharp sarcasm and metaphor to reproach the Portuguese coloniser as much as the artist's abidance by, and inability to get rid of, the colonial perspective.

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[43] *'E, quando nos volta ele, não raro de dégoûte da nossa pobre vida burguesa e financeira e do nosso pudor, cuja aparência de rispidez herda dos primeiros jesuítas coloniais. Diante da paisagem o nosso homem choca-se[…]: – Oh! Isto não é paisagem! Que horror, olhe aquele maço de coqueiros quebrando a linha de conjunto!'.* Ibid.

[44] *'[T]omando-se de pavor diante da nossa natureza tropical e virgem que exprime luta, força desordenada e vitória contra o mirrado inseto que o quer possuir'.* Ibid.

[45] We have given a description of term 'coloniality' to the extent needed for this study in our introduction. For more details see: Quijano, "Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America".
Available at: <http://www.unc.edu/~aescobar/wan/wanquijano.pdf>. [Last accessed: 23/11/2014]

Figure 3:

José Ferraz de Almeida Júnior,
O Derrubador Brasileiro (1879).

Oil on canvas, 227 x 182 cm.

Museu de Belas Artes do Rio de Janeiro,
Rio de Janeiro.

Source:
http://enciclopedia.itaucultural.org.br
/pessoa18736/almeida-junior

The main exhortation in this article is that

> we [the Brazilians] are not short of the most variegated sceneries, the most diversified colour palettes, the most expressive types of tragic yet opulent life in our vast hinterland. […] And, incorporated to our habitat, to our life, it is their [the young artists'] duty to extract from the immense resources of the country [Brazil], from the treasures of colour and of light, of the backstage that surrounds them, a superior manifestation of nationality'.[46]

Here Andrade, on the one hand, seems to be fuelled by a nationalistic impetus, an impetus that, however, was open to negotiation with international cultural influence. A dialogue between the national and the international is implicit in the fact that Andrade warned artists coming back from Paris that it was necessary to incorporate themselves, thus their art and the European canon learned through their studies abroad, to what it meant to be intrinsically Brazilian. Given his preoccupation with the 'Brazilian type', it is possible to interpret his praise of 'the most diversified colour palettes' not only as a eulogy of the country's Nature, but also as a valorisation of the variegated patchwork of

[46] *'[N]ão nos faltam [aos brasileiros] os mais variados modelos de cenário, os mais diversos tons de paleta, os mais expressivos tipos de vida trágica e opulenta do nosso vasto hinterland. […] E, incorporados ao nosso meio, à nossa vida, é dever deles [dos artistas brasileiros] tirar dos recursos imensos do país [o Brasil], dos tesouros de cor, de luz, de bastidores que os circundam, [...] uma manifestação superior de nacionalidade'.* Andrade, "Em Prol de uma Arte Nacional".

skin colours that characterised (and still characterises) Brazil's ethnic structure. Further, Andrade's 'Brazilianness', the one that artists needed to express by means of putting into fruition their international training, was to be found in the difficult yet culturally rich life of the masses; in the diverse reality of the popular inhabiting the 'tragic yet opulent' Brazilian hinterland. Therefore it can be said that this article is the seminal stage of a Brazilian modernism based on the appropriation and assimilation of European artistic and literary canons, and thus on the transformation of universal models into means to generate aesthetic-literary production which could express the multifaceted Brazilian particular.

We recognise this article to be the embryonic phase of Andrade's project of re-evaluation of Brazilian culture during the 1920s. It anticipates aspects of his "*Pau-Brasil* Poetry Manifesto" of 1924. Both a *modernista* literary work and a cultural revision, this manifesto was 'a re-reading of Brazilian culture that highlighted the primitive element, both Indian and black, yet mixing it with all the other cultures that intervened in the construction of […the Brazilian] identity, although critically rejecting some of them'.[47] By returning to the origins of the Brazilian nation as a means to embrace modernism, it called for the re-evaluation of the social constructs and aesthetic tenets that the country had inherited from Portuguese colonisation on the basis of praise for the values of the indigenous and the Afro-Brazilian. This was the formula with which the value of Brazil's aesthetic-literary production, made under the principles advocated by the manifesto, would result in cultural products that owed nothing to the European ones; a formula which, on the contrary, could influence the production of the 'centre'. The "*Pau-Brasil* Poetry Manifesto" engages with this project of cultural independence by tracing a continuous line between colonial and industrial Brazil. Andrade wrote it in a period in which he was looking into the new jargons spoken down the streets of São Paulo without leaving behind the due attention that Brazil's colonial inheritance deserved. Therefore the manifesto brought together past and present into a single literary depiction of modern Brazil. In Andrade's own words:

> [w]e have a dual heritage – the jungle and the school. […] A vision which is present in windmills, electric turbines, industry, factories, and the Stock Exchange, but which keeps one eye on the National Museum. […] Lifts, skyscraper cubes, and the compensating laziness of the sun. Devotions. Carnival. Intimate energy.

[47] *'[U]ma releitura da nossa cultura, realçando o elemento primitivo, tanto índio quanto negro, mas já misturando todas as culturas que interferiam na construção […da] identidade [brasileira], ainda que rejeitando, criticamente, algumas.'* In: Nádia E. Gotlib, *Tarsila a Modernista* (São Paulo: Senac, 2000), 98.

> The songbird. […] Native authenticity to redress the balance of academic influence. […] Brazilians of our time, or nothing. All digested.[48]

This 'process of digestion' and the dual heritage, a Janus-faced identity constituting a single character, were recurrent also in his *Manifesto Antropofágico* ("Anthropophagic Manifesto") of 1928, in which the author takes forward the negotiation of ancient origins with his analysis of the emerging metropolitan realities of Brazil, this time through an anthropological and epistemological understanding of *Tupi* cannibalism.[49] As a further stepping stone that followed "In Favour of a National At", this manifesto carries on advocating a new type of essentially Brazilian art that results from the appropriation of European trends. As Haroldo de Campos put it, the anthropophagic manifesto proposes 'the idea of a critical and selective devouring of the universal cultural legacy […] according to the impudent point of view of the 'bad savage', devourer of the white, anthropophagite'.[50] Therefore Andrade's 1915 article is a clear anticipation of the strategies that Andrade put forward in the two manifestoes that followed, being seminal to a longstanding line of enquiry engaged with finding ways to process European culture in order to produce original outcomes, whilst highlighting the sense of national belonging.

1.2. – The Europeanised as National

Let us return once more to the vitriolic and powerful review that author and critic Monteiro Lobato published following Malfatti's 1917 exhibition, this time less to address the conservative elite's resistance to Malfatti's aesthetic renovation and more to highlight how hard it was for the *modernista* group to win respect within the national cultural arena. This text stated that Malfatti's paintings were the consequence of 'paranoia and mystification' – two words that would be at the centre of Lobato's subsequent attack on the modernist group in an article of 1919: *Paranóia ou Mistificação?* ("Paranoia or Mystification?").[51] The diatribe was still ongoing in the period surrounding the modern art week of February 1922, as in September 1921 Lobato's publishing house did not

[48] Oswald de Andrade, "Pau-Brasil Poetry Manifesto" (1924) (a), in: Stella M. de Sá Rego, (trans.), *Latin American Literary Review, Vol. 14, No. 27*, Brazilian Literature, (1986):184.

[49] We will discuss Andrade's understanding of the cannibalist ritual and the Amerindian system of belief, and how he articulated it in a *modernista* vision against Brazil's cultural dependence from Europe and against Eurocentrism in chapter 3, section 3.2..

[50] '*[É] o pensamento da devoração crítica e seletiva do legado cultural universal […] segundo o ponto de vista desabusado do 'mau selvagem', devorador de brancos, antopófago').* Haroldo de Campos, "Da Razão Antropofágica: Diálogo e Diferença na Cultura Brasileira" (1980) in: Harolo de Campos, *Metalinguagem e Outras Metas* (São Paulo: Editora Perspectiva, 1992) 231.

[51] See: Lobato, "Monteiro Lobato: Cidadão e Escritor – Linha do Tempo", <http://lobato.globo.com/lobato_Linha.asp>. [Last accessed: 19/05/2014].

publish the book in which Mário de Andrade announced the aesthetic directives of Brazilian literary modernism, namely, *Paulicéia Desvairada*. Lobato's scepticism towards the young *modernistas* was driven by his belief that its exponents studying abroad were exposed to non-Brazilian values in the most vulnerable phase of their artistic personality, which for being still characterised by inexperience, would certainly allow them to master foreign techniques while disregarding completely what it meant to make Brazilian art. Hence Lobato, like Andrade, was condemning the way in which the new generations were seduced by European values, and came home disparaging all things Brazilian. The two were arguing, from very different perspectives, for a distinctly Brazilian rather than Europeanised art.

Through his contribution to the press, one of the many that followed immediately after Malfatti's first solo exhibition, Lobato claimed that *modernismo*

> instead of refining the nationalism of vocations, made them Francophile, because for the sake of national imbecility, France is still the world. It pulls the State out of the youngsters, tearing them up from their native land to have them thrown into the *Quartier Latin* [Parisian Latin Quarter], with the tips of their roots broken. During their stay they see just France, breathing only its air, talking only to French Masters, educating their eyes only to French landscapes, French museums.[52]

This quotation and Lobato's views on Malfatti, if compared to Andrade's view in "in Favour of a National Art", make what follows clear. Whilst Lobato opposed the new generations for giving in to unworthy French modernist masters and bringing modernism to Brazil, Andrade blamed them for their lack of innovation and their tendency to join into the pattern established by the academicists once back at home. We see that Lobato was not completely against art which was *afrancesada*, given that the Brazilian academy had French roots which he left unquestioned. He was against a specific and recent form of Europeanisation, that is, the arrival of French modernist avant-gardes and their implications for traditionalist Brazilian art. Andrade challenged the artist's inability to incorporate Brazilian elements into their learning abroad, and thus incited them to appropriate international foreign influence in order to express a Brazilian particular which was original. Whilst Lobato wanted to avoid the 'immigration' of new French influences that endangered the cultural *status quo* of the Brazilian Francophile academy, Andrade was against the perpetuation of a process historically inscribed into Brazilian art, thus against carrying on the mimicry of the European canon peculiar to the academicists. On its

[52] "*Ao invés de apurar o nacionalismo das vocações, esperantiza-as, ou melhor, afrancesa-as, porque, para a imbecilidade nacional, o mundo é ainda a França. Pega o Estado no rapaz, arranca-o da terra natal e dá com ele no Quartier Latin, com o peão da raiz arrebentado. Durante a estada de aprendizagem só vê a França, só lhe respira o ar, só conversa com mestres franceses, só educa os olhos em paisagem francesa, museu francês*". Jõao Bento Monteiro Lobato, in: Camargos, "Uma República nos Moldes Franceses", 139.

own, this quotation shows how Lobato's views abided by the xenophobic nationalism with which the dominant strand of the Brazilian 'field of culture' was trying to outline the idea and the image of modern Brazil. Not only so, as the quotation proves also the extent to which he was prepared to overlook the European origins of the Brazilian Literary Academy.

As had been exemplified earlier through the character *Jeca Tatú*, Lobato's agenda also presents the shortcomings of a nativism based on class distinction and exoticism. Lobato and the traditional cultural elite were engaging with the definition of Republican Brazil's cultural identity by adopting a nationalist agenda in which the French roots of local academic production were overlooked. In the previous section, our quoting Motta Filho, who denounced the link between Lobato's *Jeca Tatú* and Zola's *Les Rougon-Macquart*, exemplifies this point. Motta Filho's text implies that Lobato and the traditionalists were handling, in their regionalist books, the rural, the popular and minority subjects and subjectivities as backwards, and as embarrassing obstacles to national progress, because of their adherence to European values and notions. In other words, the cultural establishment was attempting to represent the nation through literature by complying with the ideology implicit to the European texts they were drawing on, such as the Darwinian racial theory imbedded in Zola's oeuvre. This dynamic exemplifies how the white-Brazilian cultural establishment absorbed the values of the coloniser to the extent of recognising them as integral to the Brazilian dominant mentality, and of making of these very values the ethos of the definition of a modern national identity. Therefore Lobato, whilst criticising what young artists were making out of their training in Paris, did not perceive that, fundamentally, the academicists themselves were Europeanised, and that the ideological and political view that surfaced from their writings was a blatant proof of this very Europeanization. Contradictorily, the establishment abhorred the European, rejecting its avant-garde cultural strands, and most importantly the avant-garde's links with the *modernistas*. This disapproval was put forward in xenophobic ways as clearly deductible from Lobato's article quoted above. Often engaging with advocating that *modernismo* was shaping up under a deplorable aping rationale, the cultural establishment turned a blind eye to the dynamics with which it reproduced the European canon.

For the *modernistas*, to oppose the aesthetic-literary establishment meant to reproach the ideological inheritance of the white-Brazilian elite of European origins. In this respect, Malfatti's paintings and Andrade's *Em Prol de uma Arte Nacional* can be seen

as critical re-evaluations of such inheritance. In the same year in which Lobato wrote the first short story on *Jeca Tatú* (1914), he stated that he wanted to create

> 'our [the Brazilian] imagery, with animals from here [Brazil] instead of the exotic ones, which, if made with art and talent, will result in a precious thing. Fables made like this would be the beginning of a literature that we [the Brazilians] are missing'. [53]

Yet Lobato's project is nothing but an example of the divergences with which the project of aesthetic-literary renewal of early 20th century Brazil was split. Both academicists and *modernista*s were trying to deal with the utterly complex task that throwing Brazil into modernity entailed, given that the country had just become a republican nation after centuries of colonialism. Giuseppe Cocco calls the social and political climate of the two first decades of 1900s Brazil a 'puzzle', describing it as follows:

> [t]he puzzle was of an ethnic type and presented itself as a vast mixture of ethnicities, populations and languages in an equally vast territory, which horizon lines connected with both the migratory flux, and the transformation of forms of colonial (or neo-colonial) dependences into the ones typical of imperialism.[54]

On the one hand, we have the establishment, springing from traditional academies and unwilling to realise that its programmatic nationalism was depicting the native and the popular as rudimentary and backwards, due to the knot with which the white-Brazilian elite was still fastened to the country's colonial past – and therefore inexorably bound to that French matrix it so vehemently abhorred. In other words, academia was antagonising the European 'other' with xenophobic nationalism, completely lacking the ability to perceive the national cultural and ethnic minorities without recurring to Eurocentric structures of social discrimination - inherited from colonialism, and the European 'other' itself. On the other hand, we have the *modernistas,* who still went to Europe and Paris and belonged to the Francophile and Europeanised class, yet were firmly committed to undoing that knot. Their ideas identified and challenged the mimetic rationale with which, for generations, the Brazilian political, economic, scientific, cultural, aesthetic and literary systems were built as a reflection of European leading models - however perceived as

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[53] *"Um fabulário nosso [brasileiro], com bichos daqui [do Brasil] em vez dos exóticos, se feito com arte e talento, dará coisa preciosa. Fábulas assim seriam um começo de literatura que nos falta".* (8/9/1916). Ibid.

[54] '*O quebra-cabeça era de tipo étnico e apresentava-se como uma vasta mistura de etnias, populações e línguas em território também muito vasto, cujas linhas de horizonte conectavam-se aos fluxos de migrantes e à passage das formas de dependência coloniais (ou neocoloniais), à formas de dependência típicas do imperialismo.'* Giuseppe Cocco, *Mundo-Braz: O Devir-Mundo do Brasil e o Devir-Brazil do Mundo* (Rio de Janeiro e São Paulo: Editóra Record, 2009) 239.

actually 'Brazilians'. Oswald de Andrade stood on this side, as our following analysis of extracts of his "Anthropophagic Manifesto" (1928) will show.

The "Anthropophagic Manifesto" advocated: 'down with all the importers of canned conscience'.[55] Yet this 'canned conscience' was no longer a prerogative of the foreign coloniser settled in the Brazilian colony, as it had already been transformed into Brazil's own white elite mentality. By deprecating the 'importers', rather than 'the exporters', anthropophagic *modernismo* was attacking the segments of Brazil's ideological heritage brought from Europe, but nevertheless turned into 'Brazilianness' - shifting the blame away from the 'exporters', therefore the Europeans. Andrade's critique on the subject of 'canned conscience' must be interpreted as a key insight into the movement's intention to supplant academia and its mimicry of the European canon. The following quote by Nunes supports our interpretation of this specific aspect of the "Anthropophagic Manifesto" of 1928, which sees it as an inward critique and a reproach to that parcel of Brazilian society unable to disentangle itself from a colonial past. According to Nunes, *antropofagia* was an attack on 'a burdensome colonial baggage, […] patriarchal society [and]…intellectual rhetoric that mimicked the metropolis and succumbed to foreign ways'.[56] The following words from *manifesto antropófago*, underscore that the modernism it advocated addressed issues generated internally by the predominance of the European parcel of Brazilian heritage:

> 'Down with antagonical sublimations. Brought in caravels. But they who came were not crusaders. They were fugitives from a civilisation that we are now devouring […] Down with the vegetable élites. In communication with the earth.' [57]

The European element is here addressed by focussing on retroactive facts regarding the colonial phase of Brazil. It is the Brazilian heritage, the one brought in the caravels a few centuries earlier, the present element to be questioned. Indeed, what crystallized this historical heritage and made it tangible within the present was the 'vegetable elite', which perpetuated the colonial discourse within Brazil's republican reality. What Andrade's contemporary Brazil needed to devour was the past, shaped by European fugitives and propelled into 20th century Brazil through those fugitives' Brazilian descendants. In order

[55] Oswald de Andrade, "Anthropophagite Manifesto" (1928), in: *Art in Latin America: the Modern Era, 1820-1980*, Dawn Ades (ed.) (London: South Bank Centre, 1989), 312.
[56] Benedito Nunes, " Anthropophagic Utopia, Barbarian Metaphysics", in: Mari Carmen Ramirez, Hector Holea, *Inverted Utopias, Avant-Garde Art in Latin America* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press in association with the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 2004), 57.
[57] Andrade, "Anthropophagite Manifesto" (1928) (b), 312.

to establish the identity of modern Brazil what needed to be "cannibalised" was the European in the Brazilian; and not the European in Europe.

Those 'fugitives' that arrived in Brazil from the 16th century had gradually turned the European ideological, cultural and political heritage into part and parcel of 'Brazilianness' – or, at least, the one of the wealthy cultured and travelled. Andrade and Tarsila do Amaral, the anthropophagic painter, were themselves descendants of those brought in caravels - being themselves part of the white-Brazilian section of society that owned endless amounts of rural and urban land, exported coffee globally and travelled incessantly only in first-class. Both belonged to the extremely restricted circle of Brazilians able to afford to leave the salons inhabited by such 'importers of canned conscience' and to move to Paris - where instead of reinforcing the Francophile nature of cultured Brazilians, they acquired cosmopolitan views and life-style.[58] Their cosmopolitanism allowed *antropofagia* to stand for a voice that claimed that modern Brazil could not have been built on an ideology of 'difference'; it needed to have as a sole tenet the value of multiplicity in order to defeat any type of isolationism.

If, at the time, Brazil's anti-colonialism often meant isolationist nationalism, then *antropofagia* was not anti-colonialist at all. By the same token, if we are after the main anti-colonialist orientation of the anthropophagic programme, we have to see it, as Cocco suggests, to be

> working against the "internal colonialism that treats the indigenous [and the Afro-Brazilian] as obstacles to the equalization of nationality". […] The anthropophagic anti-colonialism implies overcoming any manoeuvre which aims at explaining Brazilian impasses just by thinking of exogenous determinants; and does not comply with any alliance of a national type. [59]

Starting from such premises, it then becomes logical to understand that '*antropofagia*'s anti-colonialist connotations were dealing less with colonialism as the determinant of the world-order running between 'centre' and 'periphery', and more with colonialism as the blue-print that defined cultural asymmetries in Brazil'.[60] Anthropophagic *modernismo* was an innovative aesthetic-literary movement that 'threw the baby out with the bathwater': beyond supplanting academia, it undermined the entire value-structure of the elite, not

[58] A detailed analysis of Andrade and Amaral's cosmopolitanism and their experience within the Parisian aesthetic-literary milieu will be made in chapter 3.

[59] *'contra o "colonialismo interno que trata os povos indigenas como obstaculos à padronização da nacionalidade". […] O anitcolonialismo antropófago implica superar qualquer manobra que vise a explicar os impasses brasileiros apenas por determinantes exogenas; e não se compromete com nenhuma aliança de tipo nacional'*. Cocco, *Mundo-Braz*, 237.

[60] Kalinca Costa Söderlund, "*Antropofagia*: An Early Arrière-Garde Manifestation in 1920s Brazil", in *RIHA Journal* 0132, 15 July 2016. Available at: <www.riha-journal.org/articles/2016/0132_Costa_Söderlund>. [Last accessed: 13/09/2016].

only transgressing its aesthetic taste but also challenging the political and ideological position of the establishment of European descent. In other words, beyond renewing the Brazilian 'field of culture', it shook the pillars upon which the Brazilian 'field of power' had been historically construed. *Modernismo* therefore is an early battle on the field of 'coloniality'. It is a local war against the legacy of European colonialism and its structure of discrimination within the social order and forms of knowledge, which would be theorised only several decades down the 20th century by postcolonial studies and Latin American subaltern studies - most prominently by Anibal Quijano.

1.3. - Modernist Partitions

Trying to solve the puzzle of Republican Brazil involved a split of *modernismo* in differing currents from the mid-1920s onwards, in which artists and intellectuals began to take opposing political positions. The split within *modernismo* was even more violent than the previous one between *modernistas* and the academicists. The shifts within the Brazilian socio-political and economic configurations were at the very basis of such inner crises in the *modernista* group. At the time and at a national level, the *Política dos Governadores*, which was a political alliance that ensured the power of the rural aristocracy of the States of São Paulo and Minas Gerais and the expansion of the coffee economy in Brazil, was under question. Through this long established alliance, the Governors of these two States rotated the presidency and dominated national politics, securing the stability and economic power of the upper class, but by the mid-1920s, it resulted in the emergence of a series of conflicts.[61] The great push given to the production of coffee for exportation led to the enlargement of the proletarian class, which, in its turn, began to organise itself against the system. Social rights began to be the central topic of the agenda of left wing associations, and, in 1924, the *Revolução Tenentista* took place. The latter was a military insurgence against the wealthy landowners of São Paulo and Minas Gerais who, in order to maintain political control, had not allowed fair elections and a less centralised system of government to take place. The revolt resulted in the bombing of the headquarters of the *paulista* government, and the main intention was to depose the President Artur Bernardes. The revolutionaries' main demands were for the right to a secret vote, for public education, and for a more equal judiciary system.

[61] See: Wilson Cano, "Da Década de 1920 à de 1930: Transição Rumo à Crise e à Industrialização no Brasil", in *Economia, vol. 13, n. 3B*, (2012): 878-916.

In 1926 Washington Luís succeeded Bernardes as President of Brazil, securing the power of the *paulista* Republican Party and the interest of the oligarchy. This sequence of turmoil gave way to rivalries between several states across the federation, pitting São Paulo not only against Rio Grande and Paraíba, but also against former ally Minas Gerais. The opposing factions, including the *Tenentistas*, determined to stop the centralisation of political power into the hands of the *paulista* republicans, founded in 1929 a coalition named Liberal Alliance under the leadership of the Governor of the State of Paraná, Getúlio Vargas and João Neves, the representative of the state of Minas Gerais. Vargas also agreed to be the candidate of the Liberal Alliance to the Presidency against Júlio Prestes, a member of the establishment chosen to succeed Luís in the forthcoming 1930 elections. After losing to Prestes, Vargas contested the elections' result and, in October 1930, another revolutionary movement rose up to depose the newly elected President. The revolutionaries succeeded in their intent and in November 1930 Vargas became the head of a Provisional Government. His ascent marked the end of the Old Republic and the São Paulo-Minas Gerais oligarchic alliance, and started an era of socio-economic reformism, populism and governmental responsibility for economic development and social welfare.

Also the shifts and the instability of the international order following World War I had their impact on the *modernista* playground. The 1929 New York stock market crash drained the fortunes of many, including the *pro-modernista* members of the coffee aristocracy. The artistic-intellectual groups that had relied on patrons' generosity suddenly turned against the political views of the aristocrats and the bourgeoisie. Those *modernistas* who had fully funded the international experiences that fostered their innovative endeavours, such as Oswald de Andrade and Tarsila do Amaral, turned against their social class of origin. They began to converge to the far left at the dawn of the 1930s, with Andrade joining the PCB (Brazilian Communist Party) and Amaral starting a relationship with communist activist and psychiatrist Osório César. In other words, they moved to the leftist political spectrum as fast as funds to maintain their cosmopolitan experiences in Europe dried up. Some other *modernistas* moved far right instead to form the *movimento verde-amarelo* of 1926.

The main media with which the *verde-amarelos* put their programme forward during the 1920s was the *Corrêio Paulistano*. In 1927, their articles were collected in the book *O Curupira e o Carão,* and, in 1929, the group's nationalist, hegemonic and xenophobic views on Brazilian cultural identity were radicalised in the *Nhenguaçu Verde-Amarelo - Manifesto do Verde-Amarelismo ou da Escola da Anta* (also known as *Manifesto*

Nhengaçu Verde-Amarelo). In our view, this movement gave continuity to the type of nationalism advocated by the academies.[62] In fact, the *verde-amarelos* retook and radicalised the anti-cosmopolitanism and the xenophobic connotations present in Lobato's writings. In their *Manifesto Nhengaçu Verde-Amarelo*, Plínio Salgado, Cassiano Ricardo, Menotti del Picchia, Cândido Motta Filho and Alfredo Élis, that is, the most outstanding members of the movement, stated that they '[a]ccepted all the conservative institutions, given that it is within them that we will act the unavoidable renovation of Brazil, as the soul of our people has done it throughout four centuries; throughout all historical expressions'.[63] To claim that the movement aimed at renewing Brazil through the acceptance, thus also the consecration, of conservative institutions, implies that their vision of a modernised republic was based on the preservation of a path historically traced by colonialism. To adhere to this type of stance - the *verde-amarelos* here advocate - meant to give continuation to four centuries of expression of 'the soul of the people', suggesting that the national identity of Brazil had been historically built upon the pillars of tradition. For the *verde-amarelos*, a modernised future relied on a discourse that maintained a nation-wide conformity with a conservative past.[64] This is why it is not surprising that the year of the launch of this manifesto corresponds to the affiliation of its authors, except Motta Filho, to one of such institutions, namely, the Literary Academy of São Paulo.[65] Further, and in their own words, they had the "*Indios* as national symbol […and claimed that…,] between all the races that formed Brazil, the autochthonous […] is the only one that avoids the flourishing of exotic nationalisms".[66] From this statement, it becomes apparent that their proposal of Brazil's primitive roots as a banner of nationalism was less an appreciative re-evaluation of the *Indio,* and more an objectification of the native constitutive element of the country made with the intention of putting forward the group's abhorrence of any exogenous influence. Hence, their anti-colonialist programme ignored the reproduction of the colonial discourse within Brazil's

[62] In chapter 2, an analysis of art patron Paulo Prado we will give more details on the *verde-amarel*o movement, this time looking into its function within the Brazilian media specialising in art and culture

[63] *'Aceitamos todas as instituições conservadoras, pois é dentro delas mesmo que faremos a inevitável renovação do Brasil, como fez, atravéz de quatro séculos, a alma da nossa gente, através de todas as expressões históricas'*. Menotti del Picchia et al., "Manifesto do Verde-Amarelismo ou da Escola da Anta", *Correio Paulistano*, São Paulo, 17 de maio 1929. In: *Documents of 20th-Century Latin American Art and Latino Art, Digital Archive and Publication Project at the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston*. Available at: <http://icaadocs.mfah.org/icaadocs/THEARCHIVE/FullRecord/tabid/88/doc/781033/language/en-US/Default.aspx>. [Last accessed: 19/04/2016]

[64] It is interesting to note how Motta Filho changed his views and position towards tradition and conservativism. His adherence to *verde-amarelismo*'s ideals contradicted his stance of 1921, put forward in "A Literatura Nacional", his article for the *Jornal do Comércio*, which we have discussed earlier.

[65] See: Helaine Nolasco Queiroz, "Antropófago e Nhengaçu Verdeamarelo: Dois Manifestos em Busca da Identidade Nacional Brasileira", *Anais do XXVI Simpósio Nacional de História*, São Paulo, ANPUH (2011): 1-17.

[66] *"[O] índio como símbolo nacional [...e afirmavam que...,] entre todas as raças que formaram o Brasil, a autóctone […] é a única que evita o florecimento de nacionalismos exóticos".* Picchia et al., "Manifesto Nhengaçu Verde-Amarelo" (1929), in ibid, 9.

cultural and political institutions. To put it another way, they used the native for the sake of their isolationist rhetoric on nationalism. They reduced the value of this minority as people and culture to a mere token of the origins of the nation, and to a means towards a specific end: to keep at bay the 'flourishing of exotic nationalism', that is, expressions of the nation which did not come from this movement's orthodox point of view, and were instead based on cosmopolitanism or nationalist-internationalist principles.

For the conservative and highly politicised *verde-amarelos*, Brazilian modernity and *modernismo* could be a viable project only if a radical rupture with the European 'other' would take place. This even if the movement fundamentally supported forms of inner colonialism, for its notion of national ethno-cultural integration took for granted the hegemony of white-Brazilian of European descent over the Afro-Brazilian, the native and the mixed-ethnicity groups. Xenophobic in its nature, the *verde-amarelo* movement deemed any foreign cultural influence as detrimental to the consolidation of a modern national identity; a consolidation that was to be led by the white politico-intellectual elite of the country. Yet, such belligerency went beyond the foreign 'outsiders', as at a national level eugenic laws were seen as determinants of racially and culturally improved population. Enrooted as it was into forms of authoritarianism, the *verde-amarelos'* ideology evolved into *integralismo* (1930), and incorporated the fascist currents spreading at the time in Latin America.[67] Therefore, even if the movement was against the 'flourishing of exoticism', that is, against the arrival in the country of foreign influences, a blind eye was turned to those international ideological agendas that suited the local hegemonic one of these isolationist *modernistas*. Selectively 'allowed in', convenient European elements were spread as symbols of a glorified, racially purified and independent nation. Similarly to the Getúlio Vargas regime, which began in 1930, *integralismo* was sympathetic to Nazism. Whilst the *verde-amarelos* were fundamentally looking at the symbols of the national (i.e., folklore, the Afro-Brazilian, the Amerindian, the mix-race, the poor, rural and uneducated) only from the condescending view inherited from colonialism, the *integralistas* added to it Hitler's fanatical approach to issues of racial discrimination.

[67] Following the rise of Vargas to power, during the 1930s the movement not only evolved into *integralismo*, but was also divided in two strands: *integralismo* and *bandeirismo*. Salgado's *integralismo*, similarly to Varga's regime, sympathised with the Nazis. *Bandeirismo*, which was led by Ricardo and to which adhered the vast majority of the *verde-amarelos*, held anti-fascist and anti-communist views. The bureaucratic apparatus of Vargas' dictatorship, during the 1930s and 1940s, absorbed several members of the *verde-amarelos* due to their ideological affinity with the tenets of the *Estado Novo*. Ricardo took the directorship of the *A Manhã*, the newspaper that functioned as the speaking trumpet of the regime. He was also the head of the political and cultural department of Vargas' National Radio. Cândido Motta Filho managed *the* Departamento Estadual de Imprensa e Propaganda de São Paulo (Press and Propaganda Department of São Paulo).

O. Andrade's *modernista* project, of which *Em Prol de uma Arte Nacional* was an embryonic stage, had, by the time of the *modernista* partitions of the late 1920s, evolved, in 1928, into *antropofagia* (anthropophagic movement).[68] The nationalist tones of the 1915 article were tamed by a cosmopolitan character, and the Brazilian debut in the modernist dimension, according to the anthropophagic movement, was based on the coexistence, in art and literature, of national elements, such as the vernacular and the native, with both the European cultural inheritance of the country and with the contemporaneous international avant-garde. Local themes and elements were at the very core of O. Andrade's views on Brazilian art, literature and culture, and, although such views were shaped by his trips to Europe and his Parisian stays, and he belonged to the Brazilian Francophile and Europeanised class, his treatment of national subject matters was diametrically opposite to that of the *verde-amarelos*. O. Andrade adopted the same symbols; however, he did so without treating them in a derogatory manner and from a non-hegemonic perspective. Moreover, he did so through a favourable stance towards cosmopolitanism, which appropriated European aesthetic-literary trends yet was also against Eurocentrism. Mário de Andrade, in the light of the political shift and intellectual crisis of the late 1920s, decided to take another direction and established the *via analítica* (analytical path) of *modernismo*, and focussed on the folkloric aspect and the ethnic determinants of Brazilian culture. M. Andrade developed his ideas thanks to ethnographic observation made in several locations of Brazil's interior. His analytical path proclaimed the following:

> let us get away from North Americans, Italians and Northerners, who are people full of voices and gesticulations. Let us cultivate our roses, streets, squares and surrounding roads with peace and loads of awareness. We are calm, silent and slow, quite sullen, actually, in this traditional kind of joy, which neither shines nor is made for the appreciation of others.[69]

Whilst Mário de Andrade was looking into the affirmation of modern particularisms, Oswald de Andrade was focussing on the globalizing condition typical of the early 20th century. As Giuseppe Cocco remarks, 'whilst illustrious academics were trying to construct a language independent from Europe, that is, a Portuguese Brazilian, Oswald was already preoccupied with the "jargon" of the big cities, where there began to flourish, particularly

[68] A detailed analysis of the anthropophagic movement will be made in chapter 3.

[69] '*Vamos fugir de norteamericanos, italianos e nortistas, que são gentes cheias de vozes e de gesticulação. Vamos cultivar com paz e muita consciência nossas rosas, ruas, largos e estradas vizinhas. Calmos, vagarentos, silenciosos, um bocado trombudos mesmo, nessa espécie tradicional de alegria, que não brilha, nem é feita pra gozo de outros*'. Mário de Andrade, *Os Filhos de Candinha* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Algir, 2008), 70.

in São Paulo, the surprising literature of the new immigrants'.[70] Hence, whilst his milieu was still absorbed by manoeuvres destined to establish 'difference' in order to overturn cultural dependency, Oswald de Andrade was interested in a realm where national or circumscribed facts or happenings appear and develop following a perpetual rule of action-reaction between the local reality and the ones originated somewhere else. In the motto '*Tupi* or not *Tupi*? that is the question' Andrade mocks, merges and absurdly collides Shakespeare, *Tupi*, English and Portuguese languages, Anglo-Saxon solemnity and Latin American informal humour.[71] This motto is, in our view, linguistic engineering made possible only by the merging of cultures, languages, idioms, thought processes, behavioural paths, and of literary themes and traditions.

[70] *'Quando os acadêmicos ilustres tentavam construir uma linguagem independente da Europa, um português brasileiro, Oswald já está preocupado com o "jargão" das grandes cidades brasileiras, onde começa a brotar, em São Paulo principalmente, uma surprendente literatura dos novos emigrantes*'. Cocco, *Mundo-Braz,* 239.
[71] Andrade, "Anthopophagite Manifesto" (1928), 312.

2 - *Modernismo* and Patronage

This chapter looks into the link between the endeavours of the *modernista* group within the 1910-1920s Brazilian 'field of culture' and those agents in the field that functioned as sponsors, publishing, mediatic and educational propellers of artworks and artists within Brazilian society. Despite stemming from a counter-cultural movement against the prevailing ideological and political views of the ruling class, and against the ways in which such views were reflected by academic aesthetic-literary production, *modernismo* was a movement that included members of the elite, that was supported by the elite, and was financed by the coffee oligarchy. This might initially seem to be a contradiction. However, some members of the Brazilian 'field of power', operated as patrons within the 'field of culture' in ways that effaced the principle of hierarchisation with which politics and ideology subject art to the 'field of power'. Paulo Prado and Olívia Guedes Penteado are among this typology of patrons and will be discussed in this section.

The relationship between the arts and patronage will also be exemplified in the case in which sponsorship functions as a deterrent, rather than as a stimulus, to the *modernista* innovation. In order to do so, we shall look into the sudden formal changes that Anita Malfatti imposed on her work, in 1925, to the radical *modernista* approach that had consolidated her position within the Brazilian innovative movement. As discussed below, in 1923 the publicly-funded Pensionato Artístico de São Paulo - one of the very few artistic institutions existing in Brazil at the time that subsidised the studies of young Brazilians with outstanding talent in the areas of literature, fine arts and music studies at major schools in Europe - sent Malfatti to Paris. We will see that, in order to fulfil the conservative expectations of public patronage, Malfatti, who by 1925 had already benefited from two years of studentship, painted a biblical scene, symbolist thus academic in terms of style, which was at odds with her iconoclastic early work.

In the 1920s the *modernistas* went abroad - funding such trips themselves or from subventions from the existing local art institutions - to satisfy their hunger for knowledge and education. The Academy of Fine Art in Rio de Janeiro, which, as we have seen, was established in 1826, and the Liceu de Artes e Ofícios in São Paulo, established in 1873 and whose orientation could satisfy only those with craftsman's ambitions, were the only two Brazilian art schools of the early 20th century. Once back in Brazil, the absence of museum institutions interested in non-academic art, even in the main capitals of the country, implied that the only *loci* for the exhibition of their works were their own studios or the salons of the upper classes; of those aristocrats and industrialists who were 'going counter-current'. In São Paulo, *modernista* artists could exhibit only in public premises

intended for other activities, such as dance and drama, and owned by those who deemed their salons not to be large and public enough. These premises where the sole access to a wider public, given that the Pinacoteca do Estado, the only museum existing in the city at the time, was exclusively dedicated to academic work. Those *modernistas* who could not afford to travel abroad and buy cultural products there had no other alternative but to visit the premises that belonged to the upper classes to see, in Brazil, works by the European avant-gardes, and to access the latest literary publications.

One of our aims in this chapter is to analyse the 'field of culture' in Brazil *per se*. This entails engaging with the ways in which 'cultural capital' and 'financial capital' were entwined at that time, or, in other words, with the structures of power, private and institutional, which functioned as patronage and mechanisms of legitimisation that provided a backing for *modernista* production. The *modernista* agents discussed in this chapter, whether they be collectors or artistic-literary authors and/or publishers, will highlight certain aspects of the link between the Brazilian aesthetic-literary elite and the economic-political one; between the 'field of culture' and the 'field of power'. Another aim is to explore the national-international aspects that constitute, as just highlighted through Andrade's 1915 article in chapter 1, one of the fundamental traits of *modernismo*. This task is carried out as follows. *Modernismo* and its patrons will be analysed in relation to the international dislocation of artists, intellectuals and artworks. Indeed, here, our focus is on contextual factors. It is the network of support, co-operation (and at times of competition and controversial demands), rather than the genius of the artist and the originality of the artwork, that is central to our analysis of art as a social phenomenon.

2.1. - Paulo Prado

Paulo Prado (1869-1943) was the grandson of the Baron of Iguape, and member of the family responsible for the majority of Brazil's coffee production. The Prados had also a traditional political role, acting in the abolition and immigration campaigns that marked the country's transition from Monarchy to Republic. Paulo's father, Antônio Prado, led the coffee company Prado Chaves & Cia and was the head of the Conservative Party of São Paulo. Antônio was the first Mayor of Republican São Paulo for 12 years (1899-1911)

whilst being the head of an astonishing amount of companies.[72] Uncle Eduardo was one of the founders of the Republican Party of São Paulo (PRP). Under Paulo's direction (1908-1923), Prado Chaves & Cia reached its apogee and opened branches in London, Hamburg and Stockholm. Due to the company's need to reach the new Brazilian regions of coffee production, Paulo also took over the Companhia Paulista de Estrada de Ferro (São Paulo Railway Company) to allow its expansion. Antônio's expectation was that Paulo would also have followed a political career, but the duty was passed to his brother, Antônio Prado Junior, who became the Mayor of Rio de Janeiro. His nephew, Caio Prado Junior was a member of the São Paulo State Legislative Assembly first, then moved to the national one afterwards, remaining in politics until 1948.

Paulo's successful career did not separate him from the habits he acquired as a student, such as spending the season in Paris at the luxurious apartment of his uncle Eduardo. In Eduardo's salons, overlooking the Champs-Elysées, Paulo met his literary mentor, the Brazilian historian Capistrano de Abreu, who would advise Paulo on his writings. There he would also meet Graça Aranha, the Baron of Rio Branco, Olavo Bilac and other cultural diplomats. During his trips in first class train across Europe, he met characters such as Ėmile Zola and Guy de Maupassant.[73] Paulo was in fact also an intellectual and an author, who contributed to defining Brazil's modern identity with two books, *Paulística: História de São Paulo* (1925) and *Retrato do Brasil: Ensaio Sobre a Tristeza Brasileira* (1929). Once he had taken over as head of his family business, Paulo Prado no longer needed family support to finance his cultural and intellectual trips to Paris; on the contrary he began to generously sponsor other less privileged lovers of the arts and humanities - such as his *modernista* colleagues **{fig. 4 and 5}.** Mário de Andrade considered him "the great propeller of the Semana de Arte Moderna".[74] The São Paulo modern art week (1922) took place in the Teatro Municipal (Municipal Theatre) and encompassed lectures, presentations of literary work, poetry, musical and dance performances, and an art exhibition. Its major aim was to represent an official and organised attack against Brazil's 'artistic tradition' and the academies. Nowadays, this modern art week has been recognised, in Brazil, to be as relevant as the New York

[72] Some examples of such companies are an Estate business dealing with properties in the area of Guarujá, Banco do Comércio e Indústria, Companhia Paulista de Estradas de Ferro, Curtume Água Branca and the Automóvel Clube.

[73] See: Thais Chang Waldman, "Espaços de Paulo Prado: Tradição e Modernismo" , in: *Arteologie, N. 1, Dossier Thématique: Brésil, Questions Sur le Modernisme* (2011): 1-18. Available at: <http://cral.in2p3.fr/artelogie/IMG/article_PDF/article_a66.pdf>. [Last accessed: 20/03/2013].

[74] *'[O] Grande impulsionador da Semana de Arte Moderna.'* Mário de Andrade in: Maria Emilia Prado, "Leituras da Colonização Portuguesa no Brazil do Século XX", in: *Revista Intellectus, Ano 5, Vol 1* (2005). Available at: <www2.uerj.br/~intellectus>. [Last accessed: 21/12/2014].

Armoury Show, in terms of the appearance of modernism in the New World.[75] Mário did not change his mind even 21 years after the 1922 modernist gathering. In his own words:

> somebody launched the idea of making a modern art week, with an art exhibition, concerts, book readings and elucidating conferences. Was it Graça Aranha? Was it Di Cavalcanti? Yet, what mattered was being able to execute this idea, which beyond being audacious was extremely expensive. The real maker of the modern art week was Paulo Prado. Only a personality like him and a big city, even if provincial like São Paulo, could have made the modernist movement come true and materialise into the event.[76]

When referring to the *semana de arte moderna* (modern art week), Prado enthusiastically and ironically suggested the official launch of Brazilian modernism needed "to be something scandalous, nothing similar to a little high school party of which we [the elite] are so fond".[77] The event was a landmark where, "with iconoclastic and juvenile happiness, obsolete formats are broken and old rules, as heavy as shackles, disappear".[78] Apart from these words, Prado was also the leader of the committee responsible for the funding of the modern art week. He raised funds with his brother Antônio Jr. and his cousin Martinho – who were both married to high-society ladies from the Álvares Penteado family. Further, he was responsible for the substantial presence of members of the government at the event, and as Sevcenko put it, "the public power was the principal buyer, […] negotiating its acquisitions politically, […] attending to several communitarian and stylistic lobbies in São Paulo" [79]

[75] See: Gotlib, *Tarsila a Modernista*.

[76] *'[...A]lguém lançou a idéia de se fazer uma semana da arte moderna, com exposição de artes plásticas, concertos, leituras de livros e conferências explicativas. Foi o próprio Graça Aranha? Foi Di Cavalcanti? Porém, o que importa era poder realizar essa ideia, além de audaciosa, dispendiosíssima. E o fautor verdadeiro da Semana de Arte Moderna foi Paulo Prado. E só mesmo uma figura como ele e uma cidade grande, mas provinciana como São Paulo, poderia fazer o movimento modernista e objetivá-lo na Semana.'* Mário de Andrade, "O Movimento Modernista", in: *Aspectos da Literatura Brasileira*, 1st Edition (Americ-Edit: São Paulo, 1943), 237-238.

[77] *"É preciso que seja uma coisa escandalosa, nada de festinha no gênero ginasial tão ao Nosso [da elite] gosto".* Paulo Prado, in: Thais Chang Waldman, "À Frente da Semana da Arte Moderna: A Presença de Graça Aranha e Paulo Prado", in: *Estudos Históricos, vol. 23, n. 45*, 71-94, (Rio de Janeiro: 2010), 82.

[78] "*[C]om uma alegria iconoclasta e juvenil se quebram os antigos moldes e desaparecem as velhas regras, pesadas como grilhões".* Ibid.

[79] *"O principal comprador era o poder público, que negociava suas aquisições politicamente, […] atendendo os diversos lobbies comunitários e estilisticos de São Paulo"*. Nicolau Sevcenko, in: ibid, 83.

Figure 4:

Group photo of the Brazilian *modernistas* involved in the 1922 modern art week (1920s).

Source:
Arquivo Mário de Andrade, Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros, Universidade de São Paulo, (USP). São Paulo.

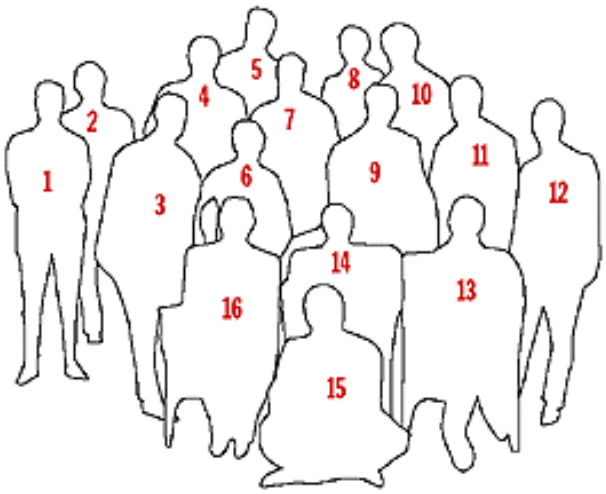

Figure 5:

Names of the Brazilian *modernistas* in **figure 4**:

René Thiollier (1) Manuel Bandeira (2) Mário de Andrade (3) Manoel Vilaboin (4) Francesco Pettinati (5) Cândido Motta Filho (6) Paulo Prado (7) Unidentified (8) Graça Aranha (9) Afonso Schmidt (10) Goffredo da Silva Telles (11) Couto de Barros (12) Tácito de Almeida (13) Luís Aranha (14) Oswald de Andrade (15) Rubens Borba de Moraes (16).

Source:
Arquivo Mário de Andrade, Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros – Universidade de São Paulo, (USP), São Paulo.

Prado was therefore a central figure for the flourishing of *modernismo* in Brazil. The modernist circle was composed of him and the author and diplomat Graça Aranha, a member of the Literary Academy whose ideas were more moderate and could represent a smoother transaction from academicism to *modernismo*; and by the *grupo dos cinco* (group of five), constituted by Tarsila do Amaral, Oswald de Andrade, Mário de Andrade, Anita Malfatti and Emiliano Di Cavalcanti. As the radical branch of *modernismo,* the group of five was interested in extreme aesthetic-literary innovation. The group shared their intellectual, social and political connections; their ambition to establish an international network and exchange in the world of art and culture.

An example of how connections were used and shared is that Graça Aranha, who was in an extra-marital relationship with Paulo Prado's sister, Nazareth, introduced Paulo to

Tarsila do Amaral, Oswald de Andrade and Di Cavalcanti in Paris.[80] Moreover, it was probably through Prado and Graça Aranha that the younger section of the group met Souza Dantas, the Ambassador of Brazil in Paris, who used to organise social events in the French capital frequented by members of the local artistic and intellectual scene (e.g., Léger, Lhote, Cendrars and Milhaud). If Aranha was considered by the younger *modernistas* the "son of the abominable philosophical mind-set of the 19th century, but also a remarkable national figure, member of the […] Literary Academy, and author of a taboo book *Canaãn*, which nobody read but all admired", it is because he had a vital network function for the group, despite his obsolete ideas.[81] Moreover, on the occasion of the modern art week, Aranha used his academicist credentials to support the young Brazilian innovators with an opening essay: "The Aesthetic Emotion of Modern Art". Here Aranha claimed that *modernismo* needed to be nationalist without falling into the shortcomings of regionalism, that it needed to fight provincialism by adopting a universalist stance, and that its revolutionary acumen needed to challenge conservativism.[82]

Networking led not only to intellectual sharing, but also to sentimental and, most importantly, economic alliances. In fact Aranha did return to Brazil from his long season in Europe to support the *modernistas* and stay with Nazareth, but also to resolve important business in São Paulo. From about 1915, Aranha was putting his extremely advantageous political position within the French and English establishment at the Prados' disposal, facilitating the shipping of coffee to Russia, via Stockholm and mediating with the English government the exportation of Brazilian meat produced at the Prados' Companhia Frigorífica e Pastoril de Barretos.[83]

It is difficult to identify any clear division in the relationships occurring at the time between the aesthetic-literary, social and politico-economic elites. If one is to pay further attention to the often extremely personal nature of this network, it becomes impossible to set barriers. To the above-mentioned connection between Graça Aranha, and Paulo and Nazareth Prado, we can couple Oswald de Andrade and Tarsila do Amaral's union. They married in 1926, and Paulo Prado was a witness of their wedding, along with Olívia

[80] Graça Aranha extensively networked with the Prados. As a diplomat in Paris, he frequented Paulo's uncle, Eduardo. When in Brazil, he would pay visits to Paulo's father, Antônio. The visits were mainly due to discuss and facilitate the Prados' businesses in Europe. It was during these occasions that Aranha and Nazareth, both married, started an extra-marital relationship that lasted for a few years. See: ibid, 71-94.

[81] *"[F]ilho de uma abominável formação filosofante do século XIX, mas grande homem nacional, pertencente a […] Academia de Letras, e autor de um livro tabú "Canaãn", que ninguém havia lido e todos aclamavam".* Oswald de Andrade, in: Waldman, "Espaços de Paulo Prado", 6. Available <at: http://cral.in2p3.fr/artelogie/IMG/article_PDF/article_a66.pdf>. [Last accessed: 20/03/2013].

[82] For more on Aranha's essay see, for instance: Maria Rita Santos, "A Posição de Graça Aranha no Lastro Moderno", in *Revista Iberoamericana*, *vol. LXXII, n. 215-216* (April-September 2006): 681-688.

[83] See: Waldman, "À Frente da Semana da Arte Moderna", 71-94.

Guedes Penteado. Two coffee oligarchs and firm supporters of the Brazilian avant-garde of the 1920-1930s were standing by the altar only one year after Andrade had published his "*Pau-Brasil* Poetry Manifesto" - prefaced by Prado.[84] The couple were already frequenting the villa of Prado and his French wife, Marinette, each Sunday, where lunchtime would become the arena for the sharing of revolutionary ideas and the consultation of rare and valuable literary material brought from Europe. According to Andrade, it was during these

> sumptuous Sundays [that,] beyond eating and drinking within a great civilised tradition, the problems related to literary and artistic transformation would be debated. It can be said that, apart from my poor "garçonnière", […] the active centre where modernism was elaborated was Paulo Prado's house.[85]

Being in Prado's art collection was a great privilege for artists wishing to gain exposure, as this meant entering the circles that in the early 1920s were the substitute for the lack of museological institutions in São Paulo. At that time, apart from the *Pinacoteca do Estado*, a museum opened in 1905 focussing on art from the 19th century, the city did not offer any other official venue to modernist artists. Thus, falling under the patronage of the character that together with Senator Freitas Valle (another major patron who, although more traditionally inclined, organised magnificent salons at his *Villa Kyrial*) had organised high calibre cultural events like the French-Brazilian Convention and the Exposition of French Paintings and Sculptures at the Teatro Municipal, was important indeed. Mário de Andrade was well aware of it, and in a letter to the poet Manuel Bandeira (1886-1968) explained that "a painting bought by Paulo Prado often implies two or three more sold to individuals that go with the flow like [René] Thiollier and others that get the courage".[86] According to Waldman, 'the presence of the President of the Estate, of the Mayor and high calibre figures at [Prado's] exhibitions was frequent, [and] that which actually sponsored the local artists was "an appanage of wealthy patrons"'. [87]

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[84] See: Prado,"Leituras da Colonização Portuguesa". Available at: <www2.uerj.br/~intellectus>. [Last accessed: 21/12/2014].

[85] '*Os almoços de domingo eram faustosos. Além de se comer e beber dentro de uma grande tradição civilizada, ali se debatiam os problemas cadentes a transformação das letras e das artes. Pode-se dizer que depois da pobreza da minha "garçonnière" [...], foi a casa do Paulo Prado o centro ativo onde se elaborou o Modernismo*.' Oswald de Andrade, *O Modernismo, n. 17,* (São Paulo: Editora Anhembi, 1954), 28.

[86] *"[U]m quadro comprado pelo Paulo Prado significa não raro uns três ou quarto vendidos, de indivíduos que vão na onda dele como [René] Thiollier e de outros que criam coragem"*. Mário de Andrade, in: Waldman, "Espaços de Paulo Prado", 11. Available at: <http://cral.in2p3.fr/artelogie/IMG/article_PDF/article_a66.pdf>. [Last accessed: 20/03/2013].

[87] *'A presença do Presidente do Estado, do Prefeito e respectivos altos escalões nessas exposições era frequente, [e] quem efetivamente patrocinava os artistas locais era "um apanágio de patronos abastados"* '. In: ibid, 7.

Prado's cultural initiatives ensured that each of the participating artists were potential favourites of the Brazilian conservative elite; and also reinforced their position within the aesthetic revolution that reverberated from Paris to São Paulo. He was allegedly the first to bring to Brazil a cubist painting by Fernand Léger, and he also brought works by Picasso, Braque, Cézanne, Delaunay and Brancusi, and to show such works side-by-side with the Brazilian *modernistas* – setting an example to other national collectors. Further, as will be discussed in the following section, he facilitated and financed tangible interchanges and collaborative experiences between the modernists in Europe and Brazil.

2.1.1. - Prado and the Media

It was perhaps harder for the Brazilian modernists to gain credibility at home than to conquer a place to work side-by-side the Parisian masters. Oswald de Andrade recognised the difficulties faced by the *modernista* group since its establishment, leading him to admit the importance of having the support of Graça Aranha as recognition by the Literary Academy, and therefore from the Brazilian intellectual establishment. In his retrospective writings of 1954, Andrade mentioned that 'it was evident that for us [the 'radical' *modernistas*], that Graça Aranha's official support in particular represented a present from heaven'.[88] In chapter 1, we have seen that the struggle that the movement had to face at home became apparent through the authoritative and caustic reviews that Monteiro Lobato published after Anita Malfatti's first exhibition (i.e., "Regarding Anita Malfatti" (1917) and "Paranoia of Mystification" (1919); and that in September 1921 he refused to publish Mário de Andrade's book *Paulicéia Desvairada* – a milestone of Brazilian literary *modernismo*.[89]

The resistance of the academy to *modernista* trends needed to be countered. Immediately after the *semana de arte moderna* (February 1922), several journals and magazines were launched to divulgate *modernista* ideas. The name of Paulo Prado is associated with many of them. Two examples are the literary series *Eduardo Prado: Para Melhor Conhecer o Brasil* (1927) and *Klaxon: Mensário de Arte Moderna* (1922-1923) - the latter being a publication that Prado sponsored and wished to convert into the journal *Knock-out*.[90] *Klaxon* was a cultural journal focussing on art, poetry and literary criticism

[88] *'Era evidente que para nós, sobretudo o apoio official de Graça Aranha representava um presente do céu'*. In: Andrade, *O Modernismo*, 28.
[89] See section 1.1. and 1.2..
[90] See: 1) Waldman, "Espaços de Paulo Prado". Available at:

and has subsequently been recognised by Brazilian art historians as the most creative, audacious and innovative of all modernist journals of that time.[91] Mário de Andrade was its director, Menotti Del Picchia and Guilherme de Almeida were members of the editing committee, and many of its graphic illustrations were by Victor Brecheret and Di Cavalcanti. *Klaxon* published work by Italian, French and Spanish poets and authors together with those of Brazilians ones such as Manuel Bandeira and Milliet, however, *Knock-out* would have expanded the international scope of *Klaxon.* Another difference between the two magazines would have been that, more than merely publishing aesthetic-literary production sent by authors from foreign countries, *Knock-out* would have been a collaborative editing venture between Oswald de Andrade, Amaral, Cendrars, Ivan Goll, Marc Chagall and Jean Cocteau, but the conversion never took place, and *Klaxon* published only nine numbers and lasted less than one year.

Prado was also responsible for the arrival and circulation in Brazil of European modernist journals. Sevcenko claims that by the early 1920s, the import facilitation in Brazil, following World War I, allowed Parisian magazines to circulate abundantly in São Paulo, and that Prado was involved with their importation and diffusion, including *L' Esprit Nouveau*, launched by Le Corbusier and Ozenfant in 1920.[92] This implies that Prado allowed the *modernistas* to be exposed to the ideas of the *rappel à l' ordre* (also known as purism) shortly after the magazine's launch and without having to travel to the French capital. Further, Teles advocates that Graça Aranha brought his deep knowledge of *L' Esprit Nouveau*'s ideas to Brazil, with a focus on Marinetti's manifestoes, and that Mário de Andrade owned all the issues of the magazine.[93] In Santo's opinion, Aranha's *A Emoção Estética na Arte Moderna*, the essay for the conference which opened the 1922 São Paulo modern art week shows clear signs of *L' Esprit Nouveau*'s influence on his ideas.[94] Through Prado's endeavours, the *modernistas* gained access to knowledge about a post-cubist movement that pervaded the Parisian aesthetic-literary environment of the period and that, for the sake of nationalism, advocated the need to return to the classical tradition of the Arcadia to 'purify' French art from its German influences. For the purists, the sobriety of classicism was key to a re-evaluation that would eradicate romantic Germanic traits from French art.

<http://cral.in2p3.fr/artelogie/IMG/article_PDF/article_a66.pdf>. [Last accessed: 20/03/2013]; and 2) Waldman, "À Frente da Semana de Arte Moderna: A Presença de Graça Aranha e Paulo Prado", 71-94.

[91] See: 1) Aracy Abreu Amaral, "A propósito de Klaxon", *Jornal O Estado de São Paulo - Suplemento Literário*, São Paulo, 3rd of February, 1968; and 2) Mário de Silva Brito, *"O Alegre Combate de Klaxon. Introdução Fac-Símile dos 9 números da Revista Klaxon – Mensário de Arte Moderna"* (São Paulo: Secretaria da Cultura, Ciência e Tecnologia do Estado de São Paulo, 1976).

[92] See: Nicolau Sevcenko, *Orfeu Extático na Metrópole*: *São Paulo, Sociedade e Cultura nos Anos 20* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1992).

[93] See: Gilberto Mendonça Teles , *Vanguarda Européia e Modernismo Brasileiro* (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1976).

[94] See: Santos, "A Posição de Graça Aranha", 681-688.

Perhaps the most ambitious and significant of Prado's interventions in the press as a means of fostering the *modernista* programme was the one of 1923, when he took the directorship of the intellectually acclaimed *Revista do Brazil* in exchange for financial help to its owner. Founded in 1915, *Revista do Brazil* was owned by Monteiro Lobato from 1918 to 1925. Prado's manoeuvre was strategically directed at effacing Lobato's sceptical voice, blatantly put through the writings in this journal, on the *grupo dos cinco* (group of five).[95] To accomplish his goal, Prado needed to take Lobato's place as director of this journal. The solution was cunningly found by flooding cash into Lobato's broader mediatic ambitions. In fact, Lobato wanted to expand his editing house Monteiro Lobato & Cia into the Companhia Gráfico-Editora Monteiro Lobato, which would become the largest publishing house of Latin America.

In December 1922, when the Monteiro Lobato & Cia began to expand by taking on new wealthy board members in order to increase the company capital, Lobato and his initial business partner, Octalles M. Ferreira, welcomed to the board both Paulo Prado and his brother, Martinho. Quite suggestively, Paulo Prado, the brother with literary leanings, took over the directorship of *Revista do Brasil* immediately after the Monteiro Lobato & Cia expansion deal was closed at the end of 1922. The motives of each party here involved seem to be clear. On the one hand, as any ambitious businessman, Lobato knew that the Prados represented unsurpassed financial help for the type of implementation he wanted for his publishing company. On the other, Paulo Prado's business choice seems to be part of a premeditated plan to dissuade Lobato from acting against his *modernista* friends. This particularly if one considers Lobato's change of heart in the period that preceded the deal of December 1922. As we know, Lobato had begun to challenge the *modernistas* through his negative writings on Malfatti's exhibition of 1917, and by September 1921 his stance had not changed; Lobato was still sabotaging the emerging group, given that he boycotted Mário de Andrade's publication. However, shortly after the modern art week of February 1922, therefore only a few months before the Monteiro Lobato & Cia expansion was confirmed, Lobato's editing house published Oswald de Andrade's *Os Condenados* and Menotti Del Picchia's *O Homem*, and both volumes had covers by Malfatti. It is hard to imagine that this sudden approval of *modernista* works did not have something to do with his liaising with Prado, which escalated to the point in which Lobato accomplished the expansion of his business. Lobato's inconsistent actions probably had diplomatic goals; after all, how could Prado, an unsurpassed supporter of the group of innovators, be willing to invest in a traditionalist

[95] We have given a brief description of the *grupo dos cinco* in the previous section.

publishing house, unless the house subdued its animosity towards the young *modernistas*? Initially hostile to radical *modernismo*, in the months leading to the arrival of Prado, the journal opened up its views and started to sympathise with it.

This change of heart would gradually become more apparent and, in a 1924 letter from Lobato to Godofredo Rangel, he admitted that if the *Revista do Brazil*'s audience did not decrease and thus its profits did not slump with the change of stylistic orientation, his opinion on the *modernistas* would change. In Lobato's own words: "if the signatures [of the journal] do not fall, *modernismo* is approved".[96] Nevertheless, it is at this point also important to acknowledge that the polemics between Lobato and the *grupo dos cinco* would continue for years to follow, and Lobato's ambivalence was only fully tamed in March 1926, when he published *O Nosso Dualismo* ("Our Dualism") in the *Diário de São Paulo*. Despite maintaining the patronising stance of a self-conscious character that sought to obtain one of the chairs of the Literary Academy, Lobato admitted in this article the visionary potential of the radical *modernistas*. In Lobato's own words:

> [t]his game for intelligent kids […] is going to have very serious implications for our literature. It will force us into a thoughtful revision of values and accelerate the abandonment of two things to which we are attached: the soul of French literature and Portuguese language as used in Portugal.[97]

In January 1926, Prado established and funded another modernist journal, *Terra Roxa e Outras Terras*, which comprised the collaboration of Antônio de Alcântara Machado, A. C. Couto de Barros, Mário de Andrade, Milliet and Sérgio Buarque de Hollanda. Despite several similarities with *Klaxon*, this magazine reflected Prado's business ideology, imbued with the supremacy of the coffee industry and the city of São Paulo, which he saw as central to Brazil's modernisation. The journal's title refers to the purple soil associated with the proliferation of coffee - a good on which the country's prosperity relied during the 1920s, not only in terms of natural resources, but also in terms of capital. Its introductory editorial establishes the relationship between the primal forces of Mother Earth and "the complex and exaggerated fertility [of Brazilian land and…] everything that makes the dream of a pioneer's imagination: sugar, coffee, sky-scrapers,

[96] "*[S]e não houver baixa no câmbio das assinaturas, o modernismo está aprovado".* Jõao Bento Monteiro Lobato, in: Waldman, "Espaços de Paulo Prado", 11. Available at: <http://cral.in2p3.fr/artelogie/IMG/article_PDF/article_a66.pdf>. [Last accessed: 20/03/2013].

[97] *"Essa brincadeira de crianças inteligentes [...] vai desempenhar uma função muito séria em nossas letras. Vai forçar-nos a uma atenta revisão de valores e apressar o abandono de duas coisas a que andamos aferrados: o espírito da literatura francesa e a língua portuguesa de Portugal*". Lobato, in: "Monteiro Lobato: Cidadão e Escritor – Linha do Tempo". Available at: <http://lobato.globo.com/lobato_Linha.asp>. [Last accessed: 19/05/2014].

electric trains, […] political agendas, the bus and even the literati".[98] This valorisation of the autochthonous, ancient and thus intrinsically Brazilian as a basis for the country's intellectualism, progress and modernised future; for its recognition within the cultural constellation of countries which were already in fully-fledged modernity and modernism, was the central idea of *Terra Roxa.*

Terra Roxa was not as extreme in its positions as the *verde-amarelos* were, although the journal clearly engaged with demarcating Brazil's 'cultural borders' by means of a nationalistic stance towards Europe. It in fact praised the country's folkloric manifestations and the wealth coming from Brazil's fertile lands, whilst maintaining a sceptical position in relation to immigration and refusing to publish articles in foreign languages. As a banner of its *Brasileirismo* ('Brazilianness'), the magazine offered transcriptions of colonial texts, and it proudly divulgated the efforts of the city of São Paulo to bring back to Brazil, from London, a letter written in 1579 by *Padre* José de Anchieta, for which the Brazilians paid, ironically, with thirty sacks of another national symbol: coffee **{fig. 6}**.[99] The fact that Anchieta's letter was on sale at an exclusive and international London auctioneer implied that the richness of Brazil's cultural history was recognised in the hegemonic world too. This valuable national emblem abroad was traded with the highest representative at the time of Brazil's natural and, most importantly, capital wealth, in a sort of a win-win metaphorical game in which Brazil came out as equal to Europe. The trade subtly yet eloquently put Brazil at the same level as Europe both in terms of the value of its cultural heritage and its economic power: no matter which of the two Brazilian 'products' the European would end up having at the end of the negotiation, as both the cultural and the natural one functioned as reminders of Brazil's 'wealth' in hegemonic land.

On the one hand, *Terra Roxa* crystallises the relationship between 1920s aesthetic-literary *modernismo* and the Brazilian 'field of power', and it is most probably not a coincidence that Prado launched the magazine in parallel with his participation in the establishment of the Democratic Party. Its agenda, and particularly the effort to 'repatriate' Anchieta's letter, well exemplify the mood of confidence, self-assertiveness,

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[98] *"[A] fertilidade complexa e exagerada [da terra brasileira e…] tudo quanto é sonho de uma imaginação de pioneiro: açucar, café, arranha-céus, trens elétricos, lança perfumes, diretórios políticos, ônibus e até literatos"*. *Terra Roxa*, introductory editorial (1926) In: Thais Chang Waldmann, *Moderno Bandeirante: Paulo Prado Entre Espaços e Tradições* (PhD thesis, Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Departamento de Antropologia, Universidade de São Paulo, USP, 2009), 75.

[99] Paulo Prado was angry at the fact that this letter was on sale at an exclusive library in Mayfair, London. He could not let it happen that such a treasure of Brazilian culture could have ended there and that, even worst, it could be purchased during auction by greedy North American collectors. Thus he was prompting the State and the wealthy and powerful of São Paulo to raise funds to purchase the item and bring it back to the land it should never have left. See Aracy A. Amaral, *Tarsila: Sua Obra e Seu Tempo* (São Paulo: Editora 34 and Edusp 2003).

and even, of impudence toward Europe and its supremacy, that the international success of Brazil's coffee economy and the prosperity that it brought to the country, had instilled in the *modernista* circle. On the other hand, the idealisation of the autochthonous, and a hostile approach to European immigrants and to European culture, with which this journal challenges the ethos of *Klaxon*, witnesses the contending forces that characterised the broader discourse of Brazilian *modernismo*. Yet, the journal also held a precept that would be of interest to a magazine to come: Oswald de Andrade's *Revista de Antropofagia* (1928) – where *Tupi* cannibalism replaced the purple soil as a symbol of what was both essentially Brazilian and the key to Brazil's modern cultural identity.[100] As afore-mentioned, in *Terra Roxa*, Brazil's modernisation and future were proposed as fundamentally related to the pre-colonial past, and to industrial and metropolitan realities. Even if Andrade's magazine did not count on Prado's funds, it took forward the validity and complexity of the ideas central to *Terra Roxa*.

ANO I — NUMERO 5 — TERÇA-FEIRA, 27 DE ABRIL DE 1926

Quinzenário

terra roxa e outras terras

Assignaturas:
UM ANO

Directores: A. C. Couto de Barros e Antonio de Alcantara Machado — Secretario e administrador: Sergio Milliet

desde hoje se encontra no museu paulista a carta de anchieta adquirida em londres por iniciativa deste quinzenario

discurso de Paulo Prado

CARTA DO APOSTOLO DO BRASIL AO CAPITÃO JERONYMO LEITÃO

resposta de Affonso d'E. Taunay

30 SACAS DE CAFE

Subscripção, em sacas de café, feita pelo quinzenario "terra roxa e outras terras", para a aquisição, em Londres, de um autographo de

PADRE ANCHIETA

Figure 6:

Cover of *Terra Roxa e Outras Terras*,
São Paulo, (April 1926), where the magazine declares the acquisition of Padre de Anchieta's letter for thirty sacks of coffee.

Source:
Aracy Abreu Amaral, *Tarsila: Sua Obra e Seu Tempo*, São Paulo, Editora 34 and Edusp, 2003, 234.

After a pause dedicated to the finalisation of his book *Retrato do Brasil* (*Portrait of Brazil*) of 1928, Prado returned to the sponsoring of another modernist magazine, *Revista Nova* (1931), which he founded in association with Mário de Andrade and Alcântara Machado. In *Retrato do Brasil*, Prado describes the dynamics of settlement and

[100] We will return to the *Revista de Antropofagia* in the analysis of Andrade and Amaral's anthropophagic movement in chapter 3.

exploration under colonial rule[101]. The process of colonisation in Brazil was, for Prado, characterized by the relation of several negative factors, among them, the absence of laws and moral codes in the Portuguese settlement in a 'wild' land. This situation was fertile ground for debauchery on behalf of the European coloniser, who encouraged by indigenous customs - which, according to the author, were prone to carnal desires - would indulge in exaggerated sensual behaviour. Greed was another of the sins that the European explorers and its spirit of adventure, fed by hopes of rapid enrichment, had brought to Brazil. The excess of sensual life and greed for gold left permanent traits in the Brazilians, and led to the development of an inherent sense of melancholy within the population, which, according to Prado, was a perfect environment for the appearance of a degenerative evil during the imperial era: romanticism. It was in this context that the author defined the emergence of a sense of 'Brazilianness' and of belonging to the country, which crystallised in the romanticist invocation of beautiful, passionate and irrational worlds in politics, literature, arts and quotidian life. The book raised questions about the formation of Brazilian nationality and fostered discussions and heavy criticism within its contemporaneous intellectual circles - including the *modernistas*. In his discussions of colonisation and slavery, Prado did not shift the origins of socio-cultural problems to the black or the native, however: his main concern was miscegenation, which, for him, made the Brazilian population more prone to addictions and diseases. *Mestiçagem* is seen as a major factor in the failure of Brazil as a modern nation. Even if Prado did not go so far as to find the basis of national problems in one race or another, he considered slavery a controversial element in the formation of the country.

Although *Revista Nova* lasted no longer than any of Prado's other publishing ventures, it is the most tangible proof of the tensions that the relationship between aesthetic-literary creators and patrons could generate. Mário's words on the occasion of the closure of this magazine prove the point:

> if we [Andrade and Machado] asked, I am sure that Paulo Prado would finance the magazine with his money. But this would not be convenient […] because it would put us in an unquestionable condition of subalternity, which would not be shameful […], yet would indeed be unpleasant, particularly in relation to the magazine's orientation. [102]

[101] See: Paulo Prado, *Retrato do Brasil - Ensaio Sobre a Tristeza Brasileira,* 1st edition, (São Paulo: Oficinas Gráficas Duprat-Mayença (Reunidas)), 1928. Available at: <http://www.ebooksbrasil.org/adobeebook/pauloprado.pdf>. [Last accessed: 09/10/2017].

[102] *"[S]e a gente [Andrade e Machado] pedisse tenho certeza que Paulo Prado sustentaria a revista com o dinheiro dele, mas isso não nos conviria […] porque nos deixava […] numa posição de subalternidade que não seria envergonhante […], mas era sempre desagradável, quanto à orientação da revista".* Mário de Andrade, in: Waldman, *Moderno Bandeirante*, 75.

Here Andrade's use of the word 'subalternity' (in the original: *subalternidade*) implies that Prado's economic power could have impinged on the share of views and positions that each of these three *modernista* intellectuals were putting forward, through negotiation, in the magazine. The 'field of power' could subordinate the 'field of culture'. However, discrepancies and partitions among the members of Brazil's early *modernismo* were generated less by economic issues and more by differing ideologies and approaches to the definition of modern cultural identity. These were the early years of the movement, characterised by shifting ideas, typical of a period of transition from traditionalism to innovation. A clear example of the ambivalence running between the members of the group is the reaction to Prado's *Retrato do Brasil*, published by Oswald de Andrade, in April 1929, under the pseudonym, Tamadaré. Andrade's article stated the following:

> [t]he book is bad, it is worth nothing, it is full of injustices and lies, and above all, it is unworthy of the […] promising talent of the magnificent author of *Paulística.* [Prado] preferred to rely on European crutches [and is…] a soul at the margins of the century, candid, naïve, pious, incapable of pleasurably devouring the leg of the other, washing it down with sips of *cauim* [indigenous beer].[103]

Although published under the pseudonym Tamadaré, the review - which in itself was contradictorily praising the honourable author whilst condemning what was deemed to be his recent failure - was immediately attributed to Oswald de Andrade, who had dedicated his 1924 book *Memórias de João Miramar* to Prado. Andrade's (presumed) gesture sounds even more inconsistent if one considers that shortly before the April attack, he stated in the newspaper *O Jornal* that Paulo was "the best Brazilian writer alive".[104]

Despite this particularly polemical event, Prado's literary work was without doubt recognised. As a public and intellectual character, he might have generated controversies but, as we have seen so far, he was not the only ambivalent figure that characterised the cultural transition of early 20th century Brazil. Prado was a multi-faceted *modernista*, dealing with patronage, cultural history, literature, visual arts, journalism, the media, politics and economics, in São Paulo and the rest of Brazil. His long, versatile career was characterised by alliances, victories, disputes and failures, changes and, above all, attracted reverence and esteem. It is then understandable why, in 1943, at his funeral, any possible ideological disagreement and circumstantial misunderstanding, was left

[103] "*O livro é ruím, não vale um caracol, está cheio de injustiças e inverdades, e é, sobretudo, indigno do [...] promissor talento do escritor magnifico de Paulística. [Prado] preferiu se apoiar nas muletas Européas [e…] é um espírito à margem do século, cândido, ingênuo, piedoso, incapaz de devorar com prazer e a goles de cauim uma canela do próximo".* Tamandaré, "Maquém – I, Aperitivo", in: *Revista de Antropofagia*, *2nda Indentição,* São Paulo, *Diário de São Paulo,* 7 de Abril, 1929.

[104] *"[O] Melhor escritor brasileiro vivo".* Oswald de Andrade, in: Waldman, *Moderno Bandeirante*, 81.

behind, and that some of the highest exponents of Brazilian *modernismo*, namely, Brecheret, Di Cavalcanti, Menotti del Picchia and even Oswald de Andrade, carried Prado's coffin. At this occasion, Andrade would publicly admit that Prado's death "deprive[d] Brazil's intellectual patrimony of an authentic value".[105]

2.1.2. - Brazilians in Paris and Parisians in Brazil

Far from just working on the early formation of the Brazilian art system and market, and from circumventing the lack of museums and galleries, Prado also contributed to the design of an international map for cultural exchange. He not only financed long stays in Paris for Brazilian artists like Brecheret and Di Cavalcanti, allowing them the possibility of sharing formal and conceptual concerns with the French avant-garde. He also financed Blaise Cendrars' six month visit to Brazil, in 1924, and two other trips, in 1926 and 1927. On all these occasions Cendrars stayed at one of Prado's residences, either in São Paulo or the countryside. Whilst in Brazil, he worked on *Moravagine (*1926), and, most importantly, he wrote a chapter of *Les confessions de Dan Yack* (1929) and his poems for *Sud-Americaines* (1926). After being introduced by Cendrars to Le Corbusier, Prado would sponsor the architect's trip to Brazil, having Le Corbusier as a guest at his own residence, and introducing him to his brother, Antônio Prado Júnior, who at the time was the Mayor of Rio de Janeiro.[106] Le Corbusier would then work for Antônio on projects involving the re-styling of the city. Further, both Cendrars and Le Corbusier were remunerated for the series of lectures they gave in Brazil – all of which fostered intense and productive exchange.

Therefore Brazilian and European cultural production would equally benefit from Paulo Prado's initiatives, both in conceptual and financial terms. Thanks to his initiatives and wealth, Prado functioned as an equalizer between the modernist productions of the 'centre' and 'periphery'. An example of the type of subsidised production fostered by collaborative, or at least, shared situations that Prado facilitated is the *caravana paulista* (São Paulo caravan); known also as the *caravana modernista* (modernist caravan), a group of artists and intellectuals who travelled out from the city to explore areas of Brazil most of them had never visited previously.

Organised in 1924, the São Paulo modernist caravan was an itinerant journey that took its participants, often by train, from São Paulo to Rio de Janeiro's carnival, and then

[105] *"[D]esfalca o património intellectual do Brasil de um autêntico valor".* In: ibid, 84.

[106] See: 1) ibid, and 2) Waldman, "Espaços de Paulo Prado". Available at: <http://cral.in2p3.fr/artelogie/IMG/article_PDF/article_a66.pdf>. [Last accessed: 20/03/2013].

on to the colonial cities that were founded by the Portuguese in the State of Minas Gerais during the gold mining era of 18th century Brazil. It was composed of Tarsila do Amaral, Oswald de Andrade and his son Nonê, Blaise Cendrars, René Thiollier, Olívia Guedes Penteado and her son-in-law Gofredo da Silva Telles. Prado would occasionally catch up with the group and Mário de Andrade would revive the project in 1927, proceeding with the ideological and formal investigations of the group by travelling to the North of Brazil, up to the Amazonia.[107] The caravan resulted from Oswald de Andrade's plan to make use of Prado's wealth to bring Brazilian and French modernists together, to create opportunities for mutual inspiration and bonding, and to allow both the *paulistas* and the Europeans to share the experience of 'discovering' Brazil. To achieve this goal, Andrade and Amaral had encouraged Prado's friendship with Fernand Léger and Blaise Cendrars in Paris.[108] Andrade convinced Prado to finance the caravan under the pretext of showing Brazil to the Paris based Swiss author, yet Paulo's spontaneous willingness to sponsor cultural exchange was fundamental to the realisation of the project.

To begin with, the group enjoyed the carnival in Rio and then travelled inland to the historical cities of São João e São José Del-Rei, Divinópolis, Ouro Preto, Mariana, Sabará, Lagoa Santa e Congonhas do Campo.[109] In the capital of Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, the caravan stayed at the Grand Hotel and met with poet Carlos Drummond de Andrade and other members of the *mineiro* literary modernist group, such as Pedro Nava. Drummond subsequently stated that during the conversation 'Cendrars [was] expanding on his curiosity as a French man interested in everything, especially in capturing the local colours of Minas Gerais life'. [110] Thus, Cendrars had the opportunity to explore 'Brazilianness' in all its diversity, and for their part, during this trip, the Brazilians, as Silvano Santiago puts it,

> were all imbued with futurist principles, came to believe in the machine age and in progress, and suddenly, travel[ed] in search of colonial Brazil. They were confronted with the national historic past and, most importantly, with the primitive as manifestation of the 1700s baroque of Minas Gerais.[111]

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[107] See: Denise Marques Bahia, "1924-2004: From Modern Caravans to a Critical Review of the Modern Movement in Minas Gerais –Taking Back the Travelled Route". In: *Cadernos de Arquitetura e Urbanismo*, *vol. 11, n. 12*, (2004): 157-168.

[108] See: Waldman, "Espaços de Paulo Prado". Available at: <http://cral.in2p3.fr/artelogie/IMG/article_PDF/article_a66.pdf>. [Last accessed: 20/03/2013].

[109] See: Jesana Lilian Siqueira*, Modernismo Mineiro: Sociabilidade e Produção Intelectual na Década de 1920*, (MA diss. Universidade Federal de Juíz de Fora, 2008).

[110] '*Cendrars expandindo sua curiosidade de francês interessado em tudo, principalmente em captar a cor local da vida mineira.*' In: Carlos Drummond de Andrade, *Tempo Vida Poesia,* 9th Edition, (Rio de Janeiro e São Paulo, Editora Record, 2008), 84.

[111] *'Estavam todos imbuídos pelos princípios futuristas, tinham confiança na civilização da máquina e do progresso e, de repente, viajam em busca do Brasil colonial. Deparam com o passado histórico nacional e com – o que é mais importante para nós – o primitivo enquanto manifestação do barroco setecentista mineiro'*. In:

As we understand it, the *caravana modernista* managed to efface boundaries between the 'self' and the 'other' built by issues of cultural hierarchy; the particularism of Brazil's aesthetic-literary production and the universalism of the European one. This blurring of difference in the 'self/other' relation, and in the process of cultural exchange and absorption, 'was a by-product of the micro-politics of coexistence and friendship'. [112] If Cendrars managed to explore ways in which he could turn the exotic from an experience of the extraneous yet captivating into the familiar in his writings, it was because the Brazilians offered him a quasi-ethnographical understanding of the 'other''s culture based on shared perceptions. The process was not unilateral, given that the Brazilians, through Cendrars' outlook, travelled towards their own epiphany. What had already been tackled by Andrade's *Em Prol de Uma Pintura Nacional* - that is, the enquiry within local socio-cultural history and the popular - if further explored would consolidate their place as equals within the arena of the international avant-garde. The fact that the *modernistas'* interest in the popular had been crucial to them since this 1915 article, and therefore predates the encounter with Cendrars in Paris in 1923, has been already pointed out by Vianna, who, by doing so, reduced Cendrars's authoritative influence on Amaral and Andrade's oeuvre. [113] Silva Brito also denies Cendrars such ascendance on *modernismo*, stating that 'the *modernistas* do not have masters in Brasil, either because they are dead, or, even alive, they are practically non-existent'.[114] Brito here is categorical in maintaining that Cendrars, although 'alive' and sharing experiences with the Brazilians throughout the journey, did not represent an influence that undermined the stance of confidence of the *modernistas*. Brito's statement implies that the Brazilian members of the caravan were not seeing in Cendrars the figure and the authority of the master, thus were not interacting with him from the standpoint of the subaltern.

Moreover, from our perspective, and given Cendrars' social and psychological experience of Brazil through the Brazilians with whom he shared intellectual affinities, it is possible to challenge that of Aracy Amaral, who states that 'the resourceful influence received by Cendrars did not come from the Brazilians but from Brazil'.[115] In our view, the importance of situations of cross-cultural encounters should not be underestimated, and

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Silvano Santiago, "A Permanência do Discurso da Tradição no Modernismo", in: Santiago, *Nas malhas da Letra* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Rocco, 2002), 121.

[112] Söderlund, "*Antropofagia*: An Early Arrière-Garde". Available at: <www.riha-journal.org/articles/2016/0132_Costa_Söderlund>. [Last accessed: 13/09/2016].

[113] See: Hermano Vianna, *O Mistério do Samba* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora UFRJ, 1995).

[114] *'Os modernistas não têm mestres no Brasil, ou porquê estão mortos ou porquê, mesmo vivos, são como praticamente inexistêntes'*. Brito, *História do Modernismo Brasiliero*, 137.

[115] *'[A] influência-manancial recebida por Cendrars não seria dos brasileiros e sim do Brasil*'. Aracy Abreu Amaral, *Blaise Cendrars no Brasil e os Modernistas* (São Paulo: Editora 34, 1970), 90.

Haroldo de Campos' opinion on Andrade and Cendrars' writings during the *caravana modernista* can be used here to emphasise our argument. In fact, Campos advocates that "the Swiss poet […] had knowledge of Oswald's unpublished production […] being contaminated by them or their spirit".[116] Campos' opinion is that Cendrars read Andrade's notes for his *Pau-Brasil Poetry* book and was influenced by them; therefore Campos here believes that the sharing of ideas and texts during the journey across Brazil shaped Cendrars's work more than the journey in Brazilian land itself. Campos' analysis entails the ascendance of Andrade's literary production on Cendrars, yet, from our perspective, which emphasises the role played by subjectivity and shared experience in literary production, the Brazilian influence emerges also in *Éloge de la Vie Dangereuse* (1926).[117] This essay is composed of five narratives in which personal memories and extracts of the author's notes taken in South America and Antarctica are merged in an act of reflection. Here the process of living the modern life leads to the aesthetic of the heterogeneous, and fictitious facts are entrenched in autobiographical references; thus fiction is bound to the incontestable truth of the lived facts. When Cendrars wrote it, he had been accompanied by Prado on a trip to Praia Grande, a virgin and isolated beach. Such proximity between the two authors may suggest, at the very least, the influence of this social and psychological interaction within Cendrars' writings, particularly if one considers that Cendrars work' was centred on the subjective experience of foreign cultural and geographical realities re-processed through contemplation. In addition, 'the wolf-man of this story draws inspiration from an episode observed by Cendrars when travelling with Prado and the other friends to the city of Tiradentes.'[118] This was not a case of formal appropriation or inspirational stealing; it was the result of literary affinity, friendship and emotional entwining.

Another creative production, this time planned in Paris, proves that the type of reciprocal involvement between the Brazilians and Cendrars went beyond the adoption and processing of formal, cultural and theoretical concerns. The production was one of Cendrars' ballets, which, according to Aracy Amaral, differed little from his *The Creation of the World*.[119] This project was based on a collaborative ethos, with a plot written by Oswald de Andrade, costumes designed by Tarsila do Amaral, and music composed by

[116] Haroldo de Campos, in: Saulo Gouveia, *The Triumph of Brazilian Modernism: the Metanarrative of Emancipation and Counter Narratives* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 234.
[117] See: Blaise Cendrars, *Éloge de la Vie Dangereuse* (Paris : Editeur Les Ecrivains Réunis, 1926).
[118] *'O lobishomem dessa história é inspirado em um episódio observado por Cendrars quando viajava com Prado e seus amigos modernistas pela cidade de Tiradentes'*. In: Waldman,"Espaços de Paulo Prado", 9. Available at: <http://cral.in2p3.fr/artelogie/IMG/article_PDF/article_a66.pdf>. [Last accessed: 20/03/2013]. See also: Amaral, *Blaise Cendrars no Brasil e os Modernistas*.
[119] See: Aracy Abreu Amaral, *Tarsila: Sua Obra e Seu Tempo, Vol. II, Estudos* (Sao Paulo: Editora Perspectiva, 1975).

Heitor Villa-Lobos. Although never executed, it is valuable proof of how the Brazilians acted in Paris in order to subdue the hegemonic traits of early 20th century modernism through joint effort, exchange of favours and fraternisations.

As noted by Herkenhoff, Hendel-Samson's research on Amaral concludes that, whilst the artist was studying with Léger in 1923, and 'given [Léger's] method, which consisted in utilising his pupil's advice, it is plausible that Tarsila may have […] helped Léger in the preparation of the *Ballets Suêdois*.[120] Two productions, unlike Cendrars' aforementioned ballet, were, however, realised: one is Andrade's 1924 *Pau-Brasil Poetry* book, the other is Cendrars' *Feuilles de Route*. As Asbury put it,

> Carlos Augusto Machado Calil saw strong similarities between *Pau-Brasil* […] and *Feuilles de route*, […], both published by *Au Sains Pareil* (Cendrars' publishing house), and Oswald dedicated his publication "to Blaise Cendrars, for the discovery of Brazil" […]. Besides, Tarsila illustrated a collection of Cendrars' poems, *Feuilles de route.* Given that Cendrars had already collaborated with Sonia Delaunay […] in the previous decade in *Prose du Transsiberien et de la petite Jehanne de France*, it was quite natural that Tarsila's collaboration with the poet was seen as the continuation of a long lineage, representing […] an important contribution within the wider history of modern art. [121]

These works can be seen as a single, and cooperative, cosmopolitan modus operandi (informed by travelling, international networking and exchange of ideas, and facilitated by financial means). Prado's role as a patron of the French-Brazilian connection shows that although the *modernista* milieu of the 1920s benefited from sponsoring and capital injections, associations based on coexistence and intellectual grounds still prevailed.

2.2. – Olívia Guedes Penteado

Olivia Guedes Penteado (1872-1934) **{fig. 7}** was a member of the dynasty of the Barons of Parapitingüy – landowners and coffee makers. She married her cousin, Inácio

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[120] *'[D]ado o método de utilizar sugestões de seus alunos, seria plausível que Tarsila pudesse [...] ter auxiliando no preparo dos "Ballets Suêdois"'*. Paulo Herkenhoff, "As Duas e a Única Tarsila", in Helza Ajzenberg, Paulo Herkenhoff, Maria Clara Rodrigues, Brigitte Hedel-Samson, Jean-Françis Chougnet, *Tarsila do Amaral: Peintre Brèsilienne à Paris, 1923-1929* (Rio de Janeiro: Maison de l' Amerique Latine, Imago Escritorio de Arte, 2005), 85-86.

[121] '*Carlos Augusto Machado Calil viu fortes semelhanças entre Pau-Brasil […] e Feuilles de Route […], ambas publicadas por Au Sans Pareil (editor de Blaise Candrars), e Oswald dedicou sua publicação "a Blaise Cendrars, pela descuberta do Brasil" […]. Além disso, Tarsila ilustrou a coleção de poemas de Cendrars, Feuilles de Route. Como Cendrars já houvesse colaborado com Sonia Delaunay […], na década anterior em "Prose du Transsiberien et de la petite Jehanne de France", era bem natural que a colaboração de Tarsila com o poeta fosse reconhecida como algo que seguisse uma grande linhagem, representando, dessa maneira, importante contribuição dentro de uma história mais ampla da arte moderna*'. In: Michael Asbury, "Parisienses no Brasil, Brasileiros em Paris: Relatos de Viagem e Modernismos Nacionais", in: *Concinnitas Journal, n. 12*, Instituto de Artes, Universidade Estadual do Rio de Janeiro (UERJ), (2008): 47.
Available at: <http://www.concinnitas.uerj.br/>. [Last accessed: 23/11/2013]

Guedes Penteado, and their family had links with other representatives of the Brazilian-born Portuguese aristocracy, as well as with the native population thanks to a relation to Tibiriça, the *cacique* (the 'political chief' of indigenous tribes) of Pitatininga. There are at least two good reasons to make Penteado relevant to our discussions. Firstly, her outstanding importance for the emergence and establishment of *modernismo* in Brazil was already understood by her contemporaries, who called her *Nossa Senhora do Brasil* (Our Lady of Brazil), as explained by Arruda Dantas, who dedicated a book-length study to her.[122] Secondly, she represents a bridge between her generation of patrons and the following; between the 1922 modern art week and the subsequent waves of *modernismo* beginning in the late 1940s with abstractionism.

Figure 7:

Olívia Guedes Penteado (far right) at her villa, at the *Fazenda Santo Antôni*o, with Tarsila do Amaral and Oswald de Andrade (1924).

Source: Aracy Abreu Amaral, *Tarsila: Sua Obra e Seu Tempo*, São Paulo, Editora 34 and Edusp, 2003, 162.

As a young woman, she would spend time between the countryside and her family mansion in São Paulo. In the capital, she lived at the prestigious da Rua Conselheiro Nébias, one of the addresses in which the *paulista* establishment used to meet socially in grand salons decorated with academic art. Historically, the taste of aristocrats in Brazil leaned toward the baroque until very late, as this style prevailed up to 1816, year in which *Dom* João VI, the Portuguese monarch who had transferred his court to Rio de Janeiro, initiated a process of institutionalisation that led to the establishment of a fine art academy in the colony (1826).[123] The venture was achieved through the migration of French masters and their neo-classicist canons to Brazil. From then until the end of the Brazilian *Belle Époque*, which indeed coincided with the insolent and transgressive endeavours of the *modernistas* linked to the 1922 modern art week in São Paulo, neo-

[122] See: Antônio Arruda Dantas, *Dona Olívia* (São Paulo: Sociedade Impressora Pannartz, 1975).
[123] We discussed the establishment of the Brazilian Academy of Fine Art during Brazil's imperial time in chapter 1.

classicism was the prevailing art trend and went under the general label of academic art. It was the only style taught in Brazil. By the early 20th century, the décor of the upper classes was therefore influenced by the historical development of taste in Brazil, and beyond baroque and neo-classical art and artefacts. Romanticism had also found its way of expression in Brazil, particularly in idealised depictions of the native Indian as 'noble savage'. During the first two decades of the 20th century, the elite also began to appreciate some more recent yet consecrated styles of European origin: symbolism and parnasianism. In Penteado's years of early adulthood in São Paulo, her aesthetic-literary taste followed this trajectory.

Once married, Penteado and her family moved to Paris in 1902, where her sick husband was seeking a cure and the couple's two daughters were being educated. As a partner in her family coffee company with branches in Europe, she belonged to the same circle as Paulo Prado, and in the years following World War I, she began to follow him during visits to artists' studios, galleries and dealers. Prado's help was not gratuitous and was driven by his strategic ambition of collaborating with the renewal of the artistic-literary landscape of 20th century Brazil. Although the vast majority of the elite maintained academic views, some of its members embraced innovative trends thanks to the mind-set acquired through constant travelling to the European and North-American cultural centres. Moreover, their virtually endless economic resources could 1) facilitate the migration of avant-garde representatives and their works; and 2) counterbalance the lack of institutional venues for the divulgation of culture in Brazil. Judging by Waldman's words, Prado made of Penteado, and her willingness to enlighten herself on the latest artistic trends, a useful partner in his venture in favour of modernism in Brazil:

> [i]n the absence of cultural institutions in São Paulo, Paulo […and…] Olívia stand out as […] host[s and] promoter[s] of modern art. Even after the death of her husband […and once returned to Brazil], Olívia keeps a life-style ruled by the etiquette and luxurious habits acquired in Paris, and follows the example of the French society ladies by reserving […] one day of the week, *"le jour de Madame Penteado*", to receive friends, artists and intellectuals […]. Beside Paulo's villa, the one [belonging to] Olívia […] gains exceptional splendour at the beginning of the XX century.[124]

Such salon gatherings, the quote implies, were already happening in her years in Paris (where Parisians, Brazilians and other *émigrés* would mingle), catching the attention

[124] '*Na ausência de instituções culturais em São Paulo, Paulo […e…] Olívia […] destaca[m]-se como anfitri[ões e] promotor[es] da arte moderna. Olívia, mesmo após a morte do marido, procura manter [...quando retorna ao Brasil] sua vida regrada pela etiqueta e hábitos de luxo adquiridos em Paris, e ao exemplo das damas da sociedade francesa, reserva […] um dia da semana, "le jour de Madame Penteado", para receber amigos, artistas e intellectuais […]. Ao lado do palacete de Prado, o de Olívia [...] adquire um brilho exceptional no início do século XX*'. Waldman, "Espaços de Paulo Prado", 10. Available at: <http://cral.in2p3.fr/artelogie/IMG/article_PDF/article_a66.pdf>. [Last accessed: 20/03/2013].

of her contemporaries, who, according to Arruda Dantas, recognised her to be the 'true Ambassador of Brazil' in France.[125] Once Penteado moved back to São Paulo in 1922, the meetings resumed with vigour and within a process through which the city was gradually stealing from Rio de Janeiro the leadership of the Brazilian cultural scene.

Penteado's Tuesday gatherings differed from those of other members of the Brazilian elite, such as the celebrated ones of Senator José Freitas Valle, another influential sponsor and cultural mediator for the State of São Paulo. Freitas Valle collected work by the symbolists and the parnasianists, who comprised the majority of the guests he received at his *Villa Kyrial*, the most prestigious of São Paulo's houses since the late 19th century. Only the impact of Prado and Penteado's events in the capital's cultural scene would manage to steal from *Villa Kyrial* its leading position.[126] What determined such difference was Penteado's modernist experience in Europe, since, prior to her Parisian years, she had shared Freitas Valle's academic tastes. It was in the French capital that her collector profile was renewed, as she dropped characteristics typical of the traditionalist patrons, the local aristocrats and the wealthy bourgeois – who purchased ornamental work or commissioned portraiture made according to consolidated styles. Yet her change of taste also exemplifies the cultural ebullience in the São Paulo of the 1920s and is witness to the local revolution that the Brazilian *modernistas* were after. It is paradigmatic of the counter-cultural stirrings with which the *modernista*s joined efforts with those very few members of the white-Brazilian elite who were prepared to break with aesthetic-literary tradition. Penteado was willing to change party and endorse the modernist cause, eventually becoming a pivotal figure when it came to supplanting the academicists. As a member of the commission of the Pensionato Artístico Paulista, Penteado could bring her new aesthetic views into a conservative institution that sponsored the studies of young Brazilian artists abroad.

2.2.1. - Penteado and the Pensionato Artístico de São Paulo

Founded in the early 1890s, immediately after the beginning of the Old Republic (1889-1930), the Pensionato Artístico de São Paulo (also known as the Pensionato Artístico Paulista) was a governmental institution working to counter the lack of an educational system dedicated to the arts in Brazil. Through the Pensionato, Brazilian

[125] *'[O] verdadeiro embaixador do Brasil na França'*. In: Dantas, *Dona Olívia*, 20.

[126] It is not the case, here, of expanding on Freitas Valle's activity as symbolist poet, *ancient regime* gentleman and host, and political figure responsible for the *Pensionato Artístico Paulista*. However, it is worth mentioning that a detailed study has been made by Camargos, in: Márcia Camargos, *Villa Kyrial: Crônica da Belle Époque Paulistana* (São Paulo: Editora Senac, 2001).

artists and musicians received funds to study at a foreign destination of their choice, with the obligation of donating part of their production for the formation of a State collection and archive initially under the umbrella of the Museu Paulista, and then the Pinacoteca do Estado, after its opening in 1905. Such donations would also help to improve the prestige and recognition of the personalities behind the sponsoring activities, who were often members of the Republican Party. Apart from aiming to create a national collection of art, politicians would also take personal advantage from the Pensionato, making sure they obtained favourable negotiations with artists for the formation of their own private collections.

The Pensionato Artístico Paulista entered its so-called 'second phase' thanks to Freitas Valle's law n. 2.234, of April 1912. This change allowed the *Pensionato* to subsidise award-winners for five years of study, generally in Paris (artists would mainly choose the Académie Julian, whereas musicians preferred the Conservatoire de Paris), or in Rome.[127] Freitas Valle, who before becoming a Senator was a Representative of the State of São Paulo and therefore maintained a powerful position in the politics of the State capital, wanted the institution to have 'regulation based on academic parameters', and, according to Márcia Camargos, he was the one who selected the scholarship winners.[128]

It was during the second phase that Anita Malfatti, Victor Brecheret and Heitor Villa-Lobos were selected for lengthy training in Paris in the early 1920s. The award holders were sponsored to travel abroad with the intention of fostering in them those artistic qualities that pleased Freitas Valle's taste. The Pensionato wanted them to gain experience and then to produce those types of art that, as mentioned earlier, were recognised as part of the Brazilian academic tradition by the elites. What was expected from these artists was that their work could fit into the historical development of the country's cultural heritage; hence, stylistic changes that broke with this heritage were unwelcomed. Malfatti's case proves the resistance of Freitas Valle and the elite to the radical proposals of the *modernistas*, and their refusal to put the Pensionato's funds at the disposal of the transgressive aesthetic-literary circle. It took her almost a decade of repeated applications to finally be rewarded with this sought-after bursary.

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[127] The *Pensionato Artístico* lasted until 1931, when it was dissolved by law n. 4.965, shortly after the Revolution of the Thirties. The *Pensionato*'s committee was extinguished and, given the political changes, its functions started to be exercised by Vargas' Council of Artistic Orientation (COA). After the initial turmoil, this institution was re-opened by the law n. 5.361 of 1932, and, along with the collection and archive of the Pinacoteca do Estado, began to be associated to the School of Fine Arts of São Paulo. See: "O Pensionato Artístico Na Repúlica Velha, São Paulo", Pinacoteca do Estado, from 2 March until 3 November 2013. Available at:
<http://www.pinacoteca.org.br/pinacoteca"pt/default.aspx?c=exposicoes&idexp=1180&mn=537&friendly=Exposicao-O-Pensionato-Artistico-na-Republica-Velha>. [Last accessed: 23/10/2013]

[128] *'[U]m regulamento baseado em paramêtros academicistas'*. In: Camargos, "Uma República nos Moldes Franceses", 138.

Malfatti's first application to the Pensionato was made in 1914, shortly after she had returned to Brazil after four years studying in Germany with masters of pointillism and expressionism. The application was supported by the submission of works shown in an exhibition at the Mappin Stores, where signs of those traits that would establish her iconoclastic potential at her main exhibition of 1917 were already apparent. Organised shortly after her return from studies in the US, this 1917 exhibition was, as mentioned earlier, heavily criticised by Monteiro Lobato. Freitas Valle went to see the exhibition, disliked Malfatti's works in support of her application and refused to give her the award. Perseverant, she would apply again as soon as the turbulence brought about by World War I was over, in 1921. This time Malfatti rather unsuccessfully pleaded with Washington Luís, who was at the time Governor of the State of São Paulo, offering him two of her art works as proof of her talent.[129] It was only in August of 1923 that Malfatti finally managed to achieve her goal, the year, not coincidentally, in which Freitas Valle began to welcome the Brazilian avant-garde to his salons. It was during a gathering at *Villa Kyrial* that Freitas Valle announced that Malfatti had been awarded a scholarship.

Given Penteado's work at the Pensionato's committee, it would not be surprising if such a change of stance on behalf of the father of Brazilian academic patronage had something to do with her. Penteado had recently moved back for good to São Paulo from Paris, in 1922. At this point the salon of 'Our Lady of Brazil' was one of the most important in town and she had an extremely intimate friendship with Tarsila do Amaral. Therefore Penteado was particularly involved with the personal expectations, ambitions and desires that run across the tight *grupo dos cinco* (constituted by Amaral, Oswald de Andrade, Mário de Andrade, Menotti del Picchia and Malfatti). Amaral did not need financial help from the *Pensionato* to support her trips to Paris: Freitas Valle indeed used his connections to facilitate them but, financially, her seasons in Europe were mainly paid for by her family allowance. Aware of Malfatti's vulnerable professional and personal position, Amaral might have spoken to her dear friend, Penteado, about the long-lasting struggle of the only other female *modernista* of the São Paulo group. In fact Malfatti's confidence in her professional skills had been weakened by Lobato's heavy criticisms; and her physical handicap, which would lead her to constantly wear long sleeves and cover with a handkerchief the right hand, inevitably interfered with her social and emotional life.[130] [131] Amaral's gesture had not only sympathetic motives: after all, it was Malfatti who

[129] See: Carmargos, *Villa Kyrial*.
[130] Malfatti was born with a deformity in her right arm and hand, which forced her to learn how to draw and paint with the left hand.
[131] See: Miceli, *Nacional Estrangeiro*.

introduced her to the *modernistas*, and in the early 1920s 'appeared to be a close friend of Tarsila during her stay in São Paulo, while Oswald's "courtship" took shape gradually'. [132]

As the *Pensionato* expected that the artists it awarded with scholarships would produce academic art, Malfatti was forced to go against her avant-gardist impetus.[133] In 1925 she initiated a large painting to be sent back to Brazil that had nothing to do with the modernist style she had already openly proposed in her Brazilian exhibitions of 1914 and 1917. This is clear in a letter she wrote to Freitas Valle in 1925, in which she included a sketch of *A Resurreição de Lázaro* (*Lazarus' Resurrection*) **{fig. 8}**: a figurative biblical theme, with an oval or elliptical composition including sacred figures. [134]

Figure 8:

Anita Malfatti,
A Resurreição de Lázaro, (1925/26-1928/29).

Oil on canvas, 196 x 129 cm.

Museu de Arte Sacra, São Paulo.

Source:
http://4.bp.blogspot.com/-Krux7r16Gos/UEehJ1bHJtI/AAAAAAAADCE/kAEVlhx5kiY/s1600/418808_416958578351679_1325834949_n.jpg

[132] *'[Anita] parece ter sido a companheira de sempre para Tarsila nesta sua estadia em São Paulo, ao mesmo tempo que a "corte" por parte de Oswald se define gradativamente'*. In: Amaral, *Tarsila: Sua Obra e Seu Tempo*, 74.

[133] After Lobato's vitriolic critique of 1917, Malfatti's work shows some changes from 1918 to 1921, in which she painted several rural landscapes and portraits which seem influenced by impressionism. However, from 1921 to 1923, she returns to the brushstrokes and the colour palette which had outraged Lobato; a fact evident in *Toureiro* (1923) and *Mário de Andrade I* and *III* (1921-1922 and 1923). *Toureiro*'s subject according to M. Andrade was a gipsy of admirable energy, which suggests that Malfatti was still preoccupied with depicting the subaltern. In 1921-1922 she also painted a portrait of Freitas Valle's niece in a Chinese costume dress called *Chinesa*, which was exposed at the *1ra Geral de Belas Artes in São Paulo* (1922), and was recognised by M. Andrade in the *modernista* magazine *Klaxon*, together with Amaral's *A Espanhola* (1922), the only two exceptions to panoply of academic backwardness. See: Mário de Andrade, in *Klaxon*, 15th (September 1922). The type of formal approach she would use in *Lazarus' Resurrection* seems to take shape during her stay in Europe in the years of the bursary, and is particularly influenced by the Italian late-Medieval and Renaissance religious art she saw in Florence. See: Batista, *Anita Malfatti – Catálogo de Documentação*.

[134] See: Camargos*, Villa Kyrial*.

This painting proves what type of work the Brazilian art institutions of the time wanted to show and present as representative of Brazilian art. It also highlights the controversies that the young *modernistas* needed to face within their own social and institutional context at a local level; and to what strategies they needed to resort to circumvent the powerful expectations and pressing demands coming from this very context. *Lazarus' Resurrection* is clear evidence of the artist's ability to disguise the true nature of her work - or of certain choices involving the making of works – in order to take advantage of the parochialist views of the art system and its agents. Its inconsistence with the rest of Malfatti's oeuvre in effect empowers this painting with a mimetic critique of the traditional agents of the Brazilian 'field of art': the more it meets the expectations of its sponsors and exhibiting premises with its formal content, the more it denies and dooms these very expectations with the ideological reasons behind its execution.

2.2.2. - The Modernist Coach-House

However probable Penteado's mediation on behalf of Malfatti might have been, it remains certain that she contributed considerably to the flourishing of the ideas and works of the *modernistas* in São Paulo, particularly from 1924, when she sold her flat in Paris. The sale meant that her collection of Parisian works needed to be relocated to Brazil, and she used the opportunity to transform the coach-house of her mansion in São Paulo into an art gallery and parlour for the *modernistas*. Here artists and intellectuals could gather to share ideas, take initiatives and see the works of Picabia, Delaunay, Léger, Picasso, Brancusi and Foujita, as well as two of Amaral's paintings, and work by other Brazilians such as Lasar Segall, Antônio Gomide, Di Cavalcanti, and Cícero Dias as well as six sculptures by Victor Brecheret – her favourite artist.[135] It was here that her Fernand Léger's *Compotier de Poires* **{fig. 9}** was relocated, a work that she had bought from Léonce Rosenberg, in Paris, during a visit to the important dealer with Oswald de Andrade and Tarsila do Amaral.[136] The coach-house would also host Brancusi's *Négresse Blonde II* and Picasso's *Le Polichinelle Lisant, Le Populaire* **{fig. 10 and 11}.**

[135] See: Miceli, *Nacional Estrangeiro*.
[136] We will further discuss Rosenberg's connection with the Brazilian patrons and modernistas in Paris in the following chapter.

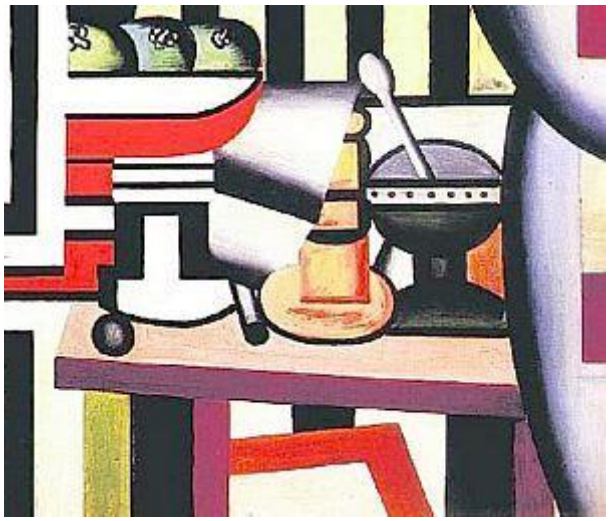

Figure 9:

Fernand Léger,
Compotier de Poires (1923).

Oil on canvas,
79 x 98 cm.

Today part of the collection of the MASP,
Museu de Arte de São Paulo,
São Paulo.

Source: http://www.sothebys.com/content/dam/stb/lots/L13/L13002/176L13002_6S76Q_comp.jpg.thumb.319.319.png

Figure 10:

Constantin Brancusi,
Négresse Blonde II (1933).

Wood, marble and bronze,
181 x 36.2 x 36.8 cm.

Today part of the Philip L. Goodwin Collection
MoMA, Museum of Modern Art,
New York.

Source: http://www.moma.org/collection/works/80936

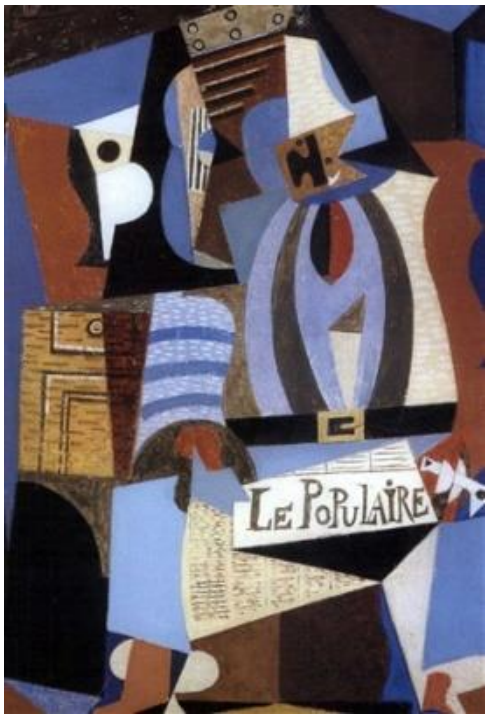

Figure 11:

Pablo Picasso,
Le Polichinelle Lisant,
Les Populaires (1920).

Gouache on paper,
34,4 x 24 cm.

Today part of the Jones Benjamin Collection,
Rio de Janeiro.

Source:
http://www.artnet.fr/artistes/pablo-picasso/polichinelle-lisant-le-populaire-gD6cx2hLWVaShTFeyBoQ2

The coach-house's philanthropic aims were emphasised by the project for the design of its interior. Penteado commissioned Lasar Segall to design the modernist meeting rooms and to include some of his own work, such as 'two paintings of a stylised human figure, […and, among other decorations,] two vertical geometric-abstract compositions', which are, Aracy Amaral suggests, the first signs of Brazilian geometric-abstraction.[137] The emergence of this trend in Brazil was also possible thanks to an event at the Musical Conservatory of São Paulo in 1924, when Blaise Cendrars gave a lecture on geometric-abstraction by showing European paintings which would not have reached the Brazilian audience if they would not have been brought to the country by Penteado. Cendrars's friendship with Penteado would lead him to stay at her country villa, the *Fazenda Villa Santo Antônio*, and to dedicate to her his novel *Kodak (Documentaires*) of 1924. One year after Penteado's death, the French newspaper *Le Jour* would publish another of his dedications to her: *En Transatlantique dans la Forêt Vierge* (1935).[138]

[137] *'[D]uas pinturas da figura humana estilizada […e entre outras decorações] duas composições abstrato-geométricas'.* Aracy Abreu Amaral, "O Surgimento da Abstração Geométrica no Brasil", in *Textos do Trópico de Capricornio, Artigos e Ensaios (1980 – 2005)*, *Vol. 1: Modernismo, Arte Moderna e o Compromisso com o Lugar* (São Paulo: Editora 34, 2006) 104.

[138] See: Maria Ignez Barbosa, "Convertida ao Modernismo", *O Estado de São Paulo*, 29th May 2010. Available at: <http://www.estadao.com.br/noticias/suplementos,convertida-ao-modernismo,558283,0.htm>. [Last accessed: 18/12/2013].

In an article of 1936, Tarsila do Amaral affectionately mentions Penteado as 'our [of the *modernistas*] Dona Olivia', a fact that points to the underlying affinities that entwined the generous support of the patron and the goals of the transgressive avant-garde. Describing Penteado's Paulista mansion as a miniature Versailles, Amaral added that although she appreciated the art of the past, she also promoted the present in her modern pavilion, which corresponded to 'one of the most opulent and interesting galleries of Brazil'.[139] Today Penteado rests in one of the most famous spots of the Consolação cemetery, under one of the sculptures she owned by Victor Brecheret, *Descida da Cruz* (*Descent from the Cross*), which was prized at the Salon D' Automne of 1923 **{fig. 12}**.

Figure 12:

Victor Brecheret,
Descida da Cruz,
also known as *Mise au Tombeau*
or *O Sepultamento* (1923).

Granite
3,38 x 2,12 m.

Guedes Penteado family collection,
Consolação Cemetery,
São Paulo.

Source:
http://www.recantodasletras.
com.br/biografias/4859888

[139] *"[U]mas das galerias mais opulentas e interessantes do Brasil*." Tarsila do Amaral in: *Tarsila Cronista*, Aracy Abreu Amaral (org), (Edusp: São Paulo, 2000), 77.

3 - *Modernismo* and Cosmopolitanism

3.1. – *Modernismo and* the 'Primitive' Reference

Oswald de Andrade and Tarsila do Amaral, two of the members of the *grupo dos cinco* that emerged from the São Paulo modern art week of February 1922, started a relationship in the early months of formation of the group. In November 1922, Amaral travelled to Paris, and Andrade followed her the following month or so. The couple would spend two long seasons together in the French capital (1922-1923 and 1926), becoming part of the city's early 20th century cosmopolitan cultural milieu. These were the occasions in which Andrade and Amaral experienced the peculiar interest in the 'backwards other' through which European avant-garde movements were shaped. As noted by Asbury, Archer-Straw (2000), associates the Parisian interest in black culture (at the time associated with the tribal and savage) 'initially as a revolt against the Western bourgeois tradition expressed mainly through Dada, and following World War I, through the conservative connotations of the *rappel à l' ordre*'. [140] Paris had already been taking a broad interest in non-European cultures for some years by the time the Brazilian couple arrived. Apollinaire had been involved with the magazine *Les Arts à Paris* (which brought together texts on Parisian art with others on foreign and 'exotic' cultures); Picabia had launched the magazine *Cannibale* (1920), Ball had founded its *Cabaret Voltaire* (1916), and Léger was working on *La Creation du Monde* (1923).[141]

The Parisian aesthetic-literary milieu that Andrade and Amaral encountered in the 1920s was itself 'ambivalent', as it gravitated between an interest in re-establishing a classicist tradition, and another in disrupting the established values of Western culture.[142] On the one hand, there was purism (*rappel à l' ordre*); a nationalist post-cubist trend that returned to classical French tradition and the Arcadia to 'purge' cubism from its German romantic and irrational connotations. Purist ideas were put forward through Apollinaire's conference of 1917 on *L' Esprit Nouveau*. They later evolved in the journal with the same name founded by Le Corbusier and Ozenfant in 1920, which, as mentioned in the previous chapter, Prado allowed to circulate in Brazil in the early 1920s (and possibly before Andrade and Amaral arrived in Paris). If one takes into account Teles and Santos' views, one would be led to believe that it was not only through Prado's endeavours that the

[140] Asbury, *Hélio Oiticica: Politics and Ambivalnce in 20th Century Brazilian Art*, 36.
[141] See: Ruth Hemus, "Dada's Paris Season", in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, *Vol. III, Europe 1880-1940, Part I*, Peter Brooker, Sasha Bru, Andrew Thacker and Christian Weikop (eds.) (Croydon: Oxford University Press, 2013), 188-191.
[142] Asbury, *Hélio Oiticica*, 43.

Brazilians arrived in Paris already well informed on purism, but that such knowledge had already surfaced in the organisation of the São Paulo modern art week of February 1922.[143] This is because, according to Teles, Graça Aranha (who, as we know, was one of the major organisers of the event) had returned to Brazil from Paris three months prior to the modern art week bringing with him the information that Breton and Tzara had programmed an *ésprit nouveau* conference in Paris for March 1922 - which never took place due to a misunderstanding between the two. In addition, according to Santos, 'the opening conference of the modern art week is in conscious and sound alignment with Apollinaire's new spirit'.[144] Teles argues that the Brazilians, aware of the events in Paris and inspired by Apollinaire's text *L' Esprit Nouveau,* decided to make of the modern art week a fight for national culture, and that this nationalistic impetus, although influenced by that proclaimed by the purists, led the Brazilians to negate the European origins of the ideas they preached. However, one must also consider that, as posited in chapter 1, the *modernistas*' envisioning of the crystallisation of a modern national culture began to take shape in 1915 with Andrade's "In Favour of a National Art", and that the process behind this crystallisation was based on a nationalist-internationalism. This implies that - no matter if the Brazilians had been familiarised with purism in Brazil or in Paris in the early 1920s - the innovative edge that the French movement was offering to the *modernistas* was merely a formal one, as the nationalist ideology that it carried had been pervading the Brazilian cultural debate since the previous decade.

On the other hand, there was dada and surrealism, which drew on a fascination with the primitive 'other' (i.e., the tribal, rudimentary cultures and the savage) in order to put forward a disruptive and aggressive internationalist, anti-bourgeoisie and anti-establishment programme. According to Asbury, Amaral and Andrade appropriated both purism and dada in a way in which the movements became complementary, rather than opposed, within *modernismo*.[145] Asbury also sees the couple's interest in the representation of modernity in Brazil as arising from Cendrars' participation in the *caravana modernista* (early on discussed); and from the influence of Léger's classes on Amaral's paintings, which can be seen in her depictions of modern urban areas (i.e., skyscrapers, electricity poles, railways, etc.) in the post-*caravana* paintings. Amaral and Andrade's works would overtly refer to the ideas on primitivism current in Paris up to the anthropophagic phase.

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[143] See: Teles, *Vanguarda Européia e Modernismo Brasileiro*, and Santos, "A Posição de Graça Aranha", 681-688.

[144] *'A conferência de abertura da Semana [de arte moderna] mostra um grau de adequada e consciente sintonia com o espírito novo apollinairiano'*. Santos, ibid, 686.

[145] See: Asbury, *Hélio Oiticica*.

The following section is intended to show the original approach to the European reference on behalf of the Brazilians. More specifically, here we will argue that Amaral and Andrade's primitivism and interest in ancient cultures, took directions that differed from the aesthetic-literary currents they experienced in Paris. Indeed, the purist re-evaluation of cubism through the formal sobriety of classicism might have inspired the *modernista* use of a legendary autochthonous tribe and its cannibalistic practice as a way of enhancing the roots of republican Brazil. The inherent contradiction of purism, which implied that the movement was nationalist yet also interested in the ancient 'other' is certainly also a characteristics of *modernismo*. The anti-establishment and disruptive values that dada and surrealism might have instilled into Amaral and Andrade might have fomented the strategies with which *modernism*o would supplant the academies and artistic tradition in Brazil. Yet, instead of adopting an exoticist and therefore Eurocentric approach to the 'primitive', Amaral and Andrade's anthropophagic *modernismo,* as we shall see, was centred on an understanding of the exo-cannibalistic practice of Brazilian autochthonous tribes. Amaral and Andrade were aware of the 'European affirmation of the Self through the construed image of the Other', and mocked the Europeans 'deeply ingrained fantasies of absolute otherness'.[146] However, their appropriation of the European interest in the 'other' went beyond such mockery, and, in this chapter, we will thus argue that *modernismo* went to the extent of engaging with the cosmological, ontological and symbolic dimension of the cannibal tribes belonging to the *Tupi*, a Brazilian native group. We will also claim that Andrade and Amaral approached the cannibalistic reference in a way that went beyond the formal hybridity generated at the so-called 'centre'. In other words, our argument is that Amaral and Andrade's primitivism differed from a superficially similar primitivist tendency in Europe in terms of both the depth and scope of its concern with the primitive reference.

3.1.1. - Awareness of Exoticism as Emancipating Strategy

Shortly after her arrival in the French capital, Amaral discovered that it was the confluence of foreign and regional influences that made Paris important, and not some cultural purity. Captivated by the thrill of walking down endless streets unrecognised and unnoticed, she enthusiastically wrote letters to her family where "Paris is the free space in which the foreign can expand him/herself within the creations of national temperaments. There the Russian Ballets, Japanese print-making and Black Music is what reaches

[146] Ibid, 39.

success." [147] The cultural ebullience and variety of the Parisian landscape, Amaral here implies, were due to regional contributions coming from different corners of the world, and were what made Paris an exciting city and a multi-cultural source of inspiration. For Amaral, Paris was a cultural melting pot. Looking back at this statement whilst having in mind recent sociological notions of the process of cultural globalization, it seems to us that Amaral was perceiving the 'disembedding' of social relations and cultural practices from their territory of origins - which sociologists such as Giddens and Tomlinson recognise to be one of the globalising properties of modernity.[148] This process of breakage of the overlapping of socio-cultural factors from their native geographical location goes under the term 'deterritorialisation'. [149] With the weakening of ties between culture and place during the early 20th century, Paris increasingly lost that relevance linked to the French long-standing national tradition to progressively propagate a new sort of splendour. This new sheen had less to do with France's cultural history and more with the massive dislocation and arrival of cultural subjects and objects from locations that were from faraway in terms of space and time. Open to those cultural aspects that, in Paris, tended to transcend specific territorial boundaries in a modern world that consisted of things and people fundamentally in motion, Amaral's statement points to a 'de-territorialised' cluster of cultural multiplicity. Paris was still considered by young artists, worldwide, to be their mecca, the place to go to study or develop a career. Yet the city's fame, paradoxically, would increasingly depend on countless foreign ideals, process-thoughts, tastes, values and realities embedded in the symbolic significations generated by each successful artist or intellectual that brought into Paris a culture originating in another geographical context. As Amaral's own perception suggests, the Paris of her times was a manifold space and cultural dimension, a pluri-fertilised field suspended over French land. Her words imply the relativisation of central culture through the increased juxtaposition and entwining of a myriad of peripheral influences, typical of cosmopolitanism.

Cultural multiplicity and de-territorialisation were facets of Parisian cosmopolitanism which would coexist with practices that, instead of effacing power relations, would manifest them. Appropriations or objectifications of the art and culture of the 'other', often represented by artefacts, symbolic practices and visual languages coming from ex-

[147] *"Paris é o espaço livre em que o estrangeiro se expande nas suas criações de índoles nacionais. Lá alcançam sucesso os bailados russos, gravuras japonesas e música negra"*. Tarsila do Amaral, in: Gotlib, *Tarsila a Modernista*, 70.

[148] See: Antony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (London: Polity Press, 1990); and John Tomlinson, *Globalization and Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

[149] For the term "de-territorialisation" see: Arjun Appadurai, "Difference in the Global Cultural Economy", in: *Global Culture* , Mike Featherstone (ed) (London: Sage, 1990), 295-310.

colonies of geographical areas deemed as 'backwards' or 'rudimentary' occurred in the aesthetic-literary as much as in the design field, driven by exoticism. In early 20th century Europe, a conspicuous fascination with what are now called 'subaltern' cultures, was, as a matter of fact, also fomented by market forces. Art Déco is a good example of how capitalism in Europe was promoting the 'tribal' from Africa, South America or Oceania under the guise of consumer goods.[150]

However, and given Amaral's perception of her encounter with the Prince Tovalú, in 1923, at one of the Parisian avant-garde gatherings, foreign artists and intellectuals converging to Paris would also have a conscious understanding of the rationale that, in certain cases, ruled the European interest in the 'other''s culture. In her specific case, Amaral would use such understanding in her favour; as a sort of anti-Eurocentrism strategy resulting from the awareness of persisting colonial mechanisms. In her own words, used to describe the African Prince (Amaral did not specify, and probably did not know, from which African country he came): "I remember Prince Tovalú, introduced to me by Cendrars. Tovalú was a fetish disputed by the entire avant-garde artistic circle. Really black, with features that seemed corrected by the Arian race, very well perfumed, he was dressed with Parisian elegance".[151] Here Amaral underscores Tovalú's masterly control of the pros-and-cons of his physical appearance in relation to the perception of the 'colonial eye', correcting what could be 'seen' by the European as an undesired flaw by adopting the fancy mannerisms typical of the European 'self'. Certainly, if one focusses on Amaral's envisioning of the beautification of Tovalú's features thanks to some resemblance to Arian features, one deduces that she was not completely detached from the colonial view of her time. However, if one moves away from such undeniable perspective – whilst also considering that, despite all conscious opposition, one is unavoidably subjected, to some extent, to the prevailing values of the geographical area and historical moment to which one belongs - one may conclude the following. Amaral was finely tuned to the fact that, conscious of being perceived as a Prince, yet a tribal lord; an aristocrat yet black, Tovalú used the 'self/other' relationship that ruled the exoticism springing from the Eurocentric perspective as exchange currency in order to assert his position as part and parcel of the European circle. The way he was actually putting the European avant-garde fetishization of the 'other' at his disposal, suggests a strategy whereby cultural and sociological dynamics crucial for the perpetuation of

[150] See: Sophie Leclercq, "The Surrealist Appropriation of "Indigenous" Art", in *Arts & Societies* (November 2006): 2. Available at: <http:/www.artssocietes.org>. [Last accessed 17/10/2011].

[151] *"Lembro-me do Príncipe Tovalú, apresentado por Cendrars. Tovalú era um fetiche disputado em todos os meios artísticos de vanguarda. Bem negro, com traços corretos de raça Ariana, muito perfumado, vestia-se com elegância parisiense"*. Tarsila do Amaral, in: Amaral, *Tarsila: Sua Obra e Seu Tempo*, 133.

'centre/periphery' asymmetries are objectified to gain a position, within the 'centre', which can be used in favour of the 'periphery'. The acumen that surfaces from Amaral's 'portrait' of Tovalú is symptomatic of her own awareness and control of her subjectivity. In our view, she was able to pinpoint Tovalú's intention of benefiting from - or even, taking advantage of - the issue of exoticism because this very intention mirrored her own.

Andrade presented a paper at the Sorbonne on May 11th 1923 that proves that he was not lagging behind in relation to Amaral's mimetic strategy. *L' Effort Intellectuel du Brésil Contemporain* ("The Intellectual Effort of Contemporary Brazil") shows that Andrade was using Europe's modern fascination for the far-away 'other' to achieve Brazil's establishment within the international aesthetic-literary arena that had materialised on Parisian ground. According to Andrade, "never before has it been possible to feel so comfortable in Paris […:] the presence of the black drum and Indian singing. These ethnic forces are in full modernity."[152] The detection of Parisian exoticism is, in the ways we interpret these words, as powerful as Andrade's understanding that the 'centre's' fascination for the 'other' (the black, the Indian, the East, the ex-colony, and even Europe's own peripheries) could paradoxically become a weapon of the subaltern against what had been until then a Eurocentric modernity. Thus, from our perspective on Andrade's views during his Parisian seasons with Amaral (1922-1923 and 1926) we contest Herkenhoff's claims, that

> Oswald's goal within his Parisian project was […] to negotiate, symbolically, with the artistic milieu by means of opportunistically using a currency valued in France: primitivism in art. […] Tarsila and Oswald's nationalist project emerged in Paris as a strategy, via their adaptation to the exotic trend, for their acceptance on behalf of the French milieu.[153]

What set into motion Amaral's portrayal of Prince Tovalú as socio-cultural chameleon, and Andrade's detection of exoticism as a force in the hands of a Brazilian cultural producer that no longer had to feel uncomfortable on the basis of his/her subaltern position, was a view in which the power of the colonial gaze is turned against its own creator. Herkenhoff's argument is that, during the years spent in Paris, Amaral and Andrade worked towards an opportunistic yet submissive adaptation to the European infatuation with a supposedly backwards 'other'; towards a mere pursuit of validation, on

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[152] "*Jamais foi possível sentir-se tão bem, no ambiente de Paris […:] a presença sugestiva do tambor negro e do canto índio. Estas forças étnicas estão em plena modernidade".* Oswald de Andrade, *"*L' Effort Intellectuel du Brésil Contemporain*"* (1923), in: ibid, 108.

[153] *'O projeto parisiense de um oportunista Oswald tinha o objetivo de […uma] negociação simbólica com o meio artístico atravéz de uma moeda de valorização na França: o primitivismo na arte. […] O Projeto nacionalista de Tarsila e Oswald surgiu em Paris como estratégia, via adaptação à voga do exótico, para a aceitação pelo meio Francês'*. Herkenhoff, "As Duas e a Única Tarsila", 83-84.

behalf of the hegemonic, of less valuable forms of modernist expressions. For Herkenhoff, Andrade and Amaral's turning to the Afro-Brazilian and indigenous Brazilian culture in their works abided by the French fascination with the 'primitive'.[154] He claims that the couple adopted Brazilian popular culture as a strategy to establish themselves within the Parisian avant-garde – a process that Herkenhoff called the 'anthropophagy of the elite'.[155] Our view, however, is that Amaral and Andrade's strategy was far more self-confident and ambitious: they wanted their Brazilian art and culture to be perceived as emancipated. As we shall see in the ensuing pages, their strategy developed, progressively, from the early months of the first season (1922-1923) up to the second one (1926).

Exoticism allowed black and indigenous culture to be incorporated into European modernism. Andrade's 1923 statement at the Sorbonne implies that this phenomenon put those artists and intellectuals coming to Paris from the colonial peripheries of the world in a less discriminatory, therefore 'comfortable' position, in relation to the French and to those coming from elsewhere in Europe. The time was therefore ripe for foreigners to attempt to act from within the 'centre', as equals, so as to achieve the autonomy of their local cultures. Whilst Herkenhoff sees the couple's symbolic negotiation as a selfish and opportunistic manoeuvre destined to achieve personal success, we see it as a manipulation of exoticism in order to de-authorise the European, and to appropriate a weapon of cultural domination. In his article, Herkenhoff goes as far as stating that Amaral's 'discovery' of Brazil in Paris was meant 'to impress the Parisians. […] The project of interpretation of Brazil had the goal of conquering success in France'.[156] On Andrade's primitivism, he says that for the Brazilian author 'black people were a value to be used'.[157] We do not believe that Amaral and Andrade were looking for an intellectual and social acceptance under Parisian parameters, as this type of stance would have meant to assert, but rather to oppose, Eurocentrism. In this respect, Andrade's rejection of European cultural hegemony clearly surfaces in his Sorbonne paper, particularly given his criticism of the 19th century French Mission in Brazil. During this period, in Andrade's opinion, the French masters "led our painting into the path of an old and de-contextualised classicism, which, up to our times, produced a [Brazilian] art with no personality. In fact, as in

[154] See: ibid.
[155] *'A antropofagia da elite'.* Ibid, 84
[156] *'[P]ara impressionar os parisienses. […] O projeto de interprater o Brasil tinha o objetivo de conquistar successo na França'.* Ibid, 84.
[157] *'[O] negro como valor de uso'*. Ibid.

literature, the memory of classical formulas for long prevented the free emergence of a true national art".[158]

Whilst Andrade rejected the cultural hegemony of Europe, Amaral showed clearly that she rejected the authority of the European modernist masters. From the end of 1922 to the end of 1923, she studied with André Lhote and Fernand Léger, whose works allowed her to integrate purism, modern life, systems and the machine to her formal interests; and finally with Albert Gleizes, with whom she explored integral cubism, geometric values and abstract language. The lessons may have given her insights into the ideas behind the formal approaches of the *rappel a l' ordre*, but they were never protracted over long periods of time, varying from a couple of months or so to a handful of sessions. Tarsila wanted to become a Brazilian master in Paris, able to process what she learned to articulate her own visual tenets; the works resulting from the French masters' teaching were intended to be Brazilian art made 'from' Paris, and not 'for' Paris. In a letter to her family dated October 1923, she describes her Parisian art classes as a sort of exploration of different formal approaches with which she planned to develop a technique that was a personal and original synthesis. As Amaral put it, "with all these lessons I will come back conscious of my own art. I just listen to the masters in what suits me. After these lessons I will no longer carry on having masters".[159] This short yet eloquent statement is the blatant evidence of Amaral's irreverent stance towards what for centuries was an accepted and respected parameter for Brazilian art: the European one and its representatives. Here, it seems to us that Amaral was showing a clearly anthropophagic *modernista* agenda. This is in line with Campos' opinion on *antropofagia*, which advocates that the movement

> gave an acute sense of the need of thinking the national in dialogical and dialectical relationship with the universal. It [*antropofagia*] does not involve a submission (a catechism), but a transculturation; or, even better, a "tranvaluation" (*transvaloração*): a critical vision of history […] capable of appropriation as much as of expropriation, des-hierarchisation (*deserarquização*), deconstruction'.[160]

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[158] *"[D]irigiam nossa pintura por uma vereda do velho classicismo deslocado que fez, até nossos dias, uma arte [brasileira] sem personalidade. De fato, como na literatura, a lembrança das fórmulas clássicas impediu longamente a livre eclosão de uma verdadeira arte nacional*". Andrade, "L' Effort Intellectuel du Brésil Contemporain", 108.

[159] *"Com todas estas lições voltarei consciente da minha própria arte. Só ouço os professores no que me convém. Depois destas lições não pretendo continuar com professores".* Tarsila do Amaral, letter to her family dated 8th October 1923, in: Amaral, *Tarsila: sua Obra e seu Tempo*, 119.

[160] *'[T]ivemos um sentido agudo dessa necessidade de pensar o nacional em relacionamento dialógico e dialético com o universal. Ela [a antropofagia] não envolve uma submissão (um catequese), mas uma "transculturação"; or melhor ainda, uma "tranvaloração": uma visão crítica da história [...], capaz de apropriação como de expropriação, deserarquização, desconstrução'*. Campos, "Da Razão Antropofágica", 234-235.

Amaral started her classes with Léger in September 1923, a fact recorded in a letter to her family dated September 29th 1923 in which she wrote: "today I started with Léger. Last Saturday I went to his studio and brought with me some of my latest and more modern works. He found me very advanced and immensely liked some of them".[161] According to an interview given by Tarsila to Aracy Amaral a few decades after, probably in the late 1960s, by the time she was Leger's pupil the painting *A Negra* (*Black Woman*) **{fig. 13}** was already finished and it was among the works she showed to Léger during her first class.[162]

Figure 13:

Tarsila do Amaral,
A Negra (1923).

Oil on canvas, 100 x 81,3 cm.

Museu de Arte Contemporânea da Universidade de São Paulo (MAC-USP), São Paulo.

Source: www.mac.usp.br

In the canvas, the image of a black woman invades the pictorial space in monumental and self-confident fashion. The body is enlarged and distorted, yet simplified to minimal representations of its parts. With fat, asymmetric lips, quasi-Asian eyes and a breast hanging over an arm and knee, this black depiction may seem to convey Amaral's intention of producing art to which the attention of the exoticist Parisian art system and market would converge. This particularly if one considers that by the early 20th century, primitivism was not only an erudite trend running among Parisian artists and intellectuals, it was also a fashion that had emerged in theatres and nightclub performances, increased

[161] *"Hoje comecei con o Léger. Estive no sábado passado no atelêr dele e levei alguns trabalhos dos meus últimos e mais modernos. Ele me achou muito adiantada e gostou imensamente de alguns deles*". Tarsila do Amaral, letter to her family dated September 29th 1923, in: Amaral, *Tarsila: Sua Obra e Seu Tempo*, 119.
[162] See: ibid, footnote n. 47.

sales at auction houses and commercial galleries, and that would be commercialised as part of the ornamental repertoire of furniture and interior design.[163] The extent reached by the popularity of this exotified approach to black culture might have had an impact on those accounts that advocate that *A Negra* complied with the longings of a Paris seduced by primitive fetishes. Literature on the subject matter has deemed the formal character of *A Negra* to be the result of the artist's compliance to French masters' production and interest in the exotic.[164] However, to state that Amaral and Andrade adopted primitivism as exchange currency in order to be accepted in the French aesthetic-literary playground is an argument that must, at the very least, be refined. One way of doing so is to recognise the extent to which Amaral's work sets its own parameters of recognition and appreciation of the black 'other', which implies that *A Negra*'s political content takes directions that differ from the Parisian Eurocentric and self-absorbed fascination with the African resemblance and culture. If one looks at *A Negra* from this perspective, one should recognise that this work functions as Brazilian art that manipulates the 'centre''s appropriation of the 'other' and puts at its own disposal the 'centre''s idealisation and stylization of the 'other''s culture. Moreover, we see these manoeuvres as standing for a deliberate process of evaluation and re-interpretation that, on an international level, questioned the canon, and, on a national level, partook in contemporaneous social issues and cultural debates in Brazil. Even if it was made from Amaral's studio in *Place Clichy*, Amaral's work was not reiterating the sterile and unreal fantasies of the 'centre' about far and unknown peripheries. *A Negra* is Amaral's first attempt to explore the notion of the search for origins. It is a painting of which conceptual content - regardless of the conscious intentions of who made it and when contextualised within the Brazilian socio-cultural context of the time to which it belongs - implies the valorisation of Brazil's popular culture and the country's less favoured ethnic strands. In this respect, it must be kept in mind that before moving to Paris in late 1922, Amaral had joined the *modernista* group in São Paulo by becoming a member of the *grupo dos cinco*. Therefore its pertinence within the national; within the project of transgressive innovation that the *grupo* was working on, cannot be overlooked.

The work can be seen as the tangible affiliation of Amaral to the *modernista* programme of emancipation of the several subaltern 'others' that marked the socio-cultural reality of the Brazil of the First Republic (1889-1930). As discussed in the first section of chapter 1, this programme was clearly put forward by the political content of

[163] See: Leclercq, "The Surrealist Appropriation". Available at: <http:/www.artssocietes.org>. [Last accessed 17/10/2011].
[164] See: 1) Herkenhoff "As Duas e a Única Tarsila", 80-93; and 2) Asbury, "Parisienses no Brasil, Brasileiros em Paris". Available at: <http://www.concinnitas.uerj.br/>.[Last accessed: 23/11/2013].

Malfatti's portraits of Italian and Russian immigrants, shown at her 1917 exhibition, and which were received with outrage by Lobato. By citing Miceli, we have highlighted that Lobato's vitriolic critique of Malfatti's work was symptomatic of the ethnic prejudice with which the Brazilian political and cultural intelligentsia deemed the national 'other' to be socially illegitimate. Whilst citing Motta Filho's critique of Lobato's *Jeca Tatú*, we have given evidence of the fact that the *modernistas* abhorred the discriminatory way with which the academies deemed the *mestiço* socially, morally and ethically inferior to the white-Brazilian, or in Motta Filho's own words, a "burlesque monkey".[165] In our view, *A Negra* is aligned to the ideas and goals of the *modernistas*, as it is

> symptomatic of the relationship between the Brazilian ethno-racial order and the cultural hierarchy at the core of the distinction between the popular and the erudite made by the academists. Distinction in which popular stood for the *low* culture of the native, the black and the *mestiço*, and erudite stood for the *high* culture of the white-Brazilian.[166]

From Paris, *A Negra* challenged the 'whitening' dogma of the First Republic. Brazilian conceptualisations of race were primarily based on the ideas of the Count of Gobineau, 'imported' during the country's imperial phase by *Dom* Pedro II. Gobineau's views reached the 20th century through intellectuals who sympathised with them, such as Graça Aranha and Sílvio Romero.[167] 'whitening' implied that the racial mixing of the white and black population was a solution to backwardness, in other words, Brazil could only advance as it became whiter and the superiority of the white lineage prevailed, as the Afro-Brazilian blood would be progressively diluted. *A Negra*'s political content is diametrically opposed to the ideology with which a section of the national politico-cultural elite wished to propel the Brazilian republic into its modernised future and away from the underdevelopment of the country's colonial past. Amaral's painting is also part and parcel of the political and theoretical debate that in Brazil, between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, questioned the perception of *mestiçagem* as racial, moral and social degenerations. It is

> a slap not only against those Brazilian intellectuals in favour of *mestiçagem* as a way of lightening the shameful colour of the majority of the Brazilian population, but also against those that, instead, stigmatised inter-ethnic unions between white-Brazilians […] and - as Oliveira Vianna classified them – the *Homo Americanus* (i.e., the *Indios*) and the *Homo Afer* (i.e., Afro-Brazilians). *A Negra* is a

[165] "*Mono burlesco*". Motta Filho, "a Literatura Nacional", 176.

[166] Söderlund, "*Antropofagia*: An Early Arrière-Garde". Available at: <www.riha-journal.org/articles/2016/0132_Costa_Söderlund>. [Last accessed: 13/09/2016].

[167] See: Maria Iñigo Clavo, "Turistas de Nosotros", in: *(Des)Metaforisar la Alteridad: La Postcolianidad en el Arte en Brasil durante el AI-5 (1968-1979)* (PhD thesis at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2009).

> constitutive element of those intellectual stirrings against […] eugenic national ideology.[168] [169]

A Negra counters the cultural prejudices that republican Brazil inherited from its colonial phase. It opposes the reproduction of the colonial discourse on the natural inferiority of autochthonous and Afro-Brazilian people that survived the demise of the country's colonial era and that was still firmly enrooted in the mentality of the academicists - (and would later shape the xenophobic branches of *modernismo*, such as the *verde-amare*lo movement discussed in the last section of chapter 1). From this viewpoint, *A Negra* anticipates Andrade's ideas, which would only be stated in 1924, when the couple were back in Brazil and Andrade would publish in his "*Pau-Brasil* Poetry Manifesto":

> '[t]he academic side. Misfortune of the first white brought over, politically dominating the wild wilderness. […] We can't help being erudite. […] Country of anonymous ills, of anonymous doctors. The Empire was like that. We made everything erudite. We forgot ingenuity.'[170]

This painting is not a mere depiction of the Afro-Brazilian through modernist innovative ways of representation seen in Paris. As we interpret it, there is more to it than a representation of the national from an aristocratic posture.[171] In our view, *A Negra* was far from being a work by a Brazilian aristocratic artist looking for success in Paris and therefore subjected to the Parisian taste. This because it engaged with both the dynamics at the core of Brazilian ethnic mix and the development of a new relationship between the white cultural and political elite of the country and its black and native 'other'.

Our argument challenges the idea that the Brazilians subordinated themselves to the European modernist canon. If contextualised within the national cultural debate of aesthetic innovation, within the cultural war that the *modernistas* had initiated in Brazil against the academicists, we see that the stance of Amaral's work was rebellious, challenging and anti-conformist. In the specific context of the controversies running at the time between the young *modernistas* and the academicists, Amaral's work strikes the traditionalists on two fronts. It indeed incorporates the new visual languages approached by the artist in Paris into the Brazilian glossary of art, and by doing so it also opposes popular culture to 'high' culture through her particular dramatization and monumentalisation of the black figure *A Negra* precedes Andrade's glorification of Afro-

[168] Söderlund, "*Antropofagia*: An Early Arrière-Garde". Available at: <www.riha-journal.org/articles/2016/0132_Costa_Söderlund>. [Last accessed: 13/09/2016].
[169] For more on Vianna's racist ideas, see: Castro, *Oliveira Vianna, De Saquarema à Alameda São Boaventura*.
[170] Andrade, "Pau-Brasil Poetry Manifesto" (1924) (a), 184.
[171] See: Herkenhoff, "As Duas e a Única Tarsila", 80-93.

Brazilian culture in his "*Pau-Brasil* Poetry Manifesto" (1924). Here he would claim that poetry can exist in "the shacks of saffron and the ochre among the green of the hillside favelas, under the cabraline blue".[172] Poetry is an aesthetic fact that belongs to the learned and the scholarly Brazilian - but also to the cultural meaning created within the practices of the inhabitants of the *favelas* (Brazilian shantytowns). From Amaral's art, Andrade would begin to articulate in his writings a cultural theory that wanted the white-Brazilian 'high' culture to open up further space to the complex ethnic structure of Brazil and to popular culture. The "*Pau-Brasil* Poetry Manifesto" gave a place to art and poetry also within the holders of "plumed sparrow hawks": a clear indication that Andrade's thought was engaging with native culture; a theme that he would further develop into his 1928 *Manifesto Antropófago,* and that would progressively mature in his writings for decades to follow .**[173]**

These are the reasons why we disagree with Herkenhoff when he advocates that 'Tarsila's *A Negra* denotes the situation in which the black people serve a new purpose to the [Brazilian] rural aristocracy: its legitimacy at the Sorbonne and within the Parisian milieu'.[174] Herkenhoff, here, is focussing only on contextualising this work within the international sphere, and underestimates the fact that Amaral adhered to Brazilian *modernismo* before going to Paris to explore the doings of the avant-garde there. In his analysis of the function of *A Negra* in Paris, Herkenhoff also overlooks the fact that the work's ability to efface power asymmetries between Brazil and Europe was already evident to the Parisian critique. This work was shown among a selection that constituted a variegated depiction of modern Brazil's cultural identity at Amaral's first solo exhibition at the Percier gallery (1926). From this selection, the only work produced in Paris was *A Negra* itself, all the others being made in Brazil in 1924-1925, and before her third Parisian season (1926), in which the Percier exhibition would happen. In *L' Intransigeant*, the authoritative voice of Maurice Raynal, influential art critic and ardent supporter of Picasso and Juan Gris's cubism, stated that Amaral's "effort marks a date in the artistic autonomy of Brazil". [175] The newspaper *Paris-Midi* would state that Amaral's exhibition was proving that "São Paulo […] gives birth to painters more modern than the last descendants of the old Europe".[176]

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[172] Oswald de Andrade, "Pau-Brasil Poetry Manifesto" (1924) (b), *Art in Latin America: the Modern Era, 1820-1980*, Dawn Ades (ed.) (London, South Bank Centre: 1989), 310.
[173] Ibid.
[174] *'"A negra" de Tarsila denota a situação em que o negro presta novo serviço à aristocracia rural [brasileira]: sua legitimidade na Sorbonne e no meio Parisiense'*. Herkenhoff, "As Duas e a Única Tarsila", 86.
[175] *"[L]' effort doit marquer une date dans l'histoire de l'autonomie artistique du Brésil*". Maurice Raynal, *L' Intransigeant*, Paris, 13/6/1926. In: Amaral, *Tarsila: Sua Obra e Seu Tempo*, 247.
[176] "*São Paulo […] dá à luz pintores mais modernos que os últimos descendentes dos artistas da velha Europa." Paris-Midi,* 10/6/1926, in: ibid,244.

3.1.2. - The International Circle in Paris

In early 1923, Amaral, Andrade and the Swiss-born and naturalised French modernist writer and poet Blaise Cendrars began to share profound intellectual affinity, social connections and facilitations. Cendrars introduced Amaral and Andrade to artists and intellectuals working in Paris and to eminent Parisian gallerists and critics, such as Léonce Rosenberg and Maurice Raynal. In return, Amaral and Andrade introduced Cendrars and Rosenberg to Paulo Prado and Olívia Guedes Penteado, the two major representatives of the Brazilian coffee oligarchy who were willing to put their fortunes at the modernist project's disposal. We know from section 2.1. on Paulo Prado that from 1924 to 1927 Cendrars visited Brazil three times, travelling with the couple to the State of Minas Gerais to visit landmarks of Brazilian culture, such as *fazendas* and the work of colonial Brazil sculptor and architect Aleijadinho. Moreover, in June of 1924, Cendrars would participate in the exhibition/lecture *Tendências da Estética Contemporânea* ("Tendencies of Contemporary Aesthetics") at the Drama and Music School of São Paulo. In 1929, Benjamin Péret was a guest of the couple and participated, in São Paulo, in the conference *L' Esprit Moderne: du Simbolisme au Realisme* ("Modern Spirit: From Symbolism to Realism"). In the same year, hospitality and networking support was offered to Hermann Keyserling, Josephine Baker and Le Corbusier.[177] In this section, we will instead analyse the outcomes of Cendrars and the Brazilian couple's friendship in Paris.

The dynamics of interaction and exchange between Brazilians and Parisians suggests that artists and intellectuals of the 'periphery' would come to the 'centre' interested in cosmopolitanism and its potential to generate cultural innovation. Equally, those of the 'centre', along with commercial art galleries and independent merchants, were increasingly interested in the economic opportunities offered by the booming countries of the New World - given Europe's economic crisis during the years between the two World Wars.[178] Cendrars, Léger and the art dealer Léonce Rosenberg facilitated the exposure of the two Brazilians within the French art market as an exchange of favours.[179] In return, the upper-class Brazilian couple used their connections to introduce the French to wealthy Brazilian collectors, such as Prado and Penteado. If Rosenberg (at the time

[177] Several chronologies on the life of Tarsila do Amaral are pinpointed by moments of encounter, interaction and exchange between the modernists in Paris and Brazil. See: 1) Antônio Carlos Abdalla, Tarsilinha do Amaral (curs.), *Tarsila do Amaral – Percurso Afetivo* (exhib. cat.) (São Paulo: Centro Cultural Banco do Brasil, Ministério da Cultura e Banco do Brasil, 2012); 2) Regina Teixeira de Barros, (cur.), *Tarsila Sobre Papél* (exhib. cat.) (Vitória: Museu de Arte do Espírito Santo Dionísio Del Santo, 2011); 3) Regina Teixeira de Barros (cur.), *Tarsila e o Brasil dos Modernistas* (exhib. cat.) (Nova Lima: Casa Fiat da Cultura, 2011).

[178] See: 1) Herkenhoff, "As Duas e a Única Tarsila", 80-93; and 2) Asbury, "Parisienses no Brasil, Brasileiros em Paris". Available at <http://www.concinnitas.uerj.br/>. [Last accessed: 23/11/2013]

[179] See: Ibid.

Picasso's art dealer) was selling canvases made by Léger and other masters to Penteado and opening opportunities in the flourishing Brazilian market, it was thanks to the mediation of Amaral, who had introduced the Brazilian coffee Baroness to the Parisian modern trends and its temples .[180] On the one hand, French commercial opportunism came with the subservience to economic factors, and, on the other one, the wealth that the international commerce of Brazil major commodity, that is, coffee, brought into the pockets of the Brazilian aristocratic art patrons denies their subaltern position in Paris. In fact, this wealth gave to Brazilian collectors a starring role within the European art market; their buying power was enormous, particularly if compared with that of the Europeans facing the post-World War I crisis, and attracted the attention of the Parisian dealers in need of sales. One is here led to imagine how much Rosenberg had to dissimulate his opportunism and to show instead a good deal of deference to coffee Baron Paulo Prado, and coffee Baroness Olívia Guedes Penteado in order to convince them to purchase items from his gallery. These were the years in which the aftermath of World War I in Europe brought recession and when the old countries of the West were no longer the powerhouses they had been in the late 19th century and early 1900s, a fact that might have weakened the sense of superiority of the strained and traumatised European population. In addition to this, the contemporaneous strength of the Brazilian economy contributed to a sense of power and cultural independence on behalf of the intelligentsia and the aesthetic-literary elite. And, as we have seen in subsection 2.1.1., this stance was reflected in Prado's magazine *Terra Roxa* and the insolent way with which the collector decided to purchase Anchieta's letter from the Europeans by trading it for sacks of coffee: a symbol of Brazil's natural and economic abundance.

Amaral's Percier gallery show happened thanks to the help of Cendrars and Rosenberg. Rosenberg had initially proposed to Amaral a solo exhibition at his gallery *L' Effort Moderne*, which was one of the most important in Paris, but in the following months he decided to contact the Levels, a family of art dealers who owned the Percier galley, to advise them to see Amaral's work. In a letter to Andrade, Rosenberg informed him that he would consider Amaral's latest production for his gallery in case the Levels would not offer her an exhibition.[181] The manoeuvres behind this event were not completely free from the power relations established by economic capital and exemplified through the relationship running between Rosenberg, Prado and Penteado.

[180] See: Tarsila do Amaral,*"Ainda a Semana", Diário de São Paulo*, São Paulo, 28/07/1943.
[181] Letter of Léonce Rosenberg to Oswald de Andrade of 10th April 1926, in: Amaral, *Tarsila: Sua Obra e Seu Tempo*, 229.

If one thinks of the cost of Cendrars' months spent in Brazil on occasion of the *caravana paulista*, and subsidised by Prado upon Andrade's request, one may deduce that the subaltern in the power relation revolving around the Percier gallery exhibition was Cendrars and not Andrade and his wife to be, Amaral. A trip of this sort, in those times, was out of the reach of European intellectuals and literati that, like Cendrars lived in gritty and tough-talking Montparnasse, the Parisian neighbourhood populated by poor immigrant artists who lived in cheap rented studios at artist communes, such as *La Ruche,* without running water and heating, and seldom free of rats. The expensive experience that Andrade had given Cendrars the chance to enjoy as a result of his contact with Prado put Cendrars in a subservient position. Obliged to pay back Andrade, and from the subordinate stance of one who has been granted a favour which cannot be returned by way of financial means, Cendrars helped Andrade's wife to find the right venue for her first Parisian exhibition. The Brazilians were not only using the Parisian fascination for the exotic 'other' and the teaching of European masters in the making of their own original and self-confident art and literature, as they were also unapologetically using the financial power of members of their Brazilian class of origin to put 'on show' such originality and self-confidence. In other words, Amaral and Andrade did not refrain from challenging the 'centre/periphery' asymmetries through the reach of the pockets of their Brazilian connections; and to use these connections and their wealth to trigger a series of events that would ultimately result in the display of the cultural advancement of the Brazilian 'periphery' at the institutional venues of the 'centre'.

Moving away from exchange of favours and economic power relations, there is plenty of evidence that a sense of communion and exchange between the couple and the surrealists, purists and futurists in Europe was taking place during the couple's first period in Paris together. Many scholars have pointed out that there was at the time an intensive exchange between Amaral, Andrade and the avant-garde art circle such as Laurencin, Delaunay and Gleizes (who together launched in the 1910s the cubist-orphist collective *section d' or*), the modernist writer, playwright and film-maker Cocteau and other literary figures such as the symbolists Paul Fort and Max Jacob. [182] They also frequented Adrianne Monnier's library; Monnier, as a publisher of the review *Le Naivre d' Argent*, which was 'French in language, but international in spirit', helped launch many writers' careers during the 1920s.[183]

[182] See: ibid.

[183] Adrienne Monnier, Richard McDougall, *The Very Rich Hours of Adrienne Monnier* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1976), 105.

As active members of the cosmopolitan cluster of art and culture that had materialised in Paris, Andrade and Amaral would participate in social events which were vital both for exchange of ideas and for networking. One such event was the gathering organised by Swedish industrialist Rolf de Maré on the occasion of his *Ballets Suêdois*. Maré's party took place at his apartment, where, Amaral remembered, the atmosphere was a melange between full ceremony, *haute couture* and rigour dressing code, antique furnishing and a panoply of modernist painters, authors, musicians and dancers.[184] In Amaral's own words, Cendrars was 'the only one who was only wearing a jacket, symbol of his profound contemptuousness toward social conventions'.[185] Another was a dinner organised by the Brazilian Ambassador in Paris, Souza Dantas. This was attended by, among others, the Brazilians Andrade, Amaral, Sérgio Milliet, Victor Brecheret and Vicente do Rêgo Monteiro, and by the French/Europeans Léger, Lhote, Cendrars, Jean Girandoux, Jules Supervielle, Jules Romain, Darius Millhaud, Rosenberg and Marie Laurencin. Whilst the Brazilian ambassador was giving a speech, Amaral would cut Cendrars' meat, as he had lost one arm in World War I.

Through intellectual affinities and social interaction, Amaral and Andrade were establishing, according to Eduardo Subirats, a mutual relation of influence, between equally active and therefore relevant avant-gardes. As Subirats puts it, 'the influences - generally mutual even if mutually recognised only rarely – between the avant-gardes of the ex-metropolises and the post-colonies are colourful and variegated'.[186] This reflexive approach was achieved not only given their Parisian experience, but also thanks to their hospitality towards artists, authors and intellectuals who converged on the French capital. On the one hand, they had the opportunity to study, exhibit, share ideas and mingle with the modernists coming from everywhere in the world to Paris. On the other hand, they offered to the Europeans the possibility to broaden their exchange with Brazil, liaising with wealthy Brazilian oligarchs so as to have them sponsoring the Parisians' long cultural trips to Brazil.

The couple's visual and literary ideas based on appropriating Eurocentric exoticism in Paris worked in favour of the dissipation of power asymmetries between Brazilian and European art, and such dissipation was also achieved via Amaral and Andrade's intellectual and social participation in the modernist circle materialised in Paris. The equalisation of the conceptual and sociological status of these two Brazilians within the

[184] See: Tarsila do Amaral, "Marie Laurencin", in: *Tarsila Cronist*a, 73-76.

[185] '*[O] único que ali estava de paletó, símbolo do seu profundo desprezo às convenções sociais'*. Ibid, 74.

[186] '*[L]as influencias - generalmente mútuas auque rara vez mutualmente reconocidas – entre las vanguardias de las ex metrópolis y las vanguardias de las postcolonias, son variadas e coloridas'*. In: Edardo Subirats, "Del Surrealismo a la Antropofagia", *Brazil 1920-1950* (Valencia: IVAM, Centro Júlio González, 2001), 21.

cosmopolitan playground that took shape within the international 'field of culture' in Paris was a consequence of their ability to develop emancipative strategies with which it was possible to raise their agency to the level of that of the Europeans.

The formal approach adopted by Amaral in *A Negra* reflects the influences coming from the Parisian circle, yet its political edge shows how such influences were processed. It proves how its author was adopting and adapting the purist style of representation (thus, the universal) in ways which contested the particular, thus the peculiarly Brazilian discourse on visual arts which mirrored the colonial patriarchal order. *A Negra* was the first conspicuous step towards a Brazilian modernism that functioned as a critical reflection on the structure of internal colonialism that ruled the white-Brazilian cultural and political elites' handling of ethnic minorities. This critical reflection was enabled by *A Negra*'s symbolic cannibalisation of the European avant-garde techniques and of the Eurocentric notion of exoticism typical of the aesthetic-literary playground Amaral had joined in Paris.

Yet, also the way in which Amaral and Andrade facilitated the dislocation of the agents that in Paris represented a reference for the Brasilians; their intention to move this cluster of ideas and people away from Europe and towards Brazil, contributed to blurring the boundaries and the hierarchies between 'central' and 'peripheral' culture. Their European connections and the way they handled them shows that Amaral and Andrade were tackling the issue of Brazil's subalternity from different fronts. This is particularly evident in the cases in which they contributed to the turning around of the 'centre-periphery' power relation by allowing both French artists and intellectuals to afford otherwise improbable experiences in Brazil, and art dealers to envisage a possible and profitable New World market. Certainly, the intellectual curiosity and economic interests of these members of the European art system and the market played their part in this new configuration of the circulation of European cultural producers and goods; however, the fact that, in order to achieve their goals, the Europeans needed the Brazilians does impinge on their supposedly superior and autonomous status.

3.2. – The 'Primitive' as Epistemology

Andrade's first manifesto, *Manifesto da Poesia Pau-Brasil* (1924), was a product of a journey that took Andrade from *Place Clichy*, at the time the artistic 'umbilicus of the world', to that Brazil which was either ignored or distorted by the idealisations of the

Brazilian academies, the erudite milieu, and the sophisticated salons of the country's main cities. It was written after Andrade's return to Brazil from the Parisian season of 1923, in the early months of 1924, therefore nine years after the article "In Favour of a National Art" (1915), which we have recognised to be the embryonal phase of Andrade's project of cultural reform. Following Amaral in her decision to return to her native land to produce works which generated discussions about Brazil in Paris at her first solo exhibition of 1926 at the *Galerie Percier*, Andrade would write his manifesto during the c*aravana paulista* (1924). In sub-section 2.1.2., we have explored how through this long group trip, the couple experienced the Rio de Janeiro carnival, and, most importantly, would see Brazil's primitive expressions materialise in front of their eyes.[187] Indeed, the baroque of Aleijadinho and Manuel da Costa Ataíde, the bright colours of the rural towns, the vernacular typical of the hinterland, the primal aspects of the jungle, all influenced the modernist view that Andrade put forward in his manifesto.

Andrade and Amaral were working together to adapt the concepts and aesthetic glossaries developed in Paris to the condition of the local arena. In fact, since the search for origins began with the *caravana paulista*, Amaral's work would begin to incorporate those bright blues, pinks, green and yellows belonging to countryside craftsmanship, to the luscious forests and to baroque flowers. Certainly, this long journey changed her aesthetics, although the formal achievements reached through *A Negra* in 1923 were still present in her new production. Such juxtaposition was evident in *A Feira II* (*The Market II*) (1925) **{fig. 14}**, where *A Negra*'s monumetalisation and simplification of the subject is transposed to plants and fruits whose colours evoke the rural Brazil. A further development of Amaral's formally purist approach merged with signifiers of 'Brazilianness' would appear in *Abaporu* **{fig. 15}**, the painting she finished in January 1928 and gave to Andrade as a birthday present four months before the first edition of Andrade's anthropophagic magazine. Here, the oneiric and psychological surrealism expressed by the choice of subject and title of the artwork is entwined with the language of the Amerindian, as *Abaporu* in *Tupi* means 'the man who eats man'. Combining European surrealism with a symbol of Brazil's ancient culture is Amaral's way to complement her former purist formal approach, and manages to propel the viewer into the very primordial stage of human condition and its link to primal impetuses. *Abaporu*'s body, similarly to that of *A Negra,* is submitted to distortion in a way that suggests that the figure wants to go beyond the canvas' borders. As opposed to *A Negra*, the landscape

[187] Sub-section 2.1.2. discusses the social network that allowed this itinerant journey of the *caravana modernista* to materialise, who were its participants, which cities they visited and the type of intellectual and personal experiences some of them went through.

against which the human figure appears is no longer geometric; it is organic and phallic as if the intention was to emphasise the appeal to raw instincts that the exaggerated hand and foot convey.

Figure 14:

Tarsila do Amaral,
A Feira II (1925).

Oil on canvas, 46 x 55 cm.

Private Collection.

Source:
http://warburg.chaa-unicamp.com.br/artistas/view/197

Figure 15:

Tarsila do Amaral,
Abaporu (1928).

Oil on canvas 85 x 73 cm.

Museu de Arte Latinoamericano
de Buenos Aires, MALBA,
Fundacion Costantini,
Buenos Aires.

Source:
http://www.malba.org.ar/web/col_eng.php

In our view, Andrade's "*Pau-Brasil* Poetry Manifesto" and Amaral's paintings addressed, from the 'periphery', the challenge that Paul Ricoeur addressed at the 'centre' in 1955, in his "Universal Civilization and National Culture". The challenge is the one that a

nation and its culture must face whilst undertaking modernisation, and that requires that such nation 'has to root itself in the soil of its past, forge a national spirit and unfurl this spiritual and cultural revendication before the colonialist's personality'.[188] From this perspective, the "*Pau-Brasil* Poetry Manifesto" is a forerunner of Andrade's *Manifesto Antropófago* **{fig. 16}**, a work in which the author's interest in the *Tupi* tribes and the epistemological roots of their culture, of which the cannibalistic ritual is an expression, was deepened and assumed a central position.

The *Manifesto Antropófago* was published in the first edition of Andrade's *Revista de Antropofagia* (*Anthropophagic Magazine*), of May 1928 **{fig. 17},** and the magazine's cover picture chosen by Andrade is a reproduction of a print of 1557 by the 16th century German explorer Hans Staden (1525-1576). This implies that Staden's *True History* would have been well known within the educated classes in Brazil, as would the illustrations of the *Tupinambá*. Both the manifesto and the magazine have a title related to a term used by Francis Picabia to launch, in Paris, the magazine *Cannibale* , in 1920 **{fig. 18}**. Picabia's magazine was an attempt to reflect all the tendencies of dadaism and therefore to give an international character to the movement; moreover, it wanted to dramatize the dadaist ethos based on the opposition to civilised conventionality and on the spirit of provocation. According to Hemus, 'Picabia's chosen title had immediate impact. […] The title […] *Cannibale* suggested violence, primitivism, destruction, proposing to eat up all that had gone before in art, literature and culture. […] In its brief life, *Cannibale* had contributed voraciously and virulently to the visibility of Dada in Paris'.[189] For Picabia, cannibalism was therefore a metaphor for a radical, yet self-absorbed, innovation of the European cultural scenario. To turn to the practice of cannibalism ignored what it meant to the cannibal and focussed on symbolising the aggressive project with which the dadaists wanted to re-configure the aesthetic-literary landscape of the West, and in which the practitioners of the ritual were mere exotic characters who belonged to an unknown and faraway world. From a Brazilian perspective the cannibal, its society and rituals were a different type of reference; they were widely believed to have existed in Brazilian territory, they were part of Brazil's history and had been recorded in texts offering ethnographic and cultural accounts of colonial Brazil. Therefore the level of familiarity of Picabia with the cannibal had nothing to do with that of Amaral and Andrade, who had the *Tupinambá* 'at home'.

[188] Paul Ricoeur, "Universal Civilization and National Cultures" (1955), in Paul Ricoeur, *History and Truth* (Evanston, Northwestern University Press, 1965), 277.
[189] Hemus, "Dada's Paris Season", 188-191.

According to Subirats, the notion of cannibalism as a metaphor was also borrowed from Picabia by Salvador Dalí, in the early 1930s, to initiate the third phase of the surrealist revolution - devised to supplant psychic automatism and to allow surrealism to devour the moral and ideological condition of Western late capitalism. Dalí's *cannibalisme,* whose ethos originates in his article *L' Âne Pourri* (1929), did not result from an interest and understanding of the ontology of the cannibal. The term 'cannibalism' was symbolically borrowed to convey a critique of Europe's socio-economic condition, and stood for surrealism's violent attack against the moral values resulting from such condition. His movement was a radicalisation of André Breton's early ideas about surrealism as an art made of irrational objects, which constituted a reality diametrically opposed to the one defined by a conscious and systematic experience of the world. What Dalí expected from his surrealist creations was the ability to devour the tangible and behavioural manifestations of developed and mechanised societies. His cannibalist surrealism aimed at 'the death and decomposition of civilization'.[190]

His surrealism needed to cannibalise the ethos of capitalist societies, yet it also needed to be cannibalised by them. In fact, his vision also prescribed the 'conversion of an aesthetic surrealism into an edible surrealism'. [191] What he proposed to the market oriented masses was

> 'to eat surrealities, given that we, the surrealists, are an excellent, decadent, extravagant and ambivalent delicacy […] in a time like the present, in which the irrational, […] infinite, impatient and imperialist hunger grows more and more desperate every day. There does not exist more adequate nourishment for the climate of ideological and moral confusion in which we have the honour and pleasure of living'. [192]

Focussing on the industrial condition of early 20th century Europe, which Dalí saw as recovering from the economic depression that followed World War I, he aimed to create artistic objects disguised as aesthetic mass-market products that could be put at the disposal of the increasingly consumeristic societies in which they were produced. It can be said that he saw his art as 'meat' for the masses of developed European countries; as a nourishment able to placate peoples' need to release the instincts that the advancement of the so called 'first world' left unsatisfied and repressed.

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[190] *'[L]a muerte y putrefacción civilizatoria'*. Subirats, "Del Surrealismo a la Antropofagia", 26.

[191] '*[L]a conversion del surrealismo estético en un surrealismo comestible'.* Ibid, 27.

[192] "*[C]omer surrealidades, puesto que nosotros, los surrealistas, somos un manjar excellente, decadente, estimulante, extravagante y ambivalente [...] en una época como la presente en que el hambre irracional, infinito, impaciente e imperialista crece de día en día más desesperadamente. No existe alimento más adequado al clima de confusión ideológica y moral en que tenemos el honor y el placer de vivir." Salvador* Dalí, in: ibid.

Hence, Dalí's *cannibalisme* was a counter-cultural programme that concomitantly highlighted and opposed what the surrealists had recognised to be the downturns of late capitalism in the developed world. However, the Brazilian cultural cannibalistic programme needed to respond to a differing reality, given that modernity, in the Brazil of the 1920s, had just began to highlight, by constrast, the presence of the shantytowns and other social calamities resulting from colonialism. Our argument here is that Amaral and Andrade did not merely import the European approach to the primitive reference, but, instead, elaborated their own by drawing on the epistemology of Brazil's Amerindian civilisation so as to generate a local response to the advent of modernisation in the 'periphery'. If one considers the evolution of the use of the cannibalistic term in Paris from Picabia to Dalí, it becomes apparent that in Brazil the term was re-appropriated from the popular European usage, re-contextualised, and adapted to the condition of a post-colonial Latin American civilization. These manoeuvres, in our view, imply that upon arrival in Brazil, the anthropophagous peeled away the exotic connotations around which Picabia's *cannibalisme* revolved; that Amaral and Andrade realised that the Bretonian programme, from which Dalí's one was later derived, was not pertinent to the Brazilian context.

Our view is that, in general, European trends, such as surrealism and cubism, turned to primitivism from a position detached from non-Western cultures both in historical and geographical senses. The temporal and geographical distance between the European and 'the primitive' clearly worked as a deterrent to a deeper understanding of those 'fetishes' used, in the capitals of the Old World, as sources of formal innovation and social critique. This is why we agree with sociologist and literary critic, Antonio Candido, who claims that the 'boldness of a Picasso, a Brancusi, a Max Jacob or Tristan Tzara, were, in the end, more coherent with our [the Brazilian] cultural inheritance than with theirs'.[193] *Antropofagia* stood for a theory that wanted to transcend the logic and limits of the European avant-garde, as the phrase that closes the *Manifesto Antropófago* openly advocates: 'after surrealism, only anthropophagy'.[194] We are also aligned with Shohat and Stam, who in their article mention Augusto de Campos' analysis of *antropofagia* in relation to the use of the cannibalist metaphor that circulated in the European avant-garde.[195] Campos' conclusion is that the main difference in the use of the cannibalist trope in Europe and in Brazil is that the Europeans never made of it a cultural movement or

[193] *'[As] ousadias de um Picasso, um Brancusi, um Max Jacob, um Tristan Tzara, eram, no fundo, mais coerentes com a nossa herança cultural [a brasileira] do que com a deles'*. Candido, "Literatura e Cultura", 121.

[194] Andrade, "Anhropophagite Manifesto" (1928) (b): 312.

[195] See: Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, "Narrativizing Visual Culture. Towards a Polycentric Aesthetics", in *Visual Culture Reader*, Nicholas Mirzoeff (ed.) (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 27-49.

adopted it to define an ideology, as cannibalism never resonated within European culture as it did within the Brazilian one. [196] They also point out that

> although Alfred Jarry in his *Anthropophagie* (1902) spoke of that *branche trop negligée de l'anthropophagie* and in '*L'Almanach du Pere´ Ubu´* addressed himself to *'amateurs cannibals*,' and although the Dadaists entitled one of their organs *Cannibale* and in 1920 Francis Picabia issued the '*Manifesto Cannibale Dada'*, the nihilism of Dada had little to do with what Campos called the 'generous ideological utopia' of Brazilian anthropophagy. Only in Brazil did anthropophagy become a key trope in a longstanding cultural movement, ranging from the first 'Cannibalistic Review' in the 1920s, with its various 'dentitions,' through Oswald de Andrade's speculations in the 1950s on anthropophagy as 'the philosophy of the technicized primitive'. […] Although anthropophagy 'set its face against the Occident,' according to Andrade, it warmly 'embraces the discontented European, the European nauseated by the farce of Europe.' The exoticizing metaphors of the European avant-garde […] when reinvoiced in Brazil, […] became quite concrete and literal. Thus Jarry's 'neglected branch of anthropophagy' came to refer in Brazil to the putatively real cannibalism of the Tupinambá.[197]

As the ensuing pages will show, the cannibalistic ritual, in *modernismo*, stood for a cultural movement the ideology of which sought to reflect that of the *Tupinambá* (i.e., the cannibal tribe of the *Tupi* group). Andrade understood the values of Amerindian culture such as moral freedom, matriarchy, communal living, and the ritual of eating the enemy and applied this knowledge to condemn

> the exploitative social Darwinism of class society […] and to liberate culture from religious mortification and capitalist utilitarianism. Synthesising insights from Montaigne, Nietzsche, Marx and Freud, along with what he knew about native Brazilian societies, he portrayed indigenous culture as offering a more adequate social model than the European one.[198]

Moreover, it was within Amaral's work, and not in Paris, that Andrade's theory found a way to draw on the cannibalism of *Tupi* societies and on the type of alterity, expressed in the cannibalistic act, with which such tribes related with the identity of the enemy.

[196] Campos' ideas exposed in Shohat and Stam's article can be found in: Augusto de Campos A., *Poesia, Antipoesia, Antropofagia* (São Paulo: Cortez e Moraes, 1978).
[197] Shohat and Stam, "Narrativizing Visual Culture", 38.
[198] Ibid, 39.

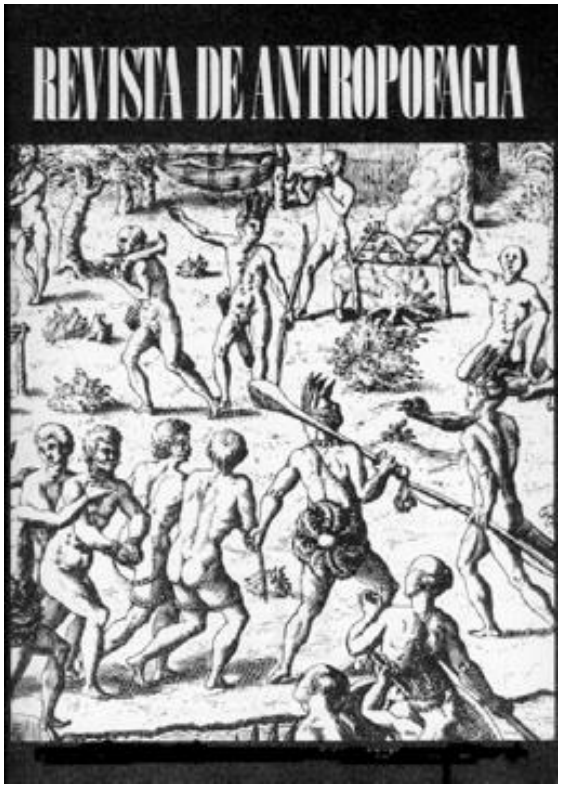
Revista de Antropofagia 3

MANIFESTO ANTROPOFAGO

Figure 16:

Oswald de Andrade,
Manifesto Antropófago, São Paulo (1928).

Source:
http://planeta-marciano.blogspot.se/2012/01/momento-wiki-36.html



REVISTA DE ANTROPOFAGIA

Figure 17:

Revista de Antropafagia, São Paulo (May 1928).

Fac Simile edited by Augusto de Campos,
São Paulo, Metal Love – Editora Abril,
1975.

The cover uses an illustration by
Hans Staden.

Source:
http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ficheiro:
Revantrof.png

Figure 18:

Cannibale Magazine, Paris (1920).

Re-edited by Centro de
Creación Experimental de la Universidad de Castilla,
La Mancha (2013).

Source:
http://www.elcrisoldeciudadreal
.es/2013/05/13/25049/la-uclm-recupera-cannibale-una-de-las-joyas-del-dadaismo/

Amaral and Andrade researched the cannibalistic reference from August 1926, when the couple returned from another season in Paris (where Amaral exhibited for the second time at the Percier gallery) and were living at *fazenda Santa Teresa do Alto*, their marital countryside estate.[199] Such reference, in Brazil, was nothing new, as the theme had been associated with the country from at least the arrival of the German explorer Hans Staden (1525-1576). Staden travelled to Brazil in the middle of the 16th century and wrote up his experiences as his *True Story and Description of a Country of Wild, Naked, Grim, Man-eating People in the New World, America*, published in 1557. The best modern translation adapts the title: *True History: An Account of Cannibal Captivity in Brazil*. Here, Staden described his travels and how he was captured and imprisoned for nine months by the *Tupinambá* and risked being eaten in a cannibalistic ritual, but finally managed to escape and return to Europe. Andrade was aware of Staden's experience among the *Tupi* tribe, pointing out to the readers of his *Revista de Antropofagia* what was the perspective that precluded the cannibals going ahead with the ritual through which Staden should have been devoured: '(They just ate the strong). Hans Staden saved himself because he cried'.[200] The German's traveller life was spared because his tears, Andrade is here implying, were perceived by the cannibals as a sign of cowardice, and this human quality was not one of those that the *Tupinambá* wanted to 'absorb' through the act of human flesh eating. Staden's observations of the *Tupi* cannibals represented a reference as much

[199] According to Aracy Amaral, the couple returned to Brazil on the 16th August 1926 to be married, and then moved to the *fazenda* shortly after. See: Amaral, Tarsila*: Sua Obra e Seu Tempo*.
[200] *'(Só comian os fortes). Hans Staden salvou-se porque chorou'*. Oswald de Andrade, "Schema ao Tristão de Athayde", *Revista de Antropofagia, 1ra Indentição, n. 5*, São Paulo, September 1928, 3.

as his illustrations, which were used to emphasise the visual appeal of Andrade's magazine. The couple was daily informed about Staden's experiences among the Amerindians by the *paulista* newspaper *Diário da Noite* that published the German chronicle's work in its issues of 1926.[201]

As maintained by Aracy Amaral, at the *fazenda*, Tarsila do Amaral would read her father's collection of texts on pre-Columbian art and culture.[202] It was by consulting the Montoya's *Tupi-Guarani* dictionary with Andrade and Raul Bopp (a literary member of *antropofagia* that wrote a book on the history of the movement) that she discovered the term *Abaporu*.[203] [204] Her effort to create art capable of representing a synthesis between avant-garde trends approached in Paris, and the richness of the Brazil's historical and cultural expressions, was in this period dramatized by an informed interest towards autochthonous culture. As opposed to what was happening in Paris, where the focus was on the material manifestations of 'primitive' culture and its objects, what drew Amaral's curiosity was the ontological dimension of *Tupi* cannibalism. Probably the couple were exploring the cannibalist theme concomitantly, although Amaral's painting preceded the publication of Andrade's manifesto by a few months. What is certain, judging by A. Amaral, Gotlib and Belluzzo's accounts, is that the couple shared readings of evolutional theory, ethnology and ethnography.[205] According to Belluzzo, Andrade's 'writings evidence readings of Thévet, Léry, Aberville, Evreux, Saint-Hilaire, Koster, Martius and Taunay. […] His literary practice feeds on travelogues which provide the raw material for the culinary ritual of spiritually devouring the other and harnessing its ancestral power'.[206] Andrade's readings of Léry are also confirmed by Nunes, who claims that his intellectual voraciousness was also fed by Montaigne's (1533-1592) essay "On Cannibals" (1580) and with Jean-Jacques Rousseau's (1712-1778) theory of the natural human.[207] Andrade's prime sources as Nunes put it,

> were narratives such as those written on the spot by the Antarctic-French missionary Jean de Léry, "Où Villegaignon Print Terre". […] Andrade took the

[201] See: Amaral, *Tarsila: Sua Obra e Seu Tempo*; and Gotlib, *Tarsila a Modernista*.
[202] See: Ibid.
[203] See: Ibid.
[204] There are contending opinions on who found the term *Abaporu*, which in the Tupi language means "the man who eats man". For instance, Schwartz claims that it was Andrade and Raul Bopp who found the term in the Montoya dictionary and suggested it to Amaral. See: Jeorge Schwartz, "Tupi or Not Tupi: The City of Literature in Modern Brazil", in: *Institut Valencià d'Art Modern*, (2000): 539-548. Aracy Amaral and Gotlib argue that the term was chosen by the two together with Tarsila do Amaral, once they looked at the work, being Bopp the one who had the idea of making a movement around the the painting. See: Amaral, ibid; and Gotlib, ibid.
[205] See: 1) Amaral, ibid; 2) Gotlib, ibid; and 3) Ana Maria Belluzzo, "Trans-positions", in: *XXIV Bienal de São Paulo: Núcleo Histórico, Vol. 1*, Paulo Herkenhoff e Adriano Pedrosa (curs.) (São Paulo: Fundação Bienal de São Paulo), 76-85.
[206] Belluzzo, ibid, 77.
[207] See: Nunes, "Anthropophagic Utopia".

> qualities "of native, genuine life" from Montaigne's essays (Chapter 31), […] in which savage societies were portrayed as stable and happy, far superior to those of civilized men.[208]

Both Montaigne and Rousseau were inspired by the pride and independent nature of the *Tupi* tribes and their philosophies drew on them. According to Gotlib, Lucien Lévy-Bruhl's studies of primitive mentality were also on the couple's reading list. [209] By the time the couple began to get into his ethnological work, the French author had already published three books on the subject matter: *How Natives Think* (1910), *Primitive Mentality* (1922) and *The Soul of the Primitive* (1927), it is therefore probable that they were acquainted with these texts. What is certain is that Andrade openly refers to the French ethnographer in his anthropophagic manifesto: "a participating consciousness, a religious rhythm. […] The palpable existence of life. The pre-logical mentality for Mr. Lévy-Bruhl to study".[210]

Put together, these authors supply us with an understanding of the extent to which Amaral and Andrade were looking into Amerindian societies and their system of belief. The couple's reading list proves an interest in non-Eurocentric thought and literature - particularly given that Montaigne was pioneer of a line of enquiry that engages with criticising Western ideology drawing from Amerindian people. Indeed, Amaral and Andrade, as members of the enlightened elite who had received a traditional education in literary culture, would have been well versed in early Brazilian history and ethnography. As claimed by Raul Bobb, many of the texts by the above-mentioned authors were to be discussed in the *Primeiro Congresso de Antropofagia*, which should have taken place in Vitória, a capital in the North of Brazil, in October 1929, but that was called off by Andrade for personal reasons.[211] During the congress, these texts would have fostered debates and the emergence of anthropophagic theses among the participants. This evidence rather undermines Herkenhoff's view, which claims that 'Tarsila was never dedicated to the discipline of ethnological research like the modernist artists in Europe or Rego Monteiro, [the Brazilian artist] who studied intensively the Amazonian archaeological findings at the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro'.[212] Perhaps Amaral was not fully engaging with ethnographic research, yet she clearly read and made use of ethnographical sources.

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[208] Ibid, 58-59.
[209] See: Gotlib, *Tarsila a Modernista*.
[210] Andrade, "Anthropophagite Manifesto" (1928) (b), 312.
[211] See: Raul Bopp*, Vida e Morte da Antropofagia* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 2006).
[212] *'Tarsila jamais se dedicou à disciplina da pesquisa etnológica como os artistas modernos da Europa ou um Rego Monterio, [o artista brasileiro] que estudou intensamente os achados arqueológicos amazônicos no Museu Nacional do Rio de Janeiro'.* Herkenhoff, "As Duas e a Única Tarsila", 87.

Andrade made clear in an interview of 13th May 1928, given to the *Jornal do Estado de Minas Gerais* only a few days after the publication of the anthropophagic manifesto, the importance of Amaral's *Abaporu.* In Andrade's own words: 'It was in Tarsila's barbaric paintings that I found this expression'.[213] Andrade's statement is sound evidence of what already advocated by Zilio in 1982, who saw Amaral's work to be at the very origins of a conceptual development which would lead to the crystallisation of the notion of *antropofagia*.[214] Judging by what Amaral wrote in a personal note about *A Negra* as a predecessor of *antropofagia*, her work was Andrade's inspirational source already in 1923. In her own words:

> '[t]he anthropophagic movement had its pre-anthropophagic phase, […] in 1923, when I executed, in Paris, a quite acclaimed painting, a *"Negra"*: a sitting figure with two crossed trunks for legs, fifteen kilos breast hanging over her arm, enormous lips, and proportionately small eyes. A *"Negra"* was already announcing anthropophagy'.[215]

According to Fraser, the educated Brazilian elite would not only have knowledge of the texts written and illustrated by the European explorers of the 16th century, but also had some classical education; a fact that would have drawn Amaral's attention to Thévet and Léry's supposed rediscovery in Brazilian territory of two creatures from Greek mythology: the Amazonian and the Sciapod **{fig. 19 and 20}**.[216] [217] For the Greeks, the Amazonians were a powerful race of warrior women, who would cut off one breast so that it did not hinder their use of the bow and arrow. The Sciapods had strange bodies, with a huge foot

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[213] *'Foi na pintura bárbara de Tarsila que eu achei essa expressão.'* Oswald de Andrade (May 1928), in: *Os Dentes Do Dragão, Entrevistas*, Maria Eugênia Bonaventura (ed.) (São Paulo: Editora Globo, 2009), 61.

[214] See: Carlos Zilio, *A Querela do Brasil: a Questão da Identidade da Arte Brasileira: a Obra de Tarsila, Di Cavalcanti e Portinari, 1922-1945*, (1st edition) (Rio de Janeiro: Funarte, 1982).

[215] *"O movimento anthropophagico teve a sua phase pre-antropophágica, […] em 1923, quando executei em Paris um quadro bastante discutido, a "Negra", figura sentada com dois robustos toros de pernas cruzadas, uma arroba de seio pesando sobre o braço, lábios enormes, pendentes, cabeça proporcionalmente pequena. A "Negra" já annunciava o anthropophagismo".* Tarsila do Amaral (1923), in: Gotlib, *Tarsila a Modernista*, 82.

[216] Valerie Fraser, in conversation, 29/08/2017.

[217] The Amazonians appear in classical literature such as Apollonius Rhodius's "Argonautica" (3rd century BC). Herodotus (484-425 BC) book 4 - "Melpomene" mentions that they lived on the banks of the Thermodon, whereas Diogorus of Sicily's (1st century BC) writings argued that they existed before the Thermodon's settlement and that they came from Libya. All these Greek historians recognised the Amazonians to be violent women who lived for the sake of war. See: 1) "Herodotus book 4 - "Melpomene"", <http://www.sacred-texts.com/cla/hh/hh4110.htm>, and 2) "Diodorus Siculus Library of History" <http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Diodorus_Siculus/3D*.html> [Last accessed: 11/09/2017]. The Sciapodes were characters in Aristophanes' play of 414 BC "The Birds". They were described in later classical literature, such as Philostrates' "Life of Apollonius of Tyana (1st-2nd century AD) and Eusebius' "Treatise against Hieracies" (4th century AD). Isidore of Seville (560-636) speaks about them in his "Etymologiae". They then began to appear in popular literature of the medieval time, such as bestiaries, and in the illustrations of "Terra Incognita". They are also part of an illustrated biblical paraphrase of 1493, that is, of Hartmann Schedel's "Nuremberg Chronicles". See: "Skiapods", *Theoi.com*. Available at: <http://www.theoi.com/Phylos/Skiapodes.html> [Last accessed: 11/09/2017]. Fraser states that the Sciapod is found in Pliny's "Natural History" (79 AD) and Sir John's de Mandeville's "Travels" (1356). See: Valerie Fraser and Oriana Baddeley, *Drawing the Line: Art and Cultural Identity in Contemporary Latin America* (London: Verso, 1989).

extending from a single central leg, and were members of a tribe either in India or in Ethiopia.[218] The strange single oversized foot would give them enormous speed and would be used to cast a shade on the Sciapod's own body as protection from the hot sun. Fraser also argues that *Abaporu* is 'an imaginative descendant of the Sciapods, one of the monstrous races of classical and medieval legend. […] Amaral's imagination was evidently moving around such sources because shortly afterwards she produced […] "Antropofagia/Cannibalism" where two similar monumental-monstrous figures sit in front of a backdrop of gigantic cacti and banana leaves. [219] [220] The striking similarity between the Sciapod in the woodcuts published in Sir John Mandeville's *Travel* and the body shape and posture of *Abaporu*'s figure confirms the type of literature that informed the artist's work.

Figure 19:

Photo of a classical marble sculpture of a single breasted Amazonian in combat, from Polyclitus, Rome (undated)

Brooklyn Museum Archives,
Goodyear Archival Collection

Source:
https://www.jiia.it/component/content/article/38-jiia-stories/74-brooklyn-museum-archivesgoodyear-archival-collection-52.html

[218] See: Zilio, *A Querela do Brasil*.
[219] Fraser and Baddeley*, Drawing the Line,* 19-20.
[220] See: Abaporu in figure 15, 96, and *Antropofagia* in figure 21, 113.

Figure 20:

Sciapod from *The Voiage and Travaille* of Sir John Mandeville, London (1725).

Source: https://www.google.se/search?tbs=simg%3Am00&tbnid=PspM8juxZ_QvfM%3A&docid=BkDYS0kcrws5HM&tbm=isch&biw=1093&bih=494&dpr=1.25#imgrc=kYcCOt_HAgBPeM:

Evidently Amaral realised that during their journey in Brazil, Thévet and Léry struggled to come to terms with the looks, the behaviours and the culture of the *Tupi* tribes they encountered in the Brazilian jungle to the extent of thinking that they had found these two ancient and weird creatures, and imaginatively ascribed them to the native tribes. In other words, Amaral's classical education allowed her to understand that Thévet and Léry, faced with the arduous task of bringing back to Europe an account of this extremely different and 'strange' culture, ended up adopting Western sources as ways of interpreting and 'identifying' it and its representatives. This awareness led Amaral to critically refer to Thévet and Léry's 'adaptations' of these two mythological figures in her work.

Fraser suggests that the Amazonian - whose representation was most likely found by Amaral whilst consulting the books of the French travellers and discoverers - can be recognised in *A Negra*, given that the latter is a powerful depiction of a single-breasted woman.[221] [222] This type of association has two remarkable implications. Firstly, it means that for Amaral, the purist's return to the Arcadia and classicism was a valid reference inasmuch as Greek mythology had actually something to do with Brazil, its discovery and the ancient roots of its very own culture. Accordingly, it can be said here that, despite the undeniable formal similarities of her work and those of the purists, Amaral deliberately departed in conceptual terms from the *rappel a l' ordre,* and the ideas of her purist

[221] Valerie Fraser, in conversation, 29/08/2017.
[222] See: *A Negra* in figure 13, 85.

'masters', to find meaningful references and valuable themes for an original and independent Brazilian art 'at home'. Secondly, it indicates that, in these paintings, Amaral engaged with the long history of European mis-representation of Indigenous American culture. Her referencing to Amazonians and Sciapods in works whose subjects are linked to Brazil's identity since its origins may well have been a critique of the fact that Thévet and Léry's interpretative efforts led to a Westernised mis-interpretation of the Brazilian 'other'. In his statement of May 1928, Andrade may have implied that the type of enquiry that led Amaral to the making of *A Negra* and *Abaporu* influenced his side of the anthropophagic project and the writing of the "Anthropophagic Manifesto".

Andrade and Amaral's anthropophagy draws on a symbolic and a philosophical act that has nothing to do with the primordial drive of killing and devouring, but should, instead, be understood as a form of communion with a brave 'enemy'. This becomes apparent from Andrade's statements such as: 'the metaphysical operation related to the anthropophagic ritual is the transformation of taboo into totem'.[223] To state that cannibalist practice converts taboo into totem means to think that the eaten 'enemy' is transformed, by the act of killing and eating, into the cannibal's object of divination, or his distinguished alter ego. This seems to imply that Andrade knew that the value of the enemy, for the cannibal, was linked to the fundamental need for a social double which would work as a mirror image, and with which the symbolic realm of the cannibalistic society could be enriched. If the first statement hints at this type of understanding, the following one, made shortly after the publication of the anthropophagic manifesto makes it explicit: 'look how strong: - Here comes our "food" jumping! And the food said: eat this meat because you will feel the taste of the blood of your ancestors in it'.[224] Andrade's knowledge of the epistemological root of the cannibalistic ritual led him to conclude that there was no animosity or hatred behind the act of killing, as it metonymically stood for the fusion of the victim's strength and subjectivity with the collective one of the anthropophagic society.

He was also aware that the cannibals' collective subjectivity sublimated the guilt and horror springing from homicide (and typical of Western civilization) into the utmost cultural value of fusional alterity – where the 'self' merges, unconditionally, with the 'other'. Andrade's statement points to his awareness that what was eaten by the cannibal

[223] *'A operação metafísica que se liga ao rito antropofágico é a transformação de tabú em totem'*. Oswald de Andrade,"A Crise da Filosofia Messiânica", in: Oswald de Andrade, Benedito Nunes, *A Utopia Antropofágica*: *Obras Completas de Oswald de Andrade* (São Paulo: Secretaria de Estado da Cultura de São Paulo/Editora Globo, 2011), 101.

[224] *'Veja só que vigor: - Lá vem nossa "comida" pulando! E a comida dizia: come essa carne porque vae sentir nela o gosto do sangue dos teus antepassados.'* Andrade, "Schema ao Tristão de Athayde", 3.

was perceived as an 'enemy' mainly from the viewpoint of the coloniser; for the *Tupi*, the valuable individual ingested by the whole tribe (except the killer) was in fact the glorious other half of the 'self'. The Jesuits and the majority of the ethnographers of the 16th century (and indeed most later commentators) were ignorant of the fact that for the native the act of killing held no connection to the Western taboo of homicide and that it was a symbolic expression of the Amerindian alterity. The cannibals did not kill the enemy from hunger, although the Western coloniser saw the practice mainly from this perspective, stigmatising it as materialistic and immoral – and Amaral and Andrade were well aware of this. For the couple, and in Andrade's own words, cannibalism was a 'way of thinking, a vision of the world that characterised the primitive phase of the whole humanity'.[225] From their viewpoint, cannibalism was an ontological predation that would constantly transform the essential dimension of the societies that practiced it; therefore it was not a source of subsistence for the physical body, but for the social one and its subjectivity.

Such awareness within the anthropophagic project of the *modernistas* is undeniable if one considers that Andrade advocated that "the Indian did not devour [the enemy] from greed, but out of a symbolic and magic act in which resided all his comprehension of life and man".[226] He believed so fiercely in the claim that he would bring it up more than once and with slightly different words. We have identified two reiterations of the statements. One advocates that *antropofagia* 'opposes, in its harmonic and communal sense, the cannibalism that comes to be the anthropophagy for gluttony and also the anthropophagy for hunger'.[227] The other goes as follows: "The Indigenous did not eat human flesh for hunger or greed. It was a matter of a type of communion of values which implied within itself the importance of a whole philosophical position".[228] Further, the voice speaking in the *Manifesto Antropófago* advocates that '[t]he only things that interest me are those that are not mine', thus revealing how the anthropophagic interest in the cannibal stemmed from the *Tupi* receptiveness to the 'other'. [229]

The publication of the anthropophagic manifesto (1928), was followed, after four months, by that of the article *Schema ao Tristão de Athayde*, in the fifth volume of the

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[225] *'[U]m modo de pensar, uma visão do mundo que caracterizou certa fase primitiva de toda a humanidade'.* Andrade, "A Crise da Filosofia Messiânica", 101.

[226] *"O índio não devorava [o inimigo] por gula e sim num ato simbólico e mágico onde está e reside toda a sua compreensão da vida e do homem"*. Oswald de Andrade, "Informe sobre o Modernismo", in: *Oswald de Andrade, Estética e Política, Obras Completas*, Maria Eugênia Boaventura (org.) (São Paulo: Editora Globo, 1991), 104.

[227] *'Contrapõe-se, em seu sentido harmônico e comunal, ao canibalismo que vem a ser a antropofagia por gula e também a antropofagia por fome'.* Andrade, "A Crise da Filosofia Messiânica", 101.

[228] *"O indígena não comia carne humana nem por fome nem por gula. Tratava-se de uma espécie de comunhão do valor que tinha em si a importância de toda uma posição filosófica".* Oswald de Andrade, in Cocco, *Mundo-Braz*, 234.

[229] Andrade, "Anthropophagite Manifesto" (1928) (b), 312.

"Anthropophagic Magazine". [230] In our view, this article is not only a clear proof of his knowledge of the *Tupi* epistemology and the native philosophical position, but also shows what kind of critique of the West and revision of Brazil's cultural and political realms he was extracting from such knowledge. The weapons of Andrade's critique are extracted from the Amerindian ethical sphere and codes of conduct - mainly freedom; particularly of expression, matriarchy and the values and beliefs behind the cannibalistic practice. The panoply was used to attack the Western patriarchal system, civil legislation, moral and ethical constrains inflicted upon authors by the press, and the Roman-Catholic 'form of cannibalism', which Andrade recognised to be the act of the Holy Communion. For Andrade freedom came together with matriarchal culture, with a culture that he did not hesitate to call anthropophagic.[231] According to Andrade's analysis, it was the matriarchal system of the Amerindian societies that had led them to absorb Christianity, particularly because, he points out sarcastically, the virginity of Mary and the Annunciation, which implied that Jesus was not conceived through Mary's intercourse with a male, but through divine intervention, made of Saint Joseph the negation of patriarchy. In Andrade's words: 'Christianity, we have absorbed it. [...] It had two serious arguments. Jesus as the son of the totem and of the tribe. The biggest bummer of patriarchy! To call Saint Joseph a patriarch is irony. The patriarchy established by Catholicism with the holy spirit as a totem, the annunciation etc.'[232]

Not only so, as Andrade thinks that it was the symbolic affinity between the Holy Communion and the cannibalistic ritual that facilitated the conversion of the *Tupi* to the religion of the Portuguese coloniser; as he put it,

> the fact is that anthropophagy is also personified in the communion. This is my body. *Hoc est corpus meum*. […] The *Indios partook of* [in the sense of partaking of the body of Christ though the Holy Communion] living flesh; literal flesh. Catholicism instituted the same thing, however it acted cowardly by dissimulating our symbol. [233]

This is why 'Indian Brazil could not have avoided adopting a god which was only just son of his mother [here Andrade is referring to Christ as son of Mary] who beyond this, was also satisfying atavist gluttony'. [234]

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[230] See: Andrade, "Schema ao Tristão de Athayde".

[231] See: Maria Eugênia Boaventura, *O Salão e a Selva* (São Paulo: Unicamp/Ex Libris, 1995).

[232] *'O Christianismo absorvemo-o. […] Trazia dois graves argumentos. Jesus filho do totem e da tribu. O maior tranco do patriarcado! Chamar São José de patriarca é ironia. O patriarcado erigido pelo catolicismo com o Espírito Santo como totem, a anunciação etc'*. Andrade, "Schema ao Tristão de Athayde", 3.

[233] *'O fato é que ha também a antropofagia trazida em pessoa na communhão. Este é o meu corpo. Hoc est corpus meum. [...] O índio commungava a carne viva, real. O catholicismo instituio a mesma cousa, porém acovardou-se, mascarando o nosso symbolo'*. Ibid.

[234] *'O Brasil indio não podia deixar de adoptar um deus filho só da mãe que, além disso, satisfazia plenamente gulas atávicas'*. Ibid.

The *Tupi* point of view, his beliefs and creeds needed to be adopted against Western epistemology and its systems of knowledge, and also adopted to review what Brazil had inherited from the West through colonialism. In Andrade's own words, 'Let's review the history of here and of Europe. […] We need to re-evaluate everything – the idiom, property law, family, the need for divorce -, to write as we speak, utmost sincerity'.[235] Andrade goes to the extent of claiming the presence of a "native juridical conscience" among the Brazilian people, which was based on the *Tupi* values of freedom and spontaneity, and - given the moralistic nature of the Brazilian press - which could be expressed by Brazilian authors only in the free sections of newspapers. As Andrade put it, 'the anthropophagic instinct of our people becomes a symbol of a native juridical conscience as it reaches the free sections of newspapers'.[236] Further, he would claim that 'the milestone of anthropophagic law is the following: possession [in the carnal sense] against property [in the sense of material ownership].'[237]

Andrade's knowledge and use of the Cannibal's epistemological domain, was, as a matter of fact, perceived not only in Paris, but also by his Brazilians contemporaries. An analysis of an article by Bandeira, one of the leading *modernista* literary figures of the 1920s, written on the occasion of Amaral's first solo exhibition in Brazil (Rio de Janeiro, July 1929), proves the point.[238] In his *Tarsila Antropófaga* (1929), Bandeira, in order to point out to the public how the painting *Antropofagia* (1929) **{fig. 21}** should be understood, draws on Waldemar-George's text for the exhibition catalogue through a long quotation. Born in Lodz in Russian Poland in 1893, Waldemar-George (1893-1970), whose real name was Waldemar Jarocinski, had moved to Paris in 1911, and became an established critic during the 1920s. As his contribution to Amaral's exhibition suggests, he was part of Amaral and Andrade's circle in the French capital and wrote on *antropofagia*. For Bandeira, Amaral's intentions behind *Antropofagia* were well put in, and should be interpreted through, Waldemar-George's view on Andrade's anthropophagic project, which goes as follows:

> 'Mr. Oswald de Andrade wants to return to the sources of a civilization which has disappeared forever, that of Brazil, and which was prior to the cruel Portuguese invasion. Recent excavations and ethnological works have enabled him to study the grandest primitive culture; that of a people who satisfied the ideal of our

[235] *'Vamos rever a história daqui e da Europa.* […] *Precisamos rever tudo – o idioma, o direito de propriedade, a família, a necessidade do divórcio -, escrever como se fala, sinceridade máxima'*. Ibid.
[236] *'O instincto antropofágico de nosso povo se prolonga até a secção vivre dos jornais, ficando bem como symbolo de uma consciência jurídica nativa'*. Ibid.
[237] *'[A] pedra do direito antropofágico [é] o seguinte: a posse contra a propriedade'*. Ibid.
[238] Bandeira's article was written in 1929 and published in *Crônicas da Província do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, in 1937.

> Jacques Rousseau. This people lived happily in the bosom of nature and ignored the coerciveness of the law. The Roman Catholic religion was imposed by force upon it. Mr. de Andrade, no doubt, neither intends to return to paganism, nor to natural life. However, he wants to assert the principles of an autochthonous local civilization. This civilization is clearly opposed to the West [...]. It comprises an ethic and a vision of the world [... that] fights the stigma of servitude of a pagan doctrine [i.e., the *Tupí*] and of Latin America (*latinismo*)'.[239]

Andrade and Amaral's use of the term 'cannibalism' or its synonyms, 'anthropophagy' and *Abaporu*, was as far as possible from the Parisian one, which paid no attention to the epistemology of tribal practices and their signification within their *socius*. Dali's surrealist cannibalism not only was a few years posterior to the Brazilian anthropophagic wave, but, as we have seen early on, it also engaged with different concerns. Subirats explains that such concerns gravitated between 'the active production of a new universe of irrational objects […and the] convert[ion of] the artistic experience into the aesthetics of mass consumerism'.[240] Thus, the urge behind Dalí's appropriation was fundamentally selfish – that is: it dealt with what Dalí deemed to be the problems of Europe's modern industrial societies. As opposed to Dali's visual primitivism, Amaral's one was not a process of translation driven by a fascination for ancient cultures and a fetishistic attachment to the formal qualities of tribal and rudimentary artefacts. In fact, Amaral's approach to 'primitive' culture was diametrically opposed to that of artists working in Paris.

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[239] *"O Sr. Oswald de Andrade quer retomar as fontes de uma civilização para sempre desaparecida, a do Brasil, anterior à cruel invasão portuguesa. Excavações e trabalhos de etnologia recentes lhe permitiram estudar a cultura primitiva mais grandiosa, de um povo que satisfazia ao ideal do nosso Jacques Russeau. Este povo vivia feliz no seio da natureza e ignorava as coerções da lei. O rito católico e romano lhe foi imposto pela força. O Sr. de Andrade não pretende, sem dúvida, voltar ao paganismo, nem mesmo, à vida natural. Mas quer induzir as constantes de uma civilização local autóctone. Essa civilização opõe-se nitidamente à do Ocidente [...]. Comporta uma ética e uma visão do mundo [...que] combate na doutrina pagã e no latinismo [ou seja, nas ex-colônias latino-americanas] as marcas de uma servidão".* Waldemar-Georges, quoted in Manuel Bandeira, "Tarsila Antropófaga" (1929), *Crônicas da Província do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 1937. Reprinted in: Amaral, *Tarsila: Sua Obra e Seu Tempo*, 432-433.

[240] *'La producción activa de un nuevo universo de objectos irracionales [,…e la] conver[sión] [de] la experiencia artística en una estética de consumo de massas'*. Subirats, "Del Surrealismo a la Antropofagia"*,* 27.

Figure 21:

Tarsila do Amaral,
Antropofagia (1929).

Oil on canvas 126 x 142 cm.

José and Paulina Nemirovsky Collection,
São Paulo.

Source:
http://epoca.globo.com/especiais/
rev500anos/
antropofagia.htm

Judging by Belting's account, apart from Dali's *cannibalisme*, and even previously to it, it was customary procedure, in Paris, to decontextualize 'primitive' artefacts from their habitat and to bring them to Europe, where they would be submitted to a formal comparison with Western art production.[241] Even when compared to Breton's idea of juxtaposition between the art and craft of the 'other' and European surrealist art in search for 'analogy' (the latter being a term dear to him and many artists of the movement), Amaral's clear references to surrealist expressions do not approach the 'primitive' by adopting a procedure of geographical transfer and mere formal enquiry. This strategy had supposedly the 'purpose of creating ties between those two realities in order to arrive at the point where they "will cease to be perceived contradictorily".[242] Yet it was problematic due to the very treatment the European surrealists were giving to the notion of transfer and 'analogy' as displacement' and 'conversion'. Firstly for these actions' direction (only from African, Oceanic and indigenous American cultures to the Old World one); and secondly, for the institutional locations where what was displaced and converted would operate, which would be either the private collections of collector-artists, or the rooms of an exhibition space such as surrealist gallery and the *galerie* Ladrière-Ratton **{fig. 22}**. The attempt to dissipate cultural contradictions and merge

[241] Hans Belting, "World Art and Global Art: A New Challenge to Art History", *The AICA Symposium on Global Art*, Salzburg, 2011. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uLvFavurQBE>. [Last accessed: 16/03/2015].
[242] Leclercq, "The Surrealist Appropriation". Available at: <http:/www.artssocietes.org>. Last accessed [17/10/2011].

'differences' was therefore made difficult by European primitivists' failure to fully escape the Eurocentric nature of their own contemporary culture.

Figure 22:

Room at the "Surrealist Exhibition of Objects" (1936).

Ladrière-Ratton Gallery, Paris.

Source: http://www.artsetsocietes.org/a/a-leclercq.html

The Parisian surrealists in fact did abide by their contemporary mentality and trends not only for being infatuated with 'primitive' fetishes; they also collected these objects by buying them, and would not hesitate to sell them as any other art dealer. By the early 1920s, primitivism was not only an erudite trend for artists and intellectuals; it was also a fashion that had emerged as a spectacle in theatre and nightclubs performances, and a profitable theme around which commerce was flourishing. [243] Primitivist objects were being sold as part of the ornamental repertoire of furniture and interiors. Judging by Leclercq's study, the commercially palatable aspect of primitivism was fomenting the Parisian surrealists' mercenary interest in the trend. In her 2006 seminar on the surrealist relationship to indigenous art, Leclercq explains that Breton and Éluard were assiduously attending auctions.[244] She also cites that Éluard wrote to Gala (his wife): 'in Holland I bought a fetish that is unique in the world, from New Guinea. […] It is magnificent. One day, I will sell it for 200.000. Definitely'.[245] It is therefore possible to conclude that early 20th century European art's attempts at translation of the 'other' were diminished by both their treating the 'other''s art and artefacts as profitable commodities, and their inability

[243] See for instance: David Richards, "At Other Times: Modernism and the "Primitive", *The Cambridge History of Modernism, Part I*, Vincent Sherry (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 64-82.
[244] See: Leclercq, "The Surrealist Appropriation". Available at: < http:/www.artssocietes.org>. [Last accessed: 17/10/2011]
[245] See: ibid.

to break free from that very modern spirit the surrealists fought against. As Leclercq puts it:

> [c]oncerning the strong infatuation on the part of the Surrealists with 'primitive' art, one may ask oneself whether what was expressed was a kind of anticonformism or, on the contrary, a certain sort of herd instinct, an adaptation to the trend of their milieu. Was there not already an awareness of "going modern" when cultivating this taste? [246]

Given the commercial approach that the surrealists had towards the primitivist trend, they were unable to break free not only from the exoticist surge of their milieu, but also from the profit-oriented aspect of exoticism in modern Paris.

Contrary to what was generally happening in Paris, Amaral's *Abaporu* and the following *Antropofagia*, far from expropriating the *Índio* of its habitat and resemblance; or from approaching it as a figurative subject to be explored and deconstructed pictorially, have direct relation to what according to Andrade was the philosophy of the cannibals. As proved by the claims and arguments that Andrade himself put forward in the literature analysed in this chapter, the Brazilians, instead of being interested in 'primitive' Amerindian artefacts, adopted the Amerindian epistemology. Therefore *antropofagia*, did not abide by the European 'primitivism of the external form'; it did not stand for a mere 'quest within the instinctual realm and formal simplicity of 'primitive' cultures and their visual expressions' as it wanted to be originally Brazilian, and deliberately so. [247] [248]

[246] Ibid, 1.

[247] Robert Goldwater, *Primitivism in Modern Art* (New York: Vintage Book, 1967), 255.

[248] Kalinca Costa Söderlund, "Antropofagia: A Highy Critical Arrière-Garde Modernism in 1920s Brazil", *Southern Modernisms, Critical Stances through Regional Appropriations*, Joana Leal Culha, Maria Helena Maia, Begoña Farre (eds.) (Porto: IHA – Instituto de História de Arte FCSH-UNL, CEAA – Centro de Estudos Armando Araújo ESAP, 2015), 404.

Part 2 - The Second Wave of *Modernismo*: From the Vargas First Administration to the Arrival of Abstraction at the Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo (MAM-SP) (1930-1949)

4- Historiography of *Modernismo* and State Patronage

Part 1 of this study analysed the *sine qua non* of the *modernistas,* which was national aesthetic renovation. It also tackled how their claims for authenticity were made through appropriations of European references aiming at an aesthetic-literary production that could represent a form of redemption from cultural colonialism. By considering patronage as a relevant player in the field of cultural production, migration, exchange and publishing, we have discussed the political and cultural agency of 1920s *modernismo* in the national and international domains, especially with reference to the currents of nationalism and cosmopolitanism that pervaded the decade.

This thesis has argued that, whilst pushing for the renovation of Brazil's literary and artistic realms and representing a rupture with the academic past, the *modernistas* operated not only in the cultural, but also in the political domain. In the specificity of the national and the political, we have seen that 1920s *modernismo* represented more than a mere 'aesthetic-literary representation' of the nation, and that it stood for a 'programme of emancipation' of ethnic minorities centred in a re-evaluation of the popular and the appreciation of Amerindian epistemology. In the light of this, the aims of this chapter are twofold. Firstly, it will position what the thesis has argued so far along the path of the historiographical discourse that began to be traced by the *modernistas* themselves, and whilst doing so, it will flag nodal historiographical points. Secondly, it will look into the ways in which public cultural policy during the 1930s and 1940s appropriated the *modernista* ideals of the 1920s and put them at the service of the State political agenda. This manoeuvre will show that the modernist emancipative discourse of the 1920s was hijacked and turned into an 'ideological representation' of the nation that fitted both national populism and international expansionism. Yet, we shall also see that the regime led by President Vargas was not only benefiting from the ideas of the *modernistas*, but also putting them in positions of power at educational and cultural institutions, and so allowing them to consolidate the pillars upon which the canonical discourse on *modernismo* has been construed.

The chapter will also tackle the continuing battle between academicists and *modernistas*, which the collapse of the oligarchic Old Republic and the establishment of Vargas' Provisional Government in 1930 did not put to an end.[249] It will show that, in fact, the battle continued under the wing of public patronage and a State interested in strategically using the opposing partitions in the definition of a modern national cultural identity.

4.1 – *Modernismo* as Rupture, Rehabilitation and Redemptive Originality

In 1942, Mário de Andrade retrospectively analysed the discourse of emancipation of the movement of which he was one of the highest exponents, proclaiming that

> modernism, in Brazil, was a rupture, was an abandonment of consequent principles and techniques, was a revolt against what was then the national intelligence. […] What characterised the reality that the *modernista* movement imposed was, in my view, the merging of three fundamental principles. The permanent right to aesthetic research; the actualisation of the Brazilian artistic intelligence; and the establishment of a national creative consciousness.[250]

This statement proves that the path opened by the 1920s *modernistas* was consciously based on the establishment of national aesthetic-literary expressions that broke with the past; with a tradition that was the consequence of the 'principles', and the 'techniques, that the previous generations of the Brazilian cultural intelligence had inherited from the colonial era. In our opinion, the right to 'research' on behalf of a renewed 'Brazilian aesthetic intelligence', here advocated by Andrade, is a claim not only for independence from the discourse of the Brazilian academies, but also for originality in relation to European models. The definition of a 'national creative consciousness' within the country's republican reality implied, on the one hand, the national modernisation of cultural practices and, on the other one, the international emancipation of Brazilian culture. The *modernistas* were therefore aware of the agency of their programme, which, on the one hand, aimed at overthrowing local cultural tradition, and, on the other one, wanted to overcome the charge of cultural dependence.

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[249] We have given an historical overview of the passage from the Old Republic and the *Política dos Governadores* to Vargas' provisional government (1930) in chapter 1, section 1.3..

[250] *'O Modernismo, no Brasil, foi uma ruptura, foi um abandono de principios e de técnicas consequentes, foi uma revolta contra o que era a Inteligencia nacional. […] O que caracteriza esta realidade que o movimento modernista impos foi, a meu ver, a fusão de três princípios fundamentais. O direito permanente a pesquisa estética; a atualização de uma inteligência artistica brasileira; e a estabilização de uma consciência criadora nacional.'* Andrade, *O Movimento Modernista*, 25 and 45.

Whilst Andrade lays the grounds of Brazilian *modernismo* on the redemptive task of 'rupture', Sérgio Milliet did so on that of 'rehabilitation'. In an essay written in 1953 for Tarsila do Amaral's retrospective exhibition at the MAC-SP, Milliet describes the *modernista* expressions of the artist's work as 'the rehabilitation of our quotidian speaking, our being plebeians, which the pedantry of the grammarians has been wanting to eliminate from written language'.[251] Here Milliet is implying a broad re-evaluation of the popular element; for him, Amaral's art was positively engaging with - or even being a visual metaphor of - 'quotidian speaking', that is, it related to the language of the uneducated masses, and to 'being plebeian', that is, to the condition of those who did not live the aristocratic and bourgeois life. This type of 'rehabilitation' was concomitant with a new approach to the European reference, and Milliet explains the process by mobilising Oswald de Andrade's *oeuvre*. In this new stance, invention and surprise were preferred to the copy; the programme behind it, as Milliet put it 'is summed up […] in a search for a Brazilian expression on behalf of artists bored with European wisdom'.[252] The impetus of Milliet's interest in Andrade's work is here centred on its agency against acritical imitation, and against the historically established Brazilian tendency to assume the superiority of European culture. In a nutshell, for Milliet, *modernism*o was, through Amaral's paintings and Andrade's writings, 'the return to the Indian, to earth, was the proclamation of intellectual independence after political independence'.[253] Hence, by way of exploring precolonial Brazil and the Amerindian, the *modernista*s could achieve a 'redemptive originality' through which it was possible to maintain the autonomy of their cultural production.

Another of the highest representatives of the early *modernista* era that initiated the historiography of *modernismo* was Alceu Amoroso Lima, also known under the pseudonym Tristão de Athayde. In the 1910-1920s, Lima was seen as one of the masterminds of literary criticism. As the author of several anthologies of Brazilian literature linked to the Vargas cultural administration, Lima engaged with what he called 'the localisation of Brazilian literature within the modern cultural reality [and…] the constant preoccupation with mimicry and originality, which we [the Brazilians] have always faced'.[254]

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[251] *"A reabilitação do nosso falar quotidiano, sermos plebeus, que o pedantismo dos gramaticos tem querido eliminar da lingua escrita".* Sérgio Milliet, *Tarsila do Amaral, Artista Brasileiros Contemporâneos* (exhib. cat.), (São Paulo: Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo, ABC, 1953), 10.

[252] *'Se resume […] numa procura da expressão brasileira realizada pelos artista entediados com a sabedoria Europea*'. Ibid, 11.

[253] *' O retorno ao índio, a terra, era a proclamação da independencia intelectual, apos a independencia politica.'* Idid, 11-12.

[254] *'Localização da literatura brasileira dentro da realidade cultural moderna [e …] a constante preocupação de mimetismo e de originalidade com quem sempre nos defrontamos'*. Alceu Amoroso Lima, *Introdução à Literatura Brasileira* (1936) (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Agir Editora, 1956), 16.

In Lima's work, the issue of copy and of lack of originality of Brazilian culture was approached from a perspective that attempted to reconcile the particular and the universal:

> let's put our literature in the true context of its origin and its development. […] Let's not separate Brazilian literature from its extra-local roots, and this not because we live under the illusion of already being a truly universal literature, […] but because we observe, objectively, that Brazilian literature would be inexplicable, if we wanted to derive it from influences which were merely local. If we still have a marginal literary life, this marginalism should not lead us to an isolation that would be not only actually wrong but also infertile in its unfolding. […] The best way for us to get national originality in literature is to neither close ourselves into a tight nationalism nor lose ourselves in a sterile cosmopolitanism. […] Our worry should be neither the Brazilian theme nor the illusion of a total originality.[255]

The issue of originality is here linked to a negotiation between national/local elements that exclude isolationism, and a critical stance towards the international influence. By critically approaching leading international cultural centres it was possible to avoid a 'sterile cosmopolitanism', a term that, in our opinion, implies that Lima thought that *modernismo* was not to succumb to homogenising (therefore a form of hegemonic) universalism. Judging by Lima's view on *modernista* literature, Brazilian cultural production had to be aware of both its 'extra-local' roots, and its constant referencing to outer cultural sources. This awareness would lead cultural production to take shape by means of addressing the historical and contemporaneous relationships between Brazilian culture and that of the 'centre' without retreating into counterproductive forms of confined, therefore marginal, regionalism.

These three authors were not only leading members of the *modernista* movement, but their writings, since the 1930s, were also some of the earliest attempts to outline a foundational narrative of the importance of *modernismo* in Brazilian aesthetic-literary history.[256] The retrospective gaze that the *modernistas* cast on their doings shows that *modernismo* stood for the 'destructive spirit' that changed the character of the local

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[255] *'Colocamos a nossa literatura no verdadeiro âmbito da sua origem e do seu desenvolvimento. […] Não separamos a literatura brasileira de suas raízes extralocais, não por termos a ilusão de já sermos uma literatura realmente universal, […] mas por observar, objetivamente, que a literatura brasileira seria inexplicável, se a quisessemos derivar de influência meramente locais. Se temos ainda uma vida literária marginal, não deve esse marginalismo levar-nos a um isolamento não so inexato de fato, mas infecundo no seu desdobramento. […] O melhor meio de termos uma originalidade nacional em literatura, não é nem nos fecharmos em um nacionalismo estreito, nem nos perdermos em um cosmopolitanismo estéril. […] O que nos deve preocupar não e' o tema brasileiro, nem a ilusão de uma originalidade total. O que nos deve preocupar é o espirito brasileiro, isto é, a marca pessoal, popular e local de uma realidade universal.'* Ibid, 14-15-16-17.

[256] In relation to this point, the following literature is relevant: Alceu Amoroso Lima, 1) *Quadro Sintético da Literatura Brasileira* (1936) (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Agir Editora, 1959); and 2) *Contribuição a História do Modernismo*: *o Pré Modernismo* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1939).

cultural arena; and for the definition of a culturally modern national identity engaged with the task of overcoming issues of asymmetry between Brazil and the centres of cultural production.[257]

The above-cited three key texts written by Andrade, Milliet and Lima, are connected by definitions and classifications that together formed a narrative and a structure of knowledge upon which subsequent historiography was built. As we have pointed out, these guidelines defined the following trilogy: 'rupture', 'rehabilitation' and 'redemptive originality'. Firstly, *modernismo* represented a Janus-faced break, which, on the one hand, parted ways with the path traced by academic tradition and, on the other one, was critical of cultural colonisation. 'Rupture' therefore stood for the establishment of a modern cultural identity determined to challenge such type of colonisation with respect not only to the legacy it left within the academies, but also to its new possibilities within a recently established republican reality that brought about the question of cultural autonomy. Secondly, the movement gave way to a re-evaluation, or as Milliet put it, a 'rehabilitation' of the popular, the ethnic and the natural elements as symbols of national origins, and as nationalistic banners of aesthetic-literary independence from Europe. Thirdly, it opposed the notion of copy and the epigonic rationale; it was aware of universal cultural forces yet critical of homogenising universalism; it was appreciative of the particular yet against forms of regionalism that refused to interact with international influences.

The historiography of Brazilian literary and artistic *modernismo* took shape by revolving around the viewpoint of the *modernistas* themselves. This is apparent if one considers that historiographical rhetoric relies heavily on the notions that we have just identified in M. Andrade, Milliet and Lima's texts in order to define the uniqueness of the *modernista* movement. We shall argue this by exploring the bibliography on *modernismo* produced from the 1950s to the 1980s, in particular, by analysing Antonio Candido, Mário da Silva Brito and Augusto and Haroldo de Campos' accounts on the legacy of 1920s *modernismo*.

In 1953, Candido revived the notion of a dialectical relationship between the local and the universal, which was previously used by M. Andrade not only to define *modernismo*, but also to explore Brazilian romanticism, which can be seen as the official aesthetic of Imperial Brazil under Dom Pedro II (1831-1889). In Candido's own words:

> one may call this process dialectical because it really constituted a progressive integration of our literary and spiritual experience, which occurred through a tension between given local factors [...] and models inherited from the European

[257] '*Espírito destruidor'*. Andrade, *O Movimento Modernista*, 25.

> tradition. Our literature [and culture…], in this form, has consisted in a constant overcoming of obstacles, such as the sentiment of inferiority that a new, tropical and largely mixed country develops in relation to a civilization elaborated under quite different geographical conditions.[258]

Candido's study led him to conclude that even if this dialectical relationship was at the very core of the historical evolution of Brazil's aesthetic-literary realm, *romanticismo* and *modernismo* represented the apex of this process. However, in his *Literatura e Cultura de 1900 a 1945* (1953), he advocates that the main difference between the two movements was that whilst the Brazilian romantics did not achieve a significant break away from the Europeans, the *modernistas* effectively worked towards Brazil's cultural autonomy. In his own words, *modernismo* represented

> the liberation from a series of historical, social, and ethnic repressions that are triumphantly brought to the forefront of literary consciousness. This feeling of triumph, which marks the end of the position of inferiority in the secular dialogue with Portugal, and which no longer considers such inferiority, defines the peculiar originality of *Modernismo* in the dialectic of the general and the particular.[259]

This originality, reached through *modernismo*, was, according to Candido, the aftermath of a rebellious path taken for the sake of cultural auto-definition. It was the achievement brought about through a line of enquiry with which the *modernistas* faced culturally and socially the repressive burden of colonialism with the intention of expressing a modernising society through literature (and art).

Another of the main differences that Candido established between *romantismo* and *modernismo* concerned their vision and understanding of Brazil as a *mestiço* culture. For Candido, *romantismo* looked at the Amerindian and black influences within Brazil's cultural formation from a perspective under which the idealisation of such cultures dissimulated the inherent sentiment of embarrassment that they generated within the literate society; whereas *modernismo* gave a positive and emancipated meaning to the *Indio* and the Afro-Brazilian. In other words, whilst the *românticos* disregarded (or

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[258] '*Pode-se chamar dialético a este processo porque ele tem realmente constituido uma integração progressiva de experiencia literária e espiritual, por meio da tensão entre o dado local [...] e os moldes herdados da tradição européa. A nossa literatura [e cultura…], tem, sob este aspecto, consistido numa superação constante de obstáculos, entre os quais o sentimento de inferioridade que um país novo, tropical e largamente mestiçado, desenvolve em face de uma civilização elaborada em condições geográficas bastante diferentes'.* Candido, "Literatura e Cultura de 1900 a 1945", 110.

[259] *'A libertação de uma série de recalques históricos, sociais, étnicos, que são trazidos triunfalmente à tona da consciência literária. Este sentimento de triunfo, que assinala o fim da posição de inferioridade no diálogo secular com Portugal e já nem o leva mais em conta define a originalidade própria do Modernismo na dialética do geral e do particular'*. Ibid, 125-126.

rejected) the qualities of *mestiçagem* and depicted the native and the black as Europeanised in their semblance, virtues and habits, the *modernistas* permanently incorporated these ethnicities into the intellectual discourse as valuable sources of study and exemplary producers of culture. In sum, and in Candido's words, the *modernistas* enacted 'a frank adherence to the repressed elements of our [the Brazilian] civilisation, such as the black, the *mestiço*, the son of the immigrant, the colourful taste of the people, ingenuity, idleness'.[260] Therefore Candido's *oeuvre* keeps drawing on the previously initiated lines of 'rupture' with international hierarchical cultural systems, and of 'rehabilitation' of the national subaltern. In other words, his account not only resonates within that of M. Andrade, but also that of Milliet, as his view here reiterates the value of the popular and Brazil's social minorities determined by ethnicity. This is further proved by the following of his statements:

> it looks like *Modernismo* (taken in the wide sense of a movement of ideas, and not only of literature) corresponds to the most authentic trend of Brazilian art and thought. Within it, freedom from academicism, from historical frustrations, from literary officialdom came together with a tendency to political education and social reform; with the burning desire of knowing the country.[261]

In 1958, Mário da Silva Brito published the first volume of his *História do Modernismo Brasileiro.* Here Brito gives an account of the events preceding the 1922 São Paulo modern art week based on statements made by its organizers and on material published at the time in the press. The backdrop of the 1922 event that historiography recognizes to be the official landmark of the *modernista* movement is used to emphasise the latter's innovative and nationalist-internationalist impetus. In his own words:

> the desire of updating national literature – although, in order to achieve so, it was necessary to import ideas born in cultural centres that were more advanced – did not imply the denial of the Brazilian sentiment. After all, what it aspired to was [...] the application of new artistic processes to autochthonous inspirations and, at the same time, the placement of the country, then under a remarkable influx of progress, into the aesthetic coordinates already opened by the new era. Brazil was advancing materially, taking advantage of the benefits of civilization, but in terms of culture, it did not renounce the past.[262]

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[260] *'A adesão franca aos elementos recalcados da nossa civilização, como o negro, o mestiço, o filho do emigrante, o gosto vistoso do povo, a ingenuidade, a malandrice'*. Ibid, 122.

[261] *'Parece que o Modernismo (tomado no sentido amplo do movimento das idéias, e não apenas das letras) corresponde à tendência mais autêntica da arte e do pensamento brasileiro. Nele [...] fundiram-se a libertação do academismo, dos recalques históricos, do oficialismo literário; as tendências de educação política e reforma social; o ardor de conhecer o país.'* Ibid, 124.

[262] *'O desejo de atualizar as lêtras nacionais – apesar de para tanto ser preciso importar idéias nascidas em centros cuturais mais avançados – não implicava numa regeneração do sentimento brasileiro. Afinal, o que se aspirava era [...] a aplicação de novos processos artistícos às inspirações autoctones e, concomitantemente, a*

The impetus of local innovation, is, once more, handled from a comparative perspective that takes into account exogenous cultural influences; this time with an explicit sense of the inferiority of the 'periphery'. If compared to Lima's text quoted earlier on, one may conclude that whilst Lima refers to Brazilian culture during *modernismo* as possibly 'marginal', Brito goes to the extent of stating that Brazil was a cultural periphery that imported from more "advanced" areas, which represented 'cultural centres'. For Brito, the innovative impetus of *modernismo* was due to the movement's ability to adopt 'autochthonous' elements to process, and therefore appropriate, ideas coming from 'more advanced' cultural realities, and, by doing so, to elaborate a cultural model for the country which was able to reflect a modernising nation. *Modernismo* stands here for a double victory: it reflected Brazil's 'material advancement' in the early 20th century, and it proposed a cultural project of negotiation of particular and universal culture that approximated the country to the hierarchical position occupied by those centres that dictated the 'aesthetic coordinates of the new era'. Overall, Brito's account reiterates the *modernistas*' narrative of the movement and represents another step within historiography that 1) fundamentally reinforces its revolutionary spirit; and that 2) did not deny Brazil's cultural roots whilst re-signifying new waves of leading international aesthetic norms.

The re-thinking of national culture elaborated by the *modernistas*, according to the historiographical development so far discussed, was made through a dialogical relationship with dominant European culture. Three poets, the brothers Augusto and Haroldo de Campos and Décio Pignatari, who, in the mid-1950s were members of the *noigrande*s group, took this framework further by drawing on Oswald de Andrade's poetry.[263] Similarly to *modernismo,* the *noigrandes* deeply altered their contemporaneous scenario of poetry in Brazil in dialogue with the innovative achievements and claims for originality of the 1920s.

During the 1960s and 1970s, these authors began to write influential essays about Andrade's *oeuvre* and, in particular, to incorporate his ideas on *Tupi* cannibalism, as exposed in his anthropophagic manifesto. They revived Andrade's anthropophagy as a theoretical approach in order to analyse the agency of *modernismo*; this particularly with

colocação do país, então sob notável influxo de progresso, nas coordenadas estéticas já abertas pela nova era. O Brasil avançava materialmente, aproveitava-se dos benefícios da civilização, mas no plano da cultura, não renunciava ao passado'. Brito, *História do Modernismo Brasileiro,* 28-29.

[263] The early essays of the group start to appear in the mid-1950s, and their critical texts and manifestoes from that period up to the 1960s were published in: Augusto de Campos, Haroldo de Campos and Décio Pignatari, *Teoria da Poesia Concreta, Textos Críticos e Manifestoes 1950-1960* (São Paulo: Edições Invenção, 1965).

respect to its defiant stance towards cultural dependence. In "Revista Re-vistas: Os Antropófagos" (1975), Augusto de Campos makes a clear appreciation of Oswald de Andrade's *antropofagia*, which positions this specific movement on the highest pinnacle of Brazil's 1920s cultural scenario whilst commenting on the anthropophagic magazine (1928-1929). In A. Campos' words: 'it is true that there it is, in the first number, Oswald's genial *Manifesto Antropófago*, which along with the *Pau-Brazil Poetry Manifesto* […] result in the most sound formulation that *Modernismo* left us.'[264] A. Campos' text concludes, by drawing on a rather self-aggrandising statement by Andrade, in a triumphal tone: 'Antropofagia, which, as stated by Oswald, "saved the meaning of *Modernismo*", is also the only original Brazilian philosophy and, under certain aspects, is the most radical of the literary movements that we have produced so far.'[265]

Andrade's views on Amerindian cannibalism as metaphor for original processes of cultural appropriation are re-taken, by the Campos brothers, in order to claim that so-called 'third-world' cultures, and in specific, the Brazilian one, are neither copies nor passive imitations of hegemonic ones. In 1975, Augusto de Campos was claiming that the legacy of Andrade's anthropophagy, was in its inherent concept of

> "cultural devouration" of the techniques and the information of the super-developed countries, in order to elaborate them with autonomy, converting them into "export products" (in the same way in which the anthropophagous devoured the enemy in order to acquire his qualities). A critical stance, practiced by Oswald, which ingested European culture to generate its own astonishing creations, and to contest that same European culture.[266]

H. Campos, in his "Da Razão Antopofágica" (1980), criticised the tendency to assume that a country economically underdeveloped would necessarily have an inferior culture too.[267] For him, the anthropophagic discourse was a *modernista* model that needed to be revived. The way in which *antropofagia* avoided 'ontological nationalism' (which H. Campos deems to be the pursuit and the assertion of the national *Logos*) in order to open

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[264] '*É verdade que la está, no primeiro número, o genial Manifesto Antropófado de Oswald, que junto com o Manifesto de Poesia Pau Brasil […] resulta na formulação mais consistente que nos deixou o Modernismo.*' Augusto de Campos, "Revistas Re-Vistas: Os Antropófagos" (1975), Reedição de Revista Literária Publicada em São Paulo, 1ra e 2nda Indentições, 1928-1929". In: Augusto de Campos, *Poesia, Antipoesia, Antropofagia* (São Paulo: Cortez Moraes, 1978), 109.

[265] *'A Antropofagia, que - como disse Oswald – "salvou o sentido do modernismo", é também a única filosofia original brasileira e, sob alguns aspectos, o mais radical do movimentos literários que produzimos'*. Ibid, 124.

[266] *'"Devoração cultural" das técnicas e informações dos países supedesenvolvidos, para elaborá-las com autonomia, convertendo-as em "produto de exportação" (da mesma forma que o o antropófago devorava o inimigo para adquirir as suas qualidades). Atitude crítica, posta em prática por Oswald, que se alimentou da cultura europea para gerar suas próprias e desconcertantes criações, contestadoras dessa mesma cultura'*. Ibid.

[267] Campos, "Da Razão Antropofágica", 223-236.

avenues to a dialogue with European culture that resulted in a de-centralising and equalizing paradigm, was to be re-awakened. The process would result in a critical synthesis of the universal code on behalf of the Third World. Through his influential work, H. Campos reinforced the historiographical path that canonised *modernismo*, focusing on *modernismo*'s rhetoric of a critical nationalism open to the universal and capable of re-signifying it. The following of H. Campos' words crystallise his contribution to this path:

> I think that, in Brazil, with Oswald de Andrade's "Anthropophagy", in the 1920s (re-taken later, in terms of a philosophical-existential cosmo-vision, in the 1950s) [...], we had an acute sense of the need of thinking the national in dialogical and dialectical relationship with the universal. "Antropofagia" does not involve a submission (a catechism), but a [...] "transvaluation" [*transvaloração*]: a critical vision of history […] capable of appropriation as much as of expropriation, des-hierarchisation [*deserarquização*], deconstruction'.[268]

H. Campos' account placed *modernismo* in the interstices of the universal code; he put it in a locus of production of cultural difference within the universal, of heterogeneity within the homogenising character of hegemonic culture. Once more, historiographical development here consolidates the notion of 'rupture'. In fact, what Campos calls the 'anthropophagic reason' of *modernismo* represented a completely new stance given its deconstructive impetus against the monolithic logocentrism that Brazilian culture had inherited from Europe and from colonialism. In his *Transluciferação Mefistofáustica* (1981), the breakage of hierarchical structures (running between Brazilian and European cultures) in the process of cultural translation initiated in Brazil with anthropophagic modernism, is seen as capable of reaching 'desacralisation [*dessacralização,*] by means of a reverse reading' of the original.[269] In other words, Campos envisions, through the path opened by *antropofagia* during the 1920s, the possibility of the original being turned into the translation of its own translation; a process in which the original would lose its position of superiority; of inception of the *logos*, to become one of the many by-products of a *logos* which cannot be 'unitarian', but is instead characterised by multiplicity. This notion is well explained by Tápia in his analysis of Campos' idea of translation of hegemonic poetry on behalf of subaltern poets; in his own words:

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[268] *'Creio que, no Brasil, com a "Antropofagia" de Oswald de Andrade, nos anos 20 (retomada depois, em termos de uma cosmovisão filosófico-existencial, nos anos 50) [...], tivemos um sentido agudo dessa necessidade de pensar o nacional em relacionamento dialógico e dialético com o universal. A "Antropofagia"[...] não envolve uma submissão (uma catequese), mas uma [...] "tranvaloração": uma visão crítica da história [...], capaz de apropriação como de expropriação, deserarquização, desconstrução*'. Campos, "Da Razão Antropofágica", 234-235.

[269] *'A dessacralização pela leitura ao revés'*. Haroldo de Campos, "Tranluciferação Mefistofáustica", 179-209, in: *Deus e o Diabo no Fausto de Goethe* (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1981), 208.

> rather than complying with subordination to the poem from which it starts off, the recreation reverts the servile relation in order to assume, for a moment, that of the source: the conflict proposes, by means of a "parallel, autonomous yet reciprocal creation", the abolishment of hierarchy by means of taking over the position of source, origin, on behalf of the recreated text. Equality is established through a response given at the same "level", which allows the swapping of places, the inversion of roles. Even if emphasis might be given to the conflict, the exchange of roles suggests that the most fundamental aim of the translation is the very exchange. [270]

According to H. Campos, a highly critical process of translation, in being capable of allowing the resulting text to assume the position of the original, transforms the original into the translation of its own translation. If one allows this process, as Campos sees it, to become a paradigm of cultural appropriation and re-signification (in itself a critical process), the latter ends up corresponding to an act of contamination of the source it draws from. This contamination conjures up the idea that the original can lose its primacy by being appropriated and re-signified through the process of cultural translation. The critical approach, proposed by H. Campos' theory of transcription, therefore results in the 'erasure of origins: the obliteration of the original', or - to put it another way and to return to its link to anthropophagic *modernismo* – in the cannibalistic devouring and metabolisation of the original.[271] H. Campos' text translation and Andrade's cultural appropriation cannibalise the source and transform its most valuable qualities into nourishment; and the resulting cultural product combines elements of its initial source with those of the culture and context in which it came into being in a way that denies the superiority of the original.

4.2. – Modernist Intellectuals and President Vargas' National Cultural Project

4.2.1. – The Role of the *Modernistas* in the Vargas Cultural Politics: Dependence, Compliance and Reciprocity

[270] '*Em vez de se conformar à subordinação ao poema do qual parte, a recriação reverte a relação de servitude para assumir-se, por um momento, como fonte: o enfrentamento propõe, pela "criação paralela, autônoma, porém recíproca", o desfazimento da hieraquização pela assunção do lugar de fonte, origem, por parte do texto recriado. A igualdade se estabelece na resposta dada a mesma "altura", que permite a troca de lugares, a inverção dos papeis. Ainda que a ênfase possa se dar no embate, a troca de papeis sugere a orientação mais fundamental da tradução pela propria troca'.* Marcelo Tápia, "Postfácio: O Eco Antropofágico", in: *Haroldo de Campos – Transcrição*, Marcelo Tápia, Thelma Médici Nóbrega (orgs) (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 2013), 216-217.
[271] *'A rasura da origem: a obliteração do original*'. Campos, "Tranluciferação Mefistofáustica", 208.

As we have seen, *modernista* intellectuals, such Mário de Andrade, Milliet and Amoroso Lima, were among the most respected and active voices, during the 1930s and 1940s, of a discourse that initiated the historiography of Brazilian *modernismo*. Of monumental relevance for such discourse is M. Andrade *O Movimento Modernista* (1942), in which he sets out several landmarks of *modernismo*, such as the Malfatti exhibition of 1917, the circle forming around Malfatti and Victor's Brecheret's work immediately after her exhibition, the importance of the 1922 modern art week as the official launch of *modernismo*, the reasons why modernism could only have appeared in a city like Sao Paulo and not in Rio de Janeiro and so forth.[272] In this text Andrade underscores the importance of the 1930 Revolution that put to an end the Old Republic and gave power to Vargas as leader of the Provisional Government. He gives in broad strokes an idea of the historical framework and deep ideological alterations that led to a shift in *modernismo*, which gave way to its second phase from 1930 onwards. The nature of the shift and the split in two phases are explained in the following statement:

> the movement started in the salons. And we lived about eight years, until around 1930, in the biggest intellectual orgy ever registered in the history of this country […] And it is just around this date of 1930 that, for the Brazilian intelligentsia, a calmer, a more modest and quotidian, more proletarian phase, so to speak, of construction starts.[273]

As we interpret it, the fact that *modernismo* in the 1920s was an 'intellectual orgy', implies that M. Andrade saw it as a period of rebellion, creative freedom and transgression. As discussed in chapter 2, this stance was fomented in the salons of the oligarchy, and M. Andrade confirms in his text that the *paulista* aristocracy gave to the movement the support needed to become an intellectual extravaganza against the academic establishment. We know from chapter 1 that this aesthetic-literary project, this 'intellectual orgy', brought depictions of the distinctive language used by ethnic minorities and the people into the cultural temples of the academic elite to contest its passé taste, its distinction between 'high art' and 'low art', and to challenge this very elite's socio-political views. The first ten years or so of the history of *modernismo* were encompassed by the definition of a project that, as contradictory as it may sound, was both an innovative enterprise sponsored by the aristocrats yet against that establishment's predominant values and mentality.

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[272] See: Andrade, *O Movimento Modernista*.

[273] '*Principiou-se o movimento nos salões. E vivemos oito anos, até perto de 1930, na maior órgia intellectual que a história do pais registra […]. E no entanto, e justo por essa data de 1930, que principia para a Inteligência brasileira, uma fase mais calma, mais modesta e quotidiana, mais proletária, por assim dizer, de construção*'. Ibid, 34 and 43.

From the 1930s onwards, however, M. Andrade signals a deep transformation in the intellectual milieu. Judging by his statement, this transformation, this passage from an iconoclastic 'orgy' to 'modest' expressions, from 'aristocratism' to 'proletarian' reflections, mirrored the contemporaneous fall of the oligarchy and the rise of Vargas' populism. Hence, the change in the cultural discourse coincided with those in the political and ideological field. Vargas had strong ideas of where Brazil should be headed and his government's initiatives began to make it clear as soon as he reached power. Like the militaries that supported his ascent, he wanted a strong central government, which he aimed to reach through increased federal integration, economic development, investment in education and in the social welfare of the workers. Immediately after the 1930 Revolution and up to 1945, Vargas was engaged with a process of authoritarian centralization and the constitution of State apparatuses with which its power and ideology could be consolidated. One of the first of such apparatuses was the Ministry of Education and Health (MES), which was founded within ten days of Vargas becoming the chief of the Provisional Government, together with that of Work, Industry and Commerce.[274] These two ministries were at the forefront of the regime's reformist agenda, which was designated to replace a system that had left health and education, and industrial and cultural policies, in the hands of a negligent oligarchy. Concomitant to Vargas's building of a colossal bureaucratic system was his regime's conspicuous recruitment of intellectuals to fill public posts in the fields of justice, security, housing, health, education, culture and so on.

M. Andrade was extolling the value of 'humbleness', therefore claiming that the *modernista* discourse from the 1930 Revolution onwards detached itself from the aristocratic oligarchy, and that it began to embrace the 'proletarian' and of the 'modest', in a speech at the Ministry of Foreign Relations. Given the historical background surrounding the words professed by Andrade, it is undeniable that they reflected the change of the predominant ideological position brought about by Vargas' First Administration (1930-1945). Hence, the question that arises here is whether his retrospective account of the shift and split of *modernismo* was influenced by, or even, subordinated to ruling ideology and an authoritarian 'field of power', especially as his account was put forward at one of the institutions of the State apparatus.

In the light of the question, one must consider that by the 1930s, the role played by the *modernista*s in the cultural field was not only consolidated in literary and artistic

[274] See: Daryle Williams, *Culture Wars in Brazil, the First Vargas Regime, 1930-1945* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2001).

terms, but had also expanded out of São Paulo and had been experiencing regional variants throughout the country.[275] In terms of the fine arts, and according to Williams, the style had already reached the art consumer market, and had increasingly become part of private and public art collections, as much as the modernist visual aesthetic, which had been incorporated into product and interior design, and the world of crafts, drawing on art deco and the Bauhaus. Also architecture and landscape design had begun to be shaped by the trend. By the end of the 1920s a private residence in São Paulo, designed by modernist architect Warchavchik had been built, and 'more than 20.000 people came to see the […] architect's interpretation of the much-discussed notion that the home should be a machine and that landscape design should be Brazilian in content and form'.[276]

This cultural landscape implies that Vargas' constitution of cultural and educational apparatuses was taking place in a period in which the rhetoric of aesthetic renovation in Brazil was well established, and that to assume a starring role within this rhetoric could empower the regime and give to it the possibility of influencing the Brazilian 'field of culture' from a position of advantage. Immediately after the revolution of 1930, to manage this type of cultural development began a federal prerogative. In less than a decade, the Vargas administration had created an interconnected network of government-funded institutions, with selected figures of the Brazilian artistic and literary intelligentsia to run them.

With respect to the relationship between intellectuals working in the field of the arts and culture and the government, the main difference with the First Republic was that, under Vargas, cultural matters became of the utmost importance: they became official State affairs. Public patronage became a systematised institution with a generous budget, whose intention was to finance an interventionist policy that functioned in all the sectors of cultural production, publishing and distribution.[277] According to Miceli, 'the considerable increase in the number of intellectuals summoned into public service initiated a process of career bureaucratisation and "rationalisation" that had little to do with the backing concessions and perquisites which the oligarchy leaders were used to give to their scribes and *protégées*'.[278] Therefore, and considering the analysis this study has presented in chapter 2, whilst in the 1920s patronage was mostly a private matter of

[275] See: Ibid.
[276] Ibid, 48.
[277] See: 1) Sérgio Miceli, *Intelectuais e a Classe Dirigente no Brasil (1920-1945)* (São Paulo: Difel, 1979); and 2) Sérgio Miceli, *Intelectuais à Brasileira* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2001).
[278] '*O aumento consideravel do numero de intelectuais convocados para o serviço público provocou um processo de burocratização e de "racionalização" das carreiras que pouco tem a ver com a concessão de encontros e prebendas com que os chefes politícos oligárquicos costumavam brindar seus escribas e favoritos.*' Ibid, (2001), 198.

the oligarchic circle, with subsidies that were predominantly arranged over liaisons in salons and the micro-politics of class relations and friendship , from the 1930 to 1945 it took the shape of a highly structured public initiative.

The expansionist nature of Vargas' cultural politics had as its main goal the self-legitimisation of the State, and its focus on the 1920s *modernista* project was an appropriation under which the government could propose itself as a progressive force. Both the importance that Vargas gave to the power of culture as propaganda, and his intention of manipulating the *modernista* discourse as a banner of his ideology, were factors he had been aware of since the early days of his administration. As he claimed in a public speech of 1930, 'the collective forces that provoked the revolutionary movement of *Modernismo* in Brazilian literature, which began with the 1922 Modern Art Week, are the same that prompted, in the social and political field, the 1930 Revolution'.[279] As advocated in 1940 in *Cultura Política*, Vargas' magazine on cultural matters launched in the years of *Estado Novo* (1937-1945), the art of that time was 'extending, with the permission of the current norms adopted by the State, the nationalist adventure that began around 1922 […] precisely in the year in which we commemorated our first centenary of political independence'.[280]

M. Andrade's speech (1942) at the Library of the Ministry of Foreign Relations and published by the Department of Culture, reiterated Vargas' claim of 1930, which fundamentally entwined the ideals and goals of the State with that of the *modernistas*. The speech made reciprocal connections between *modernista* aesthetics and the revolution that gave Brazil's political leadership to Vargas as follows:

> the Intelligence Movement we represent, in its truly "modernist" phase ... was essentially a preparer; the creator of a revolutionary State of Spirit and a sense of bursting. And if numerous intellectuals of the movement dissolved into politics [...] it is necessary not to forget [...] that 1930 was still destruction. Spiritual movements always precede changes in the social order. The social movement of destruction is what began with [...the revolution of] 1930.[281]

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[279] '*As forças coletívas que provocaram o movimento revolucionário do Modernismo na literatura Brasileira, que se iniciou com a Semana da Arte Moderna de 1922, são as mesmas que precipitan, no campo social e politíco, a Revolução de 1930*'. Getúlio Vargas (1930), in: *Governo Trabalhista do Brasil*, n. 2, Rio de Janeiro, José Olympio, 1964, 8.

[280] *'Prolongando, com a permissão das normas atuais adotadas pelo Estado, a aventura nacionalista que iniciamos por voltas de 1922 … justamente no ano em que comemorávamos o nosso primeiro centenário de independencia política'. Cultura Política, n. 5,* (March 1941), in: *O Pensamento Político do Presidente, Separata de Artigos e Editoriais do Primeiros 25 Números da Revista Cultura Política* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1943), 284.

[281] *'O Movimento de Inteligência que representamos, na sua fase verdadeiramente "modernista" [...] foi essencialmente um preparador; o criador de um Estado de Espírito revolucionário e de um sentimento de arrebentação. E se numerosos dos intellectuais do movimento se dissolveram na política […] carece não esquecer que […] 1930 era ainda desctruição. Os movimentos espirituáis precedem sempre as mudanças de ordem social. O movimento social de destruição e' que pincipiou com [...a revlolução de] 1930.*' Andrade, *O Movimento Modernista*, 42-43.

What M. Andrade is stating here is that the aesthetic revolution was the predecessor of the political one, which in its turn was reflected in the following changes within the modernist landscape. In other words, although the first phase of *modernismo* was the manifestation of a cultural change that signalled those coming later in the socio-political domain, the new order brought about by Vargas' ascent ended up altering the *modernista* field and leading it to dissolve into political divides and to re-solidify under the form of a distinct second phase. Andrade is clearly putting forward the reciprocity between the field of modernist production and that of dominant politics. However, from the field of art, sculptor Celso Antônio (1896-1984) made a statement that reveals that the *modernistas*, enthralled with the opportunities that the Vargas regime was giving to the vanguard, were willing to affiliate themselves to the new regime and its cultural policymaking. Antônio, who had studied in Paris with Antoine Bourdelle (1861 - 1929) from 1923 to 1926, associated himself with the *modernistas* upon return to Brazil. Together they participated in the *Exposição de uma Casa Modernista* in 1930, which launched Warchavchik's house as a comprehensive showcase of the vanguard achievements in Brazil. The statement was made on the occasion of the 38th Salon of Fine Arts in Rio, in 1931. Known by a rather politically charged name, that is, the Revolutionary Salon, the exhibition included the works of the founders of *modernismo* such as Amaral, Brecheret, Segal, Gomide and Malfatti, the latter being a member of the jury along with the poet Manuel Bandeira. In Antônio's words: "Brazil's intellectual vanguard has come to support the revolutionary movement, because revolution affords us a vast field upon which new ideas can be sown. [...] We have before us an enjoined commitment to search for the paths which will make Brazil a great country".[282] Here Antônio makes us understand that with its support for the *modernistas*, Vargas' cultural policy was offering to the group an institutional context in which to thrive, and he shows the group's adherence, through what he calls a 'joined commitment', to the State's ideological agenda, based on progress and nationalism.

Miceli argues that during the Vargas administration the State became the supreme organ of legitimisation of the cultural field and its several modes of production.[283] In this sense, the cultural politics of the Vargas era gave a privileged position to the *modernistas,* who in turn gained an authoritative voice as definers of the cultural rhetoric of those decades. Whilst appropriating the established modernist discourse for its own ideological

[282] Celso Antônio, in "Dois Artistas Modernistas ne Escola de Belas Artes" *Diário da Noite*, São Paulo, 25th April 1931. Reprinted translated in English in: Williams, *Culture Wars,* 181; and in the original (Portuguese version) Luis Gouvêa Vieira, *Salão de 1931: Marco da Revelação da Arte Moderna em Nível Nacional* (Rio de Janeiro: Funarte, 1984), 83-86.

[283] See: 1) Miceli, *Intelectuais e a Classe Dirigente*; and 2) Miceli, *Intelectuais à Brasileira*.

ends, the State made of the *modernistas* the judges of historical and contemporaneous cultural matters. However, Miceli's opinion is that this relationship was tense and complex, yet not mutually empowering to an equal extent. Even if the regime allowed the *modernistas* to become the arbiters of past and present cultural matters, it attempted to subordinate their voices to that of the State. Under the Vargas regime, the State increasingly became a hegemonic body of promotion and recognition, for intellectuals, cultural producers and their works. This shift in the configuration of patronage from the First Republic to Vargas' First Administration implied a condition of material and political dependence of the intellectuals working in the fields of the arts and culture on the State, which became their authoritarian employer running a policy in the field of cultural production.

Modernista intellectuals mediated this struggle by dividing their time between the production of their 'own work' and of work for the regime. As Miceli put it, these intellectuals 'end up negotiating the prospect of carrying out their personal *oeuvre* in exchange for the collaboration they offer to the ongoing work of 'institutional construction', silencing the price they pay for the *oeuvre* the State is actually subsidising in some way'.[284] The negotiation of the *modernistas* co-opted by the State, Miceli advocates, goes beyond this, and in order to cope with the fact that their work was, after all, made, promoted and published with funds supplied by the State, they invented 'idealistic justifications' that were nationalistic in their nature.[285] In other words, Miceli's argument is that the *modernistas* during the Vargas administration worked under a 'nationalistic alibi' which aspired to expressions of the collectivitiy.[286] As a response to the degree of subjugation and feelings of guilt that having to comply with the ideology of the State entailed, they attempted to maintain a certain level of integrity by proposing themselves as spokesmen of the social body and its quotidian realities. They wanted to cleanse their consciences because they felt morally responsible for the cultural patrimony of the nation, conservation, handling and publication of such inheritance. These were also the parameters under which symbolic goods were produced and distributed, rather contradictorily, both at the expenses of public money and from the least biased standpoint possible. Pécaut's analysis, however, suggests that these inner conflicts were not a preoccupation of the *modernistas* working for the State cultural apparatus, as they subscribed to an elitist and class-conscious view of power and society. In his words: 'many [*modernistas*] sympathised with the various authoritarian movements that appeared after

[284] *'Acabam negociando a perspectiva de levar a cabo uma obra pessoal em troca da colaboração que oferecem ao trabalho de 'construção institucional' em curso, silenciando quanto ao preço dessa obra que o Estado subsidia de agum modo'*. Miceli, *Intelectuais e a Classe Dirigente*, 216.
[285] *'Justifições idealistas'*. Ibid
[286] *'Álibi nacionalista'*. Ibid.

1930. […] The majority […] agreed with respect to their rejection of liberal democracy and supported the strengthening of the functions of the State'.[287]

Miceli seems to underestimate the fact that the power that the State gave to the *modernistas* did not preclude them from benefiting from the State's 'investment' in them. Dealing with the series of requests and ideological pressures coming from the bureaucratic establishment was the price to be paid in order to assert the *modernista* rhetoric. In other words, to be officially chosen as the managers of the cultural politics of the regime, despite all the conditioning that this implied in the sense of accommodating the State's authoritarianism, had its upturn. In fact, public patronage gave to the *modernistas* the possibility of acting as undisputed opinion makers and ensured a distinguished position to them, their views, voice and values. Whilst the State aimed at hiring the *modernistas* in order to determine the characteristics of the new cultural field, modernist intellectuals began to publish, through the State, works which represent the milestones of Brazilian historiography on *modernismo*. Whilst Miceli's argument revolves around a considerable degree of conformity of the *modernistas* with the politics of an authoritarian regime, Gouveia advocates 'a sort of symbiotic relationship'. [288] In this relationship, the State pursued the legitimacy of its cultural politics by appropriating the innovative edge of the *modernistas*, and the *modernistas* took advantage of State patronage to strengthen their predominant position within the national 'field of culture', and to work on their 'canonisation'.[289]

According to Gouveia, it was the conspicuous amount of *modernista* intellectuals that Vargas injected in his government's educational system, and the close collaboration of such figures with other politicians of the Vargas administration, that facilitated M. Andrade and Amoroso Lima's outstanding position as initiators of what can be seen as the narrative of consolidation of *modernismo*. Several of the highest exponents of 1920s literary *modernismo* saw the State's interest grow around their works during the 1930 and 1940s, to become the target of public investment in the sector of publishing and education. As Gouveia puts it, the State

> invested in cultural projects such as […] Mário de Andrade's speech at the Itamaraty, "O Movimento Modernista". Also Lima's distinguished position as a literary critic and historian – by virtue of his long contribution to literary criticism,

[287] *'Muitos [modernistas] simpatizam com os diversos movimentos autoritários surgidos após 1930. […] Em sua grande maioria […] monstram-se de acordo quanto à rejeição da democracia representativa e ao fortalecimento das funções do Estado*'. Daniel Pécaut, *Os Intelectuais e a Política no Brasil: Entre o Povo e a Nação* (São Paulo: Ática, 1990), 15.
[288] Gouveia, *The Triumph of Brazilian Modernism,* 55.
[289] Ibid.

> and […] to his direct involvement and support of the early modernist production – made him the leading and almost "official" literary historian of the period. [290]

How the 1920s *modernistas* participated in the Vargas cultural politics is a complex question and growing scholarship on the subject matter is showing that there is not a coherent and homogeneous answer to the question.[291] For instance, Candido, who offered high resistance to Miceli's thesis, argued against the latter by highlighting that the vanguard's involvement with the regime did not necessarily imply subservience and a loss of integrity, whilst Johnson puts emphasis on the differing level of identification of cultural intellectuals with dominant ideology during the Vargas administration.[292] What is certain is that both the *modernistas* in the 1920s and the cultural politics of the Vargas era explored issues surrounding cultural practices linked to Brazil ethno-racial structure. Whilst the *modernistas* under the regime worked on a narrative that grounded the historiographical discourse on established modernist milestones and lines of enquiry - or, in other words, on what Gouveia calls a self-aggrandising and triumphal 'canonisation' - the State stole their 1920s tropes of 'rupture', 'emancipation' of cultural minorities and of 're-habitation' of the popular.

4.2.2. – Representation of Culture under Vargas: *Modernista* Tropes for the Masses and the Negation of the Popular for the Elite

As we have seen in chapter 1, questions surrounding Brazil's ethno-racial structure became part of a programme of aesthetic renovation and opposition to the academies; to bring in depictions and the cultural practices of the black, the native and the new waves of immigrants diminished by the aesthetic-literary establishment challenged the racial and racist ideology of the intellectually and politically dominant. Under Vargas, however, such questions were approached in the sense of the affirmation of nationality on the basis of the existence of a 'Brazilian race', which was defined by the mix between the white European, the Afro-Brazilian and the native. This idea was manipulated for the sake of an extreme nationalism. For instance, the work of sociologist Gilberto Freire was used as theoretical background for the State agenda on the qualities and characteristic of Brazil's

[290] Ibid, 264.

[291] Apart from Miceli's *Os Intelectualis e a Classe Dirigente no Brasil* and *Intelectuais à Brasileira*, Williams' *Culture Wars*, and Pécaut's *Os Intelectuais e a Política no Brasil*, see: 1) Simon Schwartzman, Helena Maria Bousquet Bomeny, Vanda Maria Ribeiro Costa, *Tempos de Capanema* (São Paulo: Editora USP e Editora Paz e Terra, 1984); 2) Ângela de Castro Gomes (ed.), *Capanema: O Ministro e seu Ministério* (Rio de Janeiro: FGV, 2000).

[292] See 1) Antonio Candido, "Prefácio", in: Miceli, *Intelectuais e a Classe Dirigente*, XII; and 2) Randal Johnson, "The Dinamics of the Brazilian Literary Field, 1930-1945", *Luso-Brazilian Review, N. 31, vol. 2*, (1994): 5-22.

mixed race, and inspired the writings of Eloi Pontes. Pontes was a journalist at the newspaper *A Nação* and member of Staff of Minister of Justice and Home Affairs Francisco Maciel Jr., who under the wing of the Department of Press and Propaganda (DIP), and during Vargas' authoritarian *Estado Novo* (1937-1945), wrote, *Em Defesa da Raça* (1940). Pontes' work advocated that the Brazilian was a 'new species' that resulted from a precise mix of races, and that this process was vital for the definition of the national.[293]

The regime's goal was to take the question of 'Brazilianness' out of the aesthetic-literary context and attach it to an official vision of 'being Brazilian'. Whilst the 1920s *modernistas* looked into manifestations of the native, the black and the popular as a way to construe a counter-cultural discourse against the *status quo*, the governmental cultural policy of the 1930s and 1940s appropriated such discourse and its imagery to forge a demagogic idea of the Brazilian people that was part and parcel of the ideological construct of State power.

Images of 'Brazilianness' such as the *Indio* and the cultural practices of the Afro-Brazilian were used by the regime in the construction of stereotypes of the roots of nationality. As pointed out by Paulo, several of the publications of the period on Vargas' life were enriched with illustrations in which a native accompanied the President.[294] In her analysis, Paulo argues that these propagandistic images might have wanted to suggest the erasure of class and racial differences within Brazil's cultural identity; and the equalisation of the political agency of the white Brazilian and the autochthonous. However, in the illustrations, the *Indio* is deprived of any tribal identification or other representations of the intrinsic value of his culture. The native is manipulated to convey the message that the President is the 'father' of all Brazilians. As a symbol of the regime, Vargas' image beside a native points to the protection that the State wants to offer to the whole of the country's society.

The State's cultural policy advocated that the values of 'resistance, bravery, generosity and honesty [are] brought by the Indian to the formation of our [the Brazilian] people, these are what we consider precious, both in the past and still in the present'.[295] The Indian is peaceful and docile, as is the Afro-Brazilian, who, represented under the popular character of a *malandro carioca* (i.e., rogue from Rio's shantytowns) converted to goodwill and honesty would stand for the positive social changes that the regime had

[293] See: Eloi Pontes, *Em Defesa da Raça (*Rio de Janeiro: DIP, 1940).

[294]See: Heloísa Paulo, *Estado Novo e Propaganda em Portugal e no Brasil – o SPN/SNI e o DIP* (Coimbra: Coleção Minerva História, Minerva Livraria, 1994).

[295] '*Resistência, bravura, generosidade e honestidade [são] trazidos pelo índio à formação do nosso povo, eis o que consideramos precioso, tanto no passado como ainda no presente*'. Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, *Rumo ao Oeste: Conferência Realizada Pelo General Rondon no D.I.P. em 3-9-40 e discursos do Dr. Ivan Lins e do General Rondon* (Rio de Janeiro: Associação Brasileira de Educação, 1940), 21-22.

brought. The *malandro* becomes the symbol of the economic improvements and social stability that Vargas claimed he was giving to Brazil, and of the regime's ability to convert social pariahs into honest and diligent workers. Further, the native and the Afro-Brazilian become the symbols of a social order that no longer sees labour, either in the coffee fields or in the factories, as a degrading activity; hence they assert that the discriminatory stance of the oligarchic aristocracy is part of a bygone and despicable era.

Afro-Brazilian cultural practices such as *samba*, which under the First Republic suffered not only social discrimination but also legal prosecution, were stripped of their negative attributes and invested with an aura of praise that clearly connects the State's cultural agenda with (a distorted version of) the *modernist*a project. The *sambista* (i.e., the *samba* dancer) stopped being associated with criminality, laziness and aversion to work, and was no longer a synonym of the 'backwardness' and 'tribal' origins of the black people. This is deducible from the songs broadcast by the regime's radio, such as that of songwriters Ataulfo Alves and Wilson Batista of 1940, whose lyrics goes as follows: "The one who works is the one who is right. I say it and I am not afraid of making a mistake. The tram of Saint January. It carries yet another worker. I am the one who is going to work".[296] This song proves how the propagandistic policy of the regime wanted *samba* and its practitioners to be associated with a hard-working and dignified working class. So much so, that those passages of the lyrics which returned to the typical expression of sensuality and love for idleness of *samba* songs were censured by the State broadcaster.[297]

The images of the Afro-Brazilian and of the native were objectified in order to engineer an idealised society that abided by the values imposed by the State, and in which order relied on the systematic functioning of each social class. Native and black cultures, which were *modernista* tropes in the 1920s, were turned into tools of governmental interventionism.

This type of rhetoric was put forward mainly through media destined for the masses, with the radio an effective and wide-reaching one, particularly considering the extremely high level of illiteracy in Brazil at the time. Diametrically different was the State cultural policy and the message it conveyed in the temples to 'high art' and the cultural venues of the highest classes of Brazilian society, such as museums. The National History Museum (MHN) was opened in Rio in 1922 by President Pessoa, and its policy was to preserve

[296] *"Quem trabalha é que tem razão. Eu digo e não tenho medo de errar. O Bonde de São Januário. Leva mais um operário. Sou eu que vou trabalhar".* Ataulfo Alves, Wilson Batista (1940), reprinted in Paulo, *Estado Novo e Propagandas em Portugal e no Brasil,* 70.
[297] See: Paulo, ibid.

historical pieces of art and artefact, either imported or made in Brazil during the country's colonial and imperial phase, and collect new items that could offer a vision of national memory to the museum's visitors. Vargas and his Provisional Government began to focus on this museum in 1932, with the intention of giving to the MHN a specific role in cultural memory and identity politics.

As observed by Williams, under the Vargas regime Gustavo Barroso, the director of the museum, and his curatorial team opted for a museological account of the past which rendered Brazil's history as nobler, whiter and more stable than it actually had been.[298] For instance, the Mendes Campos room at this museum, ostensibly dedicated to the Afro-Brazilian, did not speak at all of the value of black subjectivity and culture. Instead, it focused on the material culture of the elite and emphasised the hegemonic position of the latter through a display of 'objects of domination'. Shackles and other memorabilia related to oppression, subjugation and the practice of torture that the white Portuguese inflicted upon the slaves were the artefacts used to create a narrative on the history of the black people of Brazil. Thought from a racist and hierarchical view, typical of the master class, this narrative obscured from the public an undeniable truth: the fact that in many of the museum's rooms there were treasures made by skilled slaves, who, in working on the making of art and crafts destined to decorate catholic churches and the residences of the colonial and imperial aristocracy, immensely contributed to the cultural patrimony of modern Brazil. The museum told a clear story about the brutality of slavery but not about the contribution those slaves and their post-slavery descendants had made and continued to make to Brazil's 'high culture'.

Certainly, the MHN inherited a collection of objects that began to distort the historical agency of the Afro-Brazilian and the Amerindian a few centuries before the museum's curators contributed to this colonial perspective on the national subaltern. In fact, a large amount of the items held in the museum's collection were either brought by the Portuguese aristocracy or commissioned by it from Brazilian artists and craftsmen. The museum could not have changed the colonialist mentality and elitist view of those who commissioned these objects, however, and given the populist and popular basis of the regime's cultural policy, the MHN could have built a re-reading of such objects through the curatorial process. Given the valorisation of the native and of Afro-Brazilian culture that the State was putting forward through the radio and bibliographical material about Vargas, such distortion should have been rectified, at least to a certain extent.

[298] See: Williams D., "The Politics of Cultural Production during the Vargas Era, 1930-1945", *The Oxford Research Encyclopaedia of Latin American History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

In our view, what the curatorial policy of the MHN proves here is that the regime's intervention on culture was biased, opportunistic and ambivalent. It was objectifying the image of the black and the native, and manipulating cultural strands from minorities linked to race and colour for its own ends. The fact that it emancipated the black and the *Indio* through mass-mediatic tools such as the radio and propagandistic material, and not through the displays at exclusive social environments like the museum, proves that the valorisation of the popular was a suitable way of power grabbing only in certain quarters of society. The appropriation of the *modernista* tropes was destined for the masses; it was part of a cultural policy that targeted its audiences and managed opposing representations of culture through differing channels - each of which conveniently sought State endorsement across the class and the ethnic pyramid of the country. In the case in which the association of the State with ethnic minorities was to be deemed as detrimental to 'Brazilianness' and the State itself - which is the specific case that concerns the predominant view of the white-Brazilian and culturally traditional elite - the Afro-Brazilian and the Amerindian were to be downplayed in the displays of cultural memory. Hence, the State did not refrain from obliterating the agency of the black and the *Indio* as valuable elements of national culture when it came to gaining the backing of the elite; it unscrupulously negated the popular to those who would relate to official culture as long as the latter was classist, racist and elitist.

The museum's curators did little to contradict the notion that the end of slavery was not so much a long denied right of the Afro-Brazilian, as a magnanimous concession of the Emperor; nor did it acknowledge the bravery of the non-white Brazilians. This is apparent if one considers William's analysis of the museum's curatorial approach to artworks such as Bressac's *Alegoria à Lei do Ventre Livre* (*Allegory of the Law of the Free Womb*) (1881) and to Victor Meirelles' *Combate Naval do Riachuelo* (*Naval Battle of Riachuelo*) (1883) **{fig. 23 and 24}**.[299] The former is related to the Law of the Free Womb, which was enacted in Brazil in 1871, and granted freedom to all children born to slaves, and therefore implied that slavery would become extinct within a few decades; the latter depicts a naval battle fought in 1865 by the Brazilians against the Paraguayans, and was the biggest ever to take place in Latin America.[300] In fact, the display of the first 'glorifies the memory of the

[299] See: ibid.

[300] The type of concession that the Law of the Free Womb entailed did not satisfy abolitionists for long, and the young lawyer and writer Joaquim Nabuco de Araújo, demanded immediate and complete abolition to the Emperor. Nabuco's action brought a certain extent of success, and, in 1884, the governments of Ceará and Amazonas freed slaves in those regions, and the following year the national government liberated all slaves over 60 years of age. Finally, the Princess Regent, whilst the Emperor was absent, decreed complete emancipation without compensation to the owners on May 13, 1888, allowing 700.000 slaves to be freed. See: "Brazilian Independence", *www.britannica.com*.
Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/place/Brazil/Independence#ref209366> [Last accessed: 04/09/2017].

enlightened Emperor' and his law, rather than pointing out that abolition was a deserved moral victory for the black people of Brazil; while Meirelles' painting, which 'erased the presence of the Afro-Brazilian sailors at the famous 1865 naval battle', was not contextualised among other works that could otherwise have proved that such lack of recognition and gratitude towards the military contributions of the slaves was indeed a misrepresentation and a despicable fiction. [301] [302] Therefore the MHN, under the Vargas regime, showed an approach to the ethno-racial composition of Brazil that put the non-whites in a position that was subservient to that of the white-Brazilian in order to fulfil the regime's intention of appropriating culture as a way of instilling the values of elitism and authority. As a contribution to the ideological construct of State power, this museum proposed a model of 'Brazilianness' that largely ignored Indigenous and Afro-Brazilian contributions to the history and culture of the country. It proposed a biased version of official history that was unfaithful to the actual roles of both the white elite and the non-white and the poor in the making of modern Brazil.

The museum's display, when compared to the type of cultural/ideological message that the regime was putting forward through the radio and propagandistic material such as biographies of the President, highlights two patterns of cultural management as a way of consolidating State power: one destined to achieve this consolidation among the masses composed by ethnic minorities which represented the national subaltern, and another that targeted the white elite and its conservative and hegemonic notion of culture. Not only so, as the museum's display also signals how the State, within the differing *loci* through which it put forward its cultural role, was dealing with a battle between the cultural traditionalists and the reformers. In fact, on the one hand, the Vargas cultural policy was, as in the case of the MHN, praising the historical development of the artistic academy and emphasising its value as patrimony and image of the nation. It was also actively working on the rehabilitation and preservation of art and buildings that spoke of origins and of the Luso-Catholic and European heritage.[303] On the other one, it was supporting the evolution of *modernismo* and its possible connections with the fields

[301] Williams., "The Politics of Cultural Production", 147.
[302] Ibid.
[303] William's study discusses the construction of State power in the Vargas era through the National Historical and Artistic Patrimony Service (SPHAN). The SPHAN was responsible for the project of preservation of the historical town of Ouro Preto, in Minas Gerais, a site rich of Brazilian baroque art and architecture of the XVIII century and one of the major relics of the Luso-Catholic artistic and architectonic tradition, and of the colonial era. This preservation project pleased the Brazilian wing of academicists and traditionalists; however it also comprised the vision of the *modernistas*, giving to Niemeyer the project of an hotel there, and to Costa the job of designing a monument that celebrated the Minas Gerais *Inconfidência* movement. See: Williams, *Culture Wars*.

of science and technology as a way of conveying the progressive and developmentalist vision of the State.

Figure 23:

A. D. Bressac, *Alegoria à Lei do Ventre Livre* (1881).

Cast bronze, size unkown.

Museu Histórico Nacional, Rio de Janeiro

Source: http://www.museuhistoriconacional.com.br/images/galeria12/mh-g12a057.htm

Figure 24: Victor Meirelles, *Combate Naval do Riachuelo* (1883)

Oil on canvas, 420 x 820 cm.

Museu Histórico Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.

Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Victor_Meirelles_- _Combate_Naval_do_Riachuelo.JPG

4.2.3. - Temples to Past Heroes, Research Institutions and the Continuing Academicist/Modernist Battle

The advent of the 1930 Revolution might have marked the end of the first *modernista* phase, but it did not extinguish the battle between the traditionalist academy and the reformist *modernistas* analysed in part I of this study. On the contrary, the political changes brought about by the revolution offered new grounds of animosity between the two contending groups as they saw the opportunities opened by the government in terms of the possibilities offered by its cultural apparatus.[304] The traditionalists, particularly Ricardo Severo (1869-1940) and José Mariano (1881-1946), advocated the neo-colonial style, which they interpreted to be the only viable architectural style of Brazil's present and future, given that it maintained the necessary link with the past by drawing on the features of colonial buildings. Severo and Mariano rejected the international style advocated by the *modernistas*, and deemed it to be crass and decadent.

Under the Vargas regime, previously established institutions, such as the Brazilian academy of Letters and the National School of Fine Arts (ENBA) continued to be symbols of traditionalism and conservativism. However, the ENBA was also transformed, rather controversially, into a battlefield between the academicists and the *modernistas*, when the head of the newly founded Ministry of Health and Education, Francisco Campos, appointed, in 1931, the young architect Lúcio Costa (1902-1998) to lead a project of aesthetic and curriculum renewal. Williams' book length study on cultural wars in Brazil during the first Vargas regime shows that Campos was igniting the *modernista* dispute against the academy in an art institution that had been the fortress of artists who vehemently professed artistic tradition for over a century.

Costa was an ENBA graduate who, in full awareness of the conventions taught at the school, and of the relationship of the neo-colonialist style with tradition, had nevertheless embraced the 'new architecture' professed at the International Congress of Modern Architecture. Mariano fiercely questioned Campos' choice, which gave authority to an adept of Le Corbusier's aesthetics at an institution that should have not gone further than profess neo-colonial style - as he believed the latter was the ideal compromise between modernisation and tradition. For Mariano, maintaining a link with the country's cultural origins was strictly necessary in order both to avoid the homogenising character of international modernist trends, and to assert a form of renewal that, as it did not ignore local traditions, would stand for cultural nationalism. Costa's view on the link between academic precepts and newer forms of architecture was that this association could only reiterate the historical cultural dependency of the colony to the European coloniser, and

[304] See: ibid.

that, even worse, it would give way to 'the false cultural genealogies of neocolonialism'.[305] Accordingly, Costa invited several *modernistas* to join the ENBA and to help him to prepare a reformist programme of study. Celso Antônio and Gregori Warchavchik were among those chosen to contribute, respectively, in the revision of the plan of artistic and architectural education.

Through this manoeuvre, the government laid the foundations for a ferocious battle that resembled the one which took place between Monteiro Lobato and the 1920s *modernistas*, and which we have discussed in chapter 1. Costa, backed by the *modernista* acclaim that followed the success of the exhibition at Warchavchik's *Casa Modernista* (1930), accused Mariano of supporting a false architecture that was nothing but a pastiche of colonial features that did not reflect its contemporaneous social and economic backdrops.[306] Mariano, on the other hand, fuelled by anti-communism and anti-semitism, and with the contribution of the Institute of Architects in São Paulo (IAB), would exhort Campos to 'protect the population from the hallucinations of cubist painting, the naiveté of sculptures depicting distorted figures, and the so called 'machines for living' offered up by the self-styled vanguard of architecture'.[307] Despite all the support that Costa received during his post at the ENBA, immediately after the Revolutionary Salon of 1931 in which for the first time the ENBA showed non-academic art, the young architect succumbed to the backlash of the academicists and resigned.[308] Even though students went on strike to protest against the victory of tradition over innovation, the academicists managed very swiftly to return to their long established didactic curriculum and exhibition policy.

After the 1930 Revolution, Vargas quickly consolidated his power and, in 1934 he was finally elected, even if indirectly, to a one term precidency. His presidency, however, generated unrest in the country's political domain and the Constitution codified shortly after his election was obliged to accommodate demands from the major opposing political factions. Unsatisfied with his strained authority, and determined to achieve a rigorous centralisation of power, Vargas overthrew the Constitution with the authoritarian coup of 1937. The period up to the coup, however, managed to give the State's institutional approach to cultural management a definite form. Within this context, the eleven-year tenure (1934-1942) of Gustavo Capanema, the second leader of the MES after Campos, enacted a reform within the educational and health ministry that engineered institutional and bureaucratic support for a direct and massive State role in

[305] Ibid, 56.
[306] We have briefly discussed Warchavchik's *Exposição de uma Casa Modernista* in sub-section 4.2.1..
[307] Ibid, 57.
[308] Here we are referring to the 38th Salon of Fine Arts in Rio (1931), of which we have given some details in sub-section 4.2.1..

patronage, regulation and advocacy of the arts and cultural heritage. During his tenure, the diatribe between traditionalists and reformers continued within a highly organised and systematic State cultural apparatus.

Through congress, Capanema established, among other institutions, the National Historical and Artistic Patrimony Service (SPHAN) and the National Museum of Fine Arts (MNBA), allowing the government to be in charge of a broad range of cultural ventures. Capanema made health and education a priority of public administration in order to distinguish its revolutionary edge from the political culture of the First Republic. From the beginning of his tenure, Capanema provided a safe-haven for the cultural ideology of the regime whilst hiring key figures of the regional vanguard of Minas Gerais. Many of the *Mineiro* modernists, who came from the same Brazilian region as Capanema, and were intellectuals of his own generation, began to work for the Ministry of Education and Health, as well as other illustrious figures of 1920s *modernismo* in Rio Grande do Sul, Bahia and Pará.[309]

Capanema surrounded himself with the mandarins of Brazilian *modernista* literature, poetry, art, music and architecture. The ideal candidates were politically aligned with European determinist models (e.g., Retzel, Gobineau) and had experience in professional education.[310] Capanema's pro-*modernista* approach did not dismiss those who, during the First Republic, had been affiliated to political forces which were opposed to the Vargas regime. In fact he hired intellectuals from the whole of the 1920s ideological spectrum, including the leftists, the i*ntegralistas*, the spokesmen of the catholic wing, and members of the traditional intellectual families linked to the oligarchy.[311] Significantly, given the heterodox composition of his body of assistants and advisors, Capanema gave the high position of Ministry Head of Office to Drummond de Andrade, most probably for having been part of the 1930s revolutionary movement in Minas Gerais, thus for having been part of the upheaval that gave power to Vargas.

Capanema offered to members of staff at his ministry working on cultural policy and initiatives, and at educational institutions, a shortcut to a distinguished media outlet, as he allowed them to publish their work at José Olympio, an editorial house in Rio that had received acclaim for its long list of outstanding authors in the literary and sociological field.[312] Under Capanema, the defense of national culture became a substantial motive for all State action, and he did not hesitate to use the executive and the judiciary to shape the

[309] See: Miceli, *Intelectuais à Brasileira*.
[310] See: ibid.
[311] For instance, and by way of reference, Rodrigo de Melo Franco de Andrade became director of the SPHAN, Augusto Meyer led the National Institute of the Book, and to Heitor Villa-Lobos Capanema gave the leadership of the Superintendence of Musical and Artistic Education.
[312] Gouveia, *The Triumph of Brazilian Modernism*.

cultural field. So much so that under his tenure, the 'federal budget for education and culture grew in excess of 250 percent for the period 1932–1943'.[313] He also created a law on cultural heritage in 1936, which was outlined with the cooperation of M. Andrade and prescribed a systematic regulation of cultural goods.[314] Law 284 of October 1936 prescribed the composition and division of the State intellectual working forces as well as outlining their job descriptions and the type of contribution each of the members of staff needed to bring to the governmental project.[315] This law gave a key role to education, and regulations prompted courses of training and specialization, and the selection of an academic body across the country, including in the fields of art and culture.

The publishing and educational opportunities opened to the *modernistas* by Capanema, Gouveia argues, guaranteed to them the national and capillary dissemination of their ideas and texts, which ultimately led to the consolidation of the metanarrative of *modernismo*.[316] The first anthologies on *modernismo* began to circulate by 1933, and books such as Estevão Cruz's *Anthology of the Portuguese Language*, included texts by Amoroso Lima, M. Andrade and the poet Manuel Bandeira among others. Candido, whose contribution to the historiography of *modernismo* is an unquestioned convention, recalls that this was the way he got to know the vanguard project, and that this book disseminated *modernista* theories among teachers and students at middle school level in the 1930s.[317] In 1939, Capanema developed the University of Brazil out of the pre-existing University of the Federal District (UDF), and gave the directorship of the Faculty of Philosophy to Amoroso Lima, who stayed until 1941. In his analysis of the consolidation of the *modernista* discourse and the ways it has been historicised, Gouveia advocates that professors and other staff at the UDF published some of the first studies to provide broad historical interpretations of *modernismo.* Among them figure M. Andrade, Sérgio Buarque de Hollanda, Afonso Arinos, as well as composer Villa-Lobos and artist Candido Portinari (whose work will be the subject of the next section). Capanema also asked Bandeira to write works that represented early efforts to categorise *modernismo*, in particular *Apresentação da Poesia Brasileira* (1944).[318] The Minister therefore gave to many of the 1920s *modernistas* the possibility to historicise themselves and their legacy whilst most members of the group were still alive and productive. These are all evidences of how during the 1930s-40s State patronage, despite its ideologically manipulative agenda, became a domain of legitimisation and consecration of modernist production.

[313] Williams, "The Politics of Cultural Production", 10.
[314] See: ibid.
[315] See: Miceli, *Intelectuais e a Classe Dirigente*.
[316] Gouveia, *The Triumph of Brazilian Modernism.*
[317] See: ibid.
[318] See: ibid

With the coup, with which Vargas initiated a period of polarisation to a type of ideological stance that fought the political culture of orthodox liberalism, known as *Estado Novo* (1937-1945), the cultural renovation initiated with the 1930 Revolution was radicalised. Such radicalisation implied that the State gained the control of journalism, film distribution and the radio, and that it had the authority to stop cultural activities deemed inappropriate for the new dictatorial regime. Shortly after the coup, in July 1938, Capanema extended the reach of his ministry in the field of culture through the National Council of Culture (CNC), whose goal was to coordinate not only the activities initiated and sponsored by the MES, but also to control those indirectly linked to it. [319] Thus, with the advent of the *Estado Novo*, national culture was no longer a matter to be left to free intellectual enterprise, but one that was subjected to a State determined to control it through vigorous interventionism.

The year before this, in January 1937, the National Museum of Fine Arts (MNBA) was founded in Rio. Concomitantly, the ENBA (the traditional school of fine art briefly led by Costa) was instructed to transfer 'paintings that arrived in Brazil with the Portuguese Court in 1808 as well as works brought by the French Artistic Mission of 1816 […] to the new national museum'.[320] MNBA's collection focussed on colonial and imperial cultural production such as works by Victor Meirelles and Pedro Américo among others belonging to the neo-classical, romantic and symbolist period, so announcing a predilection for academic production. Instead of standing as a faithful witness of the chronological progression of art in Brazil up to the present, the MNBA became a temple to past heroes that dismissed the aesthetic achievements that had taken place from Malfatti's exhibition of 1917 onwards. In fact, Oswaldo Teixeira (1905-1974), the museum director, actively opposed *modernismo*, except for the work of Candido Portinari, who was Teixeira's peer during his years of art studies at the ENBA. Unavoidably, and given the still ferocious controversies between traditionalists and reformers, the direction taken by this governmental cultural institution under the *Estado Novo* caused further polemics within the art world.

Even if the MES was favouring the *modernistas* by allowing them to occupy distinguished positions at academic and research institutions, the supporters of vanguard cultural production were unsatisfied with the way in which such an important national museum obscured a relevant phase of Brazil's cultural patrimony. The museological

[319] Throughout the *Estado Novo,* Capanema's Ministry of Education and Health fought with the Ministry of Justice with regard to the regulation of the Brazilian field of culture. The Ministry of Justice was particularly interested in taking over the MES Rádio, Capanema's broadcasting organ, as well as the film industry. See: Williams, "The Politics of Cultural Production".
[320] Williams, *Culture Wars,* 157.

approach of the MNBA clearly denied to *modernismo* the right to represent, within this art institution, its value as a paradigm shift and as visual manifestation of the reconfiguration of the tenets of Brazil's cultural identity. The MNBA was refusing to exercise the crucial function of documenting this shift and identity within the historical evolution of Brazilian art.

The scarcity of contemporary vanguard sculpture and painting in this museum's permanent collection represented a victory for the academicists; not surprisingly, the *modernistas* and their supporters were unsatisfied, as proved by a text in *Bellas-Artes*, a distinguished specialist journal published in Rio. In 1939, the journal stated the following: "Would not it have been more logical for the National Museum of Fine Arts to organise its first galleries […] exhibiting contemporaneous national painters, rather than drawing upon the collections of French painting, which are by and large of little value?".[321] Through this statement, it becomes apparent that the MNBA, despite its intention of asserting the value of national art, preferred to shift its attention to European production that did not deserve it rather than acknowledging the agency of *modernismo*. Not only so, as it also proves that the State cultural apparatus gave way to new attempts on behalf of the academies and the *modernistas* to use federal institutions as weapons with which it was possible to gain the control of the Brazilian 'field of culture'.

4.2.4. - *Cultura Política:* The Cultural Trumpet of the State

The advent of the *Estado Novo* in 1937 and the consequent exacerbation of authoritarianism led to a radical interventionism of the State on cultural matters. As we have already seen, the 'new Brazil' proposed by Vargas' ideological agenda was a State in which order, tolerance, tranquillity and labour were constructive forces. After the radicalisation of the regime, these qualities were tightly associated with the fields of art and culture, and the magazine *Cultura Política* (1941-1945) **{fig. 25}** began to advocate that they were indispensable for all the creative endeavours of the nation. This magazine was the cultural trumpet of the *Estado Novo*, with its doctrinaire character emphasised by Vargas himself. It circulated in the newsagents of Rio and São Paulo and argued that intellectuals and artists should have a fundamental role in the structuring of the new social order, and in the formation of public opinion on the regime. Sociologist Gilberto Freire and literary historian Nelson Wernek Sondré were among its collaborators, as well as Almir de Andrade, Francisco Campos, Azevedo Amaral, Lourival Fontes and Cassiano

[321] *Bellas-Artes V,* n. 45-46, January February 1939. Reprinted translated in English in: ibid, 161.

Ricardo, who were the ideologues of the Vargas era. In its first issue of Mach 1941, *Cultura Política* advocated that the 'political order stands for the social order, as social life stands for the intellectual or for the artistic ones'.[322] It claimed that the State was supplying intellectuals and artists with the right socio-political context for them to do their work; and that, in return, their work needed to reflect the ideals of the regime and transmit them to the social environment.

Vargas and his radical regime were, the magazine claimed, awakening the creative energies of the nation and triggering nothing less than a renaissance in the fields of science, literature, art, and what was defined as the *artes popularescas* (i.e., music, theatre and cinema). In this sub-section, we will analyse 18 articles - each of them from one of the 18 magazine issues published over a time of 2 years (1941-1942) - in which the central theme was the influence of ideology on culture and its manifestations.

Figure 25: Cover of *Cultura Política* (1944). Rio de Janeiro.

Source: website of the Fundação Getúlio Vargas, Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil (FGV – CPDOC), Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo:

http://cpdoc.fgv.br/producao/dossies/AEraVargas1/anos37-45/EducacaoCulturaPropaganda/CulturaPolitica

This magazine often did not hold the legacy of the previous *modernista* generation in high regard, categorising it as 'intentional *modernismo*' and comparing it to a new and

[322] '*A ordem política está para a ordem social, como a vida social está para a intectual ou para a artística.*' *Cultura Política, n. 1*, (1941), 368.

more valuable version, which it called 'the healthy artistic nationalism of now'.[323] Issue number four focuses on the 1930 Revolution, which was the date of Vargas' ascent to power. The argument here sees the aesthetic-literary domains of the tumultuous years that preceded the revolution characterised by a type of political unrest that remained unspoken and stagnated to the extent of cowardice. Only the revolution would give power to what the magazine considered to be formerly unexposed political voices, and to allow the *modernista* movement to move into a more advanced stage. The State projected the arts into a dimension in which 'Brazilianness' was no longer merely thematic and picturesque, but was finally expressed with a critical stance. The revolution, the magazine advocates, brought about the awakening of political views which had remained in a state of lethargy and indolence up to then, and allowed these views to flourish and be expressed by subsequent *modernista* expressions.

The issue blamed 1920s *modernismo* for not actually standing for a socially and politically engaged movement, and accused it of being merely a decorative depiction of the nation. The *modernista* phase of the 1920s is deemed to be a politically silent movement for having been far too concerned with aesthetic questions of originality in relation to the European model of reference. Further, it claims that the Vargas era was responsible for allowing *modernismo* to grow out of its superficial and formal nature, and to allow a crucial transition to take place. As the magazine put it in 1941:

> previously, Brazilianness was only a décor, a "background" for our motives, which were simply aesthetic. After, with the objectivity that the revolution brought, we then also wanted something more than the merely picturesque, or simply an artifice. Liberation was done: it was necessary to create. A revision of political values coincided, in everything and for everything, with a revision of artistic values. [...] Our *modernista* plastic arts [...] passed through the most severe and most useful critical filter.[324]

Here it is apparent that the 1930 Revolution is seen as the event that changes the impetus behind *modernismo* and splits the movement into two distinct strands. It is rendered as the landmark of the true and ultimate Brazilian artistic revolution, which broke away from the period from the 1922 art week to 1929. The revolution determined, as the magazine put it, 'the end of our purely and simply imitative modernist literature, and the beginning of originality; which was not borrowed but natural, without exoticism

[323] *'Modernismo intencional'; 'nacionalismo artístico de agora'*. *Cultura Política,* n. 4 and n.1. (1941), 367-363.

[324] *'Antes a brasilidade era, apenas, um décor, um "back ground" para os nossos motivos simplismente estéticos. Depois, com a objetividade que a revolução trouxe, passamos, então, tambem a desejar algo mais que não fosse simples pitoresco, ou simples artifício. A libertação estava feita: era preciso criar. Uma revisão dos valores políticos coincidiu, em tudo e por tudo, com uma revisão de valores artísticos. [...] As nossas artes plásticas [...] do modernismo passaram por um crivo crítico dos mais severos e dos mais uteis'. Cultura Política, n. 4* (1941), 367.

and artifices'.[325] In order to aggrandise the State's part as the reforming impetus and improving factor, *Cultura Política* did not hesitate to obscure the achievements of the 1920s *modernistas* and attribute them to the policy of its cultural apparatus, to the extent of advocating (rather inconsistently, as it also accused 1920s *modernismo* of being 'international') that the movement, up to the revolution, was a mere regionalist expression:

> from the inconsequent regionalism of the initial moments, we moved into the healthy and current artistic nationalism, which has been initiated by the new Brazilian politics, and which is, in a certain sense equally expressed in the aesthetic domain. We are so far away from Tarsila do Amaral's "Dream" (in painting) and from Brecheret's "Bird" (in sculpture) [...] or even, from the theatrical experiences of the São Paulo Modern Art Club.[326]

Another of the magazine's arguments was that the art produced under the Vargas regime's cultural policy was superior to that made in previous decades. Vargas' contemporary art was at the apex of Brazil's cultural expression because it was not losing contact with the 'soul' of the country. Moreover, its character was distinguished also on the basis of its detachment from European influences. As the magazine put it: 'we are far […] from the aesthetic aspirations that were to seek models in Europe, whose need for "originality" denounced a deterioration of [artistic] purpose, which was a mere sign of political laceration'.[327] The regime had catapulted the arts and culture into a new dimension in which 'everything is Brazil. [But] not a Brazil of lyrical banana trees and wild fruits, like the literary Brazil of our first *modernismo*'.[328]

Further, the magazine, as much as the 1920s *modernistas*' project, gave a special place to manifestations of the popular, even if such affinity remained untold and the reference was distorted.[329] Such manifestations were mainly expressed in the form of *artes popularescas*, that is, theater, cinema and music broadcast by the radio, which were all undergoing the strict censorship of the Department of Press and Propaganda (DIP), a

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[325] *'O fim da nossa literatura moderna de imitação, pura e simples, e o princípio da originalidade não procurada, natural, sem exotismos e sem artifícios'*. Ibid, n. 9 (1942), 373.

[326] '*Do regionalismo inconsequente dos primeiros momentos, passamos ao sadio nacionalismo artístico de agora, que a nova política do Brasil inaugurou e que é, em um certo sentido, equivalente a esta nos planos estéticos. Estamos tão distantes, neste momento, do "Sonho" de Tarsila do Amaral (na pintura), como do "Pássaro" de Brecheret" (na escultura) […] ou ainda, das experiências teatrais do Clube de Arte Moderna de São Paulo*'. Ibid, n. 4 (1941), 364-365.

[327] *'Estamos […] longe das aspirações estéticas que iam buscar modelos na Europa, cuja necessidade de "originalidade" denunciou um desgaste de motivos [artísticos] que era puro sinal de dilaceração política'*. Ibid, n. 5 (1941), 367.

[328] *'Tudo é Brasil. Não um Brasil de bananeiras líricas e frutas silvestres, como o Brasil literário do nosso primeiro modernismo'*. Ibid, n. 10 (1942), 375.

[329] See in particular: Ibid, n. 5 (1941), 367-369.

repressive institution of the cultural apparatus of the *Estado Novo*. According to *Cultura Política*, the radio was broadcasting songs whose central themes were Brazil's historical past and its heroes, and cinema was focusing on native culture and sceneries. Literature was also contributing to this celebration of Brazilian origins and popular practices. Judging by what the magazine has to say on popular matters, cultural practices linked to ethno-racial groups were praised with the intent of forging a civic notion of 'the Brazilian people', based on stereotypes of 'Brazilianness' and national roots, which could include the subaltern sections of Brazil's population. Here we see that the project of cultural emancipation of the black and the native initiated by the first generation of *modernistas* is turned into the laurels of the State; into a symbol of the process of political and social evolution of the nation with which the regime wanted to be identified.

Dance and music were praised and even seen as influencing those of leading countries elsewhere. The magazine claims that the Brazilian impetus had been incorporated into the rhythm of the *beguine* in Paris, and of the *swing* in the US. Musical styles such as *samba* and *marchinha* were valued for the way in which they embodied the Brazilian people and for their thematic interest in social problems. This implies that, for *Cultura Política*, the recurrent themes of the 1920s *modernistas* - that is, Brazil's popular and ethic motives and the return to Brazil's folkloric origins - were to be still part of the repertoire of cultural manifestations produced under the Vargas regime. However, no merit was given to 1920s *modernismo* as the initiator of this stance of re-evaluation and appreciation of the cultural practices of minority groups. Not only so, as the magazine shifted the merit of such emancipative process away from the 'field of culture' and well into that of power, arguing that the State was responsible for a 'threefold evolution: social, intellectual and artistic. […] Such progress […], ultimately attests what represents for us in the light of ourselves, and for Brazil in the light of the world, the relevant role of the country's new political direction'.[330]

The State was interested, on the one hand, in keeping these themes alive within the new scene of culture. On the other, it was downplaying the previous generation of *modernistas* by advocating that the young were more successful in expressing Brazilian cultural identity. In the hands of the new art, the language established by 1920s *modernismo* was evolving and ultimately becoming the banner of the nation both at home and abroad. Moreover, the magazine praised Brazil's intelligentsia for having

[330] '*Tríplice evolução – social, intellectual e artística'. […] Tal progresso […] vem atestar, em última análise, o que representa para nós, em face de nós mesmos, e para o Brasil, em face do mundo, o relevante papel de seus novos rumos políticos*. Ibid, n. 1 and n. 2 (1941), 364-365.

reached high levels of specialization and organization, covering all the fields of the arts and humanities, and the social sciences.

After the revolution, the magazine maintained*, modernismo* had begun to truly represent the Brazilian people as a cohesive force that abided by the new ideological and political era, and, by doing so, the movement was shaping international opinion in full faithfulness to what modern Brazilian society and culture were actually about. So much so, that Brazilian literature had risen to one of the most distinguished positions in the American continent, and that, in the fine arts, the country was achieving international exposure and acclaim, with works shown in the most prestigious museums in Europe and the US. What the young *modernistas* were producing was

> a national art that has to affirm us [i.e., the Brazilians], to our own eyes and to those of the world, as people with one of the most original civilizations in the Americas, who possess a personality where the "accent" is, more than evidently, the proof that we also have a political personality aided by social "force".[331]

What surfaces clearly from *Cultura Política* is therefore its nationalist-internationalist cultural policy that originated yet departed from 1920s *modernismo.* The firm and clear definition of the Brazilian particular was in dialogue with both the improvements taking place within the national field of knowledge, and its reception and success abroad. As the magazine put it: 'Intellectually, we are reaching an appreciable level of altitude, which, by allowing us greater participation in the conviviality of universal thought, enables us, powerfully, to construct, with our own hands, a culture that is entirely ours.'[332] In other words, *Cultura Política* was putting forward that the latest cultural and artistic developments in Brazil had allowed the country to secure an active position within the international arena, and that this achievement, in return, was contributing to the fostering of an entirely Brazilian, and therefore autonomous, culture. Thus, the uniqueness of national culture was directly proportional to its ability to join into the universal by denying its homogenizing possibilities, and to praise the ecumenical as a *locus* of heterogeneity and diversity. This is clearly deducible from issue number three:

> Brazilian art, which is today more established than yesterday, is, at this moment, living one of its most brilliant periods precisely because, aspiring to the universal, it starts from the national to assert itself together with the essential

[331] '*Uma arte nacional que há de nos afirmar, oas nossos e aos olhos do mundo, como um dos povos de civilização mais original da América, detentores de uma personalidade que é o "acento", mais do que evidente, de que tambem possuimos uma personalidade política, auxiliada pela "força" social".* Ibid, n. 10 (1942), 375.
[332] *'Intellectualmente, estamos atingindo um nível apreciável de altitude que, permitindo-nos uma maior participação no convívio do pensamento universal, nos auxiliará, poderosamente, a construir, com as nossas próprias mãos, uma cultura inteiramente nossa*'. Ibid, n. 2 (1941), 365.

> characteristics of our soul, the soul of Brazil. Not betraying its origin, therefore, it does not betray its national socializing function and its universal unifying function. Its message is the message of the country, which Brazilian art carries in its belly, spreading our motives, imposing our themes, clarifying our particularities as a people and spreading our doings as a nation.[333]

Cultura Política shows that the regime was not interested in making the *modernistas* of the first generation the highest representatives of the regime's cultural politics at home and abroad. Those *modernistas* that in the 1920s were committed to a project of re-evaluation of the popular, of native and Afro-Brazilian cultural practices as weapons against culturally backwards and ideologically racial and racist views of the academies and the elite were of relevance mainly for the positions they had achieved as high representatives of *modernismo*. [334] The importance of such positions was exploited by the State with the aim of using it as a force with which the cultural politics of the regime could be legitimised. The ideals contained in the 1920s *modernista* project were appropriated and distorted to become banners of a populist and authoritarian ideology in which the popular was objectified and became merely a propagandistic tool.

The magazine also shows that during the period of the *Estado Novo* (1937-1945) there was an ideological push aiming at the proliferation of new cultural production on nationalistic themes. The main goal was to foment the production of art, literature, music, theater and cinema engaged with representing a populist nation, the new guise of collective life, the daily life of rural workers and of those destined to the production line. Ideology wanted the cultural field to embark on a massive project of representation of the nation that would preserve State power nationally, and suit its expansionist international agenda. The motto was: 'we start from Brazil, but we aspire to the world'.[335] It is within this context that we will analyse the work of artist Candido Portinari in the next section.

4.3. - Vargas' Foreign Cultural Policy and the International Reception of Candido Portinari's Art

[333] *'A arte brasileira que hoje se afirma mais do que ontem, está neste momento, vivendo um de seus períodos mais fulgurantes justamente porque, aspirando ao universal, parte do nacional para se afirmar juntamente com as características essenciais da nossa alma, da alma do Brasil. Não traindo a sua origem, portanto, ela não trai a sua função socializadora nacional e sua função unificadora universal. Sua mensagem é a mensagem do país, que ela carrega no bojo, espalhando os nossos motivos, impondo os nossos temas, esclarecendo as nossas particularidades de povo e divulgando o nosso feito de nação'*. Ibid, n. 3, 366.

[334] We have analysed the racial and racist ideology of the Brazilian academies and of a strand of the Brazilian intellectual elite with political agency that the *modernistas* challenged during the 1920s in chapter 1 of this study.

[335] *'Partimos do Brazil, mas aspiramos ao mundo'*. Ibid.

4.3.1. – Portinari's Training and Early Career

Young architect Lúcio Costa was not the only ENBA graduate who abandoned the conventions taught at the school to embrace *modernista* ideals. The artist Cândido Portinari was another of them, having studied at the ENBA from 1920 to 1928. The scenario he found there was characterised by European-oriented teaching that, however, had lost contact with European contemporaneous art. The environment at the ENBA was stiff, pompous and anachronistic; its academic body was proud of educating young painters to become heirs of the French artistic mission of 1816. In order to survive his time at a school that did not allow artistic freedom and to make a living, Portinari began to specialise in portraiture, producing paintings of friends, family and wealthy members of Rio's society during most of the 1920s. Yet, after two years spent in Europe with the ENBA scholarship, *Prix de Voyage* (1929-1931), he began to develop a shift of style and a rich iconographic glossary that conveyed multifaceted aspects of 'Brazilianness' from a distinctive perspective. Portinari's perspective, from the 1930s onwards, focussed on the Brazil of the peasants, migrants from the poverty-stricken North East, cowhands, coffee plantation labourers, popular musicians, hillside *favelas*, and social pariahs such as the dispossessed, the *biscateiros* (those living off odd jobs), and *malandro*s (rogues).

The shift was set into motion by the European stay, a period in which Portinari produced only three drawings, one of which was named *Palaninho* **{fig. 26}**, who, according to Portinari himself, was an acquaintance back in Brodowski, the poor countryside village inhabited by coffee field labourers of Italian origins where the artist was born and grew up to the age of 15. In a letter he sent to a peer at the ENBA in 1930, Portinari revealed that from Europe, and after experiencing the museums of the Old World, he could look back at old childhood memories with new eyes.[336] Similarly to Oswald de Andrade and Tarsila do Amaral during their Parisian stay, Portinari understood the importance of 'making his own land' through his art; of generating visual expressions of 'Brazilianness' through the subjects and the colours of the popular and the marginalised.[337]

[336] See: 1) Annateresa Fabris, *Portinari, Pintor Social* (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1990), and 2) Annateresa Fabris, *No Ateliê de Portinari* (São Paulo: Museu de Art Moderna (MAM-SP), 2011).
[337] 'Fazer a minha terra'. Portinari C., letter to Rosalita Candido Mendes (1930), in: ibid, 2011, 45.

Figure 26:

Candido Portinari, *Palaninho* (1930).

Graphite on paper, 19.5 x 13,5 cm.

Candido Portinari Archive.

Source: http://www.elfikurten.com.br/2011/02/candido-portinari-mestres-da-pintura.html

In the letter, Portinari had bright memories about Palaninho, describing in details the subject of his drawing: he has

> "sparse dusty moustaches, with some faults; and just one tooth. He wears a pair of white trousers made from a sack of wheat flour […] and you can still see the stamp of the flour's brand. He ties the bottom of the trousers with a string of maize straw, in order not to get mud inside of them – he does not wear boots on weekdays. […] I came to know Palaninho here in Paris, after having seen so many museums and so many castles and so many civilized people. There, in Brazil, I never thought of Palaninho. [...] I wear polished shoes, wide pants and low collar and I discuss Wilde, but in the end I'm dressed like the Palaninho and I do not understand Wilde".[338]

Despejados (*Evicted*) of 1934 **{fig. 27}** was Portinari's first canvas with social themes. The colour palette here is gloomy and joyless, as if the intention was to emphasise the

[338] *"Bigode empoeirado e ralo e com algumas falhas; e só tem um dente. Usa umas calças brancas feitas de saco de farinha de trigo […] ainda se nota o carimbo da marca da farinha. Embaixo ele amarra as calças com palha de milho para não apanhar lama - não usa botina nos dias de semana. […] Vim conhecer aqui em Paris o Palaninho, depois de ter visto tantos museus e tantos castelos e tanta gente civilizada. Aí no Brasil eu nunca pensei no Palaninho […]. Eu uso sapatos de verniz, calça larga e colarinho baixo e discuto Wilde, mas no fundo ando vestido como o Palaninho e não compreendo Wilde.*" Candido Portinari, letter to Rosalita Candido Mendes (1930), in: Elfi Kürten Fenske, "Candido Portinari – A Alma, o Povo e a Vida Brasileira", *Templo Cultural Delfos, Ano VII,* (2017). Available at: <http://www.elfikurten.com.br/2011/02/candido-portinari-mestres-da-pintura.html> [Last accessed: 02/07/2017]

skeletal and rickety human figures whose expressions are deformed by pain and despair, and to dramatize the oppression linked to poverty. The evicted own merely a small trunk and a sack, and are waiting for a train, which, the rocky and desolated landscape suggests, will most likely fail to come. The children's enormous distended bellies are the undeniable proof that the family is from a place of famine. This canvas was not a good advert for the regime, as it focussed on those forsaken by the State's social policy, and left homeless and at the mercy of tragedy. However, in the same year in which Portinari painted *Despejados*, the Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo bought *Mestiço* (*Mestizo*) **{fig. 28}**. *Mestiço'*s theme is also social, yet, when associated to a populist State, it gives to the latter connotations which are diametrically opposite to those conveyed by *Despejados*. The mestizo man here is strong, healthy and stands proud in front of the green and fertile fields in which he works. The sky behind him is not dark and sinister, as that in *Despejados*, but clear and cheerfully dotted with white clouds; its gentleness conveys a future of hope for the young worker, and complements his self-confident expression. This was the type sentiment of pride towards Brazilian land and nation, and the type of determination and faith in the benefits of labour that Vargas' populism advocated.

After the Pinacoteca's acquisition of *Mestiço*, Portinari achieved international exposure. In fact, in 1935, with *Café* (*Coffee*) **{fig. 29}**, he got the second honourable mention at the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh (US). This painting depicts black labourers, symbols of both national strength and the ignoble legacy of slavery in Brazil, harvesting coffee and carrying heavy sacks of the goods. Portinari's memories of his miserable childhood in Brodowski were not, however, the only impetus behind these three works, as an interview with Plínio Salgado of 1930 shows. In Portinari's own words 'firstly, it is necessary to create the national spirit, so that there can be a common direction of research and construction'.[339] In this interview, as in Portinari's *Café*, Vargas' ideology resonates, based on working mentality and laboriousness as common 'constructive' forces of the new Brazilian nation. In his words, Portinari was implying the duty of art toward the formation of a national spirit, and his statement was aligned with the way in which the regime spoke about art. For the regime

> the arts are, inevitably, a copy or a reflexion of the social environment, from which they originate. The artist cannot create without a commitment to the things that surround him, and which establish themselves within his sensibility and […] the contemplative ability of the others (i.e., beholders).[340]

[339] *'Primeiro, é preciso criar o espírito nacional, para que haja uma direção comum na obra de pesquisa e constução*. Candido Portinari, (1930), in Fabris, *No Ateliê de Portinari*, 48.

[340] *'As artes são, infalivelmente, uma cópia ou um reflexo do meio social do qual provêem. O artista não pode criar sem o compromisso das coisas que o rodeiam e que logo se estabelecem entre sua sensibilidade e […] a capacidade de contemplar dos demais'*. Cultura Política, n. 8, (1941), 371.

The question of the subordination of the artist to the regime's ideology here arises as much as that of his intention of taking advantage of such ideology, by way of advocating it through his work, in order to consolidate his position within the 'field of cultural production'. According to Fabris, 'Portinari engages, since his time as a student, in a project of definition of national art. This project will take its definite shape in the decade of the 1930s'.[341] For Nastari, 'the governmental directives upon which the *Estado Novo* was based were taken by Portinari as privileged themes. The political environment was favourable to the artist's work and gave him many opportunities'.[342] Judging by Fabris and Nastari's opinions, Portinari's line of enquiry was determined prior to the focus on the popular taken by the cultural policy of the regime. Not only so, as Nastari's view implies that Portinari, aware of the affinity between the iconography of his work and the ruling cultural ideology, took advantage of the opportunity such affinity offered to him.

Figure 27 : Candido Portinari, *Despejados* (1934).

Oil on canvas, 37 x 65 cm.

Private Collection.

Source: http://www.elfikurten.com.br/2011/02/candido-portinari-mestres-da-pintura.html

[341] *'Portinari engaja-se, desde os tempos de estudante, num projeto de definição de uma arte nacional. Esse projeto tomará contornos definitivos na década de 1930'.* Fabris, *No Ateliê de Portinari*, 35.

[342] *'As diretrizes de governo que alicerçavam o Estado Novo eram tomadas como temas privilegiados por Portinari. O ambiente político favoravel ao trabalho do artista abriu-lhe muitas oportunidades'*. Danielle Misura Nastari*, A Gênese da Coleçãode Arte Brasileira do MoMA: a Década de 1940, Portinari e Artistas Seguintes.* (MA Dissertation, Universidade de São Paulo, USP, 2016), 63.

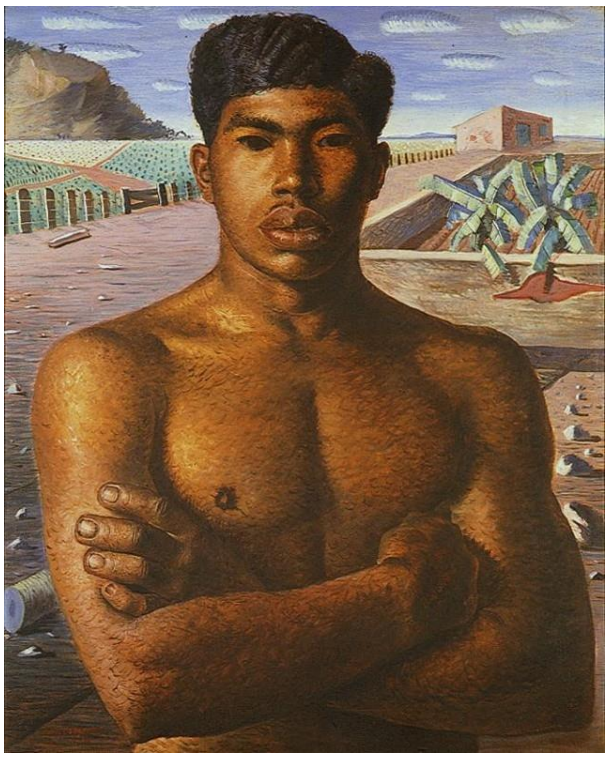

Figure 28 :

Candido Portinari, *Mestiço* (1934).

Oil on canvas, 81 x 65.5 cm.

Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo, São Paulo.

Source: https://www.wikiart.org/en/candido-portinari

Figure 29 : Candido Portinari, *Café* (1935).

Oil on canvas, 130x195 cm.

Museu Nacional de Belas Artes, Rio de Janeiro.

Source: https://www.wikiart.org/en/candido-portinari

4.3.2. – Portinari and the New York's World Fair (1939-1940)

In 1936, Brazil was one of the Latin American countries invited to participate in the World Fair in New York, and the government and the entrepreneurial class were determined to project an image of the country at this international event that was optimistic, economically advanced and rich in terms of natural resources. Europe had begun to be increasingly isolationist in terms of politics and culture and Vargas was interested in using the Pan Americanist movement launched by Delano Roosevelt, the US President, to change the North-American vision of Brazilian culture. To turn the eyes of the Americans to an image of Brazilian culture in full possession of its faculties was, for the government, a way of strengthening the political and economic relations with the country that held the leading geo-political position in the continent.

Modernismo was the movement chosen by Brazilian cultural policy makers to persuade the Americans, and to stand for a vision of Brazil that was wealthy, progressive and on the right track for conspicuous development. *Modernismo*, with its inherent international character, was a stylistic lexicon familiar to foreign audiences and, if proposed within aesthetic solutions which could communicate aspects of the national in universal terms, it could speak of Brazil as an original and advanced culture. The project of architects Lúcio Costa and Oscar Niemeyer (1907-2012) was chosen by the commission responsible for the projects surrounding the New York's World Fair, and was used to build the Brazilian pavilion for the event, which started in 1939.[343] This pavilion, was 'the most important building of the 1930s from the point of view of the international reputation of Brazilian architecture'. [344] The ways in which it entwined tropicalism and modernism reached remarkable notoriety among European and American critics, and was the subject matter of articles in influential reviews such as *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, *Architectural Record* and *Architectural Forum*.[345]

Portinari, whose painting *Café* had already won an honorary mention at the Carnegie Institute (1935), was the artist chosen to create three massive panels representing typical scenes of Brazil.[346] The works were *Cena Gaúcha* (*Gaucho Scene*), *Jangadas do Norte* (*Rafts of the North*) and *Noite de São João* (*Saint John's Night*) **{fig. 30, 31 and 32}**, whose titles are related to popular customs and folkloristic practices across the Brazilian geographical area. The works appropriate - similarly to Amaral's paintings discussed in

[343] For more on the Brazilian pavilion at the New York's World Fair see: Philip L. Goodwin, *Brazil Builds: Architecture New and Old, 1652-1942* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1943). For more on major *modernista* architecture and garden design in Brazil, which negotiated international modernism with the intrinsic Brazilian reality, and which used Le Corbusier as a point of departure that reached original solutions, see: Valerie Fraser, *Building the New World, Studies in the Modern Architecture of Latin America 1930-1960* (London and New York: Verso, 2000).
[344] Fraser, ibid, 182.
[345] See: Williams, *Culture Wars in Brazil*.
[346] See: ibid.

chapter 1 - the formal aspect of the *rappel à l' ordre*; particularly Picasso's neo-classical phase initiated in the 1920s, to depict typically Brazilian ethnicities and physiognomies. The bodies are robust and engaged in activities that imply physical vigour, yet represented in synthetic manner, with references to circular and quadrangular forms and in blots of saturated colours. Despite engaging with conveying movement, the compositions are flat, lingering with the concept of perspective only in terms of the differing sizes of the constituent elements.

Figure 30 : Candido Portinari, *Cena Gaúcha* (1935).

Tempera on canvas, 315 x 345 cm.

Archive of the Palácio do Itamaraty, Brasília.

Source: http://enciclopedia.itaucultural.org.br/obra3206/cena-gaucha-painel-da-feira-de-nova-york

Figure 31 : Candido Portinari, *Jangadas do Norte* (1935).

Tempera on canvas, 315 x 345 cm.

Archive of the Palácio do Itamaraty, Brasília.

Source: http://www.elfikurten.com.br/2011/02/candido-portinari-mestres-da-pintura.html

Figure 32 : Candido Portinari, study for *Noite de São João* (1935),
the large panel for the New York's World Art Fair (1939-1940) was subsequently donated to the MoMA and it was destroyed in a fire in 1958.

Tempera and graphite on paper, 35,5 x 34 cm.

Private Collection.

Source: https://i.pinimg.com/originals/50/24/ce/5024ce421c98118fb8575096ac580f3f.jpg

The formal similarities and relations of Portinari's works with European modernism and previous waves of *modernismo* are too well known to bear retelling here.[347] Far less explored by existing literature is the fact that the choice of these works represented an absolute innovation in terms of the type of proposition of Brazil's population and culture to international audience attending world fairs. For the first time at a universal exposition - to which Brazil began to participate during its imperial era in 1861, during *Dom* Pedro II's Second Reign - State policy, and the cultural mandarins working on it, were not exporting an idea of Brazil as 'a cultured, industrious white society freed from the scourge of slavery and predominantly bourgeois' .[348] As Williams put it,

> race and underdevelopment had been a major preoccupation for Brazilians responsible for sending art representations abroad and continued to be in 1939. According to Mário de Andrade, convention treated scenes of poverties, favelas, popular life, and Afro-Brazilians as inappropriate subject matter for official cultural missions abroad'.[349]

The historically established convention for displays of Brazilian art at this type of venue consisted in sourcing works produced at the ENBA in Rio, which, as we have seen, was the historical redoubt of Europeanised academicist production. However, for the foreign policy of the *Estado Novo*, whose interest was to favour political relations and economic exchange with the US, this long established representation of Brazilian society abroad did not reflect the State populist ideology. The art that the State needed to show to the Americans in order to convey its political orientation and beneficial impact on Brazil's socio-economic reality had to have a completely different content. As a reflection of the regime's policy and achievements, it needed to stand for an exaltation of the worker as the living impetus behind the national machine of developmentalism and progress.

Interestingly, but also rather contradictorily, the manoeuvre at the New York's World Fair that appointed *modernismo* as the symbol of the beneficial outcomes of the *Estado Novo*, was not applied to the concomitant display of Brazilian art at the Riverside Museum. This museum organised a Latin American art exhibition to compensate for a change of plan at the World Fair that ended up drastically reducing the quantity of art

[347] See for instance, and apart from the works by Annateresa Fabris so far quoted and the several others she authored since the mid-1970s: 1) Germain Bazin, *Um Expressionista Moderno: Candido Portinari* (Campinas: A Defesa, 1946), 2) Emília Vicente Lourenço, *O Engajamento Social de Portinari Visto Atravéz da Análise Iconográfica da Série de Trabalhadores Urbanos* (MA Dissertation at the Universidade Federal de Uberlândia (UFU), 2003), and 3) Luiz Lehmkuhl, "O Pintor não Fecha os Olhos diante da Realidade: Portinari e o Neo-Realismo Português", *ArtCultura, vol. 8, n.12*, Universidade Federal de Uberlândia (UFU), Uberlândia (2006): 53-70.

[348] Williams D., *Culture Wars,* 193.

[349] Ibid, 214.

exhibited in the pavilions of countries in this geographical area.[350] The "Latin American Exhibition of Fine and Applied Art", opened in June 1939 showing more than 330 artworks and was hailed by the New York Times as the first major exhibition of this kind to be organised in the US.[351] Whilst the Brazilian government decided that the architecture of the pavilions and the art exhibited in it needed to be *modernista* to stand for symbols of the 'new Brazil', the Brazilian representation at the Riverside Museum was, paradoxically, academicist.

The battle initiated at the ENBA in 1930 with the arrival of young modernist architect and curriculum reformer Costa discussed in the previous section was anything but over, and was, as proved by the Brazilian art shown at the American museum, taken to the international domain. In fact the project at the Riverside Museum was given to Oswaldo Teixeira, who in 1937 had become the director of the MNBA. Given the conservative policy adopted by Teixeira's museum, discussed in sub-section 4.2.3. of this chapter, this choice is the evidence of the extent to which the Vargas regime had to address the tensions generated by national cultural diatribes between tradition and innovation. The concession resulted in a showcase of contemporaneous artworks of romantic and impressionist lineage and the total exclusion of the first and second phases of *modernismo*, including Portinari's work.[352] Cultural conflicts originating in Brazil were sent onto foreign shores and ultimately shaped the reception of Brazilian culture in the US. Brazilian works at this exhibition considered derivative of academic European models, such as Manoel Constantino's (1889-1976) *No Estúdio de Um Pintor* (*In a Painter's Study*) (1930s) **{fig. 33}**, were criticised by the American press, shocked with what it deemed to be "awful picturesque, illustrative banalities […] destitute of any imagination, any freshness".[353]

The exclusion of Portinari, whose panels at the fair were received with enthusiasm by US critics, generated outrage from the press, leading the Brazilian government to ship a substantial amount of his works for the second edition of the Latin American art exhibition at the Riverside Museum in 1940.[354] Portinari himself stated that the New

[350] Nastari's study argues that the cut of Latin American art at the 1939 New York's art fair was somehow addressed by the fair's organisers by allowing works to be shown at the International Business Machines pavilion, which hosted the exhibition "Contemporary Art of 79 Countries". Brazil participated in this exhibition, but Nastari was not able to find information in primary literature on which artist and how many pieces where on show. It is also important to point out that, in 1940, the Riverside Museum organised a second Latin American art exhibition concomitant to the second season of the New York's World Fair. See: Nastari*, A Gênese da Coleçãode Arte Brasileira do MoMA"*.

[351] See: Suzanna Temkin, "The Pan-American Art Exhibit for the World of Tomorrow: the 1939 and 1940 Latin American Art Exhibition at the Riverside Museum", *Rutgers Art Review, vol. 27*, (New Jersey: Rutgers University, 2011), 49-67.

[352] See: Williams, *Culture Wars*.

[353] *The World-Telegram*, New York, 1939, in: ibid, 57.

[354] See: Williams, ibid.

York's World Fair commission in charge of the 1940's exhibition at the Riverside, given the negative impact of the 25-30 Brazilian painters at the previous show on the specialised press, asked him to ship 35 of his paintings.[355] As a result, all the Brazilian paintings at the second edition of the Latin American art exhibition were by Portinari.[356]

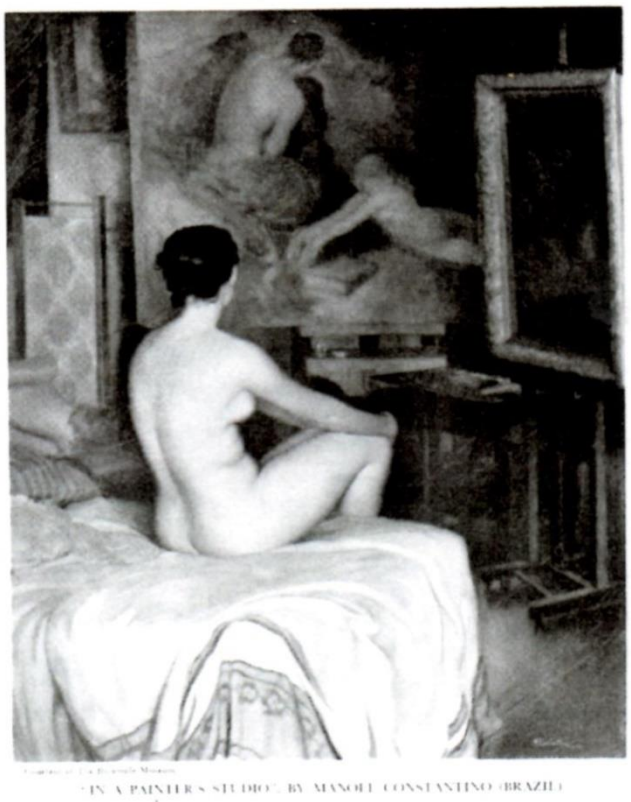

Figure 33 : Manoel Constantino, *No Estudio de um Pintor* (1930s).

The image originates from the article "Latin American Art Exhibition of Fine and Applied Arts", published in *Bulletin of the Pan American Union, vol. 74, n.1*, January 1940.

Oil on Canvas, size unknown.

Collection unknown.

Source: Suzanna Temkin, "The Pan-American Art Exhibit for the World of Tomorrow: the 1939 and 1940 Latin American Art Exhibition at the Riverside Museum", *Rutgers Art Review, vol. 27*, New Jersey, Rutgers University, 2011, 49-67.

[355] See: Nastari*, A Gênese da Coleçãode Arte Brasileira do MoMA.*

[356] Apart from Portinari's paintings, Brazil was represented by sculptures by Maria Martins, who was the wife of the Brazilian Ambassador, Carlos Martins. She trained in Europe in the mid-1920s, then, as she followed her husband who was sent to several official missions, she studied and worked in Amsterdam, Copenhagen and Brussels, until the couple settled in Washington DC, in 1939. See: ibid.

4.3.3. – International Acclaim: the First MoMA Acquisition and Contextualisation within US Racial Issues

While it worked well from the point of view of the elite and the bourgeoisie of white European descent in Brazil, academicism for exportation was not serving any purpose to the cultural foreign policy of the regime. We have seen in sub-section 4.2.2. of this chapter that - as in the case of Barroso and his museological team at the MHN - the Vargas regime gave way to Brazilian cultural institutions whose policy favoured academicism in order to gain the endorsement of the national elite. In other words, the State fostered forms of elitism within the cultural domain, which were embodied in academic art, in order to consolidate its authority over the white groups occupying the highest classes of Brazilian society. Through academic style and its expressions, however, the social history of Brazil and 'Brazilianness' were represented as wealthier as and whiter than they actually were, and anachronistically expressed in bygone European movements. This type of 'whitened' and traditionalist cultural representation suited the Brazilian white elite, but was untenable at the international level. As posited in the previous sub-section, it was not only perceived by the Americans as bad art stuck in the past, but also as unrealistic and racist. US critics were perspicacious enough to broach the type of internal controversies and racial prejudice behind the Brazilian rejection of national representations abroad focussing on the country's ethnic minorities and the social problems of the lower classes.

An article published in 1940 openly stated that Portinari's work, apart from his portraits of the rich and powerful, were met, in Brazil, with disapproval and a major criticism: "he paints negroes and mulattos".[357] The text also points out that

> Brazilians are extremely sensitive about their racial composition when the outside world is concerned. For example photographs in tourist literature usually show only white people. […] Portinari has met with considerable opposition on this one issue. He has insisted on painting Brazilian life as he sees it. Believing that the mulatto and the negro are indeed important elements in Brazil, he paints them no matter what the consequences to him may be. […] The more he has been accused of libelling Brazil, the more appealing to him have become the habits and the manners and life of his people.[358]

Let's explore the first acquisition of a work by Portinari by the New York Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) by its director Alfred J. Barr in order to discuss how untenable it was

[357] Florence Horn, "Portinari of Brazil", in *Portinari of Brazil* (New York: The Detroit Institute of Art, The New York Museum of Modern Art, 1940) 8.
[358] Ibid, 8-9.

at that time to export Brazilian academicism as a national representation abroad. Two months previous to the opening of the Brazilian pavilion at the World Fair, in March 1939, Portinari shipped three canvases to Florence Horn, editor at the influential magazine *Fortune*.[359] The works were *Colonos Carregando Café (Peasants Carrying Coffee)*, *Futebol* (*Football*) and *Morro* (*Hill*) **{fig. 34, 35 and 36}**. Two of them were photographed and published in an article about Brazil in *Fortune*'s edition of July 1939 **{fig. 37}**. Whilst visiting the magazine's office in April 1939, Barr saw the paintings and expressed interest in *Morro* for a forthcoming exhibition at the MoMA, called "Art of Our Time". *Morro* was then acquired by the MoMA in 1939 and represents the first South American acquisition of the Museum.[360] We will leave aside an aesthetic appreciation of this work, and move away from its formal characteristics (aligned with the vanguard lexicon of that time and analysed in several accounts).[361] Instead, we will focus on Barr's interest in the canvas as a manifestation of material culture within the Brazilian social domain, and its political implications when contextualised within the socio-cultural reality in the US at the time.

Figure 34 : Candido Portinari, *Colonos Carregando Café* (1935).

Oil on canvas, 67 x 83 cm.

Private Collection.

Source: https://bajoelsignodelibra.blogspot.co.uk/2011/11/candido-portinari.html?m=1

[359] Horn had met Portinari whilst spending a few months in South America in order to deepen her knowledge in the art and culture of the this geographical area. She became a big supporter and promoter of Portinari's work and they had a long exchange of letters, many of which show Horn to be a mediator between Portinari's interest in showing works at the MoMA and Barr's intention of acquiring works by the Brazilian artist. For more on this see: Nastari, *A Gênese da Coleçãode Arte Brasileira do MoMA*.

[360] See: ibid.

[361] See for instance: 1) Florence Horn and Robert Smith' s articles in *Portinari of Brazil*; 2) Fabris, *Portinari Pintor Social*; and 3) Antonio Callado, *Retrato de Portinari*, (Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Editor, 2003).

Figure 35 : Candido Portinari, *Futebol* (1935).

Oil on canvas, 97x130 cm.

Private Collection.

Source: http://estudosavancadosinterdisciplinares.blogspot.co.uk/2012/11/obra-futebol-em-brodosqui-candido.html

Figure 36 : Candido Portinari, *Morro* (1935).

Oil on canvas, 114 x 146 cm.

Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), New York.

Source: https://www.wikiart.org/en/candido-portinari

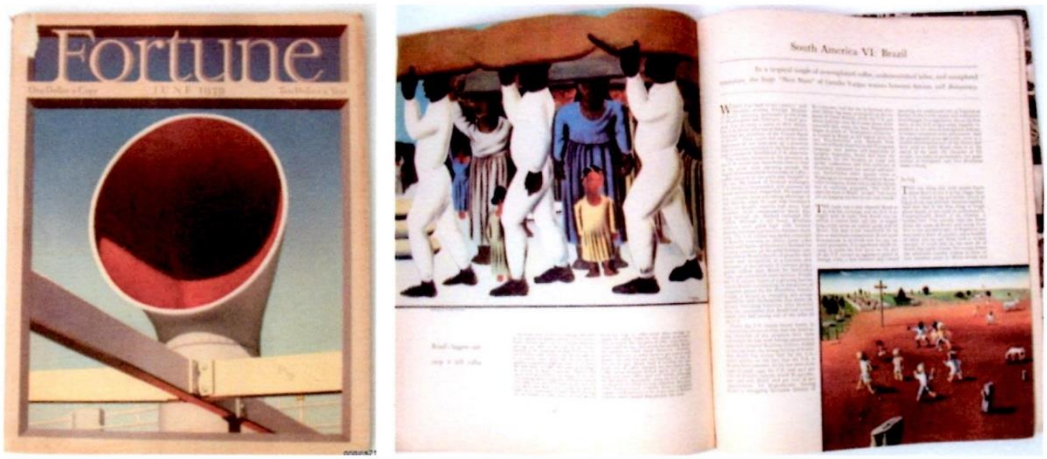

Figure 37: Cover of the magazine *Fortune* of July 1939, and pages containing Florence Horn's article on Portinari, which included 2 of the 3 painitngs recently shipped by Portinari to the magazine's office.

Source: Suzanna Temkin., "The Pan-American Art Exhibit for the World of Tomorrow: the 1939 and 1940 Latin American Art Exhibition at the Riverside Museum", *Rutgers Art Review*, *vol. 27*, New Jersey, Rutgers University, 2011, 49-67.

In *Morro*, Portinari depicted the life in the metropolitan reality of Rio from the top of a popular hill. Here poverty and precariousness are not necessarily denigrating aspects of the Afro-Brazilian reality, but contexts in which it was possible to undertake dignifying daily tasks: women carrying containers on their heads from one side to the other of the shantytown, and taking care of their children or hanging the laundry. On the left side of the canvas, a man of mixed ethnicity looks out and stands in a position recalling an act of rest, contemplation or laziness on a sunny day. Although he might be a *malandro* (rogue), his body language is not aggressive, on the contrary, he seems to be cocky in spite of all the deprivation, and engaged with the scenery around him; with the industriousness and the sensual physicality of the women who are passing by him. Here poverty and 'negritude' coexist with the life around the hill; they are a constitutive part of a metropolitan ensemble which expresses the contrasts of modernity. As Williams has observed, the socio-cultural context of the shantytown in this painting looks down, from the height of the hill, to the other bit of a single metropolitan patchwork, which is made of skyscrapers, transatlantic ships and airplanes.[362]

This type of representation was a challenging one when plunged into the American reality, which was marked by profound racial splits and where black people had not yet achieved equality with the white in terms of civil rights. *Morro* gave to the American

[362] See: Williams, *Culture Wars*.

people an idea of the juxtaposed subjectivities of modern Brazil where the black and the mestizo live in a heroicized poverty; where blackness, racial mixture and impoverishment did not necessarily imply violence and degradation. American art critics identified and explored this aspect of the work and wrote about it

> as an alternative space filled with the possibility of progress and racial harmony. In 1940, Horn speculated, "Portinari seems to be indicating that there is no race issue among the people themselves, or that perhaps that the Brazilian is developing out of a mixture of races".[363]

Certainly, racial issues underpinned Brazilian society as much as the American, albeit in different ways. Yet Portinari's depiction, Horn's statement suggests, was susceptible to being used in the US as a way to propose to the Americans that in other colonial societies marked by black slavery, racial mixtures and a more pacific coexistence between differing ethno-racial strands were models capable of producing positive outputs. *Morro*, within the international context, was open to re-significations in which the day-to-day life of the lower classes in Rio could challenge the aggressive US dynamics of racial segregation. Horn here appears to be a politicised cultural commentator who aims at appropriating Brazilian art and culture to address her own contemporaneous national issues and controversies. Portinari's depictions of 'Brazilianness', in the context of the internationalisation of the art world and its inherent recontextualisation of visual representations from a society into another, are skilfully put into fruition. In our view, Horn here is working on a rhetoric that claims that in Brazil there exists a model of racial equality and harmony that could be applied in the US to solve its inner racial tensions.

Indeed, the racial issue in Brazil of which Horn was aware yet wanted to downplay within the American context through her interpretation of Portinari's work did exist; not only so, as this issue also underpinned the battle between academicist and *modernistas* and their opposing views of Brazilian culture and society. Horn went to the extent of claiming in an article that 'actually, Brazil's self-consciousness about race is due more to the outside world's prejudice than to any basic racial prejudice within the country'.[364] Horn seems interested in Portinari's work as a tool used to produce a counterpoint narrative to the violent and problematic American race relations; in idealising its visual content to forge a political discourse on the social possibilities of a harmonious and conflict-free racial mix and coexistence. This is even more apparent if one considers that at the time the US government wanted to oppose the ideology of Aryan supremacy

[363] Ibid, 221.
[364] Horn, "Portinari of Brazil", 9.

pushed by the Nazis in Europe, and that had arrived in the Americas. The 1939-1940 New York World's Fair coincided with the American interest in Afro-Brazilian culture as transamerican, and the US State had already sponsored the work of sociologist E. Franklin Frazer, who published articles on comparative race relations in the US and Brazil. Whilst the Nazis were expanding their control over Europe, US based anthropologists such as Pierson, Landes and Melville and Frances Herskovits where investigating the Afro-Brazilian in the Northeast of Brazil to build the fundaments of studies in race relations and Afro-diasporic culture across the Americas.[365] Within this context, Portinari's work provided the perfect visual paradigm of a broad socio-political revisionist discourse in the US on the emancipation of the Afro-American.

Portinari's work, re-contextualised within the US reality, became a way to propose to the American audience renewed and democratic relational possibilities between the black and the white. His depictions of the black and the mixed either engaging in harsh yet dignifying labour, or dealing with the precariousness and misfortune entailed in belonging to the lowest class, attracted the attention of the Howard University in Washington DC. This was an educational institution devoted to the Afro-Americans, and formed many of the activists who were members of key movements that fought for the concession of civil rights to the black in America, such as the "Harlem Renaissance".[366] In 1941 the art gallery at this University organised a Portinari show, to which Alonzo Aden, its director referred as follows: "I am certain, since I know your deep feeling and interest in Negro subjects, that this show will have definite appeal for both our students and friends of the city".[367] Critics were enthusiastic with Portinari's work shown in New York and beyond, and Robert Smith, above all others, emphasised how the artist's depiction of Brazil's popular landscape also captured a life that

> 'like that of our Southern cities is inextricably bound up with the life of the Negro communities within its boundaries. Portinari shows that complex life without sentimentality and vulgarity. […] Portinari broke from the standard representation of the Afro-Brazilian in a kind of subequatorial 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' [and is] the foremost interpreter of that great force who is daily growing articulate – the Negro of the Americas'.[368]

[365] See: Williams, *Culture Wars*.
[366] See: Nastari *, A Gênese da Coleçãode Arte Brasileira do MoMA*.
[367] Alonzo Aden, letter to Portinary of 22nd November 1940, reprinted in: ibid, 101.
[368] Robert Smith, in: Williams, *Culture Wars,* 219-220.

5. - Cicillo Matarazzo: The Return of Private Patronage

We know from the previous chapter that Vargas' agenda was populist, anti-liberal and centralising, and one of its main goals was to overturn the political configuration of the First Republic (1889-1930), which was based on the autonomy of regional governments and ensured the economic power of the *paulista* coffee oligarchy.[369] It was Vargas intention to get rid of the forces that were weakening national integration and precluded the mechanisms of capital distribution, the right to education and health care for the population and other basic rights of the masses. Hence, his concept of nation-State was based on effacing the ideology of the Brazil of the early 20th century managed by the rural elite. To achieve his goals, Vargas suppressed the *Partido Republicano* (Republican Party), the party of the oligarchy - the one to which the majority of the private patrons who had sponsored the *modernistas* during the 1920s belonged, including coffee Baron Paulo Prado.[370] This led the *Paulista* republicans to become sworn enemies of the Vargas regime, who soon after the 1930 Revolution began to fight Vargas and his State apparatus in Rio.

In fierce opposition to Vargas' Provisional Government, and in order to regain political power, the *paulistas* launched an armed revolt, called the Constitutionalist Revolution, which lasted from 9th July to 2nd October 1932. Federals troops were quick to put an end to the revolt; however, Vargas showed an unusual soft approach to this blatant resistance to his authority. In fact, he decided neither to bomb the city nor to invade it. Vargas recognised that, for its key role as industrial engine of Brazil, the city of São Paulo and its capitalistic elite were somehow an exception to his government's intention to assert firm control over all the states of the federation. Therefore his suppressive intervention was not as forceful as it could have been and was in fierce contradiction with his leadership approach. Aware of the crucial role of the city for the country's progress and industrialisation, in 1933, Vargas' Provisional Government finally reconciled with the rebellious *paulista* politico-economic upper circle by appointing two federal representatives from the *Partido Republicano*.

In 1934, after the initial critical years, the Vargas Provisional Government was put to an end with his indirect election to a one-term presidency. Concomitantly, a new Constitution promising a democratic Brazilian republicanism was launched after being

[369] Such configuration is also known as the *Política dos Governadores* (The Politics of the Governors) and was an agreement between the wealthy rural landowners of São Paulo and Minas Gerais, which established that the Brazilian Presidents were to be chosen alternatively from the leaders of each state. This implied that fair elections and a centralised and less partial system of government could not take place. An historical overview on the fall of the Old Republic and on the *Política dos Governadores* has been given in chapter 1, section 1.3..
[370] See chapter 2, section 2.1..

expanded to accommodate the views of opposing political factions, including the liberal one. The event led the public to hope for the strengthening of democracy, particularly given that the Constitution included provisions such as the protection of unionised workers and a guarantee of women's enfranchisement. The return of constitutional rule and Vargas' negotiating stance also led liberal reformers and members of the oligarchy to believe in the re-establishment of regional power, as in the configuration of the First Republic, power which had been seized by the federal government and the 1930 Revolution. One of the outcomes of Vargas' reconciliation with the *paulista* republicans and the wave of hope in liberalism was that, in 1934, Fábio da Silva Prado became São Paulo's Mayor. Another of the Prados was to occupy a position of cultural and political power in the Brazilian capital of modernisation, as Fábio was Paulo's cousin. As mentioned in chapter 2, Paulo's father, Antônio Prado, was the first Mayor of Republican São Paulo for 12 years (1899-1911). In 1935, Fábio da Silva Prado founded the Department of Culture of São Paulo. The return to the fore of regional control allowed the *paulista* dominant class to find the stability needed to confidently re-establish their usual mode of social relations, including their active role as art patrons. *Pro-modernista* initiatives sponsored by the aristocracy and the liberal industrial bourgeoisie were re-awakened subsequent to the shift of power that marked the fall of Brazil's agrarian economy and the rise of industrialism and modernization.[371]

Vargas' administration had profound implications for the country also on the international front. One of the main changes it brought was that his government struck a tight German-Brazilian trade deal in 1934 (therefore 3 years before Vargas pre-empted presidential elections supported by the Brazilian military and declared his *Estado Novo*). This was a positive response to Germany's interest in Brazil as prime trading partner, supplier and main Latin American consumer market for German goods. As a result, the *paulistas* who refused Vargas' dictatorship began to support the US's international agenda that, locally, was aimed at suppressing the German expansionism in Brazil. However, the Nazis were interested in more than trade and did not hesitate to offer military assistance to Brazil in the form of arms and technical training.[372] This implied that the US government and its Brazilian sympathizers

[371] See: 1) Miceli, *Intelectuais e Classe Dirigente;* 2) Randal Johnson, "The Institutionalization of Modernism", *Brasil/Brazil n. 3.4*, (1990): 5-22.; and 3) Gouveia, *The Triumph of Brazilian Modernism*. For further reading, see also: Randal Johnson a) "As Relações Sociais da Produçao Literária", *Revista de Crítica Literária*, *n. 40,* (1994): 189-206, and b) "The Dynamics of the Brazilian Literary Field, 1930-1945", *Luso-Brazilian Review,* n. 31.2 (1994): 5-23.

[372] Vargas was ambivalent with regard to which side he would take to seek military support. He had initially asked the US but President Delano Roosevelt could not overpower a very isolationist Congress, thus Vargas went for the help of the Germans instead. Despite such choice and the fact that Vargas continued to foster

> watch[ed] nervously as Nazi and Italian agents operated both openly and clandestinely in Brazil. […] Brazilian public opinion was the target in a battle over which side to support in the coming European war. Elite sentiment still heavily favoured the Allies for cultural reasons, and until their suppression in 1935, the Communists had also been effective in promoting anti-Nazi opinions. But some Brazilians […] favoured Germany regardless of the historical ties of culture. [373]

The US's fight against the vigorous German expansionism in Latin America was, in the following years, accompanied by a strategy that, instead, took advantage of the same expansionism in Europe, and more precisely, in France. Following Hitler's invasion of this country (1940), Paris woke-up to a deserted intellectual scenario.[374] Over centuries, the city of light had stood as a symbol of Western civilization and as the triumph of individualism. While Paris succumbed to the Nazis, the US began to change its foreign policy in order to take the lead in the Western cultural arena. As Serge Guilbaut put it in his book-length study *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art*, the geo-political shifts of World War II allowed the US to make manoeuvres for the transfer of cultural supremacy from one side of the North-Atlantic to the other, from Paris to New York.[375] Historically isolationist, under war the US undertook an international campaign based on nationalism, in which modernist aesthetics became a powerful weapon of politics. The crisis brought about by the European conflict allowed the US to use its growing economic strength as a vantage point in relation to an ambitious takeover project that put modern art at its centre.

By appropriating the tokens of freedom and cosmopolitanism that the French capital lost under invasion, America could assert its domain on two distinctive yet interrelated fields. On the one hand, it could become the heir to the kind of modern culture represented by Paris. On the other hand, it could democratically and actively oppose the

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relations with the Axis, he maintained Brazil's doors opened to the US, and in 1941 approved the Pan-American Airways project, which with the American military support intended to develop modern airports in the North and Northeast of Brazil. Aware of the key importance of Brazil in the list of American allies, Roosevelt's Pan-American Association positively approached Vargas ambivalence and adopted culture, communication and the media to flatter the Brazilian President and conquer his sympathy. In fact Orson Welles, the Pan-American ambassador, 'took an active part in introducing President Getúlio Vargas and his *Estado Novo* in very favourable terms to mass audiences in the United States. In this role, he orchestrated a musical extravaganza, interwoven with congratulatory speeches, to celebrate Vargas' birthday in April 1942. Originating from the famous Urca Casino in Rio de Janeiro, the show was broadcasted by local stations in Brazil and transmitted to coast-to-coast audiences in the United States. Few foreign statesmen had been feasted in this manner. Not surprisingly, Vargas and his Ministry for Propaganda were delighted.' Gisela Cramer, "How to Do Things With Waves: Radio and Pan-Americanism, 1935-45", *Media, Sound, and Culture in Latin America and the Caribbean*, Alajandra Bronfman and Andrew Wood (eds.) (Pittsburg: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), 238.

[373] Thomas E. Skidmore, *Brazil – Five Centuries of Change* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press Inc., 2010), 120.

[374] The most distinctive trait of this scenario was the massive exile of modernist artistic and literary exponents to the Americas.

[375] See: Serge Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom and the Cold War* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1983).

increasingly dangerous spread of Fascist ideologies outside of Europe and, more pertinently to our study, in Brazil. It could do so precisely by filling the enormous void in terms of an ideal way of life, or modernity, that the Parisian fall under German tanks had carved out. Those within Brazilian society who refused Vargas' dictatorship and the international spread of Nazism began to support President Delano Roosevelt's actions that, locally, operated under the Good Neighbour Policy and aimed at suppressing the German model of implementation. The Good Neighbour Policy was, since 1940, run under a specific US State apparatus, the Office of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA) (1940-1946).[376] The OIAA's main task was 'to promote improved cultural relations with Latin America, with Brazil a prime target' and Roosevelt appointed Nelson A. Rockefeller, the owner of Standard Oil and at the time the president of the Museum of Modern Art in New York (MoMA), as its leader.[377] [378]

Rockefeller would effectively implement Roosevelt's policy, which mobilized capital, the movie and advertising industry, the intelligentsia and the US academic environment. Under the tycoon's direction the OIAA established US control in Latin America by intervening in warfare, economy, commerce, health, sanitation and, most importantly here, in the cultural sphere of the countries in this geographical area. Rockefeller's endeavor led the OIAA to have about 1100 employees in the USA and 300 specialized members of staff based across the targeted geographical areas, which operated mainly through local embassies and delegations. It also had a network of 59 coordination committees employing 690 collaborators, a factor that ensured to the OIAA a considerable presence in the main cities south of Rio Grande. Staff and collaborators mastered their areas of action, learning about the local business practices, cultural and behavioural codes and linguistic variations.[379] The MoMA, which Rockefeller called '"Mummy's Museum"', was in charge of the policies for the arts and was the institution through which the American modernist aesthetic was imported to Latin America to stand as a visual symbol of the ideology behind the 'American way of life'.[380] It was also

[376] Also known as the Office for Coordination of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics (OCCCRBAR) or the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (OCIAA). According to Gisela Cramer and Ursula Prutsch 'the OIAA started under the title of Office for Coordination of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics. In July 1941, it was renamed the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and, in March 1945, the Office of Inter-American Affairs. We follow the US National Archives inventories in referring to the office as the OIAA'. In: Gisela Cramer and Ursula Prutsch, "Rockefeller's Office of Inter-American Affairs (1940-1946) and Record Group 229", *The Hispanic American Historical Review, n. 86 (4),* (Duke University Press, 2006).

[377] Skidmore, *Brazil,* 122.

[378] Nelson A. Rockefeller held three different positions at the MoMA from 1932 until his death in 1979; he was a highly influential trustee from 1932 to 1979, being concomitantly also treasurer from 1935 to 1939, and president from 1939 to 1941. His mother, Abby Aldrich Rockefeller, was one of the museum founders.

[379] See: Cramer and Prutsch, "Rockefeller's Office of Inter-American Affairs".

[380] Francis Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cold War* (London: Granta Books, 1999), 258.

strategically focusing on the development of art infrastructures in Latin America: if modernism was to be the banner under which America would deploy its international cultural policy in Brazil, it was necessary, to begin with, to induce the appearance of modern art museums similar to, and guided by, the MoMA.

After having founded the Department of Culture of São Paulo (1935), Fábio da Silva Prado appointed two of the former leaders of the 1920s *modernista* group to authoritative positions. The department's directorship was given to no other than Mário de Andrade, who, as we know, was one of the highest exponents of Brazilian literary *modernismo*. The poet and art critic Sérgio Milliet became the director of the Division of Historical and Social Documentation. One of the main goals of the Department of Culture, according to what Milliet stated in his article "Modern Painting" (1938), was "to organize […] the remarkable effort of the contemporary Brazilian generation of painters and sculptors", and to address the problem of the absence of a museum of modern art in São Paulo.[381]

Certainly, and as discussed in the previous chapter, the return of the 1920s *modernistas* to the forefront of Brazil's cultural life after the turmoil of the 1930 Revolution was linked to the regime's own cultural politics; however, the centre of such politics and its ideological background was spreading out from the capital, Rio de Janeiro, and not from São Paulo. Capanema's Ministry of Education and Health (MES) was irradiating its policy from Rio. We know from chapter 4 that several *modernista* intellectuals of the 1920s were absorbed into the Vargas State apparatuses and that institutions directly connected to Vargas' centralising, reforming and anti-liberalist administration hired the vast majority of these *modernistas*. However, Milliet and Mário de Andrade's participation in São Paulo's cultural life under political capacities was linked, as this chapter will argue, to the return to power of the oligarchic and liberal ideology and its representatives; a return that Vargas had allowed to happen. Chapter 4 has also explored literature showing differing opinions on the relationship of the *modernistas* with the State cultural policy, which claimed either a level of subordination, or compliance to the regime, or a reciprocally beneficial compromise. In this chapter we start from the premise that the re-consolidation of the authority of families belonging to the aristocracy in São Paulo, such as the Prados, and their socio-economic link with wealthy *paulista* industrialists, re-proposed to the *modernistas* the same opportunities of free intellectual expression they benefited from in the previous decade.

[381] *"[O]rganizar […] o esforço notável dos pintores e escultores da atual geração brasileira"*. Sérgio Milliet, "Pintura Moderna", *O Estado de São Paulo*, 22nd July 1938, in: Lisbeth Robollo Gonçalves, *Sérgio Milliet, Crítico de Arte* (São Paulo: Perspectiva-Edusp, 1992), 77.

We are far from advocating that the integrity of the intellectuals we will discuss in this chapter was necessarily affected by the political ideology of the families which sponsored them. However, our proposition here is that in São Paulo, thanks to the liberalism that pervaded not only the surviving traditional rural aristocracy of the Old Republic, but also the booming industrialist elite, the *modernistas* found a safe haven for their own liberal views. They found, within the relatively independent *paulista* political administration and the city's private patrons, an alternative channel for the continuation of their project, and the possibility to direct their endeavours toward pathways that ran parallel to the ones opened to them by the central government's cultural management. More than this, the connections that some of them and their patrons had with Rockefeller and other American OIAA representatives engaging with the US cultural expansionism in Latin America under the Good Neighbour Policy and the Cold War also represented a boost for their programme, and ultimately led to the appearance of international modernist museums in São Paulo.

As the ensuing pages will prove, the joint venture between *paulista* and American free enterprise capitalism ideologues gave to the *modernistas* the possibility to push their project through private patronage and from São Paulo. Not only so, as it also allowed the *modernistas* to counterbalance the failures they had experienced since 1931 in Rio, given that the *modernista* culture war against academicism through the State's cultural policy in the country's political capital was not bringing the laurels of success. As we know from the previous chapter, Costa's appointment at the ENBA, in 1931, had been unsuccessful. In fact, the academicists, under the leadership of Mariano, had thwarted Costa and his reformist team's intention of aesthetic and curriculum renewal at the *carioca* institution. Further, the MNBA's curatorial policy was unapologetically academicist, and Teixeira, the museum director, actively opposed *modernismo*. The *modernistas* may have succumbed to the academicists' backlash in Rio, but national and international liberal forces in the *paulista* battlefield would open new avenues for the victory of innovation over tradition.

The return to power of the liberal capitalistic elites in São Paulo represented the reattachment of the "golden cord" that linked the Brazilian *modernistas* to the *habitus* and the pockets of the upper classes. This cord, in the years of the international cultural politics from the Good Neighbour Policy to the Cold War, was extended and connected the Brazilian concept of the 'modern' to North-American free-enterprise intelligentsia, and to the re-mapping of the hegemonic cultural frontiers of the world. With emphasis on this kind of national-international socio-political context, this chapter will analyse the manoeuvres that led to the appearance of the Museum of Modern Art of São Paulo (MAM-SP) in the late 1940S. This context, as we shall see, brought a new layer of

complexity to the social and cultural networks encompassing the Brazilian 'field of art'. The confluence of intellectual goals - the ambition of aesthetic renewal, the interest in the institutional development of the art system, the need for education - these were paramount for the Brazilian modernist agents of the 1940s, as much as they were for those of the 1920s. However, the second wave of *modernistas* was no longer responding to issues of European cultural colonisation, as the first wave did: they were instead beginning to face US cultural neo-colonialism. Paradigmatic of this shift, as this chapter will maintain in its last section, is the first exhibition of the MAM-SP, "From Figurativism to Abstractionism" of 1949.

5.1. - Origins of Matarazzo's Modern Art Museum

The events that we are about to discuss will show how Carleton Sprague Smith, who was an OIAA agent specialising in musicology and Brazilian culture, acted towards a determined goal: to put together, on behalf of Rockefeller, key people, and to bring about the circumstances that would result in the establishment of Brazilian modern art museums which complied with the MoMA's model.[382] In particular, we will analyse the path that led to the establishment of the MAM-SP, opened in in 1948 by Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho (1898-1977), known as Cicillo **{fig. 38}**. Cicillo Matarazzo was a Brazilian-Italian industrialist and nephew of the richest immigrant to Brazil in the early 20th century, the Count Francesco Matarazzo. Francesco was not a member of the Italian rural aristocracy, but simply a peasant, who moved to the Empire of Brazil in 1881 to sell lard. Only after transforming his food business, run with his two brothers, into a billionaire industrial empire (IRFM), he managed to marry two of his daughters and two of his sons into families of the Italian high-aristocracy. In order to avoid embarrassment among their milieu, the Italian aristocrats asked King Victor Emmanuel III of Italy to concede to Francesco a nobiliary title (for which he paid dearly).[383] Cicillo Matarazzo's wealth sprang

[382] As maintained by the New Your Times, Sprague Smith was 'a musicologist and an expert on Hispanic and Brazilian culture. […He became] the executive director of the Spanish Institute, [serving] on its board for 20 years. He was also a co-founder of the Brazilian Institute of New York University, […being the institute director] from 1959 to 1961. […The] Brazilian Institute, established in 1958 [was…] an academic center for the encouragement of studies in the language, literature, culture, economics and history of Brazil. He was a Professor of history at the New York University in the 1960's and 70's and also taught at its Institute of Public Affairs and Regional Studies'. Edward Pace, "Carleton Sprague Smith, Scholar, Is Dead at 89", *The New York Times*, 21st September 1994. Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/1994/09/21/obituaries/carleton-sprague-smith-scholar-is-dead-at-89.html>. [Last accessed: 25/04/2015].

[383] IRFM, that is, *Indústrias Reunidas Fábricas Matarazzo* (Reunited Industries of the Matazzo's Factories) was the largest industrial complex of Latin America in the early 20th century, which allowed Count Francesco to die in 1937 as the richest Brazilian man, owning a fortune of ten billions US dollars. The conglomerate reached his

from his uncle Francesco, who gave the metallurgic division of his business to his nephew, upon Cicillo's return from studies in Italy. Cicillo Matarazzo married Yolanda Penteado, a member of the traditional elite and niece of coffee Baroness Olívia Guedes Penteado, whose endeavours in favour of the 1920s *modernistas* were discussed in chapter 2. As a lover of the arts, Yolanda maintained the intellectual and artistic network established by Olívia in Paris. The preservation was facilitated by her first marriage with Jayme da Silva Salles; put together, the couple's enormous combined fortunes allowed them to live between Rio de Janeiro and the French capital.

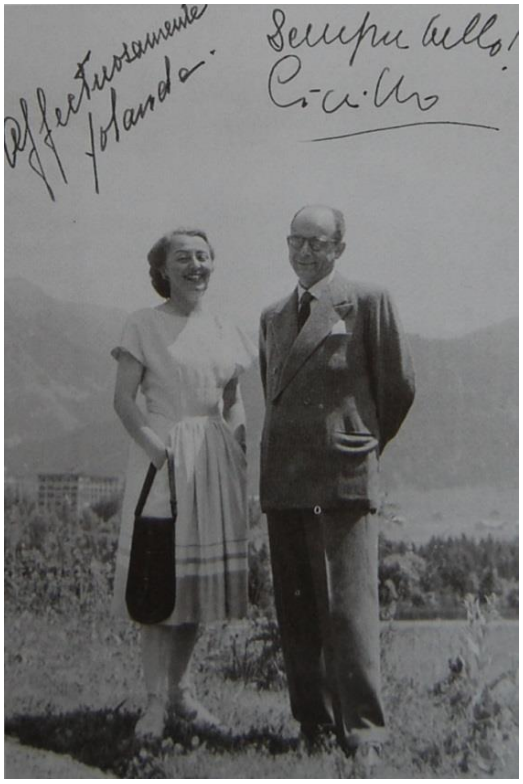

Figure 38:

Photo of Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho and his wife, Yolanda Penteado, in Davos, Switzerland (undated).

Source:
Arquivos Históricos Wanda Svevo, Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, São Paulo.

In 1941, Sprague Smith came to Brazil on the occasion of a conference on music organized to foster inter-American relations. In 1942 he moved to Brazil with his family, having been 'commissioned by the authorities in Washington, D.C., to develop cultural and political ties between the two countries'. [384] As Corrêa de Azevedo put it

> Sprague Smith spent the war years in Brazil (1942-1945) and formed strong ties with Brazilian intellectuals and artists […]. He was often with […] Mário de

pick during the 1940s when it was comprised of more than 350 companies, such as harbours, shipyards, metal and paper factories. It went bankrupt only in the late 1980s.

[384] Luiz Heitor Corrêa de Azevedo, "Carleton Sprague Smith and Brazil", in: *Libraries, History, Diplomacy and the Performing Arts – Essays in Honor of Carleton Sprague Smith, The Festschrif Series n. 9*, Israel J. Katz, (ed.), (New York: Pengragon Press, 1991), 211.

> Andrade. […] From his lengthy residence in Brazil, Carleton retained profound life-long impressions as a result of the friendships he made and the knowledge he acquired. [385]

Rockefeller's first recorded trip to Brazil with stays in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo corresponds, quite suggestively, to Sprague Smith's relocation from New York to Brazil. In fact, Rockefeller first came to Brazil in 1942, and he returned to the country in 1946, 'soon after he and his brothers established the American International Association for Economic and Social Development (AIA)'.[386] According to Lima, 'this philanthropic association sponsored non-profit aid projects in Latin America, particularly in the areas of education, agriculture, and health in order to improve general living standards in the region, aiming at the formation of a solid middle class'.[387] In 1947, the US intensification of its incursion strategy into Brazil hit the public eye with the following events, both happening within a very few months. Between August and September, the Inter-American Conference bound Brazil and America in a mutual defense system and saw President Truman grandly stepping out into Rio de Janeiro's harbour from a US military ship. In the same year Rockefeller opened a São Paulo office for his American International Association for Economic and Social Development (IBEC) (1946-1968), which would establish five agricultural companies and invest in Brazilian manufacturing and investment banking, and clearly represented American business and political interests through economic programs at the outset of the Cold War.

As we know, Milliet had become, in 1935, director of the Division of Historical and Social Documentation of Silva Prado's Department of Culture of São Paulo. In 1943, Milliet became the head of another of the branches of Department of Culture, the São Paulo Public Library, and thus responsible for a program of cultural expansion that, in 1945, led to the opening of the library's modernist art section.[388] As we will see, Milliet became involved with a pro-American process of institutionalisation of culture in Brazil. As advocated by Rosa Artigas, the Library's Art Section, which housed an outstanding archive of international modern art and organized conferences and exhibitions to incentivise the proliferation of new Brazilian modernist expressions, reflected Milliet's interest in the

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[385] Ibid.

[386] Zeuler M. R. A. Lima, "Nelson A. Rockefeller and Art Patronage in Brazil after World War II: Assis Chateaubriand, the Museu de Arte de São Paulo (MASP) and the Museu de Arte Moderna (MAM)" (2010): 1. in: *The Online Rockefeller Archive Centre*.
Available at : <http://www.rockarch.org/publications/resrep/lima.php?printer=1>. [Last accessed: 21/02/2015].

[387] In: ibid.

[388] See: Lisbeth Rebollo Gonçalves, *Sérgio Milliet 100 Anos – Trajetória Crítica e Ação Cultural* (São Paulo: Imprensa Oficial and ABCA, 2005).

style of cultural institutions management proposed to Latin American countries by the US.[389] 1943 was also the year of Milliet's long trip across the US subsidised by funds donated to the Sociological and Political School of São Paulo, where Milliet was a professor, by David Harrison Stevens, upon his visit to this school. Stevens was the vice-president of the US General Education Board (1930-1938) and the director or the Humanities Division of the Rockefeller Foundation (1932-1949). This clearly implies that Stevens' operations in Brazil were engineered under the umbrella of US President Delano Roosevelt's Good Neighbour Policy and the OIAA. Upon his return to Brazil from his US trip, sponsored by the US government and Rockefeller's foundation, Milliet initiated a series of pro-American art activities, such as a series of informative conferences across the country and the writing of *North-American Painting*.[390] In this book, Milliet gave to the Brazilians a historical overview of American art since its origins.

In 1944 Sprague Smith moved to São Paulo and started working at the Sociological and Political School where Milliet was teaching, thus soon after the latter's American trip and the intellectual efforts thereof.[391] What is interesting here is that Milliet expanded the activities of the São Paulo Public Library to include the Art Section while teaching with Sprague Smith. When the Art Section opened in January 1945, representing 'the first collection of Modern Art of Latin America opened to the public daily', Sprague Smith was also responsible for the cultural division of the US consulate in São Paulo.[392] Milliet's liaison with Prague Smith was also the factor behind the organisation, in 1946, of a round table with Cicillo Matarazzo that ultimately led to the opening of the Modern Art Museum of São Paulo (MAM-SP).[393] The planning was monitored by Rockefeller, who wrote to Milliet 25th November 1946, shortly after the meeting, to "thank him once more for

[389] See: Rosa Artigas, "Cicillo Matarazzo's São Paulo", in: *50 Years of the São Paulo Biennial, 1951-200* (São Paulo: Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, 2001), 40-69.
[390] See: 1) Gonçalves, *Sérgio Milliet, Crítico de Arte*; and 2) Gonçalves, *Sérgio Milliet 100 Anos*.
[391] 1944 was also the year of René d'Harnoncourt's mission in Brazil. After emigrating from Vienna to the States in 1932, d'Harnoncourt, during World War II, worked for the art section of the OIAA and was a firm supporter of modernism as the foremost symbol of democracy and anti-communism. In the early 1940s, he was also recruited by Rockefeller to curate at the MoMA. According to Serge Guilbaut, in 1944 he came to São Paulo to find wealthy Brazilians willing to take a membership at the MoMA, to investigate the market for sales of US art publications and reproductions, and for the distribution of films coming from the MoMA cinema section. As soon as the OIAA was extinguished in 1946, he passed to the US intelligence agency that substituted it, the CIA. He then became the MoMA chief curator in 1949, and according to CIA agent Tom Braden, d'Harnoncourt was the CIA interface at the museum and consulted with the National Security Council's Operations Coordinating Board. See: Serve Guilbaut, "Respingos na Parada Modernista: a Invasão Fracassada da Arte Abstrata no Brasil, 1947-1948", *ARS – V. 9, Ano 8, n°18* (São Paulo, 2011): 148-173.
[392] *'[P]rimeiro acervo de Arte Moderna da América Latina aberto ao público diariamente'*. Gonçalves, *Sérgio Milliet 100 Anos,* 48.
[393] For more details on this meeting and newspapers articles that discuss it see: Regina Teixeira de Barros*, Revisão de uma História: a Criação do Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo* (MA Dissertation at the Universidade de São Paulo, (ECA-USP), 2002).

having reunited the group interested in the formation of a Museum of Modern Art in São Paulo".[394]

Rockefeller, the coordinator of the OIAA and influential trustee of the MoMA (1932-1979), seems to be behind Sprague Smith's move to Rio de Janeiro in 1942 first, then to São Paulo in 1944. The facts just presented suggest that Sprague Smith had to make sure that Rockefeller's patronage plans would be anticipated by a preparatory fieldwork, and that Sprague Smith was in charge of the appearance of modern art institutions in Brazil. Sprague Smith's strategic networking with members of the 1920s *modernista* group implies that he needed to detect favourable socio-cultural and economic settings, and establish vital connections with the intellectuals who were still committed to the *modernista* programme. After two years spent in Rio, which was the historical cultural capital of Brazil, Sprague Smith realized that the main labour against the overturn of academic art had not been made there. São Paulo was the city which represented the hard kernel of *modernista* initiative, sponsorship and production. The resilience that the academicists had shown towards State run *pro-modernista* cultural initiatives in Rio implied that the cultural roots of the city were still deeply entrenched in the artistic tradition brought to Brazil in the 19th century by the French mission. As claimed in chapter 4, by the early 1940s the *carioca* academicists had not only managed to boycott Costa at the ENBA, but also transformed the MNBA, opened by Capanema's MES in 1937, into a temple to fallen heroes which neither recognised nor paid justice to the achievements of the 1920s *modernistas*.

Moreover, another of Sprague Smith's tactical approaches to his mission was to follow a structure based on the model presented by Greenberg's "Avant-Garde and Kitsch".[395] This influential article of 1939 advocated that artists needed the elite to support them, and, according to Francis Stonor Saunders, it opened the eyes of the US State regarding a rationale with which it was possible to take further its national and international cultural policies.[396] From this perspective, private venture capitalists were the best allies of the US State in the making of new banners of America's cultural identity at home and abroad, because this type of ruling class had traditionally financed cultural production, and thus fostered the production of 'symbolic capital'. The established structure for the reappearance of modernism on the other side of the North-Atlantic and after the suppression of the Nazis in Europe; for the birth of an inherently American modernism, was based on a trilogy: State, intellectual milieu and capitalist private

[394] *"[A]gradecer-lhe ainda uma vez por ter reunido o grupo interessado na formação de um Museu de Arte Moderna em São Paulo".* Nelson Rockefeller in letter to Sérgio Milliet dated 25th November 1946. In: Gonçalves, *Sérgio Milliet, Crítico de Arte,* 81.
[395] See: Clement Greenberg, "Avant-Garde and Kitsch", *The Partisan Review*, New York, 1939.
[396] See: Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper?*.

initiative. Keeping this in mind, aware that São Paulo's distinguished acumen for private modernist patronage was re-emerging after Vargas decided to allow the return to political power of members of the coffee oligarchy, and aware that the liberal *paulista* industrial elite's capital sway was second to none in Brazil, Sprague Smith replicated the American government strategy in São Paulo, and not in Rio.[397]

As we know from the previous chapter, Capanema's tenure under the authoritarian *Estado Novo* enacted a reform that tightened the State's regulatory grip on cultural initiative, and whose expression was taking shape through the policy of the governmental cultural apparatus based in Rio. The administrative capital was the headquarters of a type of intelligentsia that was giving little space to free intellectual enterprise, and was the redoubt of all State actions for the (authoritarian) defense of culture. It was the epicentre of a broad range of cultural ventures dictated by the regime, and therefore was the place in which the State's vigorous cultural interventionism was felt the most. Here the cultural ideology of the regime found expression not only in the policy of the MNBA, but also in that of the Historical and Artistic Patrimony Service (SPHAN), and the National Council of Culture (CNC) - the latter being a repressive organ that censured journalism, film distribution and the radio, and targeted the political culture of orthodox liberalism. Therefore Rio did not offer to Sprague Smith the type of ideological climate and political context he needed to replicate in Brazil the rationale that the US State had adopted from Greenberg. This is not to say that State cultural policy did not reach the *paulista* jurisdiction, but if any liberal approach to cultural production sponsored by free enterprise capitalists was to be found in Brazil under Vargas' dictatorship, the most likely place for such approach and its patrons was, indeed, São Paulo.

On the one hand, Sprague Smith's move from Rio to São Paulo was due in order to both monitor and 'inspire' a geographically and ideologically targeted intelligentsia under

[397] It is important, at this point, to stress that in São Paulo, the economic decline of the coffee economy in the 1930s did not imply the fall of the families belonging to the coffee oligarchy. As posited in the introductory section of this chapter, and exemplified through the Prados, these families maintained political power and social status, two factors that were facilitated by the fact that the Vargas provisional government, after a short time of suppression, reconciled with the *paulista* Republican Party. Not only so, given that, fundamentally, some of these families maintained also their economic power by differentiating their business (this is the case of Antônio Prado, Paulo's father, who was also into banking, Estate business, industry and owned a railway company), and by joining venture with those belonging to the entrepreneurial class who had amassed enormous fortunes – particularly through marital unions. This class was mainly represented, as in the case of Francesco Matarazzo; Cicillo's uncle, by Italian immigrants arrived in Brazil in the years surrounding the turn of the century. This dynamic implies the reconfiguration of the Brazilian ruling class in early 20th century Brazil, and indeed, Cicillo Matarazzo and Yolanda Guedes Penteado's marriage epitomises such reconfiguration. Marital unions between Brazilian aristocrats and "*nouveau riche"* immigrants began, to our knowledge, in the 1910s, when Fábio da Silva Prado married Renata Crespi, the daughter of another Italian immigrant, Rodolfo Crespi, who moved from the north of Italy to São Paulo in 1893 to open a textile business, the *Cotonifício Rodolfo Crespi*. Similarly to Francesco Matarazzo, Crespi quickly amounted billions of dollars (his fortune, by the 1930s, amounted to 3 billion US$), and in 1928 he bought a nobiliary title in Italy and became a Count.

academic and diplomatic capacities, and advise Rockefeller on the manoeuvres to be made to incentivise modern art in the Brazilian capital of industrial and cultural modernization. On the other hand, Milliet was managing the São Paulo Public Library according to a vision influenced by Sprague Smith, who had established, since 1942, a successful network with Brazilian key cultural personalities holding liberal views. Although we have not found evidences of the precise date of Sprague Smith's end of mission in Brazil, we can state that it was between 1945 and 1946.[398] The approximate date surrounds that of the extinction of the OIAA (April 1946) along with many other war agencies whose functions were transferred to new federal ones, such as the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).[399] It also coincided with two important circumstances within the Brazilian contest. Firstly, at (or immediately following) the end of the *Estado Novo* (1945), a political event happened that brought lethargy and inefficiency into the State cultural policy and boosted the independence and sense of initiative of the Brazilian private patrons.[400] Secondly, it coincided with Milliet's round table of November 1946, where Sprague Smith discussed with Matarazzo the project that resulted in the opening of his Brazilian modern art museum.[401]

Through this sequence of events it is possible to state that the first relevant steps taken by Rockefeller and the OIAA to trigger the foundation of museums focusing on modern art in Brazil were taken in 1942. This implies that American initiatives in Brazilian territory with the aim of fostering the development of a modernist art infrastructure began 10 years before the establishment of the MoMA International Committee in 1952. This was founded in order to incentivise the creation of modern art museums, art magazines and artistic and critical activities in the South of the American continent.[402]

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[398] Corrêa Azevedo states that Sprague Smith was based in Brazil from 1942 to 1945, whereas the *New York Times* says that Sprague Smith's time out from his duty at the New York Public Library's music division for service as a United States cultural attaché and as a university teacher in Brazil lasted until 1946. See: Azevedo, "Carleton Sprague Smith and Brazil"; and 2) Pace, "Carleton Sprague Smith, Scholar, is Dead at 89", Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/1994/09/21/obituaries/carleton-sprague-smith-scholar-is-dead-at-89.html>. [Last accessed: 25/04/2015].

[399] After the end of World-War II and with Roosevelt's Presidency handled over to Truman, the US quickly recognized the need for a postwar, centralized intelligence organization. To make a fully functional intelligence office, Truman signed the National Security Act of 1947 establishing the CIA. The CIA inherited many of the OIAA major figures, those related to the art world were Rockefeller, René d'Harnoncourt (who before joining the MoMA to finally become the museum's chief curator worked at the arts section of the OIAA), John Hay Whitney and William Burden. Hay Whitney was director of the OIAA picture division and became long-term trustee at the MoMA, working for this museum also under the capacity of president and chairman. Burden had been Secretary of State for Air during World-War II, and he worked for Rockefeller at the OIAA before joining the MoMA's Advisory Committee in 1940. For more details on this, see: Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper?*.

[400] For more on this period of State lethargy and inefficiency in the field of cultural policy see: Williams, *Culture Wars,* 89.

[401] For more details on this meeting and newspaper articles that discuss it see: Barros*, Revisão de uma História*.

[402] See: Lima, "Nelson A. Rockefeller and Art Patronage in Brazil". Available at: <http://www.rockarch.org/publications/resrep/lima.php?printer=1>. [Last accessed: 21/02/2015].

However, there is a body of Brazilian literature, represented by Amaral, D' Horta, Rebollo Gonçalves, and by Nascimento (whose study is, to our knowledge, the most recent, apart from ours) that states that '[t]he contacts between the Brazilians and the Americans commenced in 1946' and shortly before Milliet's meeting. [403] [404] The US cultural incursion into Brazil happened, through Prague Smith, nearly a decade before the 1952 event. As we have shown, the actions taken to ultimately proclaim to the Brazilians that modern art was the symbol of the 'American way-of-life' and a banner of the US cultural supremacy around the world were initiated in 1942, and mainly through Sprague Smith, well ahead of the time in which the proclamation became official.

Apart from the meeting organized by Milliet, Matarazzo's primary connection to the MoMA came from Assis de Chateaubriand, the Brazilian media mogul owner of TV stations, radios, magazines and newspapers. Again, the earliest contact between Chateaubriand and Rockefeller preceded the year of 1946, as it is dated 28th August 1944.[405] Matarazzo and Chateaubriand had initially worked on the idea of opening a modern art museum in São Paulo together, but the fickle owner of the powerful communication empire (Diários Associados) suddenly changed the plan. Chateaubriand decided to go solo with regard to the creation of the São Paulo Art Museum (MASP), using his unorthodox methods either to pressure high calibre Brazilians to donate artworks in return to some hazy favour granting, or to acquire foreign collections for bargains by taking advantage of the European crisis.

The MASP was the first museum to open with the support of Rockefeller, in October 1947. Nevertheless Rockefeller's expectations were not matched by the unpredictable and capricious Chateaubriand, who, with the curatorial help of an immigrant, the Italian art dealer Pietro Maria Bardi, made of the MASP a museological project based on chronological development. Chateaubriand's institution impulsively changed its direction soon after Bardi's arrival in Brazil on the 13th October 1946, therefore only a month or so before Milliet's aforementioned round table. The MASP opened its doors by offering to the public a repertoire that encompassed centuries of fine art (possibly to suit Bardi's early-renaissance collection), thus it thwarted Rockefeller's ambition to pin on the Brazilian map the first temple to 20th century modernist tendencies.

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[403] See: 1) Aracy Abreu Amaral, *MAC – Uma Apresentação do Acervo da Cidade Universitária* (São Paulo: Museu de Arte Contemporânea da Universidade de São Paulo MAC-USP, 1983); 2) Aracy Abreu Amaral, *Museu de Arte Contemporânea da Universidade de São Paulo, Perfil de um Acervo* (São Paulo: MAC/Technit, Hucitec/Edusp, 1988); 3) Gonçalves, *Sérgio Milliet, Crítico de Arte*; 4) Gonçalves, *Sérgio Milliet 100 Anos*; 5) Vera D' Horta, *MAM: Museu de Arte Moderna* (São Paulo: DBA, 1995); and 6) Ana Paula Nascimento, *MAM: Museu para a Metrópole*, (MA dissertation at the Universidade de São Paulo (USP), São Paulo, 2003).

[404] *'Os contatos entre os brasileiros e os Americanos iniciam-se em 1946'*. Nascimento, ibid, 105.

[405] See: Lima, "Nelson A. Rockefeller and Art Patronage in Brazil". Available at: <http://www.rockarch.org/publications/resrep/lima.php?printer=1>. [Last accessed: 21/02/2015].

Sprague Smith was following the internal development that preceded the MASP opening and, aware of how unwanted the evolutionary presentation of art was, advised Rockefeller to promptly shift his focus and efforts on Matarazzo. The round table organized by Milliet to bring Matarazzo and Sprague Smith together was the result of both the unpredictable nature of Chateaubriand and of an orchestrated and monitored strategy which began in 1942 and matured in 1946. This meeting was not at all circumstantial, and, according to Villanova Artigas, a prestigious *modernista* architect who in 1983 recalled the events happening in 1946,

> the last word which resulted in taking forward the creation of the São Paulo Modern Art Museum under Matarazzo's leadership is said during a New York meeting. Carleton Prague Smith is Rockefeller's spokesman and he talks about the latter's interest in having this entrepreneur participating in the project. [406] [407]

Matarazzo would not have joined the modernist project without Rockefeller's approval. Although we have not found evidence of Rockefeller's participation in the round table, in November 1946 he was in São Paulo not only to discuss projects related to the AIA, but also to donate 13 artworks. The donation was selected by MoMA's curator Dorothy Miller and purchased at New York art galleries, the majority by American artists: Jacob Lawrence (an Afro-American), George Grosz (a German who became a naturalized US citizen in 1938), Jacob Lawrence, Arthur Osver, Everet Spruce, Morris Graves, Byron Browne, Robert Gwathmey, Arthur Dove and Alexander Calder.[408] These artworks had to be welcomed by the Brazilians to be 'regarded as cornerstones for growing collections [and] as stimuli to contemporary art'.[409] The donation was part of Rockefeller's scheme to accelerate the establishment of modernist museums in Brazil, and for this reason, the 13 artworks (paintings, sculptures and gouaches) were assigned to the Brazilian Institute of

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[406] *'[A] palavra final que leva ao encaminhamento do processo de criação do Museu de Art Moderna de São Paulo sob a liderança de Matarazzo surge numa reunião de Nova Iorke […]. Carleton Sprague Smith é o porta-voz de Rockefeller, falando do seu interesse pela participação daquele empresário no projeto'.* Jõao Batista Villanova Artigas, in: Gonçalves, *Sérgio Milliet, Crítico de Arte,* 82.

[407] It is important to point out here that Villanova Artigas' claiming such a level of subordination of the Brazilian industrialists interested in opening modern art museums in the country to US cultural imperialism might have been biased due to his political position. He was an active communist, and as a member of the Brazilian communist party (PCB), he openly criticised Brazilian capitalists who, together with the Americans (and according to his views), oppressed the people. In the early 1950s, Villanova Artigas would publish several articles condemning the MAM-SP and its biennials that focussed on abstract art. In his opinion, the MAM-SP was showing art that symbolised neo-imperialism in Brazil and did not speak the 'language of the people'. See for instance: Jõao Batista Villanova Artigas "A Bienal é Contra os Artistas do Povo", *Notícias de Hoje*, 10th May 1953, Arquivos Históricos Wanda Svevo, Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, São Paulo.

[408] Only three of the works donated were by European artists: Max Ernst, Marc Chagall and Fernand Leger. According to Guilbaut, these artworks were purchased at New York art galleries instead of coming from the MoMA's collection. For more on this donation see 1) Amaral, *Museu de Arte Contemporânea da Universidade de São Paulo*; 2) Barros, *Revisão de uma História*; and 3) Gonçalves, *Sérgio Milliet, Crítico de Arte*. For its provenance see: Guilbaut, "Respingos na Parada Modernista", 148-173.

[409] Lima, "Nelson A. Rockefeller and Art Patronage in Brazil", 6. Available at : <http://www.rockarch.org/publications/resrep/lima.php?printer=1>. [Last accessed: 21/02/2015].

Architecture (IAB) before any conspicuous effort to open an art institution had been made in either São Paulo or Rio. Another of his aims was to diffuse American modern art as a 'symbolic capital' subjected to the US geopolitical power games. When these works would finally find home in the upcoming Brazilian art institutions, they would also work as seeds of American 'cultural fertilization' in the Brazilian art production field. The donation, as Rockefeller succinctly yet eloquently put it to Milliet in a letter of 25th November 1946, needed to "accelerate a latent injunction", and given the urgency of this purpose, the works were immediately put on show at Milliet's Art Foundation in the same month.[410] Sprague Smith would write to Rockefeller stating, quite patronisingly, that the gesture represented a strong injection of incentive to the Brazilians, who always appreciate "a shot in the arm".[411]

Through the sequence of events taking place in São Paulo during 1946 it is also possible to claim that Sprague Smith's mission in Brazil is clear: he was in charge for the start-up of Brazilian museums that would propose modern art, exactly as the MoMA was doing in America. The MASP might not have matched Rockefeller's expectations, but the MAM-SP was indeed coming up as planned.

Matarazzo's project for a modern art institution in São Paulo was linked to Rockefeller's international policies for the MoMA and US cultural imperialism. However, on the occasion of the opening of the 10th São Paulo Biennial (1969), Matarazzo gave a version of the story which is very different from ours. He did so in a speech in which he recalled how it all started in 1946, in Switzerland, when he had been talking to a French critic.[412] Matarazzo made flattering remarks on his own enterprising gifts and ability to envision, albeit following a conversation with an expert, the importance of opening a modern art museum in Brazil. His words imply a willingness to conceal, or at the very least, downplay the importance of the US international cultural policy to the achievement of his patronage ambitions.

An archival document dated 1948 (no month noted) shows some early plans for Matarazzo's modern art institution **{fig. 39}**. It is a sort of memo that summarizes ideas about how to establish an artistic committee for a modern art museum in São Paulo, what kind of artwork should be shown and how to create exhibitions. The memo also states

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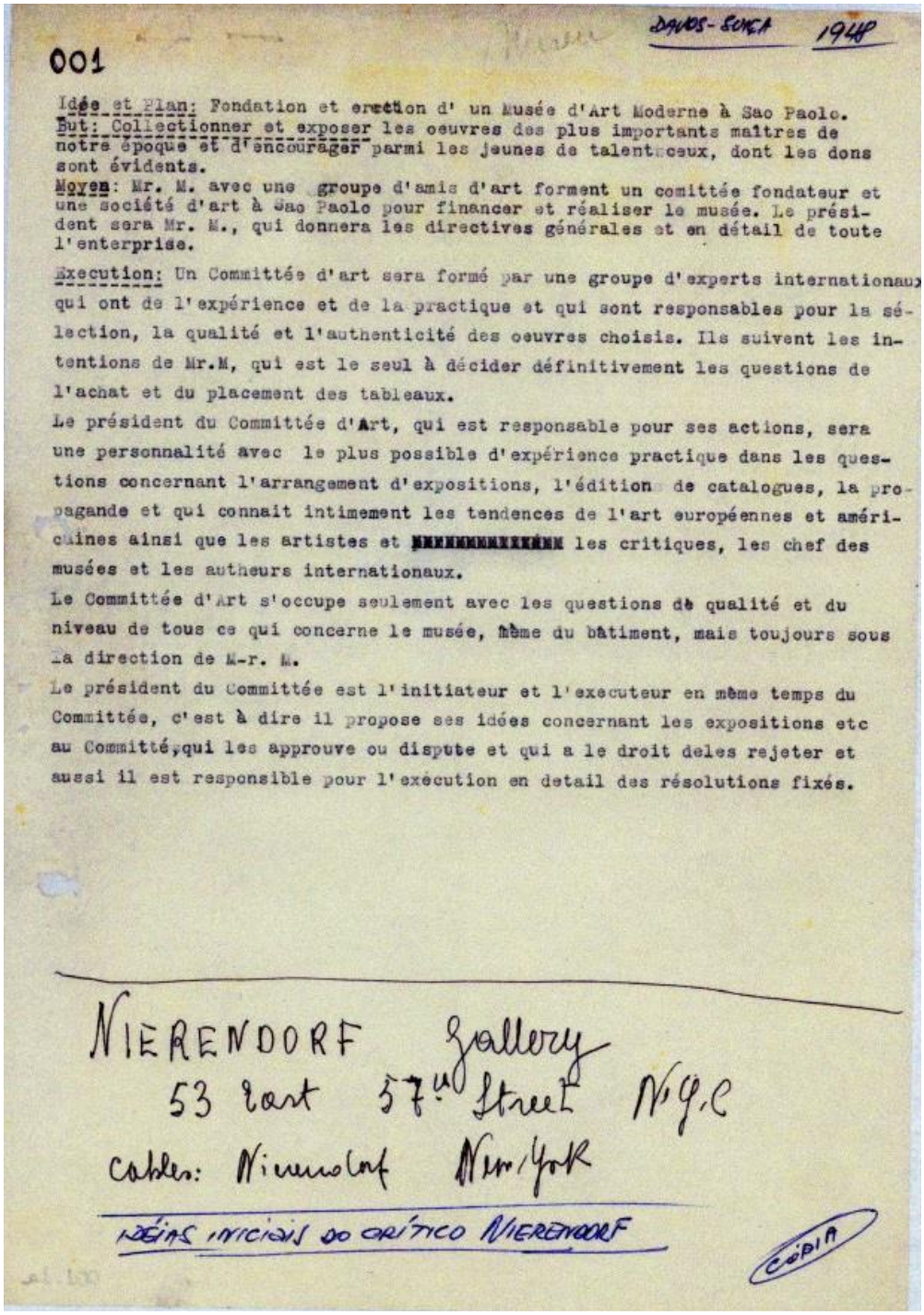
410 *"[A]celerar um momento latente"*. Nelson A. Rockefeller, in: letter to Sérgio Milliet dated 25th November 1946. In: Gonçalves, *Sérgio Milliet, Crítico de Arte,* 81.

411 In: Lima, "Nelson A. Rockefeller and Art Patronage in Brazil", 7. Available in: <http://www.rockarch.org/publications/resrep/lima.php?printer=1>. [Last accessed: 21/02/2015].

412 See: "Histórico das Atividades do Museu de Arte Moderna das Bienais de São Paulo 1948-1977" ("Historic of the Activities of the São Paulo Museum of Modern Art 1948-1977"), Arquivos Históricos Wanda Svevo, Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, São Paulo.

that these were “initial ideas of the art critic Nierendorf”.[413] However, Matarazzo neither met Nierendorf in 1946, as claimed by Matarazzo himself, nor in 1948 as from the document.



DAVOS-SUISSA 1948

001

Idée et Plan: Fondation et erection d' un Musée d'Art Moderne à Sao Paolo.
But: Collectionner et exposer les oeuvres des plus importants maîtres de notre époque et d'encourager parmi les jeunes de talent ceux, dont les dons sont évidents.
Moyen: Mr. M. avec une groupe d'amis d'art forment un comittée fondateur et une société d'art à Sao Paolo pour financer et réaliser le musée. Le président sera Mr. M., qui donnera les directives générales et en détail de toute l'enterprise.

Execution: Un Committée d'art sera formé par une groupe d'experts internationaux qui ont de l'expérience et de la practique et qui sont responsables pour la sélection, la qualité et l'authenticité des oeuvres choisis. Ils suivent les intentions de Mr.M, qui est le seul à décider définitivement les questions de l'achat et du placement des tableaux.

Le président du Committée d'Art, qui est responsable pour ses actions, sera une personnalité avec le plus possible d'expérience practique dans les questions concernant l'arrangement d'expositions, l'édition de catalogues, la propagande et qui connait intimement les tendences de l'art européennes et américaines ainsi que les artistes et [redacted] les critiques, les chef des musées et les autheurs internationaux.

Le Committée d'Art s'occupe seulement avec les questions de qualité et du niveau de tous ce qui concerne le musée, même du bâtiment, mais toujours sous la direction de M-r. M.

Le président du Committée est l'initiateur et l'executeur en même temps du Committée, c'est à dire il propose ses idées concernant les expositions etc au Committé, qui les approuve ou dispute et qui a le droit deles rejeter et aussi il est responsible pour l'exécution en detail des résolutions fixés.

NIERENDORF Gallery
53 East 57th Street N.Y.C
Cables: Nierendorf New York

NOTAS INICIAIS DO CRÍTICO NIERENDORF

COPIA

Figure: 39

Notes stating Karl Nierendorf’s ideas on a hypothetical modern art museum managed by Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho (1947). (The date in the image is not correct).

Source: Arquivos Históricos Wanda Svevo, Fundação Bienal, São Paulo.

[413] In: note stating Nierendorf’s ideas on a hypothetical modern art museum managed by Matarazzo, ibid. See: figure 39.

Nierendorf had moved from Germany to New York in 1936, opening a gallery there in 1937. From spring 1946 until autumn 1947, Nierendorf was back in Europe, following the re-emergence of cultural and social life after the war. In the meantime, Matarazzo and Penteado left Brazil to go on a trip to Mexico and married in December 1946, soon after Milliet's round table. Sure of the fact he would be in charge of the first Brazilian modern art institution, and confident of his wife's taste and networks, Matarazzo took Penteado to Europe for the honeymoon with the intention of building up an art collection worthy of his new role.[414] What caused Matarazzo's meeting with Nierendorf was an unpleasant circumstance during their honeymooning period: Matarazzo caught tuberculosis and the couple checked-in the luxurious Swiss clinic Schtzalp, in Davos. This is the location in which the Brazilian industrialist and the German art dealer finally met, in mid-1947, before Matarazzo and Penteado returned to Brazil around September/October of the same year. [415] Nierendorf died of a heart attack on the 25th October 1947, around a month or so after travelling to New York, therefore the 1948 date on the memo is inaccurate (on the document above the date has been added by pen, most certainly on a later date. Also Nierendorf's gallery address presents some inaccuracies, although it is very similar to the correct one).

By 1969 Matarazzo might have wanted to officially disguise the seminal relevance of Rockefeller for his project, yet our findings show that Matarazzo's speech at the 10th Biennial corresponds to a romanticized version of facts. After liaising with Rockefeller, and for being on the line with respect to the launch of a Brazilian modern art museum, Matarazzo took advantage of his subsequent encounter with Nierendorf to ask for some specialist advice on how to make a start-up to international standards.[416]

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[414] We will be giving more details on Matarazzo and Penteado's art collecting and network over that period in the last section of this chapter and in relation to the organisation of the MAM-SP first exhibition of 1949.

[415] In Davos, Matarazzo and Penteado met also the artist Alberto Magnelli, who connected the couple with the Italian art dealers such as Margherita Sarfatti, Renzo Camerino and Livio Gaetani. All four contributed in the building up of Matarazzo and Penteado's collections, which consisted mainly of European cubists, surrealists and abstractionists. For more on this topic and for details on Yolanda Penteado's recording notebook, where she listed all the artworks purchased in Europe during 1947, see: Fernanda Tozzo Machado, *Os Museus de Arte no Brasil Moderno: os Acervos entre a Formação e a Preservação* (MA dissertation at the Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas – IFCH, UNICAMP, 2009).

[416] According to the archival material we found on Nierendorf's orientation of Matarazzo's upcoming museum, we conclude that Matarazzo used such orientation to keep up with Rockefeller's expectations with regard to the opening of a Brazilian modern art institution, whereas Nascimento's view regarding this is different. She attributes greater importance to Nierendorf's liaison with Matarazzo, claiming, on the basis of daily meetings and letters between the two, that it was Nierendorf, thus not (as we advocate) Rockefeller and the MoMA, the main influence and ascendancy behind the conceptualisation of the MAM-SP. However, in her thesis, Nascimento does not support her claim with archival material or references proving these daily meetings and letters. The only document she mentions is the memo that we have early on discussed (figure 39), and indeed, this is the only document we have found at the Wanda Svevo Archive of the *Fundação Bienal*, regarding the extent and nature of Matarazzo's contact with Nierendorf. See: Nascimento, *MAM: Museu para a Metrópole*.

Formal paperwork dated 10th of May 1947 proves that the circle was getting tighter, and while Matarazzo was acquiring his institution's collection in Europe, his associates were dealing with the legal and administrative processes. Already back in Brazil, on the 30th January of 1948, Matarazzo formally wrote to Rockefeller about setting up the Modern Art Foundation **{fig. 40}**. After friendly regrets about his absence from the country during Rockefeller's visit, Matarazzo's letter mentions that the 'Modern Art Foundation, of which you have received the by-laws and news of its organization, is shaping itself into a more definitive form'.[417] [418]

In this letter, Matarazzo also mentions previous contacts with European artists and critics, a fact that implies that Matarazzo's encounter with Nierendorf was his way of gaining knowledge destined to show a certain degree of understanding and credibility to the MoMA's authoritative trustee. The text also proves that Matarazzo did not meet Nierendorf in 1948, as in the previous document, and that, as we have concluded, he met him in mid-1947. Matarazzo goes to the extent of claiming that the idea of organising an abstract art exhibition was his, whereas it is most likely that the idea came from the experts he liaised with, including Nierendorf. After all, Matarazzo had never been involved with the running of an art business. Although he was interested in art and built a huge collection, he was known by his contemporary artistic circle as a great industrialist whose ambition for the expansion of the national realm of culture was equalled only by his ignorance of the visual arts. So much so that the Argentinian critic Romero Brest would state, in 1988, that regardless of his ambitions as patron, "Cicillo was an uncultured man, he did not understand anything about art." [419]

Matarazzo states that 'his' abstract art exhibition would bring together works from Paris, New York and London and that René Drouin, a major Parisian art dealer whose liaison with Matarazzo will be discussed in the last section of this chapter, would organise it. Although Matarazzo here wants to show a certain degree of knowledge and initiative, his reverence to Rockefeller and his museum is clear. He not only asks the MoMA to cooperate and thus facilitate the making of his institution's first exhibition, but also asks him to guide and advise Drouin in New York on matters related to it.

Matarazzo's foundation was legally set up shortly after, in early February 1948, and its secretary, Carlos Pinto Alves would write another letter to Rockefeller to keep him

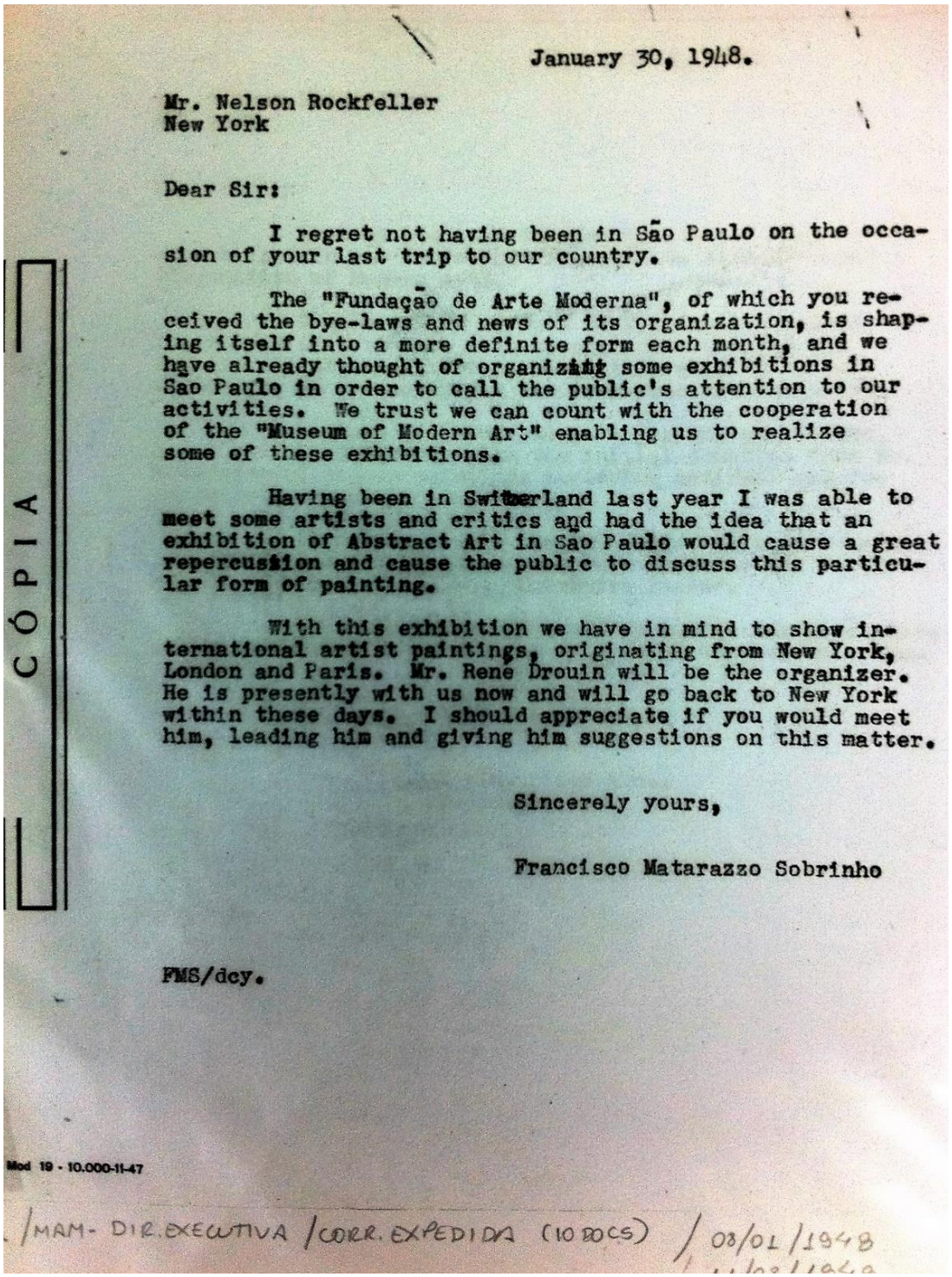
[417] In: Letter of Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho to Nelson A. Rockefeller, dated 30th January 1948, Arquivos Históricos Wanda Svevo, Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, São Paulo. See: figure 40.

[418] If the formal documentation regarding the launch of a Brazilian modern art institution under Matarazzo's leadership had already been prepared and sent to Rockefeller in New York by January 1948, this means that Matarazzo's associates were keeping Rockefeller abreast with regard to the evolution of the Modern art foundation even whilst Matarazzo was away in Europe.

[419] *"O Cicillo era um homem inculto, não entendia nada de arte."* Romero Brest, in: Leonor Amarante, *As Bienais de São Paulo: 1951 a 1987* (São Paulo: Projeto Editores Associados Ltda., 1989), 13.

updated. He would state that Matarazzo was 'able to aggregate in only one society all the different personalities which interest themselves in the expansion and increment of modern art'.[420] In March 1948 Rockefeller replied stating that the MoMA would cooperate in any possible way.[421] In the same month, Sérgio Milliet made public through an article in *O Estado de São Paulo*, a major newspaper, the link between Rockefeller's MoMA and Matarazzo's upcoming modern art museum, mentioning the American tycoon's 1946 donation of 13 modern art works. The article explained how Matarazzo was committing to creating a museum that would host these works by creating the 'Modern Art Foundation, shaped accordingly to the New York Museum, with a vast programme of artistic promotion, of education of the taste of the people, and of cultural events in all fields of art.'[422] Milliet also published two more articles on the links between the two museums and the similarity of their aims and programmes in June and September 1948, in the same newspaper.[423] The events escalated quite quickly, and by 15th July 1948 the Modern Art Foundation had already been transformed into the MAM-SP.[424] A telegram of 1st September 1948 from the MAM-SP to Rockefeller proves that the latter was kept informed of the museum's initial activities and invited him to attend a special director's meeting in the following week. [425]

[420] In: Letter of Carlos Pinto Alves, first secretary of the *Fundação de Arte Moderna,* to Nelson Rockefeller, dated 2nd February 1948, Arquivos Históricos Wanda Svevo, Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, São Paulo.
[421] See: Nelson Rockefeller's letter to Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho, 5th March 1948, Arquivos Históricos Wanda Svevo, Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, São Paulo.
[422] *'Fundação de Arte Moderna, criada nos moldes do Museu de New York, com um amplo programa de divulgação artistica, de educação do gosto do público, e de manifestações culturais em todos os camos da arte'*. Sérgio Milliet, "O Museu de Arte Moderna", in: *O Estado de São Paulo*, Thursday, 4th March 1948, 6.
[423] See: Milliet, 1) "O Teatro do Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo", *O Estado de São Paulo*, São Paulo, 4th June 1948; and 2) "O Museu de Arte de São Paulo", *O Estado de São Paulo*, São Paulo, 10th September 1948.
[424] This is the date in which the deed for the foundation of the MAM-SP was finally ready and signed by the museum board members. See: *Escritura da Fundação de Arte Moderna de São Paulo* (Bylaws of the São Paulo Modern Art Foundation), 15th July 1948, Arquivos Históricos Wanda Svevo, Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, São Paulo.
[425] See: Telegram from the Museu de Arte Moderna, MAM-SP, to Nelson A. Rockefeller, dated 1st September 1948, ibid.



January 30, 1948.

Mr. Nelson Rockfeller
New York

Dear Sir:

I regret not having been in São Paulo on the occasion of your last trip to our country.

The "Fundação de Arte Moderna", of which you received the bye-laws and news of its organization, is shaping itself into a more definite form each month, and we have already thought of organizing some exhibitions in Sao Paulo in order to call the public's attention to our activities. We trust we can count with the cooperation of the "Museum of Modern Art" enabling us to realize some of these exhibitions.

Having been in Switzerland last year I was able to meet some artists and critics and had the idea that an exhibition of Abstract Art in Sao Paulo would cause a great repercussion and cause the public to discuss this particular form of painting.

With this exhibition we have in mind to show international artist paintings, originating from New York, London and Paris. Mr. Rene Drouin will be the organizer. He is presently with us now and will go back to New York within these days. I should appreciate if you would meet him, leading him and giving him suggestions on this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho

FMS/dcy.

CÓPIA

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/MAM - DIR. EXECUTIVA / CORR. EXPEDIDA (10 DOCS) / 03/01/1948

Figure 40:

Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho's letter to Nelson A. Rockefeller (30th January 1948).

Source: Arquivos Históricos Wanda Svevo, Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, São Paulo.

5. 2. - "Present Non-figurative Tendencies of Plastic Arts"

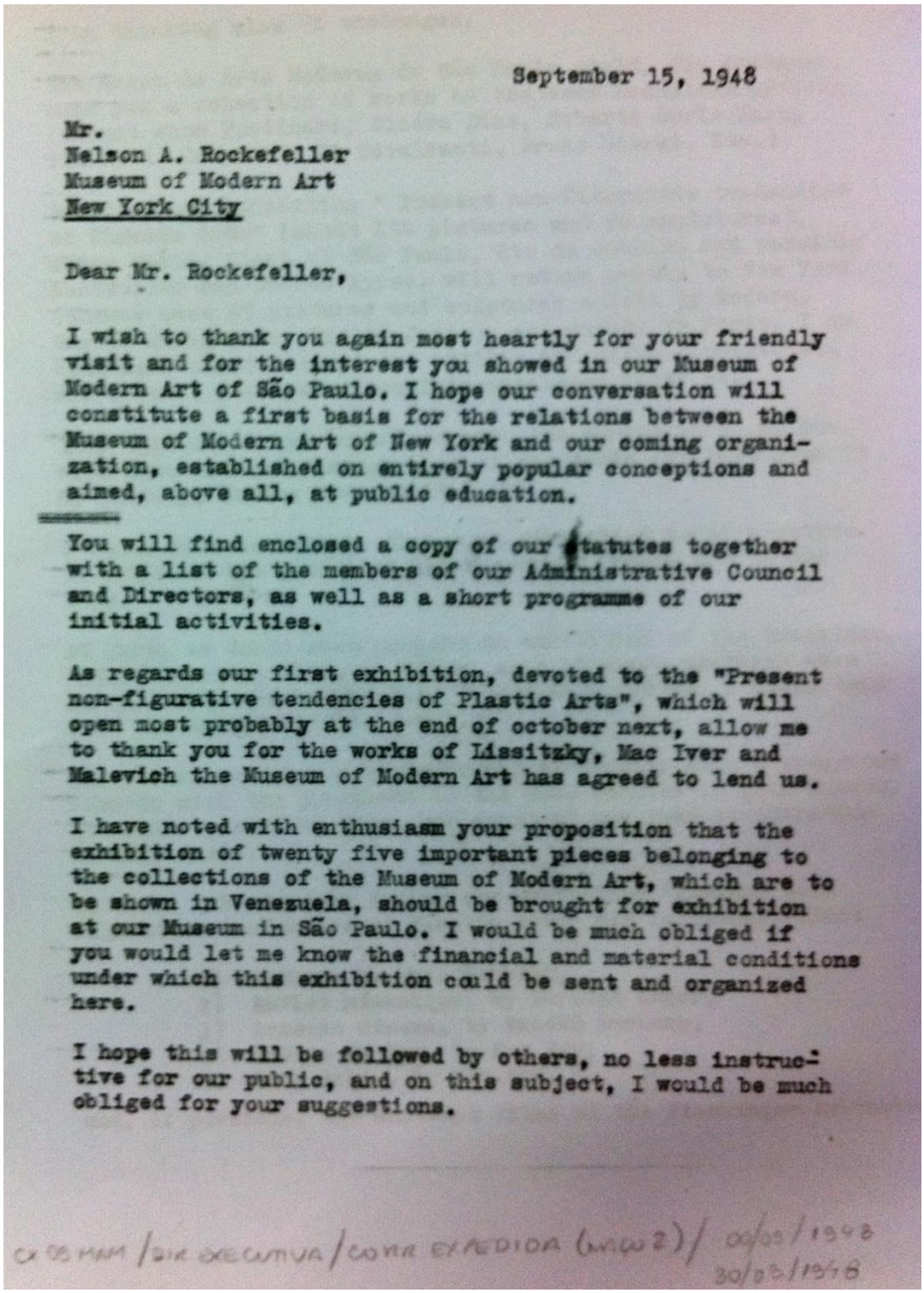
Rockefeller attended the MAM-SP board meeting of September 1948 and Matarazzo followed with a letter the week after, which informed the former of the MAM-SP's statutes and supplied a list of the members of its administrative council **{fig. 41, 42 and 43}**. Matarazzo also wrote more about his plans for the museum's first exhibition, which was to be called "Present Non-figurative Tendencies of Plastic Arts" and would probably take place at the end of the following October.[426] With respect to this, Matarazzo thanked the MoMA for agreeing to lend the works of Lissitzky, Mac Iver and Malevich to the MAM-SP. The letter also shows that this loan request was stimulated by Rockefeller's latest offer (indeed warmly accepted by Matarazzo), which consisted of sending 25 important pieces belonging to the MoMA to the MAM-SP immediately after a show in Venezuela.[427] Rockefeller had not only advised on borrowings but also followed the preparation of the first exhibition of the MAM-SP closely, visiting the floor of Matarazzo's factory, which had been converted into a temporary storage and viewing space for the works to be shown at the MAM-SP's first exhibition.[428] It is also very important to point out that after this letter Rockefeller was fully aware that of the 150 works that would constitute the MAM-SP first exhibition about half of them were coming from Paris, and the other half were chosen in New York by Sidney Janis and Marcel Duchamp. [429] A preliminary list of works enclosed with the letter would allow Rockefeller to know which works would be on show at the MAM-SP's first exhibition.

The project for the MAM-SP opening exhibition was delayed due to timing reasons. It was only in late September or early October 1948 that Yolanda Penteado travelled to New York to deal with the logistic, financial and customs matters related to the MoMA's shipping from Venezuela to Brazil, and to get a full and detailed list of the artworks.[430] Matarazzo's brother, Paulo, followed Penteado to New York along with his wife to buy all

[426] In: Letter of Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho to Nelson A. Rockefeller, dated 15th September 1948, ibid. See: figure 41.
[427] See: figure 42.
[428] This is mentioned in Matarazzo's letter in page 2: see figure 42. For more details on this visit see: 1) Horta, *MAM: Museu de Arte Moderna*; and 2) Nascimento, *MAM: Museu para a Metrópole*.
[429] Janis was a gallerist and art dealer that became involved with the establishment of North-American abstract expressionism and the process of consolidation of New York as the new leader of the international of art. In 1958 Clement Greenberg, one of the main campaigners for the American school, claimed that Janis, with his shows and curatorial projects 'not only implied, it declared, that Jackson Pollock, Willem de Kooning, Franz Kline, Phillip Guston, Mark Rothko, and Robert Motherwell were to be judged by the same standards as Matisse and Picasso, without condescension, without making allowances.' Clement Greenberg, *The Collected Essays and Criticism, Volume 4* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 53
[430] Penteado's trip is proved by a memo from the MAM-SP to her. This memo also gives a list of all the issues Penteado needed to deal with whilst in New York and working at the MoMA. See: *Lembrete para Dona Yolanda, assuntos a serem tratados em Nova York,* (Memo for Mrs. Yolanda, matters to be discussed in New York), typed document on paper with MAM-SP header, dated 30th September 1948. Arquivos Históricos Wanda Svevo, Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, São Paulo.

the books available on abstract art, including the 'big reproductions edited by the Museum of Modern Art'.[431] Rockefeller's reply to Matarazzo does not show disagreement or dissatisfaction with Matarazzo's plans and the curatorial project of his team. The tone of his reply of October 1948 was friendly, moreover Rockefeller put at Penteado's disposal the MoMA's chief curator, René d'Harnoncourt, who studied with her the works to be loaned, and explained the means of cooperation between the two museums **{fig. 44}**.[432] Moreover, Penteado needed to visit the MoMA Film Library and get hold of some abstract films that Matarazzo had requested from Rockefeller. The films were Hans Richter's *Rythmus,* Léger's *Ballets Mécaniques*, Duchamp's *Anénic Cinéma*, Man Ray's *Emak Bakia* and *Etoile de Meir*, and the Fischinger brothers' abstract works.[433] This was because Matarazzo wanted to give to the MAM-SP cinematographic department 'a program identical with the same section' at the MoMA. [434] The change of time-frame also resulted in a change of the first exhibition's title, which would become *Do Figurativismo ao Abstracionismo* ("From Figurativism to Abstractionism").

[431] In: Letter of Cicillo Matarazzo to Nelson A. Rockefeller, dated 15th September 1948, ibid. See figure 43.
[432] See 1) Letter of Nelson A. Rockefeller, to Cicillo Matarazzo dated 8th October 1948, ibid. See figure 44; and 2) *Lembrete para Dona Yolanda, assuntos a serem tratados em Nova York*, ibid.
[433] In: Letter of Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho to Nelson A. Rockefeller, dated 15th, ibid. See figure 42.
[434] Ibid.



September 15, 1948

Mr.
Nelson A. Rockefeller
Museum of Modern Art
New York City

Dear Mr. Rockefeller,

I wish to thank you again most heartly for your friendly visit and for the interest you showed in our Museum of Modern Art of São Paulo. I hope our conversation will constitute a first basis for the relations between the Museum of Modern Art of New York and our coming organization, established on entirely popular conceptions and aimed, above all, at public education.

You will find enclosed a copy of our statutes together with a list of the members of our Administrative Council and Directors, as well as a short programme of our initial activities.

As regards our first exhibition, devoted to the "Present non-figurative tendencies of Plastic Arts", which will open most probably at the end of october next, allow me to thank you for the works of Lissitzky, Mac Iver and Malevich the Museum of Modern Art has agreed to lend us.

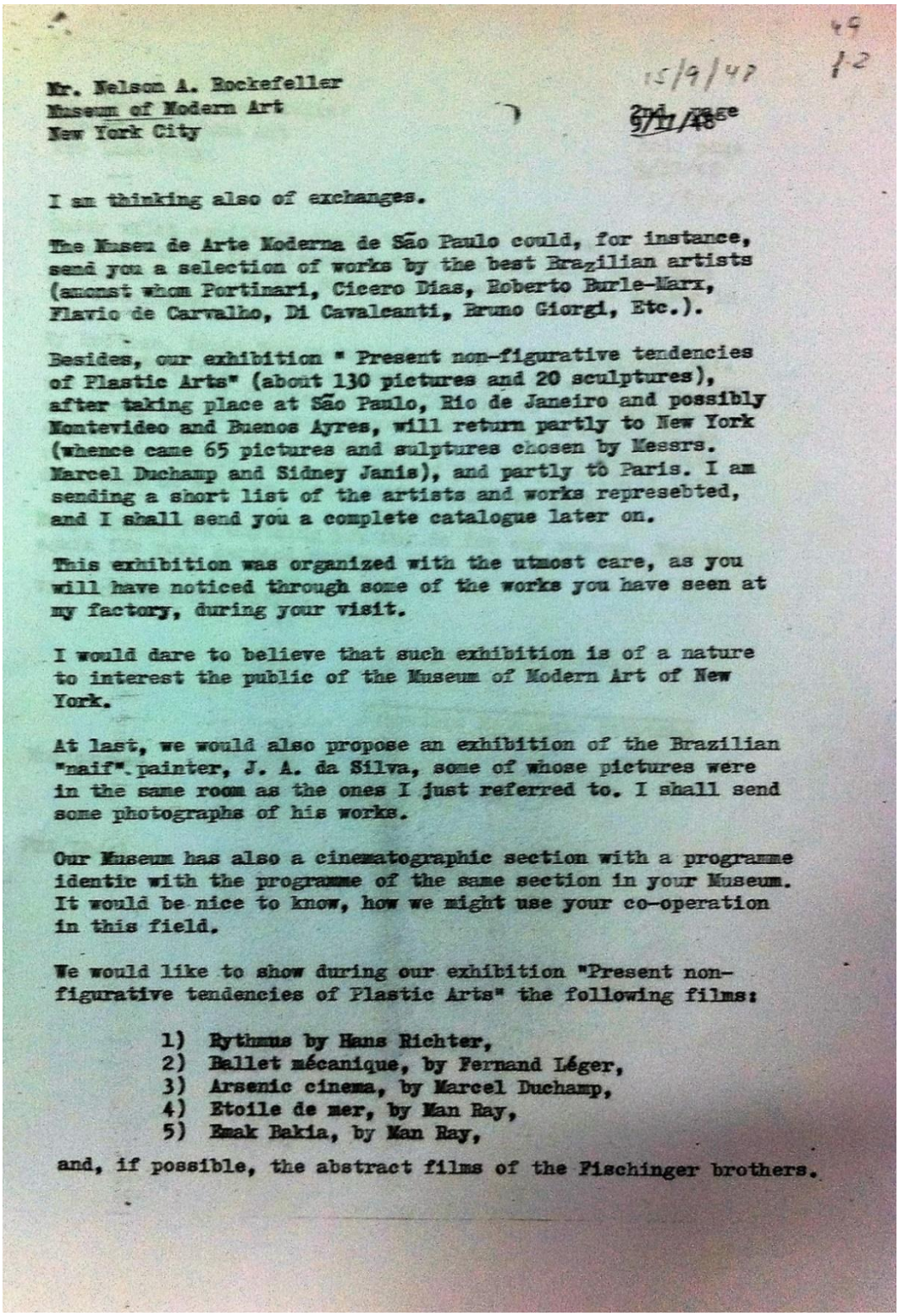
I have noted with enthusiasm your proposition that the exhibition of twenty five important pieces belonging to the collections of the Museum of Modern Art, which are to be shown in Venezuela, should be brought for exhibition at our Museum in São Paulo. I would be much obliged if you would let me know the financial and material conditions under which this exhibition could be sent and organized here.

I hope this will be followed by others, no less instructive for our public, and on this subject, I would be much obliged for your suggestions.

Figure 41:

Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho's letter to Nelson A. Rockefeller (15th September 1948, 1).

Source: Arquivos Históricos Wanda Svevo, Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, São Paulo.



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1-2

Mr. Nelson A. Rockefeller
Museum of Modern Art
New York City

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I am thinking also of exchanges.

The Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo could, for instance, send you a selection of works by the best Brazilian artists (amongst whom Portinari, Cicero Dias, Roberto Burle-Marx, Flavio de Carvalho, Di Cavalcanti, Bruno Giorgi, Etc.).

Besides, our exhibition " Present non-figurative tendencies of Plastic Arts" (about 130 pictures and 20 sculptures), after taking place at São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and possibly Montevideo and Buenos Ayres, will return partly to New York (whence came 65 pictures and sulptures chosen by Messrs. Marcel Duchamp and Sidney Janis), and partly to Paris. I am sending a short list of the artists and works represebted, and I shall send you a complete catalogue later on.

This exhibition was organized with the utmost care, as you will have noticed through some of the works you have seen at my factory, during your visit.

I would dare to believe that such exhibition is of a nature to interest the public of the Museum of Modern Art of New York.

At last, we would also propose an exhibition of the Brazilian "naif" painter, J. A. da Silva, some of whose pictures were in the same room as the ones I just referred to. I shall send some photographs of his works.

Our Museum has also a cinematographic section with a programme identic with the programme of the same section in your Museum. It would be nice to know, how we might use your co-operation in this field.

We would like to show during our exhibition "Present non-figurative tendencies of Plastic Arts" the following films:

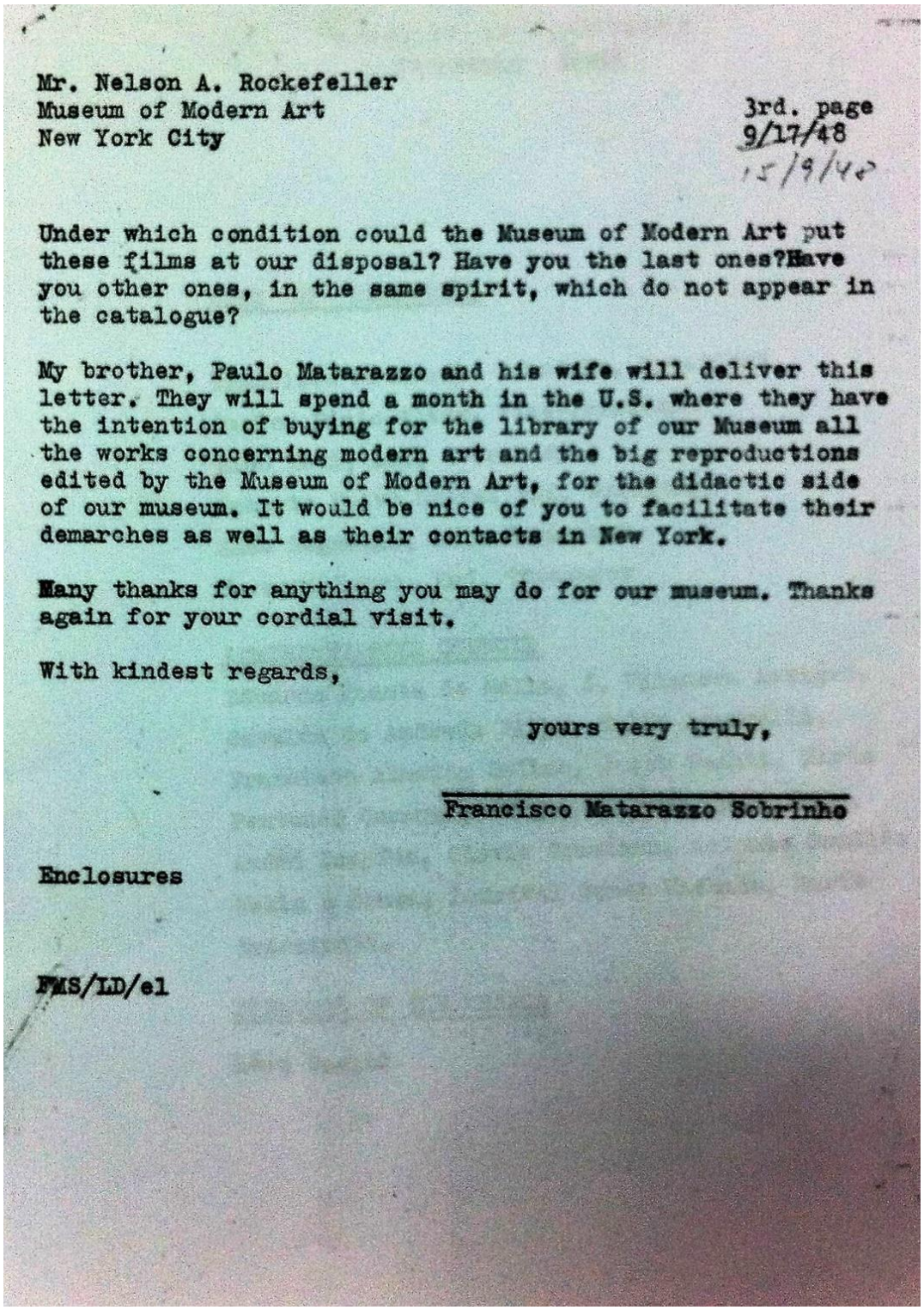
1) Rythmus by Hans Richter,
2) Ballet mécanique, by Fernand Léger,
3) Arsenic cinema, by Marcel Duchamp,
4) Etoile de mer, by Man Ray,
5) Emak Bakia, by Man Ray,

and, if possible, the abstract films of the Fischinger brothers.

Figure 42:

Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho's letter to Nelson A. Rockefeller (15th September 1948, 2).

Source: Arquivos Históricos Wanda Svevo, Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, São Paulo.



Mr. Nelson A. Rockefeller
Museum of Modern Art
New York City

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15/9/48

Under which condition could the Museum of Modern Art put these films at our disposal? Have you the last ones? Have you other ones, in the same spirit, which do not appear in the catalogue?

My brother, Paulo Matarazzo and his wife will deliver this letter. They will spend a month in the U.S. where they have the intention of buying for the library of our Museum all the works concerning modern art and the big reproductions edited by the Museum of Modern Art, for the didactic side of our museum. It would be nice of you to facilitate their demarches as well as their contacts in New York.

Many thanks for anything you may do for our museum. Thanks again for your cordial visit.

With kindest regards,

yours very truly,

Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho

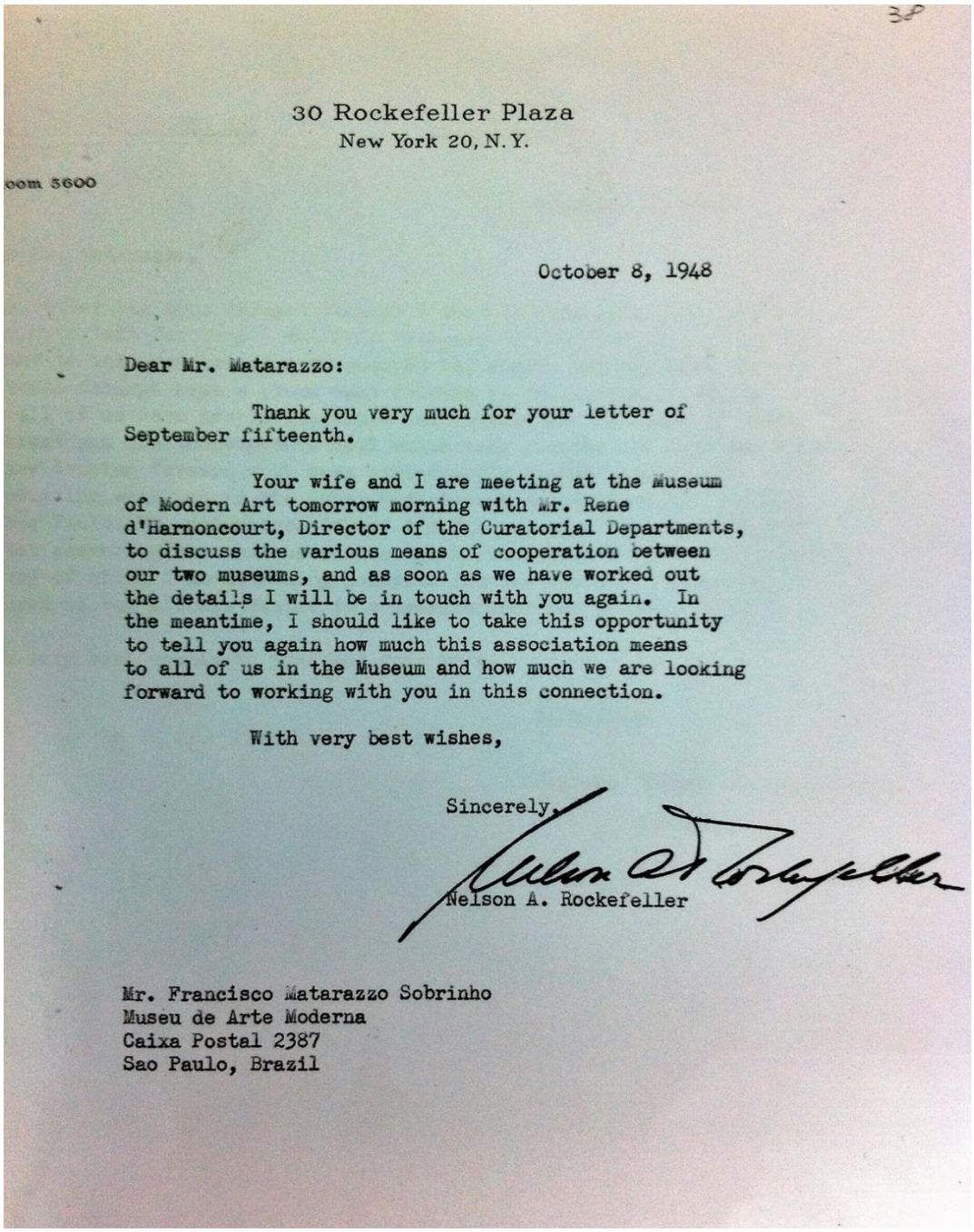
Enclosures

FMS/LD/el

Figure 43:

Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho's letter to Nelson A. Rockefeller (15th September 1948, 3).

Source: Arquivos Históricos Wanda Svevo, Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, São Paulo.



30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N.Y.

oom 5600

October 8, 1948

Dear Mr. Matarazzo:

Thank you very much for your letter of September fifteenth.

Your wife and I are meeting at the Museum of Modern Art tomorrow morning with Mr. Rene d'Harnoncourt, Director of the Curatorial Departments, to discuss the various means of cooperation between our two museums, and as soon as we have worked out the details I will be in touch with you again. In the meantime, I should like to take this opportunity to tell you again how much this association means to all of us in the Museum and how much we are looking forward to working with you in this connection.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely,

Nelson A. Rockefeller

Mr. Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho
Museu de Arte Moderna
Caixa Postal 2387
Sao Paulo, Brazil

Figure 44:

Nelson A. Rockefeller's letter to Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho (8th October 1948).

Source: Arquivos Históricos Wanda Svevo, Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, São Paulo.

Matarazzo and Rockefeller's negotiation remained private until after the MAM-SP opening show, although, as we know from the previous section, Milliet's three articles in *O Estado de São Paulo* of 1948 had pointed out that there was a link between the two

tycoons and their interest in modern art institutions.[435] It was made public only on 27th October 1950, when Lourival Gomes Machado, then director at the MAM-SP, wrote to Rockefeller regarding the official cooperation between the two museums **{fig. 45}**. He mentioned the intention of publishing the information in six newspapers in Rio and São Paulo, 'including full general agreement and news matter press sheet including same agreement plus digest of specific agreement and general references'. [436] The publications were authorised by Rockefeller and took place on the following 12th November.[437]

Figure 45:

Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho and Nelson A. Rockefeller signing the cooperation agreement between the MoMA and the MAM-SP, in New York (1950).

Source: Arquivos Históricos Wanda Svevo, Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, São Paulo.

[435] Neither the Modern Art Foundation nor the MAM-SP and his board members made any public statement until 1950. However, Milliet - who, as we have seen, had a key role in the negotiations which resulted in Matarazzo being chosen by the Americans as the right person to lead a Brazilian museum of modern art - wrote the articles mentioned on page 189.

[436] In: Letter of Lourival Gomes Machado, director of the *Fundação de Arte Moderna*, to Nelson Rockefeller, dated 27th October 1950, Arquivos Históricos Wanda Svevo, Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, São Paulo.

[437] In: Telegram of Nelson Rockefeller to Lourival Gomes Machado, dated 3rd Novemeber 1950, ibid.

5.2.1. - "From Figurativism to Abstractionism", and Figurativists against Abstractionists

"From Figurativism to Abstractionism" opened on the 8th March 1949 as a prestigious banner of art's institutional modernization in Brazil, an evident sign of Brazil's advancement within the global hierarchy and an authoritative promoter of abstractionism. The exhibition was curated by Léon Degand - a Belgian art critic and dealer who moved to São Paulo after been hired by Matarazzo to be the director the MAM-SP. Degand had moved from Belgium to Paris during World War II, where he became an established art curator and critic with a focus on the promotion of avant-garde trends, particularly abstract ones. He wrote for the magazine *Art d'Aujourd'hui*, directed by André Bloc, and specialised in publishing didactic material on art in books and conferences.[438] [439] Given the importance of this exhibition, and given that it had been organised in one of the first Brazilian international art institutions, and given its total exclusion of figurativism - which was the type of expression common to the vast majority of Brazilian contemporary artists - it received vigorous criticism from some *modernistas*. Having acquired the status of official representatives of Brazilian art both nationally and internationally through Vargas' First Administration and his cultural management policy, members of the second wave of Brazilian *modernistas* perceived the danger that Matarazzo and his newly launched, prestigious and internationally well connected and positioned institution represented to their privileged role in the Brazilian field of art. The most caustic critique came from no other than Di Cavalcanti, one of the participants in the São Paulo modern art week of 1922, who by then counted on 30 years of figurativist art and had based his outstanding career on social realism and its commitment to "social struggle". His *Realismo e Abstracionismo* ("Realism and Abstractionism") of 1949 was a cynical and offensive attack on the new type of visual innovation that abstractionism had brought to Brazil:

> 'what I see as vital, however, is to escape from abstractionism. Abstractionists' artworks […] are a sterile specialism. These artists construe a little yet amplified world, lost in each fragment of the real things: they create monstrous visions of amoebic or atomic residuals, revealed through the microscopes of sick brains'.[440]

[438] Léon Degand was the pseudonym of Fréderic Noël.

[439] According to Nascimento, Matarazzo had initially chosen Nierendorf to be the director of the MAM-SP, and Nierendorf sudden death led Matarazzo to look for another candidate for the position. See: Nascimento, *MAM: Museu para a Metrópole*.

[440] *" [O] que acho, porém vital, é fugir do abstracionismo. A obra de arte dos abstracionistas […] é uma especialização estéril. Esses artistas constroem um mundozinho ampliado, perdido em cada fragmento das coisas reais: são visões monstruosas de resíduos amebianos ou atômicos, revelados pelos microscópios dos célebros doentios".* Emiliano Di Cavalcanti, "Figurativismo e Abstracionismo", *Boletim Salma (23): 47*, 1949. In: ibid, 123.

The high level of resistance to the incursion of abstractionism on behalf of the Brazilian 'field of culture' committed to figurativism led Degand to resign from his position in July 1949, due to the pressure inflicted upon him by the public debate.[441] This resistance was explicit even before the opening of the MAM-SP first exhibition, as Di Cavalcanti had already heavily criticised early abstractionist expressions in Brazil at the conference *Pesquisa Sobre a Pintura Moderna*, which took place in Rio de Janeiro in 1948, and in his article entitled *Os Mitos do Modernismo* (1948).[442] Early expressions of abstractionism in Brazil were on show in 1947 at the exhibition *19 Pintores* ("19 Painters"), which took place in São Paulo - not surprisingly, given the incentive that the US was giving to the Brazilians for the appearance of abstractionism in Brazil - at the União Cultural Brasil-Estados Unidos. The exhibition included works by Waldemar Cordeiro, Geraldo de Barros, Luís Sacilotto, Lothar Charoux and other Brazilian artists who were opposing figurativism, the leading local trend, by working with primary abstract forms.[443] Also Ibiapaba de Oliveira Martins, at the time an art critic for newspapers such as *Correio Paulistano, Última Hora* and *Fundamentos*, wrote against "From Figurativism to Abstractionism" and defended art that, in his view, and as opposed to abstractionism, was socially engaged due to its ability to render social reality.[444]

Matarazzo felt obliged to justify the choice and to reply to the criticisms, and prepared an interview (December 1949) to be published in *as folhas*, that is, in the major newspapers of the Brazilian main cities **{fig. 46}**. Here he stated that artists had their own free will and would follow, above all, their vocations; and that the MAM-SP's intention with its first exhibition was to bring to the country a tendency that World War II had prevented from reaching Brazil any earlier. Thus liberalism and freedom of expressions were emphasised as much as the museum's duties in relation to Brazil's cultural modernisation.[445] Apart from advocating that his museum was a trope for individualism and progress, Matarazzo went further by putting forward the MAM-SP's intention to democratize art, and that this intention was abiding by the 'MoMA representatives' firm insistence on the educational nature of the new institution'.[446]

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[441] See: Nascimento, ibid.

[442] Ibid.

[443] See: José Augusto Ribeiro, "Vanguarda Brasileira dos Anos 60: Propostas e Opiniões". In: Cacilda Teixeira Da Costa, Jesus Paula Assis and José Augusto Ribeiro, *Aproximações do Espírito Pop*, (São Paulo: Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo, MAM-SP, 2003).

[444] Nascimento, *MAM: Museu para a Metrópole*.

[445] See: Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho's interview for the newspapers, dated 23rd December 1949, in figure 46. Arquivos Históricos Wanda Svevo, Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, São Paulo.

[446] *'[I]nsistência firme dos representates do MoMA quanto à natureza educativa da nova identidade'*. Horta*, MAM: Museu de Arte Moderna,* 20.

The interview stated that the museum wanted to reach all the strata of the population with smaller exhibitions and didactic programmes at lower-class neighbourhoods, to facilitate the Brazilian population's receptiveness towards modern art. The MAM-SP, as Matarazzo stated, was 'established on entirely popular conceptions and aimed, above all, at public education'.[447] Matarazzo did not hide the ambitions cherished by the museum in relation to abstractionism, observing that although people were used to modern architecture, they were not familiar with other forms of modern visual language. As abstraction was not yet part of the cultural patrimony of the nation, it was necessary that institutions and artists operated not only within the elite, but also within the masses, to favour its assimilation. In his own words: 'Largely diffused, the art works that at the beginning generate shock for being "different" to what we are used to see, will finally impose themselves, as it has happened with all the innovations in every branch of modern activity'. [448]

Part of the MAM-SP's ethos at its opening was to be able to reach the masses. The by-laws of the museum stated, in the list of aims, that the institution would organise didactic courses both free or through subventions. For instance, art classes would have taken place through bursaries to the most talented applicants. Although we did not find records of eventual MAM-SP exhibitions in popular neighbourhoods, the museum indeed engaged in a massive press campaign aimed at making its ethos public even before Matarazzo's interview. Roberto Palva Meira, one of the MAM-SP founding members, had already mentioned the educational and populist goals of the museum. He stated in the *Correio Paulistano*, in November 1948, that, for a very affordable amount, anybody could have benefited from the MAM-SP's activities. In the early 1950s, the Craftsmanship School of the MAM-SP was opened offering classes in basic artistic skills and bursaries.[449]

Di Cavalcanti's attack and Matarazzo's defensive reply are yet another facet of the culture war between established art trends and reformers in Brazil during the period with which this study is concerned, and which we have so far explored in terms of the divergences between academicists and *modernistas*. We have seen in chapter 1 how Lobato's vitriolic critique of Malfatti's first exhibition of 1917 and of the 1920s *modernista* group exemplified the resistance of Brazil's cultural establishment to the arrival of foreign

[447] In: Letter of Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho to Nelson A. Rockefeller, dated 15th September 1948, Arquivos Históricos Wanda Svevo, Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, São Paulo. See figures 41, 42 and 43.

[448] *'Largamente divulgadas, as obras de arte que no começo chocam por serem "diferentes" do que estamos habituados a ver, elas hão de se impôr, como aconteceu com todas as inovações em todos os ramos da atividade moderna'*. In: Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho's interview for the newspapers, dated 23rd December 1949, ibid. See figure 46.

[449] See: 1) *Escritura da Fundação de Arte Moderna de São Paulo*, 15th July 1948, ibid; and 2) Nascimento, *MAM: Museu para a Metrópole.*

influences deemed detrimental to national aesthetic production. We have also seen in chapter 4 how Costa's appointment at the ENBA resulted in a backlash on behalf of the 1930s academy that led him to resign; and how Teixeira and his curatorial team deliberately refused to showcase the achievements of the 1920s *modernistas* at the MNBA through a museological project focussed on academic art, and which made of this museum a 'temple to past heroes'.

Here we see that the battle between opposing aesthetic factions within the Brazilian cultural field were still persisting, albeit this time it no longer involved the academicists and the *modernistas*; as it was happening between the *modernistas*/figurativists, and the supporters of the abstractionist incursion in Brazil.[450] On the one side of the caustic debate there were those who, like Di Cavalcanti, thought that it was 'vital to escape from abstractionism. The abstractionist work of art, like Kandinsky, Klee, Mondrian, Arp and Calder is a sterile specialism'.[451] On the other side there were the abstractionists, who, as the following statement by Charoux implies (1949), were well aware that the new artistic trend they were fostering in Brazil, with the support of the MAM-SP, was triggering a culture war:

> It took a little while, yet the "battle" between those who call themselves figurativists and the so-called abstractionists has arrived here too. Abstractionism was not that much considered until recently, since there were just sporadic attempts by some painters [...]. However, there were already early signs of an anti-abstractionist campaign, which is now quite forthrightly ignited, and which considers abstractionism as 'a reactionary movement, or as made by reactionaries, by incapable artists', as an 'ivory tower', as uninterested in human problems, as decadent art. [...] Now, the only thing missing to complete the setting is a Museum of Degenerated Art. How all this resembles the resistance of the academics! An entire world of arguments is invoked to show that there is no field for abstractionism.[452]

[450] Of course, here there is the question that Brazilian *modernismo* and *abstracionismo* (the latter being represented by the abstract currents that emerged in Brazil as a consequence of the arrival of international abstractionism at the MAM-SP) may both be fitted under the umbrella of modernism in Brazil. This has implications for the distinction between *modernismo* and modernism, and between *modernismo* and *abstracionismo*. However, such question and its implications are beyond the scope of this study.

[451] '*Vital é fugir do abstracionismo. A obra de arte dos abstracionistas, tipo Kandinsky, Klee, Mondrian, Arp e Calder, é uma especialização estéril'*. Emiliano Di Cavalcanti, "Realismo e Abstracionismo", *Revista Fundamentos, n. 3,* 1948, in: João Bandeira (org.), *Arte Concreta Paulista: Documentos* (São Paulo: Cosac & Naify, 2002), 17.

[452] *'Custou um pouco, mas chegou também até aqui a "batalha" dos que se intitulam figurativistas e dos chamados abstracionistas. Até há pouco não se cogitava muito do abstracionismo, pois não havia quando muito tentativas esporádicas de alguns pintores [...]. Mesmo assim existia um princípio de campanha contra o abstracionismo, que já agora está francamente aceso, indicando-o como 'um movimento reacionário, ou de reacionários, de incapazes', de 'torre de marfim', de desenteressados de problemas humanos, de arte decadente. [...] Agora só falta um Museu de Arte Degenerada, para completar o quadro. Como tudo isto lembra a resistência dos acadêmicos! Invoca-se um mundo de argumentos para mostrar que não existe um campo para o abstracionismo '*. Lothar Charoux, "Abstracionismo", in: ibid.

The new culture war of the late 1940s, as Charoux himself put it, was as ferocious as that of the academy against the young *modernistas* in the 1920s. The negative labelling that was quickly building up around the still thin body of Brazilian abstractionist art was already as patronising, offensive and humiliating as that created by Lobato to pigeonhole the work of Malfatti and her colleagues. So much so that by 1951, Ibiapaba Martins went to the extent of saying that, by then, 'there was not a second or a third category painter who did not venture himself into works of art more or less copied from imported art'.[453]

In order to further substantiate our argument here it is necessary to move briefly into the early 1950s and to analyse the reaction of the pro-figurativism artistic circle to the São Paulo Biennial, which was the MAM-SP's project focussing on promoting abstractionism that followed "From Figurativism to Abstractionism". The 1st São Paulo Biennial officially reiterated the MAM-SP's endorsement of abstractionism and awarded the international sculpture prize to Max Bill's *Tripartite Unity*; thus the museum, through its focus on concretist expressions, allowed the movement to become a powerful influence on the Brazilian art scene of the 1950s. On the one hand, this biennial triggered the development, in Brazil, of an artistic line of enquiry that focused on concretist abstraction. In fact, shortly after the 1951 Biennial, Cordeiro, Barros, Sacilotto and Charoux, who had already shown abstractionist works at the exhibition *19 Pintores* of 1947, took forward their programme, this time with the contribution of Kazmer Féjèr, Leopoldo Haar and Anatol Wladislaw, and participated in the Salão Paulista de Arte Moderna at the Prestes Maia gallery. A further step for the consolidation of a Brazilian abstractionist movement of concretist lineage was taken in December 1952, when these artists launched a movement together, called *ruptura.* The launch took place through an exhibition and a manifesto at the MAM-SP.[454] Pedrosa did stress that the take-off of Brazilian *concretismo* could not have happened, or at least would not have had the same strength, without the arrival of Bill at Bardi's MASP in 1950 and his participation in Matarazzo's first São Paulo Biennial in 1951.[455] On the other hand, the 1st São Paulo Biennial generated further controversies in the Brazilian artistic milieu and led to more retaliations on behalf of the figurativists. In fact, the São Paulo Association of Fine Art dubbed the 'abstractionist stravaganza' and the 1st São Paulo Biennial as 'detrimental to the education of the

[453] *'Não houve pintor de segunda ou terceira categoria que não se aventurasse nums trabalhozinhos mais ou menos decalcados na arte de importação'*. Ibiapaba de Oliveira Martins, "Mais um "Abstracionista" em Exposição", *Correio Paulistano n. 2*, São Paulo, 2nd March 1951, in: ibid, 18.

[454] The *ruptura* group would be joined later by Maurício Nogueira Lima, Hermelindo Fiaminghi, Judith Lauand, and the poets Haroldo and Augusto de Campos, and Décio Pignatari.

[455] See: Gabriela Suzana Wilder, *Waldemar Cordeiro: Pintor Vanguardista, Difusor, Crítico de Arte, Teórico e Lider do Movimento Concretista nas Artes Plásticas em São Paulo, na Década de 50*, (PhD thesis at the School of Art and Communication (ECA), University of São Paulo (USP), 1982).

[…Brazilian] people […and to be a] fake aesthetic creed, anti-Christian, anti-Latin and anti-Brazilian'.[456] The outrage of the figurativists at the *paulista* Association of Fine Art on the occasion of the 1951 Biennial escalated and was expressed beyond the press. In fact, this association sent to Lucas Nogueira Garcez, the Governor of the São Paulo State, a petition signed by 200 anti-abstractionism artists who asked the government to stop supporting and funding free enterprise art institutions, specifically the MAM-SP and its initiatives. As this statement shows, the battle against the instauration of abstractionism in Brazil was not free of ideological connotations. The figurativists deemed it a movement against Brazil's nationalism and catholic roots.

The arrival of international abstractionism in Brazil was not only seen as a clear threat to nationalism and the origins of long established systems of belief, but also as evidence of the country's subjugation to US imperialism. This is deducible from Villanova Artigas' negative reaction to the 2nd São Paulo Biennial (1953). Artigas' heavy criticism goes as follows:

> it is not difficult to understand why Mr. Matarazzo and all the allies of imperialism in Brazil want so fervently to see Brazilian artists switching to the abstractionist field. It is that abstract art does not express popular aspirations, does not express those problems of the people that must be solved by destroying the imperialist group that oppresses our country and that suits the interest of Mr. Matarazzo and a minuscule group of Brazilians. Abstract art is dear to these reactionaries because it isolates Brazilian artists from all issues that, for being national, speak the language of the people; [... the language that] calls for struggle against imperialism and its servants.[457]

Clearly, one of the main problems of Matarazzo's museum and its pro-abstractionist policy was its liaison with Rockefeller and the MoMA; a cooperation that led Brazilian intellectuals and cultural commentators to associate both the MAM-SP and the arrival of international abstractionism in Brazil to "Yankee culture" and foreign capitalist interest.

Both the statements of the *paulista* Association of Fine Art during the 1st Biennial, and of Artigas during the 2nd one, show how, in certain quarters, abstractionism was deemed to be against the national and the social. Certainly here it is important to point

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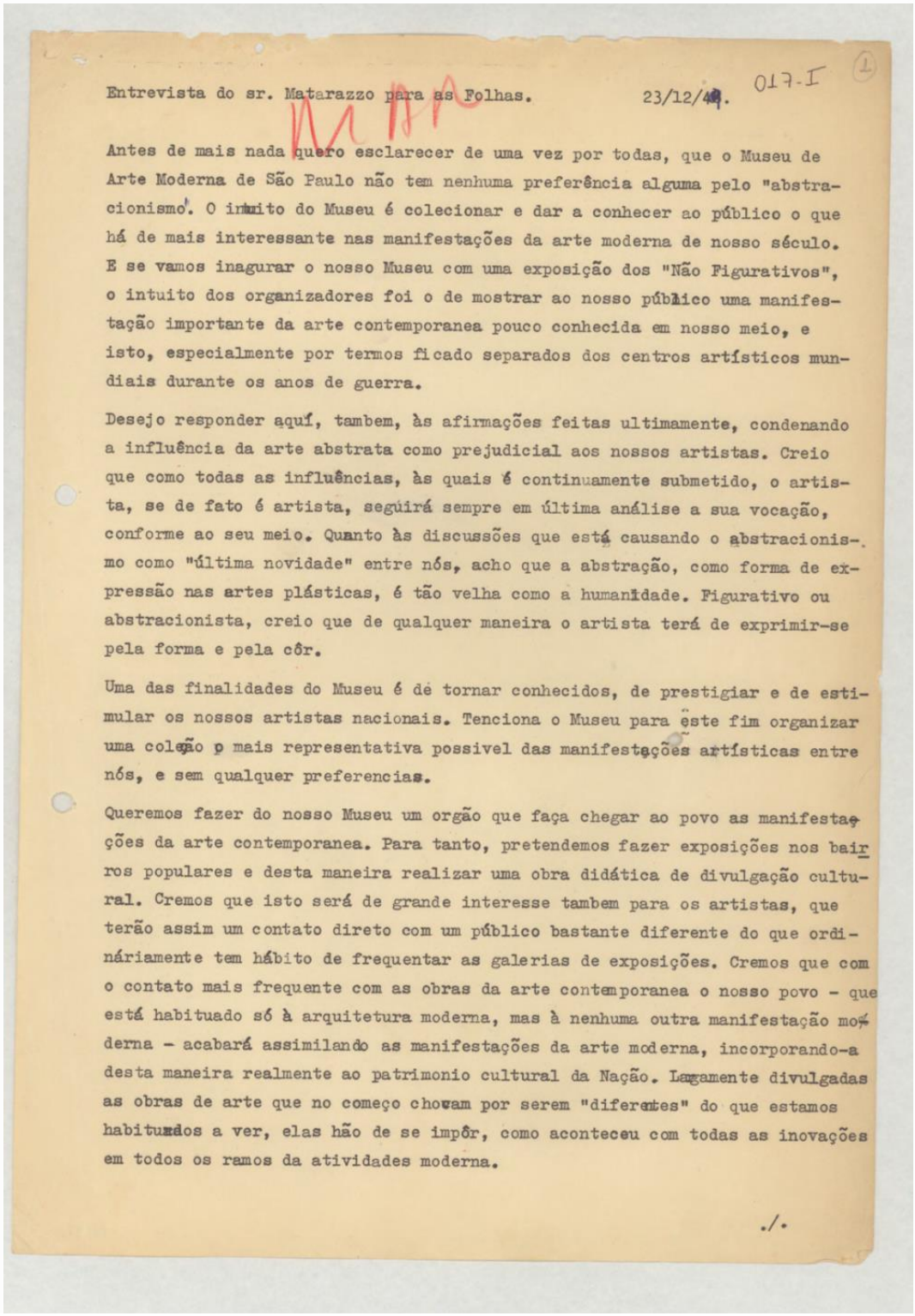
[456] *'[P]rejudicial à formação estética do nosso povo [brasileiro e é um] falso credo estético, anti-cristão, anti-latino e anti-brasileiro.'* In: "Protestam os Artistas Plásticos Contra a Cessão do Trianon à I Bienal de Arte", *Jornal de Notícias, Ano VI*, São Paulo, 9th November 1951, Arquivos Históricos Wanda Svevo, Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, São Paulo.

[457] *'Não é difícil compreender porque o Sr. Matarazzo e todos os aliados do imperialismo no Brasil, desejam tão ardentemente ver os vários artistas brasileiros passados para o campo do abstractionismo. É que a arte abstrata não versa os anseios populares, não versa aqueles problemas do povo para cuja solução é necessário destruir a clique imperialista que oprime nossa pátria e com o qual estão interessados o Sr. Matarazzo e mais um ínfimo grupo de brasileiros. A arte abstrata é cara a estes reacionários porque isola os artistas brasileiros de todos os temas que sendo nacionais falam a linguagem do povo; [...a linguagem que] pede a luta contra o imperialismo e seus serviçais.'* Artigas, "A Bienal é Contra os Artistas do Povo".

out that Artigas was a member of the Brazilian communist party (PCB), a reason which might have led him to condemn any movement that he might have recognised to be subordinated to the Brazilian industrialists and to be linked to the US hegemonic agenda. However, and in spite of any personal bias, one can state that abstractionism ignited polemics in the Brazilian cultural field for being perceived as deprived of social function and imbued with free enterprise capitalist ideology. It was seen as blatant proof of US cultural and geopolitical power in Brazil, and a symbol of the Brazilian capitalist, industrial and urban modernisers who aimed at instilling liberal values through cultural sponsorship and educative initiatives. On the contrary, figurative art was to be valued for its popular aspirations, and its social commitment.



Entrevista do sr. Matarazzo para as Folhas. 23/12/49. 017-I (1)

Antes de mais nada quero esclarecer de uma vez por todas, que o Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo não tem nenhuma preferência alguma pelo "abstracionismo". O intuito do Museu é colecionar e dar a conhecer ao público o que há de mais interessante nas manifestações da arte moderna de nosso século. E se vamos inaugurar o nosso Museu com uma exposição dos "Não Figurativos", o intuito dos organizadores foi o de mostrar ao nosso público uma manifestação importante da arte contemporanea pouco conhecida em nosso meio, e isto, especialmente por termos ficado separados dos centros artísticos mundiais durante os anos de guerra.

Desejo responder aquí, tambem, às afirmações feitas ultimamente, condenando a influência da arte abstrata como prejudicial aos nossos artistas. Creio que como todas as influências, às quais é continuamente submetido, o artista, se de fato é artista, seguirá sempre em última análise a sua vocação, conforme ao seu meio. Quanto às discussões que está causando o abstracionismo como "última novidade" entre nós, acho que a abstração, como forma de expressão nas artes plásticas, é tão velha como a humanidade. Figurativo ou abstracionista, creio que de qualquer maneira o artista terá de exprimir-se pela forma e pela côr.

Uma das finalidades do Museu é de tornar conhecidos, de prestigiar e de estimular os nossos artistas nacionais. Tenciona o Museu para este fim organizar uma coleção o mais representativa possivel das manifestações artísticas entre nós, e sem qualquer preferencias.

Queremos fazer do nosso Museu um orgão que faça chegar ao povo as manifestações da arte contemporanea. Para tanto, pretendemos fazer exposições nos bairros populares e desta maneira realizar uma obra didática de divulgação cultural. Cremos que isto será de grande interesse tambem para os artistas, que terão assim um contato direto com um público bastante diferente do que ordináriamente tem hábito de frequentar as galerias de exposições. Cremos que com o contato mais frequente com as obras da arte contemporanea o nosso povo - que está habituado só à arquitetura moderna, mas à nenhuma outra manifestação moderna - acabará assimilando as manifestações da arte moderna, incorporando-a desta maneira realmente ao patrimonio cultural da Nação. Largamente divulgadas as obras de arte que no começo chocam por serem "diferentes" do que estamos habituados a ver, elas hão de se impôr, como aconteceu com todas as inovações em todos os ramos da atividades moderna.

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Fig. 46:

Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho's interview for the newspapers (23rd December 1949).

Source: Arquivos Históricos Wanda Svevo, Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, São Paulo.

5.2.2. - The US Modernist Incursion versus *L'École de Paris*

Although, as we have just seen, a number of Brazilian cultural commentators thought that abstractionism in Brazil had to do with the US neo-colonialist foreign policy, the opening exhibition of the MAM-SP was also labelled by artists, art critics and the specialised press as representative of *l' École de Paris*. This obviously contradicts any association of the museum with the hegemonic North-American cultural agenda. Rockefeller and the MoMA were engaging in a take-over of the position that Paris had held, for centuries, as epicentre of Western culture, therefore an exhibition that reiterated Paris's position in relation to the modernist avant-gardes was, fundamentally, against Rockefeller's interests in Brazil.

Despite Matarazzo's negotiations with Rockefeller, European, and particularly, French involvement, was central to the MAM-SP initial collection and first exhibition. Personal taste and long-term connections were factors which, in this respect, cannot be underestimated; Matarazzo was of Italian origins and favoured European masters, and Penteado took advantage of the long-term family connections in Paris, which she inherited from her aunt Olívia Guedes Penteado. Not only so, as the European honeymoon of 1947, and in particular the unforeseen circumstance of Matarazzo's illness and forced stay at the Davos clinic, facilitated networking with European artists and art dealers, beyond Nierendorf.

The Matarazzo-Penteado's honeymoon turned out to be a vigorous art-shopping spree: indeed Matarazzo wanted to keep up with Rockefeller's expectations and prepare for the imminent discussions about the materialization of the institution he was chosen to lead. In order to achieve this, Matarazzo spent his forcedly protracted wedding celebrations organizing a network of art dealers, such as the Italians Margherita Sarfatti, Renzo Camerino and Livio Gaetani, who would purchase on his behalf modern masterpieces in Italy and France. In about six months Matarazzo and Penteado built up an impressive collection that comprised still-lives by Matisse and Braque, Picasso's *Figure*, Kandinsky's *Light Composition*, Léger's *Le Vais Bleu* and a few paintings by De Chirico. After such an effort, Matarazzo indeed deserved 12 of the 13 pieces brought to Brazil a few months earlier by Rockefeller and kept under the IAB custody, even though his efforts resulted in a repertoire that was not at all pro-American modern art, but was mainly made of European avant-garde.[458]

[458] The information about the quantity of artworks under the responsibility of the IAB that were passed to the MAM-SP has been supplied to me by the *Seção de Catalogação e Documentação* of the Museum of Contemporary Art of the University of São Paulo (MAC-USP), to which Matarazzo and Penteado's art collections were donated in 1962, with the MAM-SP collection's donation following in 1963. However,

As already discussed, on the occasion of "From Figurativism to Abstractionism", the notorious French art dealer René Drouin and the artist Marcel Duchamp were involved with the selection, organisation and shipping of modern artwork to the MAM-SP. The French contribution to the curatorial project for the MAM-SP first exhibition was arranged whilst Matarazzo and Penteado were in Europe, after Matarazzo liaised with the Italian artist Alberto Magnelli, the brother of one of Matarazzo's great friends in São Paulo, the engineer Aldo Magnelli. Through Alberto, Matarazzo met Léon Degand, who was connected and had financial interests with Drouin, and arranged a contract between the latter and Matarazzo.[459] The contract (January 1948) negotiated the selection and shipping of 150 art works from Paris and New York to São Paulo, for a cost of 5000 US dollars.[460] Drouin's interface in New York was Leo Castelli, an Italian of Jewish origin who co-owned Drouin's gallery until he was obliged to sever the partnership and leave Paris in 1941 due to Nazi persecution. Castelli, it had been agreed with Matarazzo, would deal with the shipping of art works from the US selected by Marcel Duchamp and Sidney Janis in New York.

According to Guilbaut, Rockefeller found out about the arrangements for the first MAM-SP exhibition to which the Degand-Drouin-Castelli triangulation was fundamental, only shortly before the opening of "From Figurativism to Abstractionism". In Guilbaut's words, 'Rockefeller was rather surprised when he heard of the collaboration between Matarazzo and Léon Degand […]. Degand's sudden appearance on the scene was a great surprise for the MoMA administration'.[461] Guilbaut also suggests that the MoMA's curatorial team, due to some sort of negligence or lack of attention, forgot about the triangulation.[462] Yet the correspondence discussed earlier between Rockefeller and Matarazzo of September-October 1948 shows that Rockefeller was kept abreast about

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according to Ana Paula Nascimento, the MAM-SP received only seven pieces, those being by the Americans Browne, Calder, Grosz and Graves, and by the Europeans Chagall, Leger and Masson. Rebollo Gonçalves states that the the MAM-SP received six pieces. See 1) See: Nascimento, *MAM: Museu para a Metrópole*; 2) Gonçalves, *Crítico de Arte*; and 3) Gonçalves, *Sérgio Milliet 100 Anos .*

[459] With regard to the Matarazzo/Degand/Drouin triangulation, Aracy Amaral attributes great deal of agency to Degand, arguing Degand's persuasive power over Matarazzo, exercised through constant letters inciting Matarazzo to go ahead with the opening of a private museum of modern art in São Paulo. She also states that fundamentally, Drouin's participation to the deal was merely of logistic and financial nature, being all the works that the gallerist shipped from Paris to the MAM-SP chosen by Degand himself. In addition, Serge Guilbaut states that the Parisian selection was entirely curated by Degand, analysing the aims and ambitions of Degand's choice in the light of his modernist project for the New World. See 1) Amaral, *Museu de Arte Contemporânea da Universidade de São Paulo*; and 2) Guilbaut, *"Respingos na Parada Modernista"*.

[460] See: letter of Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho a René Drouin, dated 6th November 1948, Arquivos Históricos Wanda Svevo, Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, São Paulo.

[461] *'Rockefeller ficou bastante surpreso quando soube da colaboração entre Matarazzo and Léon Degand [...]. A súbita aparição de Degand na scena foi uma grande surpresa para a administração do MoMA'*. Guilbaut, "Respingos na Parada Modernista", 153.

[462] See: ibid.

the developments.[463] These two key letters also prove that, after being informed about Drouin and the Parisian and New York selection of art works, he did not oppose the arrangement. On the contrary, his reply reiterated the importance of the MAM-SP/MoMA cooperation, and offered the help of nonetheless than d'Harnoncourt to Penteado. After all, Rockefeller knew that half of the works that were about to reach São Paulo were coming from the US and he had been supplied with a list of the works that Janis and Duchamp were selecting in New York.

The negotiations with the US side of the contract went wrong at the very last moment. Castelli demanded an extra 2000 US dollars when the artworks were about to go through customs, a request that Matarazzo deemed in breach of the contract – attributing to Drouin any financial liability. The misunderstanding had catastrophic implications for the MAM-SP landmark exhibition, to the extent that Léon Degand feared losing his credibility within the international art environment. This is evident if one considers his letter of November 1948 to the Brazilian Ambassador in Paris, Cícero Dias, where beyond personal concerns he stated that

> due to the shortage of New York works, the exhibition is mutilated, extremely incomplete – it lacks the "Young Americans", without any doubt; […] as much as others on which I was counting on and I can be accused of having deliberately ignored […]. The circumstances have forced us to be almost exclusively limited to *l' École de Paris*.'[464]

Through Degand's letter it can be argued that the MAM-SP first exhibition had evolved in a way that slipped out of Rockefeller's control. As we have seen, Rockefeller had been monitoring the evolution of the exhibition through Matarazzo himself. Indeed, the organisation of the MAM-SP opening exhibition unfolded in a way that thwarted Rockefeller's primary expectation from his Brazilian satellite museums. As Lima states, Rockefeller 'expected them to be interested in 'receiving modern art from the States' and also hosting travelling exhibitions organized by the Museum of Modern Art in New York'.[465]

It is probably due to these unforeseen circumstances that it became necessary to revert to Rockefeller's donation of 1946 - which was due to be moved from the IAB to the

[463] See: figures 41, 42, 43 and 44.

[464] *'À cause de la carence de New York, l'exposition est mutilée, très incomplète – il manqué Les Jeune Américaines, sans doute, mais aussi […] d' autre sur lesquelles je comptais et que l'on pourrait m'accuser d'avoir volontairement ignores […]. Les circonstances nous ont contraints à nous limiter à l'École de Paris, presque exclusivement'*. Letter of Léon Degand to Cícero Dias, dated 24th November 1948, Arquivos Históricos Wanda Svevo, Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, São Paulo.

[465] Lima, *"Nelson A. Rockefeller and Art Patronage in Brazil*", 7. Available at: *The Online Rockefeller Archive Centre*. Available at: <http://www.rockarch.org/publications/resrep/lima.php?printer=1>. [Last accessed: 21/02/2015].

MAM-SP in September 1949 - to heal the 'mutilation'. The operation was of little relief because of the 13 works that had arrived in Brazil almost three years prior to Matarazzo's museum opening exhibition, only two were abstract, and the worst was that of these two only Calder's sculpture *Yellow, Black, Red and White Mobile* was American **{fig. 47}**. The other one, entitled *Composition*, was French and made by Fernand Léger. Four more of Calder's sculptural works located in Brazil came to rescue the US representation, one of them belonged to Matarazzo, another was owned by the IAB, and two more were coming from private collectors in São Paulo.[466] Apart from Calder, the only other American representative at "From Figurativism to Abstractionism" was Patrick Bruce. In total, the exhibition comprised 51 artists, of which two were Brazilians (one of them was Cícero Dias, who was born in Brazil, the other was Waldemar Cordeiro, who was Italian-Brazilian, grew up in Italy and moved to Brazil in 1946).[467] This implies that 47 artists were European, being almost all of them alive and working in Paris.[468]

Fig. 47:

Alexander Calder,
Yellow, Black, Red and White Mobile (undated).

Painted metal, 93 x 130 cm.

Museu de Arte
Contemporânea da Universidade de São Paulo,
(MAC-USP), São Paulo.

Source:
Seção de
Catalogação/Documentação
Divisão Técnico-científica do
Acervo do MAC-USP.

This disproportional composition bears a direct connection to Castelli's sudden demand for extra funds that led the boxes of American art to return from customs to the New York galleries un-opened. However we must consider that, on the one hand,

[466] See the list of exhibited works in *Do Figurativismo ao Abstractionsimo* (exhib. cat.), Museu de Arte Moderna, São Paulo, 1949.
[467] Works by these two artists were made in 1948. Some Brazilian literature states that there were three Brazilians at the MAM-SP opening exhibition. This is because there is a tendency to add Samson Flexor, a Moldavian who escaped to Brazil from France in 1948, to the list.
[468] See: ibid.

although d'Harnoncourt received Penteado at the MoMA and discussed with her works that could potentially be sent to the MAM-SP, none of the pieces actually shown at "from Figurativism to Abstractionism" were from the MoMA's collection. On the other hand, although Matarazzo sought help from the MoMA, the MAM-SP's artistic committee was working on an independent curatorial strategy, which Rockefeller did not openly oppose. We have earlier seen that Matarazzo advocated the educational pursuits of his museum in accordance with the MoMA's explicit orientations upon the MAM-SP establishment.[469] Rockefeller had also required, through Sprague Smith, that the creative board of the Brazilian museum should be composed of a variegated range of full-time specialists covering the fields of architecture, design and cinema. [470] Therefore it is surprising that although Rockefeller felt entitled to intrude so deeply into the MAM-SP's didactic policy and human resource configuration, he ended up giving *carte blanche* to these specialists.

The meagre presence of American artists at the first Brazilian abstract art exhibition illustrates the MoMA's inconsistency. After years of efforts spent in planning the appearance of a satellite museum in Brazil, the MoMA withdrew at the crucial moment in which the MAM-SP was about to open its doors and profess its mission to the Brazilians. Perplexities escalate if one considers that the quarrel with Castelli and Drouin led the opening of "From Figurativism to Abstractionism" to be postponed twice, the initial date having been fixed for January 1949.[471] This means that the MoMA had two months to intervene before the actual exhibition opening; there was time to replenish the American representation at a moment in which the stakes were so high. Rockefeller's museum did not even ship the Lissitzky, Malevich and Mac Iver asked for by Matarazzo almost one year earlier; it stood still, watching America's first occasion to grandly display its modernism to the Brazilians vanish into air like smoke.[472]

In this respect, it must be pointed out that in the years previous to the opening of the MAM-SP the US art environment was undergoing a period of transition. The first half decade of the 1940s in the US was characterised by a clearly expansionist international cultural policy on the part of the US State. This stance was equalled only by the vehement yet uncertain search for new and highly individual parameters for national art on behalf of

[469] The educational nature of the MAM-SP and its first exhibition is claimed by Matarazzo in his inverview for the major Brazilian newspapers of December 1949, and in her study on the early years of this museum D' Horta states that its policies on education took shape under firm insistence of the MoMA and its representatives. See: 1) Figure 46: Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho's interview to the newspapers, dated 23rd December 1949, Arquivos Históricos Wanda Svevo, Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, São Paulo; and 2) Horta, *MAM: Museu de Arte Moderna*.

[470] See: Horta, ibid.

[471] See: Nascimento, *MAM: Museu para a Metrópole*.

[472] None of these artists is listed in the exhibition catalogue. See: *Do Figurativismo ao Abstractionsimo*.

American artists and art critics.[473] During these years, on the one hand, Rockefeller was strategically approaching Brazilian industrialists with the aim of influencing them to open local modern art museums, in order to have them show US art and allow the MoMA curatorial projects to travel to the Southern hemisphere. On the other, the New York art environment was working on determining the movement that could be considered 'an explicit American intervention in the modern canon, […] "independent, self-reliant, a true expression of the national will, spirit and character"'.[474] However, in the year previous to the MAM-SP first exhibition d'Harnoncourt - who linked the State and its intelligence agency (i.e., the CIA), through the MoMA, to the paladins of abstract expressionism - made a statement that proved that the critical gap between the worlds of American ideology and art had begun to be suppressed. Nationalist expectations and internationalist ambitions, not only in the field of politics but also of culture, had finally met, and in full force.

In May 1948, d'Harnoncourt presented "Challenges and Promise" at the American Federation of the Arts. This paper made public the fact that the US political elite had finally found in abstract expressionism, the movement supported by the American mandarins of avant-garde art criticism and collecting, that is, by the "inner circle", a strong and well-defined symbol of the 'American way of life'.[475]

Drawing on the individuality, freedom and the boldness of abstract expressionist painting, d'Harnoncourt's paper was 'the first [national] reconciliation of avant-garde ideology with the ideology of postwar liberalism, the reconciliation of the ideology of individuality, risk, and new frontiers as forged by Rothko and Newman, Greenberg and Rosenberg, with the advanced [American] liberal ideology'.[476] D'Harnoncourt followed Greenberg's paramount statement about the supremacy of American art thanks to the achievements of the abstract expressionist avant-garde. In March 1948, Greenberg's illustrious article "The Decline of Cubism" advocated that 'Jackson Pollock was the new Picasso and New York the new Paris'.[477] These facts clearly underscore that American ideologues had chosen the movement that symbolised US hegemony one year prior to "From Figurativism to Abstractionism". Yet, at what was probably the most important

[473] This search is discussed by Guilbaut in his book length study on the emergence of an American hegemonic avant-garde. See: Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art*.
[474] Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper?,* 254.
[475] New York art authorities that represented the American utmost of art criticism, curating and collecting, composed the "inner circle". All its members were supporters of the New York avant-garde and were responsible for the success of the abstract expressionists in the American art world and market. Its members were art critics Clement Greenberg and James Johnson Sweeney, upper-class art patron and gallery owner Peggy Guggenheim, curator, critic and collector James Soby, and MoMA's director Alfred Barr.
[476] Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art,* 189.
[477] Justina Wierzchowska, *The Absolute and the Cold War: Discourses of Abstract Expressionism*, *The Warsaw Studies in English Language Culture, Literature, and Visual Arts, Volume 1*, (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2011), 46.

branch of the MoMA in Latin America, and despite the relevance of these statements, Rockefeller and the US State completely failed to showcase their agenda at the opening show of the MAM-SP.

A reason for this apparently inconsistent behaviour on behalf of Rockefeller and the MoMa could be that the time for a well-defined international cultural incursion was not ripe, even though the American "fields of power and culture" had finally become aligned, as proved by d'Harnourcourt and Greenberg's statements. The right moment for the US's decisive artistic incursion into Brazil was to come just a few years later. It happened after abstract expressionism gained fully-fledged recognition in the US, that is, when it represented the chosen American hegemonic symbol not only at the high peak of the cultural and political intelligentsia, but also within public opinion, particularly that of the booming American middle-class.[478] This moment, and that of the widespread acclaim of abstract expressionism in the US coincided with the consolidation of the Cold War discourse in the mid-1950s. The MAM-SP's 4th Biennial of 1957 saw the definitive incursion of US modernism into Brazil thanks to the North-American curatorial project for that year, with its emphasis on abstract expressionism. Alfred H. Barr Jr, the director of the MoMA and the head of the US delegation, organised a huge retrospective exhibition of Jackson Pollock's work in São Paulo, as a demonstration of the specific type of art he wanted people to identify with the US. The moment for this Pollock "campaign" abroad could not have been better. In fact, the artist had died the previous year, transforming him into a national hero for artists, and a catalyser of magnifying critical attention. Pollock's works came from a MoMA exhibition that took place over the winter of the same year (i.e., 1957), which had been revised and expanded before travelling abroad. The catalogue of the US delegation on the special show of Pollock's work states openly that such improvement aimed at expanding knowledge about the artist internationally. Pollock had died precisely at the moment in which his career was beginning to take off at international level, and only a very few of his works had been seen abroad. The shipping for the 4th São Biennial was designed for a tour and would continue travelling to Europe, where it was expected at several institutions.[479]

We have seen in this chapter that Matarazzo saw in modernist abstract art a vital means for the affirmation of the progressive and liberal identity of the industrialist class

[478] See: Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art.*
[479] See: Catalogue of the *US Delegation for the 4th São Paulo Biennial, 1957*, The International Council of the Modern Art Museum, New York, 1957, Arquivos Históricos Wanda Svevo, Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, São Paulo.

to which he belonged. For Matarazzo, abstractionism was the banner of his class ambition to structurally modernise and industrialise Brazil to international standards; his modern art museum was the irrefutable proof that free enterprise had put the country into an emancipatory track not only economically and politically, but also culturally. To assert modernist expressions in Brazil, for the entrepreneurial circle of the developmentalist era, was a way to instil a liberal and urban culture within the growing population of Brazil's metropolises. And the shift from figurativism to abstraction promoted by his museum's first exhibition suggests that the type of free enterprise capitalist ideology he wanted art to represent had to be embodied by abstract forms of modern art.

Matarazzo's statement published in *as folhas* shortly after the opening of "From Figurativism to Abstractionism" claims that Brazilian artists were free to be influenced by international abstract art, yet it also advocates the importance for artists and the masses to be exposed to forms of the modern other than the architectural one. In his words: 'I believe that with a more frequent contact with the works of contemporary art, our people - who are accustomed only to modern architecture but to no other modern manifestation - will end up assimilating the manifestations of modern art, and, in this way, incorporating it to the cultural heritage of the Nation '.[480] What surfaces here is that by the late 1940s Brazilian figurative *modernismo* - that of Portinari or of Di Cavalcanti (who as we have seen, vehemently criticised the MAM-SP's first exhibition) - was no longer seen as modern, and was not considered a suitable match to modernist architecture in terms of its potential to stand for Brazilian modernist expressions. A decade after the State had associated Portinari's iconographic glossary of 'Brazilianness' with Niemeyer and Costa's architecture at the Brazilian pavilion for the New York's art fair, there was a slice of the Brazilian patronage that deemed 1930-1940s *modernismo* as passé. Further, what Matarazzo's statement points to is that figurativist *modernismo*, for being supported by the Vargas State, could not stand for the ideology of liberalism, free will and freedom of expression. For its association with the other side of the political spectrum, figurativism in general could not be a trope for individualism and progress. Thus Brazilian free enterprise patronage looked to the opposite end of artistic expression to find the visual carrier of its ideological stance.

Through the didactic and populist policies of his museum, Matarazzo wanted to spread a type of art whose intrinsic message was, he believed, to exhort society to follow

[480] '*Creio que com o contato mais frequente com as obras da arte Contemporânea o nosso povo - que está habituado só à arquitetura moderna, mas à nenhuma outra manifestação moderna - acabará assimilando as manifestações da arte moderna, incorporando-a desta maneira realmente ao patrimonio cultural da Nação'*. In: Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho's interview for the newspapers, dated 23rd December 1949, ibid. See figure 46.

the pace of, and comply with and contribute to, the goals of capitalistic enterprise. Certainly, and as it has been shown, the MAM-SP's predilection for modernist art was influenced by the international agenda on culture that the US had set to consolidate its geo-political power. Rockefeller and the MoMA saw Matarazzo's museum as a weapon for the global re-mapping of cultural frontiers in favour of American hegemony. Therefore, the value that Matarazzo attributed to the 'modern' and to the 'abstract' had to do with national power games as much as with international politics at the outset of the Cold War. As we have seen, on the one hand Rockefeller orchestrated the establishment of the MAM-SP, with Matarazzo hand-picked, as a result of Sprague Smith's mission in Brazil, by the MoMA's leader in a New York meeting. On the other one, Matarazzo did not refrain from adopting the democratizing program prescribed by the MoMA to advocate the Brazilian industrialist elite's ideology through abstractionism. This is not to say that such ideology was not in itself part and parcel of US imperialism, nor did it reiterate American geo-political interest in Brazil, but to claim that it was re-scaled to fit national capitalist interest. In fact, it can be concluded that Matarazzo's reply of December 1949 to the press attack on his museum's abstractionist exhibition re-frames, at a local level, Rockefeller's view on art patronage as a hegemonic tool.[481] This view was earnestly described by Tom Braden, a high officer of the CIA during the 1950s, and goes as follows: patronage "carrie[s] with it a duty to instruct, to educate people to accept not what they want, or think they want, but what they ought to have. You have always to battle your own ignoramuses or, to put it more politely, people who just don't understand".[482]

[481] See: figure 46.
[482] Tom Braden, in: Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper?,* 259.

Conclusion

This study has argued that 1920s *modernismo*, when analysed in terms of its national agency, in relation to the socio-cultural and political landscape of the First Republic, can be seen as a counter-cultural movement imbued with an anti-hegemonic stance. Chapter 1 has shown that the backdrop against which the movement took shape consisted of academicist forces that in the socio-cultural domain favoured the Francophile culture of the white-Brazilian elite and disdained that of the *Indio* and the Afro-Brazilian. On the political front, the academy stood for an expression of 'coloniality', that is, it replicated the colonial structure of domination and precluded the cultural emancipation of the masses, historically constituted by ethnic minorities. The disadvantageous position of the national subaltern had been worsened by the arrival, in the late 19th century, of Gobineau's racial theories and, in the 20th century, of eugenic ideas that would shape the country's intellectual circles in the disciplines of law, politics, anthropology, medicine, socio-cultural studies and education. This backdrop clearly manifested itself in the views of the academy, and it was the way in which *modernismo* refused to treat popular subjects and social minorities as degenerate, uncivilised and inferior that generated outrage and contempt within the culturally and politically conservative. A programme of aesthetic-literary innovation based on these precepts was therefore not only enacting an aesthetic-literary strategy to supplant the academy, but also challenging the political discourse on racial difference and white supremacy implied in the academicist view on Brazil's route to modernisation.

This discourse, judging by Andrade's notion of 'canned conscience' (see: 1.2.), which had been brought to Brazil in the colonial caravels and had been turned into the academic notions of 'Brazilianness', needed to be questioned: hence his aggressive stance against the 'vegetable elite'.[483] Another challenge to the racist ideology that led Lobato to denigrate the rural Brazilian in his *Jeca Tatú* - and that outraged Motta Filho in 1921 (see: 1.1.) - was Amaral's *A Negra* of 1923 (see: 3.1.1.). Painted in Paris after the artist had embraced ideas of the *modernistas*, *A Negra* proposes a new relationship between the culturally and politically dominant white Brazilian elite and its national 'other'. When contextualised within the national cultural and political predominant mentality against which the *modernistas* fought, and by considering Lobato's reaction to Malfatti's depictions of the national subaltern, this painting challenges eugenic views on the

[483] Andrade criticises the 'importers of canned conscience' and the 'vegetable elite' in his "Anthropophagic Manifesto" (1928).

'whitening' of Brazil's society. Consequently, it also sets certain parameters of recognition and appreciation of the Afro-Brazilian that differ highly from the Parisian idealisation and stylisation of the primitive 'other'.

We have seen in this study that following *modernismo*'s split in the mid-1920s, the *verde-amarelos* and the Nazi-sympathiser *integralistas,* similar to the academicists, manipulated symbols of Brazil's roots, such as the *Indio* and the *mestiço*, to state their rejection of any exogenous cultural element newly arrived from Europe in a xenophobic project of cultural nationalism. However, and rather contradictorily, their project turned a blind eye to the European matrix which was still so vehemently bound to the prevailing white-Brazilian elitist ideology on cultural and political matters, and which was at the very core of their discriminatory stance against the non-white and mixed race Brazilians. This approach to national cultural identity was countered by the nationalist-internationalist one of Amaral and Andrade, who saw in the appropriation and critical re-evaluation of contemporaneous European trends the way to start making 'true' Brazilian art and to break away from the long established aping rationale of the academicists. Andrade's "In Favour of a National Art" (1915) (see: 1.1.), clearly reproaches the persistence of an acritical and reverential adherence to supposedly universal standards by young Brazilian artists, and incites them to incorporate, rather than reject, their European experiences in conscious explorations of Brazil's multifaceted reality.

In terms of 1920s *modernismo*'s international agency, Chapter 3 has argued for the presence, within the movement, of a deliberate manipulation of European exoticism rather than, as Herkenhoff maintains, of conformity to it. It has done so by analysing Amaral's portrayal of Prince Tovalú, and Andrade's paper at the Sorbonne in 1923. It has shown aspects of Amaral and Andrade's stance through which it is possible to state that - rather than wanting to achieve success in Paris by abiding by the European fascination with the faraway 'other' and its use in the production of culture - the couple overcame such fascination and turned it into a weapon of the subaltern against Eurocentric modernity. Their use of primitivist references was not a submissive and self-serving adaptation to the Parisian exotic trend as a means to gain acceptance and fame in the French milieu.

According to our findings, Amaral had no intention of listening to the Parisian tutors she was studying with beyond what she was interested in hearing: she was looking for a

synthesis of all her learnings and she rejected the notion of the 'master'.[484] At the Sorbonne, Andrade informed the European audience that the acceptance which exoticism had reached in Paris was finally allowing alternative ethnic forces to be expressed and the subaltern to feel more comfortable, yet he also let them know that, in the previous century, what had been achieved by the French mission in Brazil was to force the Brazilians to paint art with no personality.[485] Andrade was both announcing to the Europeans that he had found in Paris a suitable environment from which to express his confidence as equal, and blaming French influence for impeding the emergence of original art in Brazil. Hence if both Amaral and Andrade were rejecting the imitation of European prototypes - a clear sign of their rejection of cultural colonialism - , how could they turn to the Afro-Brazilian and the Amerindian cannibal, thinking that the price of their success was to use the black and the native from a colonialist perspective? To mimic the European this way, would have only reiterated their subaltern condition and Brazil's cultural dependence.

Through a scrutiny of the European fetishization of the other, Amaral and Andrade developed a strategy that allowed them to gain a space at the very centre of the European cultural scenario, from which to put forward an original, self-confident and emancipated Brazilian *modernismo* which held non-Eurocentric views. Their *modernismo* differed from the French in that it was not a mere fascination with, and formal appropriation of, primitive references. *Modernismo*'s concern with these references was not as conceptually shallow and formally driven as that of the European counterpart. In fact, as section 3.2. has argued, it was looking into the 'primitive at home', and literature on the subject matter, to extract from the *Tupí* cannibal's system of belief a counter-narrative to Western epistemology , and a model of production of knowledge far more adequate than that of the white European and the white Brazilian of European descent.

Particularly relevant to this point is Andrade's *Schema ao Tristão de Athayde* (1928), in which the author clearly shows his knowledge of the *Tupi's* philosophical position. Here Andrade adopts the Amerindian epistemological domain as a means to address the failures of Western hierarchical social and legal systems, fallocentrism and morally crippling religious indoctrinations, and to challenge the arrogance with which European culture had for centuries looked down on that of native Brazil and the colonial world. The *modernistas* were revisionists interested in criticising the West for its tendency to distort

[484] See: Tarsila do Amaral, letter to her family dated 8th October 1923, in: Amaral, *Tarsila: Sua Obra e Seu Tempo*.
[485] See : Andrade, "L' Effort Intellectuel du Brésil Contemporain".

the 'other''s culture. Amaral was looking at Brazil's origins through several bibliographical references, including the chronicles of Thévet and Léry and evidently saw in the fact that these two 16th century European discoverers thought that they had found the Amazonian and the Sciapod in Brazilian land an obvious and exoticist mis-representation of the semblance and the culture of the Amerindian. Amaral most likely decided to draw on these two mythical figures, from illustrations she found in such books, to point out the Western tendency to look at the 'other' without attempting to envision the 'other''s perspective, as these two figures are unmistakably recognisable in her *A Negra* and *Abaporu.*

This type of revisionism was at the very core of Amaral and Andrade's use of the primitive reference, and, as Waldemar-George's words have proved, was known in Paris. The couple's intention to use the world's cultural capital as a place of enunciation was achieved, given that a member of the French cultural circle was writing about their revision. In fact, Waldemar-George's text (transcribed in the catalogue for Amaral's exhibition *Tarsila Antropófaga* (1929) in Rio) shows that the author knew Andrade's *modernista* theories well and understood that Andrade wanted to assert the principles of the pre-colonial cannibal and their ability to oppose the hegemonic ethics and the vision of the West.[486]

Another of the main tasks of this study was to explore the historical progression of Brazilian art/culture from *modernismo* to the official arrival of abstract currents in Brazil, and to establish a dialogue between this progression and aspects of the development of patronage and the art institutions in the country. As a result, this study has not only explored the tense, complex and at times mutually empowering relations between the 'field of culture' and the 'field of power' through patronage, but also traced the chronological line of Brazilian patronage and marked the difference between private and liberal patronage, and the public and authoritarian one, along this line. In terms of the development of Brazilian patronage *per se* in the first half of the 20th century, we have given an account on the passage from 1910s-1920s *Belle Époque* salons, to the highly systematised national and public cultural policy of the 1930s, to the international and private modern art museum of the 1940s.

We dealt with the evolution of those agents in the field of cultural production that functioned as sponsors, publishing, mediatic and educational propellers of artworks and artists within Brazilian society. We have shown some mechanisms through which artists

[486] See: Waldemar-Georges, quoted in Bandeira, "Tarsila Antropófaga".

and art movements may interact with patronage, adopting differing levels of identification or degrees of conformity, or through symbiotic relationships, and because of ideological positions which are either aligned with, or diametrically opposite to, that of patrons and their institutions. Yet we have also seen that patronage, as a bridge between art and power, may play in favour of dominant political and ideological forces and establish a dynamic of appropriation, distortion and manipulation of the field of cultural production.

We have identified two major roles that patronage has played in the field of *modernista* aesthetic-literary production, and in the arrival of abstractionism in Brazil. One of the roles played by patronage was to endorse the cultural reformers; to act as a legitimising entity in their programme of aesthetic-literary innovation, and this particular function emerged in our findings in chapter 2, and 4. The other role of patronage was its active participation in the culture war between reformers and traditionalists; a participation characterised by taking positions that did not always favour the reformers, and this is apparent in what we have discussed in chapter 2, 4 and 5. These two roles were characterised by shifting stances towards the Brazilian field of cultural production over the historical period covered by the thesis. In fact, the positions taken by patronage whilst playing these roles, in the decades explored by this study, were based on motives that varied from genuine intellectual affinities, ideological biases and political advantage. From now on, we will discuss the content of the thesis in relation to these two roles and to these shifting stances.

Both public and private patronage, from the early 20th century to the 1940s, interacted with *modernismo* by playing the role of legitimising entity. Chapter 2 has shown how Paulo Prado and Olívia Guedes Penteado supported the counter-cultural movement that since the mid-1910s challenged the academicists. These patrons endorsed a project of aesthetic-literary innovation committed to the validation of the national subaltern, and to the negation of a retrograde approach to the Brazilian race trilogy based on socio-cultural asymmetries. They supported those in the 'field of culture' that challenged Vianna and the *eugenistas*' racial-based rationale of discrimination as a formula for a modernised Brazil; a rationale which, in the field of culture, was embodied by Lobato and the academy. They sponsored those who launched vitriolic attacks on Lobato's *Jeca Tatú*, and on the books written by the wing of the educated elite that portrayed the *caboclo* as backwards, degenerate, and inferior to the white to the extent

of resembling, as Motta Filho put it in 1921, a "burlesque monkey".[487] They favoured the group represented by Malfatti, whose paintings at the 1917 solo exhibition led Lobato to denounce her depictions of new migrant labour in Brazil because these characters, for those of the elite who held Lobato' s views, were embarrassing, socially illegitimate and unwanted in the world of 'high art'.

Prado and Penteado supplied the *modernista* section of the Brazilian 'field of culture' with weapons with which it was possible to undermine the prevailing view among the dominant class, although this was fundamentally the section of society to which these patrons themselves belonged. To put it another way, Penteado and Prado fostered those Brazilian cultural agents whose 'position taking' committed to a type of innovation that did not abide by the dominant political views of the ruling class nor their traditionalist discourse on art and culture. Thus, for its endorsement of a counter-cultural/anti-hegemonic faction of the Brazilian 'field of culture', Penteado and Prado's patronage ended up functioning against the hegemonic position of their own class.

We know that the 1930 Revolution and the advent of Vargas' government was responsible for weakening the *paulista* coffee oligarchy, of which these two patrons were members, within the Brazilian 'field of power'. Sub-section 4.2.1. has shown how Vargas, from the early days of his administration, began a process through which the *modernista* discourse of the 1920s was appropriated as a banner of his populist ideology. Vargas' rhetoric entwined aesthetics and politics in the following claim: the collective forces that led to the 1930 Revolution in the political and social field were the same as those that provoked the 1920s *modernista* insurrection in the cultural one.[488] In this sub-section we have seen that a discourse arguing that there was a sole and progressive socio-political impetus behind *modernista* aesthetics and the revolution was put forward not only by Vargas, but also by Mário de Andrade. M. Andrade's association, made in his 1942 speech at the Ministry of Foreign Relations, claimed that *modernismo* was both a preparer and an anticipator of the revolutionary state of spirit that triggered the political revolution of 1930, and that counter-current movements in the cultural order precede those in the socio-political one.

In the light of Vargas and M. Andrade's claims - that *modernismo* was a type of reform in the 'field of culture' prefiguring that which came later in the 'field of power' - the following can be concluded. From their positions in the field of cultural production, inextricably connected to their political and economic power, Penteado and Prado

[487] "*Mono burlesco".* Motta Filho, "A Literatura Nacional", 176.
[488] See: Vargas, *Governo Trabalhista do Brasil*, 8.

functioned as triggers of ideological shifts that ultimately resulted in the demise of the hegemony of the coffee aristocracy. Taking into consideration our findings on Vargas and Andrade's rhetoric in the 1930s-1940s, the patrons of the 1920s *modernistas* signalled within the country's 'field of power' the need for transformations that culminated in the populist revolution of the 1930s. Penteado and Prado played their parts in the cultural programme that on the one hand, extolled the political importance of the *povo* (i.e., the masses) and its culture and, on the other, put into motion those forces that, transferred from the 'field of culture' to the 'field of power', turned Brazil from an oligarchic to a populist social order. They blurred the boundary that separates the two fields in question, given that, on the one hand, and as agents in the 'field of power' they facilitated the *modernista* struggle for cultural change. And that, on the other, and as members of a group of agents of the 'field of culture', they backed those who proposed an ideological view on the national subaltern that, once manifested in the political field through the 1930 Revolution, led to the overturning of the established order within the 'field of power'. Their roles and doings seem to exemplify Bourdieu's claims that 'the most disputed frontier of all is the one which separates the field of cultural production and the field of power'. [489]

When compared to our findings in chapter 2, chapter 4 has established a distinction between public patronage in the 1930s and private patronage in the 1920s in relation to their respective roles as legitimisers of *modernista* cultural production. Certainly, the Vargas regime's cultural management, especially Capanema and his MES, endorsed the 1920s *modernista* programme and fomented the appearance of a new wave of *modernismo* during the 1930s aligned in differing degrees with the ideology of the regime. The Vargas regime engineered an institutional context for the *modernistas* which put them in positions of power in the Brazilian field of cultural production, and which backed them as authoritative cultural opinion makers. It represented the safe haven from which Bandeira, M. Andrade and Amoroso Lima among others initiated the dissemination of bibliographical material that we have partly analysed in section 4.1., and which today is seen as the undisputed basis of historiography on *modernismo*. It allowed them to establish a discourse on their own movement - based on the tropes of 'rupture', 'rehabilitation' and 'redemptive originality' - that has informed this study and around which the canonical narrative on *modernismo* has taken shape. Further, it was through the regime's intervention that Portinari's work reached international acclaim; the three panels commissioned for the Brazilian Pavilion at the New York's art fair triggered a series

[489] Bourdieu, "The Field of Cultural Production", 43.

of events, including the article in *Fortune* and the MoMA acquisition of the painting *Morro* in 1939. Yet, and in diametrical opposition to 1920s patronage, governmental cultural policy has played this process of legitimisation in a highly instrumental and self-serving way. In fact, as argued in sub-section 4.2.2., the representation of national culture during Vargas' First Administration turned the *modernista* tropes into propaganda targeted at the masses, and used them as a means of self-legitimisation. This sub-section has accounted for the ways in which through the DIP radio and other visual propagandistic materials, such as illustrations of Vargas' biographies, the 1920s *modernista* programme of 'rehabilitation' of the native and the Afro-Brazilian was stolen by the regime and attached to an official vision of 'being Brazilian'. This programme was appropriated to construct a demagogic cultural discourse on the role of the *Indio* and the black, and to define modern Brazil's notion of nationality on the basis of the existence of a 'Brazilian race', whose mixed traits deserved official backing and political validation. These strategies were used to promote an image of the authoritarian State to the Brazilian subaltern as the entity that erased class and social differences between the constituent ethnicities of such mix. And to present Vargas as a paternalistic President: as a protector and benefactor of the underprivileged; as one capable of equalising the political condition of all the Brazilians and dedicated to building a fair social system on the pillars of a laborious, honest and diligent working class.

The motives behind the approximation of State politics to *modernista* aesthetics, has also been tackled in sub-section 4.2.4., in our discussion of the doctrinaire magazine *Cultura Política*, published during the years of the radicalisation of Vargas' authoritarianism. Here we have seen that the regime had obviously detected the nationalist-internationalist acumen of 1920s *modernismo* (addressed in part 1) and applied it to the ethos of its foreign cultural policy. As we have seen, the cultural trumpet of the State incited the new league of *modernistas* to produce nationalist art and literature capable of symbolising 'Brazilianness' and of asserting the latter internationally in order to represent Brazil's civilisation as one of the most original of the Americas. For this magazine, the validity of an art that reflected the uniqueness of national culture, and of the State's national social and political functions, needed to be recognised abroad and to lead to foreign recognition. So, obviously one of the main goals of *Cultura Política* was to indoctrinate the Brazilian field of cultural production and spur it on to engage in a project of aesthetic-literary representation of the nation that would consolidate State power nationally and contribute to make Brazil's government look good in the international political playground.

The magazine's rhetoric also backs our argument on the State's appropriation of the *modernista* re-evaluation of the popular, even though, as has been shown, this rhetoric dissimulates such appropriation. In the light of the discussion in sub-section 4.2.2. on State cultural discourse on the role of the *Indio* and the black, we see through what *Cultural Política* had to say on the latest developments in broadcasting and its themes, that such discourse was putting at centre stage not only *samba*, but also lyrics that would aggrandise Brazil's historical pasts and its heroes. The intention here was to construe, through the radio, a type of triumphalist rendering of national origins, and this rendering, the magazine maintains, was empowered by literary contributions. Also cinema was playing its part in the process, focussing less on Afro-Brazilian culture and more (as in Vargas' biographies) on native culture. In the art and culture produced under the regime, themes recurrent in 1920s *modernismo'*s lexicon had to remain alive. However, the magazine gives no credit to the 1920s *modernistas* for having been the first to adopt these themes and to imbue them with an emancipatory type of political content (ultimately distorted by State policy). Moreover, and rather contradictorily, given the legitimisation granted to them by other aspects of governmental cultural management, which we presented in sub-section 4.2.3., no positive appraisal of the *modernistas* was made in this magazine.

On the contrary, *Cultura Política* often expressed negative views on 1920s *modernismo*, claiming the cowardly nature of what were deemed to be its picturesque depictions. It also advocated that only the advent of the Vargas regime awakened the political stance and critical views of the movement. It blamed early *modernismo* for being politically silent, too concerned with useless aesthetics, too Europeanised, and therefore anti-nationalist. And that only after the 1930s reform that the State fostered in the movement, would *modernismo* begin to be preoccupied with nationalistic and social concerns: the white and black working classes and the various ethnic and other minorities. Sub-section 4.2.4. has shown how *Cultura Política* obscured the achievements of the first phase of *modernismo* and surreptitiously transferred them to the cultural programme of Vargas' regime, and how, in addition to this, it fiercely maintained that the *modernista* cultural production made under the regime - that is, the second phase of *modernismo* - was superior to the previous one. The distinction was made on the basis that from 1930s onwards, *modernismo* detached itself from the European influence to be in symbiosis with the 'soul of the country'. The magazine's opinion was that the young *modernista*s were far more successful than the previous generation in expressing Brazil's modern cultural identity both at home and abroad, and they were enabling Brazilian art to play a starring role in the Americas.

Our analysis of *Cultura Política* makes it clear why the artist chosen to represent Brazil at the 1939 New York World Fair was Portinari and not, for instance, Amaral. On the one hand, in the 1930s, Amaral had entered her so-called 'social phase' and was producing works whose themes drew on, as did Portinari's, the life and reality of the working class, and therefore could stand for the political orientation of the regime and its exaltation of the workers. On the other, not only was Amaral an aristocrat, thus a living symbol of the First Republic and the oligarchic social order opposed to that of Vargas, but also a founder of what the magazine deemed to be the Europeanised thus anti-nationalist, picturesque, and thus politically stagnant, first *modernista* phase. The fact that the regime saw in Amaral a controversial character becomes apparent in one considers the following: although she had been jailed for one month in 1932 following her trip to the USSR and her participation in communist gatherings in São Paulo, in 1939 her work was included in the "Latin American Exhibition of Fine and Applied Art" at the Riverside Museum in New York.[490] Hence, according to official cultural policy, her art was 'fit' to be part of a collective representation of Brazil and its art at the international exhibition that took place alongside the New York World's Fair. Yet her profile as a representative of Brazilian society made her 'unfit' to be chosen as the prime national and international symbol of the regime. Even if other masterminds of 1920s *modernismo* were given authoritative positions as leading national cultural opinion makers in the 1930s-1940s, the State dismissed the daughter of a coffee Baron who, after the 1930s Revolution, instead of denying her class of origins by joining into the ideology of the regime decided to oppose it by moving towards the communist political spectrum.

Portinari's sociological profile was different and was a perfect match to the official image of the *Estado Novo*. Portinari was born to Italian coffee-pickers from the impoverished *paulista* interior, and was thus a member of the class he depicted. He was a talented and extremely hard working artist capable of representing the questions central to the regime and what is more, as a person, he could be directly associated with the State populist ideology. As noted by Miceli, he was suited to the doctrinaire agenda of the government with respect to its cultural politics as he was short, lame and unrefined, and did not have a social background connected to the ruling class.[491] Miceli also maintains that, according to government documents of the time, cultural bureaucrats saw in Portinari the revival of the figure of Aleijadinho - the carpenter who, despite his hands being deformed by leprosy, served as his father's de facto slave and also worked

[490] See: Amaral, *Tarsila: Sua Obra e Seu Tempo*.
[491] See: Sérgio Miceli, *Imagens Negociadas: Retratos da Elite Brasileira (1920-1940)*, São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996.

relentlessly in the making of magnificent sculptures with chisel and hammer tied to his fingerless upper limbs.[492] Similarly to Aleijadinho, Portinari stood for the harrowing life of the Brazilian subaltern, who, notwithstanding his personal history of struggle, fought and worked in the construction of the cultural history of the nation. Other vanguard contemporaneous artists could have been given the privilege of representing the State both nationally and internationally for their talent, such as Cícero Dias and Lula Cardoso Aires, yet none of them had *le physique du role* and the sociological characteristics that so perfectly matched the ideological and doctrinaire guidelines of the State on cultural matters.

Internationally, this type of professional and personal profile related to the US liberal ideology and its views on a thriving society based on freedom, self-determination and individualism. Portinari's trajectory from the Brazilian coffee fields to the New York limelight was the utmost example of the 'American dream'. For having pursued his 'own dream' through State support, Portinari rendered the *Estado Novo* to the Americans as the impetus behind the shaping of an outstanding artist and citizen; of a self-made man, who, thanks to the socio-political system in which he lived, applied his talent and reached success despite his peasant background. In the specificity of the American ideological context, Portinari suited the Brazilian regime for his ability to paint the Brazilian people from the perspective of the winner who reached national and international acclaim despite his humble origins. As a result of the Brazilian government's commission for the New York Art Fair, and the following year's second edition of the Latin American exhibition at the Riverside Museum, which, as we know, was basically a Portinari solo exhibition, the artist became a mediatic sensation in the US, in both the popular and specialised press. A profusion of articles invariably recounted how the Brazilian son of immigrant labour, through his innate talents, won a prestigious scholarship to Europe and succeeded in conquering Manhattan. In Autumn 1940, American readers were bombarded with headlines on Portinari like '"Ragamuffin Becomes Great Artist", "Poor Boy Wins Fame as Artist", "Brazilian Artist Wins Hard Way", and "Brazilian Artist Got Started on Coffee Farm"': this was the type of US press that *Cultura Política* could use back home to downplay the old generation of *modernistas*, and glorify the young ones for being capable of symbolising the nation both at home and abroad.[493] State sponsorship and support of Portinari's art was a carefully evaluated strategy that did not dismiss the symbolic value that could be attributed abroad to Portinari as an individual, and was part and parcel of the Vargas cultural policy for international propaganda.

[492] See: ibid.
[493] Williams, *Culture Wars in Brazil,* 219.

Was Portinari given an ideological push by the regime to paint national and seemingly nationalistic themes? Was his stance as an artist subordinated or compliant to the regime? Or was he looking for a reciprocally beneficial arrangement? These are not the questions that this study has attempted to answer. However, our analysis of *Cultura Política* leads us to posit that for the State, Portinari's work perfectly embodied the motto put forward in 1941 in the magazine's issue n. 3: 'we start from Brazil, but we aspire to the world'.[494]

How successfully did Portinari capture the day-to-day life of the Brazilian popular and subaltern? Did his work humanise or merely idealise the Afro-Brazilian and mestizo? Again, these are not the type of questions we sought to answer in chapter 4. The angle used to look into Portinari's work, as in that used to analyse the art of Amaral and Malfatti in the 1910-1920s, focussed on its political content in relation to the issue of emancipation of ethnic minorities and their cultures. However, in Portinari's case this type of content has not been discussed in relation to national racial and racist ideology and a retrograde dominant culture whose discriminatory rationale is based on class and ethnicity, but in relation to similar socio-political issues within the American reality of the 1930-1940s.

Portinari's *Morro*, in the US, was used in the construction of a narrative that heroicized the poverty and the precariousness of black communities. The question we have addressed here was not whether he deliberately decided to link 'negritude', racial mixture and hardship to a romanticised notion of the Brazilian nation. What we did was to assess how politicised US cultural commentators attached to his work a rhetoric which made of Brazilian mixed society a model of racial equality able to address the historically segregationist and violent political and cultural approach of the white American towards the Afro-American. As a result, this study has given an account of how Portinari's depictions of 'Brazilianness', in the US, were appropriated to tackle contemporaneous national issues and controversies. They were manipulated to produce a discourse that, from the 'field of culture', attempted to propose resolutions to issues revolving around the American 'field of power' and the problematic race relations it had established within the country's society. In the context of Pan-Americanism and its sociological ideas on the 'negro of the Americas', Portinari's work served a clear purpose to the American cultural intelligentsia: it helped the US to claim that, on the continent, there were other colonial societies in which racial mixture and pacific coexistence between black and white were viable and positive social formulas. It became the visual paradigm of US ideology against

[494] *'Partimos do Brazil, mas aspiramos ao mundo'*. *Cultura Política*, n. 3 (1941), 366.

Aryan supremacy and the country's sociological exploration of Afro-Brazilian culture as a transamerican model, and what is more, it aesthetically crystallised a national socio-political discourse on the emancipation of the Afro-American.

What has been presented in chapters 2, 4, and 5 allowed this study to account for the role of patronage, both public and private, in the culture war between traditionalists and reformers in the field of cultural production in Brazil during the first half of the 20th century. Chapter 2 discussed how Prado backed the *modernista* programme by sponsoring magazines such as *Klaxon* and *Terra Roxa*; how he put his wealth at the disposal of the group in order to facilitate international artistic migrations and to contribute to the formation of a cosmopolitan cluster of cultural exchange - of which the *caravana modernista* is an example. Our findings suggest that it was with the prospect of attracting investments from Prado in the editing house Monteiro Lobato & Cia that Lobato decided to publish O. Andrade's *Os Condenados* and Del Picchia's *O Homem* in 1922 in *Revista do Brazil*, even if less than a year earlier he had boycotted M. Andrade's *Paulicéia Desvairada*. This research also implies that, aware of Lobato's expansionist plans for his publishing business, Prado struck a deal with Lobato, in December 1922, which was not only behind Lobato's change of heart with regard to his magazine's policy against the *modernistas*, but also gave the leadership of the intellectually acclaimed *Revista do Brazil* to Prado. The deal, for Prado, was a way to favour the *modernistas* and grant them the endorsement of this influential magazine.

In our view, Prado's journal *Terra Roxa* proves the sense of self-confidence and assertiveness that the wealth of the Brazilian oligarchic patrons was instilling in the *modernistas*, and that we have discussed in sub-section 3.1.2.. The prosperity and advancement of the country due to conspicuous coffee exportation is claimed fearlessly in Prado's journal, and is extended to industrial and urban development (i.e., skyscrapers and electric trains) and to its intelligentsia (i.e., the literati).[495] As we have seen, Prado's repatriation of Anchieta's letter, grandly displayed on the front page of the magazine's edition of April 1926, was a cunning manoeuvre by which the Brazilians demonstrated to the Europeans the strength of their country. They did this not only to show this strength in terms of national cultural history, of which Anchieta's letter was a proof and a piece of it that deserved to return 'home', but also in terms of Brazil's economic wealth, symbolised by the thirty sacks of coffee used to pay for the letter.

[495] See: *Terra Roxa*, introductory editorial (1926) In: Waldman, *Moderno Bandeirante*, 75.

Terra Roxa began to be published in the same year (1926) in which Amaral had her first solo exhibition at the Percier Gallery, which according to the French specialist press, stood for the first showcase of Brazil's cultural autonomy and proved the superiority of Brazilian modernist painting in relation to its contemporaneous European production (see: 3.1.1). This magazine's rhetoric, together with the type of emancipative stance which Andrade and Amaral were adopting, and which allowed them to use the French fascination for the 'other''s culture to gain a place of enunciation in Paris, are clear signs of the strategies used by the *modernistas* and their patrons to challenge long established 'centre/periphery' cultural power relations. In this sense, Prado boosted the confidence and the irreverence of the *modernistas* not only through the ideas put forward in his journal, but also by injecting capital into their programme, and into the Parisian art market. Hence he helped the *modernistas* not only in the culture war for innovation in Brazil, but also in their battle for cultural independence from Europe, fought in what can be seen as a dissimulated way and under apparently amicable terms in Paris.

Prado's sponsorship of Cendrars' stays in Brazil for the *caravana paulista* (1924), and his investments in the European modernist art that he bought from Rosemberg, empowered Amaral and Andrade: having arranged these mutually beneficial introductions – between the wealthy Brazilian and the culturally influential Europeans – they could expect some sort of favour in return. The pay back came two years later, when Rosemberg introduced Amaral to the Levels and her first solo took place at their gallery. The economic power of Brazilian collectors, which represented Brazil's abundance in a period of severe depression in Europe following World War I, helped these two *modernistas* to unapologetically open any possible path through which they could publicly state, in Paris, the boldness of their appropriation and display the cultural advancement of the Brazilian 'periphery'.

Penteado also contributed to the *modernista* cultural projects by purchasing European art from Rosemberg, and through her work on the committee of the governamental cultural institution Pensionato Artístico Paulista. Her Parisian collection was put on show at the modernist coach-house of her mansion in São Paulo, opened in 1924, where the *modernista*s who could not afford trips to Europe admired, debated on, and were informed by the works of Picabia, Delaunay, Léger, Picasso, Brancusi and Foujita. She helped Malfatti to win her battle against Freitas Valle, the traditionalist Senator who set the academic parameters of the Pensionato. It was he who twice turned down Malfatti's applications for a scholarship to study in Europe, but it seem likely that Penteado persuaded him to change his mind.

Vargas' governmental cultural policy also played a role in the national culture war between academicists and *modernistas*, and it did so with the intention of benefiting in political terms from the support offered to both parties. Section 4.2. has discussed how Campos, the first Minister of the MES, in 1931 appointed Costa to lead the prestigious and ferociously academicist ENBA with a view to having him and his team enact a curriculum reform which would promote *modernismo* through this historical educational institution. Similarly, Capanema, who was Campos's successor at the MES, hired many masterminds of 1920s *modernismo* to work for his highly engineered cultural State apparatus. This section investigated Capanema's relationship with the *modernistas*, and accounted for how they were absorbed by his Ministry, were given posts at Brazilian universities, and were helped to publish seminal literature on their movement with the renowned publisher José Olympio.

Yet the State also supported the academicists, giving them a panoply of institutional weapons with which to fight the reformist vanguard. The curatorial policy at the MHN resulted in a display of cultural memory which rejected the concept of 'rehabilitation' of the popular and the emancipation of national minorities that was at the core of the *modernista* project. Whilst the State cultural apparatus had its mass-mediatic tools engaged in a pro-black and pro-native campaign, in the 'temples to high art' the Afro-Brazilian and the Amerindian were to be downplayed. The goal was to convey a type of representation of culture that, because it fitted the predominant view of the white-Brazilian and culturally traditional elite, would allow the State to win the approval of the top of Brazil's ethnic and class pyramids. Under the Vargas regime, Barroso and his team at the MHN gave a museological account of Brazil's history from a white, elitist and hegemonic perspective. The use of art and artefact in the Mendes Campos room focused on rendering the Afro-Brazilian oppression and subjugation experienced over centuries of slavery, through the colonial eye of the subjugator, instead of recognising the contribution of black arts and craftsmanship to Brazilian culture. Contrary to 1920s *modernismo*'s challenge to the reproduction of the colonial discourse within Brazil's post-colonial condition (see: chapter 1), this museum was blatant proof of the 'coloniality of power' imbued in the Brazilian academicist mentality - in which the white Brazilian replicates the discriminatory stance of the 16th century white coloniser towards the black and the native.

Also the MNBA was one of the institutional grounds from which the traditionalists fought the reformers. Instead of representing a fair chronological progression of Brazil's artistic achievements from colonial times to contemporaneity, this museum became, during the *Estado Novo*, a temple to academic heroes that deliberately obscured the

modernista contribution - a fact that led to retaliations from the pro-*modernista* press. The MNBA denied the *modernistas* the right to proclaim their value as a valid visual expression of modern Brazil's cultural identity.

At the New York's World Fair (1939) Costa and Niemeyer's project for the Brazilian Pavilion was an important public commission with which the *modernistas* could fight against the 'the false cultural genealogies of neocolonialism', the latter being implicit, according to Costa, in the neo-colonial style advocated by Severo and Mariano.[496] In addition, the fact that it was Portinari and not a traditionalist painter from the ENBA who was commissioned by the State to produce three monumental panels to present modern Brazilian culture to the Americans visiting the fair represented a victory for the vanguard. However, the State gave the curatorial project of the Brazilian representation at the "Latin American Exhibition of Fine and Applied Arts" to Barroso, thus allowing the academicists to take the lead in a project that was concomitant to the fair and was taking place at the prestigious Riverside Museum.

Chapter 5 has also demonstrated the persistence of conflicts within the Brazilian field of cultural production after the end of the first Vargas First Administration. Towards the end of the 1940s, as a response to the US policy of cultural expansionism, and as a result of the return of liberal ideology in the domain of Brazilian patronage, a new type of culture war began to take shape. As we have seen, the opening of the MAM-SP, the first international museum in Brazil specialising in modern art, was subjected to retaliations on behalf of the predominantly figurativist national artistic milieu for two main reasons: its connection to Rockefeller and the MoMA, and its first exhibition's grand repertoire of international abstractionism.

Matarazzo's response to this disapproval came in his interview for the major Brazilian newspapers of 1949. Matarazzo supported abstractionism as a 'different' visual language missing in the Brazilian urban landscape and reality, and as necessary to complement *modernista* architecture, which although it was established in the country still did not have its right artistic counterpart. Abstract art was another aspect of modernity that had to impose itself through the MAM-SP and through other initiatives targeted at the masses. People needed to be educated into this new style because World War II had prevented it reaching Brazil earlier in the decade. However, the architect Villanova Artigas rejected abstractionism, as did the painter Di Cavalcanti. For these two *modernistas*, abstractionism was detached from social issues and alien to the struggle of the workers. Hence, whilst Matarazzo advocated the didactic (or perhaps better, the indoctrinating)

[496] Williams, "The Politics of Cultural Production", 56.

potential of abstractionism with respect to the new industrial Brazilian masses, Artigas and Di Cavalcanti saw it as a degenerate and sterile kind of art, as anti-national and as indisputable proof of international imperialism and national pro-imperialist groups. In our view, this stance recalls that of the academicists against the *modernistas*, who, from their powerful establishment position within the 'field of culture' attacked the vanguard in order to maintain their cultural status and dominance. This view is substantiated by that of Charoux, one of the pioneers of Brazilian abstraction, who, as noted in sub-section 5.2.1., in 1949 admitted that the resistance and animosity of the figurativists toward his group resembled that of the academicists. Here we have seen a diatribe between two opposing factions in the Brazilian field of modernist production, in which the *modernistas* fought for their leadership in the Brazilian 'field of culture', claiming their social commitment and nationalist ethos, while the *abstractionistas* argued the need for innovation.

Judging by the links between the origins of Matarazzo's museum, the American agents of the OIAA and the MoMA discussed in sub-section 5.1., the figurativists' association of abstractionism with US neo-imperialism was not a mere pretext but an argument built on sound bases. Milliet was not only behind the negotiation that allowed Sprague Smith and Matarazzo to sit at the round table of 1946 and that had ultimately led to the establishment of the MAM-SP. In fact, Milliet, in 1948, had also authored three articles in *O Estado de São Paulo*, which were explicit about the link between Rockefeller's MoMA and Matarazzo's museum; the commitment of the latter to work according to the New York museum's parameters; and the donation of 13 art works that Rockefeller had made in 1946 to support the consolidation of modernism in Brazil.[497] These articles were all published well in advance of the date on which the MoMA/MAM-SP cooperation was officially announced in the press, in October 1950. Statements of this kind, made by such an authoritative cultural commentator in a well-known newspaper, must have triggered discontent and concerns within the those members of the Brazilian 'field of art' who opposed US cultural interventionism.

Sub-section 5.2.2. has shown that despite all Rockefeller's requirements that with regard to the MAM-SP's policy, and despite his monitoring of the steps taken by Matarazzo from the establishment of his museum to the realisation of its first exhibition, "From Figurativism to Abstractionism" turned out to be not a celebration of US art but of *l' École de Paris* in Brazil. After almost a decade dedicated to a strategy that would lead to

[497] See: Milliet, 1) "O Museu de Arte Moderna"; 2) *"O Teatro do Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo";* and 3) *"O Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo".*

the opening of Brazilian modern art museums which would host the MoMA curatorial projects and explicitly prove to Brazilians the intervention of American artists in the modern canon, Rockefeller failed to make of "From Figurativism to Abstractionism" a statement about the supremacy of US art. This raises some unresolved questions, particularly if one considers that, as is clear from Matarazzo's letter of 15th November 1948 **{fig. 41, 42 and 43}** to Rockefeller, the American tycoon had been informed of the situation in the run-up to the opening. Most importantly, in this letter Matarazzo informed Rockefeller of the Degand-Drouin-Castelli triangulation and the US selection of 65 works to be shown and sourced by Janis and Duchamp; two facts that would have brought the New York School and the young abstract expressionists to Brazil. Further questions arise when we consider that the financial quarrel between Matarazzo and Castelli that stopped the US shipment from reaching Brazil meant the opening of this exhibition had to be postponed for a few months. During this delay, the MoMA could have swiftly selected works from its own collection and sent them to the MAM-SP in order to ensure that American art was well represented in the first exhibition of the Brazilian museum, but it did not. What is more, "From Figurativism to Abstractionism" opened eleven months after d'Harnoncourt had presented a paper in New York announcing abstract expressionism as the movement chosen by the intelligentsia to represent US postwar liberalist ideology. In addition, in March 1948 Greenberg had announced that New York art had stolen from Paris its hegemonic position and that Pollock was the new Picasso.

One of the reasons for this inherent contradiction could be the following: the right moment for the US's assertive incursion in Brazil was deliberately postponed and left until such a time as abstract expressionism had gained widespread popular recognition in the US itself; in other words, when, as posited by Guilbaut, the consolidation of the movement trickled down from the high circles of the political and cultural intelligentsia to conquer public opinion and hang on the walls of the booming middle-class. This moment came in 1957, after the consolidation of the Cold War discourse. Following Pollock's tragic death in 1956, Barr, at the time the MoMA director, organised a huge itinerant retrospective of the work of this artist with which to 'conquer the world' through abstract expressionism. Brazil celebrated this 'Pollock campaign' at the MAM-SP's 4th Biennial of 1957 and this exhibition is beyond the scope of this study, however, while Brazil was won over by abstract expressionism, it did so on its own terms, just as with European modernism in the previous decades.

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