

## Transnational Dialogues in the Images of *A Ilustração*, 1884-1892

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### Abstract

*A Ilustração*, directed by the Portuguese Mariano Pina (1860-1899) and published between May 1884 and January 1892, was a Luso-Brazilian illustrated magazine that for most of its existence was edited and printed in Paris before being sent to its main target markets in Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro. The location of the magazine office in a city at the centre of Western intellectual life of that time enabled it to become a place of convergence and dialogue between agents and ideas from diverse nationalities. Through the analysis of some images published by *A Ilustração*, this article tries to shed light on the editorial and aesthetic policies of the magazine, characterized simultaneously by the assimilation of ideas coming from cultural centres like Paris and by the proposition of new ideas appropriate to the cultural realities of Portugal and Brazil.

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### Introduction

[1] Nothing is more appropriate for this paper than to start with an image. In the seventh edition of the magazine *A Ilustração* (*The Illustration*), dated August 5, 1884, the view of the Flower Market of Paris that can be seen in Fig. 1 was published. Dominated by shades of gray and punctuated by accents of white and black judiciously arranged, the image evokes a "picturesque" corner of the city along the river Seine and near the famous Notre-Dame Cathedral, on a market morning with the activity of its anonymous citizens. Without further particularities, besides its documentary value or the competence with which it has been executed, the image gains more interest when we analyse the network of transnational relations that made its existence possible: it was produced from a drawing made by a Brazilian artist, Rodolpo Amoêdo, and printed in an illustrated magazine whose office was located in Paris, but was aimed at a Portuguese-speaking public and had a Portuguese writer, Mariano Pina, as its editor-in-chief.

[2] If we wanted to summarise in one word the editorial policy of *A Ilustração*, cosmopolitan would be the best term. *A Ilustração* was a semimonthly magazine which totalled 184 issues, published between May 1884 and January 1892, and belonged to the genre of other famed European magazines, as *The Illustrated London News*, *L'Illustration*, *Le Monde Illustré* or the *Illustrierte Zeitung*. Until November 1890, *A Ilustração* was edited and printed in Paris, from where it was sent to Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro. In accordance with its main target markets, the magazine used, for most of its existence, subtitles as "Semimonthly Magazine for Portugal and Brazil" or, simply, "Magazine for Portugal and Brazil." However, the subtitle that it displayed during almost the entire year

of 1885 – "Universal Magazine Printed in Paris" – seems emblematic of the ambitions which the periodical pursued more or less successfully during its nearly eight years of circulation.



1 PARIS PITORESCO: O Mercado das flores. – Desenho original de R. Amoedo (PICTURESQUE PARIS: The Flower Market. - Original Drawing by R. Amoedo). Engraving from: *A Ilustração*, 5 August 1884, 41. Lisbon, Museu Bordalo Pinheiro, Library

- [3] *A Ilustração* was not the first nor the last illustrated magazine published in Paris for circulation in Portugal and Brazil,<sup>1</sup> although it was the broadest in terms of circulation time and distribution. It must be remembered that during the 19th-century Paris had become a centre for this kind of publication, largely due to practical reasons. In Paris, the foreign publishers could benefit from the latest technologies to obtain a better quality of printing than they would obtain in their home countries – and with production costs low enough to compensate those involved in the transportation of the printed material. It is also notable that, for various reasons, the foreign publishers were often already in Paris when engaged in this type of venture. That was exactly the case of Mariano Pina, who had worked in that city since 1882 as a correspondent for *Gazeta de Notícias* (*News Gazette*), a daily newspaper based in Rio de Janeiro, which in the 1880s featured important Portuguese writers such as Eça de Queiroz and Ramalho Ortigão as their European correspondents.<sup>2</sup>

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1 One might mention here such magazines as: *Os Dois Mundos* (*The Two Worlds*, 1887-1881), founded by the Portuguese Salomão Saragga; *A Revista* (*The Review*, 1893), directed by the Portuguese José Barbosa and Jorge Colaço; or *Revista Moderna* (*Modern Review*, 1897), founded by the Brazilian Manuel de Arruda Monteiro.

2 *Gazeta de Notícias* was founded in Rio de Janeiro in 1875, by the Brazilian José Ferreira de Souza Araújo and the Portuguese Henrique Chaves, Manuel Rodrigues Carneiro Jr. and Elísio Mendes. In the early 1880s, the European correspondents of the newspaper were Eça de Queiroz, in England; Ramalho Ortigão, in Portugal; and Guilherme de Azevedo, in France. When Azevedo died in April 1882, Mariano Pina replaced him in Paris. The letter naming Pina as correspondent for *Gazeta de Notícias* was dated April 8, 1882 and signed by Henrique Chaves; see Letter from Henrique Chaves to Mariano Pina, April 8, 1882. Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional. Estate of Mariano and Augusto Pina, N17/35.

[4] However, besides the powerful French printing industry, Paris offered other attractions for artists and intellectuals of the so-called "peripheral" countries, such as Portugal and Brazil. To settle there was to be in the "centre" *par excellence* of Western cultural life and to take part in the tumultuous movement of the city that Walter Benjamin would call the "Capital of the Nineteenth Century."<sup>3</sup> Indeed, as I will try to demonstrate below, French culture was often taken as a model for those who participated in *A Ilustração*, especially Mariano Pina.

[5] At the same time, it is important not to reduce the editorial policy of *A Ilustração* to the passive repetition of what Paris disseminated. As is well known, in situations where cultural contacts are marked by hierarchical differences or even by explicit domination, the circulation of meanings does not usually lead to homogenization, but to a dynamic process of borrowings, reinventions and resignifications, often in the form of parody.<sup>4</sup> In this sense, it is worth quoting the words of Tania Regina de Luca, in a recent paper dedicated to *A Ilustração*:

The notions of passive reception and influence, the metaphors associated with the mirror and the reflection and even the ideas of models seem unable to account for interactions that made up two-way roads. [...] The very existence of a publication printed and with its office in Paris, directed by a Portuguese, that was there in the service of a Brazilian newspaper, and had especially in view readers in Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro, proves the degree of internationalization achieved by the press and invites one to think in terms of trade and exchange in different directions and senses.<sup>5</sup>

[6] If this "two-way roads" traffic was certainly more intense in one direction, this should not prevent the perception of other significant directions. This is what I will strive to do here, discussing the dialogues that were interlaced with the Western visual culture of the late 19th-century in the pages of *A Ilustração*, considering its assimilative aspects as well as those marked by the effort to propose new meanings. To do so, I will focus my discussion on some images printed in the magazine, in conjunction with the written texts that refer to them. I will start with general considerations on the set of images of *A Ilustração*, especially the boundaries of the specific canon of artistic values proposed by it; then I will treat the reproductions of Luso-Brazilian artists' works that were published; and finally I will discuss a series of images related to the proclamation of the Brazilian Republic published in the passage from 1889 to 1890, at which time the idea of a dialogue between the office of *A Ilustração* and those of other European magazines gained the most obvious outlines. In doing so, I deliberately choose not to dwell on other topics, such as the more general aspects of *A Ilustração*'s publishing venture or the central position occupied by literature in the magazine. In this sense, I limit myself to refer to its critical fortune, which, although still small, includes important studies<sup>6</sup> that also address some key contributors to the magazine, especially Mariano Pina who had always been its head, first as editor-in-chief then also as owner.<sup>7</sup>

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3 Walter Benjamin. "Paris, a capital do século XIX," in: Flávio R. Kothe, org., *Walter Benjamin. Sociologia*, São Paulo 1985, 30-43.

4 Homi K. Bhabha, "On Mimicry and Man: On The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in: *The Location of Culture*, New York 1994, 85-92.

5 Tania Regina de Luca, "*A Ilustração* (1884-1892): Algumas Questões Teórico-Metodológicas," in: Márcia Abreu and Marisa Midori Deaecto, org., *A circulação transatlântica dos impressos [recurso eletrônico]: conexões*, Campinas 2014, 171.

6 Besides the studies by Tania Regina de Luca, see: Elza Miné, "Mariano Pina, a *Gazeta de Notícias* e *A Ilustração*: histórias de bastidores contadas por seu espólio," *Revista da Biblioteca Nacional* 2 (1992), 23-61; Elza Miné, "A Geração de 1870 e o Brasil: alguns ângulos e percursos," *Via Atlântica* 9 (2006), 213-224.

7 The first issue of *A Ilustração* in which Mariano Pina is named as "Diretor - Proprietário" (Editor-in-Chief - Owner) was of December 20, 1885.

Images in *A Ilustração*

- [7] The vast selection of images published by *A Ilustração* was a central element of its editorial policy. This selection was quite varied and consisted of engravings that, among other functions, showed everyday events, depicted the celebrities of politics, art and science or reproduced works of painting, sculpture, architecture, etc. Juxtaposed in a more or less coherent way, the images were accompanied by texts, usually anonymous, in a section called "As Nossas Gravuras" (Our prints), which described the images of the magazine and guided the reader's eye.
- [8] The central role of the images was one of the reasons that justified the installation of *A Ilustração*'s office in Paris, as can be read in its first "Crônica" (Chronicle), a section that served as the editorial and was usually signed by Mariano Pina. In it, the Portuguese editor stressed the importance of Paris as a centre of circulation for press images of all kinds:

By printing it [the magazine] in Paris – we will be able to follow with excellent engravings all the major events that happen throughout the world, always giving the most current news about incidents and individuals from Portugal and Brazil, while presenting in the pages of *A Ilustração* reproductions of the finest works of art that appear in the European markets.<sup>8</sup>

- [9] Notably, the publishers of illustrated magazines established in Paris could benefit from a market of "second-hand" engravings, i.e., engravings already used by other publications, thus making the cost considerably cheaper than producing new ones. Information about this procedure is given in an estimate of printing costs for *A Ilustração* addressed to Mariano Pina by the chief of the *Imprimerie de la Société Anonyme de Publications Périodiques*, on November 15, 1883.<sup>9</sup> In this document, besides discriminating the costs referring to the composition of the magazine in Portuguese, the number of copies, the paper costs, etc., one can read the following statement regarding the engravings:

Les bois en cliché seront a votre charge; les clichés qui seraient pris pour vous dans notre collection du Monde Illustré vous seront comptés = pour les reproductions en galvano quinze centimes le centimetre carré, pour les reproductions réduites photographiquement pour faire un relief typographique vous seront comptés vingt cinq centimes le centimetre carré – Les Droits de reproductions sont compris dans ces deux prix.

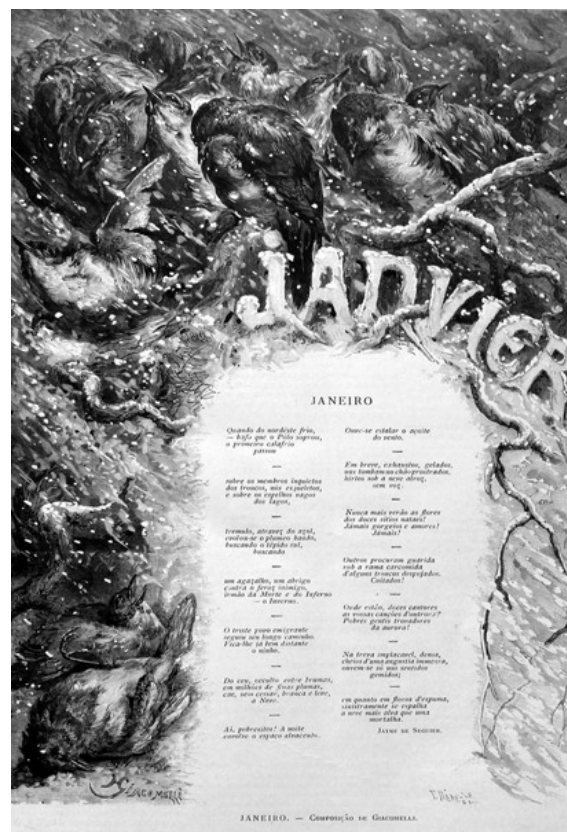
- [10] Indeed, the analysis of *A Ilustração*'s body of images confirms that a frequent use of *Le Monde Illustré*'s collection was made. Before appearing in its pages, many of the images of *A Ilustração* had been published first in the French periodical, in which it is possible to find, for example, all the engravings that I will discuss below, except the original drawings of Luso-Brazilian artists – which were probably processed in the workshops of the *Imprimerie*. Significantly, the address of *A Ilustração*'s office for most of the time of its installation in Paris – 13 Quai Voltaire<sup>10</sup> – was the same as the *Imprimerie* and the office of *Le Monde Illustré*, strengthening the idea of the ties that bound them all.
- [11] For the discussion of the dialogue established by *A Ilustração* with contemporary magazines, this appropriation of "second-hand" engravings is a first noteworthy point. It could be argued that even in this case the attitude of *A*

8 Mariano Pina, "Crônica," in: *A Ilustração*, 5 May 1884, 2.

9 Letter from the Imprimerie de la Société Anonyme de Publications Périodiques to Mariano Pina, 1883. Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional. Estate of Mariano and Augusto Pina, N17/202.

10 Initially, the office of *A Ilustração* was located in 7, Rue de Parme, but already in the edition of June 20, 1884 the address had changed to 6, Rue Saint-Petersburg. In the issue of December 20, 1885 is indicated a new address for the office - 13, Quai Voltaire - where the magazine remained for the next five years, until the final change to Lisbon at the end of 1890.

*Ilustração* was not one of mere passivity, as new meanings for the images were often proposed by their textual counterparts. A good example can be found in the publication, in 1887, of twelve engravings produced from compositions by the French artist Hector Giacomelli.<sup>11</sup> Each of these prints, which occupies an entire page and works like a border surrounding a body of text, refers to a specific month of the year, whose name in French is incorporated into the composition in the form of beautifully drawn letters. The character of each month is evoked by the depiction of its typical climatic conditions and their effects on animals – e.g., the snow and cold of January causing the death of a group of small birds (Fig. 2). The twelve engravings were originally published by *Le Monde Illustré* during 1876, accompanied by poems by the French writer François Coppée. In *A Ilustração*, however, the same engravings surrounded unpublished poems of the Portuguese Jayme de Séguier, which although inspired by the same images, were quite different from Coppée's poems and sometimes even evoked Portuguese landscapes. Furthermore, the juxtaposition of the names of the months, drawn in French, and Séguier's poems, printed in Portuguese, highlights the hybrid character of the new context of the engravings in the Luso-Brazilian magazine.



2 JANEIRO. - Composição de Giacomelli. (JANUARY. - Composition by Giacomelli.) Engraving from: *A Ilustração*, 5 January 1887, 5. Lisbon, Museu Bordalo Pinheiro, Library

[12] It would be virtually impossible to discuss here all the cases in which a new significance occurs when *A Ilustração* appropriates images made for other magazines. I will have the opportunity to return to this topic, when I comment on, for example, the reproductions of works by the Portuguese painter José Júlio de Souza

11 *A Ilustração*, 5 January 1887, 5; *A Ilustração*, 5 February 1887, 40; *A Ilustração*, 5 March 1887, 68; *A Ilustração*, 5 April 1887, 100; *A Ilustração*, 20 May 1887, 148; *A Ilustração*, 20 June 1887, 184; *A Ilustração*, 20 July 1887, 217; *A Ilustração*, 20 August 1887, 248; *A Ilustração*, 20 September 1887, 280; *A Ilustração*, 20 October 1887, 312; *A Ilustração*, 20 November 1887, 341; *A Ilustração*, 20 December 1887, 381.

Pinto. However, when one turns to a more panoramic assessment of all the images published by *A Ilustração* it is impossible to avoid the question of its voluntary alignment with central aspects of French visual culture of the time, as evidenced, for instance, in the canon promoted in the pages of the magazine.

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#### The canon of *A Ilustração*

- [13] One of the most extensive and coherent group of images in *A Ilustração* was published under the section "Belas-Artes" (Fine Arts) and detailed in the indexes of its first seven annual volumes, between 1884 and 1890. This group comprises a total of 247 reproductions of works of art from different authors and genres, mostly paintings and to a lesser extent, sculptures and drawings. The importance of this section is evident in the graphic design of the magazine itself: the engravings published are of a high quality, usually occupying the whole of one or two pages or even being printed as an independent supplement. Reproductions of paintings, sculptures and drawings also appear complementing some articles published by *A Ilustração*. But what distinguishes those that interest me here is the fact that they were treated as visual material that had an independent value and were thought of as more than simple illustrations evoking a particular topic, as demonstrated by the comments published in the section "As Nossas Gravuras."
- [14] The discussion of the general characteristics of this group of images is particularly important here because it allows us to discern the canon proposed by *A Ilustração* – i.e., the group of artists and works that was meant to be the most representative of late 19th-century art. It also allows us to distinguish aspects of the magazine's dialogue with the visual culture and the taste of Luso-Brazilian elites of the time, which the editorial policy of the magazine both reflected and helped to shape.
- [15] The first of these general characteristics is the almost exclusive concern with contemporary artistic production, that of living or recently deceased artists, while the reproductions of works from the so-called "Old Masters" barely total a dozen.<sup>12</sup> This emphasis on contemporary art is not surprising since it was aligned with the magazine's editorial policy and its concern to record daily events. In the case of the arts, this was reflected by the majority of reproductions of works recently exhibited in Europe, especially in the annual Parisian *Salon*.
- [16] This fact is closely related to a second characteristic of the canon proposed by *A Ilustração* that concerns the nationality of artists who had their works reproduced. Although, on the covers of their annual volumes, it was claimed that the magazine counted with the "special collaboration [...] of the most notable artists from France, England, Germany and Italy," the fact is that the frequency of the reproduction of artists' works of these and other nations was not uniform. In the distribution of works, French art predominates: of the total of 247 works reproduced, those by the French accounted for 175, almost 71% of the total; the Portuguese were well behind, with 23 works (9.3%); the works of artists of other nationalities accounted for even less.<sup>13</sup> Another factor that emphasises the predominantly Francophile character of the selection proposed by *A Ilustração* was that in almost

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12 One work by Anthony van Dyck, one by J.-A. Watteau, one by J.-B. Greuze, one by the English artist John Russell, two by Rembrandt van Rijn, and reproductions of the so-called *Venus de Milo*.

13 Between 1884 and the end of 1890, *A Ilustração* also published reproductions of works by artists from: Germany (2 works), Austria (1), Belgium (3), Brazil (1), Spain (3), United States of America (7), Finland (5), Flanders (1), Netherlands (3), Hungary (1), England (6), Italy (7), Sweden (2), and Russia (1). There remains a work of Classical antiquity (the aforementioned *Venus de Milo*) and 5 works of artists whose nationality could not be identified.

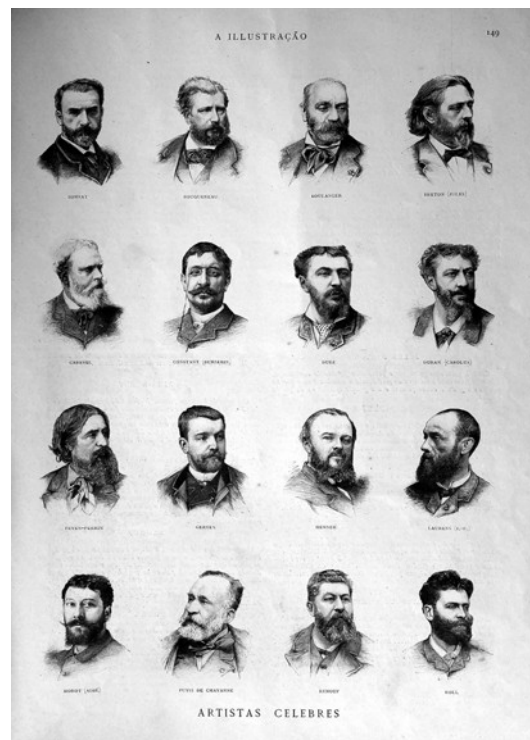
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every case where reproductions of non-French artists' works were published, they had been exhibited in the Parisian *Salon*.

- [17] Obviously, for an office located in Paris, the increase in the supply of engravings of works by French artists was a determining factor in the selection to be reproduced. However, such choices were also linked to the conviction of the directors of *A Ilustração* that France was the intellectual centre of Europe. Perhaps in no other issue of the magazine such a conviction was expressed more explicitly than in that devoted to the Paris *Salon* of 1885. In the preface, Mariano Pina summarized as follows:

On the map of Europe at the present moment of our century, [France is] the only country where the Arts, Letters and Sciences soar above any political event, enjoying a free, prosperous and glorious life.

An election or a ministerial change may find some echo in the stock exchange. But what produces noise all over the world, what demands the attention of all who have a reasonable intellectual education, is another book by Victor Hugo, Renan and Zola; is another new *Salon* that opened and a young painter who stands out; is a discovery by Pasteur in the isolation of his laboratory.<sup>14</sup>



3 *ARTISTAS CÉLEBRES*. (*CELEBRITY ARTISTS*.)  
Engraving from: *A Ilustração*, 20 May 1885, 149. Lisbon,  
Museu Bordalo Pinheiro, Library

- [18] Confirming these statements, the artists featured as "celebrities" in the central section of the issue were all French (Fig. 3): Léon Bonnat, William-Adolphe Bouguereau, Gustave Boulanger, Jules Breton, Alexandre Cabanel, J.-J. Benjamin Constant, Ernest Duez, Carolus Duran, Augustin Feyen-Perrin, Henri Gervex, Jean-Jacques Henner, Jean-Paul Laurens, Aimé Morot, Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, Émile Renouf and Alfred Roll.
- [19] A third characteristic of the canon proposed by *A Ilustração* relates to the genres of the works presented. Although certain works were ambiguous in these sense, a fact making classification difficult, it is certain that the diversity of genres was very unbalanced in quantitative terms, as occurred with respect to the nationality of the

14 Mariano Pina, "O SALON DE PARIS," in: *A Ilustração*, 20 May 1885, 148.

artists. Such genres as mythological painting, still life, landscape or animal painting were practically absent. Slightly better represented, in ascending order, were allegorical works, religious painting, history painting and portraiture. But what clearly predominated were genre scenes: at least 130 paintings and drawings could be classified unambiguously in this category, which corresponded to c. 53% of the reproduced works.

[20] The reproductions published in *A Ilustração* that I will consider here as genre paintings<sup>15</sup> have very different subjects, but they are characterized by a common focus on social reality and depict the daily life of ordinary citizens. In this respect, the representations of labour, leisure and the religious practices of peasants and fishermen stand out, as well as the representations of contemporary modes of urban social life. The predominance of genre scenes could be considered even broader if wider definitions of the concept were adopted,<sup>16</sup> since most of the portraits published in the section "Belas-Artes" represented social types and not individual people; moreover many of the historical paintings addressed the everyday life of anonymous individuals and not the great personalities or events from the past; finally a portion of the religious paintings was strictly based on verisimilitude and avoided the representation of supernatural events, like miracles or divine interventions in the world.

[21] The last characteristic of the canon proposed by *A Ilustração* that I would like to highlight here has to do with the style of the works reproduced, of which the overwhelming majority was marked by concerns with objectivity, truthfulness and accuracy in depicting their subjects. Here I will not propose a designation or a definition for this style, to which, at the end of 19th-century, were often applied adjectives like "realist" or "naturalist"<sup>17</sup> and for which contemporary art historians – including Portuguese and Brazilians – still strive to find a proper label.<sup>18</sup> However, in relation to this, I think it is important to remember that, in the 1880s, the legitimation of a style of art characterized by the same objectivity and truthfulness, used mainly to depict everyday themes, became a major topic of discussion among art critics in Portugal<sup>19</sup> and, to a lesser extent, in Brazil. Moreover, as I will show below, this predilection of *A Ilustração* was decisive in the selection of the Portuguese artists favoured by the magazine, especially those linked to the so-called *Grupo do Leão* (*Lion Group*).<sup>20</sup>

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15 I adopt here the definition given in the *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle*, by Pierre Larousse: "Le mot *genre* [...] ne s'emploie plus que pour désigner les peintures de mœurs familières, les scènes de l'existence rurale, les tableaux de intérieur, la représentation des usages, des costumes, des fêtes, des cérémonies, des travaux et des divertissements populaires; il s'applique en un mot, à tout oeuvre qui exprime un côté quelconque de la vie réelle, élégant ou misérable." Pierre Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle*, tome 8, Paris 1872, 1170.

16 As, for example, the definition proposed by Michaël Vottero in *La peinture de genre en France, après 1850*, Rennes 2012.

17 Geneviève Lacambre, "Toward an Emerging Definition of Naturalism in French Nineteenth-Century Painting," in: Gabriel Weisberg, ed., *The European Realist Tradition*, Indiana 1982, 229.

18 See, for example, Gabriel P. Weisberg et al., *Illusions of Reality: Naturalist Painting, Photography, Theatre and Cinema, 1875-1918*, exh. cat., Brussels 2010; Raquel Henriques da Silva, "Silva Porto e a pintura naturalista," in: Pedro Lapa and Maria de Aires Silveira, org., *Arte Portuguesa do Século XIX: 1850-1910*, Lisboa 2010, LI-LXIII; "Pintura naturalista," in: Jorge Coli, *O corpo da liberdade: reflexões sobre a pintura do século XIX*, São Paulo 2010, 285-294.

19 Sandra Leandro, "Teoria e Crítica de Arte em Portugal no final do século XIX," in: Sandra Leandro, org., *Seminários de Estudos de Arte: Estados da Forma I*. Évora 2007, 28-30.

20 The *Grupo do Leão* was a gathering of Portuguese artists who met in Lisbon at a brewery called *Leão de Ouro* (*Golden Lion*, hence the name of the group) around the landscape painter António Carvalho da Silva Porto, who had studied in France in the 1870s, entering in contact with members of the so-called *École de Barbizon* and the practice of *plein air* painting. During the 1880s, members of the *Grupo do Leão* organized an important License: The text of this article is provided under the terms of the Creative Commons License CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0.



[22] What catches the attention of today's readers with regard to the canon proposed by *A Ilustração* is not so much what it included, but what was omitted. For example, if one considers the importance given to landscape genre in more common contemporary notions of late 19th-century art, it seems very poorly represented in the section "Belas-Artes." What also stands out is the almost complete absence of works identified with the trends of the so-called "avant-garde," for example, the works of Gustave Courbet<sup>21</sup> or the impressionists and post-impressionists. The only – but very noteworthy – exception relates to the publication of a reproduction of Édouard Manet's painting *Torero Mort* (*The Dead Toreador*), in the issue of April 20, 1885 (Fig. 4).

[23] It is still necessary to investigate to what extent this absence of "avant-garde" works was due to practical contingencies, such as the availability of engravings in the publishing market of the time. However, it is certain that the aesthetic policy of *A Ilustração* was not characterized by an intransigent conservatism, as the analysis of the anonymous text referring to Manet's *Torero Mort* reveals. Besides referring ironically to "the rules of the sleepy and conservative Academies," the writer of the review spares no effort in characterizing Manet as an artist of great merit:

This artist who has been the cause of so much discussion, which was to lead to fierce wars among Parisian artists and critics, and whose *second manner*, the *impressionistic manner*, caused him to be severely judged by many and unjustly judged by many more, was nevertheless a first class artist, who had a deep knowledge of drawing and great originality of colour. [...] The *first manner* of Manet, which includes *The Dead Toreador*, the *Bon Bock* and other very famous paintings, shows us that the artist could confront – with all its demands, all its scruples and in all respects – the tradition that one acquires in an academic education. He could draw and paint like any State teacher.<sup>22</sup>



4 O TOUREIRO MORTO. - Quadro de E. Manet. (THE DEAD TOREADOR. - Painting by E. Manet.) Engraving from: *A Ilustração*, 20 April 1885, 124. Lisbon, Museu Bordalo Pinheiro, Library

[24] But the review of Manet's painting is also noteworthy for its reference to the French writer Émile Zola. It could be argued that, the critical attitude manifested in *A Ilustração*'s review was very similar to that of the famous Zola, who since the 1860s had supported Manet. This similarity is not accidental: the importance of Zola as a

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series of exhibitions in Lisbon, fostering genres as portraiture, landscape and genre painting. Concerning the emergence of the *Grupo do Leão*, see: José-Augusto França, *A Arte em Portugal no século XIX*, Lisboa 1990, 23-60.

<sup>21</sup> I support here the following statement by Stephen F. Eisenman: "Indeed, it may be argued that Courbet's three paintings [*Les Casseurs de pierres*, *Un enterrement à Ornans* and *Les paysans de Flagey*] and the scandal they precipitated proved to be the historical point of origin of avant-gardism as a cultural stance of ideological and political contestation." Stephen F. Eisenman et al., *Nineteenth century art: a critical history*, 2nd edition, London 2002, 236.

<sup>22</sup> "O TOUREIRO MORTO," in: *A Ilustração*, 20 April 1885, 118.

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reference for *A Ilustração's* contributors was explicitly expressed on several occasions, as in the cited issue dedicated to the *Salon* of 1885, where the work of Zola was equated to that of Victor Hugo and Ernest Renan. Before that however, the issue of April 5, 1885, was largely devoted to Zola: there was a portrait of the writer on the cover, biographical notes and a review of *Germinal* signed by Jayme de Séguier.

- [25] Zola himself, flattered by the treatment he received by *A Ilustração*, wrote a letter of thanks to Pina on April 16,<sup>23</sup> saying he was honoured by the good reception of *Germinal* in Portugal. This short letter received a very special treatment in the Luso-Brazilian magazine: it was reproduced in facsimile in the issue of May 5 (Fig. 5), where it was described as a "true autographic curiosity that our readers will certainly enjoy very much."<sup>24</sup> This literal reproduction of the letter is worthy of note: treated with the same care reserved for original drawings of artists, it appeared as a kind of relic, as concrete proof of the dialogue held between the editor-in-chief of *A Ilustração* and one of the most celebrated French authors of his time.

Paris 16 avril 85

Monsieur,

Excusez-moi, si j'ai tant tardé à vous remercier. Un petit voyage, beaucoup d'occupations, m'ont mis très en retard. Mais je veux que vous sachiez, comme bien j'en ai été touché de trouver, dans l'*Illustration* du Portugal, ce beau portrait et la très sympathique étude qui l'accompagne. Je suis qu'on veut bien m'aimer un peu à Lisbonne, et j'en suis fier et fier de cet honneur qui m'apporte la nouvelle du grand succès de mon dernier roman parmi vous.

Merci encore, et veuillez me croire votre bien dévoué et très reconnaissant

Émile Zola

5 Facsimile of a letter by Émile Zola to Mariano Pina.  
Engraving from: *A Ilustração*, 5 May 1885, 131.  
Lisbon, Museu Bordalo Pinheiro, Library.

- [26] In this sense, even more telling was the preface of the edition of May 5, 1885 in which Pina described his conversation with Zola at the Parisian winter home of the latter, when the French writer, amid discussions over *Germinal's* translation rights for the Portuguese, had expressed his admiration for the work of Eça de Queiroz. Pina reports:

Zola has known for a long time the illustrious novelist of the *Crime do Padre Amaro* [The Crime of Father Amaro]; he does not ignore the formidable literary revolution he caused in his own country and although reading in Portuguese is more difficult for him than reading in Italian or Spanish, he has

23 Letter from Émile Zola to Mariano Pina, April 16, 1885. Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional. Estate of Mariano and Augusto Pina, N17/42.

24 "EMILIO ZOLA E A ILUSTRAÇÃO," in: *A Ilustração*, 5 May 1885, 131.

understood the subtleties in some of the pages that the Portuguese novelist has worked with true genius, with all the rigor and knowledge of a modern artist.<sup>25</sup>

[27] Zola confided to Pina that he counted on Eça as a future collaborator in the project to establish an international library which would involve "all the children of Balzac and Flaubert [...] the *naturalists*, as stated."<sup>26</sup> This report of Pina about his meeting with Zola thus indicates a network of relationships involving some of the leading writers of Portugal and France in the late 19th-century and helps us to understand better the canon proposed by *A Ilustração*.

[28] To end this part, I would like to discuss how this canon can be related to changes that were taking place in Portuguese and Brazilian art of the 1880s. Again, I believe that the editorial policy of the magazine needs to be understood as a "two way-road" echoing the aspirations of the new generation of Luso-Brazilian artists and at the same time contributing to assert in Portugal and Brazil new aesthetic trends. Among the images that could be used here to discuss this topic, I have chosen an engraving of the painting *Retour du bal* (*Return from the Ball*), by the French artist Henri Gervex (Fig. 6), published by *A Ilustração* on May 5, 1885. This image was first printed in *Le Monde Illustré* of January 10, 1880;<sup>27</sup> Gervex's painting had been exhibited at the *Salon* of 1879, drawing the attention of art critics, notably Zola, who described it as "une scène de jalousie entre une femme en larmes et un monsieur en habit, en train d'ôter nerveusement ses gants" and acclaimed the painting relating it to his own concept of "Naturalism."<sup>28</sup> What interests me here above all is the relationship that can be established between the reproduction of Gervex's painting in *A Ilustração* and a work by the Brazilian painter Belmiro de Almeida, entitled *Arrufos* (*Lovers' quarrel*), dated 1887 (Fig. 7), which was described by the Brazilian art critic Gonzaga Duque as "a domestic episode, a quarrel between spouses."<sup>29</sup>

[29] The relationship between these two images can be inferred by some evidence. Besides the similarities of theme and composition, it is known, for example, that Belmiro was aware of the content and style of the images disseminated by *A Ilustração*. When the Brazilian was for the first time in Paris, between 1884 and 1885, he became friend with Mariano Pina; on April 7, 1886, Belmiro addressed a letter to Pina<sup>30</sup> that was accompanied by a drawing of his own, portraying the Brazilian sculptor Rodolpho Bernardelli, and an introductory text concerning the latter, written by Gonzaga Duque – both of whom were important agents in the affirmation of new artistic trends in Brazil in the 1880s.<sup>31</sup> Belmiro's expectation was that both the drawing and the text would find their place in the pages of *A Ilustração*, as Belmiro declared at the beginning of the letter: "For a long time I

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25 Mariano Pina, "EMILIO ZOLA," in: *A Ilustração*, 5 May 1885, 130.

26 Pina, "EMILIO ZOLA," 130. Concerning this topic, see also: Alain Pagès, "Zola et Eça de Queirós: une rencontre européenne," in Kelly B. Basilio, org., *Naturalismo Olhares Cruzados*, V. N. Famalicão 2012, 105-121.

27 *Le Monde Illustré*, 10 January 1880, 21.

28 "Lettres de Paris: Nouvelles artistiques et littéraires - Le Salon de 1879," in: *Émile Zola, Écrits sur l'art*, Paris 1991, 401-402.

29 Gonzaga Duque, *A arte brasileira*, Campinas 1995, 211.

30 Letter from Belmiro de Almeida Junior to Mariano Pina, April 7, 1886. Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional. Estate of Mariano and Augusto Pina, N17/252.

31 After the proclamation of the Brazilian Republic, Rodolpho Bernardelli became director of the Rio de Janeiro's Academy of Fine Arts, the main institution for art education in Brazil; see: Maria do Carmo Couto da Silva, *Rodolfo Bernardelli, escultor moderno: análise da sua produção artística e da sua atuação entre a Monarquia e a República*, Campinas 2011, 311-340. Gonzaga Duque, in his turn, became one of the most important Brazilian art critics of his time; see: Tadeu Chiarelli, "Gonzaga Duque: a moldura e o quadro da arte brasileira," in: Gonzaga Duque, *A Arte brasileira*, Campinas 1995, 11-52.

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have cherished the idea of sending you a work for *A Ilustração*.<sup>32</sup> Although the material sent by Belmiro was never published, for reasons still unknown, the content of the letter clearly reveals his relationship with Pina and his knowledge of *A Ilustração*'s venture.



6 A VOLTA DO BAILE. - Quadro de Henri Gervex. (RETURN FROM THE BALL. - Painting by Henry Gervex.) Engraving from: *A Ilustração*, 5 May 1885, 137. Lisbon, Museu Bordalo Pinheiro, Library



7 Belmiro de Almeida, *Arrufos (Lovers' Quarrel)*, 1887, oil on canvas, 89 x 116 cm. Rio de Janeiro, Museu Nacional de Belas Artes

[30] The publication of the engraving based on Gervex's painting in a magazine of significant circulation among Portuguese and Brazilian elites was important for another reason, as Belmiro could be sure that the dialogue which *Arrufos* established with *Retour du bal* would not pass unnoticed by Brazilian audiences. The existence of this previous established community of meaning explains, at least in part, the immediate success that *Arrufos* obtained in Brazil. In fact, the painting's reception was very positive when it was first exhibited in August 1887 at the Salon De Wilde, at Sete de Setembro Street, in the centre of Rio de Janeiro, where it attracted many

<sup>32</sup> Letter from Belmiro de Almeida Junior to Mariano Pina, p. 1.

visitors. In the same year, Belmiro's request that *Arrufos* be purchased by the Brazilian Imperial government for the gallery of the Academy of Fine Arts in Rio was accepted. In 1888, Gonzaga Duque would state that "hitherto a painting as important as this had not been produced in Rio de Janeiro."<sup>33</sup> The critic praised Belmiro's "accurate understanding of his times and the objectives of modern painting,"<sup>34</sup> which was expressed in his rejection of historical and allegorical subject matter and his choice of an everyday theme, similar to those depicted in the genre scenes published in *A Ilustração*.

- [31] All this should not make us forget the ambivalence of the dialogue established between *Arrufos* and *Retour du bal*. Deviations are expressed in several elements: for example, Belmiro's painting is more sober and restrained in its profusion of detail. More significantly, while the man in Gervex's work expresses a sharper anguish, the man in Belmiro's manifests superiority and emotional neutrality, as if indifferent to his women's distress. The alienation between the couple seems to be emphasized also by *Arrufos*'s composition, with its downward diagonal dividing it into two parts – one more decorated, associated with the woman, the other more sober, associated with the man.
- [32] Regarding these deviations, Alexandre Eulálio used the term "glosa,"<sup>35</sup> which means a traditional form of Iberian poetry in which a poem develops a theme presented in the opening stanza of another poem, usually repeating one or more lines of that stanza.<sup>36</sup> Thinking in terms of "glosa" is interesting here because it highlights Belmiro's active role in reshaping the theme shared with Gervex. But it also may be argued that *Arrufos* is a kind of parody of *Retour du bal*: what Gervex treats in a melodramatic manner, Belmiro reduces to the triviality of an ordinary quarrel. As Luciano Migliaccio stated, parody was indeed a recurrent strategy among Brazilian artists of late 19th-century, especially regarding to the reception of European genres and themes.<sup>37</sup> Migliaccio refers not only to another painting by Belmiro, *Os Descobridores (The Discoverers)*, 1899,<sup>38</sup> in which "the parody of the historical landscape as a national genre approaches scorn,"<sup>39</sup> but also to Rodolpho Bernardelli parodying the tradition of nativist poetry and art in *A Faceira (The Coquette)*, 1880.<sup>40</sup> In these works, as in Belmiro's *Arrufos*, one can see a strategy of appropriation and reinvention of European models made by artists concerned with Brazilian historical and social topics. As a channel for the diffusion of these models, *A Ilustração* contributed in an important way to this strategy.

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33 Duque, *A arte brasileira*, 212.

34 Duque, *A arte brasileira*, 212.

35 Alexandre Eulálio, "O século XIX - Tradição e Ruptura (Panorama das artes plásticas)," in: Berta Waldman e Luiz Dantas, org., *Escritos*. São Paulo 1992, 160.

36 D. C. Clarke, "Glosa," in: Roland Green et al., ed., *New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry & Poetics*, Princeton 2012, 572.

37 Luciano Migliaccio, "A recepção dos gêneros europeus na pintura brasileira," in: Ana M. T. Cavalcanti, Arthur Valle and Camila Dazzi, org., *Oitocentos - Arte Brasileira do Império à Primeira República*, Rio de Janeiro 2008, 26-31.

38 Belmiro de Almeida, *Os Descobridores (The Discoverers)*, 1899, oil on canvas, 260 x 200 cm. Rio de Janeiro, Museu Histórico do Itamaraty. A reproduction is available at: [http://www.dezenovevinte.net/imgs/ba\\_1899\\_descobridores.jpg](http://www.dezenovevinte.net/imgs/ba_1899_descobridores.jpg).

39 Migliaccio, 2008, 30.

40 Rodolpho Bernardelli, *A Faceira (The Coquette)*, 1880, bronze, 160 x 75 x 64 cm. Rio de Janeiro, Museu Nacional de Belas Artes. A reproduction is available at: [http://www.dezenovevinte.net/imgs/rb\\_1880\\_faceira.jpg](http://www.dezenovevinte.net/imgs/rb_1880_faceira.jpg). License: The text of this article is provided under the terms of the Creative Commons License CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0.

Luso-Brazilian artists in the pages of *A Ilustração*

- [33] Considering all of the engravings published by *A Ilustração*, another important section refers to drawings or reproductions of original works made by Portuguese and Brazilian artists. In this case, presumably, the transnational dialogues and exchanges were more restricted, limited mainly to the communities of readers in Portugal and Brazil. On the other hand, some characteristics already mentioned are repeated in this section, such as the predominance of images characterized by a supposedly objective description of themes of everyday life, as well as the emphasis on the participation of Luso-Brazilian artists in the Parisian *Salons*.
- [34] In this sense, *A Ilustração* was in tune with a widespread trend among the illustrated magazines of the time. Particularly noteworthy here are Gabriel Weisberg's considerations regarding British and American magazines such as *The Magazine of Art*, *The Art Amateur* and *The Art Interchange*, because these magazines were significantly analogous to *A Ilustração* with regard to divulging the production of artists of their own national "schools." As Weisberg summarises:
- French and other Continental magazines were not the only ones to show an interest in naturalist painters; commentary about their work frequently appeared in English and American weekly or monthly publications well into the twentieth century. These magazines showed an increasing interest in those French artists who were regarded as international favourites such as [Pascal] Dagnan-Bouveret, but they also remarked on Americans who were closely linked to the French school such as Charles Sprague Pearce, a painter who spent considerable time in France working in his studio at Auvers-sur-Oise. The emergence of a series of journals that recorded the American presence is worth noting as they furthered these artists' reputations.<sup>41</sup>
- [35] Besides furthering the reputations of Luso-Brazilian artists through reproductions of their works, the office of *A Ilustração* also acted as a centre for commissions, catalyzing the production of an important number of original drawings, made exclusively for the magazine, which were reproduced with great care, making use of new graphic techniques.<sup>42</sup> Such was the case with a series of portraits published by *A Ilustração*, which aimed to make known the images of recently deceased Portuguese actors<sup>43</sup> and of other artists aligned with the aesthetic policy of the magazine, such as the portrait of Raphael Bordallo Pinheiro by his brother Columbano,<sup>44</sup> or the portrait of Ramalho Ortigão by Antonio Ramalho.<sup>45</sup>
- [36] One of the most extensive series of original drawings was devoted to views of Brazil, published between 1884 and 1886, which seemed to share the documentary character of the portraits mentioned above. In this series were

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41 Weisberg, *Illusions of Reality*, 95.

42 In the commentary on the reproduction of an original drawing by Rodolpho Amoêdo, one reads: "Wishing to retain all the delicacy and subtlety of the drawing made by our friendly artist, we requested a photographic reproduction of the work and then printed it according to the latest chemical processes, taking advantage of the zincography process that has been perfected only in Paris." "A PARTIDA DE JACOB," in: *A Ilustração*, 5 May 1884, 38.

43 For example, the portrait of the actor Rosa Pai by Antonio Ramalho (*A Ilustração*, 20 January 1885, 20) or the portrait of the actor Theodorico Baptista da Cruz by Raphael Bordallo Pinheiro (*A Ilustração*, 20 April 1885, 116).

44 *A Ilustração*, 5 April 1885, 73.

45 *A Ilustração*, 5 April 1887, 101.

published eight drawings by the Portuguese Francisco Villaça,<sup>46</sup> three by Antonio Ramalho<sup>47</sup> and one by the Brazilian Rodolpho Amoêdo. Amoêdo's contribution, entitled *Indígenas do Amazonas* (*Amazon Indians*), was printed in the edition of December 5, 1884 (Fig. 8). Two letters sent by the Brazilian painter to Mariano Pina refer to this image: in the first, Amoêdo regretted not having been able to complete the "Amazon drawing" for health reasons;<sup>48</sup> the second letter, written in the Norman town of Aubigny, was sent to Paris accompanying the finished work.<sup>49</sup> In the postscript to this second letter, Amoêdo placed himself at Pina's disposal for the production of another drawing, requesting the photograph and the paper for the work. This suggests that Amoêdo also used a photographic reference in the case of *Indígenas do Amazonas* and that the use of photography, as an aid to the drawing process, also occurred in the case of other views of Brazil signed by Francisco Villaça and Antonio Ramalho.<sup>50</sup>



8 INDIGENAS DO AMAZONAS. - Desenho original de R. Amoedo. (AMAZON INDIANS . - Original drawing by R. Amoedo.) Engraving from: *A Ilustração*, 5 December 1884, 228. Lisbon, Museu Bordalo Pinheiro, Library

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46 *Uma vista do Amazonas* (*A view of the Amazon*), *A Ilustração*, 5 October 1884, 84; *Rio de Janeiro. - Praia de Icarai* (*Itapuca*) (*Rio de Janeiro. - Icarai Beach (Itapuca)*), *A Ilustração*, 20 December 1884, 245; *Barcos no Amazonas* (*Amazon Boats*), *A Ilustração*, 5 January 1885, 13; *A Baía de Botafogo* (*Botafogo Bay*), *A Ilustração*, 5 April 1885, 109; *Vista da Barra* (*View of Barra*), *A Ilustração*, 20 April 1885, 116; *A Pedra do Marisco, Restinga da Tijuca* (*Marisco Rock, Tijuca Rock String*), *A Ilustração*, 5 May 1885, 141; *Uma ponte rústica* (*A rustic bridge*), *A Ilustração*, 20 August 1885, 245; *A Cascata Grande da Tijuca* (*Grand Waterfall of Tijuca*), *A Ilustração*, 5 September 1885, 269.

47 *Viaduto da Grota Funda, na estrada de ferro do Príncipe do Grão Pará, serra da Estrela* (*Grota Funda Viaduct on the Prince of Grão Pará railway, Estrela Ridge*), *A Ilustração*, 20 February 1885, 60; *A Praia da Saudade* (*Saudade Beach*), *A Ilustração*, 20 March 1885, 84; *Rio de Janeiro - A Baía* (*Rio de Janeiro - Bay*), *A Ilustração*, 20 February 1886, 60.

48 Letter from Rodolpho Amoêdo to Mariano Pina, August 23, 1884. Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal. Estate of Mariano and Augusto Pina, N17/285.

49 Letter from Rodolpho Amoêdo to Mariano Pina, September 7, 1884. Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal. Estate of Mariano and Augusto Pina, N17/285.

50 Sandra Leandro states that, for example, the drawings *Uma ponte rústica* and *A Cascata Grande da Tijuca* by Francisco Villaça derived from photos by Georges Leuzinger, a Swiss artist established in Brazil in the 19th-Century. See Sandra Leandro, "19 tragédias, 20 comédias na Arte Portuguesa do Século XIX," in: Arthur Valle, Camila Dazzi and Isabel Portella, org., *Oitocentos: intercâmbios culturais entre Brasil e Portugal - tomo 3*, Seropédica 2012, 472-473.

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9 BRASIL. - Viaduto da Grota Funda, na estrada de ferro do Príncipe do Grão Pará, serra da Estrela. - Desenho de A. Ramalho. (BRAZIL. - Grota Funda Viaduct, on Prince of Grão Pará railway, seta da Estrela. - Drawing by A. Ramalho.) Engraving from: *A Ilustração*, 20 February 1885, 60. Lisbon, Museu Bordalo Pinheiro, Library

[37] Just as the series of portraits of Portuguese actors, artists and writers helped to affirm their reputations not only in Portugal but also in Brazil, the series of Brazilian views seemed to be intended to strengthen the links between both countries, with the circulation of images of Brazil in Portugal. However, produced mostly by Portuguese artists probably using photographic means, these images mainly reaffirm exotic stereotypes about Brazil. With the exception, perhaps, of the drawing by Amoêdo, whose "Indians" have little of the uncivilized character commonly associated with them, these views emphasise "the capture of the picturesque and the exotic [...]. The overwhelming scale [of the landscape] is almost always presented as a defining character."<sup>51</sup> Commenting on *Uma vista do Amazonas (A view of the Amazon)* by Francisco Villaça, the anonymous writer of *A Ilustração* even states that, in the drawing by the Portuguese artist, the splendour of Brazilian nature can be compared to "pages by [Édouard] Riou illustrating the works of Jules Verne."<sup>52</sup> Indeed, some of the Brazilian landscapes have something of a fantastic look, like the view of the Grota Funda Viaduct on the Prince of Grão Pará railway, by Antonio Ramalho (Fig. 9). The commentary to the drawing details the technical aspects of the railway, praising it as an engineering achievement, although in the image it is barely visible, pushed back to a distant plane by a large tree that crosses the entire composition. What predominates here, as in other images of Brazil, is wild nature with its sublime character which almost seems to threaten the work of man.

[38] Besides these original drawings, *A Ilustração* published reproductions of works by Portuguese and Brazilian artists not originally intended for the magazine. In this context, it should be pointed out the active role played by *A Ilustração*, especially in its early years, in promoting the exhibitions of the *Grupo do Leão* in Lisbon.<sup>53</sup> This began in the issue of January 20, 1885, where drawings by Silva Porto, Columbano Bordallo Pinheiro and José

51 Leandro, "19 tragédias, 20 comédias na Arte Portuguesa do Século XIX," 472.

52 "Uma vista do Amazonas," *A Ilustração*, 5 October 1884, 171.

53 See note 20.



Malhoa were published.<sup>54</sup> These drawings, referring to paintings shown in the fourth exhibition of the group, came from its illustrated catalogue and were accompanied by a text signed RIP., which amongst other things highlighted the pioneering role of Mariano Pina in revealing the new generation of Portuguese artists.<sup>55</sup> Still in 1885, although referring to the fifth *Grupo do Leão's* exhibition which was inaugurated in December of that year, original drawings by Souza Pinto, Francisco Villaça and Antonio Ramalho were published.<sup>56</sup> Finally, on January 20, 1887, a sketch by Abel Acacio was printed, showing several works from the sixth exhibition of the group.<sup>57</sup> Acacio also wrote the text accompanying this image praising the persistence of the *Grupo do Leão's* members, mocking the ungenerous behaviour of the Portuguese collectors and reviewing the works exhibited, amongst which were those submitted by the Brazilian painter Augusto Rodrigues Duarte.<sup>58</sup>

[39] As said before, *A Ilustração* also featured in a very special way the participation of Luso-Brazilian artists in the Parisian *Salon*. This initiative began with the publication on June 5, 1884, of a pen and ink version of the painting *A Partida de Jacob (Departure of Jacob)*, which Rodolpho Amoêdo exhibited in the Salon of 1884.<sup>59</sup> Pen and ink versions of works by Antonio Ramalho,<sup>60</sup> Thomaz da Costa,<sup>61</sup> Antonio Teixeira Lopes<sup>62</sup> and José Velloso Salgado<sup>63</sup> were also published in following editions. Moreover, the magazine published engravings based on photographs of two sculptures of the biblical figure of Cain, one by J. Moreira Rato<sup>64</sup> and another by Teixeira Lopes.<sup>65</sup>

[40] However, the Portuguese artist who had the most works reproduced in *A Ilustração* was José Júlio de Souza Pinto. This was certainly due to his wide acceptance in French artistic circles: during this period, Souza Pinto submitted almost every year works to the *Salon*, where they invariably received acclaim, being reproduced in the exhibitions' catalogues and in French illustrated magazines. Thus, in addition to the reproduction in 1885 of a pen and ink version of his own painting *Antes da Escola (Before School)*,<sup>66</sup> *A Ilustração* published no fewer than five engravings originally made for *Le Monde Illustré* by the celebrated French engraver Charles Baude: *O Hóspede Inconsolável (The Inconsolable Guest)*, in 1884;<sup>67</sup> *As Calças Rotas (The Ragged Trousers)*, in 1886;<sup>68</sup> *A*

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54 These paintings were: *A salmeja (The harvest)* by Silva Porto, *Um retrato (A portrait)* by Columbano Bordallo; and *Silhouette de Toledo (Toledo Silhouette)* e *Um estudo (A study)* by José Malhoa.

55 RIP., "O GRUPO DO LEÃO," in: *A Ilustração*, 20 January 1885, 22, 27.

56 "O GRUPO DO LEÃO," in: *A Ilustração*, 20 December 1885, 382-383. These drawings were: *A Apanha das Batatas (The Potato Harvest)*, by Souza Pinto; *Ave Maria!... (Hail Mary!...)*, by Francisco Villaça; and *A Cruz de São Wladimiro (St. Vladimir's Cross)*, by Antonio Ramalho

57 *A Ilustração*, 20 January 1887, 28.

58 Abel Acacio, "O GRUPO DO LEÃO," *A Ilustração*, 20 January 1887, 27, 30

59 *A Ilustração*, 5 May 1884, 36.

60 *A Ilustração*, 20 May 1885, 154.

61 *A Ilustração*, 5 June 1888, 168.

62 *A Ilustração*, 5 June 1888, 169.

63 *A Ilustração*, 20 May 1890, 149.

64 *A Ilustração*, 20 November 1885, 341.

65 *A Ilustração*, 20 May 1890, 145.

66 *A Ilustração*, 20 May 1885, 154.

67 *A Ilustração*, 20 July 1884, 68. This engraving was published in *Le Monde Illustré* May 3, 1884, p. 284.

68 *A Ilustração*, 5 November 1886, 321. Souza Pinto exhibited this painting in the *Salon* of 1883, cat. n. 2236, with the title *La Cullote Dechirée*, earning an honourable mention. Not surprisingly, the painting was given prominence on the cover of *Le Monde Illustré* June 30, 1883.

*Lição do Avô* (*Grandfather's Lesson*), in 1890;<sup>69</sup> *O Barco Perdido* (*The Lost Boat*)<sup>70</sup> and *A Volta dos Barcos* (*The Return of the Boats*),<sup>71</sup> both of the latter in 1891.

[41] The critical comments about these last three paintings of Souza Pinto published in *A Ilustração* deserve particular attention. They clearly differ from the comments made in *Le Monde Illustré* and have as their central concern the desire to create a genuinely Portuguese "school" of art. Accordingly, the reviewer of *A Lição do Avô* (Fig. 10) even reproaches Souza Pinto for his excessive conformity to French visual culture:

Souza Pinto greatly *parisienated* himself. [...]

Thus the series of paintings, from *As Calças Rotas* which was conceived in France, to *A Lição do Avô*, conceived in Portugal, all exquisitely executed but purely anecdotal, rather like the painted *nouvelles à la main* intended to decorate small Parisian sitting rooms.

For this reason we genuinely admire his work, but also fear for the future of his talent, in the measure that he distances himself from his own country, where there are so many picturesque and characteristic treasures that could charm not only one, but dozens of artists.

As can be seen in the engraving by Ch. Baude, Souza Pinto's *Lição do Avô* displays admirable handling – but a handling more suited to the taste of Paris. We would like to see in a Portuguese theme something extra to give us the impression of our light and our life.<sup>72</sup>

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69 *A Ilustração*, 5 May 1890, 136. The engraving was published in *Le Monde Illustré* March 1, 1890, p. 136

70 *A Ilustração*, 15 January 1891, 13. The engraving was published in *Le Monde Illustré* November 8, 1890, p. 385.

71 *A Ilustração*, 15 October 1891, 298. The engraving was published in *Le Monde Illustré* September 12, 1891, p. 172.

72 "ARTE PORTUGUESA - A LIÇÃO DO AVÔ," in: *A Ilustração*, 5 May 1890, 138.



10 ARTE PORTUGUESA. - A LIÇÃO DO AVÓ. - QUADRO DE SOUZA PINTO. (PORTUGUESE ART. - GRANDFATHER'S LESSON. - PAINTING BY SOUZA PINTO.) Engraving from: *A Ilustração*, 5 May 1890, 136. Lisbon, Museu Bordalo Pinheiro, Library

[42] The review of *O Barco Perdido* reiterates this nationalist appeal: "What we would wish for is that he [Souza Pinto] concerns himself more with subjects and types of our own country, setting aside French themes which concern him most."<sup>73</sup> Only in the review of the last work of the painter reproduced in *A Ilustração*, *A Volta dos Barcos* (Fig. 11), the longstanding desire for Portuguese character finally seems to be realized:

The theme of *A Volta dos Barcos* is the activities concerned with the sea, studied and observed on a beach in Portugal, near Porto. The boats, the appearance of the settlement, the figures, the equipment, everything is Portuguese, genuinely Portuguese. And we are indeed delighted to see that Mr. Souza Pinto, instead of letting all his attention and his spirit be absorbed in foreign affairs – tries to find in his country the picturesque elements and the national character, the things that one day will give him a distinct place in the *salons* of Paris.<sup>74</sup>

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73 "O barco perdido," in: *A Ilustração*, 15 January 1891, 3.

74 "Belas-Artes," in: *A Ilustração*, 15 October 1891, 290.



11 ARTE PORTUGUESA. - A VOLTA DOS BARCOS. - QUADRO DE SOUZA PINTO. (PORTUGUESE ART. - THE RETURN OF THE BOATS. - PAINTING BY SOUZA PINTO.) Engraving from: *A Ilustração*, 15 October 1891, 296. Lisbon, Museu Bordalo Pinheiro, Library

- [43] Such appeals seemed to be out of harmony with the cosmopolitan editorial policy which had been characteristic of *A Ilustração* since its beginning. It is certain that, in the 1880s, the defence of a certain Portuguese character in the arts was on the agenda of *A Ilustração* as a kind of underlying theme, as evidenced by a series of images published by the magazine referring to Portuguese monuments and customs that showed picturesque aspects of the country. But the concern with an art characterized by nationalism had never been expressed in such a strong manner as in the above mentioned comments on Souza Pinto's works.
- [44] This change seems to be related to the serious crisis of sovereignty through which Portugal passed in the dawn of the 1890s. The main reason was the so-called *British Ultimatum*, which was still alive in the memory of the Portuguese people. Delivered on January 11, 1890, this ultimatum from the British government demanded the withdrawal of military forces from Portuguese territory between the former colonies of Angola and Mozambique.<sup>75</sup> The *British Ultimatum* rocked the sovereignty of Portugal, provoking an outburst of patriotism and leading to a demand for a stand in defence of the nation. The directors of *A Ilustração* strongly supported this demand: for example, the entire issue of February 5, 1890, was marked by nationalist claims with texts inciting war against England. Considering all this, it is less surprising to find a renewed concern with nationalism also in the criticism published by the magazine.
- [45] Meanwhile, in Brazil, another important political event – the proclamation of the Brazilian Republic – took place and demanded a special attention of *A Ilustração*, which published a noteworthy group of images that I would like to discuss in the final session of this paper.

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<sup>75</sup> In the end, Portugal acquiesced to British demands. It was seen as a national humiliation, especially by republicans in Portugal, who held the government and King Carlos I responsible. See: Rui Ramos, *D. Carlos. 1863-1908*, Lisboa 2006, 72-102.

The Brazilian Republic in images

- [46] With the end of Rodolpho Amoêdo's collaboration and of the series of original drawings dedicated to Brazil, images related to the country and its art virtually disappeared from the pages of *A Ilustração*. The fact is that, as Elza Miné asserted, the "Brazilianization" of the magazine had never happened – and, in respect to the visual arts, this was even more obvious than with literature.<sup>76</sup> From the beginning of 1886, with the exception of a few portraits of celebrities such as the Emperor Pedro II or images of Brazil's participation in the Paris *Exposition Universelle* of 1889, the country was almost absent from the agenda of *A Ilustração*. This fact seems to be related to the final breakup between Mariano Pina and the directors of *Gazeta de Notícias*, which happened in March 1886.<sup>77</sup> If, after this, the financial support of overseas sponsors also ended, it is to be presumed that Pina had felt less constrained to include material related to Brazil in *A Ilustração*.
- [47] It took a political event of great importance – the proclamation of the Brazilian Republic on November 15, 1889 – to change this situation. The event was followed with interest by European nations and deserves special discussion here, because the usual direction of the circulation of images was reversed, allowing for contributions originating from *A Ilustração*'s office to be published in magazines from other countries.
- [48] The military coup that removed the Emperor Pedro II from his throne and established the Republic in Brazil had particular significance for the Portuguese for various reasons. In his "Crônica" published in *A Ilustração* of December 5, 1889, Mariano Pina referred, for example, to the preoccupation that something similar to the abolition of the Brazilian monarchy might also happen in Portugal.<sup>78</sup> The close attention given by the magazine to the reception in Portugal of the Brazilian Republic's proclamation was also expressed in the detailed "review of the most important opinions in the Portuguese press of all political tendencies, about the revolution in Brazil," published in the same issue of December 5.<sup>79</sup>
- [49] The first images relating to the proclamation of the Republic in Brazil were printed on the cover of this issue. These were the portraits of four of the movement's leaders, designated by their positions in the new regime: Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca, President of the Provisional Government; Benjamin Constant, Minister of War; Quintino Bocayuva, Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Ruy Barbosa, Minister of Finance. As a complement, in the section "As Nossas Gravuras," a survey of the role that each of these agents performed in the process of the Republic's establishment was presented.<sup>80</sup> The anonymous writer expressed the desire to publish the portraits of other Brazilian ministers, but at that moment it could not be done because it was impossible to find either in Paris or Lisbon portraits of any of them. *A Ilustração* could only fill this gap a month later, in the issue of January 5, 1890, which published portraits "faithfully copied from a lithograph that appeared in Rio, where the faces of each of the members of the Provisional Government could be seen."<sup>81</sup>

76 Miné, "Mariano Pina, a *Gazeta de Notícias* e *A Ilustração*: histórias de bastidores contadas por seu espólio," 36.

77 A brief letter from Elísio Mendes ended the contract between Pina and *Gazeta de Notícias*; see Letter from Elísio Mendes to Mariano Pina, March 23, 1886. Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional. Estate of Mariano and Augusto Pina, N17/165.

78 Mariano Pina, "CRÔNICA - ONDE ESTÁ O PERIGO...," in: *A Ilustração*, 5 December 1889, 354-35.

79 "A REVISTA DAS REVISTAS - A República dos Estados Unidos do Brasil," in: *A Ilustração*, 5 December 1889, 363, 366.

80 "A REPÚBLICA DOS ESTADOS UNIDOS DO BRASIL," in: *A Ilustração*, 5 December 1889, 358-359.

81 "Os acontecimentos do Brasil," *A Ilustração*, 5 January 1890, 6. It is likely that this lithograph was the supplement n. 569 of the magazine *Revista Ilustrada (Illustrated Review)* of Rio de Janeiro, published on November 16, 1889, showing the "First Ministry of the United States of Brazil."

[50] Magazines from other countries seemed to have anticipated *A Ilustração* regarding the publication of all these portraits. For example, on November 30, 1889, *La Ilustracion Española y Americana*, a Madrid-based magazine, published exactly the same series of four portraits published by *A Ilustração* on December 5. Also *Le Monde Illustré*, on November 30, published a series of four portraits of Brazilian republican leaders, which differed from the one published by the Luso-Brazilian magazine only because it replaced Ruy Barbosa by the Minister of Justice, Campos Salles.<sup>82</sup> If one considers just the dates of these publications, one might think that, once again, *A Ilustração* used "second-hand" engravings from other magazines; however, a more detailed analysis of the publications indicates that in this case the circulation of images was far more complex.

[51] In this sense, the comment in the section "As Nossas Gravuras" in *A Ilustração* of December 5 is very revealing as it describes the ways in which images about the new Brazilian Republic circulated among magazines published in Europe at the time of the coup:

Moreover, the revolution was so unexpected that representatives of European illustrated magazines knocked on the doors of Brazilians and Portuguese, asking material for their artistic *reportage*, in order to satisfy the public curiosity in Lisbon, as well as in Paris and London, where the revolution caused an extraordinary sensation.<sup>83</sup>

[52] In *A Ilustração*'s following issue of December 20, the anonymous writer of "As Nossas Gravuras," after remembering the great interest in the Brazilian political situation throughout Europe, added:

One of the most sought after persons in Paris, by French and English illustrated magazines, has been our director Mariano Pina. Thus all the engravings that appeared in *Le Monde illustré* of November 30, 1889, the great Parisian magazine whose director is our distinguished colleague Edouard Hubert, were made from photographs provided by the director of ILUSTRACÃO.<sup>84</sup>

[53] Indeed, in the caption accompanying the publication of portraits of the Brazilian imperial family, in *Le Monde Illustré* of November 30, one can read: "D'après les photographies communiquées par M. MARIANO PINA, directeur de l'Illustration Portugaise."<sup>85</sup> It is highly likely therefore, that the references to the portraits of Brazilian Republican leaders, published in the French magazine in late 1889 had also been contributed by Pina. Moreover, while praising the honesty with which *Le Monde Illustré* gave due credit to Pina, the writer of "As Nossas Gravuras" criticized contemporary Portuguese magazines which, as he said, "used not only these elements, but also old portraits that only ILUSTRACÃO had published, claiming them as their own."<sup>86</sup>

[54] Mariano Pina may also have been the source of another image published in *Le Monde Illustré* of November 30, which evoked the memory of the abolished Brazilian monarchy: an engraving of the monument to Pedro I of Brazil (Pedro IV of Portugal), a bronze sculptural group by the French artist Louis Rochet, located in the former Constitution Square in the centre of Rio de Janeiro. This same engraving was displayed on the cover of *A Ilustração*'s issue of December 20, replacing the prominent position of the Republican leaders in the previous edition. These were virtually absent from the new issue of the Luso-Brazilian magazine which chose as an

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82 *Le Monde Illustré*, 30 November 1889, 341.

83 "A REPÚBLICA DOS ESTADOS UNIDOS DO BRASIL," in: *A Ilustração*, 5 December 1889, 358.

84 "AS NOSSAS GRAVURAS - RIO DE JANEIRO, " in: *A Ilustração*, 20 December 1889, 371.

85 *Le Monde Illustré*, 30 November 1889, 337.

86 "AS NOSSAS GRAVURAS - RIO DE JANEIRO, " in: *A Ilustração*, 20 December 1889, 371.

alternative to publish portraits of members of the Brazilian imperial family.<sup>87</sup> It is difficult to know if these editorial choices were simply a tribute to them or indicated some desire to restore the abolished monarchy.

[55] In *A Ilustração*'s issue of January 5, 1890, there is another sign of its active role in the circulation in Europe of images related to the proclamation of the Brazilian republic. This issue contained two engravings relating to the upheavals of November 15: one showed the attempt on the life of Baron Ladario ("the only bloody incident caused by the Brazilian revolution");<sup>88</sup> the other showed the very act of the proclamation of the Republic, in front of the military headquarters in Rio de Janeiro. According to the author of "As Nossas Gravuras," this was the result of

specific information which was given to us by our friends Eduardo Garrido, the witty playwright, and José de Mello, our active and friendly correspondent in Rio de Janeiro. We sent this information to our esteemed Parisian colleagues at *Le Monde Illustré*, which, due to the diligence of its collaborators, was able to publish it on December 21. This is why it could not appear in our last issue.<sup>89</sup>

[56] In fact, exactly the same engravings had been published on page 380 of *Le Monde Illustré*'s issue of December 21, 1889. In the caption at the bottom of this page, whose layout was identical to the corresponding page in *A Ilustração*, one could read: "D'après les documents communiqués par M. Edouard Garrido, à Rio-Janeiro [sic]."<sup>90</sup> As had occurred with the publication of the Republican leaders' portraits, the delay of the Luso-Brazilian journal in publishing these two engravings seems due to the lesser frequency of its publication and consequently its lesser editorial activity.

[57] The last image referring to the proclamation of the Brazilian Republic is the most interesting and was published in *A Ilustração*'s issue of February 5, 1890 (Fig. 12). At that moment, the impact of the Brazilian revolution had already lost much of its force and the Portuguese had another pressing concern, the aforementioned *British Ultimatum*.

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87 *A Ilustração*, 20 December 1889, 380-381. *A Ilustração* then published the portraits of the former Emperor Pedro II; of his wife, D. Maria Thereza; of Prince Pedro Augusto de Saxe; of Princess Isabel, her husband Prince Luís d'Orleans and their three sons (Pedro, Luiz and Antonio); and even a portrait of the Emperor's doctor, Count Motta Maia.

88 "Os Acontecimentos do Brasil," in: *A Ilustração*, 5 January 1890, 4.

89 "Os Acontecimentos do Brasil," in: *A Ilustração*, 5 January 1890, 4.

90 *Le Monde Illustré*, 21 December 1889, 380.



12 BRASIL - QUADRO DA PROCLAMAÇÃO DA REPÚBLICA, NO DIA 15 DE NOVEMBRO, DIANTE DO QUARTEL GENERAL DO RIO DE JANEIRO. (BRAZIL - PAINTING OF THE PROCLAMATION OF THE REPUBLIC, IN FRONT OF MILITARY HEADQUARTERS IN RIO DE JANEIRO.) Engraving from: *A Ilustração*, 5 February 1890, 41. Lisbon, Museu Bordalo Pinheiro, Library

[58] One could assume that the directors of *A Ilustração* had less time than usual to organise the images of this issue, because virtually all of them, including the cover, were simply taken from the same issue of *Le Monde Illustré* of January 18, 1890. In fact, the representation of the act of proclamation of the Republic shown in Fig. 12 appeared for the first time in this issue of *Le Monde Illustré*. Regarding this image, the French reviewer said that it was

un document absolument officiel, répandu, paraît-il, au moyen de la photographie, dans tout le Brésil, nous avons donc pensé que cet événement historique pouvait trouver sa place dans nos colonnes sans faire double emploi, à cause de la précision avec laquelle il est rendu.<sup>91</sup>

[59] When it was published by *A Ilustração*, the same engraving was accompanied by a comment that, in addition to stressing the idea of its accuracy, provided further details about its origins:

To complement the many pictures we have been publishing concerning the proclamation of the Brazilian Republic, we present to you today an accurate image of what happened on November 15, 1889, when Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca proclaimed the Republic in front of the military headquarters in Rio de Janeiro before the army and the people. It is a copy of a painting made by a distinguished Brazilian artist, whose name unfortunately escapes us at this moment and which we could not obtain from anyone in Paris, as it was mislaid amongst the papers in our office.

We also show our readers the design of the official flag of the Republic of the United States of Brazil [...]

All these documents were sent to us directly from Rio de Janeiro.<sup>92</sup>

[60] It is difficult to know whether *Le Monde Illustré* also obtained the image "directly from Rio de Janeiro" or, which seems likely, again through the mediation of *A Ilustração*'s office. In *A Ilustração*'s comments is added the information that the original was a painting, but the loss of the name of the Brazilian artist leaves us with a feeling of disappointment. Fortunately, in November 1890, another important Portuguese illustrated magazine, *O*

91 *Le Monde Illustré*, 18 January 1890, 38.

92 "A República brasileira," in: *A Ilustração*, 5 February 1890, 42.



*Ocidente (The West)*, republished the image, this time with a description that helps us to better understand what would have been its intentions at the time. As was said in the commentary in *O Ocidente*:

Thanks to the extreme kindness of Mr. Vieira da Silva, the worthy General Consul of Brazil in Lisbon, we can publish in the pages of OCIDENTE the painting of the proclamation of the Brazilian Republic executed by Mr. Oscar [Pereira] da Silva, a Brazilian artist.

Mr. Vieira da Silva provided us with the photography of which our engraving is a copy, sent to him from the office of the newspaper *O Paiz* in Rio de Janeiro, where the painting is on display.

[...]

The painting depicts a formation of artillery in front of the headquarters of Campo de Santana, firing a twenty-one gun salute in honour of the proclamation of the Republic made by General [sic] Deodoro, Quintino Bocayuva and Benjamin Constant.<sup>93</sup>

[61] This work by Oscar Pereira da Silva – which currently belongs to the Museu Casa de Benjamin Constant in Rio de Janeiro – has a potential significance for the historiography of Brazilian art, because it is one of the few known images which dealt with a dilemma raised by the historian José Murilo de Carvalho, in his classic book on Brazilian republican imagery: that, at the dawn of the Brazilian Republic, it was "difficult, if not impossible, to elaborate a myth of its origin based on civil predominance,"<sup>94</sup> due to an alleged lack of popular participation in the act of proclamation of the new regime.

[62] The image in question seems to refute this thesis. First, it is worth noting the enthusiastic acclaim of the civilians depicted in the foreground: it seems to confirm the words of *A Ilustração*'s comment, according to which the proclamation was made "before the army and the people" – although it should be noted that "the people" is separated from the centre of action by files of soldiers in close formation. But the composition seems to affirm the collective nature of the event mainly by removing any references to specific personalities in the founding act of the regime. No figure is emphasized and one has difficulty even to recognise Marshal Deodoro, Benjamin Constant or Quintino Bocayuva. Nobody occupies the geometric centre of the image, which is dematerialized by the smoke of the twenty-one gun salute; this, in addition to the fact that the image is dotted with small figures, some grouped more coherently than others, strengthens the impression of the absence of any explicit hierarchy.

[63] Therefore, the engraving in *A Ilustração* differs from other well-known representations of the proclamation of the Brazilian Republic, supporting a version of the event in which the main agent would have been the Army. For instance, this is the case of the painting entitled *Proclamação da República (Proclamation of the Republic)* by Benedito Calixto, from c. 1893,<sup>95</sup> which, although very similar to the engraving, proposes a different story, excluding the civilians from the foreground of the scene and putting Marshal Deodoro in the centre of the composition. To some extent, this is also the case with the portrait of Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca, made by Henrique Bernardelli c. 1892<sup>96</sup> and with good reason widely known by the title *Proclamation of the Republic*, in

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93 "A PROCLAMAÇÃO DA REPÚBLICA NO BRASIL (Quadro de Oscar da Silva)," in: *O Ocidente. Revista Ilustrada de Portugal e do Estrangeiro*, 21 November 1890, 260.

94 José Murilo de Carvalho, *A formação das almas - O imaginário da República no Brasil*, São Paulo 1990, 52.

95 Benedito Calixto, *Proclamação da República (Proclamation of the Republic)*, c. 1893, oil on canvas, 123.5 × 200 cm. Pinacoteca Municipal, São Paulo. A reproduction is available at: [http://www.dezenovevinte.net/imgs/bcalixto\\_1893\\_republica.jpg](http://www.dezenovevinte.net/imgs/bcalixto_1893_republica.jpg).

96 Henrique Bernardelli, *Portrait of Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca*, c. 1892, oil on canvas. Rio de Janeiro, Academia Militar das Agulhas Negras. A reproduction is available at: [http://www.dezenovevinte.net/imgs/hb\\_1892\\_deodoro.jpg](http://www.dezenovevinte.net/imgs/hb_1892_deodoro.jpg).

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which the figure of the Marshal on horseback and dominating the composition is virtually equivalent to the act of proclamation.

- [64] Returning to the image of Fig. 12, a final piece of relevant information was the reported exhibition site of Pereira da Silva's painting: the office of *O Paiz* (*The Country*), a daily newspaper based in Rio de Janeiro, that by the time of the proclamation of the Brazilian Republic had as its main director none other than the above mentioned Quintino Bocayuva. Bocayuva was the most influential Republican civil leader and one of the principal agents responsible for the "Republican Manifesto" of 1870. In 1889, when the Republic was proclaimed, Bocayuva was also the president of the Brazilian Republican Party. As we have seen, *A Ilustração* highlighted Bocayuva as one of the authors of the proclamation, and before that, gave him special attention in the issue of October 5, 1887 by publishing a photographic reduction of one of *O Paiz's* covers and a portrait of Bocayuva, as well as an article featuring his performance in the press and in politics, emphasizing his ethical posture characterized by Republicanism and anti-conservatism.<sup>97</sup> Thus, by design or accident, by the publication of these images and texts, *A Ilustração* contributed to the spread in Europe of a particular version of the proclamation of the Brazilian Republic. This version, among other things, questioned the central role of the military in the event and was aligned with the interests of a significant part of civilian Republicans in Brazil.

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#### Final considerations

- [65] The main themes discussed above – (1) the canon proposed by *A Ilustração*, (2) the participation of Luso-Brazilian artists in the magazine and (3) the publication of images of the proclamation of the Brazilian Republic – obviously do not exhaust the complexity of all the images reproduced in the magazine, which still await further systematic study and deeper investigation. Nevertheless, I believe that these issues clearly represent my main concern here, i.e., to understand the pages of *A Ilustração* as a place of convergence and dialogue between agents and ideas from different nations, particularly Portugal, Brazil and France.
- [66] In this sense, I believe it has been well demonstrated how the editorial and aesthetic policies of *A Ilustração* were characterized both by the assimilation of ideas from cultural centres like Paris and by the proposition of new ideas from Portugal and Brazil, appropriate to their cultural realities. Although a central position had certainly been given to French culture, *A Ilustração* was never merely confined to the role of imitator, even in those cases in which images produced for French magazines were republished, because in the new context of *A Ilustração* new meanings were promoted. The magazine also contributed in a propositional way to the construction of late 19th-century visual culture, as evidenced by its active role in the diffusion of images of the proclamation of the Brazilian Republic circulating in Europe. Moreover, the dialogue established with Émile Zola also indicates that *A Ilustração* circulated among intellectuals of other nationalities, enabling them to become aware of aspects of Luso-Brazilian art through its pages.
- [67] However, the most important contribution of *A Ilustração* was related to the diffusion of contemporary European art in Portugal and Brazil: not only the quantity of works reproduced by the magazine was very significant, also the quality of the reproductions rarely was equalled in other Luso-Brazilian magazines of the time. In this sense, *A Ilustração* helped make accessible genres and models of European art that would be vividly and critically appropriated by Portuguese and Brazilian artists concerned with historical and social topics specific to their countries, as shown, for example, by the dialogue between Henri Gervex's *Retour du Bal* and Belmiro de

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<sup>97</sup> "QUINTINO BOCAYUVA," in: *A Ilustração*, 5 October 1887, 294-296.

Almeida's *Arrufos*. Moreover, Luso-Brazilian art critics and the general public could be better informed about international artistic trends of the time and form their own opinions about the local productions of Portugal and Brazil, as demonstrated by the comments on some J. J. Souza Pinto's paintings.

[68] Finally, it is important to note that the seemingly contradictory dynamics – both assimilative and propositional – that guided *A Ilustração* may still have a current value. Based in a cultural centre like Paris and appropriating the newest printing technologies, the magazine intended to establish itself as an equal to other international magazines and act as the voice of Luso-Brazilian artists and intellectuals laying their claim to full membership in modern Western culture. However, as such a claim was never completely met and can still be heard, the successes and limitations of *A Ilustração*'s venture may constitute a valuable contribution to the understanding of the issues concerning the inclusion and participation of Portugal and Brazil not only in the cultural global order of late 19th-century, but also at the present time.