

Modernity in Black and White

Modernity in Black and White provides a groundbreaking account of modern art and modernism in Brazil. Departing from previous accounts, mostly restricted to the elite arenas of literature, fine art and architecture, the book situates cultural debates within the wider currents of Brazilian life. From the rise of the first favelas, in the 1890s and 1900s, to the creation of samba and modern carnival, over the 1910s and 1920s, and tracking the expansion of mass media and graphic design, into the 1930s and 1940s, it foregrounds aspects of urban popular culture that have been systematically overlooked. Against this backdrop, Cardoso provides a radical re-reading of Antropofagia and other modernist currents, locating them within a broader field of cultural modernization. Combining extensive research with close readings of a range of visual cultural production, the volume brings to light a vast archive of art and images, all but unknown outside Brazil.

Rafael Cardoso is a member of the postgraduate faculty in art history at Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (Instituto de Artes) and a research fellow at Freie Universität Berlin (Lateinamerika-Institut). One of the leading historians of modern art and design in Brazil, he has authored numerous books and essays and curated major museum exhibitions.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-48190-8 — Modernity in Black and White
Rafael Cardoso
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Afro-Latin America

Series editors

George Reid Andrews, *University of Pittsburgh*
Alejandro de la Fuente, *Harvard University*

This series reflects the coming of age of the new, multidisciplinary field of Afro-Latin American Studies, which centers on the histories, cultures, and experiences of people of African descent in Latin America. The series aims to showcase scholarship produced by different disciplines, including history, political science, sociology, ethnomusicology, anthropology, religious studies, art, law, and cultural studies. It covers the full temporal span of the African Diaspora in Latin America, from the early colonial period to the present and includes continental Latin America, the Caribbean, and other key areas in the region where Africans and their descendants have made a significant impact.

A full list of titles published in the series can be found at:

www.cambridge.org/afro-latin-america

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-48190-8 — Modernity in Black and White
Rafael Cardoso
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Modernity in Black and White

*Art and Image, Race and Identity in Brazil,
1890–1945*

RAFAEL CARDOSO

*Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro &
Freie Universität Berlin*



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-48190-8 — Modernity in Black and White
Rafael Cardoso
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India
79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108481908
DOI: 10.1017/9781108680356

© Rafael Cardoso 2021

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2021

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ Books Limited, Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

ISBN 978-1-108-48190-8 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Para minha Tierchen.

So is Brazil, of an ineffable grandeur in which civilization and savagery do not contrast but blend, mingle, become wedded in an active and troubling manner. It takes one's breath away, from admiration and often from terror or passion.

Blaise Cendrars, 1955¹

¹ Blaise Cendrars, "Mort subite", *Trop c'est trop*, In: *Oeuvres complètes, tome VIII* (Paris: Denoël, 1987), 163. "Tel est le Brésil, d'une grandeur ineffable où la civilisation et la sauvagerie ne contrastent pas mais se mêlent, se conjuguent, s'épousent d'une façon active et troublante. On reste le souffle coupé d'admiration et, souvent, de terreur ou de passion."

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>page xi</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xvii
<i>Notes on Usage of Brazilian Portuguese</i>	xix
Introduction: Ambiguous Modernities and Alternate Modernisms	1
1 Heart of Darkness in the Bosom of the Modern Metropolis: Favelas, Race and Barbarity	26
2 A Pagan Festival for the Up to Date: Art, Bohemianism and Carnival	72
3 The Printing of Modern Life: A New Art for a New Century	127
4 The Cosmopolitan Savage: Modernism, Primitivism and the Anthropophagic Descent	172
5 The Face of the Land: Depicting ‘Real’ Brazilians under Vargas	209
Epilogue: Images of a Culture at War with Itself	248
<i>Index</i>	255

The plate section can be found between pp 140 and 141

Figures

- | | | |
|---|--|----------------|
| 1 | Eliseu Visconti, <i>Uma Rua da Favela</i> , circa 1890, oil on canvas, 72 × 41 cm Brasília: collection of Tatiana and Afrisio Vieira Lima | <i>page</i> 33 |
| 2 | Unidentified author, <i>O Malho</i> , 8 June 1907 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira) | 38 |
| 3 | Unidentified author, <i>Revista da Semana</i> , 16 June 1907 Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Biblioteca Nacional | 39 |
| 4 | Bambino [Arthur Lucas], <i>Revista da Semana</i> , 23 June 1907 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira) | 40 |
| 5 | Gustavo Dall'Ara, <i>Tarefa Pesada: Favela</i> , 1913, oil on canvas, 120.4 × 90 cm Rio de Janeiro: Museu Nacional de Belas Artes/Ibram (photo: Museu Nacional de Belas Artes/Ibram) | 44 |
| 6 | Gustavo Dall'Ara, <i>Ronda da Favela</i> , 1913, oil on canvas, 74 × 88 cm Rio de Janeiro: collection of Hercila and Sergio Fadel (photo: André Arruda) | 45 |
| 7 | Tarsila do Amaral, <i>Morro da Favela</i> , 1924, oil on canvas, 64 × 76 cm Rio de Janeiro: collection of Hercila and Sergio Fadel (photo: André Arruda) | 48 |
| 8 | [Emiliano] Di Cavalcanti, <i>Correio da Manhã</i> , 22 July 1923 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira) | 51 |
| 9 | J. Carlos [José Carlos de Brito e Cunha], <i>Careta</i> , 28 August 1920 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira) | 54 |

- | | | |
|----|--|-----|
| 10 | Raul [Pederneiras], <i>Fon-Fon!</i> , 16 December 1911 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira) | 55 |
| 11 | Theo [Djalma Pires Ferreira], <i>O Malho</i> , 27 July 1927 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira) | 56 |
| 12 | Alfredo Storni, <i>Careta</i> , 27 July 1930 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira) | 58 |
| 13 | Unidentified author, <i>Careta</i> , 29 May 1926 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira) | 59 |
| 14 | J. Carlos [José Carlos de Brito e Cunha], <i>O Malho</i> , 29 May 1926 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira) | 61 |
| 15 | J. Carlos [José Carlos de Brito e Cunha], <i>Para Todos</i> , 11 May 1929 Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Memória Gráfica Brasileira | 68 |
| 16 | Unidentified author, <i>Fon Fon</i> , 25 February 1928 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira) | 70 |
| 17 | Helios Seelinger, <i>Bohemia</i> , 1903, oil on canvas, 103 × 189.5 cm Rio de Janeiro: Museu Nacional de Belas Artes/Ibram (photo: Jaime Acioli) | 82 |
| 18 | Unidentified author, <i>Atheneida</i> , [October/November/December] 1903 Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Biblioteca Nacional | 87 |
| 19 | K. Lixto [Calixto Cordeiro], <i>O Malho</i> , 13 February 1904 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira) | 91 |
| 20 | K. Lixto [Calixto Cordeiro], <i>O Malho</i> , 20 February 1904 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira) | 92 |
| 21 | K. Lixto [Calixto Cordeiro], <i>Fon-Fon!</i> , 5 December 1908 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira) | 93 |
| 22 | K. Lixto [Calixto Cordeiro] & Raul [Pederneiras], <i>Kósmos</i> , May 1906 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira) | 94 |
| 23 | Unidentified author, <i>Revista da Semana</i> , 23 February 1918 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira) | 99 |
| 24 | K. Lixto [Calixto Cordeiro] & Raul [Pederneiras], <i>Fon-Fon!</i> , 10 December 1910 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira) | 102 |
| 25 | Unidentified author, <i>Fon-Fon!</i> , 13 February 1913 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira) | 106 |

List of Figures

xiii

- | | | |
|----|---|-----|
| 26 | Arthur Timotheo da Costa, <i>O Dia Seguinte</i> , 1913, oil on canvas, 85 × 120 cm Rio de Janeiro: private collection | 111 |
| 27 | Rodolpho Chambelland, <i>Baile à Fantasia</i> , 1913, oil on canvas, 149 × 209 cm Rio de Janeiro: Museu Nacional de Belas Artes/Ibram (photo: Jaime Acioli) | 113 |
| 28 | K. Lixto [Calixto Cordeiro], <i>Fon-Fon!</i> , 24 February 1911 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira) | 118 |
| 29 | J. Garcia, <i>Fon-Fon!</i> , 13 February 1913 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira) | 119 |
| 30 | Unidentified photographer, 1914 (from left to right: Arthur Timotheo da Costa, Adalberto Pinto de Mattos, Carlos Chambelland, Carlos Oswald, in the printing workshop of the Liceu de Artes e Ofícios) Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Biblioteca Nacional | 123 |
| 31 | Heitor Malagutti, <i>Atheneida</i> , March 1903 Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Biblioteca Nacional | 131 |
| 32 | K. Lixto [Calixto Cordeiro], <i>Kósmos</i> , June 1906 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira) | 134 |
| 33 | Unidentified author, ceramics by Eliseu Visconti, <i>Atheneida</i> , [October/November/December] 1903 Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Biblioteca Nacional | 140 |
| 34 | Eliseu Visconti, <i>Retrato de Gonzaga Duque</i> , 1908, oil on canvas, 92.5 × 65 cm Rio de Janeiro: Museu Nacional de Belas Artes/Ibram (photo: Jaime Acioli) | 145 |
| 35 | Helios Seelinger, <i>Atheneida</i> , April 1903 Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Biblioteca Nacional | 149 |
| 36 | Helios Seelinger, <i>Atheneida</i> , April 1903 Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Biblioteca Nacional | 150 |
| 37 | Unidentified author, <i>Renascença</i> , August 1905 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira) | 155 |
| 38 | Unidentified author, <i>Renascença</i> , January 1908 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira) | 156 |
| 39 | E. Bevilacqua & Cia., <i>Renascença</i> , January 1908 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira) | 156 |
| 40 | K. Lixto [Calixto Cordeiro] & Raul [Pederneiras], <i>Fon-Fon!</i> , 13 April 1908 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira) | 160 |
| 41 | Raul [Pederneiras], <i>Fon-Fon!</i> , 25 July 1914 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira) | 164 |

- 42 K. Lixto [Calixto Cordeiro], *Fon-Fon!*, 3 September 1910
 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital
 Brasileira) 165
- 43 K. Lixto [Calixto Cordeiro], *Fon-Fon!*, 21 January 1911
 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital
 Brasileira) 165
- 44 Unidentified author, *Fon-Fon!*, 5 August 1911 Fundação
 Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira) 166
- 45 [Emiliano] Di Cavalcanti, *O Malho*, 9 August 1919 Fundação
 Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira) 170
- 46 Unidentified author, *Fon Fon*, 17 August 1929 Fundação
 Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira) 179
- 47 [Emiliano] Di Cavalcanti, *Para Todos*, 27 July 1929 Rio
 de Janeiro: Instituto Memória Gráfica Brasileira 180
- 48 Unidentified author, *Para Todos*, 22 May 1926 Rio de Janeiro:
 Instituto Memória Gráfica Brasileira 192
- 49 J. Carlos [José Carlos de Brito e Cunha], *Para Todos*, 27 July
 1929 Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Memória Gráfica Brasileira 193
- 50 [Emiliano] Di Cavalcanti, *O Malho*, 14 July 1928 Fundação
 Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira) 201
- 51 J. Carlos [José Carlos de Brito e Cunha], *O Malho*, 3 May 1919
 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital
 Brasileira) 214
- 52 J. Carlos [José Carlos de Brito e Cunha], *O Malho*, 12 July 1924
 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital
 Brasileira) 215
- 53 Unidentified photographer, 28 July 1938 (severed heads
 of Lampião, Maria Bonita and nine other members of their
 band, whose names are listed on the tablet in the upper left)
 Rio de Janeiro: private collection 219
- 54 Candido Portinari, *Mestiço*, 1934, oil on canvas, 81 × 65 cm São
 Paulo: Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo (purchased
 by the state government of São Paulo, 1935) (photo: Isabella
 Matheus) 226
- 55 Maria Margarida [Soutello], *Três Meninas da Mesma Rua*,
 circa 1942 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Coleção
 Arthur Ramos) 236
- 56 Dimitri Ismailovitch, *Sodade do Cordão* (triptych), 1940,
 oil on canvas, 60.5 × 224.9 cm Rio de Janeiro: Museu

List of Figures

xv

	Nacional de Belas Artes/Ibram (photo: Museu Nacional de Belas Artes/Ibram)	239
57	Dimitri Ismailovitch, <i>Mulato (Português × Negro)</i> , circa 1940 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Coleção Arthur Ramos)	244
58	Dimitri Ismailovitch, <i>Filha de Santo</i> , circa 1940 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Coleção Arthur Ramos)	244
59	Seth [Alvaro Marins], <i>Correio da Manhã</i> , 16 February 1932 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira)	251
60	Alfredo Storni, <i>Careta</i> , 17 February 1923 Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (BN Digital/Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira)	252

Acknowledgements

Research for this book first began in 2007 when I was awarded a grant from Fundação Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, to study the relationship between art and bohemianism in Brazil, circa 1900–1930, especially with regard to graphic design and illustrated periodicals. The task proved to be much larger than originally envisioned and led to a dispersion of efforts in what often seemed to be opposing directions. The idea for a book began to take shape in 2015 when I was a guest scholar at the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, and subsequently a visiting researcher at the Institut National d’Histoire de l’Art, Paris. I am grateful to all three institutions for their receptivity and material support, without which the project would never have got off the ground.

A number of colleagues have played a vital role, over the years, as intellectual peers or in terms of advancing specific aspects of the research for this project. I wish to thank Caroline Arscott, Maria Berbara, João Brancato, Amy Buono, Lauro Cavalcanti, Roberto Conduru, Sérgio Costa, Pedro Duarte de Andrade, Joaquim Marçal Ferreira de Andrade, Uwe Fleckner, Lúcia Garcia, Paulo Herkenhoff, Hu Xudong, Jennifer Josten, Margit Kern, Paulo Knauss, Julia Kovensky, Anne Lafont, Aleca Le Blanc, Laura Karp Lugo, Marize Malta, Sérgio Bruno Martins, Andrew McNamara, Eric Michaud, Anders Michelsen, Valéria Piccoli, Paula Ramos, Kim Richter, Stefan Römer, Silviano Santiago, Alexa Sekyra, Elena Shtromberg, Vera Beatriz Siqueira, Michi Strausfeld, Nataraj Trinta Cardozo, Arthur Valle, Joan Weinstein, Marcus Wood, among others too numerous to list here, for their support, encouragement, advice or collaboration. I also wish to record, in memoriam, my debt to the irreplaceable Lélia Coelho Frota.

Images are a decisive component of any art historical study, and that is certainly the case here. A large part of the illustrations in this book derive from the superlative collections, physical and digital, of Fundação Biblioteca Nacional. The following individuals played a decisive role either in granting permissions to use images or helping to obtain them: Tarsila do Amaral, Ana Sueli Baldas, Noemia Buarque de Hollanda, Mônica Carneiro Alves, Eduardo Mendes Cavalcanti, Andrea Chambelland, Joel Coelho de Souza, Elisabeth Di Cavalcanti Veiga, Martha Fadel, Luciana Freire Rangel, Valéria Lamego, Matias Marcier, Alvaro Marins, Gustavo Martins de Almeida, Laura Nery, Christina Gabaglia Penna, Max Perlingeiro, Karin Philippov, João Cândido Portinari, Diana dos Santos Ramos, Heloisa Seelinger, Priscila Serejo, Julieta Sobral, Afrísio de Souza Vieira Lima Filho, Mônica Azevedo Velloso, Tobias & Isabel Visconti, Mônica F. Braunschweiger Xexéo. Thanks to all for generously making accessible the works of art included in this book.

Almost needless to say, this book would not exist without the interest of series editors Alejandro de la Fuente and George Reid Andrews. My heartfelt gratitude to them for casting a sympathetic gaze upon a topic that might otherwise have fallen between the boundaries separating disciplines. Thanks also to the anonymous peer reviewers whose suggestions have made the arguments here stronger. A final word of thanks to the many people at Cambridge University Press who produced this volume – especially, Thomas Haynes, Cecelia Cancellaro, Rachel Blaufelder and Vicki Harley. I hope you can follow William Morris in saying: “The books that I would like to print are the books I love to read and keep.”

Notes on Usage of Brazilian Portuguese

Use of proper names is extremely variable in Brazil. Most people possess at least two family names, the mother's and the father's, and which one they embrace is determined by local custom and personal choice. Many people come to be known by a composite of family names. Others are usually referenced by a first name or names. Artists, musicians and athletes often adopt a nickname or sobriquet, by which they come to be universally designated. As far as possible, the present book follows historical usage in Brazil, rather than obeying a fixed rule, so that individuals may be cited by any of these nominal cases. Whenever necessary, full names and cross references are provided in the index.

Spelling of names is further complicated by several orthographic reforms enacted in Brazil over the twentieth century – most importantly, for the present study, that of 1943. The author has opted to spell proper names as they were used within a person's lifetime or in their published writings. This may give rise to minor discrepancies (e.g. Melo vs Mello, Luis vs Luiz) between the spellings adopted in this book and those encountered in other sources. The same criterion has been adopted for titles of periodicals, for which contemporary spellings have been preserved (e.g. Atheneida vs Ateneida).

All translations from Brazilian Portuguese are by the author, who is solely responsible for their accuracy and style.

Note on References: Footnotes refer to many periodicals in which pages either were not numbered or numbers are missing in the original. This is indicated by the abbreviation n.p. (no pagination).

