

Between friction and serenity, the pathway to the countryside: the panels of Wasth Rodrigues in the peristyle of Museu Paulista

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ABSTRACT: José Wasth Rodrigues (1891-1957) – a multifaceted artist, scholar and writer – enjoyed a long and fruitful career. With works in various museums, public offices and private collections, Wasth Rodrigues collaborated in the visual project of Afonso d’Escragnolle Taunay (1876-1958) for the Museu Paulista in various periods and exhibition spaces. Among other works, four panels authored by him present fundamental characters for the colonization of São Paulo in the sixteenth century: *D. João III* (1932), *Martim Afonso de Souza* (1932), *João Ramalho e filho* (1934) and *Cacique Tibiriçá e neto* (1934). These paintings – made in the 1930s – were motivated by the celebrations of the 4th Centenary of the foundation of the village of São Vicente. Previous models of these characters, studies, reproductions, new versions and these very paintings thus began to circulate in different media and periods.

The works produced in that period – visual and textual – come from a group of professionals engaged in a historical construction of Brazil, having the state of São Paulo as the center in its formational period, highlighting facts that contributed to the expansion of territory, movement toward the countryside, economic growth, uses and customs. Issues related to the architectural and cultural heritage also began to be outlined during the 1930s. How were these themes observed on the walls of Museu Paulista? How such works and narratives are received and communicated?

KEYWORDS: Museu Paulista. Historical painting. Picture. José Wasth Rodrigues. Afonso d’Escragnolle Taunay.

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RESUMO: José Wasth Rodrigues (1891-1957) – artista multifacetado, estudioso e escritor – teve carreira longa e profícua. Com obras em diversos museus, órgãos públicos e coleções privadas, colaborou no projeto visual de Afonso d’Escragnolle Taunay (1876-1958) para o Museu Paulista em diversos períodos e espaços expositivos. Entre outras obras, são de sua autoria os quatro painéis que apresentam personagens essenciais para a colonização de São Paulo no período quinhentista: *D. João III* (1932), *Martim Afonso de Souza* (1932), *João Ramalho e filho* (1934) e *Cacique Tibiriçá e neto* (1934). Essas pinturas, realizadas na década de 1930, tiveram como mote as comemorações do IV Centenário da fundação do povoado de São Vicente. As próprias telas, modelos anteriores desses personagens, estudos, reproduções e releituras das pinturas passam a circular em diferentes suportes e épocas. As obras produzidas naquele período – visuais e textuais – advêm de um grupo de profissionais engajados em uma construção histórica do Brasil, tendo como centro o estado de São Paulo no seu período formacional, salientando fatos que colaboraram para a ampliação do território, interiorização da população, crescimento econômico, usos e costumes. Também nos anos 1930, questões ligadas ao patrimônio arquitetônico e cultural começam a ser esboçadas. Como esses temas passam a ser visualizados nas paredes do Museu Paulista? Como se dá a recepção e a comunicação de tais obras e discursos?

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Museu Paulista. Pintura histórica. Retrato. José Wasth Rodrigues. Afonso d’Escragnolle Taunay.

WASTH RODRIGUES, TAUNAY AND MUSEU PAULISTA

The name Wash Rodrigues (1891-1957) sounds unknown or at least odd even for a large portion of the researchers who keep in touch with the Brazilian art of the first half of the twentieth century. However, part of his work is visible in several places – at least in the city of São Paulo: the municipal coat of arms stamped on buses and in official letterhead sheets, on the tiles of the Obelisk of *Ladeira da Memória* and on the Cathedral of Sé; in many *ex-libris*, of which the best known are those he made for the newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo* and for Universidade de São Paulo. Illustrations wrought by him are printed on many books; his artistic works comprise several museum and particular collections but his name and production rarely receive anything more than general remarks, which also occurs with the paintings he made for Museu Paulista under commissions made by the institution's third director, Afonso d'Escragnole Taunay (1876-1958). Which begs the question: why does he receive only generic citations and such a different treatment from most other artists whose works are displayed on the monumental axis of Museu Paulista? Why such a shy presence, especially for an artist with so many interests and close relationships to prominent figures of the period and, more specifically, in the commissions made for the museum?

The works he made were in many of the museum's rooms in the decorative design prepared and executed by Taunay.² Despite many works, there are few comments on such extensive production.³

The major interest of this article rests on the four panels, historical portraits prepared for the hall of the monumental axis of Museu Paulista – *D. João III* (John III of Portugal – 1932), the ruler who defined the hereditary captaincies and Sesmarias; *Martim Afonso de Souza* (1932), the founder of Brazil's first village, São Vicente; *João Ramalho e filho* (João Ramalho and his son – 1934), being Ramalho the conductor of Martim Afonso through Caminho do Mar and married to one of the daughters of Tibiriçá; and *Cacique Tibiriçá e neto* (Cacique Tibiriçá and his grandson – 1934), the indigenous chief responsible for the protection of the village of São Paulo and one of the symbols of catechization of indigenous peoples – , their models, solutions, and circulation in different media, if there were relations and exchanges between the artist and Afonso d'Escragnole Taunay in the elaboration of such paintings, and whether they helped pictorially in the formation of a visual culture on Colonial Brazil, and on the role of São Paulo in the sixteenth-century history and the expansion of the territory.

Unlike other studies that analyzed the monumental axis mainly from the works produced during the 1920s – related to the seventeenth century and the antecedents of Independence, to the territorial expansion essentially by the *bandeirantes* and the moment of "foundation of the nation"⁴ –, this study proposes the investigation of what could be considered an unfolding, or rather, the continuity of the formation of a visual historical narrative focused on the colonization process of São Paulo, which

2. For example, based on the *Guia da Seção Histórica do Museu Paulista* (Guide for the Historical Section of Museu Paulista – 1937) and in period photographs we can identify his works in the rooms "Dedicated to the past of the City of São Paulo"; "Dedicated to the ancient São Paulo iconography"; "Primitive, religious, and colonial Brazilian art – antique furniture"; "Iconography: the types of Ancient São Paulo"; "São Paulo's ancient iconography"; "Bartholomeu de Gusmão"; and the many coats of arms and four panels of the settlers of São Paulo in the peristyle.

3. I stress that the only monographic academic work located to date on Wash Rodrigues is the master's thesis *Documentário necessário: contribuição de José Wash Rodrigues para a arquitetura brasileira entre 1914 e 1944* (Required documents: José Wash Rodrigues's contribution to Brazilian architecture between 1914 and 1944). Cf. Renato Guimarães Pereira (2004). However, this thesis does not mention the works of Museu Paulista – which is at least strange, given that the Wash Rodrigues Collection (CWR) has over 90 objects. The two portraits of participants of the 1873 Itu Republican convention that were painted for Museu Republicano de Itu should also be emphasized: *José Antonio de Souza* (1930) and *Francisco Antonio de Souza* (1930). In: Zequini (2017, p. 33 e 85).

4. In particular the works of Makino (2003), Mattos (2003) and Brefe (2005).

5. Lobato (1956, Tome 2, p. 167).

6. The biography by editor José de Barros Martins in the introduction “An artist of the documentary” is a fundamental piece on the artist. Martins had access to the archives of the Wash Rodrigues family to write the biographical text, and transcribed some excerpts from the correspondence between Monteiro Lobato and the artist when they returned to Brazil after traveling to France. In: Martins (1978, p. IX-XXIX).

7. José Mariano Filho did not have academic training in architecture but was responsible for creating the term “Neocolonial Architecture” and by spreading its use, at least in Rio de Janeiro.

could be an initial core for future actions of the country, already distributed as images in paintings and sculptures along the central part of Museu Paulista.

To place the production of the four works in a broader context, this article is organized to present the biographical data of Wash Rodrigues, his production axes, other commissions for Museu Paulista, the celebrations of the 4th Centenary of São Vicente – the beginning of the settlement of themes related to São Vicente on Museu Paulista – as the motivation to produce historical portraits and, finally, how these images began to circulate in other media.

[RE]INTRODUCING WASH RODRIGUES

Wash Rodrigues will go with me [to Europe] as my cicerone, or as the piece of the Tapuia homeland; he is the king of the Jesuits, but good for the exchange of impressions.

Monteiro Lobato, December 28, 1917⁵

An artist with works in several collections of museum institutions such as Museu Paulista of Universidade São Paulo (USP), Museu Histórico Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo, Pinacoteca da Cidade de São Paulo and the Mário de Andrade Collection of the Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros (Institute of Brazilian Studies) of USP, the production of Wash Rodrigues still lacks studies.⁶ Nowadays, his name is usually associated with the coats of arms of the city and the state of São Paulo, with the murals of ceramic tiles of *Caminho do Mar and Ladeira da Memória* – both made for the celebrations of the 1st Centenary of Brazil’s Independence –, or perhaps, with the anecdote that he was a friend of Amadeu Modigliani (1884-1920), having the two artists exchanged works and other souvenirs such as the brown coat that the Italian artist possibly used in *Autorretrato* (Self-Portrait – 1919), currently part of the collection of Museu de Arte Contemporânea of Universidade de São Paulo (MAC USP).

The fact is that Wash Rodrigues’s production is much broader, like his network of relationships and partnerships, having collaborated with Afonso d’Escragnoille Taunay (in activities related to Museu Paulista or not); with architects Victor Dubugras (1868-1933), Ricardo Severo (1869-1940) and José Mariano Filho (1881-1946);⁷ with several writers, especially the collaboration in several works by Guilherme de Almeida (1890-1969), Monteiro Lobato (1882-1948) and Paulo Setúbal (1893-1937); as a scenographer for Afonso Arinos (1868-1916)

and Alfredo Mesquita (1907-1986), in addition to the studies and production in heraldry with Clóvis Ribeiro and Taunay himself, in the military universe, in individual works or together with Gustavo Barroso (1888-1959), and in several history books, exemplified here by his cooperation with Pedro Calmon (1902-1985). The list does not end with these names but seems to indicate the association in a larger set of actions focused on the formation of a certain historiography of Brazil – especially about the colonial period –, and the interest in initiatives to conserve the heritage constructed, such as in his strong engagement with the *Departamento de Cultura* (Department of Culture) of the city of São Paulo and the *Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional* (Service of the National Historic and Artistic Heritage), today Institute –, working in the latter as an advisor.

He was contemporary of the first Brazilian modernist generation; his name surfaces in São Paulo during the First World War, after the return of the *Pensionato Artístico* institution.⁸ The beginning of Wash Rodrigues's artistic trajectory is similar to that of many other artists of the period: according to the narratives that came to us, he was a poor boy studying in a seminar in the city of Pirapora, countryside of the state of São Paulo. The anecdote tells that having no money to buy stamps for a letter to his family, Wash Rodrigues drew them and the correspondence arrived in its final destination. His mother would then have shown the material to José de Freitas Valle (1870-1958), the man responsible for defining the fate of many scholarship applicants abroad – the *Pensionato*. The man would have been impressed by the boy's dexterity and somehow propelled his artistic career.⁹ Wash Rodrigues thus moved to the state capital and studied painting between 1908-1909 with Oscar Pereira da Silva (1867-1939), receiving a fellowship from the government of the state of São Paulo after his exhibition – common practice at the time for obtaining the grant. Like most fellowship-holders, he enrolled in the *Académie Julian* in Paris, attending the classes of Jean-Paul Laurens (1838-1921). Still in the City of Lights, he attended the *École nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts*, in the classrooms of Lucien Simon (1861-1945) and Nandi. During this period, he shared a mansard with Amadeu Modigliani, becoming friends. Wash Rodrigues traveled across France's countryside and exhibited three pieces in the *Salon de la Société des artistes français* in 1914, selling one of his paintings.

The First World War and the cut in the fellowship made him return to São Paulo in 1914, moving back to Pirapora. Wash Rodrigues painted several works and published a critique of the exhibition of Portuguese artist living in Paris Rodrigo Soares in the magazine *O Pirralho* – possibly by camaraderie with the colleague.¹⁰ In December of the following year, he opened an exhibition in *Palacete Prates*, then

8. The *Pensionato Artístico* was an official state alternative for the training of artists abroad – since São Paulo did not had a school with official artistic education at least until the 1920s. The objective of this practice – also common in Europe – was to enable young people considered to be talented to stay in renowned art institutions. During Brazil's period known as the First Republic (1889-1930), São Paulo's *Pensionato Artístico* went through two distinct phases: a first version, instituted informally in the 1890s, and a second, from the law created by the bachelor/writer/collector and then congressman Freitas Valle (1870-1958), in 1912. According to the new guidelines, fellowship holders of the areas of plastic arts, music and singing would be kept in important European art institutions for training for a period of five years, extendable by two more. To contend for the benefit the person had to be born in São Paulo – a *paulista*, aged between 12 and 25 years, and possess artistic vocation indicated by personalities considered suitable for selection. As in its previous version, the *Pensionato* did not follow any regular selection processes.

9. From the testimony of Isolda Silla Bassi-Bruch (1919-2011) – daughter of the painter Torquato Bassi (1880-1967) – to Ruth Sprung in October 1985 (2002, p. 280).

10. Rodrigues (March 3, 1915, p. 4).

11. In letter from Monteiro Lobato to Godofredo Rangel, dated February 7, 1916: “[...] I also wrote in favor of Wash Rodrigues, a painter who *was* [author’s emphasis] going unnoticed. *Was* [idem], but the cry was worth it. The ice broke. Critics have taken him into consideration. No one would utter a single word about him previously, which led the poor boy to send me a sad letter asking for help. On the *Correio [Paulistano]*, January 12, 1916, p. 2] Oswald de Andrade fought my ‘anti-coastline’ ideas, and the fact was that Wash’s exhibition is now very crowded and his paintings are selling”. In: Lobato (1956, Tome 2, p. 67-68). We must note that before Lobato’s articles, a piece signed by S. de Andrade Maia was published in the magazine *A Cigarra* regarding Wash Rodrigues’s exhibition. In the article, the author already highlights what at the time was called “national character” in the paintings of Wash Rodrigues, comparing him to Almeida Júnior (1850-1899) and Batista da Costa (1865-1926). In: (December 30, 1915, p. 65).

12. *O Estado de...* (9 jan. 1916, p. 5). Monteiro Lobato also authored other articles mainly about Wash Rodrigues’s exhibition, although two are not signed: *O Estado de...* (January 14, 1916, p. 4; January 16, 1916, p. 3 and p. 4). In that year, Monteiro Lobato again analyzes the work of Wash Rodrigues, reviewing it in the December edition of *Revista do Brasil*: “Two painters from São Paulo” [Paulo do Valle Junior and José Wash Rodrigues], article partially republished and with alterations in the book *As idéias de Jéca Tatú* (1st edition of 1919) entitled “A paisagem brasileira: a propósito de Wash

located on Libero Badaró Street, São Paulo, presenting the material he had produced in France – buildings and landscapes – and the works made in Pirapora. At first the event achieved no prominence,¹¹ but Monteiro Lobato wrote several critique pieces about it and, in at least two articles, insisting that Brazilian artists should seek national characteristics in their paintings, as Wash Rodrigues did at least partially:

It is time for us to appear in the world assembly as a people capable of own ideas, an art of our own – customs and uses that do not echo the imported goods. Their insistence on ape-like behavior is stressful.

[...]

I must emphasize: Brazil is in the countryside, in the mountains where the man tanned by sun diligently labors, in the *sertões* where the *sertanejo* dressed in leather herds, in the slopes where the colts are tamed, through these fields where bullock carts grind, in the wilderness where troops furrow the ground hurried by the sound of cowbells.¹²

In 1916, together with Georg Elpons (1865-1929) and William Zadig (1884-1952), he participated in a painting school, which appears to have been one of the first places in São Paulo with live model drawing lessons. In the same year, he collaborated with the magazine *A Cigarra*, producing covers and illustrations of articles (Figure 1), also working for other publications.¹³ He also painted several commissioned portraits. The following year, 1917, alongside Guilherme de Almeida, he won the contest established by then mayor of São Paulo, Washington Luís (1869-1957), to design the city’s coat of arms.

It is also in this period that he started to study history and colonial architecture, being one of the pioneers in discussing the old buildings of Iguape and of several cities of Minas Gerais. He created a series of drawings using a quill pen (Figure 2) and watercolor depicting parts of colonial and baroque architecture, constructive details, floor plans, ornaments, furniture, heraldry, civilian attires and military clothing; in other words, he recorded an extensive historical iconographic documentation. He traveled to Bahia, Pernambuco and Maranhão in 1921, driven by commissions to conduct a survey to illustrate a book authored by Ricardo Severo – a never completed work –, genesis of the *Documentário Arquitetônico* (Architectural Records), whose first edition was only accomplished between 1944 and 1945. Pieces of information about the effort appear on printed media from time to time:¹⁴



Figure 1 – Guilherme de Almeida’s poem dedicated to Wash Rodrigues with the artist’s own illustration for the magazine *A Cigarra*, São Paulo, n. 55, November 23, 1916, p. 20. Source: Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo.

[...] his [Wash Rodrigues] ability in the genre has grown to such level that the illustrious architect and archaeologist Dr. Ricardo Severo associated with to him in a monumental work in preparation of what will be the illustrated history of traditional architecture in Brazil.¹⁵

Or even:

[...] Ricardo Severo carefully studied the works of Aleijadinho, of Mestre Valentim, and of so many other artists, and when he was unable to do so personally, patiently examining the valuable artistic documentation that Wash Rodrigues collected from the old constructions of S. Paulo, Ouro Preto, Congonhas, Sabará, Mariana, Caeté, Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, Pernambuco etc.¹⁶

Rodrigues” (The Brazilian landscape: on Wash Rodrigues).

13. Such as *O Queixoso* (1916), *Revista do Brasil* (between 1917 and 1920), *Panóplia* (1917), *O Pirralho* (1917) and *Vida Moderna* (1921).

14. Such information began to be adopted among most historians of architecture, that part of the efforts would have been made from a commission. Another mention about the theme appears in *O Estado de...* (February 5, 1925, p. 2) when part of the works were displayed at *Club Commercial*: “[...] Fortunately, to partially save it from the inevitable dispersion, the work on ‘The colonial art in Brazil’ will be brought to it, which is a product of the collaboration between the illustrious archaeologist and architect Dr. Ricardo Severo and the brilliant paulista painter [Wash Rodrigues].” However, in the introduction of the first installment of the *Documentário Arquitetônico*, Wash Rodrigues states that he seeks to save the drawings made under the advice of Otto Weiszflog (?-1919), then one of the owners of the publishing company *Weiszflog & Irmãos*, which subsequently merged with *Companhia Melhoramentos*. In: Rodrigues (1944, fascicle 1, s.p.). Renato Guimarães Pereira addresses the question in depth in his master’s thesis. In: Pereira (2004, p. 129-132).

15. *O Estado de...* (November 25, 1924, p. 4).

16. *O Estado de...* (May 30, 1940, p. 6).

17. Official letter from Afonso d'Escragnoille Taunay to Alarico Silveira (SVDHICO – Folder 114, July 18, 1921).

18. *Correio Paulistano* (February 23, 1924, p. 2).

19. For example, Alfredo Norfini (1867-1944), who, like Wash Rodrigues, executed several commissions for Museu Paulista under Taunay's requests, and Paulo Rossi-Osiri (1890-1959), who visited the historic cities of Minas Gerais in 1921.

However, there are already indications that, in 1920, Wash Rodrigues sought subsidies to publish a book on elements of colonial architecture, especially collected in his travels to Minas Gerais, as seen on an official letter from Taunay for the then secretary of the Interior:

[...] Mr. Wash Rodrigues has been dedicated with great strength and proficiency to the study of our colonial architecture and has already produced a very voluminous and valuable body of work. I know that he is currently working on publishing a book with many elements gathered on an artistic journey he made in the state of Minas Gerais, from where he brought many excellent drawings that I had the opportunity to see.¹⁷

In February 1924, he went on a new excursion, this time with Monteiro Lobato, Bertoloni, Naxara and with the writer Luiz Gama for the city of Mariana, seeking to develop the publication *Mariana e a natureza* (Mariana and its nature) together, which would be illustrated by Wash Rodrigues, Bertolini and Naxara. Subsequently, they visited Ouro Preto,¹⁸ two months before the modernist group made a similar journey through the historic towns of Minas, already visited by other artists.¹⁹ The following year, he conducted the first exhibition resulting from the research works performed in the various states traveled, even including works that were produced in Belém (PA); the exhibition was composed of 150 drawings and watercolors in the hall of *Club Commercial* in São Paulo. Between the end of 1926 and start of 1927 a new exhibition on characteristics of Mariana occurred in the *Antiquário/Galeria Corte Leal*, also in São Paulo.



Figure 2 – José Wash Rodrigues. Quill pen drawing published with an article about the artist himself in *O Pirralho*, July 13, 1917, p. 1. From left to right: Museu Paulista; Igreja (Church) de São Francisco; Teatro (Theatre) Municipal; tower of Estação da Luz and Igreja (Church) de São Bento. Source: Hemeroteca Digital/Biblioteca Nacional Digital, Rio de Janeiro.

In a slightly earlier period, then mayor Washington Luís decided to make significant public works to commemorate the 1st Centenary of the Independence. In the capital, he ordered the construction of the set of *Ladeira da Memória* around the Obelisk in 1919, which marks the starting point of the road from São Paulo to Sorocaba (Consolação street). As governor, he promoted the construction of the set of monuments along *Caminho do Mar* at *Serra do Mar* – executed between 1920 and 1926 –, evoking phases of the conquest towards the countryside of São Paulo. He called Victor Dubugras to project such works; in addition to the one in the capital, he architected the resting spots built in privileged points of the mountainous landscape, marking prominent places in the history of the conquest of the ancient road that connected the coastline to the plateau.²⁰ Wash Rodrigues made ceramic tile murals for two pieces, both referring to local stories and, mainly, to the importance of the process of advancing towards the state’s countryside for the expansion of the territory.²¹

Based on the principles of neocolonial architecture, he designed an exedra celebrating the sports victories of *Clube Atlético Paulistano* in Europe (1925) – a semicircular stone bench in front of the entrance to their headquarters. Between that date and the initial years of the 1930s, he also designed a residence for Manuel Dias da Silva, another at Brasília Machado street (São Paulo), the Mother Church “São Bento” in the municipality of Marília²² and the new Metropolitan Cathedral of Diamantina,²³ as well as the main door of the residence of Júlio de Mesquita Filho.²⁴ Wash Rodrigues’s relationship with heritage and its preservation became prominent at that period, when he published an open letter to the authorities of Bahia criticizing the demolition of the Sé de Salvador – which he considered an actual attack –, being one of the rare documents located until now in which the artist publicly exposes a position completely contrary to vandalism, to the speculation of existing colonial objects and architecture, to the urbanism focused on transportation, and the new modernist architectural styles related to the Chicago School or Bauhaus.²⁵ Between 1935 and 1936 he conceived the restoration project of the benches and fences of *Igreja Nossa Senhora do Rosário* in Ouro Preto, being one of the founding members of the Historic and Geographic Institute of that city. When he was in São Paulo, he would teach classes, possibly to complement his income.²⁶

In 1928 he could travel to Europe again, staying there for six months and using the opportunity to acquire books and drawings, as well as going to several museums. He visited Austria, France, Portugal and Germany. From Germany, with the support of Clóvis Ribeiro, he brought a large set of original drawings by Johann Moritz Rugendas (1802-1858)²⁷ referring to the travels of the artist to Brazil and to Argentina, belonging

20. Toledo (1966, p. 37-54).

21. Also in ceramic tile, still as part of *Caminho do Mar*, he made the sixteenth-century cruise in Cubatão; a panel for *Santa Casa de Misericórdia of Santos*, The Blessing of the boats, in 1929 and, six years later, the commemorative triptych of the fourth centenary of the birth of Joseph of Anchieta. In: Tarasantchi (2002, p. 283).

22. *Diário Nacional*, Rio de Janeiro, April, 4. 1929, p. 12.

23. The previous temple, the Church of Santo Antonio do Tijuco, was demolished in 1930, according to Rayel (2016, p. 179).

24. The architectural design is authored by Ricardo Severo. In: Prado (1976, p. 115). The door may have been designed in a previous period, still at the end of the 1910s.

25. *O Estado de...* (August 3, 1928, p. 3). In the missive, he comments on the case of the state of São Paulo: “[...] Here in São Paulo we have nothing left, absolutely nothing. The vandalic horror to the ‘old things’ eventually erased all traces of the urban physiognomy, and it seems that the absence of any physiognomy is regarded as an advantage. The children of the city who left it twenty years ago, if returning to their land will not find it any more: nothing will give them the impression being spiritually connected to it, everything will give them the strange impression of having survived the complete and irreparable disappearance of their nest.”

26. We could identify for some periods: in *Escola Complementar* connected to the *Escola Normal do Brás* (1921-1924) as a teacher of the *Escola de Belas Artes* of

São Paulo (at least between 1934 and 1935) and in his own atelier, teaching private drawing and painting classes, and having published an advertisement in the newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo*, on November 3, 1932, p. 9.

27. On the same trip he bought an album by Jean-Baptiste Debret (1768-1848). *Diário da Noite* (June 1, 1939, p. 4). Another article of the same newspaper states that Wash was owner of one of Debret's few complete albums. In: *Diário da Noite* (November 23, 1939, p. 2).

28. Pereira (2004, p. 72).

29. It is currently part of the collection of Pinacoteca Municipal. In: Martins (2005, p. 25).

30. Geraldo Ferraz. A exposição de arte da Spam comentada. *Diário da Noite*, São Paulo, June 7, 1933. *Apud* Pereira (2004, p. 87). The exhibition consisted of international works by modern artists from private collections in São Paulo and of works by artists of the group. Despite the negative criticism, at least one of his paintings was purchased during the exhibition. *A Gazeta* (June 9, 1933, p. 5).

to the *Staatliche Graphische Sammlung* of Munich, an institution that had to sell works of its collection due to facing a severe financial crisis.²⁸ The Argentine-themed drawings were sold to collectors from that country. Those referring to Brazil were sold to local collectors, and the largest set was purchased by the Municipal Library of São Paulo.²⁹

In 1932 he became a member of *Sociedade Pró-Arte Moderna* (Pro-Modern Art Society – Spam), and his production received hard comments from critic Geraldo Ferraz (1905-1979) during the group's first exhibition.³⁰ Also in 1932 he was part of *Conselho de Orientação Artística do Estado* (São Paulo's Artistic Guiding Council – COA), organ connected to official authorities and responsible for the fellowships granted to the artists chosen by the state for the *Pensionato*, for the maintenance of the *Escola de Belas Artes* of São Paulo, for the reorganization of Pinacoteca do Estado on Onze de Agosto street, and for the organization of official halls. Wash Rodrigues had a prominent presence in the first editions of the event – the *Salão Paulista de Belas Artes* (São Paulo's Fine Arts Exhibition) –, participating concomitantly in the organizing committee, the jury and as an exhibitor, obtaining a small gold medal in the 1st Exhibition (1934) with the painting *Cristo Morto* (Dead Christ) (Figure 3). He remained linked to COA and strongly tied to this group at least between 1932 and 1936.



Figure 3 – José Wash Rodrigues, *Cristo morto* (Dead Christ). Awarded with a small gold medal in the first *Salão Paulista de Belas Artes*. Source: 1st *Salão Paulista*. "Suplemento em rotogravura". *A Noite Ilustrada*, Rio de Janeiro, March 14, 1934, p. 3. Hemeroteca Digital/Biblioteca Nacional Digital, Rio de Janeiro.

On the other hand, since the end of the 1920s, he was in close contact with the group that would later organize the Department of Culture of the municipality of São Paulo (1935), as reported by Paulo Duarte (1899-1984) in a text on the history of the Department – an association with diametrically opposed positions to COA in many regards:

The rest happened in an apartment on São João avenue, about which I have already said [...] enough, and where I lived with Sergio Milliet, at first, and then with Nino Gallo, when we would gather every night. We then formed a nice round table: André Dreyfus, Antônio de Alcântara Machado, Tácito de Almeida, Antônio Couto de Barros, Rubens Borba de Moraes, Mário de Andrade, Paulo Magalhães. Not to mention the pioneers of these tertulia: Sérgio Milliet, Nino Gallo, Vittorio Gobbis, Paulo Rossi-Osiris, Wash Rodrigues, Henrique da Rocha Lima [...].³¹

Wash Rodrigues worked as a scenographer and costume designer, signing the scenarios and costumes of the play *O Contratador de diamantes* (The Diamond Contractor – 1918), by Afonso Arinos, and several plays conceived by Alfredo Mesquita such as *Noite de São Paulo* (São Paulo's Night – 1936), *Casa Assombrada* (Haunted House – 1938), *Dona Branca* (1939) and the ballet *Cenas Brasileiras* (Brazilian Scenes – 1939). As previously mentioned, he illustrated several books: the first edition of *Urupês*, by Monteiro Lobato, the second edition of *Vida e Morte do Bandeirante* (The Life and Death of the *Bandeirante*), by Alcântara Machado (1875-1941), several by Guilherme de Almeida – *Messidor*, *Nós* (Us) and *Dança das horas* (The Dance of hours), among others – and some by Paulo Setúbal – *O Príncipe de Nassau* (The Prince of Nassau), *As maluquices do Imperador* (The Emperor's folly), *O romance da prata* (The romance of silver) and *O sonho das esmeraldas* (The dream of emeralds), for example. Between 1935 and 1936 he published drawings of São Paulo's colonial architecture he had made between 1931 and 1935 in the magazine *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*.

Wash Rodrigues also worked closely with publishers, most notably Martins, for which he illustrated complete collections. There are indications that his participation was much greater in some publications than the aforementioned prints and drawings, such as in the case of *Uniformes do Exército Brasileiro* (Uniforms of the Brazilian Army – 1922),³² by Gustavo Barroso, and of *Brasões e Bandeiras do Brasil* (The Coats of Arms and Flags of Brazil – 1933), by Clóvis Ribeiro.³³ Regarding the first publication, Wash Rodrigues himself, in correspondence addressed to Afonso d'Escragnolle Taunay, clarifies that: "I can only lend you the notebooks with the Army uniforms in 15 days from now since I am writing the text for the Ministry of War, so it is impossible for me to lend them now."³⁴ The comment about the 1925 exhibition can be added to this statement:

31. Duarte (1985 p. 2). In 1938, Paulo Duarte undertook the campaign "Against vandalism and extermination", confronting the academics, that is, the group linked to the COA, and the power established by them in relation to the entire artistic system. The debate took place at the state Legislative Assembly, when the project that would create the State Department of Historical and Artistic Heritage was presented. The debate continued in articles published by Paulo Duarte himself and others personalities in *O Estado de S. Paulo* in a series with the same name, in which the author called São Paulo's population to preserve the heritage of the state.

32. The 223 original boards that compose the album, initially belonging to the Ministry of War, were donated to Museu Histórico Nacional in 1937, whose director was Gustavo Barroso himself.

33. Clóvis Ribeiro's work was first published in a reduced version by the newspaper *O Estado de São Paulo*, during the commemorations of the 1st centenary of the national flag, on September 18, 1922 (p. 1-3). There are also indications that Wash Rodrigues would publish, in 1953, an album with coats of arms of several cities of São Paulo, and a *Brazilian military dictionary* in five volumes – both of which have never been found. In: *O observador econômico e financeiro* (March-April, 1953, p. 19).

34. Cf. Letter from Wash Rodrigues to Afonso d'Escragnolle Taunay (SVDHICO - Folder 116, March 7, 1922).

35. *O Estado de...* (February 5, 1925, p. 2).

36. In chapter X, *Coats of arms of states and cities*, on the cities of Aracaju, Caeté, Diamantina, Goiás, João Pessoa, Mariana, Natal, Ouro Preto, Recife, Sabará, São João del Rey and Teresina. Of the states of Alagoas, Bahia, Ceará, Espírito Santo, Goiás, Maranhão, Mato Grosso, Minas Gerais, Pará, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Piauí, Rio de Janeiro, Paraná and Sergipe. In: Ribeiro (1933, p. 285-320).

37. With the articles “Old furniture of Minas Gerais”, *Revista do Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional*, v. 7, 1943; “The household of old Brazil”, *Revista do Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional*, v. 9, 1945, this second article is a kind of general introduction about several themes visually discussed on the *Documentário Arquitetônico*, published around the same period.

38. *O observador econômico e financeiro* (December, 1939, p. 92).

[...] Wash Rodrigues has undertaken an already started work, which he managed to begin after patiently researching and excavating; from this process emerged a precious watercolor album of our military uniforms – from the colony to the present day [1922]. To edit it, however, it was necessary that his name was almost completely removed from the work – which is exclusively his –, so the resumé of a greatly-accomplished scholar could be further magnified and through it be highly regarded by the government [...]³⁵

As for the second work, in addition to the illustrations, there is a whole section with coats of arms for cities of Minas Gerais elaborated by Wash Rodrigues himself,³⁶ as well as sparse comments made by the artist about the remodeled coats of arms and extensive explanations about the ones for the city and state of São Paulo.

He took an active part in the Constitutionalist Revolution of São Paulo (1932), acting as a combatant and also drawing diplomas, medals and the well-known map of the Revolution (Figure 4). He collaborated with the *Revista do Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional* (Journal of the Service of the National Historic and Artistic Heritage – Sphan)³⁷ when he was already residing in Rio de Janeiro – where he moved to in 1939. In that year, he designed a panel on Martim Afonso de Souza and the region of São Vicente as part of the stand of the Association of Sugar Mill Owners of São Paulo at the Rio de Janeiro Fair,³⁸ one of the few information about the showing of works by the artist in the then federal capital.

Figure 4 – José Wash Rodrigues, *Esta he a carta verdadeira da revolução q houve no Estado de São Paulo no ano de MCMXXXII* (This is the true account of the revolution that happened in the State of São Paulo in the year of MCMXXXII). São Paulo, SP, [1932?]. map, il. col., 48.5 x 68.4 cm. Collection of Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.



He also worked as a member of the Brazilian commission and exhibitor in the *Exposição histórica do mundo português* (Historical exhibition of the Portuguese world – 1940) for which, under commission, he produced six paintings,³⁹ in addition to loaning four pieces of the “São Paulo Antigo” (Old São Paulo) series of Museu Paulista.⁴⁰ As a collaborator of the *Departamento do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional* (Department of National Historic and Artistic Heritage – Dphan),⁴¹ he prepared 70 catalogue files for land vehicles, furniture and weaponry for Museu Paulista during the 1950s – which was already under the administration of Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (1902-1982).⁴²

José Wash Rodrigues stood out in the celebrations of the 4th Centenary of São Paulo (1954), having acted as a consultant and participating in several projects, in the same way that happened in the 1st Centenary of Independence and the 4th Centenary of the Colonization of Brazil (São Vicente). He also contributed to the crypt of the Imperial Chapel of the *Monumento à Independência* (Monument to Independence – 1953) for the installation of the remains of D. Leopoldina, in the Consultative Committee of the “*Casa do Bandeirante*”⁴³ and in the *Exposição da História de São Paulo no quadro da História do Brasil* (Exhibition on the History of São Paulo within the History of Brazil) – with artistic works related to military weaponry and uniforms. Moreover, he published a set consisting of 25 postcards of *São Paulo Antigo*, now using watercolor for the themes of the oil paintings he made for Museu Paulista between the end of the 1910s and beginning of the 1920s.⁴⁴

From the 1940s onwards, his articles were more frequently edited – *Documentário Arquitetônico: relativo à antiga construção civil no Brasil* (Architectural Records: on the old construction in Brazil) (1944-1945), *Trajes civis e militares em Pernambuco durante o domínio holandês* (Civilian and military costumes in Pernambuco during the Dutch rule – 1949), *Mobiliário: as artes plásticas no Brasil* (Furniture: the plastic arts in Brazil – 1952), *Fardas do Reino Unido e do Império* (Uniforms of the United Kingdom and of the Empire – 1953), *Tropas paulistas de outrora* (São Paulo’s troops of the past – 1954)⁴⁵ and *Capítulos de armaria e artilharia* (Chapters on weaponry and artillery – 1957).⁴⁶ After the publication of the first edition of *Documentário Arquitetônico*, the 160 original boards are exhibited at *Galeria Itapetininga*, São Paulo, in April 1948 – a moment when the Cultural Department of São Paulo was already interested in purchasing the set.⁴⁷ After several discussions, the set of originals was actually sold to the City Hall of São Paulo and is currently part of the collection of the Municipal Library of São Paulo.⁴⁸

José Wash Rodrigues died in April 21, 1957 in Rio de Janeiro, the day of the celebration of Tiradentes – who he had painted wearing the ensign costume of the *Segunda Companhia de Dragões* of Minas Gerais.

39. Namely: *Batalha de Monte Caseros* (The Battle of Monte Caseros), *Batalha do Tuiuti* (The Battle of Tuiuti), *Conde de Bobadela* (The Count of Bobadela) – from a copy, *Tiradentes* (Alferes), *Lomas Valentinas* and *Avanço dos mineiros sobre o Rio de Janeiro em 1710* (The advance of mineiros towards Rio de Janeiro in 1710). At least the four first paintings are currently part of the collection of Museu Histórico Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.

40. *Pátio da Sé, 1862* (Sé’s Patio – 1918), *Rua do Rosário* (Rosário Street, currently named XV de Novembro street – 1918), *Pátio do Colégio, 1858* (1918) and *Paço Municipal, 1628* (Municipal Palace – 1920). Cf. Official letter from Afonso d’Escagnolle Taunay to Mário Guimarães de Barros Lins (SVDHICO – Folder 177, March, 14 1940).

41. Currently named *Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional* (Iphan).

42. Borrego (2017, p. 200 and 212).

43. Cf. Santos (2016).

44. Twenty-three of the watercolors produced for the posterior production of the postcards currently belong to the collection of Pinacoteca Municipal de São Paulo. They were purchased by the Department of Culture of the municipality, transferred to the *Departamento do Patrimônio Histórico* (Department of Historical Heritage – DPH) and, in 1999, were donated to Pinacoteca.

45. Published for the first time in the special commemorative edition of the 4th Centenary of the city of São Paulo. *O Estado de...* (January 25, 1954, p. 92-94).

A PARTNERSHIP OF MORE THAN TWO DECADES: WASTH RODRIGUES AND TAUNAY

46. Some articles were posthumously published, e.g., *Mobiliário do Brasil antigo* – evolução de cadeiras luso-brasileiras (Furniture of old Brazil: the evolution of Luso-Brazilian chairs – 1958).

47. *O Estado de...* (April 13, 1948, p. 4).

48. *Diário Oficial de...* (December 22, 1948); *Jornal de Notícias* (July 7, 1949, p. 5).

49. Taunay (1937, p. 76).

50. Solange Ferraz de Lima and Vânia Carneiro Cunha conducted an important study on this series, in which they analyze the use of photographs for the making of the paintings, and of the photographs and textual documents as “historic truths”. In: Lima; Carvalho (1993, p. 147-178).

51. A peristyle can be considered a hall or patio surrounded by columns. In: Silva; Calado (2005, p. 284-285)

[...] Several dozen paintings – oils, watercolors, quill drawings etc. – form a third exposed collection, replicating missing environments of our metropolis, iconographic documents that restore the old urban aspects of São Paulo. We owe many of these to Wasth Rodrigues, whose fine art has been specialized in the interpretation of colonial environments. Several of his paintings have fixed compelling spots of a S. Paulo that has been gone.

Afonso d’Escragnolle Taunay⁴⁹

When Afonso d’Escragnolle Taunay assumed the administration of Museu Paulista in the first quarter of 1917, he started to organize the National History Section and to prepare a historical exhibition for the celebrations of the 1st Centenary of Independence – to take place in September 1922. Taunay began a global exhibition project for the building, a proposition whose core idea was finished after more than two decades of commissioning pieces and interactions between all spaces chosen for the exhibition. Of the 17 rooms available for the celebration, four were reserved for the history of São Paulo, so Taunay commissioned paintings from several artists and having the photographs by Militão Augusto de Azevedo (1837-1905) – taken in 1862 and 1887 – as the basis. Wasth Rodrigues, like Benedito Calixto (1853-1927), Berthe Worms (1868-1937), and many other artists participated in the project of this documentary series.⁵⁰

Amid a zigzagging life of travels to the coast and to the countryside, of drawings and research, and of works for different clients, Wasth Rodrigues undertakes a new partnership with Taunay: the drawing and painting of coats of arms of the former cities of São Paulo; the commissions began in 1924 and continued for most of the following decade, some for Museu Paulista and others not. The coats of arms are distributed all over the museum’s peristyle⁵¹ and monumental staircase. However, they are almost never commented on or even observed. The design and installation project followed, roughly speaking, the chronological order of the foundation of the old *bandeirante* cities.

That was a project that took great commitment and that was executed within a reasonable time. After the celebrations of the Centenary of Independence, Taunay began to gather elements to fill what he called “places marked by architecture’ – semicircular spaces in low-relief existing in significant numbers in the ornamentation of the museum’s building. Taunay contacted the authorities of the oldest cities in the state and the artist/historian/photographer Benedito Calixto (1853-1927), responsible for the coats of arms of São Vicente, Santos

and Itanhaém. He used the pencil and brush of many artists to bring his compositions to life,⁵² but mainly Wash Rodrigues's instruments.

52. Among them Oscar Pereira da Silva and Theodoro Braga (1872-1953).

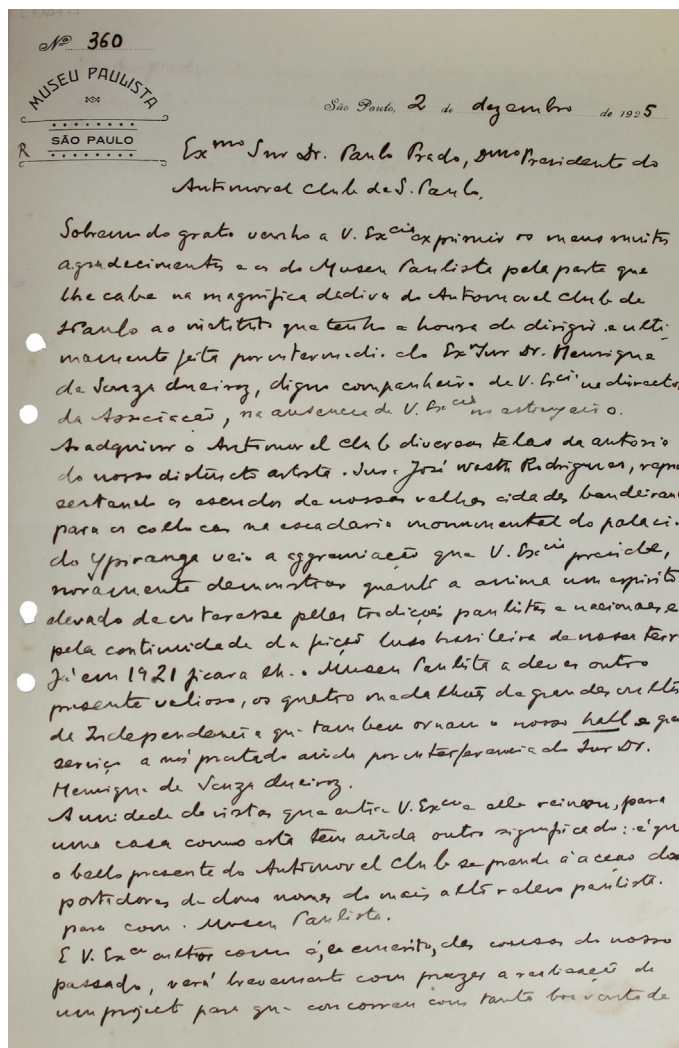


Figure 5 – Page of the official letter from Afonso d'Escragnole Taunay to Paulo Prado regarding the donation of the Automóvel Club, December 2, 1925. Source: SVDHICO – Folder 125.

The director of Museu Paulista managed to approve the coats of arms with the municipalities with certain resourcefulness but faced difficulty to find the financial assistance for the execution of the pieces. Taunay received the support of the

53. Paulo Prado was directly responsible for several donations to Museu Paulista, including pieces such as the autographs of Joseph of Anchieta (1926) and José Bonifácio (1936), among others. The *Automóvel Club* also donated, in 1922, four medallions of the tycoons of the Independence, valued in three *contos de réis*. Relatório (SVDHICO – L9, 1926, p. 23); Relatório (SVDHICO – L10, 1927, p. 48); Relatório (SVDHICO – L20, 1937, p. 69).

54. Letter from Afonso d'Escragnoille Taunay to Paulo Prado (SVDHICO – Folder 125, December 11, 1925).

55. Relatório (SVDHICO – L10, 1927, p. 23 e 48).

56. *Correio Paulistano* (May 5, 1926, p. 4).

57. Inaugurações. Relatório (SVDHICO – L9, 1926, p. 33-4). A similar, albeit reduced version is part of the section “Dádivas”. Cf. “Dados relativos ao Museu Paulista destinados à mensagem presidencial de 1926” (SVDHICO – Folder 127, 1926, p. 2).

58. Taunay (1927, p. 19-43).

59. *Jornal do Commercio* (April 3, 1931, p. 3); *Jornal do Commercio* (April 5, 1931, p. 3); *Jornal do Commercio* (April 12, 1931, p. 3); *Jornal do Commercio* (April 10, 1931, p. 3); *Jornal do Commercio* (December 10, 1933, p. 15); *Jornal do Commercio* (March 5, 1934, p. 5). See also Taunay (1936, p. 475-528).

members of the *Automóvel Club* captained by Paulo Prado (1869-1943)⁵³ – who also supported other campaigns in favor of Museu Paulista –, and by Henrique de Souza Queiroz – a distant parent of Taunay, member of the *Automóvel Club* and *Club Commercial* and the direct responsible for the campaign. Taunay raised seven *contos de réis* – five paid by the *Automóvel Club* and two by *Club Commercial* – for the payment and installation of the coats of arms. Taunay thanked Paulo Prado (Figure 5) in an official letter, citing the author of the works:

[...] As the Automóvel Club acquires several paintings authored by our distinguished artist, Mr. José Wash Rodrigues, representing the coats of arms of our old *bandeirante* cities to place them on the monumental staircase of the Palace of Ipiranga came to the club His Excellence presides, once again demonstrating how much this club relishes the interest for the traditions of São Paulo and Brazil, and for the continuity of the Luso-Brazilian aspect of our land.⁵⁴

In the 1926 report, Taunay expresses his “horror to the emptiness” of the architecture conceived by engineer-architect Tommaso Gaudenzio Bezzi (1844-1915) for the building-monument, claiming that filling the gaps on the walls – both with the paintings and the coats of arms – “will have an excellent effect, either from a decorative point of view, or for evocating history.”⁵⁵ The opening of the coats of arms seem to have been the highlight of 1926. An article published by *Correio Paulistano*,⁵⁶ sent by Taunay himself, informs about the opening of the first pieces:

Recently Museu Paulista has opened on its staircase a gallery of the coats of arms of our oldest *bandeirante* cities, thanks to our distinguished painter, Mr. José Wash Rodrigues, who is engaged in the daily refinement of the execution, research and intelligence in the interpretation of our ancient art and of our traditions. These nine coats of arms are those of São Paulo, Parnaíba, São Vicente, Sorocaba, Porto Feliz, Itu, Taubaté, Santos and Itanhaém, the primary and main centers of *bandeirantismo*.

They fill the semicircular spaces left by the architecture of the monumental hall of the Palace, hanging over the existing statues and on the gallery to the side of the central niche.⁵⁷

Taunay provides a thorough description of each coat of arms in the remainder of the article, something he also did later on the *Annaes do Museu Paulista* (Annals of Museu Paulista – 1927),⁵⁸ and in a series of articles published in *Jornal do Commercio* – from Rio de Janeiro –, already in the following decade, adding new works made nationwide.⁵⁹ Notwithstanding the information found,

the relationship of Wash Rodrigues and Taunay is not entirely clear with regard to the role of each in the elaboration and payment of the coats of arms. In an official letter for the then mayor of São José dos Campos responding to the question about the making of the coat of arms of that city clarifies only that a period to study the aspects of the municipality was required, and that usually Wash Rodrigues is who conceives and makes the coat of arms:

[...] The various coats of arms that several chambers of the State have asked me, and I have commissioned them to our distinguished painter J. Wash Rodrigues, who makes them with real artistic diligence, but right now is on tour in the state of Minas Gerais. If His Excellence wants it with expedite, I would make it via another good artist. As remuneration, Mr. Rodrigues asks 600\$000 for a large oil painting, like the one he recently made for Tatuí under my suggestion, asking 250\$000 for a watercolor – very reasonable prices. As remuneration for my suggestions, I would request from His Excellence what I requested from other chambers: they payment of two color drawings, one for the collection of Museu Paulista, and another for my private collection.⁶⁰

This is the way Taunay found to keep the works conceived by him both in his private and in the museum's collection, after all, conceiving the works is not enough, he must have control on everything that was made and that the material traces are preserved.

The coats of arms were continuously manufactured. Although this type of work fell into disuse for a more general public, like several of the auxiliary disciplines of history, we must note that they were important in a given period and for a given group – the very Universidade de São Paulo used the services of Taunay and Wash Rodrigues in a commission for the elaboration of the coat of arms, ex-libris, monogram, chevron and stamps in its initial phase,⁶¹ elements used until today, considering that Wash Rodrigues had a more prominent role in this activity than Taunay.

Other punctual commissions – for which documentation is sparser – were made, at least until 1939. The usual work method seems to rely on making the paintings for the museum based on the works of traveling artists or photographers. This is the case, for example of *Dama paulista, 1808* (*Paulista* dame, 1808) (Figure 6) or *Paulistas antigos, 1825* (*Old Paulistas, 1825*); the first was based on a printed painting published in the first Italian edition of John Mawe's book (1764-1829) *Travels in the interior of Brazil*, of 1817 (Figure 7);⁶² the second was based on what seems to be a graphite-coated drawing or print by Johann Moritz Rugendas.⁶³

60. Official letter from Afonso d'Escragnolle Taunay to José Alves da Silva Cursino (SVDHICO – Folder 128, August 1, 1926).

61. Official letter from Afonso d'Escragnolle Taunay to Reynaldo Porchat – then dean of Universidade de São Paulo (SVDHICO – Folder 153, November 29, 1934). Official letter from Afonso d'Escragnolle Taunay to [Raul] Briquet (SVDHICO – Folder 153, December 1, 1934). An article published on *O Correio de São Paulo* states that Wash Rodrigues was responsible for the creation of the coat of arms of the university, of the newly created schools and of the solemn clothing for the professors of each institute (November 30, 1935, p. 2).

62. This print is not reproduced in the English and French editions. In: Mawe (1817, v. I, p. 139).

63. Museu Paulista's Serviço de Documentação Histórica e Iconografia (Service of Historic Documentation and Iconography – SVDHICO) has a photograph with both works side by side.



Figure 6 – José Wash Rodrigues. *Dama paulista*, 1808, undated., oil on canvas, 61.5 x 46 cm. Collection of Museu Paulista of Universidade de São Paulo. Reproduction: Helio Nobre; José Rosael. RG 1-19355-0000-0000.

Figure 7 – *Traje das paulistas*, c. 1808; color print by Lazaretti. Source: John Mawe. *Viaggio nel interno del Brasile, e particolarmente nei distretti dell'oro e dei diamanti, fatto nel 1809-10 con permesso speciale del Principe Reggente del Portogalo*, 1817, p. 139.



THE COMMEMORATIONS OF THE 4TH CENTENARY OF COLONIZATION: SÃO VICENTE, SÃO PAULO AND MUSEU PAULISTA

64. *Diário Nacional* (December 25, 1931, p. 2).

65. Elias (1996, v. 1, p. 208).

As His Excellence inevitably knows, on the next January 22, 1932, the 4th Centenary of the foundation of São Vicente shall be celebrated. This event is fundamental for S. Paulo, as He well knows. Historically, it means the cornerstone of our state. It was from that small seed that the Portuguese settler tossed in the corner of a wild beach that the mighty land of São Paulo emerged, which is the honor and brilliance of our Nation. Therefore, there is nothing fairer than the solemnity of the 4th Centenary of São Vicente having the intensity it deserves.

Request to the collectors of São Paulo forwarded by the Organizing Committee of the "Exhibition of Antiques"⁶⁴

The celebrations of the 400 years of the foundation of the captaincy of São Vicente were a key event for the *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo* (Historic and Geographic Institute – IHGSP) and for Museu Paulista – considering that the later was able to finalize the decoration of its peristyle with four paintings, all made by Wasth Rodrigues.

Since the end of the nineteenth century several scholars from São Paulo – especially those linked to the IHGSP – were focused on researching and producing a historiography centered on narrating the facts of the characters involved in the foundation of the captaincy of São Vicente in 1532.⁶⁵ They sought to define with precision the dates, protagonists and places linked to the emergence of the first village on the coast – São Vicente – and also of the first settlements in the countryside – Santo André da Borda do Campo and São Paulo. A given "truth" was diligently searched for, a genealogy and historic protagonism – preferably noble and heroic. São Paulo sought to – alongside its economic growth during the early twentieth century – create a memory that justified the superiority of the state in the federation, adopting an "official" version for many events, such as the proclamation of Independence – condensed on the 7th of September for the whole territory in a consensual and dispute-free manner –, and the effective colonization of the territory from the celebrations of the 4th Centenary of São Vicente, thus minimizing the discovery in Bahia.

The story is known: D. João III (1502-1557) sent the first colonizing expedition to Brazil under the command of noble military Martim Afonso de Souza (c. 1500-1564), entrusted with several actions: expelling the French from the coast, placement of the standards of possession, organization to survey the Amazon river region and, mainly, to initiate colonization. Departing from Lisbon in 1530, the expedition arrived in Pernambuco at the end of January 1531; in March he is in Bahia, in April in Baía da Guanabara and, in the second half of the year, in

66. Relatório (SVDHICO – L15, 1932, p. 53 e 55-56).

67. Comissões do Governo do Estado à Diretoria. Relatório (SVDHICO – L16, 1933, p. 9).

68. Taunay had already discussed the theme in the book *A era das bandeiras* (The age of bandeiras). The subject was greatly expanded for the monograph published in 1953, *João Ramalho e Santo André da Borda do Campo*. In: Matos (1977, p. 117). The other lectures given during the celebrations of São Vicente at IGHSF are reproduced in the 29th volume of the institutions's journal (1932): *Origens e fatos da expansão portuguesa no Brasil até 1930* (Origins and facts of the Portuguese expansion in Brazil until 1930), by Ricardo Severo; *João Ramalho e Santo André*, by Afonso d'Escragnoille Taunay; *Os primeiros troncos paulistas e o cruzamento euro-americano* (The first paulista trunks and the European-American crossing), by Alfredo Ellis Junior (1896-1974); *A expedição de Martim Afonso de Souza* (Martim Afonso de Souza's expedition), by Eugênio de Castro; *Os jesuítas e a formação de São Paulo* (The Jesuits and the formation of São Paulo), by José da Frota Gentil, S.J.; *Os primeiros anos de São Paulo* (The first years of São Paulo), by Afonso José de Carvalho; *Martim Afonso de Souza*, by Max Fleiuss (1868-1943); *Dom Francisco de Souza e o início do impulso bandeirante* (Dom Francisco de Souza and the beginning of the bandeirante impetus), by Francisco de Assis Carvalho Franco (1886-1953).

69. One lecture was conducted each in the halls of "Dona Olívia" during

Cananeia. They arrive in São Vicente in January 1532 and, with the help of João Ramalho (c.1493-c.1580) and Antonio Rodrigues – Portuguese already living in the region and close to the indigenous chiefs *cacique* Tibiriçá (?-1562) and Caiubi (?-1561) – founded the village of São Vicente on 22 of that month. This is the central axis of the commemorations of the 400 years of the colonization of Brazil.

Both Taunay and Wash Rodrigues were active participants of such celebration. According to Taunay himself:

Approaching the celebration of the foundation of the city of São Vicente, I was invited to be part of the committee in charge of the festivities planned for January 1932. I refused such honorable invitation for health reasons, but I had to accept the invitation to be the Commission's technical advisor, having already worked numerous times in choosing the standards of stamps, coins and medals, and the making of banners, which I sent to the General Board of the Post Office and to the Brazilian Mint. At the same time, the Instituto Histórico de S. Paulo put me in charge of organizing the plan of commemorative conferences of the centenary, and that I have called upon me the burden of ventilating one of the theses proposed: João Ramalho and Santo André.⁶⁶

Despite the statement reproduced above, Taunay was also tasked by then state interventor, General Manuel Rabello (1873-1945), to accompany the celebrations of the 4th Centenary of São Vicente as the representative of the government of São Paulo in some events such as the inauguration of the cornerstone of the monument offered by the Portuguese colony to the municipality of São Vicente.⁶⁷

In São Paulo, in the halls of the IHGSP, then decorated in character for the occasion with the Portuguese ensigns of "Navigation" and "Conquest", and the portraits of *D. João III* and *Martim Afonso de Souza*, Taunay conducted two lectures on the theme: *João Ramalho* and *Santo André* (January 5 and 7, 1932),⁶⁸ in which he presents the portraits *D. João III* and *Martim Afonso de Souza*, as well as maps and documents. He also spoke in a cycle organized due to such commemoration by Olívia Guedes Penteado (1872-1934) in her hall, *Algumas de nossas abusões quinhentistas* (Some of our sixteenth century illusions).⁶⁹

In addition to the aforementioned solemnity, another activity conducted in São Paulo was the "Exposição retrospectiva de arte antiga",⁷⁰ organized by a group of members of the society,⁷¹ held in *Salão Trocadero*, and composed of about 300 pieces from several private collections, notably of São Paulo: furniture, objects, documents, books, drawings and prints, paintings, sculptures, indigenous objects and folk art from the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁷² The jury of selection of the objects was composed by the artists Pedro Alexandrino (1856-1942), José Wash Rodrigues,

by the collector José A. Gonsalves and by Mello Castro. The city also held an exhibition of numismatics and philately, for which the great commemorative medal of the Centenary of São Vicente was conceived,⁷³ and another exhibition at *Palácio das Indústrias*, in which in addition to the pieces of the 400 exhibitors, an indigenous village – *taba* – was recreated from Hans Staden’s (c. 1525-c. 1576) drawings. Also for the celebrations, an amusement park and a zoo were installed in the Dom Pedro II park.⁷⁴ Further complementing the celebrations were another exhibition at the Água Branca park and a large public mass in front of Cathedral of Sé – at the time still under construction.⁷⁵

In São Vicente – the core of the celebrations – the events announced were the exhibition-fair “Portuguese Week”, a pilgrimage to the historical site of the “*Porto das Naus*” and to the former residence of Martim Afonso de Souza. In Santos, the inauguration of the cornerstone of *Padrão Cruzeiro*, offered by the Portuguese colony of São Paulo via Ricardo Severo. In Cananeia, the hoisting of the flag “The Navigators” to recall the arrival of Martim Afonso de Souza at the place and the departure of the first and ill-fated expedition to the countryside of Brazil, commanded by Pedro Lopo in 1531.⁷⁶

Apart from the activities conducted in São Paulo, São Vicente and Santos and from the various lectures spoken, Taunay prepared what today is conventionally called the temporary exhibition about the celebrations in Museu Paulista. For such, between January 22 to 25 of 1932, the ensigns of “Navigation” and of “Conquest” were installed – like at IHGSP –, as well as the royal coat of arms and all flags that Brazil had already used. However, the main event was the inauguration of the portraits of *Dom João III* and of *Martim Afonso de Souza*, both made by Wasth Rodrigues, as we shall see below.⁷⁷

THE NECESSARY COLONIZATION: D. JOÃO III AND MARTIM AFONSO DE SOUZA

[...] The “*Museu Paulista*”, administrated by Mr. Affonso d’E. Taunay, who entered the *Academia Brasileira* as the historian of S. Paulo, – in addition to the written documents displayed, is undoubtedly the greatest and most valuable center of São Paulo’s iconography.

Dr. Taunay measures no sacrifices to enrich the museum, which grows more beautiful and suggestive every day, and even now, thanks to the brush of Wasth Rodrigues, the astonishing paintings of Martim Affonso and D. João III have been placed on the walls of the Monument.

Eudoro Ramos Costa, 1932⁷⁸

January 1932: the first, *Lendas e quimeras da epopéia marítima portuguesa* (The myths and illusions of the Portuguese maritime epic), by Ricardo Severo; Taunay’s was the second; *Martim Afonso de Souza*, by Gofredo T. da Silva Telles (1888-1980) was the third; and finally, *O quadro paulista* (The paulista picture), by Guilherme de Almeida. Cf. *O Estado de...* (January, 5, 1932, p. 6). The texts of the lectures were published in *A era de Martim Afonso* (The age of Martim Afonso – 1935), a work illustrated by Wasth Rodrigues.

70. Also called “Exposição de Antiguidades”.

71. Sara Pinto da Conceição, Albertina Spegler, Renata Crespi da Silva Prado (1897-1981), Olga de Paiva Meira, José Carlos de Macedo Soares (1883-1968), Afonso de E. Taunay, José A. Gonsalves, Paulo Setúbal, Carlos Pinto Alves (1898-1967), Guilherme de Almeida, Eurico Sodré, José Wasth Rodrigues and José Chaves. In: *Diário Nacional* (December 25, 1931, p. 2).

72. Wasth Rodrigues himself lent an eighteenth century chest to the exhibition. *Jornal do Commercio* (22 jan. 1932, p. 3).

73. *Diário Nacional* (January 17, 1932, p. 2).

74. *Jornal do Commercio* (January 22, 1932, p. 3).

75. *O Estado de...* (January 5, 1932, p. 6).

76. *Jornal do Commercio* (January, 1932, p. 3).

77. *Diário Nacional* (January 17, 1932, p. 2) and *Jornal do Commercio* (January 22, 1932, p. 3).

78. *O Estado de...* (March 3, 1932, p. 5).

79. Although the project for the decoration of the building-monument may now seem a project conceived in its completeness from the beginning, it now seems that several uncertainties were involved in the filling of the gaps and episodes to be portrayed. In an unaddressed letter from Taunay, in relation to the spaces available in the peristyle he states that: “[...] The lobby still has four places for panels and four large portraits. In *pendant*: an evocation of the Independence and of the 1917 Revolution side by side; the Dutch war and the recovery of Maranhão in 1615. On the portraits – Pedro Teixeira, Jerônimo de Albuquerque Maranhão, Eustácio de Sá, J. Fernandes Vieira, André Vidal Negreiros, Camarão and H. Dias.” Cf. Letter from Afonso d’Escragnoille Taunay to an unknown recipient (SVDHICO - Folder 109, July 30, 1919).

80. Although they were exhibited in IHGSP, no information about the whereabouts of these works has been found until the present day, or if they were ever part of the Institute’s collection. Other works by Wash Rodrigues that belonged to the collection of Museu José Bonifácio of IHGSP: *Batalha do Passo do Rosário (Ituzaingó, em 1827)* (The Battle of Passo do Rosário, Ituzaingó in 1827 – 1930), donated by José Carlos de Macedo Soares; the map of the state of São Paulo indicating the battle fronts of the 1932 Constitutionalist Movement, donated by Aureliano Leite (1886-1976); and some of the drawings of the project for the first stained glass panels installed on the new Cathedral of the city of São Paulo, 1942. In: Santos (1993, p. 87); Coimbra (1965, p. 253).

Taunay benefited from the festivities of the 4th Centenary of São Vicente to proceed in the decoration of the peristyle of the Museum/Monument, reserving a whole wall for the facts related to the colonization of São Paulo, and the consolidation and expansion of the Brazilian territory.⁷⁹ The first finalized pieces were the portraits of *D. João III* and *Martim Afonso de Souza* (1932). The oil studies of the portraits – whose final versions are in Museu Paulista – were exhibited during the celebrations of São Vicente in IHGSP,⁸⁰ according to a revealing article published in *Diário Nacional*:

The noble hall of the Institute [*Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo*] presents – during the period of the celebrations of São Vicente – two oil studies by José Wash Rodrigues executed on two large panels, representing D. João III and Martim Afonso de Souza. For the first painting he adopted the head of the portrait of the king, by Cristovam Lopes, located in the Museu de Arte Antiga of Lisboa, in which the sovereign appears wearing a monastic habit, a body in which D. João presents himself clad in armor and wrapped in a regal mantle. Wash Rodrigues’s source for the portrait of Martim Afonso was the *História da Civilização Portuguesa* (History of the Portuguese Civilization) by Roque Gameiro. The panel of the great navigator presents a sixteenth-century environment, giving great emphasis to the paintings and coats of arms of the king and of the donatary of São Vicente.⁸¹

This information corroborates what appears to be a constant in relation to the working methods of Taunay and, perhaps, largely of Wash Rodrigues: when possible, the use of previous images of the characters portrayed for the construction of the works for the museum, searching for the “truth” or historical likelihood, or perhaps of images close to those already known and consecrated. Both the portrait of *D. João III* by Cristovão Lopes (c. 1516-1594) and the illustration of Martim Afonso de Souza by Gameiro (1864-1935) are reproduced in the third volume of the *História da colonização portuguesa do Brasil* (History of the Portuguese colonization of Brazil – 1921) – the library of Museu Paulista holds a copy of this work. This publication also contains the two coats of arms of the characters inserted in the historical portraits. The representations do not contemplate full body portraits, nor busts. Like other portraits of Museu Paulista, the cutout focuses between the thighs and the head – e.g., *D. Pedro I* (Peter I of Portugal – 1902) and *Domingos Jorge Velho e o loco-tenente Antonio F. de Abreu* (Domingos Jorge Velho and temporary lieutenant Antonio F. de Abreu – 1903), both made by Benedito Calixto in the characteristic nineteenth-century cutout.⁸²

In the portrait currently attributed to Cristovão Lopes (Figure 8) – currently at Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga of Lisboa⁸³ –, the king is portrayed on his knees praying, having what looks like a Bible before him. He wears a monastic habit – given his extreme religiosity. The image of Saint John the Baptist – his patron saint

– emerges from the back of the monarch as if supporting him.⁸⁴ The curtain and table fabric are simple and stern. The physiognomy of D. João is noteworthy, being very similar in several portraits and busts such as in the work equally attributed to Cristovão Lopes and that is part of the collection of Museu de São Roque/Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa (Figure 9). Or in the portrait of the also court painter Anthonis Mor (1520-1575), *D. João III de Portugal* (1552), in which the king, almost his full body, seems to look at the observer, wearing a black habit and a biretta; on his right hand, supported in a piece of furniture, a white weapon; on the left, a handkerchief. The only spots of light on the painting are the monarch's face and hands. The royal authority is merged with the divine and with the religious rigor.

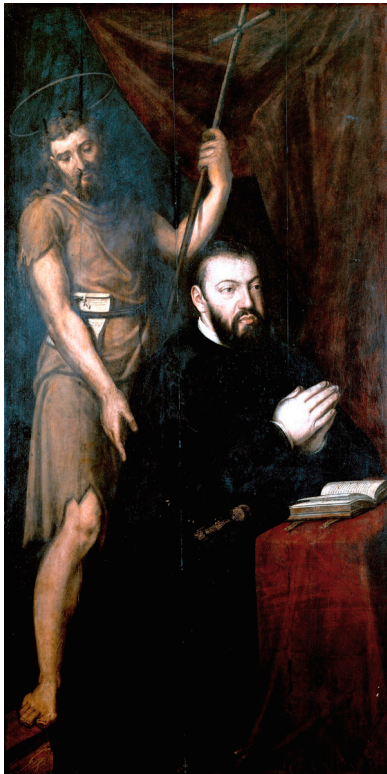


Figure 8 – Cristovão Lopes [attributed]. *Retrato de D. João III, rei de Portugal e Algarves* (Portrait of John III of Portugal and the Algarves), circa 1565-1570, oil on wood, approximately 175 x 85 cm. Collection of Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga de Lisboa, Portugal.

Figure 9 – Cristovão Lopes [attributed]. *D. João III*, circa 1550-1560, oil on wood, 65 x 50.5 cm. Collection of Museu de São Roque/Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa, Portugal.



81. *Diário Nacional* (January 7, 1932, p. 3). An article published in *O Estado de São Paulo* cited only the inauguration of the portrait of Martim Afonso de Souza. Cf. (January 5, 1932, p. 6).

82. Paulo César Garcez Marins, in *Nas matas com poses de reis* (In the woods posing as kings), performed an important study on the artistic models adopted in the making of the historical portraits of the *bandeirantes*, indicating the affiliation with the works of French court painter Hyacinthe Rigaud (1659-1743), specialist in portraits. In the case of Rigaud, the adoption of some solutions by the Flemish painter Antoon van Dick (1599-1641) in the portraits of the French court, specifically the elbow flexed toward the spectator as symbol of virility (2007, p. 82).

83. There is another portrait by Cristovão Lopes of *Dom João III* at Convento Madre de Deus in Lisboa, very similar to the one at Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga. The one at the convent presents more elements on the portrait, larger size and polished finish (199.9 x 147 cm). Is the picture of Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga a copy or a study?

84. This portrait alludes to another portrait of D. João III – also from the collection of Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga. Made by an unknown author, *O príncipe D. João e São João Baptista* (Prince John and Saint John the Baptist – c.1515) from the *Triptych of the Infantes*, possibly the first portrait of the future king – still an adolescent – praying on his knees, with Saint John the Baptist in the background. Such a portrait is much more splendid, presenting more refined drapery and garments. The composition

also presents more elements such as pieces of the sky on the upper margin.

85. Dom João III – King of Portugal and the Algarves, whose reign comprised the years of 1521-1557, had his reign strongly linked to the colonization of Brazil. Preceded by his father, Manuel I (1469-1521), he inherited a vast and scattered empire after ascending to the throne: Brazil's coastline, the western and northern coasts of Africa, stretches of present-day China and India, and many, many islands. Abundant land with few men to colonize them. Faced with the eminent invasion of the Brazilian coast, he implemented the system of donatary/hereditary captaincies. The period of his reign marks the presence of many intellectuals and artists in Portugal. Extremely Catholic and pious, he was responsible for the coming of the Society of Jesus to Brazil in 1549, and by the introduction of the Inquisition in Portugal in 1536.

86. Marins (2007, p. 77-104). The model of portraits of nobles with one of their arms flexed pointing to the spectator expanded until reaching Portugal such as in the *Retrato de D. Lourenço José Brotas de Lencastre* (Portrait of D. Lourenço José Brotas de Lencastre), c.1745-1750, authored by Vieira Lusitano (1699-1783).

In Wash Rodrigues's painting (Figure 10), D. João III, the fifteenth king of Portugal⁸⁵ – whose most used nickname was “the pious”, but in sixteenth-century Brazil became better known as “the colonizer” – is depicted standing up, an attribute of monarchs and great military chiefs, with a serene physiognomy and relatively young, in a richly elaborate military armor, covered by the regal ermine cloak; a typical representation of Portuguese kings, expressing power, solemnity and haughtiness. Under his armor, the *mantéu* (a type of high collar) and cuffs finalize the inner part of his garment. In his chest, a necklace with the medal of the Military Order of Christ, the rich military organization formerly of the Knights Templar, the greatest sponsor of the Portuguese navigation expeditions; his flexed arm rests on his waist, which brings the scabbard with a sword.⁸⁶ The whole composition is verticalized. The royal coat of arms is on the left. The scenario does not present a throne and columns, only the slight suggestion of a drapery: indicating his regal position is the crown deposited on the cushion of the furniture on the left, the same piece where he rests the scepter on his left hand; also on the furniture is a map showing Brazil divided into hereditary captaincies, being anchored by a glass weight – which could suggest the frailty of the Portuguese king before the extensive empire administered by him.



Figure 10 – José Wash Rodrigues. *Retrato de D. João III*, [1932], oil on canvas, 142 x 142 cm. Collection of Museu Paulista of Universidade de São Paulo. Reproduction: Helio Nobre; José Rosael. RG 1-19505-0000-0000.

D. João III is illuminated by the ermine cloak and by the reflection of the armor. To the left, the reds of the fabric that covers the furniture and where the crown is placed stand out, as well as the gold spots of the scepter, the helmet of the coat of arms and of the necklace. The background of the portrait, like its bottom margin, is dark.

The painting does not present any mention to the monarch's fervent religiousness, which was extremely reinforced in the Portuguese portraits. Instead of a devotional state, we see a haughty monarch, a true emperor. The role of the Ignatians in the colonization of the American continent and the persecution of infidels in both sides of the Atlantic Ocean by the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition are subtracted. The unifying majesty arises.



Figure 11 – Drawing Martim Afonso de Souza in José Maria Delorme Colaço's publication, *Galleria dos vice-reis, e governadores da India portugueza dedicada aos illustres descendentes de taes heroes*, 1841.



Figure 12 – Roque Gameiro. *Martim Afonso de Souza*. Reconstitution based on the portrait of the gallery of the governors of Portuguese India in Goa, Portugal. Source: *História da colonização portuguesa do Brasil*, volume III, p. 113.

The *Retrato de Martim Afonso de Souza*, based on the drawing printed in the book *História da colonização portuguesa do Brasil*, as previously mentioned, is one of the interpretations of the portrait in the Gallery of Viceroy and Governors of Portuguese India. The gallery was created in 1547 by Dom João de Castro (1500-1548), the thirteenth governor and fourth viceroy of Portuguese India. At least since the nineteenth century copies, replicas and drawings of these portraits circulated around the world, with special attention to the publication of José Maria Delorme Colaço, *Galleria dos vice-reis, e governadores da India portuguesa dedicada aos illustres descendentes de taes heroes* (Gallery of the viceroy and governors of Portuguese India dedicated to the illustrious descendants of these heroes – 1841) (Figure 11). At least the first 18 politicians are represented in drawings that try to capture the essential traits of each individual portrayed, a material that was complemented by a small biography. Martim Afonso de Souza is the twelfth. Much simpler than Roque Gameiro's reconstitution (Figure 12), which presents the same arrangement of attributes, but Martim Afonso de Souza is represented with the whole body.



Figure 13 – José Wash Rodrigues. *Retrato de Martim Afonso de Souza*, [1932], oil on canvas, 142 x 142 cm. Collection of Museu Paulista of Universidade de São Paulo. Reproduction: Helio Nobre; José Rosael. RG 1-1956-0000-0000.

In the portrait of Museu Paulista, Martim Afonso de Souza (Figure 13) is represented as a sixteenth century military courtier. He is splendidly dressed: padded and bulky shorts, a short doublet with standing collar and wide-sleeved jacket, made from luxurious fabrics with slits to show the equally luxurious lining. Under the doublet, the discreet collar (*mantéu*) appears only on the side; the cuffs tie on the internal part of the garment. In his head he wears a flat hat decorated with a jewel. From his neck hangs the red ribbon with the medal of the Military Order of Christ. On his waist, the belt with a scabbard and a sword. The contrast between the blues of the doublet and the shorts with the red of the ribbon and of the large parts of the coat of arms, along with the whites of the lining of the garment illuminate the composition, while shades of brown, grey and burgundy predominate in all other elements. The captaincy's donatary has his left arm flexed holding the sword, while he holds the military commander's baton with his right hand. He rests on a piece of furniture on which a piece of an armillary sphere appears.⁸⁷ On the upper right, the coat of arms of the nobleman is displayed.

87. An ancient astronomical instrument that represents the whole of the celestial sphere and the movement of celestial objects, being used as a navigational instrument until the invention of the compass. The sphere is composed of a central globe representing the Earth and several concentric rings representing celestial objects. King Manuel I of Portugal adopted the armillary sphere as his personal emblem, symbolizing the Portuguese rule over the seas during the period of the discoveries. John VI of Portugal used the armillary sphere to sustain the royal coat of arms, surmounted by the royal crown, when he created the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and the Algarves. The symbol became widespread and figured in the coats of arms of the Empire of Brazil. The same emblem – although without the crown – is now part of Portugal's republican coat of arms. In: *Um novo mundo...* (2008, p. 137).



Figure 14 – D. João III from a painting by Wash Rodrigues to Museu Paulista in an issue dedicated to the 4th Centenary of São Vicente. "Suplemento em rotogravura" - *O Estado de S. Paulo*, n° 26, 2nd year, January 30, 1932, p. 7. Source: Collection of IEB-USP – Fund Aracy de Carvalho Guimarães Rosa.

Figure 15 – Martim Afonso de Souza, drawing of Wash Rodrigues in an issue dedicated to the 4th Centenary of São Vicente. "Suplemento em rotogravura" - *O Estado de S. Paulo*, n° 26, 2nd year, January 30, 1932, p. 3. Source: Collection of IEB-USP – Fund Aracy de Carvalho Guimarães Rosa.



88. Relatório (SVDHICO – L6, 1923, p. 22). Emphasis added.

89. Miyoko Makino (2003, p. 173) presents the information previously in an article on the proposal of decoration of the building for the celebrations of centenary of independence.

90. Samuel Ribeiro, bachelor, entrepreneur and collector, was president of Caixa Econômica Federal in São Paulo and the first president of the Museu de Arte de São Paulo (Masp). He participated in events of SPAM, having lent to the club the Tracadero Palace for the carnival ball “Carnival in the city of SPAM” (February, 1933), event in which Wasth Rodrigues, along with other artists, assisted in the decoration of the compound. Also as one of the activities of SPAM, he lent works of his private collection to the First Spam Exhibition of Modern Art, alongside Olívia Guedes Penteado (1872-1934), Paulo Prado, Mário de Andrade (1893-1945), and Tarsila do Amaral (1886-1973). He was the brother of the bachelor and politician Abrahão Ribeiro (1883-1957), mayor of the city of São Paulo between 1945 and 1947. In: Almeida (2014, p. 60, 69 e 232).

Similar portraits were reproduced in the issue 26 of “Suplemento em rotogravura” of the newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo* – commemorative of the 4th Centenary of São Vicente, possibly the oil studies that were exhibited in the IHGSP, as previously mentioned. Such copies seem to be more direct in the representation, perhaps because of the typology of the artistic work or the public to which they were intended. In the case of *D. João III* (Figure 14), the crown placed on the table is much more prominent – even if it is not complete – as well as the military attire under the mantle. However, the biggest differences – besides the younger physiognomy of the king – are found in the coat of arms, which seems to have been vertically redone, and in what appears to be a map, being visible in the work in paper the inscription “*Terra Brasil*”. In the case of Martim Afonso de Souza (Figure 15), the nobleman is presented as slender and young.

The portraits Martim Afonso de Souza and D. João III function as a pendant and bring several elements dear to Wasth Rodrigues, even if the commission was “guided” by Taunay: both portrayed subjects wearing armor and are static as in other works of the painter. Coats of arms are present and prominently displayed in the composition, in addition to the distinctive elements of the activities of each of the characters, thus explaining the social and symbolic roles of each.

ON THE COAST AND ON THE COUNTRYSIDE: JOÃO RAMALHO AND TIBIRIÇÁ

Unfortunately, the budget granted by the State Government for the preparation of the museum [for the 1922 celebrations] was insufficient. The lobby was thus left unfinished; its decoration will only be perfect when two more statues are placed in it and in my interpretation, it will then synthesize the sixteenth century hall of São Paulo, of the preparation for the bandeiras, represented in the following characters: João Ramalho and Tibiriçá, the European and American patriarchs of the people of São Paulo.

Afonso d’Escragnolle Taunay, 1923⁸⁸

Ramalho and Tibiriçá were sent to the wall on the final version of the decoration of the peristyle;⁸⁹ they became two-dimensional. Nevertheless, the task was not easy, as many years passed between the idealization and the inauguration of the historical portraits. The state funds assigned to Museu Paulista were greatly reduced after the celebrations of the 4th Centenary of São Vicente and the political crisis faced by the state in response to the 1932 Revolution. The two paintings could only be made from a private patron, with a donation made by Samuel Ribeiro (1882-1952).⁹⁰

Without the help of collectors and other wealthy personalities from Taunay's personal relations, the project he had for the museum would never have advanced as much.

But what would have been the reason for the change in the proposal, that is, moving from three-dimensional works to two-dimensional works? Cost? Difficulty in obtaining sculptors willing to make the modifications requested by Taunay? More proximity to painters?

There are few textual documents of Wasth Rodrigues in the documentation of Museu Paulista. One of the rare cases found is the quotation sent by the artist to the museum on September 15, 1932 (Figure 16) for the execution of the panel of João Ramalho, considering the material, drafting of sketches, studies and the definitive work for 3:000\$000 (three contos de réis).⁹¹ It seems that, still in 1932, Wasth Rodrigues had already made the sketches and studies on the character, possibly inspired by the celebrations of São Vicente. Furthermore, drawings of the heads of both João Ramalho and Cacique Tibiriçá were made for the "Suplemento em rotogravura".

91. Quotation by Wasth Rodrigues for the making of the panel of João Ramalho (SVDHICO – Folder 146, September 15, 1932).

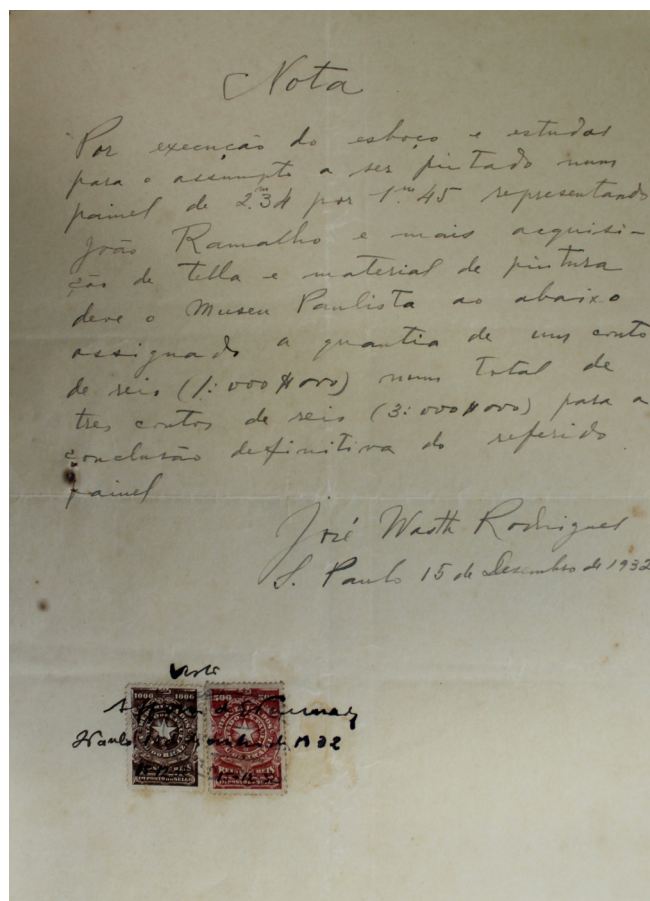


Figure 16 – Quotation by Wasth Rodrigues for the making of the panel of João Ramalho, September 15, 1932 (SVDHICO – Folder 146).

92. Since 1947 the work is part of the collection of Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo.

93. Official letter from Afonso d'Escragnolle Taunay to the Count of Lara (SVDHICO – Folder 147, March 29, 1933).

94. Official letter from Afonso d'Escragnolle Taunay to Samuel Ribeiro (SVDHICO – Folder 147, March 30, 1933).

95. Official letter from Afonso d'Escragnolle Taunay to José Wash Rodrigues (SVDHICO – Folder 148, July 21, 1933).

96. The *Officina Artístico-Industrial d'Escultor e Estucador Ulysses Pelliciotti* was one of the most traditional companies in the field of decoration in the city of São Paulo, having functioned since the start of the twentieth century until at least 1970, changing its name to *Casa de Decoração Edis*. Nascimento (2017, p. 133-134).

Perhaps taking advantage of the donation made by the Count of Lara (1864-1935) of the allegorical panel *A Pintura* (The Painting – 1892),⁹² by José Ferraz de Almeida Júnior (1850-1899), in October 1932, Taunay forwarded an official letter⁹³ to the Count in March of the following year, seeking to obtain funds to complete the decoration of the peristyle via the execution of the panels of João Ramalho and Cacique Tibiriçá – to be made by Wash Rodrigues for three *contos de réis* each – and to be installed under the portraits of Martim Afonso de Souza and D. João III. Taunay requested any assistance to proceed in the decorative/narrative/didactic project for the museum. In the same letter, from the genealogical studies by Silva Leme (1852-1919), Taunay suggests that the Count of Lara is the thirteenth grandson of João Ramalho and the fourteenth of Tibiriçá, that is, he would be helping to eternalize his own family and make a historical contribution of such family for the Ipiranga Palace. Taunay invited the Count to visit the museum so he could personally explain the project.

On the following day Taunay sent another official letter (Figure 17), now to Samuel Ribeiro; the content was similar, except for the blood connection with those to be portrayed. However, despite no longer being a family issue, Taunay states that both Ramalho and Tibiriçá “are the patriarchs not only of *paulistas*, but of the hundreds of thousands of Brazilians from the south of our country, the children of the regions populated by *paulistas*.”⁹⁴ This motto and epithet was repeated on several occasions by the director. If the first attempt did not have a positive result, the second was fruitful and Samuel Ribeiro financed the two large panels – finished in 1934. Yet again the strategy of funding works through collectors in Taunay’s social network was used – many of them were important professionals or prominent politicians of the time.

In one of the rare documents to Wash Rodrigues from Taunay found⁹⁵ – considering that up to a given moment the relationship between both seemed to develop much more through meetings and conversations than through letters –, the director informs the painter that Samuel Ribeiro would pay for both large panels, wishing to see the sketch at that moment – most likely of João Ramalho – and that both, Taunay and Wash Rodrigues, should meet the donor/patron/collector together. Taunay also states that he did not ask for any advanced payments from Samuel Ribeiro and that, since he would travel, it would be better if Wash Rodrigues would begin the study of the second panel – on Tibiriçá. Despite the scarcity in correspondence between Taunay and Wash Rodrigues, the interest on the panels reaches the details. We can thus know that the company responsible for supplying the letters in relief to be placed on the portrayed belonged to Ulysses Pelliciotti,⁹⁶ who probably provided all the letters in relief for the other works of the monumental axis.

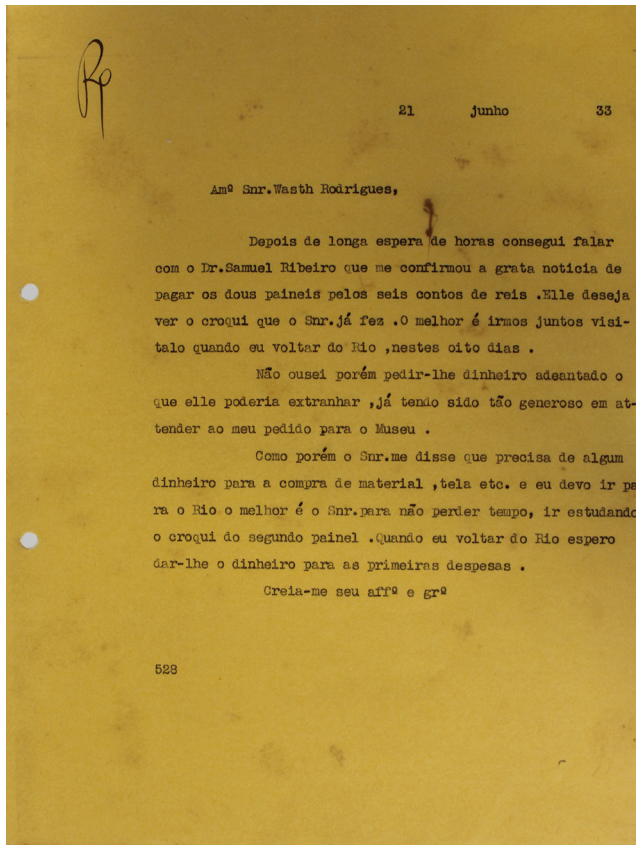


Figure 17 – Official letter from Taunay to Wash Rodrigues, providing the guidelines for the progress of the works concerning the panels of João Ramalho and Jorge Tibiriçá, June 21, 1933 (SVDHICO – Folder 148).

A few months later, Taunay sent a new official letter to Samuel Ribeiro, dated August 29, 1933. He informs Ribeiro that the definitive sketch for the painting of João Ramalho was ready.⁹⁷ He took the opportunity to invite the donor to accompany him to the artist's studio to appreciate the work, also requesting the payment of half the value of the panel to the painter.⁹⁸ The news of the conclusion of the panel was announced on January 11, 1934, with Taunay praising the realization of the work: "[...] The final result was splendid to me, Mr. Rodrigues was very fortunate in the composition and execution of this painting. He will soon start the second panel for which he has all the studies ready."⁹⁹

In April 1934, Taunay gives news of the progress of the second panel – that of Cacique Tibiriçá – via an extensive letter to the secretary of Samuel Ribeiro, informing him to have gone to Wash Rodrigues's studio and having seen the canvas

97. Unfortunately, so far the studies for the works have not been found.

98. Official letter from Afonso d'Escragnolle Taunay to Samuel Ribeiro (SVDHICO – Folder 149, August 29, 1933)

99. Official letter from Afonso d'Escragnolle Taunay to Samuel Ribeiro (SVDHICO – Folder 150, January 11, 1934).

100. Official letter from Afonso d'Escragnoille Taunay to Celestino Fazzio (SVDHICO – Folder 151, April 18, 1934).

101. Official letter from Afonso d'Escragnoille Taunay to Samuel Ribeiro (SVDHICO – Folder 152, July 13, 1934).

102. It seems that Samuel Ribeiro performed other similar actions of patronage, both for institutions and for individuals as in the case of Tarsila do Amaral. According to a declaration of the artist to Aracy Amaral, Tarsila, needing funds to travel to Europe in 1931, sought the entrepreneur and collector with a list of works. Samuel Ribeiro then bought the most expensive work on the list, *O enigma de um dia* (The enigma of a day), by Giorgio de Chirico (1888-1878), which is currently part of the collection of MAC USP. Ribeiro, however, never displayed the work, and according to the artist, “he stored it over a cupboard since he purchased it out of kindness.” Amaral (2001, p. 22).

103. Dádivas – Relatório 1933 (SVDHICO -L17, 1934, anexo II).

104. Dádivas – Relatório 1934 (SVDHICO -L18, 1935, p. 59).

105. *Diário Nacional* (July 28, 1934, p. 2).

already stretched, and the studies for the painting approved by the historian.¹⁰⁰ The second panel was delivered to the museum in June 1934, according to a report sent directly to Samuel Ribeiro:

The second panel is already in place, Tibiriçá. To me, this one is even better than the first one – which will be greatly improved by Mr. Wash Rodrigues, who is studying the environment in order to emphasize his work.

With the two magnificent gifts, our Illustrious Friend greatly improved our peristyle; the corner of the two panels completed by the two portraits already placed therein has taken enormous expressiveness[;] the series of the settlers is now magnificent.¹⁰¹

After the inauguration, Taunay ordered photographs of the two panels and sent them to the donor, and at least also to his brother, Abrahão Ribeiro, possibly because they did not go to the museum to see the paintings *in loco*.¹⁰² The two symbolic panels – made from the interpretative freedom of Taunay and Wash Rodrigues given the lack of visual references – are the main subjects commented on in the “dádivas” – donations – section of the yearly reports for 1933¹⁰³ and 1934.¹⁰⁴ The fundamental element in both representations is the *mameluco* boy, the trace of the union of the settlers, always accompanied by an adult: his father João Ramalho and his grandfather Tibiriçá.¹⁰⁵

Discussions on João Ramalho as a character of Brazilian history began since the end of the nineteenth century, becoming more common until the 1930s. Several historians have sought to uncover the mysteries surrounding the character, especially those linked to the IHGSP.

In a context in which the *paulistanidade* – cultural aspects of São Paulo – was crucial to the debates of the group, the discussions on João Ramalho are key to the proposed thesis. From the available sources, the controversy was shaped after a question proposed at the *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* (Brazilian Historic and Geographic Institute – IHGB), by the partner José Alves de Lima, in a meeting on March 1899, on the truthfulness of the will of João Ramalho quoted by Benedictine monk Frei Gaspar da Madre de Deus (1715-1800), that the Portuguese had arrived in America before Cabral (a question made on the eve of the celebrations of the 4th centenary of the Discovery...), and that until then such document had never been found by any other historian. If this proposal did not have great repercussions in Rio de Janeiro, in São Paulo it was rapidly welcomed, commencing an enthusiastic debate, especially about aspects of the life of the legendary character who sometimes was presented as a hero, a model of strength

and courage that would infect the those from São Paulo over the generations (the so-called “*Ramalhistas*”) – “the *paulista* strain”; in other cases he was presented as an decadent, violent and illiterate (and also Jewish!) enslaver of indigenous peoples (as portrayed by the Jesuits), not to mention his polygamous practices and the shamelessness with his body. The opinion of the first commission¹⁰⁶ was extremely negative in relation to Ramalho, but its questioning seems to have initiated the process of rehabilitation of the character.

In 1904, Washington Luís found a copy of Ramalho’s will amid the documents of José Bonifácio (1763-1838), publishing it in the 1904 edition of the *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo* (Journal of IHGSP). This fact and other studies by *ramalhistas* over the decades attempted to rehabilitate the image of who they consider to be a proto-*bandeirante* or the first *bandeirante*.

However, even before the propositions of the IHGSP, the history of São Vicente and its first characters had already interested Benedito Calixto, who dedicated several texts on the subject, collecting copies of documents and exchanging correspondence about the protagonists who were part of historical episodes linked to the southern coast of São Paulo. In 1881 he paints *Porto das naus* (Port of the carracks) and *Desembarque de Martim Afonso de Souza* (Landing of Martim Afonso de Souza); around 1891 he made sketch for a historical painting – *Chegada de Martim Afonso a São Vicente* (Arrival of Martim Afonso in São Vicente). Calixto made several other paintings on the theme and, in 1900, he made his two best known paintings on the subject: the portrait *Martim Afonso de Souza* and the final version of *Fundação de São Vicente* (The foundation of São Vicente) – which is part of the collection of Museu Paulista since 1900 –, a painting that represents several characters such as Martim Afonso de Souza, João Ramalho and *caciques* Tibiriçá, Caiubi and Piquerobi.¹⁰⁷

106. Commission formed in 1902, having as president Teodoro Sampaio (1855-1937) and composed by Orville Derby (1851-1915), Antonio de Toledo Piza (1848-1905), João Mendes Junior (1856-1923) and Manuel Pereira Guimarães.

107. Eduardo Polidori conducted a detailed study on the painting and the intricacies that preceded its entry in the collection of Museu Paulista. In: (2017a, p. 211-224); (2017b, p. 227-236)

JOÃO RAMALHO, THE PATRIARCH OF *PAULISTAS*, BY WASTH RODRIGUES

The creation of Taunay and Wasth Rodrigues, *João Ramalho e filho* (Figure 18), is quite traditional and similar to previous representations of the Portuguese colonizer (abundant whitish hairs, strong body despite of the advanced age, long beard, and the use of clothing), except for the inclusion of his *mameluco* son. He wears a nightshirt, socks and has on the left shoulder what could be a *bernéu*, a type of long cape, or a simple coat. He also wears shoes, unlike the Portuguese who adopted indigenous

customs such as walking barefoot and naked. His left hand bears a kind of biretta. On his belt, one side holds a machete and the other a bag with valuable belongings. He leans on a stick. His gray beard shows his advanced age but his young *mameluco* son reinforces his masculine virility. The boy also wears a type of nightshirt. However, while his father wears a medal on his neck, he wears an indigenous necklace, similar to the one on his representation alongside his grandfather, Cacique Tibiriçá. His gaze is serious and not remotely proud, a pose of obedience. Would it be the *mameluco* son who pursues other *mamelucos* for slavery?



Figure 18 – José Wasth Rodrigues. *João Ramalho e filho*, [1934], oil on canvas, 231 x 145 cm. Collection of Museu Paulista of Universidade de São Paulo. Reproduction: Helio Nobre; José Rosael. RG 1-19508-0000-0000.

The horizon line is low, and the sky is covered with clouds. However, the primitive fortress draws our attention, a reference to the preponderant role in defending the town of São Paulo on the occasion of the *Confederação dos Tamoios* (Confederation of the Tamoios), in 1562. Two small characters in the background to the right are ready for a possible clash. The main figures occupy large space on the panel, while all other elements seem miniaturized (a reference to the race of giants?). The colors used concentrate on shades of ochre and brown – the ground, the constructions, the skins tanned by the sun, the garments. The greens of a vegetation in the beginning of its transformation by man, the blue and the grayish white of the sky. The large vertical figure of the two bodies is predominant. Again, there is nothing pertaining to the movement, to the state of war. Would this be the waiting period for confrontation?¹⁰⁸

108. Paulo César Garcez Marins, in *O museu da paz: sobre a pintura histórica do Museu Paulista durante a gestão Taunay* (The museum of peace: on the historical painting of Museu Paulista under the Taunay administration), states that the non-warlike character of the moments represented is one of the main characteristics of the historical paintings of Museu Paulista (2017, p. 159-191).

109. Hut rebuilt in 1954 amid the commemorations of the 4th Centenary of the city of São Paulo.

[MARTIM AFONSO] TIBIRIÇÁ, CHIEF OF THE TUPIS, CHRISTIAN AND PROTECTOR OF THE VILLAGE OF SÃO PAULO

The widely disseminated version is that cacique Tibiriçá began the collaboration between indigenous subjects and catechizers, constructing the first Jesuit straw hut, which served as chapel, school, house, place for meals and even hospital on the plateau of Piratininga, in the end of 1553. He converted to Catholicism and adopted the name of Martim Afonso Tibiriçá, assisting in the dissemination of catechesis of the indigenous members of his tribe. Great protector of the village of São Paulo, he defended the camp, alongside João Ramalho, during the aforementioned *Confederação dos Tamoios*. In *Cacique Tibiriçá e neto* (Figure 19), the indigenous chief is portrayed with black hair but with a face already marked by time, in erect posture, holding the hands of his grandson – the son of João Ramalho – who holds a bow and arrow gazes at the horizon on profile, while Tibiriçá, slightly rotated to the right, looks placidly forward. He dresses as an indigenous person despite having assisted in the installation of the Jesuit priests, represented by the reference to the primitive straw hut¹⁰⁹ erected by him and other members of his tribe, appearing on the left side of the panel. On the other side, a bit further in the back, we see what could be the hut where Tibiriçá started to reside, near to the courtyard of the college and, according to reports, to devote himself more to the Catholic faith.

110. The collection of Museu Histórico Nacional has a club attributed to Cacique Tibiriçá since 1922, its authenticity, however, has never been confirmed. Bezerra (2010, p. 163-168).



Figure 19 – José Wash Rodrigues. *Cacique Tibiriçá e neto*, [1934], oil on canvas, 231 x 145 cm, collection of Museu Paulista of Universidade de São Paulo. Reproduction: Helio Nobre; José Rosael. RG 1-19507-0000-0000.

The horizon line is low, showing two thirds of the sky and only one third of the lands of São Paulo's plateau. Everything in the landscape is miniaturized, turning the figures into giants. As in other works of the artist belonging to Museu Paulista, the color is saturated. Shades of ochre and brown predominate, as well as the green and the blue of the mountains/sky. The white in the clouds and the grayish tones of the garments further strengthens the two figures. The red spots on the *cacique* draw attention to his face. His figure, centered and very vertical, forms with the almost horizontal cloud in the central part a second cross, an enlargement of the small cross placed on the chapel/hut. The only diagonal elements are the two weapons, the bow and arrow and the club.¹¹⁰

In the depiction that Wash Rodrigues makes of Tibiriçá, there is no tribe, no women, nor Jesuits. Two lone figures in the middle of the horizon. The elements in this static work that may signal some war movement are the bow and arrow in the hands of the *mameluco* and the club calmly held by the *cacique*.

With the placement of the panel *Cacique Tibiriçá e neto*, the peristyle of Museu Paulista acquires its "definitive" appearance, perpetuated in the images and memories about that space (Figure 20).



Figure 20 – Peristyle of Museu Paulista: the four panels by Wash Rodrigues placed and, to the right, the sculpture by Luigi Brizzolara, *Antonio Raposo Tavares*, between 1934 and 1937, black and white photograph, 17.6 x 23.5 cm. Collection of Museu Paulista of Universidade de São Paulo. Reproduction: Helio Nobre; José Rosael. RG 1-00286-0000-0000.

THE FIRST SETTLERS BEYOND THE PANELS OF MUSEU PAULISTA

Ever since the celebrations of the 4th Centenary of the Colonization of Brazil, that is, the 4th Centenary of São Vicente, the images elaborated by Wash Rodrigues and Taunay began to circulate in other ways. In addition to the oil studies of the portraits D. João III and Martim Afonso de Souza, the “Suplemento em rotogravura” also published the drawings of the faces of João Ramalho (Figure 21) and Cacique Tibiriçá (Figure 22) – in oval frames, as previously mentioned –; the drawings consist of traces and hatches to give depth, and the two physiognomies are characterized in a more youthful way, as in the portraits of D. João III and Martim Afonso de Souza.

Like many other plastic works, these two drawings were used as models for the commemorative stamps¹¹¹ and medals¹¹² of the 4th Centenary of São Vicente, whose values followed what can be considered as the degree of nobility of the honored characters (Figure 23). The head of Museu Paulista’s painting of João Ramalho was subsequently adapted to appear in the commemorative stamp of the 4th Centenary of Santo André (Figure 24), in 1953.

111. The stamp with the image of Martim Afonso de Souza is based on the image made by Roque Gameiro. Stamps: 20 réis in purple – map of Brazil with the Tordesilhas meridian and the indication of the captaincy of São Vicente; 100 réis in sepia – effigies of Tibiriçá and João Ramalho; 200 réis, bright — – portrait of Martim Afonso de Souza; 600 réis, shade of burgundy, portrait of D. João III; 700 réis, Prussian blue – *Desembarque de Martim Afonso de Souza*, reproduction of Benedito Calixto’s painting, *Moedas e sellos* (1932, p. 264).

112. 2\$000: front side – effigy of D. João III/ back side – royal coat of arms; 1\$000: front side – effigy of Martim Afonso de Souza/ back side – coat of arms of Martim Afonso de Souza; \$500: front side – effigy of João Ramalho/ back side – *bandeirante* doublet; \$400: front side – Brazil divided by the Tordesilhas meridian/ Cross of the Order of Christ; \$200: front side – armillary sphere/ back side – a caravel; \$100: front side – effigy of Cacique Tibiriçá/ back side – indigenous panoply. *Moedas e sellos* (1932, p. 262-263).



Figure 21 – *João Ramalho*, drawing by Wash Rodrigues in an issue dedicated to the 4th Centenary of São Vicente. “Suplemento em rotogravura” - *O Estado de S. Paulo*, nº 26, 2nd year, January 30, 1932, p. 9. Source: Collection of IEB-USP – Fund Aracy de Carvalho Guimarães Rosa.



Figure 22 – *Tibiriçá*, drawing by Wash Rodrigues in an issue dedicated to the 4th Centenary of São Vicente. “Suplemento em rotogravura” - *O Estado de S. Paulo*, nº 26, 2nd year, January 30, 1932, p. 9. Source: Collection of IEB-USP – Fund Aracy de Carvalho Guimarães Rosa.



Figure 23 – Postage stamp costing 100 RS commemorating the 4th Centenary of the foundation of São Vicente and Colonization by Martim Afonso de Souza (it did not circulate). Emission date: June 3, 1932. Private collection.

113. According to Taunay, to replace the one in use, because he was “impressed by the remarkable deficiency in evocativeness of São Vicente’s coat of arms as imagined by Benedito Calixto.” *Jornal do Commercio* (March 3, 1931, p. 3).

114. Possibly the drawing used for the portrait.

115. Ribeiro (1933, p. 250).



Figure 24 – Commemorative CR\$ 0.60 postage stamp of the 4th Centenary of Santo André, São Paulo (not circulated). Emission date: April 8, 1953. Private collection

The design of a new coat of arms for São Vicente is also from 1932, elaborated by Taunay¹¹³ and detailed by Wash Rodrigues, whose watercolor (Figure 25) is part of the collection of Museu Paulista. In Taunay’s description, the two characters, to the right Martim Afonso de Souza – as per the portrait of the gallery of the viceroys of Portuguese India in Goa,¹¹⁴ and, to the left, a *bandeirante paulista* wearing the characteristic doublet.¹¹⁵ Even without citing

116. Morettin (1998, p. 105).

117. Funded by the *Instituto Nacional do Cinema Educativo* (Brazilian Institute of Educational Cinema – Ince), an organ linked to the Ministry of Education and Health, with general guidance by Edgar Roquette-Pinto (1884-1954) and historic coordination by Taunay.

118. Other works that also appear on the screen are: the sculptures by Luigi Brizzolara (1868-1937), *Fernão Dias Paes Leme* and *Antonio Raposo Tavares*; the paintings by Oscar Pereira da Silva (1867-1939), *Fundação de São Paulo* (The Foundation of São Paulo), and by João Batista da Costa (1865-1926), *Casa de Raposo Tavares* (The House of Raposo Tavares).

Wasth Rodrigues in the descriptions of the work – even though the watercolor is signed –, the character, mirrored, is much closer to the portrait made by Wasth Rodrigues than the drawing that supposedly inspired the work.



Figure 25 – Coat of arms of São Vicente, 1932, gouache and watercolor on paper, 31 x 33 cm. Collection of Museu Paulista of Universidade de São Paulo. Reproduction: Helio Nobre; José Rosael. RG 1-10551-0000-0000.

Like other works made for Museu Paulista, the four panels produced by Wasth Rodrigues began to illustrate the books written by Afonso d’Escragnoille Taunay starting from the 1930s, reaching the editorial market, an activity to which both Taunay and Wasth Rodrigues were dedicated to. For example, they can be found in *A História das Bandeiras Paulistas* (The History of São Paulo’s *Bandeiras* – 195[1]), *João Ramalho e Santo André da Borda do Campo* (1954), and *História da Cidade de São Paulo* (The History of the City of São Paulo – 1954).

The works of Museu Paulista are also presented on the screens of cinemas. As a strategy for authenticating the film narrative,¹¹⁶ several paintings of the museum are shown in the film *Bandeirantes* (1940), by Humberto Mauro (1897-1983).¹¹⁷ In the first three minutes of the film, the “first settlers” of Brazil appear: D. João III, Martim Afonso de Souza, João Ramalho and Cacique Tibiriçá.¹¹⁸ The

film, divided into blocks – the foundation of São Paulo, Anchieta, the Cycle of the exploration and the Cycle of gold and precious stones –, gives the impression, despite the direction of Humberto Mauro, that paintings and sculptures, material from the books and writings of Taunay and other similar intellectuals were transposed to the screen. The film is static, like most of the museum's oils.

This self-discourse expands and one of its peaks occurs during the celebrations of the 4th Centenary of the City of São Paulo, especially the commemorative edition of the newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo*, of January 25, 1954, linking the *bandeirantes* of the past and the present, in which the mythical characters of the genesis of the state's population merge with the modern architecture of Ibirapuera park, of the industries, automobiles and references of the past. Taunay once again publishes a text on João Ramalho and São Paulo, having the paintings of Ramalho and Tibiriçá illustrating the article.¹¹⁹ The portrait of D. João III is printed with a text by Tito Livio Ferreira, "Father Manoel da Nóbrega and São Paulo of Piratininga."¹²⁰ Only Martim Afonso de Souza was not reproduced on the referred exemplary.

In the commemorative edition of the 450 years of the foundation of the city of São Paulo of the same periodical, the articles are quite different from those fifty years prior. Jesuits are not mere catechizers, and the *bandeirantes* are also no longer the heroes required to expand borders and generate riches. However, the images accompanying one of the articles, "The pre-São Paulo", are yet again those of João Ramalho, in black and white and in smaller size, and of a large and colored Cacique Tibiriçá, occupying almost half a page, changing the hierarchy, role and narrative about the characters.¹²¹

Finally, we highlight the copy of the painting of Martim Afonso de Souza (Figure 26) made by the French artist Jean Luciano (1936) for the City Council of Cubatão (1975); this painting was listed as heritage by the Municipal Council for the Defense of the Cultural Heritage of Cubatão (Condepac) since 2008, after having undergone a thorough restoration performed by Luciano himself, in 2006. The piece was made under commission and elaborated from a photographic reproduction of Museu Paulista's painting provided to the artist.¹²² The work of Cubatão, now available for appreciation in the hall of the Municipal Palace of that city, being quite similar to that of Museu Paulista with similar dimensions to Wasth Rodrigues's painting. The painting presents a greater delineation of the contours, with sharper lines, and the reduction in the size of the head and coat of arms when compared to the rest of the composition, which enlarges the body and, perhaps, the symbology of a great military man, fitting of when the painting was officially commissioned.

119. *O Estado de...* (January 25, 1954, p. 10).

120. *O Estado de...* (January 25, 1954, p. 40).

121. *O Estado de...* (January 25, 2004, p. H27).

122. Interview, via electronic mail, with Jean Luciano, whom I deeply thank for the information provided (July 30, August 2 and 5, 2018).



Figure 26 – Jean Luciano. *Retrato de Martim Afonso de Souza* (copy of the original by José Wash Rodrigues), 1975, oil on canvas, 150 x 150 cm. Collection of Prefeitura de Cubatão. Reproduction: Welington Ribeiro Borges.

CONSIDERATIONS

The artist of the past: I purposely put this title here because, first of all, I want to see in Rodrigues a primor [possibly a typo of painter] and not a historian, which I know that he was and one of the most distinguished.

Túlio Mugnaini, 1957¹²³

In the articles Túlio Mugnaini (1895-1975) wrote in the occasion of the death of many of his fellow artists of generation or conviviality, several, like him, funded by the state, he reported personal situations, and in some cases analyzed some of their works and provided his appreciation of the artist's production. From the citation above, Mugnaini defends his artist companion for his work with the brushes, inks and graphite, which perhaps indicates that Wash Rodrigues's production was – to a certain extent – despised even by his companions of the Salão Paulista de Belas Artes, of the Conselho de Orientação Artística and of other official departments that had a strong influence at least between the 1930s and 1950s, the period of maturity and diversification in the production of the artist/historian.

But would Wasth Rodrigues be mostly a painter? A painter of the past? If so, of what past?

Wasth possibly considered himself an “documenter” artist,¹²⁴ a traveling artist like Debret, Hercule Florence (1804-1879), Rugendas, Joaquim Cândido Guillobel (1787-1859), Henry Chamberlain (1796-1844), Mary Graham (1785-1842) and many others who appear in his private collection, in the originals on which he based himself for his artistic and textual works. The readings, the *in loco* observations, the knowledge about old paintings and prints, the proximity and the connection to the objects that come to exist through the representation and drawing, in fact approximates Wasth Rodrigues of these traveling artists who had as one of their main objectives to fixate on paper much more what their eyes saw than interpretations partly considered as subjective.

In fact, despite the indications of his proximity to colonial/traditional architecture, countryside landscapes, uniforms, coats of arms, and portraits, a certain degree of representative difficulty seems to exist, a type of formal rigidity, even if such themes and works were appreciated in certain segments – what can be observed by the presence of the artist’s works in several public collections of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro; even if such presence did not allow a significant number of monographic works and his name and production appear more frequently in general compendia. Where would the difficulty reside then? In the difficult position between artist and historian? Or on the task of administrating a large number of commissions for research, studies, and extensive cataloguing?

What about his fall into oblivion? On the chosen subjects? On the work partnerships with authors who today also have their production often put in check? Even on the diligent studies he illustrated – with Gustavo Barroso or Clóvis Ribeiro, for example –, the collaboration extrapolates the graphical part of the work, such as on the previously quoted letter sent to Taunay about the case of *Uniformes do exército brasileiro*, or on the large part he authored in *Brasões e bandeiras do Brasil*.

With regard to the works he for and with Taunay, it seems that a single Wasth Rodrigues does not exist, but several who act in different segments: documentation of colonial architecture; studies of heraldry, weaponry and military uniforms; illustrations and, why not, painting. From the found material, we can place him as a central artist in the decoration of the peristyle, and as an artist present in several rooms of the project of Taunay for Museu Paulista. Many of the works in these rooms were sponsored by patrons and collectors such as the members of the Automóvel Club and Samuel Ribeiro.

124. The term is used by the artist himself in a text of his authorship *A casa de moradia no Brasil antigo* (The household in old Brazil) (p. 178), same text in which he cites several traveling artists.

Like Taunay did with his writings, Wasth Rodrigues appropriated elements: he constructed and reused models that had already been studied, changing formats, techniques and sizes. He had great appreciation for visual constructions elaborated from primary documentation and for spatial reconstitutions from the works of other artists – notably from the aforementioned “travelers” and from photographs. The movement of models is not always explained. The portraits he produced try to synthesize the selected facts mainly through the characters. The reference to Portugal and overseas models is found in D. João III and Martim Afonso de Souza.

Wasth Rodrigues was involved in many common networks with Taunay – the group of artists who worked for Museu Paulista in São Paulo, the one linked to heritage in Rio de Janeiro, the collectors and owners of antique shops – especially during the 1930s –, and the editorial market. In general, the interaction between the historian and the artist/researcher/collector helped to amalgamate the vision that we now have of Museu Paulista, or at least of its peristyle. Both also faced the marginalization of their work due to their dedication to themes, typologies, and work practices that fell into disuse. Crests and coats of arms, weapons, drawings of military costumes, and the participation in civic celebrations do not have the prominence they once had.

The great appreciation for the thorough iconography and documentation united them.

Even with all the changes and hesitations, it seems that this project presented an obsession with constructing heroes or characters that would serve the political objectives of that moment, such as emphasizing the 400 years of the foundation of São Vicente as a fact as important as or even more important than the discovery; hence D. João III and Afonso de Souza. However, a question remains: why wait so long to make the panels? Especially the one of João Ramalho, the target of so many investigations since at least the twentieth century. Would the previous great painting by Benedito Calixto be enough?

Would it be the always alleged lack of funds?

However, a little after 1932 – and not without reason – the paintings of João Ramalho and Tibiriçá became a priority; most likely an effect of what became known as the Constitutionalist Revolution. Due to this conflict the federal government engaged in great repression of São Paulo, forbidding the display of state symbols in an attempt to diminish the influence of a political/economic and intellectual class of the state on the country.

It is also at this time that the discussions on heraldry continue, perhaps as a way not to erase what was forcibly stored. The peristyle achieves its final configuration with the installation of all the first settlers, well after the making of the panels

referencing the bandeirantes related to the economic cycles, in an attempt of combined construction of a historical/literary and visual work. However, as we enter the building, we tend to turn our backs to them. However, they are there, characters that helped in the construction of a historical discourse; these historical portraits are placid, where only some characteristics are emphasized, without frictions or conflicts.

Despite not being the flagship pieces of Museu Paulista, these works were transposed to newspapers, postal stamps, books and film. In some, the enunciation was altered over these 80 years. However, the images remain, sometimes serving only as illustrations for new approaches.

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