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Claudia Mattos Avolese
Roberto Conduru
EDITORS

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Editors
Claudia Mattos Avolese and
Roberto Conduru

Editorial Coordinator
Sabrina Moura

Graphic Design
Frederico Floeter

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Historiography of Indian Art in Brazil and the Native Voice as Missing Perspective

Daniela Kern
Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul

In *Native North American Art,* a work that presents an overview of the art of Native American groups from pre-colonial occupation through the contemporary moment, authors Janet Berlo and Ruth Phillips draw attention to the fact that even today, there are still scant publications by native authors considering visual arts in relation to broader expressive and symbolic systems:

> The specific examples and traditions we use to illustrate our thematic and regional discussions have, inevitably, been influenced by the state of the literature in the field, as well as by the areas of our scholarship and research. Although, recently, this literature has grown rapidly, as the bibliographic essay at the end of the book indicates, much more study is needed, particularly by Native authors able to offer indigenous perspectives on the role of visual art within broader expressive systems.[1]

They write, of course, from a reality radically different from that of Brazil. In North America, the so-called native arts have been gradually absorbed into mainstream arts—although how this absorption occurs might sometimes give rise to criticism. In North America, there is a proper path for the circulation and exhibition of works made by native artists, as well as university courses with programs for the study and practice of native art. At least since the 1970s, native art has been accepted as a subject of scholarly studies, and wins the same space in very traditional publications in the field of art history such as *The Art Bulletin,* for example, which recently published an article by Sascha Scott (2013) on the Pueblo painter Awa Tsireh. Scott analyzes, among other things, the artistic strategies used by Tsireh for the preservation of Pueblo culture. In Brazil, the situation is very different. Not only does the issue of indigenous art find more space in anthropology than in art history, but the absence of the native point of view in the historiography of Indian art is evident—unlike what happens in literary studies, with the recent increase in the number of native writers.

1 Janet Berlo and Ruth Phillips, *Native North American Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 5–6.

This paper aims to examine, in two parts, the genesis and the specific challenges of this absence of native voice in the constitution of the history of native art historiography in Brazil. It begins with a brief definition of the problem of inclusion of archeology and indigenous material culture in the general historiography of art, choosing as its starting point the European interest in pre-Columbian archeology, which would later affect local perspectives on the so-called "indigenous art," especially in the nineteenth century.

Even without any translation into Portuguese, the pioneering art history textbook published by Franz Kugler in 1842, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte,* presents itself as a truly global art history by devoting its third chapter, entitled "The Ancient Monuments of America," to pre-Columbian architecture:

> When Europeans [...] became familiar with America, they found in many lands from that part of the world people enjoying from a peculiarly developed degree of civilization, but whose culture was already more or less degenerate and which flourishing era was already belonged in part to an old history. Grandiose monuments of art were there as witnesses of these unique cultural circumstances.[2]

Kugler is presenting an interpretive pattern that would be repeated numerous times, even more than a century after the publication of his manual, including in the historiography of Brazilian indigenous art: the praise of pre-Columbian civilizations, and the lack of interest in the material culture of contemporary tribes, usually evaluated in comparison with European art and thus considered "degenerate." Decades later, the sculptor Emile Soldi, a friend of Courbet, would devote an entire book, *Les Arts Méconnues* (1881), to exotic or "unknown" arts, presenting works then housed at the Trocadero in Paris, among them some Native American artifacts. The chapter dealing with these, entitled "The Ancient Arts of America, Peru, Mexico, and

2 Franz Kugler, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte* (Stuttgart: Ebner und Seubert, 1842),18: "Als die Europäer [...] mit Amerika bekannt wurden, fanden sie in verschiedenen Ländern dieses Welttheils Völker, die sich einer eigenthümlich ausgebildeten Culturstufe erfreuten, ja, deren Cultur bereits mehr oder minder entartet war und deren Blüthenalter schon einer zum Theil frühen Vergangenheit angehörte. Grossartige Denkmäler der Kunst standen als die Zeugen dieser eigenthümlichen Culturverhältnisse da."

Guatemala," starts with a more emphatic attempt at recovering native material production, although Soldi's value patterns are fairly similar in practice to those adopted by Kugler:

> It is stupid, but nevertheless very real, and something we find continually in history: the disdain for the losing race was so enormous that it still persists, and the works of art of these nations that European civilization began by mutilating are still denied or ridiculed.
>
> Some pieces that came to Europe, small monuments, idols, and fetishes of an inferior art as that of our fields, seemed to justify this disdain. The great monuments had been destroyed or were difficult to recover. When they met again the light of day, the designers that reproduced them were accused of having embellished and even almost inventing them.[3]

For Soldi, as well as for Kugler, pre-Columbian art from Mexico and Peru was the most interesting. Soldi also drew attention to the lack of information about these art works, a situation that, while it lasted, would fatally lead European scholars to commit "about them many mistakes."[4]

Following European and also American examples, in Brazil, the slow process of inclusion of indigenous archeology in art history started in the nineteenth century. Particularly emblematic of this process was the play *A Estatua Amasonica. Comedia Archeologica* (The Amazonian Idol: Archeological Comedy) by Manuel de Araújo Porto Alegre (1851), a Brazilian painter, teacher, and art historian. The play's starting point is an article by Adolphe

3 Emil Soldi, "The Ancient Arts of America, Peru, Mexico, and Guatemala," in *Les Arts Méconnus. Les Nouveaux Musées du Trocadéro* (Paris: Ernest Leroux Éditeur, 1881), 334: "Chose stupide, mais pourtant trop réelle, et qu'on retrouve continuellement dans l'histoire, le dédain pour la race vaincue fut si grand qu'il persiste encore, et que les œuvres d'art de ces nations que la civilisation européenne commença par mutiler, sont encore aujourd'hui niées ou ridiculisées.

"Quelques exemplaires apportés en Europe, petits monuments, idoles ou fétiches d'un art inférieur comme celui de nos campagnes, semblaient donner raison à ce dédain. Les grands monuments étaient détruits ou étaient difficiles à retrouver. Quand ils furent remis au jour, les dessinateurs qui les reproduisaient furent accusés de les avoir embellis et même à peu près inventés".

4 Ibid., 335.

Joanne (1847), published in *L'Illustration,* about François Castelnau's travel to South America. On this trip, Castelnau has found in the Brazilian Amazon, among other things, a figurine that he considered the representation of an Amazon. In his play, Porto Alegre imagines how the Brazilian court would receive such news, creating the character of Count Sarcophagin, to whom he transfers some of his own ideas about the importance of studying Brazilian archeology. For the Count, the statue is nothing less than an indication of the existence of another great Brazilian Empire prior to the present:

> This statue reveals a whole new world, a civilized world that appeared and disappeared, a people who lived, flourished, and died, a civilization that mysteriously became extinct, an idea that existed, shined, and eclipsed in the darkness of the past: this statue is the relic of a great empire, is a broken link in the interrupted chain of the past: is the fragment of the skeleton of a giant, muffled by a cataclysm, and buried by the more remote barbarism. For another like this, I would give all the diamonds.[5]

During the play, the Count and his guests present two conflicting views on native archeology: one that values it under the assumption that it is the product of a more advanced civilization than the contemporary native populations who then inhabited the country, and one that rejects it as the result of barbarism. The note of humor for the audience of the time was, ultimately, to discover that the idol was fake, a reinforcement of the idea that, among a savage people, there is no art.

This evaluative instability in which the value of artifacts is linked to the way we evaluate those who produced them actually marks, at least in its early years, the historiography of Indian art in Brazil.

5 Manuel de Araújo Porto Alegre, *A Estatua Amasonica: Comedia Archeologica* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia de Francisco de Paula Brito, 1851), 10: "Esta estatua revela um mundo inteiramente novo, um mundo civilizado que appareceu e desappareceu; um povo que viveu, floresceu, e morreu; uma civilisação que mysteriosamente se extinguiu, uma idéa que se realisou, brilhou e se eclypsou nas trevas do passado: esta estatua é a relíquia de um grande império; é um elo da cadèa interrompida do passado: é o fragmento da ossada de um gigante, abafado por um cataclisma, e sepultado pela mais remota barbaria. Por outra igual a esta, daria eu todos os diamantes".

This is the case with one of the first texts published in Brazil that truly addresses "Indian art," *Artes Industriais Indígenas* (Indigenous Arts and Crafts) by Felix Ferreira (1882), who a few years later in 1885 would publish the first more general and systematic study of Brazilian art, *Belas Artes: Estudos e Apreciações* (Fine Arts: Studies and Appraisals). In a short essay, part of a publication dedicated to the Brazilian Anthropological Exhibition of 1882, Ferreira, like his European colleagues, and also like Araújo Porto Alegre, showed himself to be concerned with assembling a value scale that ranked, as far as possible, the national "indigenous art." To this end, he put it as being superior to the "Hottentot impoverished industry," although he admitted that it is, in turn, lower than Inca art. The Inca model, by the way, was an obsession for many Brazilian thinkers during the nineteenth century: in fact, they tried to find in the national prehistory some lost and evolved civilization that could compete with the Incas and Aztecs; but for the accomplishment of such an ambition, some method is required:

> To study carefully such products, comparing to each other, bringing them together in copious amounts, to sort them by genre, by species, by shape and perfection, and to restore syllables shuffled by the hand of time, this means to reconstitute pages that year to year, century to century, could perhaps lead us to a time when this part of South America was inhabited by an advanced race, obeying certain laws, bent to right worship, and exerting perhaps commerce and navigation, communicating with other parts of the world, finally living under the beneficial influence of a civilization that an extraordinary catastrophe buried forever.[6]

Despite proposing such a method, Ferreira never, in fact, applied it. In the end, he presented a mere theoretical reconstruction of

6 Felix Ferreira, "As Artes Industriais Indígenas," in *Revista da Exposição Anthropologica Brazileira* (1882), 107: "Estudar atenta e comparadamente entre si esses produtos, reunil-os em copiosa quantidade, classifical-os pelo gênero, pela espécie, pela forma e pela perfeição, e recompor syllabas baralhadas pela mão do tempo, é reconstituir paginas que de anno a anno, de século a século, nos conduzirão, talvez, a uma época em que esta parte da América do Sul foi habitada por uma raça adiantada, que obedecia a certas leis, curvava-se a certo culto, e exercia, quem sabe, o commercio e a navegação, comunicava-se com outras partes do mundo, vivia enfim sob o influxo benéfico de uma civilização que extraordinária catástrofe sepultou para sempre, deixando apenas, entre os degenerados descendentes dessa raça, dúbias tradições e mal distinctos vestígios do passado."

the procedures that had been adopted by scientists in Brazil with greater impetus beginning in the 1870s. One among them is especially important, Charles Frederick Hartt (1840–1878), an American geologist who not only publicized Marajoara archeological ceramics abroad, but also showed interest in contemporary Amazonian tribes. If Ferreira considered only a few Indian objects that he saw in an exhibition, Hartt, in contrast, learned native languages and legends and showed sympathy for the most despised indigenous group in Brazil at nineteenth century, the Botocudos, while also collecting pieces of Marajoara ceramic and studying parietal paintings and engravings. Hartt's enthusiasm for archeology and ethnological research was unmistakable, as was his recognition of the little interest that such matters then awoke in the country:

> Calling my attention to the study of Brazilian ancient art, I found myself in a new and extremely interesting field. It is vast and difficult to explore, and I was able to make only a slight recognition, but in it I have discovered mines of gold, diamond, and pearls.[7]

Hartt's varied research on indigenous ethnology and archeology would be gathered posthumously in Portuguese in the 1885 publication *Contribuições para a Etnologia do Valle do Amazonas* (Contributions to the Ethnology of Amazon Valley), in which is possible to find his article "The Evolution of Ornament," probably his text which would have the most impact on future generations of Brazilian historians and artists by suggesting that the ornamentation of native ceramics could be used to infer the several stages of civilization of their producers.

Marajoara ceramics would be considered proof of the existence of a missing higher civilization, and Hartt's arguments would not infrequently be taken out of context to reinforce this national myth. One of his readers was Edgar Roquette Pinto (1884–1954), a Brazilian anthropologist who participated in the Rondon Mission and who became a pioneer of radio in Brazil by founding the Rádio Sociedade do Rio de Janeiro (Ra-

7 Charles Frederick Hartt, "A Origem da Arte ou a Evolução da Ornamentação." *Archivos do Museu Nacional* VI (1885), 98: "Chamada a minha atenção para o estudo da arte antiga do Brasil, achei-me num campo novo e extremamente interessante. É vasto e difícil de se explorar, tendo podido fazer somente um ligeiro reconhecimento, mas nele tenho descoberto minas de ouro, diamantes e pérolas."

dio Society of Rio de Janeiro) in 1923, later transformed into the Rádio do Ministério da Educação e Cultura (MEC) (Radio of the Ministry of Education and Culture); Roquette Pinto also chaired the first Congresso Brasileiro de Eugenia (Brazilian Eugenics Congress) in 1929. In his 1928 conference, *Estilização* (Stylization), published in the first issue of *Revista do Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional (SPHAN magazine)* in 1937, Roquette Pinto, adapting Hartt's findings to eugenics theory, stated that the "germ of the race" (here, of the "marajoara race") enabled the emergence of the "purest style [...] in the magnificent ceramic from Marajó, a work of art of imperishable beauty that primitive islanders imagined and built in the regions cut by Ecuador."[8] The writer and collector of indigenous artifacts Gastão Cruls (1888–1959), whose articles on Indian art in Brazil were published in *SPHAN* magazine in 1941 and 1942, also praised Marajoara ceramic, comparing it with that of other pre-Columbian cultures.[9] Cruls clearly preferred those contemporary Indian artifacts that could be easily associated to prestigious genres in European arts. Therefore, he compared to Western painting the painted wooden disks that adorned the central poles of Urucuiana longhouses from the Jari river region.

The authors analyzed so far seem to evaluate in the same way several aspects of indigenous material culture, despite their very different fields of study. In other words, some opinions of an experienced researcher such as Cruls about natives of Brazil (the superiority of Marajoara culture, for example) coincide with those of a historian without any field experience like Felix Ferreira.

The "anthropological turn" in Brazilian historiography of Indian art is marked by the works of the anthropologists Darcy and

8 Edgar Roquette Pinto, "Estilização." *Revista do Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional* 1 (1937): 52: "[...] estilo puríssimo (...) na magnífica cerâmica de Marajó, obra de arte de imperecível beleza que insulados primitivos imaginaram e construíram nas regiões cortadas pelo Equador."

9 Gastão Cruls, "Arqueologia Amazônica." *Revista do Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional* 6 (1942): 186: "As one can read in this passage of *Arqueologia Amazônica*: "... for the grace of its contours, as for the beauty of its designs, and for the diversity of objects originated by it, this ceramic betrays a great acculturated people who, for various traits, owning nothing to his brothers, which in Central America and on the Andes reached the highest degree of civilization" ["... já pela graça dos seus contornos, já pela beleza dos seus desenhos, já pela diversidade dos objetos a que deu motivo, essa cerâmica trai um povo de grande aculturação e que por vários traços nada fica a dever aos seus irmãos que na América Central e sobre os Andes chegaram ao mais alto grau de civilização"].

Berta Ribeiro, authors of several publications on the material culture of different Brazilian tribes.[10] In their surveys of different contemporary Brazilian tribes, it is possible to see in a more dramatic way the theoretical transformations resulting from fieldwork, as formulated by Wilfried van Damme:

> [...] this transition from the museum to the field entailed several closely related theoretical shifts—from objects to subjects as sources of information, from the interpretative authority of analytical outsiders to that of knowledgeable insiders, and from an interest in the past and processes of stylistic change to an interest in the present and the semantic cultural integration of art.[11]

The Ribeiros published in 1957 a pioneering work in the modern study of Brazilian feather art, *Arte Plumária dos Índios Kaapor* (Feather Art from Kaapor Indians), a clear sign of such a "turn." Before Darcy and Berta, only Raimundo Lopes (1934) and Cruls (1952) had written about Kaapor feather art. The Kaapor Indians relate to Tupi culture and were pacified in 1928. *Arte Plumária dos Índios Kaapor* was a result of the two anthropological expeditions that Darcy Ribeiro conducted to Urubu-Kaapor villages between December 1949 and March 1950 and from August to November 1951, within an ethnological research program of the Indian Museum Studies Section of the Indian Protection Service; and of studies on feather art conducted by Berta Ribeiro as a member of the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro. In this text reappear some notions already present in the writings of previous authors, such as the concept that art and its ornamental motives arises from the technical domain and, therefore, from technical ideas; the valuation of realistic representation; comparisons between indigenous art and Baroque style; and the "will to art" and painting as a major artistic genre. However, there were also several new and politically important aspects: Darcy and Berta Ribeiro did not apply the word "prim-

10 Together they wrote *Arte Plumária dos Índios Kaapor* (1957) and, much later, among other works, Berta published *Arte Indígena, Linguagem Visual* (1989). Darcy is also the author of "Arte Índia," a chapter on contemporary Indian art in *História Geral da Arte no Brasil* (1983), organized by Walter Zanini.

11 Wilfried van Damme, "Siberian Ornaments, German Scholars, and a Transitional Moment in the Anthropology of Art, c. 1900," *Art History* 38, no. 3 (2015), 513.

itive" to the Urubu-Kaapor. Rather, in their writings, the Indians appear with a defined ethnic identity (they are Urubu-Kaapor); have their own names, as with the skilled tuxaua Diwa[12]; are not inferior or naive when compared to the "Western"; and are praised in life for their creativity, virtuosity, sensitivity, and artistic imagination, something unprecedented considering previous texts that extolled only the Marajos, already dead.

Even with such a dramatic change in approach, in relation to the indigenous art in Brazil, an anachronistic perspective seems to be the rule. The art historian Pietro Maria Bardi wrote the following, in a passage of his *História da Arte Brasileira* (History of Brazilian Art):

> Indian life unfolds in an already completed culture, framing the art phenomenon, beginning with urbanism and architecture, in the most simple and purely functional forms, with painting and sculpture as pretty complements to life, and dance and music daily exercises: every act created and renovated, while following a tradition lost in time.[13]

In 1979, the chapter on native arts written by Ottaviano De Fiore for the book *Arte no Brasil (Art in Brazil)* is equally disconcerting: "Arte indígena: o eterno presente de um universo mágico e ritual (Indian art: the eternal gift of a magical and ritual universe)."[14]

In recent years, it has been said, the theme of "Indian art" in Brazil, at least in survey works of art history, went predominantly into the hands of anthropologists who have direct contact with different tribes.

Since the 1990s have been published reference works such *Grafismo Indígena: Estudos de Antropologia Estética* (Indige-

12 Ribeiro and Ribeiro, *Arte Plumaria,* 13.

13 Pietro Bardi, *História da Arte Brasileira* (São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1975), 14: "A vida dos índios se desenrola numa cultura já concluída, enquadrando o fenômeno arte, a começar da urbanística e da arquitetura, nas formas mais simples e puramente funcionais, sendo a pintura e a escultura complementações jeitosas, e a dança e a música exercícios do cotidiano: cada ato criado e renovado, mas na observância de uma tradição perdida nos tempos."

14 Ottaviano De Fiore, *Arte no Brasil*. (São Paulo: Abril Cultural, 1979): page 17.

nous Form: Studies of Aesthetic Anthropology) (1992), organized by Lux Vidal, with articles in which the native material culture is thoroughly described and interpreted, always using properly credited native collaborators. Value judgments, previously prevailing in such discussions, are left aside. In the small book *Arte Indígena no Brasil* (Indian Art in Brazil) (2009) by anthropologist Els Lagrou, European artistic categories are juxtaposed with natives' thoughts about their own material culture, so as to make such concepts more accessible to a general public that completely ignores its foundations.

The current predominance of studies of aesthetic anthropology on the general theme of indigenous art in Brazil points out some important issues for the art history of the area: if, on one hand, field research with indigenous communities is widely recognized in anthropology, in contrast, art history as practiced in Brazil runs into difficulties when it comes to addressing indigenous material culture without relapsing into the prevailing ethnocentric approaches from the mid-twentieth century, either due to a lack of anthropological training; through recent discussions on research methods within the discipline, which inhibit purely formal approaches to contemporary indigenous artifacts (institutionalized or not) in order to avoid disregarding authorship and production contexts; or via the general invisibility of indigenous issues for part of the Brazilian population, an invisibility that Brazilian Government has recently tried to lessen with the adoption of a quota policy, allowing members of indigenous communities access to higher education.

I will conclude this paper by considering this same "invisibility" in reference to a specific case, the current situation of the historiography of Indian art in the southernmost state of Brazil, Rio Grande do Sul. In a state where prejudice against indigenous communities is common, where the issue of demarcation of indigenous lands generates constant conflicts, and where the inclusion of native students at university is still quite recent, the absence of the indigenous perspective in art historiography is particularly evident and seems related both to a broader social issue and to local characteristics of the development of the art history field.

In a brief retrospective, we can see that a "marajoara fever" also occurred in Rio Grande do Sul; one of its main spokesmen

was Angelo Guido, an Italian painter and teacher at the Porto Alegre Arts Institute, who in 1937 published *O Reino das Mulheres sem Lei: Ensaios de Mitologia Amazônica* (The Kingdom of Outlaw Women: Essays on Amazonian Mythology), showing, like his contemporaries, the same obsession with Marajoara superiority:

> What is beyond doubt is that a large part of the cultural heritage of Amazonian Indians was imported from other lands, and certain traditions, such as certain technical achievements, reveals the surprising fact that there was in the Amazon an early civilization that could have achieved high levels, perhaps as did Mexico and Peru, if it had found an environment more favorable to its development.[15]

Guido was, in fact, dealing with a neo-Marajoara revival that was also embraced by students of the Arts Institut, a reflection of the nationalist ideology attached to this theme. Much more comprehensive in Rio Grande do Sul is the paradigmatic cult of missionary Indian art from Jesuit missions ("arte missioneira"), usually the initial topic of every text or book on art from Rio Grande do Sul. The art historian Armindo Trevisan, despite the care he takes when describing works of "arte missioneira," in certain passages endorses some nineteenth-century value judgments:

> Indians stood out, in a unique way, in sculptural art. Aurélio Porto notes: "From a rough and poor pottery that reveals the backwardness of their culture, later the Indian from the Missions, artistically inspired by the Jesuits, would create these admirable pieces whose carving marks the apogee of colonial Jesuit civilization." [...] In general, it can be said that in some of images from Jesuit missions, even crudely carved, it is possible to see an exceptional technical skill,

15 Angelo Guido, *O Reino das Mulheres sem Lei: Ensaios de Mitologia Amazônica* (1937), 70: "O que é fora de dúvida é que uma grande parte do patrimônio cultural do aborígena amazonense foi importada de outras terras e, certas tradições, como certas conquistas técnicas, revelam o fato surpreendente de ter havido na Amazônia um início de civilização que teria atingido níveis elevados, talvez como as do México e do Perú, se tivesse encontrado um ambiente mais favorável ao seu desenvolvimento."

> to which is added an expression sometimes of pronounced Amerindian taste."[16]

There are a number of factors in the artistic environment of Rio Grande do Sul that make Indian art a hidden and, therefore, delicate issue: the persistent preference for the study of indigenous objects (especially those from Jesuit missions) and the lack of interest in contemporary native subjects, often associated with prejudice against these populations—bias that is present both outside and inside the academy; a prejudice, indeed, fed daily by land disputes and anti-indigenous positions taken by the mass media and, often, by the state apparatus. Another factor is the preference, in local academia, for formalist approaches supported by a valuation scale that takes into account technical and poetic aspects of the art work, its dialogue with Western artistic tradition, and also the institutional placement of artists. Ethnic Caingangue and Guarani students do not attend university courses on visual arts and art history (the first Guarani student in the visual arts course at UFRGS [Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul] dropped out before completing it), so they cannot defend in the universities, on their own terms, the material culture of their communities. Until recently, the predominant native in the local academy was a missing, imaginary, mythical one, without political dimension and therefore devoid of conflict, who only "appears" on excursions to the Jesuit missions and at the beginning of courses on Brazilian art history, in no way corresponding to the real native populations struggling to survive in Rio Grande do Sul, using weapons still little studied, as in the case of the tourist art produced by Caingangue and Guarani communities.

However, there are subtle signs, even in the south, that "indigenous art" is finally entering the academy, following the example of what already transpired in the United States some time ago. There are young Caingangue working with video, and Mbyá-Guarani, as the chief (cacique) Verá Poty, explored photography for

16 Armindo Trevisan, "O Rosto Indígena da Arte das Missões." In Paulo Gomes, ed., *Artes Plásticas no Rio Grande do Sul: Uma Panorâmica*, 16–29. (Porto Alegre: Lahtu Sensu, 2007), 21: "Os indígenas destacaram-se, de maneira singular, na arte escultórica. Aurélio Porto nota: "De uma cerâmica tosca e pobre que revela o atraso de sua cultura, passa, mais tarde, o índio das Missões, sob a inspiração artística dos jesuítas, a lavrar essas admiráveis peças cuja cinzeladura marca o apogeu da civilização jesuítico-colonial". [...]. Em linhas gerais, pode-se afirmar que, em algumas das imagens missioneiras, mesmo toscamente esculpidas, já se percebe excepcional habilidade técnica, à qual se acrescenta uma expressão, por vezes, de nítido gosto ameríndio."

years, as it was possible to see in the 2015 exhibition that portrayed fifteen Guarani villages of Rio Grande do Sul, organized by Poty and Danilo Christidis at the Museum of UFRGS in Porto Alegre. Nonetheless, the fact that Indian art in Brazil enters the curriculum as a matter of study long before its producers are actually integrated into the many local art systems is something that still requires deep thought.

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Daniela Kern

Daniela Kern is professor of Art History at Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS). She received her PhD in Theory of Literature from Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul at Porto Alegre in 2008. Her publications include the books *Tradition in Parallax* (2013) and *Modern Landscape: Baudelaire and Ruskin* (2010). She translated into Portuguese Ernst Gombrich's *The sense of order* (Bookman, 2012).