



Fundação de São Vicente, the biography(ies) of a painting (1892-1939).

Eduardo Polidori Villa Nova de Oliveira*

Text translated by Nivia Marcello

*Master in Museology from the Graduate Program Interunits in Museology, University of São Paulo (2016-2018), where the research “*Fundação de Vicente, de Benedito Calixto: composição, musealização e apropriação (1900-1932)*” was developed under the supervision of Paulo César Garcez Marins and financial support by the Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo.

Abstract

This article reconstitutes the multiple appropriations of the trajectory of the painting *Fundação de São Vicente*, by Benedito Calixto, which has been in the collection of the *Museu Paulista* since 1900. To this end, the conditions of its production and inauguration during the 4th Centenary of the Discovery of Brazil, the political uses of the painting by the Commemorative Society, the process of its acquisition by the State of São Paulo’s government and how the painting was exhibited during the administrations of Hermann von Ihering (1894-1916) and Afonso Taunay (1917-1946) at the *Museu Paulista* are presented. Examples demonstrating how the public museum manages and diffuses political-imaginary conceptions from historical paintings are discussed.

Keywords: Benedito Calixto. *Museu Paulista*. History Painting.

1. I refer, for example, to the book *Villa de Itanhaém*, 1895, and São Paulo's Captaincies, 1915. About Benedito Calixto's career as an artist and intellectual, cf. ALVES, C. F. *Benedito Calixto and the construction of the republican imagination*. Bauru: EDUSC, 2003.

2. *Correio Paulistano* newspaper, May 27, 1883, p. 01: (...) The most excellent Mister Viscount of Vergueiro deigned to visit the most intelligent young man, going up to his chambers examined some completed works (...) Then he invited him to have lunch with him in days, and to take the completed works to be examined by Victor Meirelles, and to present him also to this patrician of ours so that he, as a master, would give his authoritative opinion on the matter. (...)”.

3. *Atelier de MM. Boulanger et J. Lefebvre*, Fonds de l'Académie Julian (1870-1932), Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, França.

4. Cf. infra.

I.

Bene Benedito Calixto de Jesus was born in *Itanhaém*, São Paulo coast, Brazil, in 1853. His contributions as a painter and historian are indelible marks of the cultural heritage of the State of São Paulo: in museums, in the decorations of churches of the capital and the countryside, in the private collections and, not less important, in the historiography of the first two decades of the twentieth century, when he actively published on various topics about the City of *São Vicente*'s history and the State of São Paulo¹.

Calixto worked on the interior decoration of Teatro Guarany invited by Manuel Garcia Redondo. His work was appreciated, recognized and recommended to Viscount Nicolau José de Campos Vergueiro, who offered to pay for his studies in Paris. Between 1883 and 1884, he had contact with the burgeoning art scene of the French capital, becoming a frequent visitor to the Louvre Museum, the Versailles National Museum

and the Notre-Dame and Sainte Chapelle churches. (ALVES, 2003, p. 90)

A newspaper of the time reports that the Viscount of Vergueiro closely followed Calixto's² studies and advancements, first at the Jean-François Rafaëlli's studio and then at the *Académie Julian*. The artist enrolled in the studio directed by Jules Lefébvre (1834-1912) and Gustave Boulanger (1824-1888), where he got his formation as a painter³.

In addition to paying for his studies, Vergueiro introduced him to Victor Meirelles, then a professor at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts who had come to Paris to exhibit the second version of *Combate Naval de Riachuelo* (oil on canvas, 420 x 800 cm, 1883) at the Salon of 1883. From this meeting, Meirelles - the author of *Primeira Missa no Brasil* (oil on canvas, 268 x 356 cm, 1860) - becomes a definite reference in his work⁴.

But in 1881, two years before leaving for France, Calixto made two small oil paintings with historical themes: “Porto das Naus” (50 x 75 cm) and “Desembarque de Martim Affonso de Souza” (47 x 73 cm), depicting scenes immediately prior to the foundation of Captaincy of São Vicente in 1532.

Contact with the antique collections of the Louvre Museum aroused enough interest in Calixto that, returning to Brazil in August 1884, wanted to extend it to the colonial history of Captaincy of São Vicente – the paintings mentioned above⁵ show the painter’s interest in the subject. That is why, in 1888, he searched the archives of the Convent of *Itanhaém*. The extensive and thorough research of the documents, made always with a detailed and precise description, supported the writing of “*Villa de Itanhaem*” (*Villa de Itanhaem*), the painter’s first historiographical work, published in 1895.

The first part of the book is dedicated to exploring and discussing the founding of the villages of São Vicente, Santo André da Borda do Campo, São Paulo de Piratininga, Santos and *Itanhaém*, especially from the works of historian and brigadier José Joaquim Machado de Oliveira and Gaspar da Madre de Deus, chronicler and Benedictine friar⁶. This concern of Calixto, however, is not only explained by a search for scholarship, but as a way of asserting himself symbolically as an intellectual and authority over local history.

Calixto sought to disseminate this work: the acknowledgment on the front page reveals his efforts to consolidate his insertion, sending the book to the jurist and intellectual João Mendes de Almeida (1831-1898) and to the director of the Statistics and Archives Division of the State of São Paulo, Antonio de Toledo Piza e Almeida (1848-1905), responsible for organizing the official publication of historical documents and an active member of the Historical and Geographic Institute of the State of São Paulo since November 1894.

In addition to historiographical production, Calixto had worked out another plan since at least 1892. The painter found a solution to consolidate himself as an agent of ongoing symbolic construction, to exalt and recollect the participation of southern coastal cities in the formation of São Paulo: the founding of the Captaincy of São Vicente by Martim Afonso de Souza in 1532⁷. In view of the context of the new republic and the need for symbolic affirmation of the political elite, institutions were founded aimed at the production and universalization of knowledge – the Teacher-Training School, the Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute and, above all, the *Museu Paulista*.

Besides exalting the participation of São Paulo in the formation of Brazil during political reconfiguration, he earned a historiographical position by the viscount of São Leopoldo in the initial context of the Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute (of which he had been a

5. CALIXTO, Benedito. *Villa de Itanhaem – second settlement founded by Martim Affonso de Souza. Historical studies on its founding, its development, its decay and its current state*. Santos: Typ. do Diário de Santos, 1895, p. III-IV: “(...) contemplating those treasures and monuments [from the Louvre Museum], I developed a taste for the study of bygone eras.”

Paulo, from the State of Brazil. (1797).

7. NEVES, Cylaine Maria das. *A Vila de São Paulo de Piratininga. Fundação e Representação*. São Paulo: Annablume; FAPESP, 2007; FERREIRA, Antônio C. *A epopeia bandeirante: letrados, instituições, invenção histórica* (1870-1940). São Paulo: Editora UNESP, 2002; FERRETTI, Danilo José Zion. *A Construção da Paulistanidade: identidade, historiografia e política em São Paulo* (1856-1930). Doctoral Thesis in Social History, University of São Paulo, São Paulo, 2004.

6. Idem. I refer to the books *Historical Picture of the Province of S. Paulo* (1864) and *Memoirs for the History of the Captancy of São Vicente*, today called *S.*

founding member), and wrote that the “history of São Paulo was the history of Brazil”⁸.

In 1892 Calixto received a complimentary letter from Victor Meirelles about his plan to represent the episode of *São Vicente*: Meirelles attached a *esquisse* that illustrated his suggestions, followed by Calixto with some precision. Although he could not have a usual *séance de correction*, as he had seen at the Parisian school, Calixto followed the suggestions to validate his project as his first large-format historical painting.

Even though he had carefully planned the composition; Calixto did not get the resources to fund the painting and also seemed to have made no effort to secure a particular order. According to Jacques Thuillier, the destinations of large-format compositions were the large buildings of public administration or, based on the 18th century French tradition as a paradigm –history museums⁹.

In order to strategically negotiate the inauguration of the painting, Calixto had to wait almost a decade, when preparations for the 4th Centenary of the Discovery of Brazil in the small city of *São Vicente* began. This is what we will see next.

II.

Organized by the “Commemorative Society of the 4th Centenary of the Discovery of Brazil”¹⁰, the celebrations planned the inauguration of a public

monument at Largo 13 de Maio (now *Praça 22 de Janeiro*), an archaeological and artistic exhibition, a photograph exhibition of the coast and other locations in the state of São Paulo and popular night parties.

In the Articles of the Association, there was no intention to order a painting by the association. On April 8, 1899, the Commemorative Society asked the people of the State of São Paulo to send financial resources to celebrate the history of São Paulo and to commission a “historical panorama representing the founding of the Captaincy of *São Vicente*”¹¹.

Calixto sold the work for 10:000\$000 (ten *contos de réis*), but his work went far beyond painting, he was responsible for designing the Commemorative Society’s visual identity (for example, its letterhead) and decorating the halls and streets where there were events¹².

In the afternoon of April 20, 1900, the “*Fundação de São Vicente*” was inaugurated during the opening of the “Historical and Archeological Exhibition”. The opening was witnessed by the authorities of the cities of Santos and *São Vicente*, the press and representatives of the Commemorative Society, beginning the commemorative program of the Discovery of Brazil. (Figure 01)

The following day, the exhibition was open for public viewing. The painting was in the first room,

8. PINHEIRO, José Feliciano Fernandes. *Anais da província de São Pedro do Rio Grande do Sul*. Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1839. p. 31.

9. THUILLIER, Jacques. *Le problème des ‘grands formats’*. IN: *Revue de l’Art*, n. 102, 1993

10. The “Commemorative Society of the 400th Anniversary of the Discovery of Brazil ” was a private association that organized the Discovery celebrations. The political and commercial elite of the cities of Santos and *São Vicente* were part of this association, especially the entourage of state senator Jose Cesario da Silva Bastos, the family of the owners of the newspaper *Cidade de Santos*, founded

on August 29, 1898. Bastos led the Paulista Republican Party in Santos, occupying the Senate in the 1890s. Another prominent member of the association was pharmacist Jose Ignacio da Gloria, a press entrepreneur who founded, in September 1899, the *Vicentino* newspaper. Gregório Inocencio de Freitas, a traditional politician, was acclaimed president of the association and presided over the *São Vicente* City Council at the time, as well as a coffee commissioner in Santos.

11. *O Estado de S. Paulo newspaper, April 8th 1899, p. 01.*

12. *Cidade de Santos newspaper, April 21th 1900, p. 01.*



Figure 1. "The Founding of São Vicente" (oil on canvas, 385 x 192 cm, 1900), Calixto. Collection of Museu Paulista.

13. In 1900, the company Fratelli Secchi had been in operation for four years. It was one of the four food manufacturers founded by Italian immigrants in the 1890's in the state of São Paulo. Cf. CENNI, Franco. *Italianos no Brasil*. 3. ed. (1. ed. 1960) São Paulo: Edusp, 2003, p. 256-257.

14. *Cidade de Santos*, April, 21st 1900, p. 02

with objects that, at first glance, were at odds with a history painting: an "ant killer" invented by Dr. Luiz Pereira Barreto, "operating chair" by Dr. Desidério Stapler, "pasta" manufactured by Fratelli Secchi¹³ and patented "ferolite mosaics" by Amilcari Lusverdi in Argentina and Brazil¹⁴.

Lusverdi, about whom we did not find information, was not the only exhibitor there to use this referencing feature. If Calixto did not need to prove the authorship of the painting he exhibited, he needed to legitimize it. For this reason, he attached the "opinion letter of the great Brazilian painter Victor Meirelles" to it, with its laudatory

function, converting his appreciation into a reputation for the artist¹⁵.

Art and technique seemed to be completed to the extent that inventions can be understood under the metaphor of the republican desire for progress and historical painting as a celebration of origins. Thus, a visual and material connection is established between past and present, making the bond between colonial and republican men as eloquent as overcoming the former by the latter. This was the appeal that José Ignacio da Gloria made in the newspaper *Vicentino* in the issue of April 3rd of that year. He bestowed upon himself the responsibility of promoting the arts and industries, “*the main well-being of the people,*” intended to be followed by his readers¹⁶.

In the first room of the “Historical and Archaeological Exhibition”, from the descriptions of the newspapers, there was the concern of self-promotion by the exhibitors and their inventions, products, or works of art. Although Calixto had planned all the decoration for the festivities – and even the public monument – he did not seem to have been an exception to us. At the age of forty-six, the painter moved among the local elites and had already had one of his large-format canvases bought by São Paulo’s republican government, although he still needed to consolidate his artistic reputation as a history painter and intellectual. Hence, the strategic inauguration of “Fundação de São Vicente” during the 4th Centenary of the

Discovery of Brazil, using the centripetal force of its publicity by the State of São Paulo.

This strategy, if seemingly exaggerated, is best understood by considering what was planned for tomorrow: April 22. Being the official date of celebration of the discovery of Brazil, it was the heart of the festivities in the city of *São Vicente*.

III.

A month before the commencement of the commemoration, Commander João Manuel Alfaya Rodrigues had met with Colonel Fernando Prestes de Albuquerque and Dom Antonio Candido de Alvarenga, President of the State and Diocesan Bishop, to invite them to participate in the program¹⁷.

These two authorities (civil and religious) were present especially on April 22, each having a notorious participation in the activities. In the morning, Bishop Dom Antônio Candido de Alvarenga celebrated the Mass and, in the afternoon, after attending the banquet offered by the Commemorative Society to the special guests, they would go to the Panthéon, where the historical event would take place.

The procession was one of the main programs planned for the 4th Centenary of the Discovery of Brazil: in chronological order, followed a procession of characters from all periods of

15. *Cidade de Santos*, April, 21st 1900, p. 02.

16. *Vicentino*, April 3rd, 1900, p. 01: “(...)By instinct, lovers of the arts, and by principles devoted to industry, which we regard as one of the main wellsprings of the well-being of the people and as a great incentive for moral progress, we will be concerned with the advancement of the arts wherever possible. The most appropriate driver we have. We think it is a good time to appeal to the arts cultists and the workers to help us with their contest for the exhibition that will be installed in the People’s School building in this city.”

17. *Cidade de Santos*, March 24th, 1900, p. 01.

Brazilian history. His narrator, Carlos Escobar, was an excellent speaker and had already given his lectures at the invitation of the Commemorative Society in 1899. He was also a teacher of the Cesário Bastos School Group in Santos and had collaborated with columns in various newspapers in the 1890s.

As a speaker, his role was highly honorable, lending his scholarship to those present with the narrative that accompanied the theatrical performance. Carlos Escobar narrated the expedition of Martim Afonso and the founding of the Captaincy of São Vicente in 1532 with greater care. But unlike earlier and later episodes, when his speech had only the staging to illustrate his speech, Carlos Escobar showed the painting inaugurated by Benedito Calixto¹⁸.

Reproduced in both the *Vicentino* and *Santos city* newspapers, Escobar drew attention to Martim Afonso de Souza's alliance with the Tibiriçá-led tribe through the Portuguese castaway João Ramalho. Opposing concord, there was Piquerobi: everything "divinely" represented on Calixto's canvas, "exposed in the People's School". Already in this solemnity (restricted to the authorities and guests of the Commemorative Society), the historical painting was noted for its potentiality in communicating and approving an official view of the past of the city of São Vicente and, by extension, of the state of São Paulo.

This reference to the work, moreover, was in line with Calixto's self-promotion strategy in relation to the São Paulo's elite. In addition to the inauguration of the painting, the commemoration of the 400th Anniversary of the Discovery of Brazil also gave it great visibility, because local elites were able to engage the main regional authorities to be present there.

If Escobar's speech motivated the procession's spectators to visit the painting at the Historical and Archeological Exhibition, it was the *Vicentino* newspaper, in a special edition of May 1900, which reproduced its image for the first time. (Figure 2) Calixto had used an excerpt from the painting as the letterhead of the stationery used by the Commemorative Society, which can be seen in a letter signed by Gregory Innocencio de Freitas. (Figure 3).

This practice is also repeated in the *Vicentino* newspaper, whose upper part was, since the first edition¹⁹, illustrated by the drawing of the monument (also inaugurated on April 22nd) from Largo 13 de Maio (Figure 4), with drawing and ornamentation signed by Calixto. (Figure 5)²⁰.

It would not be an exaggeration to understand Benedito Calixto as the architect of the commemoration of the Discovery in São Vicente. If the event was intended to protect the interests of the members of the Commemorative Society,

18. *Vicentino*, May 3rd, 1900, p. 07-13.

19. *Vicentino*'s first issue was published in August 29th, 1899.

20. O *Estado de São Paulo* newspaper, August 15th, 1899, p. 01: "The Commemorative Society of the 400th Anniversary of the Discovery of Brazil, founded in the city of São Vicente, sent us a drawing of the monument that it intends to erect in that city in 1900. (...) The project is executed by architect Mr. Florimond Colpaert, and drawings of Mr. Benedito Calixto. (...) The monument will be placed in the Treze de Maio square, in front of the coastline of São Vicente and will be inaugurated on April 22nd, 1900".

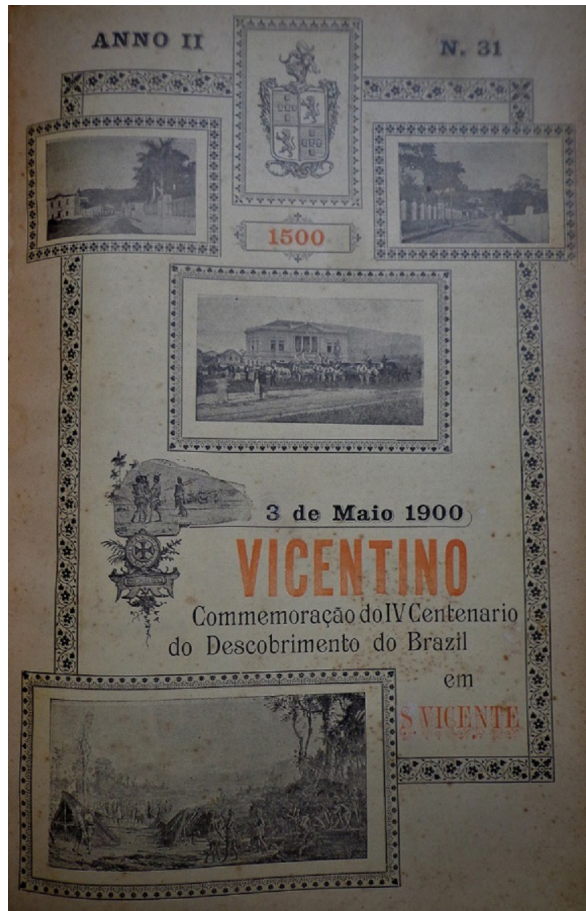


Figure 2. Front of the *Vicentino* newspaper, May 3rd, 1900. Collection of the Humanitarian Society of Commerce Employees Library in the city of Santos.



Figure 3. Letter of Inocencio de Freitas to the Office of the Presidency of the State of São Paulo Office of the Presidency of the State of São Paulo, April 11th, 1900. Public archive of the State of São Paulo.



Figure 4. Monument of 4th Centenary of the Discovery of Brazil.



Figure 5. Upper part of the *Vicentino* newspaper. Collection of the Humanitarian Society of Commerce Employees Library in the city of Santos.

Calixto knew how to build a strategy to consolidate his credibility and notoriety that, although centered on the “São Vicente Founding”, passed through the design of the arts and the decorative program of the festivities.

Proof of this is the mention made to Calixto by Carlos Escobar, consolidating all the theatrical performances sequentially staged in the historical procession by the actions of the members of the Commemorative Society. The grandiloquent tone nominally honored the achievements of its principal collaborators. So Calixto appears as the “thinking ahead” of the association, having his name cheered alongside notorious participants, such as José Ignácio da Glória and Alfaya Rodrigues²¹.

Recalling the historical examples – from the Egyptian pyramids, the Roman triumphal arches and the Parisian columns – Escobar understands that the Commemorative Society, then “educated

by the centuries”, contributes to future generations. The closing paragraph deserves full reproduction, as it appeared to readers of the *Vicentino* newspaper in May 1900:

The Commemorative Society honored its ancestors, and drew the attention of our contemporaries to our history. But its members will pass like shadows; and in a hundred years’ time only the inspired brush of Calixto and the magical melting pot of João Niel will tell the agonies of the patriots’ immeasurable dedication. And those to come will say, “Our grandparents remembered their ancestors. Let us send them also on the wings of a kiss a fervent prayer”²².

In Escobar’s perspective, the efforts of the Commemorative Society were not only forgotten because of Benedito Calixto and João Niel, artificers of the association’s memory: representatives of the arts and industry, the monument and historical painting would be the protagonists of state participation of São Paulo in the history of Brazil, but, above all, of the participation of *São Vicente* in the historical formation of the São Paulo’s territory. Also the symbolic need that this public commemoration represented so that the elites of the cities of Santos and *São Vicente* could project themselves into the consolidating republican regime.

This propaganda is observable beyond the context of Calixto to inaugurate the “Founding of *São Vicente*”. As we have shown, the painting was readily appropriated during 400th Anniversary

21. *Vicentino*, May 3rd, 1900, p. 06: “Benedito Calixto was the thinking head of the Commemorative Society (...).”

22. *Vicentino*, May 3rd, 1900, p. 07.



Figura 6. *Revista da Semana*, January of 1902. Collection of the Humanitarian Society of Commerce Employees Library in the city of Santos.

23. *Revista da Semana* magazine, special edition, January of 1902. Collection of the Humanitarian Society of Commerce Employees Library in the city of Santos.

24. *Revista da Semana* magazine, January of 1902, p. 36: "He currently resides

in São Vicente, who, with the richness of his history, has offered that exquisite painter subject for paintings of great artistic value. The various works published in this issue are a shining proof of Benedito Calixto's poignant talent and undeniable merit."

of the Discovery of Brazil, illustrating both the speech of Carlos Escobar to the authorities of the State of São Paulo about the commemorative edition of the *Vicentino* newspaper.

The power of the painting surpassed its on-site display and this initial environment. Therefore, it is important to pay attention to the process of reproduction and circulation of the image of painting, to understand the self-celebratory intent of the cities of São Vicente and Santos in the late nineteenth century. In this sense, the first example is the special edition of the magazine *Revista da Semana*, published in January 1902 and dedicated to the city of Santos²³.

IV.

At the end of the nineteenth century, urban progress was the propaganda of the southern coastal cities of São Paulo. Anatolio Valladares, journalist of the magazine *Revista da Semana* responsible for the story, noted the progress during his month-long stay, impressed by the urban and port reforms that the city of Santos had been undertaking through sanitation, lighting, transportation, the "secular monuments" and by the "buildings of modern construction".

In forty-one pages, the magazine *Revista da Semana* reproduced two hundred and twelve images, a figure that shows a deliberate intention to visually impress the reader: they recorded the

public places, buildings (facades and interiors), monuments and various portraits of personalities - among them Benedito Calixto²⁴.

In contrast to the praising photographs of the modernity and progress of the city of Santos was the image of the painting "Founding of São Vicente". The correlation between the screen and the other images present in the magazine *Revista da Semana* is similar to that constructed by the exhibition in the "Historical and Archeological Exhibition". (Figure 6)

If the mechanical inventions of the exhibitors who shared the first room with Benedito Calixto were representatives of São Paulo's industry, the "modern construction" as described by Anatolio Valladares represented the progress of the urban life of the city of Santos at the dawn of the twentieth century. In this sense, a new meaning is attributed to Calixto's painting, no longer restricted to the promotion of the artist as a legitimate local representative of the arts, nor to celebrate the expedition of Martim Afonso, but to the representation of the city per se at the moment of its founding.

This disagreement (that is, using an artistic representation of the founding of São Vicente to commend the material progress the city of Santos) is best understood if we take into account the alignment of local elites around Cesário Bastos - speaker of the Commemorative Society, and which, at that time, intended to celebrate the

beginning of the colonization of the territory from the south coast of São Paulo.

“Refounded” by the Republic in the nineteenth century booklet, the cities of Santos and São Vicente sought to affirm, by instrumentalizing history as a symbolic resource, “(...) all their material progress and all the superiority of their spirit in the three domains of the arts, science and letters (...).”, raising visibility with the presidency of the State of São Paulo and, by extension, of the Republic – then directed by the coffee farmer and politician Manuel Ferraz de Campos Salles (1841-1913)²⁵.

The modernization represented by urban public works, monumental furniture, architecture and urban redesign showed the colonial founding marked by pacification between the parties and the welcoming, harmless and irresistible natural landscape to the imminently political action.

In the background of the composition, Ulpiano Toledo Bezerra de Meneses noted the main nucleus of biographical characters is surrounded, on the other planes, by symbolic supports without fixity, witnessing their semipermanent character, although they foresaw human occupation. (MENESES, 1990, p. 42-43).

The founding is restricted to a political agreement and shows the immateriality of the colonial city and, at the same time, informs the projective level where the republican city is inserted. This is

shown much less as a continuity of this colonial past than by understanding this context as an opportunity for a fresh start from the communion between man and the inhabited territory.

Another example of this process is the postcards in circulation in the early twentieth century. Fraya Frehse’s study of photographs reproduced in postcards of the time, with the city of São Paulo photographed, points to the striking contrast between an urban landscape marked by both colonial and modern buildings. If they advocated a yearning for progress, they also witnessed the coexistence of social differences beyond the “mismatch of historical times.” (FREHSE, 2000)

A mapping of postcards illustrated by themes relating to the progress of the southern coastal cities of Sao Paulo also shows this. For example, an 1897 card was illustrated with the image of the railway linking Santos to the capital; another, from 1902, brings a panorama of the urban landscape of Santos and, five years later, a third and last example promoted the ongoing sanitation works in that city. (GERODETTI and CORNEJO, 2001, p. 11; 14; 184).

Calixto witnessed the changes in the cities of the southern coast with great attention. His paintings accurately documented the transformations of the port and urban landscape between the 1870s and 1890s, and as Caleb Faria Alves noted, it is from this angle that we can understand how the painter examined his concerns artistically.

25. *Revista da Semana magazine*, special edition, January of 1902. p. 05.



Figure 7. Postcard, 1902. Author's collection.



Figure 8. Postcard, 1902. Author's collection.

26. Christian Metz defines as discourses and practices that self-complementarily condition visual experience in historically situated circumstances and aligns with Meneses's methodological proposal. The latter understands that "iconosphere" as one of the integral dimensions of "visual"

and which together with the "visible" and the "vision" help map and observe the scopic regime. MENESES, Ulpiano Toledo Bezerra. *Visual sources, visual culture, visual history. Provisional balance, precautionary proposals. IN: Brazilian Journal of History.* São Paulo, v. 23, nº 45, 2003, p. 30-31.

In his representations of the port of Santos made between 1875 and 1898, Calixto marked the course of the modernization process. In "Port of Santos" (oil on canvas, 32 x 56 cm, 1875) the activities on the quay are daily and point to the communion between the time of man and nature. In the "View of the City of Santos" (oil on canvas, 146 x 290 cm, 1898), they are already combined with the ongoing modernizations, with the disappearance of the trapiches (warehouses) and the once dominant warehouses incorporating the image of a rapidly developing city (ALVES, 2003, p. 208-211).

It is not surprising that Calixto's work was used in postcard illustrations, as he was one of the artificers of the images of the city of Santos, of the interests of commercial elites, as noted by C. F. Alves (2003) and Gerodetti and Cornejo (2001). The projection of the idea of harmonious and cordial progress was transferred to the canvas "Fundação de São Vicente", the artistic representation of the historical scene aimed to encourage the iconospheric environment in formation²⁶.

Printing the image of the painting on the postcards was intended to exalt and publicize Calixto's artwork. However, the potential of spreading a visible and apprehensive image must be considered, to show progress and modernity in the projection of a solemn local history and, therefore, to be seen and celebrated.

The first postcard features a colorized photomechanical reproduction, by José Bidschovsky, from the studio in the city of Piracicaba "Vienna Photographia" (Figure 7). The second, also from 1902, reproduces photographs of the main symbols of the 4th Centenary of the Discovery of Brazil: the public monument and the painting (Figure 8).

Titled "Remembrance of Saints," the postcard helps to observe how the Commemorative Society's symbolic-visual discourse surpassed the festivities of the city of São Vicente, boosting it as a memory place that reached other places. The images on this card recall what Carlos Escobar mentioned: having power to transcend time and what the members of the Commemorative Society did: the painting "Fundação de São Vicente", by Calixto's brush, and the monument created by the "magical melting pot of João Niel"²⁷.

Finally, a final example: the booklet "Old São Paulo and Modern São Paulo", launched due to the commemoration of the 350th anniversary of the founding of São Paulo, "(...) with many engravings and a short historical summary of the main buildings or biographical data of remarkable figures whose portraits are published"²⁸. (Figure 9)

Over sixteen pages, this inaugural volume reproduced, as it had two years before the magazine *Revista da Semana*, a photographic series of architecturally monumental public

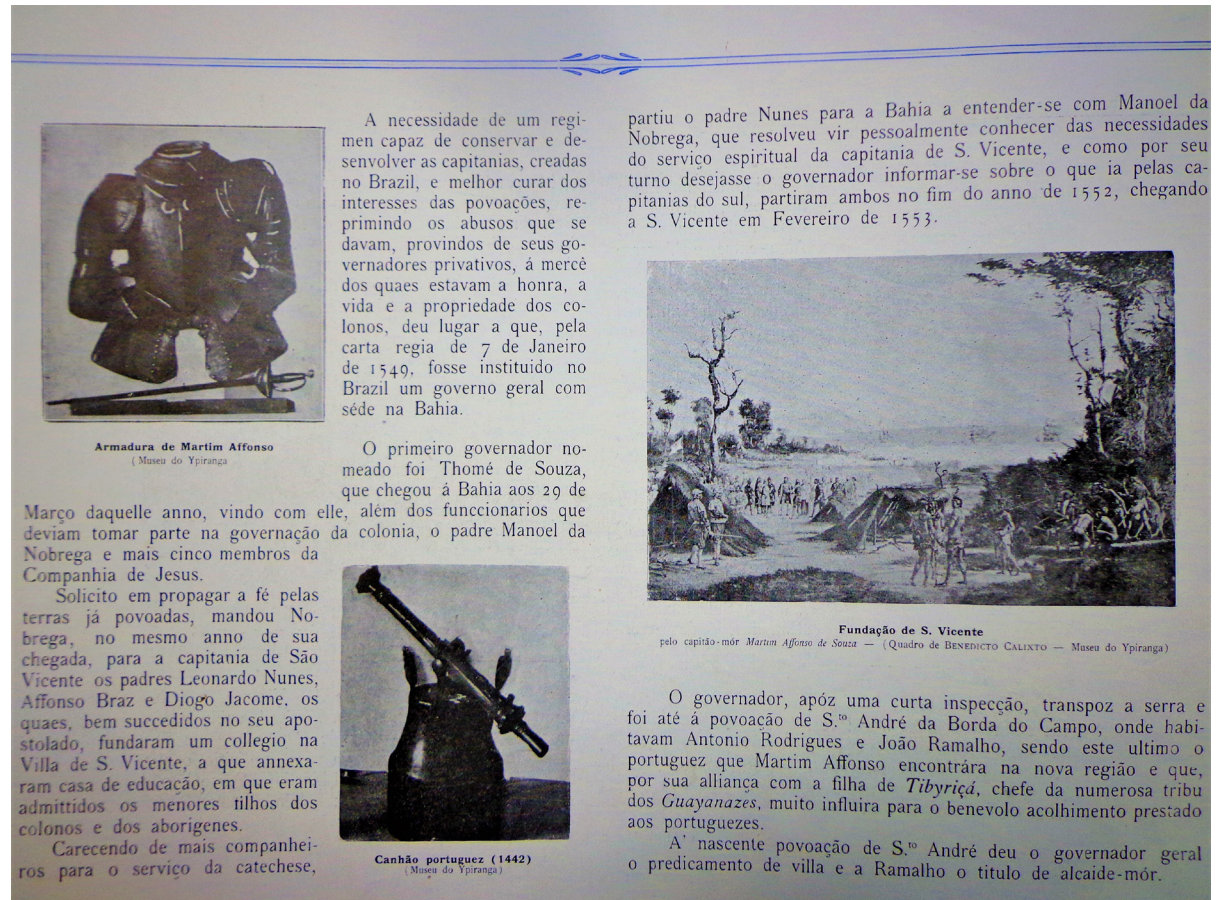


Figure 9. *São Paulo Antigo e São Paulo Moderno*, 1905. Public Archive Collection of the State of São Paulo.

27. Cf. above.

28. *Old São Paulo Antigo and Modern São Paulo 1554-1904*. São Paulo: Vanorden & Cia, vol. 01, 1905, capa.

29. *Idem*, p. 11.

30. *Idem*, p. 13.

buildings, such as the Government Palace²⁹, built in 1898, and colonial, such as the Church of Carmel and the Venerable Third Order³⁰.

The narrative on the history of the founding of São Paulo began precisely on the founding of the Captaincy of *São Vicente*, in 1532, in addition to the observable changes in the city in the process

partiu o padre Nunes para a Bahia a entender-se com Manoel da Nobrega, que resolveu vir pessoalmente conhecer das necessidades do serviço espiritual da capitania de S. Vicente, e como por seu turno desejasse o governador informar-se sobre o que ia pelas capitánias do sul, partiram ambos no fim do anno de 1552, chegando a S. Vicente em Fevereiro de 1553.



Fundação de S. Vicente
pelo capitão-mór Martim Affonso de Souza — (Quadro de BENEDITO CALIXTO — Museu do Ypiranga)

O governador, após uma curta inspecção, transpoz a serra e foi até a povoação de S.^o André da Borda do Campo, onde habitavam Antonio Rodrigues e João Ramalho, sendo este ultimo o portuguez que Martim Affonso encontrára na nova região e que, por sua alliança com a filha de *Tibyriçá*, chefe da numerosa tribu dos *Guayanazes*, muito influira para o benevolo acolhimento prestado aos portuguezes.

A nascente povoação de S.^o André deu o governador geral o predicamento de villa e a Ramalho o titulo de alcaide-mór.

of modernization. A proof of this is the painting “O Primeiro Desembarque de Pedro Álvares Cabral”(oil on canvas, 330 x 190 cm, 1900), by Oscar Pereira da Silva, named as “Desembarque de Martim Affonso de Souza”.

The Vanorden Publishing House chose to reproduce the print of Martim Afonso de Souza

31. Letters of Hermann von Ihering to the Secretary of the Interior, November 12th, 1900, Archive collection of the State of São Paulo.

32. The “payment dispute” is well understood from the correspondence exchanged between Calixto, the first secretary and the treasurer of the Commemorative Society. The painter claims payment for the painting and attests to having fulfilled the functions assigned to him by listing them in detail. Cf. to the Letter from José Leite da Costa Sobrinho to Benedito Calixto, July 25, 1903; Letter from Antonio Militão de Azevedo to Benedito Calixto, July 25, 1903. Cf. Dossier Benedito Calixto – Fundo IHGSP/APESP.

33. Annals of the Chamber of Deputies of São Paulo, 1905, p. 621; Annals of the Senate of the State of São Paulo, 1905, p. 571.

38. About this transfer and the consequent formation of the initial nucleus of the Pinacoteca of the State of São Paulo, cf. NERY, Pedro. *Art, homeland and civilization. The formation of the artistic collections of the Museu Paulista and the Pinacoteca of the State of São Paulo. (1893-1912).*

Master's Dissertation, Graduate Program Interunits in Museology, University of São Paulo, 2015.

35. Among the historical portraits, six were commissioned from Benedito Calixto less than a year after the “Founding of São Vicente” at the Museum: “Dom Pedro I”, “Father José de Anchieta”, “José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva”, delivered in 1902, and “Father Bartolomeu de Gusmão”, “Domingos Jorge Velho” and “Vicente Taques Góes Aranha”, “Sergeant Major of Itu”, delivered the following year. On the portrait of Domingos Jorge Velho, cf. to MARINS, Paulo Cesar Garcez. In the woods with poses of kings: the representation of bushmen and the tradition of European monarchical portraiture. IN: *Revista do IEB*, n. 44, fev. 2007; PITTA, Fernanda Mendonça. *Brushes write the story in the “Teatro da Memória” - Benedito Calixto’s artistic, intellectual and political work in the commissioning of historical portraits of the Museu Paulista (1900-1906). Report not published by the author, thankful for making it available.*

and the coat of arms of his family in the front pages of the booklet. Following are images of three objects: an armor that was said to have belonged to the navigator, a gunboat used during the expedition under his command and, finally, the image of the “Founding of São Vicente”. The images inform the reader about the expedition of Martim Afonso, aspect previously unheard of.

In the *Vicentino* newspaper of May 1900, in the postcards and in the magazine *Revista da Semana* in 1902, the “Fundação de São Vicente” was an aid to the images that propagated Benedito Calixto’s desire for southern coastal modernization to achieve greater artistic projection. In the booklet *Old São Paulo and Modern São Paulo* there was an important change in the history of painting: there, it was not only the work of Benedito Calixto, but as a painting of the *Museu Paulista*.

V.

The incorporation of the “Fundação de São Vicente” into the *Museu Paulista* collection was, a priori, the result of a donation to the Presidency of the State of São Paulo by the Commemorative Society. The canvas arrived at the Museum, accompanied by Benedito Calixto, on November 10, 1900 and, by the painter’s will, was placed in room B-11, and began to be displayed next to the paleontology and mineralogy collections³¹.

The Association had agreed with Calixto to pay him ten contos de réis for painting and decorative

services. Nevertheless, that was not what happened, and five years after the end of the celebrations, he had not yet been paid³².

This caused the painter to petition the House of Representatives, where he claimed that he still owned the painting and had the right to have it back. The dispute was effectively resolved in December 1905, with the discussion of the Budget Law for the following year, with the payment of five *contos de réis* to the painter, incorporating the “Founding of São Vicente” canvas to the public heritage of the State of São Paulo forever³³.

Along with the acquisition, José Cardoso de Almeida, the Secretary of State for Home Affairs and Justice, sent Hermann von Ihering a list of fourteen paintings that should be immediately transferred from the *Museu Paulista* to the Gallery of Paintings. of the Liceu de Artes e Ofícios³⁴.

“*Partida da Monção*” (oil on canvas, 640 x 390 cm, 1897), by José Ferraz de Almeida Júnior (1850-1899), e “*Primeiro Desembarque de Pedro Álvares Cabral*” were transferred, leaving only “*Fundação de São Vicente*”. It is concluded that this painting was acquired by the São Paulo’s government specifically for the *Museu Paulista* collection, joining historical portraits³⁵ and “*Independência ou Morte*” (oil on canvas, 760 x 415 cm, 1888).

The immediacy of the reproduction of the image of “*Fundação de São Vicente*” in the *Vicentino*

newspaper, the magazine *Revista da Semana* and postcards can be seen in the light of the symbolic need that painting represented for the celebrating of São Paulo's south-coast elite. In our interpretation, the sending of the canvas as a donation to the state government and, subsequently, its exhibition at the *Museu Paulista* shows the intention of the members of the Commemorative Society to consolidate their symbolic place in the state of São Paulo from the visibility of the colonial past of the city of *São Vicente*. It also interested Calixto because it was the opportunity to have his first historical painting on display at the only museum in the state of São Paulo at the time)

The *Museu Paulista* was the legitimate receiver-diffuser of the visible desired by the Commemorative Society, according to Meneses (2003, p. 30). The painting, in addition to exposing the colonial past of the city of *São Vicente*, was also a bridge between the members of the Commemorative Society and the state government. And Calixto had been the artificer of this connection: it was up to the people of São Paulo to remember their origins: the Captaincy of *São Vicente*, founded by Martim Afonso de Souza on January 22nd, 1532.

We demonstrate that the process of remodeling the cities of the south coast of São Paulo and the city of *São Vicente*'s 400th Anniversary of the Discovery of Brazil were the epicenter of this symbolic need. The image of the "Founding of

São Vicente" was a response to this process, which, although linked to the *Museu Paulista*, is also observed from its context of production and inaugural exhibition.

This ends in the booklet *Old São Paulo and Modern São Paulo*. There is a new meaning that seems to recover the definition initially conveyed by the Commemorative Society during the 4th Centenary of the Discovery of Brazil.

By being associated with images of other objects in the historical collection, such as the armor of Martim Afonso and the culverin (and even the painting by Oscar Pereira da Silva - mistakenly titled, as "Landing of Martim Affonso"), the "Founding of *São Vicente*" is incorporated into the iconosphere³⁶ of historical representation and linked to institutional life. In time, this armor and the culverin were sent by the *Museu Paulista* for the Historical and Archeological Exhibition. Almost a "manifest destiny", the painting had been inaugurated around objects belonging to a collection to be incorporated a few months later³⁷.

In 1905, five years after the opening of the canvas during the 400th Anniversary of the Discovery of Brazil, Calixto had composed the representation of the founding of the city of *São Vicente*, whose representational force was seen during that first five-year period. Not surprisingly, the Chamber of Deputies has definitely incorporated it into the *Museu Paulista*'s historical collection, keeping it there. This is what we will see next.

36. Cf. Meneses (2003, p. 15), the "iconosphere" is a "set of images that is or is socially accessible", and which we take here as a direction of the intended analysis. Note the agency of the screen "Founding of São Vicente" in two distinct iconospheric environments, not necessarily mutually exclusive, but also complementary, being the first from the celebrations of the city of São Vicente and the second belonging to the collection of the *Museu Paulista*.

37. *Vicentino* newspaper, May 3rd, 1900, p. 11: "Museu Paulista - Armor of Martim Afonso de Souza - 16th Century Artillery Piece (culverin) (...)."

VI.

38. Cf. the Guide for the Museu Paulista collections, the mineralogical collection was on display in cabinets 49 and 50 and contained "(...) samples of the most interesting minerals from Brazil and also from various other countries": Meteorites, oil shales, marbles from the city of Sorocaba and the "(...) collection of ores and products from the Ipanema iron factory, state of São Paulo". Finally, the paleontological collection was organized in cabinets 48 and 51: in the first, there was the Mesosaurus Tumidus fossil, Mesozoic fishes, dendrites and petrified tree trunks, while in the other figured "(...) numerous fossils of the copies of the famous reptiles Plesiosaurus, Mystriosaurus and Ichthyosaurus are especially interesting." See Ihering, Rodolpho von. (ed.) Guide for the Museu Paulista Collections. São Paulo: Typographia Cardozo Filho, 1907, p. 102-104.

39. E. g. Ana Cláudia Fonseca Brefe: "This is the case, for example, of the canvas "Founding of São Vicente", by Benedito Calixto, arranged in room

B11, dedicated to mineralogy and paleontology. In addition to stones and fossils, the screen also shares space with small pictures representing geysers and landscapes of ancient geological times as can be seen from the description of the room in the Guide for Collections ". The *Museu Paulista*: Afonso Taunay and the National Memory (1917-1945). UNESP Publisher, Museu Paulista of USP, 2003, p. 90, no. 04. The author seems in line with the impressions left by Taunay: (...) *Another fact demonstrates the abandonment in which the so-called "historical collection" was. It is difficult to explain, for example, why it had been a canvas depicting the founding of São Vicente being placed above a mineral cabinet in the mineralogy and geology room, almost four meters above the ground. Nothing or almost nothing at the Museu Paulista was reminiscent of São Paulo's past.* " TAUNAY, Afonso Teixeira d'Escragnoille. Activity Report for the Year 1917, p. 15-16. IN: Public Archive of the Museu Paulista, P5, D33.16 and D.33.17.

Even after the transfer of the Art Gallery to the Liceu de Artes e Ofícios in December 1905, the "Founding of São Vicente" remained in room B-11 of the *Museu Paulista*. Among those acquired for the collection, it was the only large-format historical painting remaining in the Museum's halls – except of course, "Independência ou Morte", located in the Hall of Honor. (Figure 10) Figure 10. *Museu Paulista* Exhibition Rooms, according to the 1907 Guide. *Museu Paulista* Library Collection.

A priori, Calixto's choice is strange; after all, room B-11 had been designated by Hermann von Ihering to display the ore and fossil collections. In the Guide for the *Museu Paulista* collections, they appear divided between the cabinets 48, 49, 50 and 51. The "Fundação de São Vicente", a "beautiful piece of art" that represented "(...) the arrival of D. Martim Afonso de Souza who, in 1532, founded the city of São Vicente.", Shared

the walls with some images of geysers and" (...) landscapes of ancient geological times"³⁸.

Understanding the relationship between this painting by Calixto and the other objects in room B-11 has been an uncomfortable challenge for recent historiography. The historian used the perspective of Afonso Taunay – Hermann von Ihering's replacement and critic of his management – as an argument to note that the screen's allocation was occasional and that it shows some disdain of the former director for the Museum's historical collection³⁹.

According to what we could learn from the description of the exhibition, room B-11 represented the processes of formation and occupation of the São Paulo's territory from natural and human history, in which rocks, fossils and historical painting produced relational and mutually complementary meanings. This was in

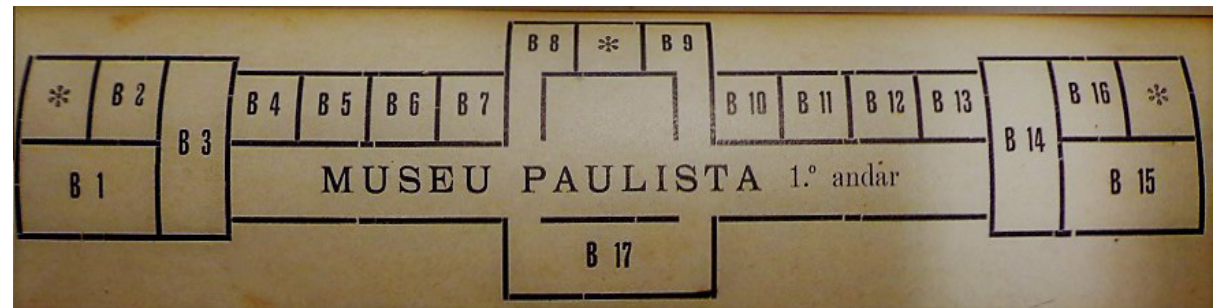


Figura 10. Paulista Museum exhibition rooms, according to the 1907 Guide. Collection of the Paulista Museum Library of USP.



Figure 11. “Fundação de São Vicente” in room A-10, 1937. Collection of the Paulista Museum Library of USP.



Figure 12. “Ensaio Geral das Bandeiras Paulistas” in room A-10, 1937. Collection of the Paulista Museum Library of USP.

line with what was foreseen in Article 2 of Decree No. 249, which characterized this institution as “(...) South American museum, intended for the study of the animal kingdom, its zoological history and natural and cultural history of man⁴⁰” and 19th century museums, which sought to consolidate a “natural history of man”. (ALENCAR ALVES, 2001, p. 139).

The “*Fundação de São Vicente*” remained on display in room B-11 until 1917, when Afonso Taunay, then the interim director of the Museum, reworked the exhibition and gave it new meaning⁴¹. After inaugurating room A-07, where he exhibited the botanical collections, in September 1917, Taunay organized the first exhibition room of the historical collections under his management: room A-10, of “colonial cartography”, inaugurated on December 24 of that same year. (Figure 11 and Figure 12)

Taunay placed the “*Fundação de São Vicente*” next to the portraits of José de Anchieta and Bartolomeu de Gusmão, both by Calixto, and placed the large-format painting in the center. It can even be inferred that the painting had a certain mastery over the arrangement of the exhibition of room A-10. That would be more evident when the “General Letter of the Paulista Bushmen” was positioned in front of it, creating a meaningful relationship where the episode of the founding of the city of *São Vicente* would compose the process of historical occupation of the territory, an anteroom of the bushmen epic.

40. Decree No. 249 of July 26, 1894, Chapter 01, Article 2. ALESP’s Historical Collection.

41. On the management of Afonso Taunay (1917-1946), cf. BRIEF, op. cit. and OLIVEIRA, Cecília Helena de Salles (org.). *The Museu Paulista and the management of Afonso Taunay: Writing of History and Historiography, 19th and 20th centuries*. Sao Paulo: Museu Paulista, 2017.

in room A-12, and “Founding of São Paulo”⁴⁷, in room A-15 received this same prominence in their respective descriptions. This finding helps us understand the strength of the path of the image of the “Founding of São Vicente”. To do so, we will use two examples that seemed the most significant.

The first concerns schoolbooks from 1916, with the publication of “My Motherland” by João Pinto e Silva. In the following years, other publications also used Calixto’s painting to illustrate the episode of the founding of the city of *São Vicente* in 1532: Rocha Pombo’s “History of Brazil” (1918), Creso Braga’s “Brief History of Brazil Lessons” (1922) and “History of Brazil” (1932). These are examples that deserve attention for helping to spread and crystallize this historical painting as an “official vision” of one of the main episodes in the history of Brazil. Finally, it should be noted that, being the book “My Motherland” an exception, the others came into circulation after the inauguration of room A-10 at the *Museu Paulista*.

The second example takes us to 1932, when the 4th Centenary of the Founding of the city of *São Vicente* was celebrated. José Torres de Oliveira, the president of the São Paulo Historical and Geographic Institute and other prominent members (including Afonso Taunay), had petitioned the federal government to mint coins and print commemorative stamps. Having judged the meritorious occasion, “(...) The founding,

The documents and geographical charts, the later insertions of objects and historical portraits in room A-10 - such as Alexandre de Gusmão and José Maria da Silva Paranhos, the Baron of Rio Branco – show, at last, that this process of territorial formation had been realized as an essentially diplomatic conquest, by the peaceful meeting between Portuguese and indigenous people, as suggested by the canvas of Benedito Calixto.

Afonso Taunay worked for the next two decades to realize the new proposal for the Museum and, in addition to engaging in commissioning paintings and sculptures from renowned artists of the time⁴², requested that the painting “Departure from Monsoon”, sent to the Liceu de Artes e Ofícios in 1905, return to room A-9 of the Ipiranga Monument⁴³.

The director documented the final stage of this redesign in the *Museu Paulista*’s Historical Section Guide, providing summary descriptions of the objects displayed in each room. Keeping in mind the “Founding of *São Vicente*” again, renamed there as “Landing of Martim Afonso in the city of *São Vicente*, in 1532”, Taunay draws attention to its popularity, “by the continuous reproductions that are made of them”⁴⁴. This description was not a privilege of Calixto’s paintings: other large-format historical paintings, such as “Independence or Death!”⁴⁵, exhibited at the Hall of Honor, and “Primeiro Desembarque de Pedro Álvares Cabral em Porto Seguro”⁴⁶,

42. Luigi Brizzolara, Adrien van Emelen, brothers Henrique and Rodolfo Bernardelli, Jose Wash Rodrigues, Domenico Failutti, Alfredo Norfini, Oscar Pereira da Silva and Benedito Calixto himself are examples of artists chosen by Taunay.

43. Taunay requested in 1929 that the “Monsoon Departure” return from the Pinacoteca. Next to it, it also received two others: “Pedro Álvares Cabral’s First Landing” and “Founding of São Paulo” (oil on canvas, 340 x 185 cm, 1907), both by Oscar Pereira da Silva, placing them, respectively, in rooms A-09, dedicated to the monsoons, A-12, of old iconists from São Paulo and A-15, to the past of São Paulo. Regarding the return of these works to the Museu Paulista, cf. to MONTEIRO,

Michelli Cristine Scapol. São Paulo Founding, by Oscar Pereira da Silva. Trajectories of an urban image. Master’s dissertation – FAUUSP, 2012, p. 104-105.

44. TAUNAY, A. T. d’E. *Guide of the History Section of the Museu Paulista. Official Press of the State of São Paulo*: São Paulo, 1937. p. 73.

45. TAUNAY, op. cit., p. 63: *The superb architecture, so characteristically palatial and dynastic, ennobles the presence of Pedro Americo’s large canvas: “Independence or Death!” famous painting, certainly one of the most popular in our country, and the target of countless pictorial and sculptural reproductions.*

46. Idem, p. 80.

47. Idem, p. 88.



Figura 13. The 700 réis stamp had. Source: Eduardo Polidori.

48. *Journal of the Historical and Geographic Institute of São Paulo*. Vol. XXIX. Commemorative Conferences of the 400th Anniversary of the Founding of São Vicente, 1532-1932. São Paulo, 1932, p. 261-265.

49. Commemorative Series of the 400th Anniversary of the Colonization of Brazil. Stamp Notice 1932-001.4. Collection of the Post Office Museum. Retrieved: October 9, 2017.

50. Case 139-T-38: Landmarking of the Museu Paulista collections (15/04/1938). Collection of the Institute of National Historical and Artistic Heritage – Superintendence of São Paulo.

in 1532, of the municipality of São Vicente”, describes the decree, “(...) marks the beginning of colonization in Brazil” being “(...) worthy of special celebration”⁴⁸.

Commemorative stamps were circulated during the month of June 1932, with values ranging from 20 to 700 réis and reproduced the map of the Captaincy of São Vicente, the effigies of João Ramalho, Tibiriçá; Martim Afonso de Souza, Dom João III and. The 700 réis stamp had an adapted version of the “(...) famous canvas of the landing of Martim Afonso de Souza, in the bay of São Vicente, painted by the famous Brazilian B. Calixto (...)”⁴⁹. (Figure 13)

These two examples reinforce the popularity mentioned by Taunay in the 1937 Guide. In our interpretation, this commemorative stamp issued by the federal government, together with textbooks was crucial in expanding the circulation of the painting’s image and crystallizing its symbolic representative potential beyond local and regional links. It was necessary to requalify and project its potential to the national level due to the decline of the Republican Party with the 1930’s revolution.

It can be observed there are distinct and concomitant trajectories of the image of the work throughout the first four decades of the twentieth century, causing the image to travel through the local, regional and national spheres. The *Museu Paulista* was consolidated as the largest public

museum of history, an agent and an agency of the diffusion of a historical consciousness from São Paulo’s experience in national change through its collection.

The following year, the publication of the Guide of the Historical Section of the *Museu Paulista*, the newly founded National Historical and Artistic Heritage Service (SPHAN), directed by Minas Gerais lawyer Rodrigo Melo Franco de Andrade (1898-1969), initiated a policy of heritage. In the state of São Paulo, this policy was precisely aimed at landmarking the historical, artistic, archaeological and ethnographic collections belonging to the *Museu Paulista*⁵⁰.

In an effort by the elites of the cities of Santos and São Vicente to obtain projection in a still fragile and recently republican São Paulo, the painting “Founding of São Vicente” is incorporated into the collection of the *Museu Paulista*. For almost two decades, together with the work “Independence or Death!”, it celebrated the “founding” São Paulo’s episodes of the Brazilian nation, in the colony and in the Empire. In 1917, Afonso Taunay reworked this narrative, giving it a new meaning by inserting it in an exhibition that privileged the historical-diplomatic process of formation of the Brazilian territory and in which it linked the founding of the village of São Vicente to the Bushmen Movement.

These distinct paths of appropriation map the biographies of this painting. At the beginning of

the twentieth century, it served to support the propaganda of the urban modernization projects of the elites of the southern coastal cities and the capital. From the 1910s, it was inserted in Afonso Taunay's exhibition, as part of the official visual repertoire and reproduced in textbooks and on one of the commemorative stamps of the 400th Anniversary of the Founding of *São Vicente* – or the “beginning of Brazilian colonization”.

The “Founding of *São Vicente*” belongs to the *Museu Paulista* and became part of the national heritage in 1938. As we have seen, its image had been widely spread over the previous decades, a process that confirmed its potential as a place of memory.

The *Museu Paulista* inaugurated, on January 23rd, 2007, the exhibition “Images recreate history”, curated by Paulo César Garcez Marins, on display until 2013. This exhibition was an important episode of the institutional history of the “The Founding of *São Vicente*” started, as we saw, in 1900 because it was in line with curatorial research that sought to understand the role of historical paintings in the diffusion and creation of the political imaginary about the history of Brazil,

Located in the “Imagine the Beginning” room in conjunction with the “The Founding of São Paulo” and “Pedro Álvares Cabral's First Landing in Porto Seguro”, paintings by Oscar Pereira da Silva, the “The Founding of *São Vicente*” was seen as a production that aimed to consolidate an “official

vision” of the past during the First Republic. The exhibition showed information about the processes of its creation and its incorporation into the Museum's collection and examples of its reproduction in textbooks, among other media.

This paper aimed to establish hypotheses about historicity, especially the specificity of Calixto's work analyzed in relation to the interests to which they responded, in addition to mapping and identifying the reproductions of your image.

This paper aims to contribute to dimension the multiple reaches and forces of the representations of history from the biography of the painting. This is a fruitful exercise, and also part of an ongoing process that considers the dimensions of production, circulation and symbolic consumption throughout the twentieth century.

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