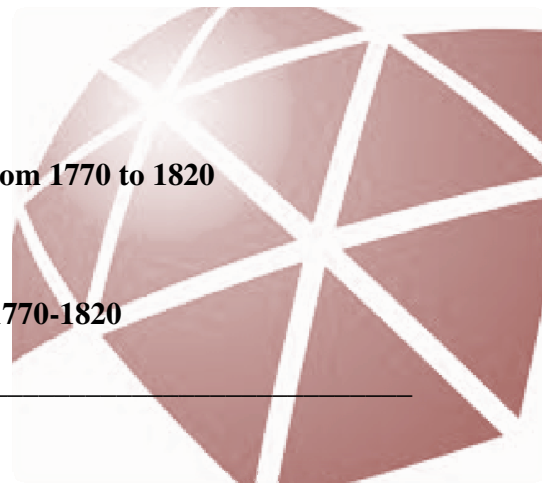


Portrait and biography. Lisboa / Rio de Janeiro. From 1770 to 1820

Retrato e biografia. Lisboa/Rio de Janeiro. 1770-1820



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Abstract: This article addresses the portrayal of men in government, especially the Constituent Cortes in 1820, in the Luso-Brazilian world. It focuses especially on two imagistic series, the collection of Silva Oeirense and the other gallery made by Domingos Antonio de Sequeira noticing in which ways these images have become a sort of biographical device for these deputies capable of expressing their character pronounced by moderation. Searches also point out some distinctions in these images on the portraiture of the time. Overall, it indicates a self ordinance through the senses and changes in the portraiture of a layer of scholars, Luso-Brazilian merchants, bachelors, editors, who have become invested in and have self-invested from the capacity to govern.

Keywords: portrait; visual culture; Luso-Brazilian empire.

Resumo: Este artigo aborda o retrato dos homens de governo, especialmente das Cortes Constituintes em 1820, no mundo luso-brasileiro. Atenta especialmente para duas séries imagéticas, uma coleção de Silva Oeirense e outra galeria feita por Domingos Antonio de Sequeira, notando-se de que maneiras tais imagens se tornaram uma espécie de dispositivo biográfico para estes deputados capaz de expressar seu caráter vincado pela moderação. Busca ainda apontar algumas distinções dessas imagens na retratística da época. No geral, indica uma ordenação de si por meio dos sentidos e das mudanças na retratística de uma camada de letrados, comerciantes, bacharéis, redatores, luso-brasileiros que se viram investidos e se autoinvestiram da capacidade de governar.

Palavras-chave: retrato; cultura visual; império luso-brasileiro.

I

There has been a remarkable historiographical investment in historical studies since the late 1980s in Brazil, around the biographies and trajectories, which greatly affects the forms of writing history, the accounting of events and plots, in the documentary work of rebuilding what is defined, with differences, such as life.¹ Moreover, this investment, in overall academics, has a driving force in the publishing of printed books and ebooks, by reaching a considerable audience on a varied palette, from

the interested reader to the student or university researcher. Good books are published in this manner and they can form good readers, combined with the elaborate performance of authors² and the studies conducted. Also, the debate on biographies raises important questions about the relationship between the overall, society and the particular, the individual, apart from one's desire to get to tell the other in an exercise of alterity.³ This historiographical operation also appears in studies of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in the Luso-Brazilian world, in major biographies with arguments in the ambit of fierce political culture, such as the *Marques de Pombal*, by Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro, or the delicate work of the human condition of man painfully divided, in *Claudio Manuel da Costa*, by Laura de Mello e Souza. Thus, biographies and trajectories become ways of writing history and instill ways by which they should be read, because in the presumed tract between author and reader, mediated by the publishing house, there is presumably a fluidity of reading, a taste and an involvement by the reader, not always guaranteed by the *tout court* academic writing. (ALBIERI; GLEZER, 2009).

The writing of a biography imposes on the historian other discursive strategies, and it highlights the need to revisit the writing itself in the field of history, including the documentary order in letters, reports, memoirs, autobiographies, memories, not to mention the dimension of free will and the feelings that are brought into discussion and thus this theoretical-methodological questionnaire. In *O nome e o como [The name and the how]. Unequal exchange and historiographical market*, Carlo Ginzburg suggests that the name itself is used as a tool for the reconstruction of trajectories and social relationship. In his words: "The lines that converge to the name and from which they start, forming a kind of web of fine mesh, give the viewer the graphical image of the social fabric to which the individual belongs". (GINZBURG, 1989, p. 175-176). In this sense, the study of individual actions of historical agents would bring into discussion the possibility of reconfiguring the social networks in which they were immersed, and would explain the meanings of that existence. Here, I am more interested in the debate on the history of the biographical indicated in this cropped period, between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Luso-Brazilian world, the emergence of individualism while constituting the autonomous field of politics in reality.

At the core of this important debate on biography allied with an urgent discussion on the modes of individuation and the subjectivation processes in this debate, so fascinated by the trajectories of each other in a game of alterity, this paper attempts to raise some constitutive elements of the setting itself, in the case of men, who see themselves as suited for politics between 1780-1820 in the Luso-Brazilian world, especially for those defined, sometimes by themselves and by others, as *moderate*. François-Xavier Guerra noted the emergence, in this period in the Spanish American world, of a new pack of

social subjects, such as, for example, the *periodista [journalist]*, who ended up being decisive in the foundation of the liberal world and national Hispanic America. In a similar perspective, István Jancsó and João Paulo Garrido problematized this *identity mosaic* of the Luso-Brazilian world and its overlays guided by the notions of empire and location, mediated, or not, by identity notions of region in certain territories, considering the weight of the colonial tradition that engenders the experience of living in the colony. Concurrently, there is a process of scorn and derision for social subjects previously fixed and valued, such as the Jesuits, considered as an example of corruption and decadence.⁴

It must be said that, at present, specifically the notion of *moderation* was understood as moral virtue and politics linked to a strong and ideal sense of civilization and political ideal. Norbert Elias Summarizes:

The moderation of spontaneous emotions, the control of feelings, expansion of mental space beyond the present moment, taking into account past and future, the habit of calling the facts in chains of cause and effect - these are all different aspects of the same processing of conduct, which necessarily occurs with the monopolization of physical violence and the extent of the chains of action and social interdependence. There is a "civilizing" change in behavior. (ELIAS, 1993, p. 198).

Therefore, there is the rise of a new economy of passions with a continuous exercise of self-control, regarded as highly necessary. This process harnesses the creation of boundaries between privacy, intimacy and what is domestic, seen as places of feelings and emotions in relation to the public space, as a place exposed to the view of the other. In this partition, the public space is not under the domain of the state but of the families and individuals. In this process, it constitutes a new standard of sociability with new spaces, cafes and typographies, to name a few, with their specific practices. (Cf. especially LOUSADA, 2011).

Thus, one realizes an ordering which is different from the *autobiographical pact*. This covenant implies the place of enunciation itself and its forms of self-representation. Therefore, it also puts the other on the horizon, and in a game of reciprocity, negation and silencing. It gives rise to a game of self constitution and alterity that binds the individual and the social, evoking forms of narrativization of these experiences allied with the *biographical illusion* of he who narrates from the time elapsed and the redefinitions of oneself by the operations of memory and oblivion. One can consider this to be the first generation⁵ of the Luso-Brazilian scholars to write autobiographical and biographical texts in order to intervene in the public space. Amid the new and prestigious sociability of Freemasonry by scholars, liberals and even members of royal families, Hypólito da Costa described and published his process of deservingly become a Mason, challenging the authority of the Office of the Police and accusing

ensorship and persecution. Vieira Couto gave a detailed biographical account of his entry into Freemasonry as a rite of passage into an inquisitorial process. (SCHIAVINATTO, 2006). França (1992) and Koselleck (1999) showed that the experience of becoming a Mason was in itself a new way of celebrating the execution of a contract between equals to delineate modernity. Because everyone who joins the covenant becomes a co-founder of this association. Those who enter newly into Freemasonry embody and make present the conclusion of the social contract in the rite of entry into Freemasonry. In turn, this rite reminds and renews the covenant for those who have already become masons. In other words, each one goes through this rite and is reminded of it, repeats it at the admission of the new Mason, whereupon the society expands and consolidates itself. Here the covenant that is constantly remade is the condition of existence and perpetuation of this society. Moreover, it celebrates a covenant in which the birthmark does not define the individual forever, embedded in a particular social place marked by inequality and hierarchy in the hazing of modern monarchy. Forms of sociality arise, such as botanical halls and gardens, in which the distinctions of status would not be impeding conviviality - including the mundane and social. In this direction, to report this entry process into Freemasonry came to be a really important piece of data in the biography of a man, and by narrating it, also describing its historical origins and ideals, the Mason praised his own institution.

So, I would like to highlight this self ordainment through the senses and changes in the portraiture entangled in biographical recollections of oneself, from a layer of Luso-Brazilian scholars, merchants, bachelors, who have become invested in and have self-invested from the capacity to govern between 1790-1820. They saw in themselves a moral character which entitled them to the government, and precisely this moral quality fueled a sense of duty that required political action. Political leadership was tasked to create and establish relations, often fictitious, between politics and morality. *Liberals* and *constituents* would be, in principle, morally prepared men for the field of politics, and such morality preceded the political action and its legitimacy. Therefore, one might think that perhaps the worst condemnation or greater reproach morally consisted in striking the opponent by way of laughter, mockery, the revelation of his sham, exposing him as a fake or a cheat. (LUSTOSA, 2000). The portrait of these men communed with this logic.

It could indicate a change in the portraiture of men of power between the decades of 1790 and 1820, although there are significant traces of continuity between the governors of the Bragança dynasty as to its iconography and the forms of movement of these characters.⁶ On the whole, and *broadly*, I suggest that men focused on governance, especially the *constituents of 1820*, then men aware of themselves, of governance, with a strong family feeling, confident in the power of literature and

studies, shared the notion that the portrait, for the first time, composed therein the biographical trait, the sense of oneself in a psychological nature, revealing a subjective dimension to be considered, present in this image, which can also enunciate the subject in the public ambit, therefore allowing him to be recollected. The portrait functioned as a point of connection between thought, the character of the subject and its distinctive appearance. In this perspective, the picture closely followed the iconography of the literary man, surrounded by papers, books, pens, with the individual sculptured, usually in a three-quarter bust. And, on the other hand, such an iconography became part of the representation of the congressman, the senator, the soldier, the man of liberal and moderate governance in the constitutional liberalism in Brazil, as a kind of fixed and ideal self-image to be remembered.

II

One must at least mention the depiction of the figures of power in the mid-eighteenth century in order to investigate the emergence of this quite conventional and subsequently repeated depiction. Almost naturalized. First, pay attention to the real images. Pictures of the House of Braganza are marked by the continued use of an iconography of the royal family, of kings and queens, since King João IV. (SILVA, 2003). This oil portraiture functioned as part of the royal liturgy's strategy. The iconography of the kings was repeated in the portrait of apparatus, as regards the positioning of the hand, in place of the crown, to the drapery in the background, the figure in a standing or riding pose. This standard went from engraving to painting. The artist Machado Castro asked that the image of his equestrian statue of D. José I be copied in engravings, drawings, paintings, in his book on the design and representation of this statue as a real portrait.

This type of portrait became visible according to the protocols of royal liturgy. They were exposed in procession in the chamber, church, and carefully guarded in the Royal Palace. They could be closed in a closet waiting for the time to be properly seen and revered. Therefore, the agents of the monarchy in the eighteenth century controlled exposure of the royal portrait and watched over its material condition in Portuguese America. The portrait could be accompanied by others, as in the case of D. José I with his queen, and / or their children, and / or especially their daughter, later on D. Maria I and her husband. From D. José I, we note that their rulers, specifically in Portuguese America, began to be portrayed episodically, since they were an extension of the body of his authority and majesty. Thus, the portrait occupied a key place in this *representation* and recalling of the dynastic and monarchical

authority process and, in turn, lent grandeur to the authorities designated by it in order to justly represent them.

The theme of the portrait is not small in the political liturgy of the Portuguese monarchy and even the Brazilian one in the foundation of the empire of Brazil. (SCHIAVINATTO, 1997). Several governors in the service of the monarchy and on exerting power on their behalf in Brazilian lands - in Pará, Rio de Janeiro, Pernambuco, Bahia and Minas – between 1760-90, feel obliged to explain to the metropolitan authorities the reasons why they are also gratified by the locality, by the subjects of their majesty, with a portrait. In other words, they would be treated in the same imagery and symbolic manner as the the supreme authority of this bounties economy. Following this logic, the Earl of Bobadela (1685-1763) was the first administrator of the American colony to have his portrait publicly displayed, which mirrored the royal authority. The presence and display of the portrait necessarily imply the request through the appropriate rhetorical *topos*, of the generosity of⁷ the royalty for its existence and display. Because it is able to match the materiality and representation to something *naturally* intended for the royal household. Or else, the colonial authorities, in this period, take care of the material conditions of the portrait: if it is in good use, if it keeps decent resemblance to the one in the portrait, if it serves as the basis for a new oil copy or another frame, if it is fit for display. Such concerns reveal the official unveiling and branch which entails the presence of the king, for his absence "remedied" by the portrait. The presence of the portrait, in general, was inserted in a discursive and liturgical order of birth, baptism, marriage, birthdays, rising and rites of the *royal* persona,⁸ linked to the most important moments in the life of the monarch. The portrait referred to the body of the monarch, so the discussion about the way to treat it gained importance. Placing it on a throne or an episcopal chair, for example, greatly occupied men who governed on the correct ways to display the portrait, which brought to light the monarchical authority and thus presenting the capital authority of the architecture of monarchical power.

III

In the mid-eighteenth century, the abbot of Saint Adrian, Diogo Barbosa Machado (1682-1772), under the auspices of Fray Manuel do Cenáculo and later on motivated by the disaster caused by the earthquake that devastated Lisbon, gave an unprecedented treatment to the portraits in Portugal. In the entirety, the

Lusitanian Historical, Critical and Chronological Library⁹ did not have a reserved architectural space, but a catalog of books. Alphabetically arranged by their first names, over 5000 individuals are presented to the reader through their biographies and handwritten or printed works, since the birth of Christ until the time of Barbosa Machado [...], a kind of dictionary of knowledge in Portugal and of its great figures. (MONTEIRO, 2005, p. 128).

The pamphlets - or brochures - grouped into 134 volumes identify princes, nobles, prelates, cities and conquests of Portugal overseas, organized by themes and literary genres¹⁰ in the hierarchical and exclusionary logic of the Old Regime. Barbosa Machado assembled a significant collection of portraits which, on the one hand, excludes kings, houses, characters, and on the other, chooses and ranks “[...] Portuguese kings and queens; Eminent Portuguese men in terms of virtues and dignities, arts & sciences, in the campaign and in the office; popes, cardinals, bishops, priests and clergymen; Kings and Queens [...]”.¹¹ All of them, from past to present. To get an idea of the volume of images and temporal extent of the work of Barbosa Machado, it is enough to mention that the *Retratos de Reys, Rainhas, Principes de Portugal* consist of the first two volumes compiled by the abbot in 1746, with 690 prints. For the first time, a collection of printed portraits was formed in a calculatedly prepared edition, as the images were cut and pasted onto another sheet, revealing a work of selection and layout. Often cut from within the figure itself, the field of printmaking would be changed, the borders of the drawing trimmed, cutting the margin, removing the artist's initials and name, the trader's address, the date and other evidence of the image's source. Next, they pasted the chosen image, probably printed for that purpose, and below it, a Latin epigram praising the person on the portrait, or simply his/her name and titles. Researcher of the collection, Rodrigo Bentes Monteiro says: “[Barbosa Machado] ... would make original arrangements, he would especially choose *who* would be in the albums”. (MONTEIRO, 2005, p. 131).

Today there is a collection put together under the supervision of Barbosa Machado, incremented after his death with other prints authored by Francisco Bartolozzi (1728-1815) and Gregório Francisco de Queiroz (1768-1845), and recovery of the catalog made by José Zepherino Brum of the National Library of Rio de Janeiro, in a binded version and edited at Oficina G. Leuzinger & Filhos between 1889-93. However, on this occasion, it had been reworked by the former director of the National Library of Rio de Janeiro, the important Librarian Ramiz Galvão, in the first article of the first volume of the *Annaes da Biblioteca Nacional*, 1876. In the inventory taken by him, the collection would have at least 2290 specimens. The catalog of Brum in turn had 1980 entries. This collection, in its current state, makes one think of a reassembly and (re)editing process, and the manner by which it was reordered and publicized throughout the nineteenth century. Thus, re-updated. In all of these

procedures between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the collection highlights the strength of the engraved portrait as a worthy representation, resulting from a careful editing process, from the scholarly study of the correct biographical information. Ultimately, it was intended to settle scores with those who deserved to be remembered, especially given the devastation caused by the earthquake. This collection, however, was not committed to the realism of those portrayed, with the likeness granted to the individual, rather it agreed more with the social place, the reason for the prominence, the dignity to govern the choice – whether by birth, by military feats, bravery, faith, or for being a man of public office. The debate about portraiture goes beyond this *library* of Barbosa Machado, so crucial in the backrooms of the Royal Library that it moved to the Imperial Library, and with the proclamation of the Republic in 1889, became National. In other words, it is an unprecedented assembly of an extensive collection of portraits in print not necessarily committed to the likeness of the person on the portrait.

Moreover, I would highlight from the start another instance of the distinctive portraiture in that period. It is the appearance of portraits of artists while there is a *boom* of texts, manuscripts and printouts on art, engravings and drawings of Lisbon. On a smaller scale, in Coimbra. Overall, these texts claim the condition of the *liberal art* of painting and thus set discussion on the place and importance of drawing. The artist was portrayed or would portray himself. The long-living Machado de Castro (1731-1816) emphasized in itself the liberal arts character, surrounded by books, instruments, with a miniature of his equestrian statue in the background, standing in his library, as worthy as a member of the Republic of Literature. A close contender, the noblest 3rd Marquess of Angeja, then owner of a remarkable cabinet of Natural History, is represented as a man of this republic of literature who knows Natural History and is a collector of fauna and flora, although one may ask about the sloppiness of the clothes before his lordliness and care in other portraits of nobles. In these two portraits one can see that there is a commitment to the similarity between the image portrayed and the search for a psychological profile where image distinguishes the subject and thus stabilizes his image forever, becoming a place of memory. Notable painter Antonio Domingos de Sequeira (1768-1837) made self-portraits and was the reason for others. In it, the portrait is enough to enunciate and mean individuation. No medallion, frame or added text; no explicit bond with the court. They would rather use a black coat, neat and finely designed collar, hair well arranged and trimmed without attachments, no wigs, no talc, no lace or ornaments, which are things now seen as old fashioned and outdated.

The informativeness of the portrait, at the iconographic level, in the symbolic aspect, in its historical insertion, denotes the portrayed subject. One sees that in the portraits of the female figure in the same period and in the English, Spanish and French contexts. We see the pious and devoted mother

figure; the queen; the courtesan; the favorite of the king or noble; the artist; the family woman; wife and husband; the embodiment of beauty; the good wife; the pious; the holy; the nun; the goddess; where the accompanying elements deal with the clothing, background, embellishments, interiors, gardens, property, jewels, household, to name but a few of them, and mark a kind of counterpoint to the male figure. Moreover, another list of human figures appears in this period in a set of pictures and figurines: those common to the kingdom and the colonial world, providing materiality and iconography to people of the lower classes and conquered worlds, where Carlos Julian's figures are pontificated. Even in the sphere of *type*, there are a variety of military figures in their uniforms, a fairly new theme in the late eighteenth century and governed by the reform of the Military Profession by the earl of Lipe. Also, one finds the emergence of the portrait of the craft of the naturalist involved in philosophical voyages in the late eighteenth century, sponsored by the governmental machinery of the Portuguese monarchy. One can then speak of the emergence of portraits of types, of crafts and of individual subjects, in an unprecedented and impressive way by the volume found in all.

It is worth noting the figure of the naturalist in the watercolor below:



FONSECA, Tavares da. Watercolor paintings, Lines of some Mammals, birds and worms of Royal Museum of Our Lady of Help. (FARIA, 2001, p. 29)

The thorough methodical exercise and attention of the naturalist *in locus* appears in the pastel shades in the watercolor technique, as recommended by Lineu, and in an idealized manner, devoid of the bitterness of the jungles and waters, the torments of the people, delays, illnesses and the ills imposed by the voyage. Here, the naturalist is caught in the act of drawing, surrounded by fixtures and equipment, boxes of books, chests and boxes for packaging, containers for storing objects and liquids, revealing the care, sometimes time-consuming, to collect and catalog this fauna and flora *in locus*. From the small boat in the middle of the river interlaced in this sequence of actions that make up a line that ends in the foreground with the positioned objects, there is a notion of the extended chain of gestures around the naturalist, as the drawing - its illustration, addressed to the sciences and techniques from the perspective of an Enlightenment ideal of prosperity – depends essentially on these methodically executed procedures. Therefore, one sees a diversification of portraiture between the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century in the Portuguese literate and governing world, with a desired laicization of figures.¹²

IV

The librarian forcibly transferred from Lisbon to Rio, Luis Joaquim dos Santos Marrocos (1781-1838), wrote letters from Rio de Janeiro, between April 12, 1811 to March 26, 1821, to his father, Francisco José and her sister. Son of a librarian, he had followed in his father's profession and worked in the Joanina Library, resulting from the transfer of the royal court. His letters are known because of the careful keeping and classification system adopted by his father in Lisbon. On the other hand, we know nothing of the letters sent by his family. Although concerned with the classification system of a library, the son, Marrocos, did not give the letters the same treatment as his father. Positions of father and son can be presumed based on the father's statements, especially given the comments made by Marrocos (son), such as: disapproval of the sudden news of marriage, the issue of the Order of Christ, the diseases and poverty experienced by the family, often complained about, the news of the war in Europe, the longing for the return of the royal family, the death of his aunt, and so on. The letters, gathered today at the Ajuda Palace and edited, have highlighted the social ambitions of the author, his aversion to the climate and to the city of Rio de Janeiro, his resentment for having been forced to live in exile in the tropical and mannerless court, his commitment to cultivate a circle of friends to protect him, without abusing and without being abused, always trying to please and ask without adulation or motive for scorn and contempt, in order to obtain positions throughout life.

Reading these letters, we find social coexistence protocols in the ways of Marrocos as being within the spectrum. There is, firstly, on the whole, a longing to receive bounties, orders, pensions, jobs. If he insists for his father to request for, and obtain from King João, the position of chronicler of the Bragança Family, he tells of the bonuses obtained by many royalist agents in this newly installed court.¹³ A royal official, he remained for years in a room next to King João in Rio de Janeiro, because it was important to document the government's acts, the organization of which he was responsible.

In his epistolography, this logic of bounties and his notion of friendship entangled therein are reflected in the treatment given to father and sister. In general, he welcomes them with adjectives of loyalty, in a tone marked by hierarchy and obedience. He speaks of everyday life, receiving the latest letters, the ship that brought them, verification of lost correspondence in those times of wart. On his departure, he reestablishes family ties intermeddling in this affection supported on obedience, and reinforces his need to have them reaffirm ties in the next letter. In the middle of the letter he speaks of all sorts of subjects, quite committed to informing about his health, burdens, and network of favors. Throughout the letters, he comments on the incoming and outgoing journals, evidencing a willingness to address the immediate daily life during the many instabilities in the period. Father and son exchange journals. The father responds to the son by sending a book about the rating system, the son tells of a document found by him, sent to the Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon, and his consequent recognition. Both, with care, deal with a collection of images that would come to the court of Rio de Janeiro through his hands.

In this part of the correspondence, it appears that they order portraits and have them printed in Lisbon. They bear the costs based on open subscriptions in court to noble and royal officials, especially those linked to the Royal Press. They also refer to the reception of images. Due to the success of separate prints, especially of Lord Wellington (a craze at the time), they decide to open subscription in court to send *Retratos, elogios dos varões e donas que ilustram a nação portuguesa em virtudes e letras, armas, e artes, assim nacionais, como estrangeiros, tanto antigos, como modernos*, published in 1817 by the Studio of Simão Thadeo Ferreira.¹⁴ This is a collection of engravings with portraits of such gentlemen and ladies, all worthy by their deeds or lives to be remembered by being included in a memorable place - on the stone column, in drawing, in print, in books and inside the collection. These engravings date back from the neuralgic political moment of the empire, before the Portuguese demanded the return of the royal family to Portugal, the severity of the post-war period in Portugal, the risk of empire being fractured by patriotic republic in the Pernambuco of 1817. Portraits retold a common past with people and glorious gestures, created the heroes of a common past reinforced herein.

Marrocos was part of a visual culture reordered since the mid-eighteenth century and growing. From 1759 there is a process of institutionalization of the forms of teaching, drawing and engraving based on the workshop system, in which the apprentice learns directly with the master in the exercise of the job, as well as becoming a knowledge in the architecture of powers of this monarchy, thus expanding in volume, with a significant change in their quality, gain in social and symbolic prestige, and constitution of a well-trained, layer of artifices, without necessarily being created by the notion of authorship or craftsmanship. Furthermore, between 1799-1802, Printing House *Casa Editorial Tipográfica e Calcográfica do Arco do Cego*, under the programmatic and literate direction of fray Mariano da Conceição Veloso (1742-1811), faced this issue, later on proceeding to develop it in the newly established Royal Printing House, which took over from Casa do Arco do Cego. Such programmatic aspect also appears in the relationship of Arco do Cego with the first Steward of Lisbon, Pina Manique, and the sponsorship of D. Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho. Both encouraged and closely followed its operation. It is unnecessary to mention that the background of this process consists in the Pombal reform of Lisbon (FRANÇA, 1966) which reorders the Court under geometrically Enlightenment ideals, in the building or attempts thereof, since the 1770s, to erect royal monuments in public spaces like the equestrian statue of D. José I, the pedestrian statue of Queen D. Maria, commissioned by the 1st Marquess of Ponte de Lima, and D. Rodrigo ordering in Rio de Janeiro of an equestrian statue of King João.

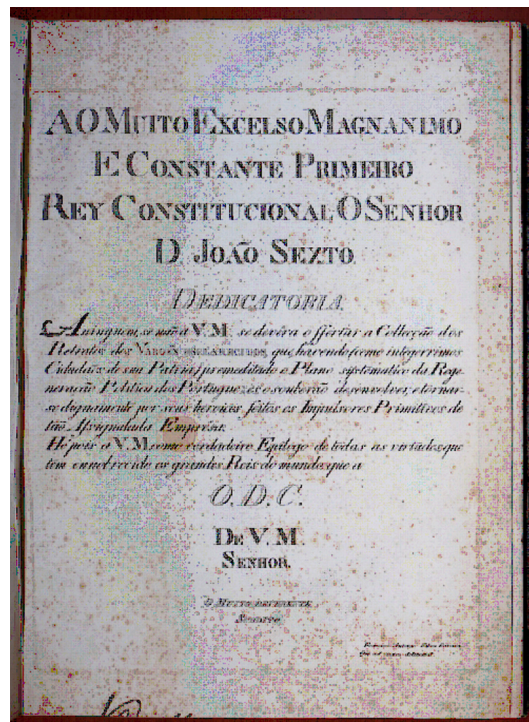
Luis Chaves indicated the appearance of the great Portuguese engraving, both individual and in books, between the second half of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. It became fashionable. Books, historical prints, portraits of mundane characters, kings and nobles, religious printings then received an extraordinary production. (SUBSÍDIOS, 1927). The engraving was a major theme at Arco do Cego, in the training of craftsmen in this field, and in the publication of texts and print. For example, the publication of the translation of selected passages from the foundational text of Abraham Bosse, or publication of texts on the printing lithographic process by this publishing house. This emphasizes the importance and the novelty engravings and printing brought to the Luso-Brazilian world, because Casa do Arco do Cego basically gathered Luso-Brazilian scholars.

The painter, printmaker, diplomat and art critic Roger de Piles, in the late seventeenth century, advocated the use of engraved images as a medium of instruction, fun, remembrance, and convincing. It dealt with the economy, from looking to creating systems for his characteristics:

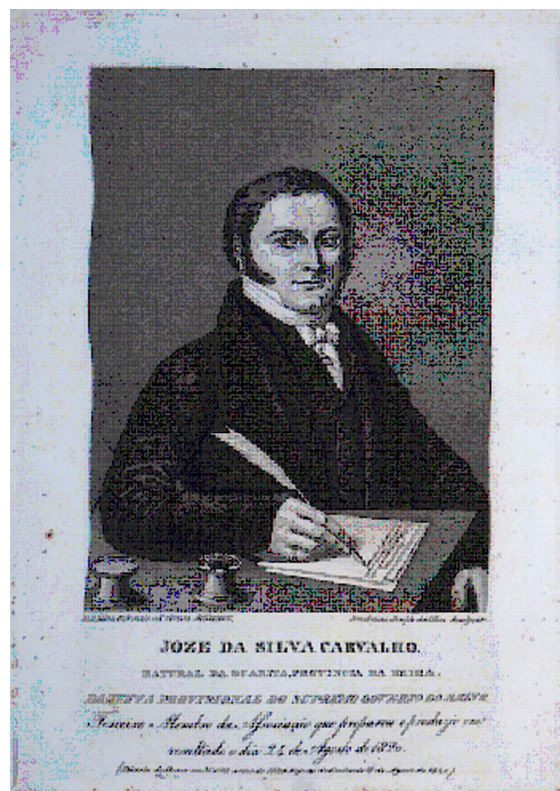
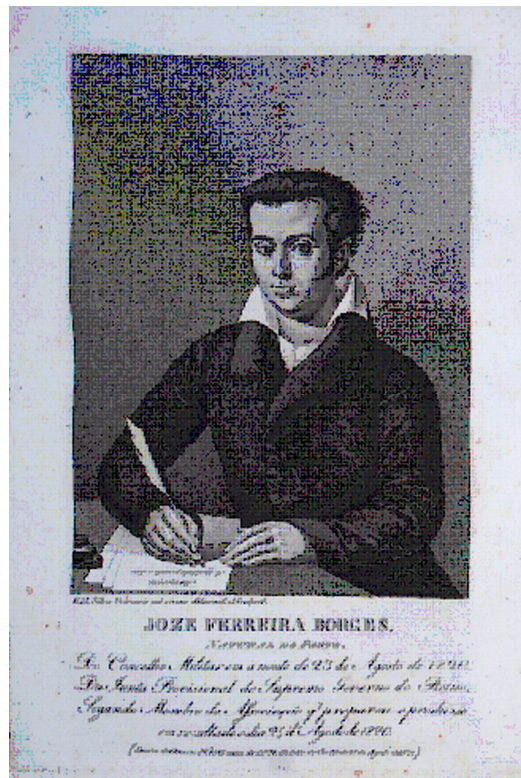
Among all the good effects which may result from the use of printed content, we shall limit here to presenting six of them, which will easily allow evaluating others.

The first is to entertain by imitation, representing us on visible things by their shape.
The second is to instruct us in a stronger and more immediate way than by word.
Things that go into the ears, said Horácio, take a much longer path and affect us less than those which enter through the eyes, being securer and faithful witnesses.
The third is to shorten the time one takes to reread things that escaped the memory, refreshing it with a glance.
The fourth, present to us remote things as if they were before our very eyes, which we could only see through arduous voyages and at great expense.
The fifth, to provide the means to easily compare several things together, given the little space prints occupy, by their vast number and diversity.
And the sixth, to create a taste for the good things, and provide at least a cursory knowledge of the fine arts, which must not be ignored by good people.¹⁵

There is an investment in portraiture in *varões e damas portuguesas* [*Portuguese gentlemen and ladies*], in the portraits by Antonio Domingos de Sequeira, individual and in family, or in the collection *Varões Esclarecidos* [*Enlightened Gentlemen*] of Francisco Antonio da Silva Oeirense (c.1797-1868). At least, the importance of the portrait is recognized as a genre and its valuation through circulation in print, at the moment when public opinion consolidates as a decisive instance of politics and the liberal press is born to involve political, professional and technical debates. They first appeared in a series of portraits made by Francisco Antonio Silva Oeirense, which constitutes a kind of iconographic pattern for a group of new social individuals in this transatlantic Luso-Brazilian world. Their collection of men of the Portuguese Constituent Assembly of 1820 refers to the *Portuguese* who swore on the Portuguese Constitution, diverging from the “Brazilian”, who left the Assembly and its premises. The *Brazilians* justify this removal on the grounds that the Constitution proclaimed hurt - after all, but with several distinctions - which they understood and represented as the rights and interests of Brazil. (Cf. BERBEL, 1999).



It deals with a kind of album delivered to King João VI¹⁶ titled *Colecção dos Retratos dos Varões Esclarecidos que havendo como integérrimos cidadãos da sua Pátria premeditado o Plano Systemático da Regeneração Política dos Portuguezes, o souberam desenvolver, e tornar-se dignamente por seus heroicos feitos os impulsores primitivos de tão assinalada empresa*, lithographs published in Lisbon between 1821-22. The collection also shows the virtues which ennoble the great kings. The *Dedication* denounces the painter's liberal position and lists the civil, military, religious men responsible for the Regeneration, with many of them being the heroes of the *Vintismo* (1820-23 political period). In general, the portrait in the collection is accompanied below by a very brief biographical notice that links the person on the portrait to the Regeneration. Those portrayed are usually accompanied by feather, ink, books and papers in his hands. Only one has a bookstore in the background, the only image with the background. Uniform with his medals, some military men showing no sign of literacy. Each is installed in their sober body. The pictures show the differentiation between men drawing a uniqueness to every one from the physiognomy and clothing. All, however, are focused, sober, serious, staring at the reader - initially, they looked at King João VI. In other words, they gaze at the monarch, as if repeatedly mentioning their actions, a constitutional piece signed and the radical change in the nature of the monarchy and the nation. Little distinguishing details: the youthfulness of the skin, the haircut, the opening of a collar, the hand pose, the severity of the coat, the expression of the eyes and mouth, the shape of the nose and the ear, the width of their forehead.



The *constitutional* or *members of parliament*, learned men, from the army, the Church, together with their belongings to characterize them can be seen in these portraits. However, the portrait keeps the function to refer necessarily and exclusively to that living individual. It is committed to expressing it. The person portrayed and his action in politics ensure that they deserve to be remembered through the portrait. In another direction, the collection dedicated to King João VI did not leave any doubt as to who would represent the nation and who was artisan of *Vintismo* (1820-23). In this collection, the commitment of similarity is anchored more on the face and social place by clothing and paraphernalia, knowing that at that time the face was understood as a specific knowledge and capable of expressing the character of the individual see. (ROUILLE, 2009). The portrait here referred to the same situation: being *constituent member of parliament*, so his clothes tend to be black, with little apparatus, according to what the assembly had voted to receive King João VI, regressing and embarrassed in 1821, following the teachings of Rousseau.

Painter Domingos Antonio de Sequeira was involved in several ways with the Courts. The press, in 1820, commented that he dedicated to painting an allegory to the Constitution and Portugal at the edge of the abyss. In 1821, he offered it to the Courts to represent the great deeds of the nation in paintings, and present designs for monuments dedicated to the Constitution. He drew the first bills of the Bank of Portugal, made costumes for government ministers and commemorative medals, collaborated in the decoration of the Hall of Courts, where he painted a portrait of King João VI. He also made a gallery of deputies of the Lisbon Courts in 1822, today the National Museum of Ancient Art in Lisbon. A set of portraits of the *congressmen*, made in the same manner with which a self-portrait was made at the time, in engraving. Thus, he shared the liberal ideals of the early 1820s. According to him, these were the *benefactors of the nation*, for being men of public recognition. Such recognition was not confined to the State alone; formerly, it penetrated domestic and private spaces winning votes and support. The portrait here remembers the virtue of the person portrayed, who did not bow to the logic of power of the Former Regime and the condition of birth. It is about virtue and not being exemplary, where virtue contributed decisively to the prosperity and the common good. The *benefactors of the nation* were chosen by the electoral system and reflected in every part of the empire, in order to constitute the fundamental laws of the nation. The realism of the portrait impresses. The inescapable Portuguese historian, José-Augusto França (1996), largely responsible for the visibility of this documentation about Domingos Sequeira, by organizing exhibitions about him in France and Portugal between 1980-90 – emphasized:

[...] Description's reality [that] shapes the reality of the characters who had to be such in their function and their faith; this sense of reality in which Sequeira did not transpose in any measure to the portrait, added nothing that the person portrayed himself did not; the immediate value of the portrait is psychological, and historical by this means, revealing an individual character. (FRANÇA, 1996, p. 24-29).

There was nothing at that time in Portugal, França says, matching it, and also, "it was not an adopted lesson or model" because Sequeira did not see David or Ingres on portraits of similar feat, although the painter works within the genre of the portrait. Made with charcoal, with the application of chalk to highlight the line, as learned in their training, the portrait in three-quarters or profile with the black, discrete clothes in Portuguese fabric, denounce biographical traits and a certain subjective density of each amid this graphic and iconographic pattern. The portrait united thought, character and physical appearance, enrolling in the very identity of the portrayed person.

The portrait went on to show the congressman by demonstrating his moderate character as a distinctive trait and virtuous quality of men who composed parliament, not to mention their circumstances of birth, blood and honor, silencing themselves on these predicates, erasing or relegating them to the past. Moreover, being a member of the Courts marked forever the biography of these men, which ennobled it. To some extent, the portraits functioned as biographical data outlining the constituent to give you an individualized physiognomy and a psychological profile based on moderation. This nexus of the portrait indicates a new discursive order, look, foregrounding the setting itself, combining a density subjective to a political performance, I suggest, by moderation towards the *juste milieu* and the development of the figure of *gentilhomme* able to know how to address voters from different social layers, able to attend various social spaces, with a modern air, endowed with a high argumentative capacity and which, thanks to self-control and gracefulness, walks through conflict and always pacifies it in favor of order.

On the one hand, these engravings communicate with the genre of the portrait made at the time in Spain, England, France, USA, giving it a cosmopolitan content and enhancing the circulation of these portraits, especially the engravings. In turn, these portraits were directed to the monarch and defining the faces of the representatives of the nation forever, with their righteous morals. Made for the collection and gallery, they had to be seen in their entirety as well. Engraved, they presumed since their origin to be reproduced in oil or have other copies produced by mechanical processes or copied by hand. These portraits become intrinsic data on the biography of these subjects and should, by obligation, be well remembered. Standard imagery is engendered to represent men from different social and geographical origins, but who are made equal in the face of election, upon the principle of equality

in the use of reason, because their power does not derive from tradition, but from the urgency of political modernity. The portrait itself attested the merits of each and functioned as a biographical device.

A scholar of the trajectory of Cipriano José Barata de Almeida (1762-1838), Marco Morel noted in the commented gallery the portrait made in life by Sequeira, where Cipriano Barata appeared as a "man of letters" or "patriotic writer". According to Morel, this iconography matched his physical description taken from the Records of Inquest of the Conspiracy of Tailors, in which the "sparkle in his eyes" was emphasized. (MOREL, 2011). Unless mistaken, he added, this portrait was not reproduced or disclosed at the time. The portrait is in contrast with the reworking of his political identity from 1831, when Cipriano adopted, according to descriptions of the time, utopian clothes, political emblems like earth cotton coat, straw hats, coffee branch in hands and long white hair. He radically changed his image between the decades of 1820-30. In part, the political and historiographical interpretations therefrom indicated that he became passionate, radical, threatening, exaggerated, and was therefore relegated to oblivion and the emptying of meaning. He was not only an important newspaper editor, but also a nationwide leader in the foundation of Brazil. His leadership was based on "charisma" and "persuasion (mingling reason and passion)" and not military, bureaucratic power, being the owner, agent, by blood or by honor, contrary to tradition. Thus, the portrayed individual accurately perceived the need to reinvent his political identity in order to strengthen his own charisma and political positions. Furthermore, for the cover of this writer's biography, by Morel, editor Luis Guilherme Pontes Tavares ordered, from painter, Bahia native Henrique Passos, in 2000, a new portrait of Cipriano Barata, and Marco Morel detailed his iconography. The portrait could better reflect the trajectory of this political leader and undo our forgetfulness, as well as indicate by how much Cipriano Barata realized the importance of the way to portray the game of political identities of that moment. In other words, his biography needed, to some extent, another portrait deserving of him and the person subject of biography.

Another aspect of this list of portraits, especially prints, of men who governed Brazil between 1820-40, lies in its permanence throughout the nineteenth century at the court of Rio de Janeiro. This form of representation, in some way deemed legitimate by the depicted person, appears in the image production of the Typography of Villeneuve and of Plancher-Signot, in which, for example, Pedro I himself appears in this form of representation.



Incidentally, well informed, Pedro I adopted for himself graphic shapes of the then new engraving,¹⁷ especially lithography. His son, Pedro II, will do the same more successfully and intensely with the photography. All with immense use of the portrait. This mode which combines the subjective character and display of a profile provided with a supposed inherent capacity to govern reappeared incessantly portrayed in separate, engraved portraits, or added to political, artistic, literary and scientific journals as of 1840. However, this discursive lexicon became permanently crystallized in the *Galeria de Brasileiros Ilustres* of Sisson (Cf. PARRON), who gathered this collection of 90 portraits with biographical data. A representation of the figures of Pedro II and of majority of elite men was established, from the executive and legislative powers to the military, and capitalists, merchants, traders, farmers, barons, found in lithographs and photography.¹⁸ One can think of a certain familiarity in this standard of galleries of heroes and men of governance, as if the constituent members of parliament of Domingos Antonio de Sequeira and Silva Oirense were the past, a necessary period of the past, of these men of the present. Maybe an iconographic source of the good man of government, who seems to be almost neutral as master of himself and the political game.

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Notes

¹ Marcia Gonçalves de Almeida discusses the biographical investment between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in biographical narrative and the writing of history: Octavio Tarquinio de Souza and his time. (GONÇALVES, 2004).

² In 2012, the finalists of the *Jabutí* award were three important historical works because of what they bring to light in the relations of historical individuals in different social and political dimensions. I Mention: SOUZA, 2011; VAINFAS, 2011; SCHPUN, 2011. Although the latter did not define his work as biographical which reveals the editorial weight in this *boom* of biographies greatly reaching the public, to the extent that publishing house Cia das Letras, widely accepted in the academic world, relies on an editorial line focused on biographies.

³ Suffices to mention some writings of Carlo Ginzburg in this direction, from his *O Queijo e os Vermes* (1987), to *O nome e o como*. Troca desigual e mercado historiográfico (1989), *Micro-história: duas ou três coisas que sei a respeito* (2007), or Sabina Loriga's *A biografia como problema* (1998), considering the Portuguese editions.

⁴ Jorge Pedreira explained the confirmed emergence of the image of the trader in the mid eighteenth century in the *Os homens de negócio da Praça de Lisboa de Pombal ao Vintismo*. (PEDREIRA, 1995). On the other, Silvia Lara showed the questioning around the mulatto in her *Fragments Setecentistas*. (LARA, 2007). Recently Hans-Jurgen Lüsebrink explored the literate and anticolonial actions of some Jesuits exiled in Europe in *Jésuites sud-américains et philosophes français*. (LÜSEBRINK, 2014).

⁵ The notion of generation, it seems, needs to be explored as a historiographical category to organize this unprecedented experience that realigns the game again between the individual and the social and collective instances.

⁶ Cf. the detailed depiction of King João V, D. José I, D. Maria I de Breno Marques Ribeiro. (RIBEIRO, 2012).

⁷ In the effective Aristotelian sense in this Portuguese monarchy. (Cf. OLIVAL, 2000).

⁸ This is evident in the documentation examined by Jose Aderaldo Castello. (CASTELLO, 1969-1978).

⁹ *BIBLIOTECA Lusitana Histórica, Crítica e Cronológica na qual comprehendea noticia dos auctores portugueses*. Lisboa: Off. de Antonio Isidoro da Fonseca. 1747-1759. Most of the prints, according to Menezes Brum, is authored by Guilherme Debrie (? -1755). Barbosa Machado was a founding member of the Royal Academy of History, established in December 1720, to which it is also owed a qualitative leap in the field of printmaking because of the technical process, and the use of selected characters. It is worth remembering that the image was of unprecedented importance in the first half of the eighteenth century, whether of King João V, or with the policy of hiring foreign artists to illustrate editions of the nascent Royal Academy of History.

¹⁰ Applauses for the years, oratory, poetry, entrances, epithalamia, funeral praises, history, latest actions and feats, military news, stories of siege, manifestations, peace treaties, records of the courts and reporting, genealogical news, news on missions, processions and holy triumphs, several sermons, acknowledgments for life and health, popular songs in honor of saints and feasts.

¹¹ About the material formation of this editing process, Cf FARIA, 2009.

¹² Miguel Faria also indicated a sought after secularization of public art in this period by by the political elite who held positions in the Portuguese monarchy. See FARIA, 2013.

¹³ This transient condition of the court is explicit in the unstable condition of the Regent himself: who could or could not return to Portugal, under the imminent risk of the militarily occupied kingdom being French, or English, at the mercy of wars to the south and north of Brazil, at odds with his wife, defender of the Spanish monarchy, under the pressure of nobles calling for union of the Courts with la Lamego, according to his mother's health, the need to build new nobility systems of smaller scale in Rio through a system of baronies, at the risk of the republican fracture of his empire with Pernambuco of 1817, later on amidst the constitutional authority in early 1820.

¹⁴ According to Marrocos, it is painstaking to obtain a list of subscribers for several reasons: the delay in sending the work ordered, the subscriber's desire to see the work and receive it quickly, the subscriber's security, cost of the work mentioned in letter, and the prestige of the subscribers; therefore, it could not be offered to just anyone. In 1816, the Royal Press published a *Colecção de retratos de todos os homens que adquiriram nome pelo gênio, talento, virtudes etc, desde o*

princípio do mundo até nossos dias, showing this type of publication and interest for great feats and the heroes at the time. Here, the figure of Américo Vespucci, of three-quarters, appears outlined with clear profile, Italian Renaissance hat and a very brief two-line biography.

¹⁵ Closely following the arguments and the translation made by Maria Inez Turazzi in the Preface of Renata Santos. (SANTOS, 2008). This is *Abrégé de la vie des peintres* (Paris, 1699) of Roger de Piles.

¹⁶ In Brazil, King João VI was also the chiseled figure made by Charles Simon Pradier, based on drawing of Jean-Baptiste Debret. He had also received pictures of men in government, uniformed or not. For him, Debret and Domingos Sequeira drew the agents of the monarchy in uniform, creating distinctions between them and the same visual program to place them in the Luso-Brazilian world.

¹⁷ Cf. SANTOS, 2008, p. 60. The author points out the importance given by King Pedro I to the engraving and the ways in which the engraving was established at various levels of court life: prints published in books, separate prints of landscape and portraits, title pages of books, maps, wall paper for the domestic space, cards for playing, by documentation traced in journals.

¹⁸ Cf. The research under my guidance by Flávia Fábio Garbogini. *Um álbum imaginário: Insley Pacheco*. (GARBOGINI, 2005). Paulo Roberto de Jesus Meneses comments on the relationship between lithography and photography: “[...] In the 1850s, lithography and photography would be allied techniques because the images produced by the daguerreotype could be copied by lithographic process, thus encouraging reproduction in greater scale and significantly increasing the visibility of the photographic product in Rio de Janeiro”. (MENESES, 2009).

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