

THE CONTEMPORARIES OF
ANTÔNIO FRANCISCO LISBOA:
An Annotated Bibliography

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It is generally agreed that the artistic world of eighteenth-century Brazil was dominated by the sculptor/architect, Antônio Francisco Lisboa—"O Aleijadinho" ("the little cripple")—who has been called one of the most important artists ever to develop in Latin America. The peculiar circumstances of his life, combined with his obvious artistic genius, have resulted in considerable scholarly interest and study. The annotated bibliography that brought Aleijadinho scholarship from 1940 through 1973, in combination with the earlier bibliographies of Martins and Smith-Wilder, provides a relatively complete chronicling of works dealing exclusively with A. F. Lisboa.¹

The study of Aleijadinho, however, should be set against the general cultural environment of Minas Gerais in the late eighteenth century, and should make reference to the other leading artists and artisans of the day, with whom it is presumed Lisboa interacted. The object of the present research is to broaden the bibliographic base provided by previous works. One result of this study was the unfortunate discovery that the research done to date on the contemporaries of Aleijadinho is scarce, scattered, and difficult to retrieve. One can only hope that, as scholars fill in more of the gaps in the study of Lisboa, they will then begin to shift their attention to his contemporaries.

An attempt should also be made to evaluate the degree to which Lisboa influenced and was influenced by his contemporaries. It is recognized that the artistic flowering of the *século do ouro* was produced by the scores of artists who flocked to Minas Gerais in the years after the discoveries of gold (1698) and diamonds (1729). With the exception of Lisboa, and to a lesser degree Manuel da Costa Ataíde (1762–1830), far too little attention has been paid to these artists. Until recently it was difficult to obtain even the briefest bits of biographical data on many of them. Now, however, we have the magnificent *Dicionário Brasileiro de Artistas Plásticas*, which provides a wealth of information on artists both obscure and famous (see Cavalcanti 1973).

It has long been known that Ataíde, one of the foremost Mineiro

painters, did the interiors of many of the churches designed by Lisboa. Far less, however, is known of the dozens of other artists and craftsmen who contributed to Lisboa's works. In some instances their contributions amounted nearly to what could be termed joint efforts. For instance, the sculptor/painter Manuel Gonçalves Braganca worked on the Church of Bom Jesus do Matozinhos, where the twelve prophets of Aleijadinho stand; for many years, Braganca's work was erroneously attributed to Lisboa. One researcher has even suggested that the architectural and engineering efforts of Tomaz de Maria Brito on Bom Jesus do Matozinhos were specifically designed to receive the statues of the prophets (see Reis 1939). The great painter João Nepomuceno Correia e Castro worked on the same church and is considered, along with Ataíde, one of the foremost Brazilian painters of the entire colonial period. Certainly, these types of interactions must have tended toward the blending of artistic influence.

It is quite remarkable that a genius such as Lisboa's could have developed in what was certainly one of the more remote corners of the eighteenth-century world. Where he learned his craft and how he became so intimately familiar with the European style of his day—the style we now call baroque—is a major problem for art historians. It is known that Aleijadinho learned much from his European-trained father, Manuel Francisco Lisboa (?-1767), about whose life and works very little research has been conducted. It has also been assumed that the sculptor and woodcarver, Francisco Xavier de Brito (?-1751), exerted a great influence on the early artistic development of Lisboa. The works of Graziano Gasparini (1972) and Robert C. Smith (1948, 1968, 1969, 1973) attempt to draw links between Lisboa and the practitioners of the baroque style in Europe, especially Portugal. The eminent Brazilian art critic, Rodrigo Melo Franco de Andrade, has detected three principle artistic influences on Lisboa: his father, M. F. Lisboa; the artist, João Batista Gomes; and the woodcarver, José Coelho Noronha.²

It is hoped that the materials brought together below will help future scholars arrive at a clearer understanding of the life and genius of that remarkable artist, Lisboa. To the best of my knowledge, this is the first attempt to provide a bibliography of this important, if scarce, material.

NOTES

1. James Hogan, "Antônio Francisco Lisboa, 'O Aleijadinho': An Annotated Bibliography," *LARR* 9, no. 2 (1974):83–94; Judith Martins, "Apontamentos para a Bibliografia Referente a Antônio Francisco Lisboa," *Revista do S.P.H.A.N.*, no. 3 (1939):179–205; Smith and Wilder (1948).
2. Much of the work of this type has been either funded or at least encouraged by the Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional (S.P.H.A.N.), and the reader

will find citations to many articles from its *Revista* and *Publicações* in this bibliography.

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- Alden, Darril, editor. *Colonial Roots of Modern Brazil*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.
- Amaral, Aracy A. *A Hispano na Arte Seiscentista do Brasil*. São Paulo: Editor Comunicações e Artes, 1972.
- Andrade, Rodrigo Melo Franco de. "Contribuição para o Estudo da Obra do Aleijadinho." *Revista do S.P.H.A.N.* 3, no. 2 (1938):255–97. Commemorates the centennial of the birth of Lisboa. This article was responsible for setting off the twentieth-century interest in the artist. It contains photocopies of receipts and commissions of Aleijadinho and stands as the first real attempt to bring modern scholarship to the study of Aleijadinho, in an effort to separate fact from myth.
- Arinus, Afonso Melo Franco de. *Desenvolvimento da Civilização Material no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: Publicações do Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional (Ministerio du Educação e Saúde), no. 11 (1944). A chronological history of Brazil. The chapter on the eighteenth century deals with the settlement years of Minas Gerais but offers little that is new.
- Avila, Affonso. *O Lúdico e as Projções do Mundo Barroco*. São Paulo: Editôra Perspectiva, 1971.
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- . "Manuel da Costa Ataíde, Dourador." *Revista do S.P.H.A.N.* 3, no. 2 (1938):149–50. In a letter, the author reproduces an original contract to prove his thesis that the altars of the Church of Our Lady of Carmo in Ouro Preto were painted by Ataíde.
- Barboza, Antônio da Cunha. "Aspectos da Arte Brasileira Colonial." *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* 61, pt. 1 (1898):89–154.
- Bardi, Paulo M. *História da Arte Brasileira: Pintura, Escultura, Arquitetura e Outras Artes*. São Paulo: Edições Melhoramentos, 1975. A beautiful volume dealing with all aspects of Brazilian art history. Of special interest to this study are chap. 3 ("O Transplante Barroco,"), 4 ("O Século do Ouro"), and 5 ("O Magistral Aleijadinho"). There is a short section on the baroque painters who, the author claims, are still not being studied as they should (p. 135). The chapter on Lisboa offers little that is new, but it treats the known quite well. The work is lavishly illustrated in both color and black and white, is well indexed, but lacks a bibliography.
- Barreto, Paulo Thedim. "Análise de Alguns Documentos Relativos a Casa de Câmara e Cadeia de Mariana." *Revista do S.P.H.A.N.*, no. 16 (1968):219–51. An examination of several eighteenth-century official documents. Several deal with commissions granted to the Lisboas, Brito, and José Pereira dos Santos.

- Batista, Nair. "Valentim da Fonseca e Silva." *Revista do S.P.H.A.N.*, no. 4 (1940):271–325. A discussion of the life and work of Maestro Valentim, the painter. Excellent bibliography.
- Bayon, Damian. "Les Baroques en Amérique du Sud: Le Nord-Est. Brésilien Face au Domaine Hispanique." *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale* (UNESCO, Paris) 13 (1971):133–51.
- Bazin, Germain. *L'Architecture Religieuse Baroque au Brésil*. São Paulo: Museu de Arte, 1955. 2 vols. A monumental survey of Brazilian architecture. Chapter 11 deals with Minas Gerais and begins with a discussion of Antônio Francisco Pombal and his brother, Manuel Francisco Lisboa (the father of Aleijadinho). There is a list of the elder Lisboa's principle works with discussion, photos, and floor plans for each. The section dealing with the second half of the eighteenth century contains a short biographical sketch of each of the principle contemporaries of Aleijadinho. There follows a detailed architectural description of his principle works. Volume 2 is a monument-by-monument catalog, arranged geographically. The description of each monument is followed by its principle bibliographical sources.
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- Castedo, Leopoldo. "Latin American Painting and Sculpture." In *Latin America and the Caribbean: A Handbook*, edited by Claudio Veliz, pp. 795–801. New York: Praeger, 1968.
- Cavalcanti, Carlos, coordinator. *Dicionário Brasileiro de Artistas Plásticas*. Brasília: Instituto Nacional do Livro (Ministerio da Educação e Cultura), 1973. 5 vols. Indispensable to the student of Brazilian art. The arrangement is dictionary with thousands of entries, plus 1,500 illustrations. Includes even the most obscure artists. This work now supersedes all previous such compilations.
- Charles, Geo. *L'Art Baroque au Brésil*. Paris: Editions Internationales, 1956. A discussion of Brazilian baroque art in general, with a heavy emphasis on the state of Pernambuco. Chapter 5 is devoted to Minas Gerais. The listing of principle Mineiro artists is confusing (e.g., by Francisco Xavier, does the author mean Francisco Xavier de Brito?). The short section on Aleijadinho adds little that is new. There is also a brief catalog of the principle sites of Mineiro baroque art.
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- _____. "Risco Original de Antônio Francisco Lisboa." *Revista do S.P.H.A.N.*, no. 17 (1969):239–42. The first known assignment of Aleijadinho was from his father, Manuel Francisco Lisboa, in 1752, when the lad was fourteen years old.
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- analysis (church by church) of Mineiro colonial painting, with special emphasis on the works of Manoel da Costa Ataíde, who painted the interiors of many of Aleijadinho's most famous architectural works. The author provides a chronological list of the most important works attributed to Ataíde. Includes fine black-and-white illustrations and an index of painters and illustrations.
- Ferez, Gilberto. "A Fotografia no Brasil." *Revista do S.P.H.A.N.*, no. 10 (1946): 169–297. An interesting history of photography in Brazil. Contains some of the earliest photographs ever published of Ouro Prêto, São Francisco de Assis (Ouro Prêto), the wooden statues of Aleijadinho (Congohas do Campo), and Diamantina.
- Gasparini, Graziano. *América, barroco y arquitectura*. Caracas: Ernesto Armitano Editor, 1972. Chapter 9 deals with Brazil and pp. 476–517 deal with Minas Gerais. The author admits that Aleijadinho was a great artist but casts doubt on the originality of his works. He feels that Lisboa relied more heavily than had been thought on the work of Andre Soares de Braga. Good black-and-white photos of the work of both men.
- La Iglesia del Bom Jesus Matozinhos, Minas Gerais, Brasil*. Instituto Interuniversitário de História de la Arquitectura, 1971.
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- _____. "A Pintura do Guadamar José Soares de Araju em Diamantina." *Revista do S.P.H.A.N.*, no. 4 (1940):155–77. A discussion of the effect on Brazilian art of the presence in Minas Gerais of Soares, one of the leading Portuguese painters of the time.
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- . *História da Arte Brasileira*. Belo Horizonte: Biblioteca Mineira de Cultura, Edições Apollo, 1937. Almost a third (pp. 179–310) of this book deals with the art of colonial Minas Gerais. Many poor-quality photographs and little that is new on either Aleijadinho or his cultural environment. In a footnote, the author mentions that he had in preparation a work on Aleijadinho, but I have been unable to locate such a work.
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- Palestro Proferida por R. M. F. de Andrade em Ouro Preto. "Comemoração do 257 Aniversário de Elevação [de Ouro Preto] a Categoria de Vila." *Revista do S.P.H.A.N.*, no. 17 (1968):11–26. An interesting summation of the colonial art and architecture of Minas Gerais.
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- . *Congonhas do Campo*. Texto de Robert C. Smith. Fotos de Marcel Gautherot e R. C. Smith. Rio de Janeiro: Artes Gráficas Indústrias Reunidas S.A. (AGIR), 1973. Beautiful black-and-white photographs and an excellent introductory essay by Smith in which he stresses the great similarities between Aleijadinho's work at Congonhas and the Bom Jesus of Braga (Portugal),

- largely executed by Andre Soares. The comparison is continued in the photographs. Smith concludes that in sheer artistic merit the work of Lisboa is clearly superior.
- Smith, Robert C., and Wilder, Elizabeth, editors. *A Guide to the Art of Latin America*. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1948.
- Spangenberg, Elsa Mendez. *Ensayo sobre arte colonial en Minas Gerais*. Madrid: Maldonado, 1952. A narrative history of Minas Gerais. Unlike other authors, who trace Brazilian baroque directly to European origins transmitted via paintings and drawings, Spangenberg says "aparece en Minas un barroquismo nativo, un arte brasileiro, donde los elementos étnicos se mezclan, arte que es el fruto de tres razas—europea, india, y africana, que llegan a criar influidas por el medio un arte nuevo contribución de cultura a la evolución social del pueblo minero" (p. 30). A short section on A. F. Lisboa dwells on his illness but does connect him with the work of several other artisans (João Gomes Batista, Felix José da Rocha, Jorge de Almeida, João Soares de Araujo, Manoel da Gama Vilas Boas, Manoel Ribeiro Guimaraes, José Rodriquez de Oliveira, and Manoel da Costa Ataíde).
- Terry, Edward Davis, editor. *Artists and Writers in the Evolution of Latin America*. University: University of Alabama Press, 1969.
- Trindade, Conego Raimundo. "Ourives de Minas Gerais nos Séculos XVIII e XIX." *Revista do S.P.H.A.N.*, no. 12 (1955):107–49. Documentation of the famous Mineiro goldsmith, João de Lima, as well as a documented list of all the other official goldsmiths of Minas Gerais.
- _____. "Igreja das Mercês de Ouro Preto; Documentos do seu Arquivo." *Revista do S.P.H.A.N.*, no. 14 (1959):161–283. A history of the Church of Mercy of Ouro Preto, founded by the Sisters of Mercy. A detailed description of the work performed by each of the artists who were engaged in the construction of the church, which was begun in 1731. Accompanied by 265 documents dealing with the actual construction (receipts, lists of workmen, contracts, etc.).
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- Valladares, José. "Arte Brasileira; Publicações 1943–1953. Bibliografia Comentada com Índice Remissivo." *Revista do S.P.H.A.N.*, no. 10 (1945):107–34. A general bibliography of publications on Brazilian art over a ten-year period. The emphasis is on the state of Bahia, but there are entries for Minas Gerais.
- _____. *Estudos de Arte Brasileira*. Salvador, Bahia: Museu do Estado de Bahia, publicação 15 (1960).
- Vasconcellos, Salomão de. "Ofícios Mecânicos em Vila Rica durante o Século XVIII." *Revista do S.P.H.A.N.*, no. 4 (1940):331–60. An examination of the record books of the public works department, showing works commissioned. Included are carpenters, sculptors, and bricklayers. There are references to commissions granted to Aleijadinho and several of the other prominent Mineiro artists. It must be remembered that, because of his color, Lisboa was forced to receive many of his commissions through proxies. This makes the detective work a bit more difficult.
- _____. "Como Nasceu Sabará." *Revista de S.P.H.A.N.*, no. 9 (1945):291–330. A discussion of the founding of Sabará, a town that houses many of the Mineiro art treasures. Covers the years 1701–1721.

- . “Como Nasceu Ouro Prêto: Sua Formação Cadastral desde 1712.” *Revista do S.P.H.A.N.*, no. 12 (1955):177–232. A fascinating account of the early layout of Ouro Prêto, with a street-by-street description. We find, for instance, that on Rrua da Cadeia Velha, parte do sul, resided one Manuel Francisco Lisboa.
- Vasconcellos, Sylvio de. *Vila Rica: Formação e Desenvolvimento, Residencias*. Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura, Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1956.
- . *Arquitetura, Dois Estudos*. São Paulo: Estadual do Livro, 1959. The second of the two studies deals with colonial constructions in Minas Gerais and contains a discussion of the development of Lisboa’s art as influenced by João Gomes Batista and Luiz Camilo de Oliveira Neto.
- . *Arquitetura no Brasil: Sistemas Construtivos*. 4 ed. rev. Belo Horizonte: Universidade de Minas Gerais, Escolas de Arquitetura, 1961.