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Imagem: R. Sambonet, Basket, bag designed by Sambonet for La Rinascente department stores, 1951, wicker, produced by Vittorio Bonacina. Courtesy of Archivio Roberto Sambonet.

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Dr. Paolo Rusconi*

Abstract

The biography of Pietro Maria Bardi (1900-1999), journalist, art dealer, and founder of MASP (Museu de Arte de São Paulo), presents itself as an exemplary story of Italian intellectual migration to South America during the second half of the 20th Century. This paper privileges a perspective that, taking into consideration the latest results of historiographical research, aims at explaining his vision of Brazil through the relationships previously formed into Fascist Italy and through the dense overlap initiatives related to the experimentation of modern artistic languages. Bardi’s first journey to South America has been in 1933, when he organised and staged an exhibition of new modern Italian architecture. The aim of the trip was to create a consensus around fascism abroad, although the rhetoric of the approach was soon embraced by modernist experiences, particularly by Le Corbusier. The following travel, in 1946 to Brazil, corresponded, for him, to a second life. Around the MASP project, he established a creative colony of artists and architects who took to Brazil the experiences of modernity matured in Europe. The experiences achieved in the urban environment of tropical expanding metropolis, such as the travels to the coasts and the inland areas of Brazil, discovering the nature, the folklore and the native cultures, were crucial sources of inspiration for intellectuals and artists, like the young Italians Roberto Sambonet and Gastone Novelli, who kept a gaze close to the Avant-Garde expressive syntaxes.

Keywords

Pietro Maria Bardi. Artistic relation between Italy and Brazil. Transnational networks of artists. Gastone Novelli. Roberto Sambonet. Artistic hybridization. Tropicalization.

Resumo

A biografia de Pietro Maria Bardi (1900-1999), jornalista, negociante de arte e fundador do MASP (Museu de Arte de São Paulo), apresenta-se como uma história exemplar da migração intelectual italiana para a América do Sul durante a segunda metade do século XX. Este artigo privilegia uma perspectiva, que levando em consideração os resultados de pesquisas históricas mais recentes, busca compreender sua visão do Brasil através das relações anteriormente constituídas na Itália fascista e das tensas iniciativas simultaneamente relacionadas à experimentação das linguagens artísticas modernas. A primeira viagem de Bardi à América do Sul foi em 1933, quando ele organizou uma exposição da nova arquitetura italiana. O objetivo da viagem era criar um consenso em torno do fascismo no exterior, conquanto a retórica da abordagem tenha sido logo adotada por experiências modernistas, particularmente por Le Corbusier. A viagem posterior, em 1946 ao Brasil, correspondeu, para ele, uma segunda vida. Em torno do projeto MASP, ele constituiu uma colônia criativa de artistas e arquitetos italianos que levaram ao Brasil experiências de modernidade amadurecidas na Europa. As experiências alcançadas no ambiente urbano das metrópoles tropicais em expansão, como as viagens ao litoral e áreas do interior do Brasil, descobrindo a natureza, o folclore e a cultura nativa, foram fontes cruciais de inspiração para intelectuais e artistas, como os jovens italianos Roberto Sambonet e Gastone Novelli, que mantiveram o olhar próximo das sintaxes expressivas das vanguardas.

Palavras-chave

Pietro Maria Bardi. Relação artística entre Itália e Brasil. Redes transnacionais de artistas. Gastone Novelli. Roberto Sambonet. Hibridização artística. Tropicalização.

What remains of Pietro Maria Bardi's great work of cultural dissemination on the two sides of the ocean? What about its legacy? And why bringing up once again the story of a man whose life spent between Italy and Brazil spanned the whole of the 20th century?

Especially in today's world, the actions of a man identified with that century's outlooks can hardly raise sensation. We look disapprovingly upon his approximations and amateurism and are wary of the shadows of the past that amass around his name; his political leanings, or rather, his Fascist past, and a certain impenetrability in the account of his life as an art dealer [fig. 1]. His silences and his ambiguities marked the whole course of his life, yet on his death in 1999 did not blot the profile of him as sketched out in the Italian or Brazilian obituaries¹. But then his cultural merits are at least as important as his opacities.

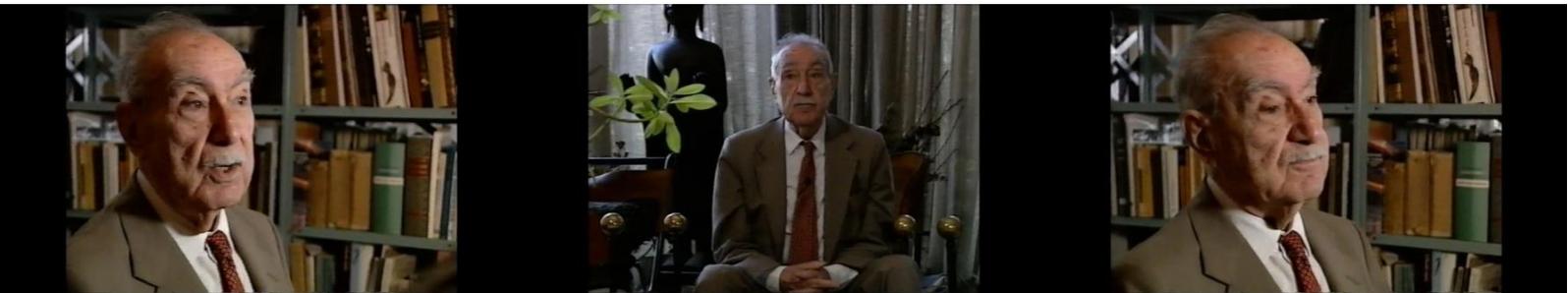


Fig.1. Frames from *Pietro Maria Bardi. L'avventura dell'arte*, Directed by Giampiero Gasparino, 1992.

The 30 years since the publication of Tentori's biography (Tentori, 1990) have not gone by without a change in our understanding of Bardi's adventure and its context. Historians have moved – slowly, but they have moved. We have several waves of research both in Brazil and in Italy by young and less youthful scholars. Events such as the conferences organised in Campinas by Nelson Aguilar (Aguilar ed., 2019)² and the crucial work conducted at the USP by Ana Gonçalves Magalhaes (Magalhaes ed., 2014) have shed new light on the context of Bardi's South American travels.

We now know almost everything about Pietro Maria Bardi's arrival in Brazil thanks to Viviana Pozzoli's studies (Pozzoli, 2014 and 2016: 145–73). We thus have new information about the organisation of the first MASP through the studies of three young researchers: Stela Politano (2010), Luna Lobão (2019: 189-201) and Marina Martin Barbosa (2015). With regard to the relationships between the Museum of São Paulo and the history of design in Brazil we might mention works by Milene Soares Cará (2014), Maria Claudia Bonadio (2014: 35-70) and Débora Gigli Buonano (2016), and in particular Ethel Leon's essay dedicated to the Instituto de Arte Contemporânea (Leon, 2014).

I do not forget the studies of Eugênia Gorini Esmeraldo (2019: 203-223), Luciano Migliaccio (2014), Rodrigo Otávio da Silva Paiva (2011), and Aline Coelho Sanchez Corato (2016: 187-215). Nevertheless, I remain personally convinced that there is much still to be explored, starting from an examination of the recently reorganised personal archive at the Instituto Lina Bo e P.M. Bardi, and most of all analysing a large number of fragments of Bardi's personal writings which, although they may not provide us a biography in the true sense of the word, bear witness to his interest in setting out his recollections in the mature years, to take final stock of his own life³.

For example, the two terms of this paper's title – the idea of Brazil, or rather the image of the nation that Bardi interiorises and communicates, and the second life which would be better defined as the exciting sensation of living a second life – are frequently evoked in the aforementioned piles of notes by Bardi.

One of these, which is unpublished and can be dated to the 1980s, is extremely interesting and introduces us directly to the topic addressed:

I had a vague penchant for South America, which I had visited in '33, having taken to Buenos Aires an exhibition of Italian architecture, which was shown at the Museum of Fine Arts and inaugurated by the President of the Republic, General Justo.

As the crossings took in the cities of Recife, Salvador, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo (Santos) I had the chance to form an impression of Brazil, because of quick visits that the passengers were able to make as the ship unloaded and took on provisions. Rio and São Paulo taught me what the tropics were. All new for a sedentary type.

When deciding on my Brazilian adventure, those visits influenced me, as my curiosity had never known any limits. I chose Rio de Janeiro as my base, and things went unexpectedly well for me⁴.

The passage recalls a distant memory thus using the register of a “happy ending”. Nevertheless, not only does it highlight a circumstance that has received little attention on the part of historians, to which we will return later – that is, Bardi's first trip to South America, between November 1933 and February 1934⁵ – and it also tells of the fortune of an Italian to join his new Brazilian community of residence.

Bardi in Brazil. A biographical approach

The case of Pietro Maria Bardi after 1946, the year of his arrival in Rio de Janeiro and subsequent permanent move to Brazil, seems particularly significant in this regard: first of all, it represents a case of successful emigration. “Things went unexpectedly well for me,” writes Bardi, with a certain irony, hinting at that degree of imponderability of the biographical path that would be a dominant trait of his initial actions in the new world⁶.

His decision to settle in Brazil took shape slowly at a time when according to data provided by the sociologist Maria Arminda Do Nascimento Arruda, foreign immigration to São Paulo was quite low (Arruda, 2015: 56-57). Everything happened during the specific context of several commercial and cultural exchanges, diplomatic missions between Italy and South American countries, after the Second World War (Pozzoli, 2014).

As I have already mentioned, Bardi formed an initial idea of Brazil in 1933. During his trip to Buenos Aires he not only stopped off at Bahia and Rio de Janeiro but, as he recounted in his late autobiographical memoirs in the 1980s, he also stopped for a day in Santos and was taken by car to visit the metropolis in the uplands. His interest, he writes, was in the modern architecture of São Paulo, with which he was vaguely familiar through the work of a Russian architect, Gregory Warchavchik⁷, who had completed his studies in Rome. “But a lack of planning, bad weather and limited time made contact impossible”, he explains⁸.

The primary coeval source of this initial trip to São Paulo, the *Amer* manuscript – currently held at the Biblioteca e Centro de Pesquisa do MASP⁹ – only makes a brief mention dated 30 January 1934¹⁰: there

is no reference to things seen or in particular to architecture. In contrast, the descriptions of the urban environments of Olinda, Bahia and Rio de Janeiro are sketched out with a brief, summary series of adjectives. Bardi mentions the eclectic Law Faculty building of the Federal University of Pernambuco and the famous Boa Viagem, yet his description of the spontaneous, industrial architecture is more detailed: “Long bridges in steel and concrete. All low, single-storey houses. The shops are thus apartments. Villas. Dentists. Lotteries. Large white clothes, ironed and freshly laundered. Tropical trees”¹¹.

The complex, seductive stratifications of Recife’s architecture anticipate the Rio landscape: “I’ve been around Rio. Marvellous”¹². He mentions Agache’s urban planning, Clemente Busiri Vici’s Casa degli Italiani built that year, the skyscrapers and the “superb, indescribable beaches”¹³. The written words are accompanied by a line drawing: an outline view of Guanabara Bay, dominated by the profile of Sugarloaf Mountain with its cableway and where the silhouette of skyscrapers can be made out in the bottom right. This drawing, which is testimony to the abundant use of graphical devices in the manuscript, would appear to reveal knowledge of the studies dedicated to the motorway on the Rio coast dating to Le Corbusier’s 1929 trip¹⁴.

For Bardi, Rio de Janeiro’s tangle of styles and architecture could only be intelligible through the words, action and drawing of Le Corbusier. The pages of *Urbanisme* first and foremost, and of *Vers une architecture* and *L’art decorative d’aujourd’hui*, provided Bardi with an immediately useable model for annotating his sensations in the face of new urban settings. It was therefore possible to combine elementary building forms with utopian modernist programmes, primitive housing structures with skyscrapers according to a radical organisation of the individual and collective spaces of human life in the tropics too.

I have recently written about this Italian expedition to Buenos Aires, pointing out that the true aim was to build consensus around Fascism abroad and that the rhetoric of the narration used by Bardi was borrowed from modernist examples, in particular from Le Corbusier (Rusconi, 2020 on press). Indeed, the mission to South America, in my view, forms part of the broader map of journeys made by “apostles” of the Modern Movement yet adapted to the necessary reasons of *Realpolitik* of the Italian government in relation to Italian communities overseas.

His impression of Brazil in October 1946 was quite different; on disembarking in Rio de Janeiro he seems more aware of the country’s cultural potential. In an interview with *Pensamento da America* on November 24 (Schneider, 1946: 160), Bardi claimed familiarity with modern Brazilian art through North American publications¹⁵ and a fragmentary knowledge of the poetry of Carlos Drummond de Andrade, Vinicius de Moraes and Jorge de Lima through Giuseppe Ungaretti and the international review *Poesia*¹⁶.

The interview makes no mention of a clichéd Brazil based on *Banana da Terra* and *Banana Split* for export use, made fashionable by Hollywood and rapidly used to the South American nation itself (Liernur, 2015: 50). No reference to mainstream exoticisms, but rather a spontaneous interest in locally developed architecture, starting from so-called “colonial” architecture¹⁷.

Other statements that he would later make to the Brazilian and Italian press also reveal consideration for the cultures of the host country. However, they also lay emphasis on the idea of a civilising mission in which the myth of modernisation acquired a pre-eminent place¹⁸.

Through his words transpires the overlap between a modernist European cultural model and the contemporary image that he was forming for himself of the São Paulo metropolis: modern, progressive, and a prototype of a hybridised identity (Arruda, 2015: 61-87). His integration within the productive and professional system of the city seemed easy and inevitable and hence began a campaign of relocation by other Italians to Brazil by making it possible to profit from certain selection and artistic career processes within the MASP. For a number of Italian artists, settling in São Paulo became a kind of professional training while Bardi acted as an intermediary, thereby creating a network of relations that would facilitate his being embraced by the Brazilian artistic scene (Fernandes, 2011: 497-520).

Bardi's network and the transnational circulation of Italian artists

The arrival of Roberto Sambonet and Gastone Novelli, the professional relations with Giancarlo Palanti and Bramante Buffoni, the friendship with Anna Maria Fiocca, with Luiza Sambonet and the architect Giancarlo Gasperini, the long-distance collaborations with Emilio Villa, Ettore Camesasca and Gio Ponti are just some of the names that reveal Bardi's effective role as an intermediary between the two worlds. Without forgetting the important and decisive collaboration with his partner Lina Bo Bardi¹⁹.

In particular, the experiences of the artists Sambonet and Novelli lend themselves well to illustrating these examples of artistic commuting and crossover languages developed at the MASP during the 1940s and 1950s.



Fig.2. R. Sambonet, *Visite o Museu de Arte de São Paulo*, 1951, poster. Courtesy of Arquivo Roberto Sambonet.

When Sambonet started teaching drawing at the IAC, the school was part of that circuit of global education sustained by the great masters of modernism, a laboratory that fostered a sort of artistic hybridism, with European immigrants and Brazilian teachers in its teaching staff (Leon, 2009: 38-49). By that time Bardi had already commissioned Sambonet to design the Museum's poster²⁰, a tangle of lines from which tropical forest of palms and *sambaias* [fig. 2], new and exotic accents for a modernist model which, in my view, Sambonet knew well, as he had the chance to see it at the Bardis' collection, that is, *Felsentempel* [*Templo de Rocha*] by Paul Klee ²¹.

Yet it is often the drawings for fabrics which reveal an unequivocal ascendancy of the native models. The fabric motif ²² reproduced [fig. 3] here can be traced to the well-known prototype of the *brise soleil* of the *Ministério de Educação e Saúde* in Rio de Janeiro.



Fig.3. R. Sambonet, Fabric with grid pattern, 1952, printed cotton, produced by Mappin Stores, São Paulo.
Courtesy of Arquivo Roberto Sambonet.

Both the poster and the fabric delineate attitudes that were recurrent in the decade between 1940 and 1950 amongst artists, designers and architects around an idea of tropicalisation. The success of the Brazilian architecture channelled first through the exhibition *Brazil Builds* at the MoMA in 1943 (Lienur, 2010: 49-51) and subsequently through the monographic issues of *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* of 1947²³ that had a considerable impact on modernism. We might call them processes of reverse hybridisation, to which Bardi made a significant contribution.

A sounding board for this modernist, tropical wave was the review *Habitat*, the Museum's house organ prior to *O Museu de arte de São Paulo*, a monthly bulletin published from 1954 onwards. The journal was certainly the tool of an intricate system of global circulation of modernist content and a learning place for a new group of Brazilian readers who saw culture as a hallmark of social distinction (Maiolini Mesquita, 2011: 529). Its mission was to create an artistic taste for the "new people", those emerging metropolitan social classes among whom the demand for consumer goods was increasing considerably during those years. In this sense it is possible to understand the Museum's intense activity in the fields of fashion and industrial design as a machine for fabricating a new idea of modernity by moving models and objects of Brazilian ethnographic culture towards the mass-produced item or towards "fine" art (Bonadio, 2014: 59-62; Migliaccio, 2014).



Fig.4. R. Sambonet, Mappin fashion department store advertising, São Paulo, 1952. Courtesy of Archivio Roberto Sambonet.
 Fig.5. R. Sambonet, Basket, bag designed by Sambonet for La Rinascente department stores, 1951, wicker, produced by Vittorio Bonacina. Courtesy of Archivio Roberto Sambonet

The poster for the Mappin department stores [fig. 4] designed by Sambonet²⁴ and the basket produced for La Rinascente²⁵ in 1956 [fig. 5] illustrate, therefore, this prototype of reverse hybridisation and superficial cross-contamination between European sensibility and elaborations upon local products. In one case the outline of the mannequin in the style of the fashion magazine *Vogue* has a bamboo tree in the background, anticipating Sambonet's studies of Brazilian flora, which became the book entitled *22 cause + 1*²⁶, while the basket reveals the study of forms and materials of popular Brazilian artefacts collected during his travels inland and on the coast²⁷.

Gastone Novelli, who was invited by Bardi to teach at the IAC²⁸ [fig. 6], was another of the leading figures of this artistic moment (Rinaldi, 1999: 30-39): his time was split between producing ethnic ceramics [fig. 7], one-off pieces for the Galeria Ambiente and Tenreiro (Bonani, 2011: 69-70), imitating Morandi, a highly-esteemed artist within Bardi's circle²⁹, preparing to engage with the abstract-concrete artistic movements of São Paulo [fig. 8] and with the masters of the IAC such as Leopoldo Haar³⁰. But also designing exhibition stands and artistic and decorative objects such as the brooch displayed in a boutique on Rua Augusta, a fashion store founded by three Italian partners³¹.

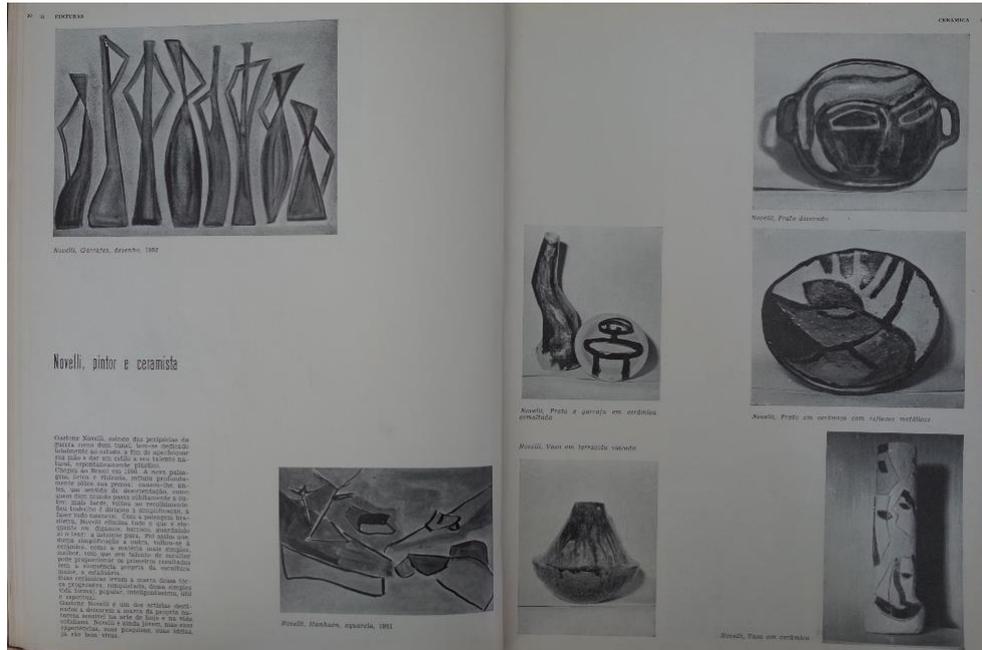


Fig.6. Gastone Novelli and Lis Maria Carvalho Brisolla at the MASP 1956. São Paulo, Private collection.
 Fig.7. "Novelli pintor e ceramista", *Habitat* no. 9 (Oct.-Dec. 1952).



Fig.8 G. Novelli, *Costrução*, 1953, mixed media on hardboard. Rome, Ivan Novelli Collection.

Artists such as Sambonet and Novelli had a regular line of development at their disposal dictated by the modernist programme of Bardi's school and together were able to draw upon a vocabulary which was alien to them, combining elements, materials and traditional forms in a new way.

This is not to say that everyone shared the same enthusiasm for the artistic situation of the metropolis or for Brazil. In 1953 Novelli wrote to his mother: "...my work is going well, thank goodness, and I shall certainly return to Italy at the end of '54. If I see that I can remain there in acceptable conditions I shan't return to Brazil again as it's a country that I don't like much"³². The memory of Brazil subsequently re-emerged in his work in the 1960. Yet by this date, the influence of Claude Lévi-Strauss' *Tristes tropiques* was widespread among European intellectuals and in Novelli's case had been contaminated by the events of a number of ethnological expeditions that he had known during his stay in the South American country³³.

Bardi himself, for whom the season in which the exciting sensation of living a second life had drawn to a close, embarked on a more conscious reflection upon the work of adapting to indigenous cultures, which he had conducted in a far less conscious manner in the 1950s, by commencing a phase of historical synopses concerning Brazilian art in the 1970s and 1980s with historical exhibitions such as *A mão do povo brasileiro* and *A arte do povo brasileiro* (Migliaccio, 2014)³⁴.

As we know from a group of late letters from the 1980s, Bardi did not lose the desire to preserve his memory of the beginnings and the possibility of a return to Italy³⁵. In any case, once again, it is possible to consult unpublished autobiographical material to confirm the feeling of attraction towards the place that would be his home until the end of his days. During a final visit to Milan, in 1989, he wrote: "After my forty years of Brazil I feel like a citizen of that country. I thus end up speaking about dear São Paulo, a mystery of grandeur, an enigma of power"³⁶.

While clearly Bardi's sensations fit closely with those of the emigrant, divided between nostalgia for one's country of origin and a feeling of belonging to the new, his work in relation to that more or less structured "system" of mobility of post-war Italian artists remains to be evaluated.

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Notas

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¹ See, for example, P.R., "Pier Maria Bardi, critico tra avanguardia e fascismo", *Il Gazzettino*, October 2, 1999; Pierluigi Panza, "Bardi, padre del razionalismo dimenticato", *Corriere della sera*, November 10, 1999; *Folha de S. Paulo*, October 2, 1999 and José Maria Mayrink, "Pietro Maria Bardi 1900-1999. Masp perde seu criador", *Journal do Brasil*, October 2, 1999.

² The conference was organized in Campinas, Universidade Estadual de Campinas – UNICAMP- Auditório do IFCH, September 12-13, 2011. The conference proceedings were published in November 2019 and, for this reason, it wasn't possible to present them during the CIHA Conference in Florence. However, I would like to mention the introduction by Nelson Aguilar which offers various food for thought about the historiography dedicated to Bardi. See Aguilar (2019).

³ I thank Eugênia Gorini Esmeraldo for showing me the transcriptions of a group of notes handwritten by Bardi in the 1980s. With these transcriptions, Dr. Gorini Esmeraldo, who worked alongside Bardi, has done an extraordinary job of recovering and increasing documentary materials of no secondary importance. The quotes of the documents follow the numbering given by Dr. Gorini to the transcriptions (they will be indicated as Arquivo Pessoal Eugênia Gorini Esmeraldo). An interesting work on the activity of Pietro Maria Bardi as a journalist in the 1980s is in Pedro Caroline Gabriel's thesis, "Pietro Maria Bardi, cronista em revista: 1976-1988", (Master diss., University of São Paulo – FAU USP, 2014).

⁴ "Avevo una vaga simpatia per il Sudamerica, conosciuta nel '33, avendo portato a Buenos Ayres un'esposizione di architettura italiana, mostrata nel Museo di Belle Arti, inaugurata dal presidente della repubblica, Generale Justo./ Siccome le traversate toccavano le città di Recife, Salvador, Rio de Janeiro e São Paulo (Santos) ebbi modo di formarmi un'idea del Brasile, per le rapide visite che i passeggeri avevano modo di fare intanto che il piroscafo sbarcava merci e si andava rifornendo. Rio e São Paulo mi fecero sapere che cos'era il Tropico. Tutto nuovo per un sedentario. /Decidendo la mia avventura brasiliana, quelle visite influirono, poiché la mia curiosità non aveva avuto limiti. Scelsi come punto di appoggio Rio de Janeiro, e le cose andarono inaspettatamente bene per me". Arquivo Pessoal Eugênia Gorini Esmeraldo, *Texto 9*.

⁵ Some references appear in Laura Moure Cecchini, (2016): 466; and in Marina Martin Barbosa (2015): 24-28.

⁶ Bardi's intent about a possible and definitive return to Brazil wasn't, at first, predictable, so his possible return to Italy was to be put off until the achievement of an economic goal. In fact, the project of organizing artistic events, until 1947, spread all over the South American countries.

⁷ See Arquivo Pessoal Eugênia Gorini Esmeraldo, *texto 9* and 66. The centrality of Warchavchik's role among Brazilian modernists is soon claimed by P.M. Bardi in *Habitat* with the purpose to publish a book that would be released in 1965. See *Habitat*, no 1, (Oct.-Dec., 1950): 93 and Bardi (1956: 81-83 and 1974: 7, 13, 26).

⁸ "Mas, pela improvisação, pelo mau tempo e as poucas horas à disposição, o contato não foi possível". See Arquivo Pessoal Eugênia Gorini Esmeraldo, *Texto 66*.

⁹ *Amer* consists of a large notebook of lined sheets. The notebook is a hybrid document in which the assembly of drawings, writings and press clippings is used. The chronological range goes from Nov. 18, 1933 to Apr. 7, 1934. *Amer* is located in the Biblioteca e Centro de Pesquisa do MASP, São Paulo. Eugenia Gorini Esmeraldo is preparing her PhD thesis on this manuscript at the University of Campinas.

¹⁰ See Bardi, *Amer*, January 30, 1933.

¹¹ "Ponti lunghi in ferro e cemento. Tutte le case basse a 1 piano. Le Botteghe sono così appartamenti. Ville. Dentisti. Lotterie. Gran vestiti bianchi stirati e di bucato. Gli alberi tropicali "See Bardi, *Amer*, Nov. 28, 1933.

¹² "Sono stato in giro per Rio. Stupenda". See Bardi, *Amer*, after Nov. 30, 1933.

¹³ "Spiagge superbe e indescrivibili". See Bardi, *Amer*, after Nov. 30, 1933.

¹⁴ See the sketches in Bardi (1984: 53, 159). On Le Corbusier, Bardi had already published a book in 1950 on the occasion of the exhibition at the MASP.

¹⁵ Bardi, probably, refers to the successful publications organized by the MoMA of New York during the 1940s, such as *Portinari of Brazil* (1940) and *Brazil Builds* (1943).

¹⁶ Bardi refers to the Magazine number 3 *Poesia*, dated 1946, where Ungaretti had organized a large anthology of Brazilian poetry starting from Indios fairy tales to Vinicius de Moraes. See Ungaretti (1946: 188-231). Referring to Brazilian literary publication in Italy by Ungaretti, see (Lanciani, 2003).

¹⁷ "É interessante observar – prossegue o prof. Bardi – com que facilidade e espontaneidade uma arquitetura se adapta ao ambiente. Digo isso com particular referência à arquitetura brasileira. Encontro nela aspectos curiosíssimos. Ela é inconfundível, e por isso acho errado chamá-la 'colonial', devendo ser chamada "brasileira". Otto Schneider, "Arte italiana e arquitetura brasileira. Exposição de antigas pinturas italianas – Obras de notoriedade universal – Inconfundível a arquitetura brasileira – Faltam instrumentos de expressão – Uma palestra com o Prof. Bardi", in *Pensamento da America*, suplemento panamericano de *A Manhã*, v. 11 (Nov. 24, 1946): 160.

¹⁸ Take for instance Bardi's interest in founding a Brazilian encyclopedia on the Italian model of the Enciclopedia Treccani. See (Bardi, 1951).

¹⁹ The last part of the paper anticipates some results of an ongoing research developed during the organization of the exhibition *Italiani sull'Oceano. Storie di artisti nel Brasile moderno e indigeno alla metà del '900* held in Milan, MUDEC, from March 25 to July 21, 2016. The publication, ed. by Paolo Rusconi (in preparation), gathers contributions by Elisa Camesasca, Ana Gonçalves Magalhães, Viviana Pozzoli, Marco Rinaldi.

²⁰ *Visite o Museu de Arte de São Paulo*, 1951, Poster, Milan, Archivio Roberto Sambonet.

²¹ The Paul Klee's work in Lina Bo Bardi's collection is published on the magazine *Habitat* 15 (March-April 1953): 46. Currently, the work, after being in Milan at Mazzotta collection, is at the Art Institut Chicago.

²² *Fabric with grid pattern*, 1952, printed cotton, produced by Mappin Stores, São Paulo, Milan, Archivio Roberto Sambonet.

²³ The deep impact of number 13-14 Brésil in *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* (Sept. 1947) about the young community of Italian architects at Milan Politecnico was reminded to me by Piero De Amicis during a meeting in 2015. When reading the word *Brasile* published in Italian Treccani Encyclopedia we can see in the 1948 update that it had some photos about Brazilian architecture taken from the French magazine.

²⁴ *Mappin fashion department store advertising*, São Paulo, 1952, Milan, Archivio Roberto Sambonet.

²⁵ Basket bag designed by Sambonet for La Rinascente department stores, [1956], wicker, produced by Vittorio Bonacina, Milan, Archivio Roberto Sambonet.

²⁶ Roberto Sambonet, *22 cause + 1*, (Milan: Edizioni del Milione, 1953).

²⁷ For more information about the travels made by Sambonet and the Bardi on the coasts of São Paulo, and the realization of the film *Magia Verde* by Gian Gaspare Napolitano see the aforementioned book in preparation *Italiani sull'Oceano. Storie di artisti nel Brasile moderno alla metà del '900*.

²⁸ Some outline and contents presented by Novelli in the courses held at the IAC, are published by Bonani, (2019: 66-74).

²⁹ See "Morandi", *Habitat*, no 5 (Oct-Dec. 1951):14-16.

³⁰ The relationships between Novelli and Brazilian concrete artists are addressed in the aforementioned publication *Italiani sull'Oceano. Storie di artisti nel Brasile moderno alla metà del '900*.

³¹ Including the future well-known fashion designer Livio De Simone. I was given the information by Giovanola Ripandelli in 2016.

³² "...il mio lavoro va bene grazie a Dio e senz'altro ritornerò in Italia alla fine del '54. Se poi vedrò che potrò restare là in buone condizioni non tornerò più in Brasile perché è un paese che non mi piace molto". Rome, Archivio Gastone Novelli, Gastone Novelli, Letter to his Mother (Margherita Mayer von Ketschendorf), [1953].

³³ In this regard, it is worth mentioning that Novelli's archive hosts a handwritten photo album collecting personal photographs taken during his journeys in Brazil (1948-1949) and a series of photographs of the Roncador-Xingu ethnographic expedition led by Francisco Meirelles (1946). On this topic see again *Italiani sull'Oceano. Storie di artisti nel Brasile moderno alla metà del '900*.

³⁴ See *A mão do povo brasileiro*, (São Paulo, Museu de Arte de São Paulo, april, 1969) and *A arte do povo brasileiro*, (São Paulo, Museu de Arte de São Paulo, april 9-27, 1986).

³⁵ In this regard, see the letters sent by Bardi to Carlo Belli during the 1970s and 1980s, now kept at the Belli Fund at the Archivio del '900 MART in Rovereto.

³⁶ "Dopo i miei quarant'anni di Brasile mi sento cittadino di quel paese. Così finisco per raccontare della cara São Paulo, un mistero di grandiosità, un enigma di potenza". See Arquivo Pessoal Eugênia Gorini Esmeraldo, Texto 71, *Ricordo di Milano*.

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