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SENSITIVE CARTOGRAPHY: THE ARTIST-SCIENTIST HERCULES FLORENCE ON THE LANGSDORFF EXPEDITION (1825-1828)

Dinah Guimaraens

Postdoctoral Fellow at the Department of Anthropology, University of New Mexico/UNM; Permanent Associate Professor IV at the Graduate Program of Architecture and Urbanism/PPGAU, University Federal Fluminense/UFF

Valeria Veras

PhD Student at the Graduate Program of Architecture and Urbanism/PPGAU, University Federal Fluminense/UFF

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Abstract: Hercule Florence, in *Voyage fluvial du Tietê à l'Amazone par les provinces brésiliennes de Saint-Paul, Mato Grosso et Grão Pará* (1875), traveled, between 1825 and 1828, the provinces of São Paulo, Mato Grosso and Grão-Pará, as part of the Expedition of Baron Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff. Regarding Hercule Florence's creative trajectory, one can initially conjecture whether this photographer is a supporter of a nomadic science - as opposed to a royal science - as one that bears singularities and meanings that constitute forms of content with pertinent traits. that reveal a matter of expression. Florence's nomadic art is defined by a dynamic connection of support and ornament that replaces the matter-form dialectic (Deleuze & Guattari, 1997, p. 35-36). The text seeks to determine the artistic-spatial dimension of a nomadic territory built by this photographer's movement, highlighting the points that determine remarkable paths in his adventurous life, through the consistency of a fluid set of imagery experiences that sought to inaugurate the Brazilian landscape through an ethnographic and environmental aspects. In this sense, the nomadic artist is seen as a vector of deterritorialization, as one who transforms the earth into a support or a smooth rhizomatic space, which tends to grow in all directions, aiming to define the limits of his sensitive, critical, and scientific cartography. with photographic bases (*id, ibidem*, p. 53-54). Hercule Florence: A scientist-photographer or an artistic photographer?

Keywords: critical cartography; artist-scientist; Langsdorff Expedition.

INTRODUCTION

Artists and philosophers are an argument against the purpose of nature in their means, even though they constitute an excellent proof of the wisdom of their ends. They never reach more than a minority, when they should reach everyone, and the way in which this minority is reached does not correspond to the force that philosophers and artists use to fire their artillery. (Nietzsche, Schopenhauer Educator, #7 in Deleuze & Guattari, 1997, p. 47).

Antoine Hercule Romuald Florence (Nice, France, 1804 – Campinas, São Paulo, 1879), in *Voyage fluvial du Tietê à l'Amazone par les provinces brésiliennes de Saint-Paul, Mato Grosso et Grão Pará* (1875), traveled between 1825 and 1828 through the provinces of São Paulo, Mato Grosso and Grão-Pará, as part of the Expedition of Baron Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff.

Regarding the creative trajectory of Hercule Florence as the inventor of photography in 1833, one could initially speculate whether this photographer is a supporter of a nomadic science – as opposed to a royal science – as the bearer of singularities and meanings that constitute forms of content with pertinent features that reveal a subject of expression. The images created by traveling painters were used as image supports. Florence's nomadic art is also defined by a dynamic connection between support and ornament that replaces the matter-form dialectic (Deleuze & Guattari, 1997, p. 35-36).

Visibility does not often capture immediacy. Hercule Florence used ethnic and landscape visuality in a field of perception that refines a set of observations and interpretations within a visual experience. It would be worth asking whether traveling sciences are more permeated by irrational procedures, mystery or magic. The sketches and watercolors of fauna and flora as unique documents, due to the content and method of records made in the field by

Hercule Florence, are examples of criticism of the supreme expropriation confronted by the aesthetic processes contemplated in his inventions.

The trust of the innocent eye that builds memories of moments of travel – noting sensations experienced in the tropical landscape, in opposition to the schemes that academic artists learned to use (Belluzzo, 1999, p. 96) – reveal how much Florence faced the culture of destruction and alienation in Brazil. On the other hand, Florence's traveling science contributed to founding the didacticism that values the institution of universal knowledge.

The simplistic idea that, during the period in which Florence lived, a vision completely contrary to scientific and technological development prevailed is one of the many stereotypes about Brazil in the 19th century (Pereira, 2016, p. 69). Hercule's different look already predicted an interest in photography and his knowledge of cartography confirms one of his multiple scientific interests (Kossov, 2006 in Pereira, 2016, p. 70).

What emerges in the rivalry between the two models is, however, the fact that, in the itinerant or nomadic sciences, science is not destined to take on autonomous power or even autonomous development. They lack the means to do so, because they subordinate all their operations to the sensitive conditions of intuition and construction by following the flow of matter, by tracing and connecting smooth space, in an objective zone of fluctuation that seems to merge with reality itself (Deleuze & Guattari, 1997, p. 41).

Florence's narrative, concerning the *Voyage fluvial du Tietê à l'Amazone par les provinces brésiliennes de Saint-Paul, Mato Grosso et Grão Pará* (1875), reveals a critical and autonomous capacity in the game undertaken to legitimize the role of traveling scientist, through a tool of reflection that triggers –

through aesthetic exercise – a break with the blindness imposed by academic and scientific seclusion. Considering perceptive observations of nature shaped by the sensitive eye, one can conjecture whether Hercule assumed the role of a scientist who did not refrain from reflecting on the social problems imposed by the colonial structure of Brazilian society. If “every thought is already a tribe as the opposite of a State” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1997, p. 47), the classical image of thought and the striation of the mental space that it operates, aspires to universality.

More than an observer-scientist who not only expresses himself, but who, on the contrary, invokes singular landscapes and tribes and unfolds his reflection in a medium without a horizon, like a smooth space that opposes an all-encompassing reality, his drawings and paintings – with the faithful resemblance of an impressionist painter, in search of “seeing the world thinking” (Merleau-Ponty, 2004, p. 35) – reveal associations with that which encouraged the painter Cézanne to equip himself with an inquisitive and experimental vision in landscape studies:

The vigorous variety of the most picturesque landscapes here constitutes much for a painter to occupy himself with. And a geologist would not miss, in the abrupt forms of São Jerônimo and in the longitudinal layers of the mountains, the traces of formidable revolutions, which, if they did not culminate in the subversion of the earth's crust, certainly covered the entire center of America. But is this whole sublime panorama merely a proscenium of the marvels that to describe what I saw? I know that I am nothing more than an illiterate author, whose writings will never be published. But if all the gifts of genius and fortune were denied to me, why did I feel the faculty to feel, to know, to invent, as much as many of the great values that honor humanity have achieved? To paint what I saw in the plateau, I only lack expressions. If I found them so exact and appropriate,

I want to believe that I could repeat them twenty times, narrating my encounter with supreme beauty: my readers would read me until the end, without getting tired of my enthusiasm (Florence, H., 1977, p. 69 in Pereira, 2016, p.72).

The aim, therefore, is to determine the artistic-spatial dimension of a nomadic territory constructed by this photographer's movements, highlight the points that determine remarkable paths in his adventurous life, through the consistency of a fluid set of image experiences, which conceive spaces subjugated to research and creation. For Boris Kossoy (2016), Hercule Florence already used the technique of photography to interpret visual sources as sources of information and, in view of this, his work sustained great documentary rigor.

Hercule Florence's peculiar path as a nomadic artist is seen as a vector of deterritorialization, as one that transforms the land into a support or a smooth rhizomatic space and which tends to grow in all directions, aiming to define the limits of his sensitive cartography with photographic bases (Deleuze & Guattari, 1997, p. 53-54). Hercule Florence: A scientist-photographer or an artistic photographer?

Although the first photographers themselves did not consider themselves artists, the expectations of modernization in both science and art at the beginning of the 19th century reveal that photography – with the development of phototype known as unalterable photography – established itself as the purest expression of the modern movement, with the camera becoming an essential tool for any field trip. It is this tool for capturing natural and social forms that will be emphasized in the work of this French artist-scientist, with the institutional support of LAPALU (Transcultural Laboratory of Landscape and Place), an advanced research group certified by the National Council for

Scientific and Technological Development/CNPq of the Graduate Program in Architecture and Urbanism/PPGAU at the University Federal Fluminense/UFF.



Figure 1: Florence. Hercule. Habitation of the Apiacás on the Arinos River (1828). Watercolor, 51 cm x 40.8 cm (1828). Source: Hercule Florence Institute (IHF), <http://13.82.108.85:8080/jspui/>

CRITICAL AND THEORETICAL QUESTIONS: THE BRAZILS OF HERCULE FLORENCE

If Hercule Florence's arrival in Brazil occurred today, it would perhaps differ little from the scientific expeditions of two and a half centuries ago, such as the Langsdorff expedition, carried out along the Tietê River and on the route from Santos to Belém. The figure of the discoverer, empowered by the traveling gaze – which reveals the state of human and non-human nature in the tropical forests – populated our imaginary cartographic map, inciting contacts, as always, with ancestral Brazil, a fact that was attested to in the celebrations of the 500th anniversary of the Discovery, held in Brazil in the year 2000.

The sketches and watercolors of fauna and flora as unique documents, due to the content and method of recordings made in the field by Hercule Florence, are examples of criticism of the supreme expropriation confronted

by the aesthetic processes contemplated in his inventions. The trust of the innocent eye, which builds memories of moments of travel by noting sensations experienced in the tropical landscape – in opposition to the visual schemes that academic artists learned to use (Belluzzo, 1999, p. 96) – reveals how much Florence contributed to criticize the culture of destruction and alienation that was already asserting itself in the first half of the 19th century in Brazil. Such projects were fundamental to the configuration that the field of ethnographic studies assumed, especially for understanding it as an emblematic moment where the creation and consolidation of the image of ontological Brazilian nature and society took place, within a categorization that is still complex and controversial in academic circles today.

The foreign view, anticipating the problem of the traveler's ability to assimilate the tropical by creating and reacting to the assimilation of nature through the gaze, dialectically deformed the implausible in new conditions of space, time and personality (Freyre, 1968, p. 87). Hercule Florence's peculiar path, as an exiled in foreign lands, far from civilization, even distressed by the assumption of having been robbed of the paternity of his best discoveries – mainly polygraphy, invented by him in 1830, referring to those first typographic printings – forced him to assume his vocation as an artist. As a nomadic artist, he cuts and sensorially inhabits spaces that occasionally presented themselves as visual exercises.

To this end, what really mattered was the creation of a language, here parodying the Brazilian artist Helio Oiticica (1973), in which the creator should submit to the living phenomenon and confront the linear process. The reports of the Langsdorff expedition, processed by the eye of an inventor and photographer, filtered reality into narratives

composed of visual overlays and aesthetic reflections, characteristics that were extremely contemporary for the first half of the 19th century, implying inevitable ambivalences with what should be seen and be subject to the experiments of the eye. As Mario Pedrosa (in Oiticica, 1973) rightly states: “the experimental exercise does not consist in the creation of works, but in the initiative of assuming the experimental”.

This was the attitude that led Hercule Florence, insistently, into the field of inventions. Hercule the artist brought him into contact with experimental Brazil. The legacy of underdevelopment and of foreign apology, undoubtedly, made him blow a revolutionary wind, intuiting, in the gesture of a traveler, the idea of invention as an experiment. We will move through the world – composed by villages, urban and peripheral sites – resizing decolonially with tools that anthropologist Rita Segato affirms could provide academic inversion and interpellation. In other words, as if we were in the field, producing knowledge that answers the questions that have always classically figured the other and the nature as objects of observation and research (Segato, 2021, p. 86).

Through Florence's eyes, which gave his notoriety with the invention of a truly first constructivist language about Brazil, various Brazils can currently be reconstructed through drawings, words, museum objects, iconographic collections and contemporary artistic productions, combining past and present. In this view, the physical and the symbolic – which very appropriately dialogue with the sensations of the scientist Hercule – contrast a formal rigidity with an exaltation before the landscape, forming a story lived by the critical judgment inherent to the production, in which the artist himself appears represented (Belluzzo, 1999, p. 97). The traveler's expeditionary view, referenced

in the drawing “Rose of the Winds” conceived by Florence, is revealed through its circular shape converging at the center of this inquisitive view, in an attracted function of representing Brazil and the unknown, so highly concentrated in his critical artistic-scientific vision.

In the field of architecture, Hercule Florence was a pioneer in observing palm trees as columns: “It is not possible to cross the immense forests of Brazil without being impressed by the magnificence of its various varieties of palm trees, some more beautiful than others.” (manuscript *L’Ami des Arts*, p. 235). Hercule Florence thus describes the palm trees he encountered during his travels through Brazil and provides the starting point for what he called the Brazilian or Palmian Architectural Order (in the original French, *Ordre Brésilien or Palmien*):

It was in the forest on the outskirts of Guimarães that I first saw the pindova palm tree, whose branches diverge in a single plane, like a fan; it shows a beautiful variety of the rich and magnificent stock of palm trees with which Providence beautifies the intertropical regions. One cannot contemplate a forest of palm trees, or even a single palm tree, without a religious idea being associated with the admiration we feel. A palm tree is a small temple where we see the column, the pedestal, the capital, the vault and the dome; and the traveler who, more than any other man, is carried away by enthusiasm at the sight of the wonders he can observe, feels the need to express his love for the creator of the universe, this man finds, in the shade of a palm tree, a new incitement to religious compunction and fervent prayer. Not yet familiar with the flattened shape of the pindova palm tree, the first ones I was able to observe in profile caused me embarrassing surprise, not knowing whether they were palm trees, or what else they could be, because if the pindova is very elegant seen from the front, it is completely unformed seen from the side. (...) This palm tree later suggested to me the idea of forming

a sixth order of architecture that would be called the Brazilian Order, or the Palmian Order, if I wanted a more universal name. If God grants me enough days and leisure, I will develop this idea; but, in any case, not before having presented other works, to which I have dedicated myself after this trip (Florence, H., 2023, p.144).

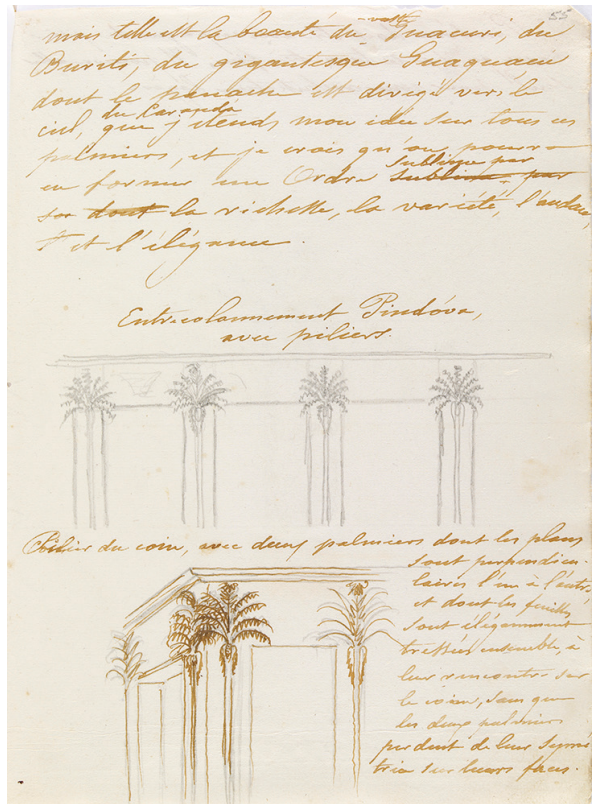


Figure 2: Florence, Hercule - [Page 55 of the manuscript *Troisième livre de premiers matériaux*]- 1840-1860 - Iron gall ink on paper - 23.3 x 17.9 x 1.4 cm (closed) - Collection by Instituto Hercule Florence (São Paulo) - Photo by Heitor Florence.

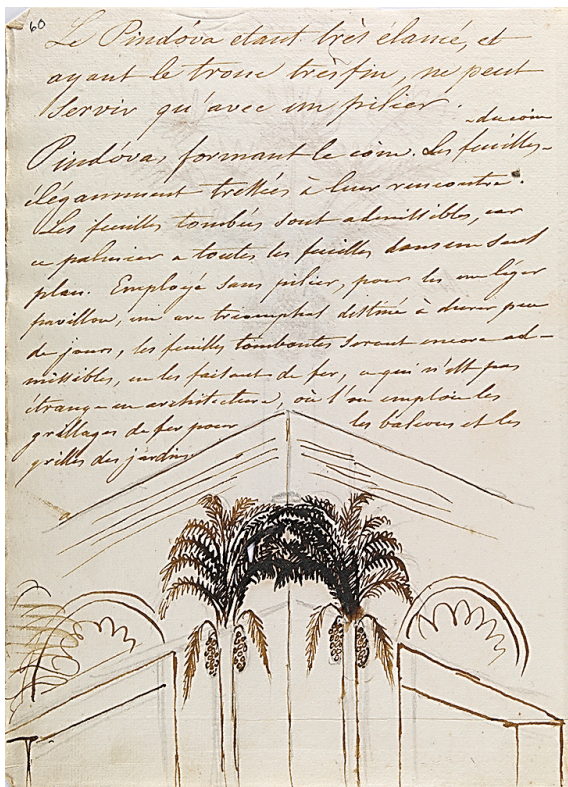


Figure 3: Florence, Hercule - [Page 60 of the manuscript *Troisième livre de premiers matériaux*] - 1840-1860 - Iron gall ink on paper - 23.3 x 17.9 x 1.4 cm (closed) - Collection Instituto Hercule Florence (São Paulo) - Photo by Heitor Florence.

In another excerpt from the manuscript *L'Ami des Arts* (p. 317), this nomadic artist adds: "One cannot contemplate a forest of palm trees, or even just one palm tree, without feeling religious reverence associated with admiration. A palm tree is a small temple where one sees the column, the pedestal, the capital, the vault and the dome..." Hercule Florence also notes that the primacy, however, belonged to the artists linked to the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts of Rio de Janeiro, who had designed, for the reception of the future Empress Amélie de Leuchtenberg (1812-1873) - second wife of D. Pedro I - in 1829, a column capital with large palm leaves raising a wooden column covered in fabric.

In 1852, almost three decades after traveling through Brazil as a member of the Langsdorff

Expedition (1825-1829), Hercule Florence details what would be the sixth architectural order, highlighting its main sources of inspiration: the jerivá, acuri (guacuri), buriti, babaçu (guaguaçu), guariroba, carandá, bocaiúva (bocajuva) palm trees and, mainly, the pindoba (pindova), which has its leaves arranged in a semicircle and within a vertical plane, "a form beautifully appropriate for the Brazilian capital" (*Troisième livre de premiers matériaux*, p. 53). In the first half of the 19th century, Hercule Florence, ahead of his time, legitimized a pertinent critique in the invention of new aesthetic concepts and sought to the maximum, in his experiences, to legitimize a living legacy with the preservation of cultural and natural heritage, emphasizing the richness of the Brazilian landscape of central Brazil, until then unobserved, in his artistic-scientific drawings with technical quality and sensitivity, from an innovative perspective.

A clearly defining element of his artistic-scientific contribution to the Langsdorff Expedition refers to the close interconnection between his textual and visual statements about the river route taken, for the first time, in the interior of the country by members of a scientific expedition that traveled more than 13 thousand kilometers through the states of São Paulo, Mato Grosso do Sul, Mato Grosso and Grão-Pará, most of it navigating the Tietê, Paraná, Paraguay, Tapajós rivers and their tributaries: "Perhaps the descriptions I make of the waterfalls will eventually become boring (...) however, I believe that such details are still interesting, (...) because they provide detailed knowledge (...) of a difficult and somewhat unusual navigation" (Florence, H., 1977, p. 82).

Among his different roles as a traveler-scientist or traveler-artist, Hercule Florence emphasized his scientific knowledge more than his literary or artistic skills. His search

for a native Brazilian imagery was filtered through the lens of science, based on a positivist methodology that aimed to account for facts and artifacts. This perspective ended up creating a true showcase of fauna, flora and peoples contacted in the New World, with his captions of flora and fauna having demonstrated a scientific point of view in the visual representation of his discoveries, which were organized by their scientific name, by the person responsible for their classification, by the year of classification/recognition and by their common name (Pereira, 2016, p. 71-73).

His drawings and paintings thus reveal the role of an observer-scientist who expresses himself with the support of an observer-artist. Although he had some difficulties in representing landscape imagery, a popular theme in the artistic canons of the first half of the 19th century, Hercule Florence used the composition of scenes based on the influence of 18th century academic painters (Hartmann, 1970, p. 156). He showed a marked curiosity for photography and the process of fixing images, which guided his scientific discovery in 1833.

Hercule Florence's knowledge of cartography was also among his many scientific interests (Kossov, 2006, p. 63). When discussing his invention of a printing technique called Polygraphy, he acknowledges that the distance from Europe prevents its dissemination: "Exiled in a land cruelly ungrateful to the arts, my discovery has not yet reached the perfection it promises" (Florence, H., 1977, p. 85). His autobiographical manuscript describes his investigations and inventions such as photography, paper money printing techniques and observation of the sky for landscape painting (Torrão Filho, 2023, p. 7).

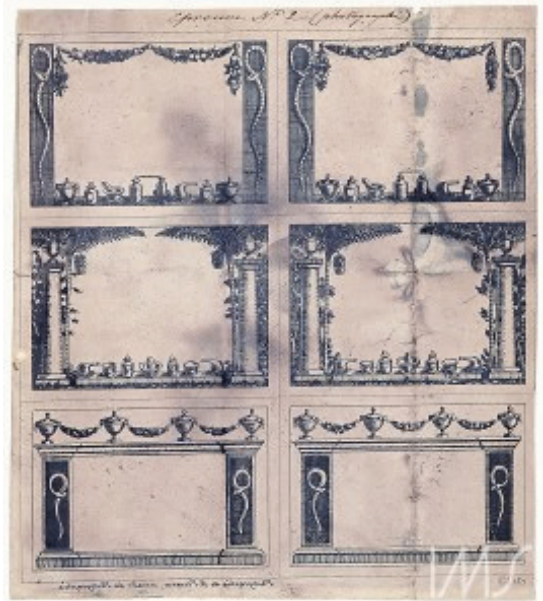


Figure 4: Florence, Hercule. "Epreuve N°2 (photographie)". Photograph: Set of labels for pharmaceutical bottles, 1833. Vila de São Carlos, Campinas, SP / IMS Collection.



Figure 5: Samanbaya et Guaytivoca, 1827- Florence, Hercule – Samanbaya et Guayvoca. Cocães, 27 Août 1827. Hercule Florence, fecit – 1827 – Watercolor and Indian ink on paper – 21.9 x 31.7 cm – Collection of the Archives of the Academy of Sciences (Saint Petersburg).

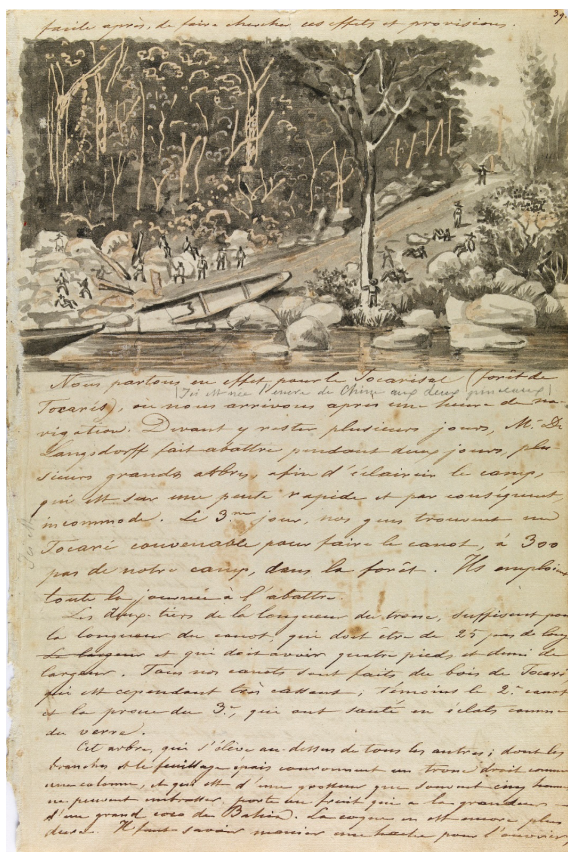


Figure 6: Florence, Hercule - [Detail of page 391 of the manuscript *L'Ami des arts livré à lui-même...*] - 1837-1859 - Iron gall ink and pencil on paper - 30.6 x 21.0 cm - Hercule Florence Institute Collection (São Paulo) - Photo by Heitor Florence.

STATE OF THE ART: ETHNIC VISUALITY AND INDIGENOUS VILLAGES

The photographer, designer, typographer and naturalist Hercule Florence arrived on April 8, 1824, in the capital of the Brazilian court, Rio de Janeiro, where he documented the landscape of Guanabara Bay. He came to Brazil aboard the frigate *Marie Thérèse*, which had set sail from the port of Toulon, in France, on a forty-five-day voyage, at the invitation of Captain du Rosamel. His first job in the capital of Rio de Janeiro was in a clothing store owned by a fellow countryman and, later, in a printing shop, where he received news of the Langsdorff Expedition through a newspaper article, which referred

to the vacancy opened by Johann Moritz Rugendas, who had abandoned his post as a traveling painter after a disagreement with Baron Langsdorff (Pereira, 2016, p. 51-52). For Baron Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff and his expeditionaries, the Brazilian territory, its nature and its inhabitants constituted a large living laboratory that would later be transported to the Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg. Langsdorff therefore shared a “clear definition of a useful landscape and of the objects and specimens to be collected and recorded on the boards of itinerant draftsmen” (Sussekind, 1990, p. 114).

As a physician interested in ethnographic research and the study of human beings, this baron was influenced by his professor at the University of Gottingen, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, a specialist in anatomy and anthropology. In 1813, Langsdorff sent the Russian Academy of Sciences a description of a Botocudo indigenous person, describing in detail similarities with the indigenous groups of the northwest coast of North America (Becher, 1990, p. 26). The encyclopedic ethnographic, botanical, zoological and landscape intent of the Langsdorff Expedition was never fully realized, due to the tragedies that occurred during the river voyage from São Paulo, along the Tietê River to Grão-Pará.

In fact, a very acute type of malaria struck Langsdorff after his passage through Cuiabá, affecting his nervous system and causing him to lose his memory. This illness forced the baron to travel to Pará and return to Rio de Janeiro in 1828. On the way from Vila Bela do Mato Grosso, towards the Amazon Basin, on February 14, 1828, the son of Nicolas Antoine Taunay, a member of the French Artistic Mission of 1816, Aimé-Adrian Taunay, had already drowned in the Guaporé River. He was hired as the first draftsman of the Russian expedition, a fact that shook the confidence of his traveling artists and scientists. The second

draftsman, Hercule Florence, the astronomer Nestor Rubzoff and Baron Langsdorff continued along the Preto, Arinos, Juruena and Tapajós rivers after this tragic death, and the final draft for the expedition's results to reach Russia had the close collaboration of Florence and the botanist Luis Riedel (Pereira, 2016, p. 55).

Before the Langsdorff Expedition, naturalist Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira and his team had already crossed the Pantanal in Mato Grosso by land, under the responsibility of the Portuguese metropolis, in 1789 and 1791. However, it was only after the arrival of the Portuguese royal family in Brazil, in 1808, that scientific expeditions had free access to this territory with the aim of collecting, cataloging and disseminating their discoveries in European academia (Pereira, 2016, p. 113). When analyzing the scientific role played by the Langsdorff Expedition as a precursor "pioneer of the backlands" and the first scientific mission by river narrated in Brazilian historiography, the ethnographic and image-literary accounts of Hercule Florence on the indigenous populations of Mbayá-Guaicuru, Guaná, Apiacá, Guató, Bororo, Munduruku and Kayapó stand out. Florence's Eurocentric preferences for the Guató, who were contacted in Dourados and at the confluence of the São Lourenço River, are punctuated by definitions of a beauty in European molds of their physiognomies, in contrast to the savagery of the Bororo:

(...) in the past, the Guató of São Lourenço had lived among the whites and mixed with them, but later, out of a taste for primitive life, they returned to their old habits. Perhaps this is where their resemblance to the Europeans comes from, without their hair and color having changed (Florence, H., 1977, p. 118 in Pereira, 2016, p. 101).

In another encounter with the same indigenous people, Florence confirms that: "Some Guató canoes caught up with us. (...)

Their physiognomy did not indicate savagery like that of the Bororo". (Florence, H. 1977, p. 206 in Pereira, 2016, p. 101). The Guató established contact with Hercule Florence and the members of the Langsdorff expedition on two different occasions, the first in the town of Dourados, Mato Grosso do Sul, on December 26, 1826, and the second in Vila Maria, now Cáceres, Mato Grosso, on September 5, 1827.

The first contact with the people was recorded on December 26, 1826, in the town of Dourados, where the members of the expedition took a brief break on their journey to Cuiabá. According to the author, the Guató arrived in vessels "three and a half palms wide and 20 or 25 long" manned by entire families composed by men, women and children (Florence, H., 2007, p.103-104). Florence recorded the Guató people based on their physical characteristics, such as beauty and physical strength, and attributed characteristics that made them like Europeans. The Guató were also compared to other indigenous peoples of the region, such as the Guaná and the Guaicuru: "Although they do not resemble the European type as much as the Guató, they are not, however, pure Indians like the Caiapós or Chamacocos, of whom I had the opportunity to see some individuals" (Florence, H., 2007, p. 101).

For Hercule Florence, the Guató represented the ideal of the "noble savage" and presented supposed similarities with the Europeans (Matos, 2022, p. 173). Hercule Florence also observes that the Guató were brave, proud and noble, while the Guaná were cowards and resembled the Chinese: "Their type is remarkably Chinese, not only in terms of facial features, clothing, manners, and accent of speech, but also (...) in terms of their character: from this point of view, they also resemble, somewhat, the people who inhabit most of the Far East" (Florence, H., 2007, p. 101).

The barbaric beliefs of the Guaicuru indigenous people, considered to be wild, were also highlighted by him, and he even doubted that such people even had real religious beliefs (Florence, H., 2007, p. 102). In the same way that Florence recognized the exuberance of tropical nature, this painter-traveler signaled the need for its domestication to be imposed by an irreversible civilizing progress. The idea of progress that prevailed in the 19th century clearly influenced his French humanist ethical and aesthetic judgment, when the traveler spoke of enslaved blacks and the “freed people” of the Camapuã Farm, which was in decline when the expedition visited it:

The poverty of the inhabitants is extreme. Given the wealth they possess, they are not far removed from the state of savages, but that does not mean they are or consider themselves any more unhappy. There are only a few men, considered wealthy, who wear trousers and shirts made of thick cloth. The rest wear nothing but drawers, almost loincloths; most of the women wear skirts over their bodies (Florence, H., 1977, p. 74 in Pereira, 2016, p. 102).

Their encounter with the Guaná-Chané of the Aruák linguistic family, who had inhabited the Chaco and the Pantanal since the 16th century, took place in the village of Albuquerque, located in the current district of Corumbá, which was later transformed into a religious mission. These groups migrated to the right bank of the Paraguay River at the end of the 18th century, referring to the generic name that Spanish colonization gave to the Terena, Layana, Kinikináu and Exoaladi indigenous people (Oliveira, 1976, p. 25). The interethnic relations between the Guainá, who were portrayed by Florence with their typical clothing, known as “panões”, and the Mbayá-Guaicuru, marked group defense strategies of the former, who lived under a system of mutual dependence, unlike the slave-master relationship.

The textual account of these drawings, sketches and watercolors – conceived with a scientific posture, from the front and in profile, but revealing details in colors and a linearity in the outline of the noses, mouths and shoulders of their characters – indicates that they were executed in São Paulo, in 1830, after the end of the scientific expedition (Pereira, 2016, p. 116-120). Praising the beauty of the Guaná women for approaching European standards, he therefore shared Rousseau’s idealized vision of the “noble savage”. Hercule Florence was intrigued by the manufacturing technique of the Guaná’s bread baskets, revealing his productivism view of indigenous weaving, imbued with developments of the industrial revolution:

The pieces of woven cotton, which are known here as “panões”, are usually no more than four rods long and two or three wide. They are woven in a way unknown to me, the vertical threads completely covered by the horizontal ones on both sides, which makes the fabric very thick and suitable for tents, as it does not allow the most violent rain to pass through (Florence, H. 1977, p. 106 in Pereira, 2016, p. 123).

The Guató, contacted by Hercule Florence at the confluence of the São Lourenço River with the Paraguay, in the region of the Caracará hill, revealed by their material culture composed by woven mats used as beds, seats, roofs and internal partitions of houses, fences for the entrances of houses and windbreaks and in temporary dwellings – structures that were composed of palm leaves, mats and animal skins – with materials that could not withstand the rain. The arrows that were placed next to the roofs showed that, at any moment, the group could leave the place carrying their weapons.

Another drawing by Florence, however, depicts a permanent traditional dwelling, in a black watercolor finished measuring 28.5 x 34.5 cm, dated December 1826, in which a

gable roof without a parietal covering appears, with a front façade supported by pillars buried in the ground. Two central forked pillars support the ridge, while four peripheral pillars support the beams on the fork. The roof of the house is made of acuri palm (*scheelea phalerata*). There is a boat, an oar and a bow highlighted in the drawing, indicating cultural traits of hunting, fishing and war of the Guató (Pereira, 2016, p.146-152).



Figure 7: Guató Indians at the confluence of the São Lourenço River. (Florence, H., 2007, p. 117).

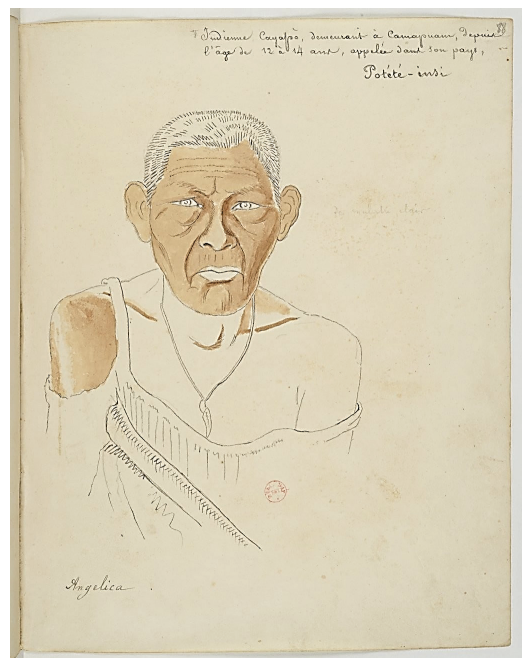


Figure 8: Guató family. (Florence, H., 2007, p. 118).



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 9: Florence, Hercule. *Indienne de Nation Bororo*. Source: gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 10: Florence, Hercule. *Indienne Cayapó, demeurant à Camapuan, depuis l'âge de 12 à 14 ans, appelée dans son pays dela, Potété insi*. Angelica. Source: gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France.

CONCLUSION: AESTHETIC TRANSCULTURALITY AND ETHNOGRAPHIC RECORD

The traveling artist Florence drew his sketches of fauna, flora and human types of the Guaná, Guató and Bororo indigenous groups located in the Upper Paraguay basin, having completed some of his sketches during the ten months he spent in Cuiabá, which served as the basis for the polygraphy reproduction technique he invented. After his return to São Paulo in the 1830s, he settled in the village of São Carlos, now Campinas, and raised his family there, completing many of his field drawings by incorporating extensive and detailed literary field notes into them.

Choosing to delineate the logic of his intercultural experience, he followed the chronological order of his river itinerary to define criteria for organizing the space, context and impressions that unfolded in his ethnographic perception of the indigenous peoples observed (Pereira, 2016, p. 115). His ethnographic contribution in the field of indigenous iconography, however, is considered by critics to be insufficient in terms of consultation in archives and publications of the time, due to the fact that most of the documents of the Langsdorff Expedition remained, for almost a century, deposited in the basements of the Academy of Sciences of Saint Petersburg (Komissarov, 1994), with the collection existing at the Hercule Florence Institute/IHF (<https://ihf19.org.br/pt-br/>), located in São Paulo, still being little publicized among us.

The characteristics of Hercule Florence's visual record or his style of representation reveal realistic and descriptive paintings and drawings, in which a clear outline stands out and the line predominates over the color in most studies carried out in the field (Costa & Diener, 1995). His image-iconographic criteria seem to have been guided more by

science than by artistic criteria in force in the 19th century aesthetic, leading us to suppose that Hercule Florence's style of representation, with its detailed scientific details, left no room for imagination.

Seeking to answer the initial question, whether Hercule Florence was a scientist-photographer or an artistic photographer, Alfredo Maria Adriano d'Escragnolle de Taunay, the first and only son of the Viscount of Taunay (1843–1899), points out that “his contribution from Mato Grosso drawings is no less precious and his Amazonian ethnographic sketches that deserved the most heartfelt praise from high ethnographic authorities” (Taunay, 1981, p.26), when it was noted that they were “the best Indian sketchers of all those who visited Brazil in the 19th century, in terms of the documentary value of their work” (Hartmann, 1970, p.154).

Within a transcultural logic (Guimaraens, 2016), the reminiscences of Florence's indigenous records are related to studies of the transformations that occurred in the junction of distinct cultures, which permeate the scope of academic knowledge in architecture and urban planning, expanding the discussion to the field of philosophy, anthropology and digital technologies of primitive or popular art to reaffirm the stance of political and cultural inclusion that respects Brazilian cultural diversity. In “Discourse to the Tupiniquins or Nambás” (1975), art critic Mario Pedrosa advocated that: “In countries like ours, [often criticized as] underdeveloped in terms of contemporary history, to say that their art is primitive or popular is the same as saying that it is futuristic.” Mario Pedrosa's words, in 1975, suggest that there are different perceptions about what is considered valuable in art as a historical alternative to the crisis experienced by the artistic avant-gardes in late capitalism.

A sociological question about the social role played by indigenous people in Brazilian

society can be formulated as follows: What alternative metaphors could be used to imagine a pertinent cultural policy? The possible answer lies in the poetics of transgression suppressed by the bourgeois elites in their withdrawal from popular culture and in the possibility of meeting low or repulsive social domains (Hall, 2006). The valorization of indigenous identities gained strength between the 1970s and 1980s, with the promulgation of the 1988 Federal Constitution that represented a milestone in this process, with several peoples feeling more encouraged to affirm that they belonged to certain ethnicities, even when living outside indigenous lands. The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics/IBGE is the main provider of geographic and statistical information in Brazil. In fact, the 2022 IBGE Census identified an increase in the number of people living outside indigenous lands or in urban centers in several regions of the country (Queiroz, 2023).

As a final question, we inquire: What is the critical questioning that Brazilian society should undertake at this time of social commotion related to violence against indigenous populations of Amazon and Mato Grosso, when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights foresees that every person can express themselves, create and disseminate works in the language of their choice and, in

particular, in their mother tongue, in addition to having the right to a quality education that respects their cultural identity, and being able to participate in public cultural life with cultural practices within the limits of human rights and fundamental democratic freedoms? (Brandt, 2003, p. 5).

This is an issue that highlights the importance of rescuing from the fictional field of the utopian civilization the reminiscent of the image-iconographic productions originated from the scientific artistic missions of the 19th century, such as those of Hercule Florence, thus revealing historiographic collections relevant to the construction of theoretical-practical methods that are vocationally oriented towards the field of justice, now questioned by the peoples who served as its object for centuries (Segato, 2021, p. 17).

The focus of a pertinent scientific investigation in the present day, as undertaken by Hercule Florence, presupposes a conception that moves in time, fiercely revalidating and criticizing the historical dialectics of an ontological background, which culminated in the creation of a fictional hegemonic system founded on utopian bases. As Frederic Jameson ponders: “What would be the function of an entity as ambiguous as Utopia today, if not to foresee political and empirical possibilities? (Jameson, 2007, p. 359).



Figure 11: “On September 3, 1825, we set off from Rio de Janeiro. A fresh wind helped us to complete, in 24 hours, the 70-league crossing, to Santos [...]” Florence, Hercule - *1 Pain de Sucre. 2. Corcovado. 3. Montagne de Gouveia.* [Drawing from the Carnet de dessins] - [1825] - Watercolor on paper - 19.3 x 24.7 cm - Bibliothèque Nationale de France Collection (Paris).

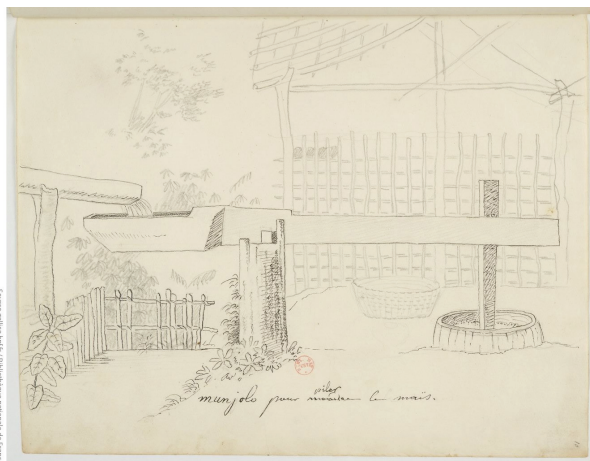


Figure 12: Florence, Hercule. *Munjolo pour piler le maïs.* Munjolo to pillar the cassava. Source: gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France.

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