A historiography on the gardens of Brazil(1)

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ABSTRACT
What are the conceptual dimensions that define the idea of a garden in Brazil? Which historic bases have been used to idealize theory and praxis, not only to design gardens but the idea itself of landscaping in the country? Taking into account the complexity and ampleness of the theme, the goal of this article is presenting a view from authors and reference works that may help design a historiographic panorama of gardens in Brazil.

Keywords: gardens, historiographic, landscape, Brazil

RESUMO
Por uma historiografia dos jardins no Brasil
Quais as dimensões conceituais que definiram a ideia do jardim no Brasil? Que bases históricas foram utilizadas para se idealizar a teoria e a práxis, não só para se pensar os jardins mas a própria ideia de paisagismo no país? Considerando a complexidade e amplitude desse tema, a proposta deste artigo é apresentar uma revisão de autores e obras de referências que possam nos ajudar a desenhar o panorama historiográfico dos jardins no Brasil.

Palavras-chave: jardins, historiografia, paisagem, Brasil

1. THE CONCEPT OF THE GARDEN AND THE NEED FOR A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVE

Browsing through the huge variety of research and authors dedicated to the study of landscaping in Brazil, and particularly gardens, a significant output in terms of literature can be observed for the last five decades containing an extensive list of books, journals, masters and doctorate theses and collections of essays and articles that approach the theme with enthusiasm. In addition to this and the variety of scientific papers that have been published, there are a wealth of independent publications such as catalogues, weekly magazines, newspapers and specialized websites. Although these may not have the sufficient theoretical strength to deal with the subject in depth, they offer readers the opportunity to widen the circulation of this subject across Brazil.

Naturally, works directly investigating this matter do not all involve the same approach. This is due to the range of disciplines permeating the theme. Some deal with the idea of the garden directly; others indirectly using the theoretical and methodological instruments offered by the fields of history of art, agronomy, geography, history, architecture and philosophy, among others. These undoubtedly contribute to broadening the subject – despite suspicions that they do not provide the impetus that could lead to the autonomy of this field, where the concept of garden could be dealt with in the strictest sense of the term.

Looking at the relatively low number of disciplines in which the garden is studied as an independent field of knowledge, it can be observed that the analyses associated with these are based on “representation”, for which the garden, in theory, should be interpreted according to its inherent materiality, or in other words, the aesthetic guarantees that the morphology and typology of its design create in the landscape. This concreteness also produces a place, the potential utilitarian relations of which are established through the cultivation of crops (in orchards and vegetable gardens) or medicinal herbs. This delimitation and overlap of the use of social spaces takes shape through the fun and playful appropriation of landscaped areas, even when subject to the interference of ecological (fauna and flora) and climatic nuances, elements that are inextricably linked to the substantiality of the garden. This substantiality is a powerful element in creating synesthetic effects for those who see the garden as a type of habitat. However, it cannot be ignored that the stylistic concreteness of the garden develops fragments of landscapes, loaded with the ideology and symbolism that flows through the centuries, adapting itself to the changing shape of the societies that use these spaces.

In Brazil, the study of the garden is welcomed by many niches of academia, whose unmistakable contributions justify its thematic potential and theoretical-conceptual scope, and offer methodological pathways that stimulate the formation of its own episteme. Therefore, we believe primarily that the garden, whether organically or artificially, installs itself in the landscape, puts it in order, decants the harsher characteristics of the original environment and ultimately reveals, as Anne Cauquelin reminds us, two of its intrinsic characteristics. The first is based on a

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philosophical perspective, which in practice helps us to interpret the immateriality of the garden in the daily lives of human beings by transporting to it the “image of the best of man” (CAUQUELIN, 2007, p.64). “Residing in gardens,” says Anne Cauquelin, “man becomes similar to that which surrounds him” (ibid.). The second characteristic leads us to interpret the garden not as an “intermediary, foetus or seed of the landscape” (op. cit., p. 66), but as “providing, in the form of an eclogue, pastoral or ode, the elements that constitute the “countryside” – trees, grottos, springs, meadows, hills, clumps and embankments, animals and the tools that make up their own vocabulary” (ibid.). Lastly, by bringing together both reflective nuances in a single resulting vector, we agree with the author when she says that, “gardens trace one of our folds of memory and stay there, against the landscape, like models of naturalness” (ibid.).

By admitting such statements as credible in describing the reach and dimensions of the term garden, which has inhabited man’s imagination for centuries, we assume that on a material or immaterial level, as suggested above by Anne Cauquelin, the modus operandi that this creates. This requires the articulation of conceptual knowledge and practices that offer coherent, innovative and effective parameters to establish the specific historiography of the garden through its presence in the design of our landscapes, in light of Brazil’s historical and landscape context.

Faced with this backdrop of different tonalities, a brief exception must be made on the consolidation of this theme in Brazilian academia, as this still seems quite distant to us. In reality, this reveals itself to be a fragile and limited field of work owing to the absence of its own theoretical and conceptual structure, considering the stage that the research in this area is at in Europe, North America and Asia, where literature, study groups and scientific debate forums enjoy consecrated status within the scientific community, as well as in actions carried out by civil society organizations. Parallel to this run the non-academic sectors of society, such as those responsible for the management of gardens in technical and political spheres linked to government bodies, for example. To a lesser extent, it is also possible to observe the recognition of the garden by society as something of real value, setting it apart from its morphological, typological, historical and cultural sense. This leads us to believe that the culture of gardens, or that which in theory we interpret as landscape culture (BERQUE, 1994) (4), seems to be firmly committed and consolidated to an urban reality that interprets the concept of the garden and its evolution as essential elements that are inseparable from the landscape.

2. AN ORGANIC HISTORIOGRAPHY: THE GARDEN AS A STARTING POINT FOR A HISTORY OF LANDSCAPING IN BRAZIL

It is not just recently that the garden has become a fixed and frequent idea in the visual imagination of the artist. It is also well known that the image of the garden has been converted into narrative by poets, writers and storytellers, which sometimes need to be deciphered by interpreting metaphors, analogies, metonyms and synaesthesia. Browsing through images and text, special attention should be paid to the way in which the garden emerges and gains magnitude in the travel diaries, letters, sketches and reports produced by the geographers, biologists, surveyors, naturalists, encyclopaedists and religious followers who used the ideological basis and representative essence of the garden in order to register the landscape. But why consider the garden within this context? What is the relevance of looking though the works of artists and painters in order to understand how to interpret the garden? Is this really necessary, and do these works contain any real references?

The context and themes described above suggest the premise to be used in constructing a historiographical narrative on evolution of the notion of the garden in Brazil, as well as the way in which this has been approached by a range of authors. What first caught our attention were the sensitive and skilful traces captured by those registering their intimate experiences in contact with the landscape, nature and the cities of colonial and imperial Brazil, even though these were often altered as a result of their cultural context. In these records left to us by 18th and 19th century travellers we discover a valuable archive of references to a “wild landscape” portraying the various manifestations of the flora and fauna of terra brasilis.

Taking these perspectives into consideration, we must bear in mind that these colonial-era voyagers’ understanding of nature was underpinned by their trade-centred objectives. However, the visual representations, narratives and maps of the time demonstrate that these men’s impressions were not limited to the mere cataloguing of “things” or based on a reductionist vision of what the environment had to offer the senses. Our perspective goes directly against this idea, as the brilliance of the discourse constructed in the paintings, drawings and texts produced by this learned elite is clear. The complexity of information that they observed in this “hostile” environment, at odds with their European customs and the specificities of the space and time in which they lived, drove them to interpret the landscape within its very real intensity, through the lines, colours or words that they chose in composing their narratives.

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4 Augustin Berque believes that the concept of the landscape is a cultural development and that this “did not always exist in every time and place”. He also states that, “Non-landscaped civilizations have existed – those which did not understand what a landscape is (…)”. Berque formulated four criteria in order to identify if a civilization is landscaped (or not): a. the use of a range of words to define the “landscape”; b. literature (oral or written) that describes landscapes or their beauty; c. artistic representations of landscapes, and; d. the existence of gardens where one can enjoy and revel in their beauty (BERQUE, 1994).
These records therefore contain lasting traces that distinguish the colonial landscape, outlined by quill, watercolour and Indian ink, leaving delicate impressions of the corners of an emerging urban landscape, the dynamics of everyday society and the materiality of the jungles, forests and “gardens” registered by the acute sensibility of these men. With specific regard to gardens, the reports to which we have access provide descriptions of Brazil’s cities from north to south. Reading between the lines, material elements of the landscape can be discovered in the form of gardens, and we can recover the characteristics of these in terms of style and use. A wide range of texts continue to provide the source through which the history of our gardens can be recovered.

The sequence of events that unfolded across Brazil during the 19th century - the arrival of the royal family, the opening of the country’s ports to allied nations, political and religious conflict during the imperial era, the declaration of the Republic - analysed in relation to the garden, arise in subtle movements that were significant in the formation of our main urban centres. The slow growth and transformation of Brazil’s cities excited voyagers and a range of professionals, who would repeatedly cast their eyes over the landscape in movement. The garden arose in many of these moments, becoming a recurring presence in the historical records.

Cities such as Belém, Recife, Salvador and Rio de Janeiro are a constant presence in travel diaries and in the paintings of the time. But what did they portray in terms of the garden? Is the garden really present with the same concept that we give it today, or to something at all similar? If we cannot be sure of the answer to this, we must revisit the records and interpret what they have to say to us.

Rio de Janeiro, perhaps as capital of the empire, was home to the emblematic garden that reigned supreme during the first half of the 19th century – Passeio Público. This garden has been visited and revisited in many texts and paintings revealing its morphological characteristics, the structure of its green areas and the social groups that visited it along the day. Texts left by voyagers enable us to observe the habits of its visitors and the state in which it was maintained, which at some points was lamentable.

Between 1817 and 1820, the naturalists Johann Baptist von Spix (5) and Carl Friedrich Philipp von Martius (6) left valuable impressions of Passeio Público and other gardened spaces in the city, such as Jardim Botânico and Quinta da Boa Vista. The city’s private spaces did not escape their sharp eye either, and were registered in their books alongside related iconography. Observed on her walks through Rio de Janeiro between 1821 and 1823, Maria Graham (7) described that the city’s landscape as “extremely rich in natural beauty” (GRAHAM, 1990, p. 199), and the public and private gardens did not escape her observation. The book O Brasil pitoresco (“Picturesque Brazil”) by Charles Ribeyrolles (8) reinforces our suspicions about the presence of gardens in the city. The author presents numerous passages highlighting the presence of these spaces and critiques them in terms of both aesthetic form and the lack of care on the part of the local population. Referring to Passeio Público, for example, his critical standpoint is made very clear. He writes emphatically: “The garden is poorly cared for, almost devoid of art or culture” (RIBEYROLLES, 1980, p. 191). Herman Burmeister (9) is another important writer who constructed a meticulous narrative on the landscape during the two years that he stayed in Brazil (1850-1852), publishing this on his return to Europe. Throughout his work he attests to the association between gardens and private homes, suggesting that the culture of the garden was sketched across the fabric of the city and society’s imagination quite organically. Some of the names that stand out for this period include Luiz Agassiz, (10) Elizabeth Cary Agassiz, (11) Jean Baptiste Debret (12) and João Mauricio Rugendas (13). The first two produced important scientific studies and chronicles. Luiz Agassiz, who was a graduate in zoology and geology, led scientific exhibitions between 1865 and 1866 in the company of his wife. His impressions on Passeio Público, Jardim Botânico and the gardens belonging to Sr. Lage (currently the Mariano Procópio Foundation in Juiz de Fora, Minas Gerais State) are an invaluable reference in uncovering the complex process through which a culture of gardens was established, even though in the 19th century this was still in its first stages.

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(5) German naturalist Johann Baptist von Spix (c. 1781-1826) participated in expeditions to describe the fauna and flora of Brazil. He was a participant on the Austrian-German Artistic Mission. The results of this were published under the title “Journey through Brazil 1817-1820”.

(6) Carl Friedrich Philipp von Martius (c. 1794-1868) was a doctor, botanist, anthropologist and one of the most important German researchers of Brazil, and the Amazon in particular.

(7) Lady Maria Dundas Graham Callcott (c. 1785-1842) was a British writer, painter, designer and illustrator.

(8) A French journalist and politician (c. 1812-1860) who participated in expeditions to Brazil in 1858, resulting in his book Brésil pitoresque.

(9) German naturalist graduated in palaeontology, geology, zoology, medicine and philosophy (c. 1807-1896) who participated in expeditions in Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais and recorded the landscape.

(10) Swiss zoologist and geologist who gained notoriety for his Thayer Exhibition. Agassiz was one of the promoters and main defenders of scientific racism and creationism in the 19th century.

(11) Agassiz worked alongside his husband, Luis Agassiz, on one of the most extensive journeys made by foreigners across Brazil in the 19th century, gathering important information on the fauna, flora and customs of Brazil. They travelled from Rio de Janeiro to Amazônia. The book Viagem ao Brasil, 1865-1866 (“Journey to Brazil 1865-1866”) was published by Brasiliana in 1937.

(12) Member of the French Artistic Mission and founder of the Brazilian Academy of Arts and Crafts, which later became the Imperial Academy of Fine Art that is the current-day School of Fine Arts at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro. Debret was a painter and illustrator.

(13) João Mauricio Rugendas was a German painter who participated in expeditions throughout Brazil from 1822 to 1825. His work registered the customs, fauna and flora of the regions he travelled through.
in Brazil. One significant event recorded in his biography was a botanical excursion to Tijuca in which a memorable meeting took place between Luiz Agassiz and the botanist and landscape designer Auguste François Glaziou (14). The latter was the most important landscape designer in the second half of the 19th century and enjoyed a great deal of prestige among the institutions of the empire. He also left a record of the landscape, and principally the gardens of Rio de Janeiro. His writings include reports on his travels, drawings and scientific botanical texts. Finally, it would be impossible to analyse the landscape of the imperial era without the visual records left by Jean Baptiste Debret and João Mauricio Rugendas portraying habits, customs, architecture and gardens. The watercolours of Debret and Rugendas are vital in the study of the landscape, gardens and forests that surrounded our cities.

In the area of photography, there are some artists who consistently stand out for their precious and precise records of gardens. These include Jean-Victor Frond (15), Revert Henrique Klumb (16), George Leuzinger (17), Augusto Stahl (18) and Marc Ferrez (19). We can also recompose the gardens of the time through the work of painters, such as Antônio Parreiras (20), Lucílio de Albuquerque (21), Nicola Antoine Taunay (22), Niculau Facchinetti (23), and Henri Nicolas Vinet (24).

3. THE FORMATIVE PHASE: THE FIRST ESSAYS ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF A HISTORY OF THE GARDEN IN BRAZIL

A wealth of information is available on the second half of the 19th century, including both primary data - or sources relevant to the historical reconstitution of the relation between “garden” and “city” within a political, technological and social context - and works that provide a diversified overview of the time through primary documentation found in the archives, international scientific reports and iconographic albums, among others. The number of authors that have invested in reassembling the history of the garden in 19th century Brazil is not extensive, but on the other hand, those that exist have valuable contributions to offer.

One of the first works to be produced in the 1990s, O jardim e a praça (“Gardens and Squares”) by the writer Nelson Saldanha (SALDANHA, 1993), represented the beginning of a movement to discuss gardens and recognize them as distinct elements of the urban fabric on a political and ideological level. The garden is not the protagonist of this narrative, considering that the author does not formulate questions relating to stylistic characteristics for the purposes of morphological or typological research. What is really important in his discussion is the ideological content on the garden. The chapter “Dos jardins à ordem pública” (“From Gardens to Public Policy”) is an essay on the philosophical anthropology of public and private spaces, in which gardens and squares function as the central metaphors. Following a historical perspective similar to that of Nelson Saldanha, Cláudia Heynemann (HEYNEMANN, 1995) traces the trajectories of the relationship between man and Rio de Janeiro’s Tijuca Forest in her work Floresta da Tijuca – natureza e civilização (“Tijuca Forest – Nature and Civilization”). The author outlines an enlightening overview of the construction of Rio’s landscape by addressing the clashes that took place...
between the growth of the urban fabric and the exploration of the forest’s natural resources. In doing so, the garden does not emerge as a central element to the discussion, although there are two parts - *Europa: a explosão da jardimagem* [“Europe: the Explosion of Gardening”] and *Natureza e civilização: a Floresta da Tijuca e os jardins públicos* [“Nature and Civilization: the Tijuca Forest and Public Gardens”] - in which he recognizes a transformation in the urban mentality, above all when he uses Rio’s Jardim Botânico to illustrate the extent of the changes to the city’s landscape.

In 1996, Hugo Segawa published a book (SEGAWA, 1993) that has repeatedly had its importance reaffirmed over the years - not just for its proposed historical viewpoint, but for opening up one of the first historiographical perspectives on the gardens of Brazil. The title of the book is *Ao amor público: jardins no Brasil* [“For the Love of the Public: Gardens in Brazil”], and it offers a compelling and enlightening perspective on the theme. Using the model of the plaza originating from the colonial cities of the Spanish world, the author constructs a historicist narrative that as well as exposing the embryonic milestones of the garden in Brazil, describes the consecration of these as articulating urban spaces in the last quarter of the 19th century. Segawa’s work also provides an overview of Brazil’s cities, which suffered changes to their landscapes as a result of public policy relating to health and hygiene. When this occurred, the garden was elected as a unique element in the configuration of public spaces and was introduced into the silhouette of the new landscape.

Similarly, other researchers focused on the study of urban history, landscapes, landscape gardening and history of art concentrated their efforts on the labyrinthine world of gardens in Brazil in the 19th century, obtaining positive results. These contributions started to gain momentum through the works of Carlos Terra (TERRA, 2000), Silvio Macedo (MACEDO, 2000) and Guilherme Mazza Dourado (DOURADO, 2013). The art historian Carlos Terra and the architect Guilherme Mazza Dourado constructed similar narratives when assembling a history of the garden in Brazil. Using primary sources to structure their research, they uncovered more detail on the individuals involved and the fragments of the urban landscape that were altered after the introduction of urban gardens, while at the same time considering their uses and how they influenced the propagation of a landscape culture across the country. The former author centres his argument on the life of Auguste Françoise Glaziou and describes his career through examples of his emblematic work, such as the refurbishment of Passeio Público, Campo da Aclamação (currently Campo de Santana) and Quinta da Boa Vista, as well as other private projects. The author is also concerned with the development of the art of the garden, as at the point the garden is studied as an object of art. Guilherme Mazza Dourado weaves a tale from a geographical perspective by creating a historical overview of the development of gardens in different cities across the country, particularly in the Central-South region. It focuses on the educated elite that invested in the construction of these spaces, revealing a cast of actors directly linked to the creation of gardens from a design and political point of view. Observing the abundance of gardens in Rio’s landscape in 2013, Carlos Terra (TERRA, 2013) returned to the theme of gardens in the 19th century and widened his perspective by exposing the link between public and private gardens in the city. In this way, he demonstrated how the landscape ideology behind the works in public spaces in Paris, Vienna and London was gradually imported and redefined for the landscape of Brazil by both the government and the city’s elite.

Introducing a counterargument to mainstream historical opinion, the architect Silvio Macedo proposes a different way of perceiving the garden. He focuses on iconographic research, resulting in a formal interpretation of landscaped spaces constructed in Brazil in the form of a visual overview from north to south. The first part of the book defines the concepts defended by the author and offers an examination of the main public and private gardens between the 19th and 20th centuries. His first of a series of books, *O Quadro do paisagismo no Brasil* [“An Overview of Landscaping in Brazil”] (MACEDO, 2000), introduces the conceptual foundations that underpin the trajectory of practically all of his work, offering a valuable archive for the study of landscaping in Brazil.

Returning to a historicist perspective of the garden, in her book *O jardim de D. João* [“D. João’s Garden”], Rosa Nepomuceno (NEPOMUCENO, 2007) invites the reader on an adventure about the acclimatization of the plants in Rio de Janeiro’s Botanical Gardens. Her text reveals the long journey to construct a space dedicated to the study of Brazil’s fauna and flora, and the complex political, scientific and technological relationships that guaranteed this space the status that it still enjoys today. This chronicle of the daily lives of the important scientists and political figures that wandered though the Botanical Gardens, alongside an accurate description of the botanical species that could be found there, makes this a publication of high technical quality.

Many more academic papers on public gardens can be highlighted as important for landscape gardening in Brazil. We have opted to select those that specifically address the context of gardens in the 19th and 20th centuries. First we examined the reflections of Cláudio José Azevedo Taulois (TAULOIS, 2013), an urban architect who submerged himself in the world of the 18th century to describe the ideological and political proposal associated with the first public garden in Brazil. This resulted in his master’s thesis, titled *O Passeio Público setecentista, a cidade e a memória além-mar; traçado urbano e a traça do jardim* [“Passeio Público in the 18th Century, the City and its Memories Beyond the Sea; The Urban Layout and an Outline of the Garden”]. Addressing a different time period, the urban architect Jeanne de Almeida Trindade studied a cornerstone in the landscape of Rio and Brazil: Campo da Aclamação (now Campo de Santana). The author discusses one of Auguste Françoise Glaziou’s main landscaping projects in the city of Rio de Janeiro. In her master’s thesis *Campo de Santana: um patrimônio cultural carioca* [“Campo de Santana: Carioca Cultural Heritage”] (TRINDADE, 2000),
she analyses historical and design-related questions in the construction of the park and how over time it became a benchmark in the study of cultural and landscape heritage in Rio de Janeiro.

Within the same geographical context but from a different point of view, Jane Santucci (SANTUCCI, 2003) introduces the binomial “landscape” and “garden” from a tripartite perspective, basing her analysis on concepts and historicities involving 19th century Rio de Janeiro. She does this using the urban restructuring projects that took place at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, and with Rio’s public gardens in the centre of the city as a backdrop. The author revisits Passeio Público and describes it as the generator of the expansion of the city centre, which involved the removal of hills and the creation of landfills in the Guanabara Bay between the neighbourhoods of Centro and Flamengo and catalysed the changes to the landscape that took place in the 20th century with the creation of two emblematic public gardens: Praça Paris and Parque do Flamengo.

Condensing the reflections put forward by researchers of the 19th century, the second edition of the magazine Leituras Paisagísticas: teoria e praxis (“Landscape Interpretations: Theory and Practice”), published by the Landscape History Study Group at the UFRJ School of Fine Arts, was dedicated to the works of Auguste Françoise Glaziou. It included a set of nine essays exploring the legacy of this botanist and landscape designer. One highlight is the introduction to urban architect Vera Tângari (TÂNGARI, 2007), professor and researcher at the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism at UFRJ and experienced in the area of landscape gardening. She proposes an interpretation of landscaping in Rio de Janeiro over three separate phases, where Glaziou represents a milestone in the third phase. She organizes her work into an informative chronological overview providing a clear perspective of his importance in the history of landscaping in Brazil and in the radical alterations made to the urban fabric of Rio de Janeiro.

Moving the discussion outside Brazil’s Central-South region, in two academic papers Rubens de Andrade studies the gardens of the Amazon and the ideology of the form characterizing the hybridization of external structures in the construction of an urban mentality, and how this gained importance as a project of political power in the cities of Belém and Manaus from the 1870s until the second decade of the 20th century. In his master’s thesis, Antonio Lemos e as obras de melhoramentos urbanos em Belém: a Praça da República como estudo de caso (“Antonio Lemos and Urban Improvements in Belém: the Praça da República as a Case Study”) (ANDRADE, 2003), the author analyses the development of landscaping in the city during the period that mayor Antônio José Lemos was in power. In his doctorate thesis, Da paisagem natural à paisagem inventada: a cultura dos jardins urbanos em Belém (“From the Natural to the Invented Landscape: the Culture of the Urban Garden in Belém”) (ANDRADE, 2011), Rubens de Andrade brings back nature and the city as essential elements to this debate, and as a result describes how the city’s landscape was constructed. The author’s main focus is to discuss and understand how gardens were created and introduced, as well as the garden-form in the landscape of Belém.

4. THE HISTORY OF GARDENS IN BRAZIL: ENTERING THE Labyrinth

Publications on gardens had a slow start at the beginning of the 20th century, despite the strong presence of these spaces in the urban fabric. As a result, it is not easy to find authors and books offering precise information on the gardens of the time, as it is dispersed among publications such as the Almanak Laemmert, tourism catalogues and mostly in institutional reports, in which the issue is diluted within texts on urban planning or the refurbishment of public spaces. At any rate, this data is not accessible. It is worth mentioning that while publications on gardening practices or the history of gardens were rare in Brazil, in Europe and the United States there was already a significant number of titles dedicated to these themes.

In the 1930s, due to the appearance of modern architecture and the construction of new theories on urbanism, through the International Congress of Modern Architecture, a pragmatic and systematic discussion began on the environment and the expansion of the city. Articles and essays by academics in the area began to examine themes relating to urban change in which gardens appear as either an essential or a supporting element, incorporating the ideologies of beautification and improving quality of life. The magazine Revista Municipal de Engenharia do Estado da Guanabara contains a significant number of articles and essays addressing the theme of landscaping in relation to construction work and urban refurbishment projects in determined areas of the city. This record of projects and images demonstrates a focus on the implementation of gardens in the city.

In the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, as cities started to reorganize their urban structures, gardens gradually began to gain more space in the landscape. From a historicist point of view, this recuperation gained space among different sectors of the country’s educated elite, above all through publications in which the city served as a backdrop for the analysis of a wide range of phenomena. As a consequence, gardens and all of the elements they contained were studied in meticulous detail. As a result of these not necessary being strictly dedicated to the study of the garden, there are dozens of authors and works that focus on the presence of gardens in Brazil’s cities.

Here we highlight some important works that justify the approach presented above, including the book História do Brasil (“History of Brazil”) published by João Ribeiro (RIBEIRO, 1935) in the 1930s. This presents a detailed perspective of Maurício de Nassau’s the gardens in Recife, particularly the Boa Vista palace. Later, in an article named “Palácio das Torres” (“Palace of Towers”) published in 1946 in the magazine Revista do Patrimônio Artístico Nacional, J. de Souza Leão Filho (LEÃO FILHO, 1946) presented a detailed perspective of the composition of this
palace’s gardens. In the same decade, the colonial gardens started to be revisited as a result of research into the history of the Dutch invasion in Recife. Another approach that proved to be important was the essay O Jardim Botânico de Belém ["The Botanical Gardens of Belém"], which brought to light a study performed by Arthur Cezar Ferreira Reis (REIS, 1946), in which he describes the most striking characteristics of this space. His contribution was published in 1946 in the Boletim do Museu Histórico Nacional. In Aparência do Rio de Janeiro ["The Appearance of Rio de Janeiro"] by Gastão Cruls (CRULS, 1949) there are references to the landscape that started to be unveiled across the city, registered both in texts and images. These records are essential for garden historians to understand the structure of the city over its 400 years. This historicist perspective began to gain more followers and was already firmly established by the 1940s and 1950s.

In 1943, a rare book was published that was solely dedicated to putting together the history of the first garden, and that over time has perhaps proven to be the most widely-studied landscaped space in Brazil. It was written by professor at the National School of Fine Arts José Mariano Filho and titled O Passeio Público do Rio de Janeiro - 1779-1783 ["Rio de Janeiro’s Passeio Público"] (MARIANO FILHO, 1943). Over a decade, the author manages to put together a detailed study of this space using references from the tales of voyagers and other “scraps” of information that he obtained through his excellent research skills.

Between the end of the 1950s and the 1960s, a significant number of texts emerged on the transformation of the city and the type of city that was desired at that time. A hint of nationalism can be observed in the discursive language describing the woods, forests and native vegetation, with the clear intention of justifying all things Brazilian. Also from this period comes the book by Alcindo Sodré (SODRÉ, 1950) on the Imperial Museum, including ten pages containing a lengthy description of its gardens. In Memórias da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro ["Memories of the City of Rio de Janeiro"] (COARACY, 1965), Vivaldo Corrêa provided an important contribution in his book Os pavilhões do Passeio Público: Teatro Casino e Casino Beira-Mar ["The Pavilions of Passeio Público: Casino Theatre and Seaside Casino"] (SANTUCCI, 2005). Essentially, the book discusses the effervescent cultural life of the city of Rio de Janeiro, highlighting the theatre and the city’s modernist phase. The underlying thread of this text is the theatre located in a garden that contains multiple layers of history and which underwent radical changes along its lifetime. Also discussing Passeio Público and the different phases of its history, in its opening edition the magazine Leituras Paisagísticas: teoria e prática ["Landscape Interpretations: Theory and Practice"] (TERRA, 2006) provided an extensive overview from the 18th century until the current day, seeking to distinguish the various tonalities in the landscape that appeared in this space. With the theme “(Re)constructing the landscape of Passeio Público: historiography and design practices”, researchers and specialists in architecture, restoration, landscape design and archaeology constructed an interdisciplinary discussion on gardens and the restoration of this centuries-old space in the city of Rio de Janeiro. The authors Claudio J. de A. Taolios (TAOLOIS, 2006), Carlos Terra (TERRA, 2006) and Jane Santucci (SANTUCCI, 2006) present a range of historical approaches to this garden, which underwent a profound restoration process in 2003. The other authors included in this publication reflect on the park’s process of revitalization, a subject that could certainly reveal even more stories.

Another periodical that since 1995 has made significant contributions to this subject is the Brazilian Review of Ornamental Horticulture (35), published by the Brazilian Society of Floriculture and Ornamental Plants. This has provided a wide range of texts on themes specifically directed towards agronomy and botany, including questions related to landscapes and landscape design, in which the garden is one of the principal themes. Largos, coretos e praças de Belém ["The Squares, Bandstands and Market-Places of Belém"] (SOARES, 2009), written by Elizabeth Melo Soares, is a recent text researching the landscape heritage of Pará’s capital from an institutional point of view and directly linked to the Monumenta Project, which is managed by the National Institute of Artistic Heritage (IPHAN). The text transverses the history of Belém’s gardens. Its priority, however, is not to focus

(35) REVISTA Brasileira de Horticultura Ornamental. Sociedade Brasileira de Floricultura e Plantas Ornamentais, 1995-. ISSN 2447-536X
on the minutiae of the history of the local landscape, but to trace an iconographic overview using the city’s emblematic landscaped spaces. It focuses on images and provides a collection of photographs of squares, gardens, parks and tree-lined streets, as well as furniture (iron and glass structures) and sculptures inherited from Europe that adorn these spaces until the present day. In doing so, the author invokes the effusive times of the rubber trade, which is still present today in these spaces and in the architecture of the Amazon’s capital.

Zuleide Casagrande de Paula (PAULA, 2008) worked with gardens from 1915 to 1986 using Ebenezer Howard’s concept of the city-garden, leading to the resurgence of this urban model in the middle of the 20th century. The author presents the foundations that underpinned designs for city-gardens and how these unfolded as a set of actions applied to the Jardim América project in São Paulo. Other discussions arise, such as matters of heritage and urbanism, which set out the central theme of the text. This provides an important analysis of the implementation of an established urban model, where the ideologies of the garden and the balance between man and nature were imported to Brazil from across the Atlantic.

The modern phase began with the construction of the Ministry of Education and Health, now the Palácio Gustavo Capanema, the architectural milestone that applied the basic principles developed by the modern movement (Le Corbusier being one of the most important proponents of this). As a result, the production of innovative landscapes and practices of landscape design began to arise organically in Brazil. In both architecture and landscape design, a set of compositions started to be introduced that followed modern trends but did not completely dispense with existing traditions. We are convinced that this meeting of old landscaping models and the avant-garde imported from abroad led to the appearance of unique models in Brazil, resulting in the type of landscapes and gardens that the painter and landscape designer Roberto Burle Marx is renowned for.

Glancing through the variety of titles on the period in question, a wide range of authors offering texts of excellent quality on the history of gardens in Brazil can be observed. Before exploring these, however, the writing of Roberto Burle Marx himself needs to be cited through his book *Arte e paisagem: conferências escolhidas* (“Art and Landscapes: Selected Conferences”) (MARX, 1987), published in the 1980s. This presents part of the basis for the author’s personal perspectives. One author who examined the work of Burle Marx was Flávio L. Motta, who in his book *Roberto Burle Marx e a nova visão da paisagem* (“Burle Marx and the New Perspective on Landscapes”) (MOTTA, 1984) detailed the artist’s career over eighty projects. This publication includes an iconographically rich collection of photographs by Marcel Gautherot. Further examination of the literature leads to the detailed research of the urban architect and garden historian of Roberto Burle Marx, Ana Rita Sá Carneiro (26). She has dedicated herself along the years to researching the famous landscape designer, principally on his work in the northeast of Brazil. Collections of texts such as *História da paisagem: ensaios urbanísticos do Recife e de São Luís* (“The History of the Landscape: Essays on Urbanism in Recife and São Luís”) (PONTUAL and CARNEIRO, 2005) and *Jardins de Burle Marx no Nordeste do Brasil* (“The Gardens of Burle Marx in the Northeast of Brazil”) (CARNEIRO, 2013) are examples of how the author and her team of researchers widened the universe of the artist’s landscapes for each publication.

An abundant number of works on Burle Marx were published in the 1990s, including a collection put together by the philosopher Jacques Leenhardt (LEEHARDT, 1994), who from a seminar involving academics from the French school of landscape design published *Nos jardins de Burle Marx* (“On the Gardens of Burle Marx”), which reflects on wide range of the artist’s works. More recently, in the 2000s, Jos Tabacow, Ana Rosa de Oliveira and Eloisa Santos have provided precious insights into Roberto Burle Marx’s career by examining his work in Brazil and abroad. Another important text by the architect Jos Tabacow (TABACOW, 2005) redits the conferences that Burle Marx published in 1987. This publication expands on the original book with comments and illustrations that reaffirm the diversity of this master’s projects by registering how he was involved in the design and creation of the “garden”, as well as participating in expeditions to collect species across Brazil. The work of Ana Rosa Oliveira (OLIVEIRA, 2015) examines four decades of the artist’s work and presents an enlightening overview of his creative process and the multiple spheres that made up his projects, from conception to his relationship with his clients, representing a unique analysis through a range of different angles. Finally, in her master’s thesis *O paisagismo de Burle Marx e a moderna arquitetura brasileira* (“The Landscaping of Burle Marx and Modern Brazilian Architecture”), the landscape designer from the UFRJ School of Fine Arts Eloisa Santos (SANTOS, 2004) discusses the concepts and methods that the artist used to create his unique repertoire of landscape models. Addressing the progression of the Burle Marx’s career, she discusses the relationships between art and science and rationalism and intuition that guided his landscape designs. In an attempt to create a *tour de force* amalgamating the various dimensions of his work in a single publication, the third edition of the magazine *Leituras Paisagísticas: teoria e prática - do imaginário à matéria: a obra de Roberto Burle Marx* (“Landscape Interpretations: Theory and Practice - From the Imaginary to the Material: the Work of Roberto Burle Marx”) (TERRA et al., 2009) manages to summarize his complete works over 15 articles. These reveal a multi-faceted artist through his paintings, garden designs, mural art, tapestries and jewellery designs, among others.

(26) *In Laboratório da Paisagem*, at the Federal University of Recife (UFPe), Ana Rita Sá Carneiro develops a pioneering study into the research of landscapes and gardens, and together with a group of researchers linked to her laboratory, has provided important contributions on the works of Burle Marx.
In addition to the work of the most prominent garden and landscape designer, garden culture and the importance that landscape design gained since the end of the 1980s has led to the unprecedented production of texts that propose that gardens be studied from a range of angles - morphologically, aesthetically, stylistically, typologically, historically and philosophically. This has raised the level of the debate and marks the beginning of a more refined approach from researchers and academics, who are now investing in research into the garden in the stricter sense of the term, as well as landscaping and the landscape itself.

To conclude our research, we also examined one of the first books dedicated to parks in São Paulo: *Parques urbanos de São Paulo* [“The Urban Parks of São Paulo”] (KLIASS, 1993) by Rosa Grena Kliass. In this, the author discusses historical predecessors of the garden and analyses São Paulo’s process of urbanization and its individual parks, including Parque da Luz, Praça da República, Parque Dom Pedro II, Parque Siqueira Campos and Parque Ibirapuera, among others. The book is well-referenced, containing maps and images.

5. THE CONTEMPORARY PHASE OF THE HISTORY OF GARDENS AND THE STUDY OF THE LANDSCAPE: THE CIRCULATION OF INFORMATION IN ORDER TO CONSOLIDATE AN AUTONOMOUS FIELD OF STUDY

Some modern-day works deserve attention for their theoretical-conceptual, technical and didactic content, as well as the chronicles that arise from books, catalogues, theses and dissertations. In this sense, periodicals (both printed and electronic magazines) and anthologies provide a large part of the demand for work in the technical and scientific field. Magazines such as *Paisagem e Ambiente* [“Landscape and Environments”], and *Leituras Paisagísticas: teoria e praxis* [“Landscape Interpretations: Theory and Practice”], have broadened the circulation of this subject and created an original archive of articles and essays that help to decipher the current moment and the historical, design, environmental, anthropological and sociological trajectories of gardens in Brazil. In terms of anthologies, there are many strong examples of these that address gardens and related issues. These include the work of the geographer Eduardo Yazige (YAZIGE, 2001), *Turismo e paisagem* [“Tourism and Landscapes”], which brings together a selection of texts considering anthropology, geography, history and architecture and reveal questions relating to landscaping, cities and gardens. On the same subject, the anthology put together by Schirley F. Nogueira da Silva Cavalcante Alves, Simone Novaes Reis and Patricia Duarte de Oliveira Paiva, entitled *Coletânea de Simpósio de paisagem* [“Collected Works from the Landscape Symposium”] (ALVES et al., 2009), includes a mosaic of texts that trace an overview of the modern-day study of landscapes and gardens. The anthologies *Jardins históricos brasileiros e mexicanos* [“The Historical Gardens of Brazil and Mexico”] (CARNEIRO and BERTRUY, 2009) and *Arborização: ensaios historiográficos* [“Arborisation: Historical Essays”] (TERRA et al., 2003), the former collated by Ana Rita Sá Carneiro and Ramona Pérez Bertruy and the latter by Carlos Terra, Rubens de Andrade, Jeanne Trindade and Alfredo Benassi, contain a total of 14 articles (four in the former and ten in the latter) that provide a historical summary of the construction of our gardens and that of other cultures.

With regard to questions relating the to restoration, heritage and management of historical gardens, some publications deserve a mention for their original approach to the theme or their efforts to create concrete actions to conserve the country’s historical gardens. The first publication is actually a manual put together with the empirical experience of the urban architect Carlos Fernando Delphim. *Manual de intervenções em jardins históricos* [“A Manual of Interventions in Historical Gardens”] (DELPHIM, 2005) represents significant progress in terms of the preservation and conservation of gardens and uses a set of registered actions to guide those working in this area. Another unique contribution to this area is *Arqueologia na Paisagem* [“Archaeology in the Landscape”], consisting of an innovative discussion based on the science of archaeology and the methodological and conceptual instruments to be applied to the research of landscapes and gardens for restoration and conservation purposes. This anthology includes three titles: *Arqueologia na paisagem: novos valores, dilemas e instrumentais* [“Archaeology in the Landscape: New Values, Dilemmas and Instruments”] (MACEDO et al., 2012), *Arqueologia na paisagem: um olhar sobre o jardim histórico* [“Archaeology in the Landscape: A Look into Historical Gardens”] (TERRA and TRINDADE, 2014) and *Arqueologia na paisagem: a cidade como artefato* [“Archaeology in the Landscape: The City as an Artefact”] (MACEDO et al., 2016). Another two texts that are important in this area include discussions on the management of historical gardens through debate forums created specifically for this purpose. Organized by Ana Pessoa, Douglas Fasolato and Rubens de Andrade, the publications *Jardins históricos: gestão e preservação do patrimônio paisagístico* [“Historical Gardens: The Management and Preservation of Landscape Heritage”] (PESSOA et al., 2014) and *Jardins históricos: a cultura, as práticas e os instrumentos de salvaguarda de espaços paisagísticos* [“Historical Gardens: Culture, Practices and Instruments for the Preservation of Landscaped Spaces”] (PESSOA et al., 2014) contain articles and essays that guide the debate that needs to be held by researchers, technicians and managers concerned with the preservation and management of historical gardens in Brazil.

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(27) Published by the Brazilian Landscape Overview (QUAPÁ) project at the University of São Paulo which is dedicated to researching changes to the environment. This periodical has existed since 1986.

(28) Periodical specialized in the study of landscapes and the history of gardens, edited by the Landscape History Study Group at the School of Fine Arts (UFRJ).
In terms of the management of these gardens, the reflections of the architect Jeanne Trindade on 19th century gardens from a contemporary perspective are of great value. Her doctorate thesis *Parques históricos nas cidades contemporâneas: uma análise da Quinta da Boa Vista* [“Historical Parks in the Contemporary City: An Analysis of Quinta da Boa Vista”] (TRINDADE, 2014) interlinks the restoration and conservation of these gardens, mainly in terms of the management process.

From a literary and philosophical point of view, the magazine *Interfaces* from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro’s Centre of Literature and Art proposed a new way of looking at the garden and published an edition entirely dedicated to landscapes and gardens. Coordinated by Carlos Terra and Rubens de Andrade, this publication provides the reader with articles such as *Os jardins poéticos de Cecília Meireles e de Roberto Burle Marx* (“The Poetic Gardens of Cecília Meireles and Roberto Burle Marx”) by Ivana Ferrante Rebelo, *O verde imido subindo em mim: a mulher e a magia do jardim de Clarice Lispector* (“The Damp Green Arising in Me: Women and the Magic of Clarice Lispector’s Garden”) by Vera Lúcia Albuquerque de Moraes and *Os jardins submersos de Julio Verne – ciência e literatura em Vinte mil léguas submarinas* (“The Submerged Gardens of Jules Verne – Science and Literature in Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea”) by Edmar Guirra. This publication contains poetic, philosophical, literary and scientific ways of exploring the different dimensions of the garden.

Other technical and scientific works that we should mention include the anthologies *CADERNOS BRASILEIROS DE ARQUITETURA - PAISAGISMO* [“Brazilian Books on Architecture – Landscaping”] (FIASCHI, 1978), coordinated by Luciano Fiaschi, *CADERNOS PAISAGISTAS - UMA VISÃO INTERDISCIPLINAR SOBRE O ESTUDO DA PAISAGEM* [“Landscape Books - An Interdisciplinary Perspective on the Study of Landscapes”] (GOYA, 1996), collated by Claudio Roberto y Goya and Paula da C. Landim Goya, and *ARQUITETURA PAISAGÍSTICA CONTemporânea no Brasil* [“Contemporary Landscape Architecture in Brazil”] (SCHLEE, 2010), organized by Mônica Bahia Schlée, Ivete Farah and Raquel Tardim. The first was a pioneering publication that appeared in 1978. Written in simple and direct language, it explores the landscape of the time by presenting projects and landscape proposals from a technical and urban management point of view in cities such as Cuiabá, Brasilia, Curitiba, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. The second is unique in the way it brings together writers from different disciplines and conceptual endpoints to explore the theme “Landscapes and Gardens”. Vicente Del Rio, Silvio Macedo, Paulo Celso Dorneles Del Pichia and Carlos Terra are some of the promising researchers of the time that contributed to this publication. A decade later, these would become the most respected names in this field of study in Brazil as a result of the extensive volume of publications, implementation of debate forums and creation of study and research groups attributed to them. The third anthology is the most recent and also the most significant, providing a memorable contribution to Brazil’s contemporary literature on landscaping by revealing trajectories that are still unclear from a historical and conceptual perspective.

Relevant work with a more didactic appeal, which has arisen as an essential tool in the study of landscapes in university classrooms, includes the books *Criando paisagens – guia de trabalho em arquitetura paisagística* [“Creating Landscapes – A Guide to Working with Landscape Architecture”] by Benedito Abud (ABUD, 2009), *PAISAGISMO E ECOgêNese* [“Landscaping and Ecogenesis”] by Fernando Chachel (CHACEL, 2001), *VISOES DE PAISAGEM – UM PANORAMA DO PAISAGISMO CONTEMPORÂNEO NO BRASIL* [“Landscape Visions – An Overview of Contemporary Landscaping in Brazil”] by Guilherme Mazza Dourado (DOURADO, 1997), and the works contained in the previously cited anthology *QUADRO DO PAISAGISMO NO BRASIL* [“An Overview of Landscaping in Brazil”], *PRAÇAS BRASILEIRAS* [“Brazilian Squares”] (ABUD, 2009), *PARQUES URBANOS NO BRASIL* [“The Urban Parks of Brazil”] (MACEDO and SAKATA, 2002) and *PAISAGISMO BRASILEIRO NA VIRADE DO SÉCULO 1990-2010* [“Brazilian Landscaping from 1990 - 2010”] (MACEDO, 2014), which have made a huge contribution towards the study of landscaping and garden history and design from a clear and direct perspective, essential for those starting out in the field.

Of the chroniclers who chose to convey their view of the world free from the constraints of academic rhetoric, the architect Eduardo Barra and the biologist Cecilia Beatriz Soares offer enlightening perspectives on the themes that are vital to the world of gardens and landscapes. In *PAISAGENS ÚTEIS - ESCRITOS SOBRE PAISAGISMO* [“Useful Landscapes - Writings on Landscaping”] (BARRA, 2006) and *AS MAIS BELAS ÁRVORES DA MUI FORMOSA CIDADE DE SÃO SEBASTIÃO DO RIO DE JANEIRO* [“The Most Beautiful Trees of the City of São Sebastião do Rio de Janeiro”] (SOARES, 1994) respectively, we discover informative, critical, historical and poetic texts cover a range of themes of national and international relevance for gardens and landscapes, and these have certainly made a significant contribution to this area.

It is impossible to develop a full historiography of the garden in this article alone. A lot has been left unsaid. Over recent years, together with studies into the landscape as a separate theme, gardens have taken on another dimension. Research into this area is now of fundamental importance in order to understand the history and organization of Brazil’s cities. From north to south, researchers, art historians, landscape designers, geographers and architects, among other academics, have come together and constructed a network that is gradually starting to fill in the blanks of the Brazilian landscape.
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