

PINTURA COLONIAL CONTEMPORÂNEA

DA SOLIDÃO DA METRÓPOLE
A UM HORIZONTE DE
POSSIBILIDADES

CONTEMPORARY COLONIAL PAINTING

FROM THE SOLITUDE
OF THE METROPOLE TO A
HORIZON OF POSSIBILITIES

MARIA JOÃO CASTRO





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*Colonialism offers us an
unusual mirror in which to see ourselves.*

Let us dwell upon this.

EDUARDO LOURENÇO

PREFACE

Portugal has been a maritime power ever since the beginning benefitting as it does from an extremely favourable strategic position lying at the juncture between the southern and western shores of Europe, which puts it at the centre of the maritime communication routes from the Baltic and the North Sea to the Eastern Mediterranean. With the added advantage of having such an exceptional estuary as the Tagus, the country developed a naval base in Lisbon early on adapted to providing support for long-distance sea voyages.

After consolidating their position in both the peninsular and European context with the conquest of Ceuta in 1415, the Portuguese saw the sea as providing an opportunity to enlarge their dominions and expand their economy. The settlement of the archipelagos of Madeira and the Azores and the start of the Discoveries launched Portugal on the path towards a new pluricontinental identity. Portuguese navigation and exploration enabled the creation of new businesses and the establishing of an empire as from 1502. This empire grew and gradually changed its shape over the centuries at the same time as it transformed the very Portuguese identity itself. This identity was never again only European since it became moulded by a mixture of experiences, businesses and memories that were disseminated throughout the territory and all the families in the country. The overseas territories generated economic profits, they were the vehicle for dreams of wealth and prestige, they promoted lineages, they brought prestige to the crown and they guaranteed the independence of the small European rectangle embedded in the south-western corner of the Old Continent. Finally, the South American

colony received the Portuguese court and thus prevented Napoleon Bonaparte from adding Portugal to his constellation of captured thrones. Shortly afterwards, in 1822, Brazil proclaimed its independence.

At that moment it seemed as though Portugal would go back to being little more than the European rectangle, but the memory moulded over the centuries would not accept such a fate and went in search of a new empire in Africa. Despite the profound differences that separated the successive regimes that governed Portugal from 1834 to 1974, a common denominator can easily be found in the politics of the liberal monarchists, the democratic republicans and the *Estado Novo* — preservation of the imperial memory and the creation, development and tenacious defence of the «new empire» secured in behind-the-scenes diplomacy in the second half of the 19th century. Even after the empire collapsed though, the people in the whole of the Portuguese-speaking world created new links of solidarity and even international protagonism despite there being controversial debates about the past and the present.

This work by Maria João Castro deals specifically with the last two centuries in which first the empire and then the Portuguese-speaking world was reinvented. The author shows us in an admirable fashion how this complex historical process related to painting — how it influenced it and also how it was manipulated. Through analysing the work of dozens of artists and the impact of a large number of major events, such as the great world exhibitions or various shows and fairs organised by the state, the reader learns how artistic expression was either a political weapon (be it memorialist, propagandist

or oppositionist to colonial policy), or simply an aesthetic expression or a moment of symbiosis between cultures.

These processes of interculturality, which were only possible because of the artists' sensibility, are referred to brilliantly when the author says, apropos the work of Eduardo Zink, that the painter «miscegenated both cultures into a wholly original aesthetic permeated with plastic Africanity even though filtered by his own European roots». We can thus also say that there is an aesthetic in the words of Maria João Castro.

The artists who parade through the pages of this book experienced the world in a variety of ways, and if many were born in Europe, others began their lives overseas, either as descendents of colonial settlers or as members of the lineages of the land. Hence their works offer us a myriad of sensibilities and intellectual and cultural paths characteristic of human uniqueness. This is also what makes this work an excellent starting point for wider reflection on the complexity of the history of humanity and of each individual in these adventures in a world that ultimately has no frontiers.

As this work was envisioned and written through the prism of Art History, and offers a systematic analysis of the chosen theme, it simultaneously provides a view of the evolution of Portuguese overseas policy in the 19th and 20th centuries as well as the readaptation process that took place after the independence of the former parcels of the empire. Reference to various prominent artists, such as Almada Negreiros, Abel Manta, Helena Vaz da Silva, Malangatana, Maluda, Dórdio Gomes, Júlio Resende, Graça Morais and Paula Rego, allows the reader to understand how

the theme of empire and the diaspora was pivotal to the history of the Portuguese and the overseas Portuguese-speaking peoples and how it influenced the Arts.

By accompanying the evolution of Portuguese overseas policy in the last two centuries, we can also see how the state always maintained an interventionist diplomacy

and that it was an active voice on the international scene. This can be seen, for example, by its assertive participation in the world and universal exhibitions beginning with the first one held in London in 1851.

Finally, this work further shows us that, in a certain way, the independence of the former African colonies, despite marking

an institutional rupture, did not put an end to the centuries-old cultural link with the Portuguese-speaking world. The commissions given to Malangatana for Portuguese buildings or Graça Morais' art residency in Cape Verde are but two signs of a dynamic that will continue for many years to come.

Lisbon, 11 February 2021
João Paulo Oliveira e Costa

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and Humanities, NOVA University of Lisbon*

No art is enclosed in itself.

CÍCERO

PROLOGUE

The purpose of this book is to study the relation between Portuguese colonial art, especially painting, and political power in the contemporary context. The subtlety of suggestions and the complexity of relations that stem from the power of art and the art of power mean that the history of colonial art's journey is not a univocal narrative but a series of heterogeneous and inter-relational products that emerged in multifarious ways from the metropole and also the overseas possessions. Hence *Pintura Colonial Contemporânea* [Contemporary Colonial Painting] sets out *Da Solidão da Metrópole a um Horizonte de Possibilidades* [From the Solitude of the Metropole to a Horizon of Possibilities] in the context of the colonial coming-and-going within a hybrid genealogy formed and developed in antonymic mirrors in which art and travel each needed the other in order to define themselves.

Everything began in 2015 with the celebrations marking the 600th anniversary of Portugal's conquest of Ceuta, the starting-point of Portuguese and European expansion, although the present study, also begun in 2015, focuses on the contemporary period and so only on the last two centuries — the 1800s and the 1900s. In fact this period encompasses two dates that are considered crucial for Portuguese colonial history: the first independence of an overseas territory — Brazil in 1822 — and the final one that was marked by the handover of Portugal's last overseas territory — Macau in 1999.¹

First of all, though, it is important to mention that colonialism arises in the wake

of imperialism and that the key concepts — such as colonial empire and overseas art — that presided over the research have a polysemic nature when it comes to meaning that is not always linear. What is certain is that reflection is part of postcolonial studies, a term used to refer to the political-cultural conditions that followed the end of European colonialism, the subsequent emergence of new nation-states and colonialism's legacy in today's global world.

Until a short time ago, the dominant point of view in history of art was the Western one which formed, so to speak, the matrix, the canon and the norm according to which art produced in the colonial context was defined. This idea of the supremacy of a Eurocentric imperial culture might well lie in the 18th century Enlightenment and Age of Reason which defended the permanent progression of European ascendancy in relation to the rest of the world, which was frequently judged to be inferior, barbarous and uncivilised. The Old Continent's hegemony over the colonial world justified and legitimised the existence of overseas empires grounded as they were within a «civilising mission»,² and the art produced in these territories was often considered decadent (India), static (China) or primitive (Africa). Following this line of thinking, only Western art was capable of leading towards modernity, with modernism seen as a creation or a monopoly of the West. Consequently, historians believed that art produced by a colonised society was art that was not innovative, a quality associated to modernity, and therefore

unworthy of being considered, classifying it as 'inferior'. This position denoted a lack of in-depth knowledge, a plunge into a paradigm far removed from the Western one with no true understanding of this artistic creation being achieved, although this viewpoint has meanwhile been reformulated within postcolonial studies.

However, the relation between art and power has proved to be fundamental for an understanding of the contemporary era since never before had the correspondence between both gained such a high level of importance, establishing a historiographical discourse within which artists assumed a role of either commitment or contestation in the face of the political culture of the society of which they were, and still are, part. As is widely known, despite the origin of empires being rooted in an almost universal process pertaining to human society, Portugal possessed the first European colonial empire of the Modern Age and its pre-eminence in the context of the Old Continent contributed to its being the most widespread political organisation in the last six centuries of history.

It should be mentioned that historiographical interest in colonial culture is based on the assumption that art is not only a source of identity but also an ally of (and testament to) power, being configured from an extraordinarily complex and diverse field. Look at William Blake's claim in *Selected poetry and prose of Blake*, that «the foundation of empire is art (...): remove [it] or degrade [it], and the empire is no more. Empire follows art».³ Hence

1 But not forgetting Timor's independence referendum, also in 1999.

2 The 'civilising mission' is described by Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936) in a poem of the same name published in 1899 about the North American presence in the Philippines. The poem became famous as the exhortation of Western imperialism in its 'civilising' action towards people at that time considered culturally 'inferior'.

3 Cited by Edward Said. *Cultura e imperialismo* [Culture and Imperialism]. S. Paulo, Companhia de Bolso, 2011, pp. 47-48.

the importance attributed by the imperial powers of Europe from the very beginning to the creation of a colonial art that might mirror and perpetuate the power of their so-called ‘civilising’ societies. In a text by Armando Gomes entitled *A génese dos Descobrimentos Marítimos Portugueses foi a Arte?* [Was Art the genesis of the Portuguese Maritime Discoveries?]¹, the author says that Infante Dom Henrique [Prince Henry the Navigator] (1394-1560) was the instigator of an undertaking that sought to obtain gold that was, above all, not for the purpose of monetary exchange but rather might serve to make «fine works of art (...)», adding that «it is the imperative of Art that overcomes all sacrifices».² In another text entitled *De Arte* [On Art], Reinaldo dos Santos (1880-1970) claimed that «art does not only express the Empire in the sense of translating its greatness (...) but it expresses the Empire in the consequences of its expansion, in the discovery of new aspects of nature, men and customs»,³ and he referred to art as being the one accomplishment truly capable of assimilating imperial hybridity, a reflection of the sensibility of national artists towards the newly conquered lands.

Portugal frequently defined itself through its colonies and when it lost its empire, a certain identity was lost; hence it seeks to inflect its artistic production, favouring a pluricultural approach. Moreover, Portugal — the original place where the peoples of the Atlantic encountered those of the Mediterranean, the first Eroworld empire on a global scale and the last empire of the Old Continent that contributed to enlarging the world — had a role that was a privileged platform from which to (re)think pictorial art in a colonial context. Thus, by stressing the fact that art is capable of producing an aesthetic and a ‘taste’ that turns it into an instrument for transmitting and formulating values, which enables reasoning to be constructed, what will be analysed throughout this book is the dichotomy of colonial art

— particularly painting — as a vehicle for ideological moralisation and indoctrination and thoughts on its appropriation for the glorification of power.

Above all, what is offered is a view that points to new ways of looking at politico-artistic relations which do not offer definitive conclusions but rather considerations that go beyond a black-and-white image. Thus this study is based on the conviction that an understanding of this phenomenon requires a comparative view based on an output disseminated through the five continents and with various rhythms. This position is linked to our concern to reflect within a connected (related) history and not within a comparative history since comparison is believed to be reductive as no two universes are the same and the specificities of each frequently lead to their being catalogued on their own. A related history allows one to look simultaneously at distinct historical processes while taking into account their particularities. This means that it is possible to relate certain politico-artistic processes, inscribed within a defined space and time, so that one of the many possible histories with a polyphonic and transnational scope can be constructed.

Starting from the growing visibility of the topic at an international level and framing the project within a matrix grounded in Contemporary Art History — which takes into account the specificities of national culture — the round trip between this side of the ocean and the other side [*d’Além e d’Aquém-Mar*] gave rise to a unique pictorial creation. As we all know, there are already various substantial studies on our architectonic, sculptural, photographic and cinematographic heritage as well as on the media but there is no research on painting in the Portuguese colonial context. This was therefore the reason we decided to choose this strand, taking into account a form of art that at first sight might not seem so productive as those we have mentioned above. However, as will be

seen in the following pages, such was not the case and at certain moments painting was in the ascendancy.

Two facts remain to be mentioned. The first is that there are repositories of information, primarily archives, whose collections include material related to Portuguese colonial painting but which are in need of cataloguing and require in-depth, systematic study. One such case is the collection which came from the *Agência Geral do Ultramar* [Overseas General Agency] and is now housed in the *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino* [Overseas Historical Archive].⁴ The second is that Portuguese colonial pictorial creation in the contemporary era does not include the New World for one very simple reason: Brazil’s independence in 1822 enabled it to develop its own autonomous art which excluded it from being integrated within the imperial Portuguese universe of the 1800s and 1900s. This situation had one key consequence, namely that colonial art turned its interest towards the African continent.

It should be added that this series of essays has a unity not of the whole but of a succession of movements that, like a musical suite, are written in the same or a similar tone. They aim to give a panoramic overview and perspective of art and painting in the colonial context, but they do not intend to provide any kind of exhaustive or tendentious inventory.

The present volume thus proposes to chart one form of colonial Portuguese art (painting), heir to the First Empire (the Orient), the Second Empire (Brazil) and the Third Empire (Africa), so as to redimension it within the global culture of the 21st century.

1 Armando Gomes. «A génese dos Descobrimentos Marítimos Portugueses foi a Arte?» in 13^o Congresso Luso-Espanhol para o Progresso das Ciências. Separata Tomo VIII, 7^a secção Ciências Históricas e Filológicas, Lisboa, 1950, pp. 187-189.

2 Armando Gomes, Op. cit., pp. 188-189.

3 Reinaldo dos Santos, «O império português e a arte» in Conferências de Arte. Lisboa, Gazeta dos Caminhos de Ferro, 1941, pp. 21-22.

4 Set up after being collected from the Centros de Informação e Turismo [Information and Tourism Centres] of the Agência Geral do Ultramar, the series of photographic records it comprises is based on inaugurations of painting exhibitions and reproductions of canvasses of a clearly colonial nature. However, it needs to be further researched. Online at <https://actd.iict.pt/collection/actd:AHUAGU> (accessed on 29.3.2020).

1. INSPIRATION

ART AND TRAVEL IN CONTEMPORARY CULTURE

Art expresses Empire.

REINALDO DOS SANTOS

The role of Art in global contemporary society is unquestionable. It emerges as a universal form of expression but also as a mode of expression and definition of a culture. Furthermore, travelling appears in history as one of mankind's most ancient activities, representing in the mythical domain a punishment through man's expulsion from Paradise. Cursed from that time on, humans have been condemned to wander. Thus, the art-travel binary constitutes two of the matrixes upon which culture has developed, and so linking research based on them allows one to draw a particular picture, a hall of mirrors that reflects not an idealised image but a reproduction of fragments of a reality in movement, pertinent indicators of a (re)thinking of the culture-world that Gilles Lipovetsky referred to. When he refers to the new cycle of modernity, Lipovetsky names it the 'culture-world', defining it by a set of characteristics that are part of planetary technocapitalism, the culture industries, total consumerism, the media and digital networks.¹ According to Lipovetsky, this phenomenon gave rise to a form of universal

hyperculture which has been reconfiguring and redimensioning today's global society. As a result of this, from the end of the Cold War, the dual notions of the past began to crumble, but here the multipolar world and its apparently unified transnational culture dating from the beginning of the 21st century led to two new needs emerging: that of envisioning a history that transcends separations between disciplines, reconfiguring the narratives of each country, and that of legitimating the idea of nation since never before have there been so many as today. As the culture-world model becomes acclaimed, this gives rise to a totally opposite movement: a search for identity. Apparently these dimensions are contradictory but if one reflects on this a little, one notices that «the closer together societies come, the more the dynamic of pluralisation, heterogenisation and subjectification develops»,² making one take into account their dissimilarities since «the more globalised the world becomes, the more some (cultural) particularities aspire to affirm themselves therein».³ In other words, the current standardisation of the planet forces us to go

back to the roots, to heritage and to art so that we might reconsider connections and breaks, influences and dissidences, routes and discourses, ruptures and continuities.

In fact, art and travel have come to occupy an increasingly central place in contemporary culture in a genealogy that began with the Discoveries when men set off to conquer and later to build a heritage that was an extension of the metropolitan culture in the distant colony. Although adapted obviously to the intrinsic conditioning restrictions of the overseas territories, the arts travelled from this side of the ocean to the other, perpetuating an inheritance that would become a legacy and a derivative in the postcolonial world of the 21st century.

From the middle of the 18th century there was an increase in travelling that was motivated by artistic culture and not by expeditions or conquests by warriors, missionaries or pilgrims in a movement that became known as the *Grand Tour*. This brought a new type of traveller, one who emerged from the enlightened society of the 18th century and who was a direct consequence of the political,⁴ economic,⁵

1 Gilles Lipovetsky, *A Cultura-Mundo. Resposta a uma sociedade desorientada*. Lisboa, Edições 70, 2014, p. 11.

2 *Idem*, p. 21.

3 *Idem*, p. 23.

4 Politically, the *Grand Tour* became possible following the Treaty of Utrecht in 1715.

5 Economically, owing to the Industrial Revolution.

social and cultural transformations of a Europe undergoing change. This phenomenon began by being exclusively English — travelling from the island to the European continent — and was undertaken by the aristocratic elite and the gentry as substantial financial resources, foreign contacts and above all time were required. A lover of Antiquity, its culture and monuments, the *Grand Touriste* first began to travel as a complement to his education. The historiography of social practice records this as being the first journey taken simply for pleasure and a love of culture. It quickly spread to the middle-classes which appeared with the Industrial Revolution (1820-1840) and gradually to other nationalities. If the main purpose of the *Grand Tour* was to acquire an educational complement that it was not possible to get by staying at home, then foreign lands became the place in which to find out about the world. The preferred destinations were at first located in continental Europe: France (owing to the refinement of its civilisation) but, above all, Italy (given the classical art it had) were the destinations where the English nobility could round off their cultural and artistic education. Added to this was the ‘opening of a new world’ waiting to be discovered — this came about not only as a result of the expedition of Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821) to Egypt in 1798-99 but also as a direct and indirect consequence of events such as the discovery of ancient cities (Herculaneum and Pompeii). Moreover, the 19th century expeditions and politico-diplomatic missions spurred on by the European empires being established in Africa and Asia throughout the whole of the 19th century increased the desire to (re)discover a world full of novelty and exoticism.

Following this path, publications of travel accounts proliferated and these were gradually accompanied by sketches and drawings made during the trip and then finished on the traveller’s return home. One must not forget that many of the travellers on the *Grand Tour* were also

amateur artists who knew in advance that visually documented observations were more highly valued in the emerging genealogy of enlightened culture where empirical verification and the recording of such were presuppositions for the validity and trustworthiness of knowledge.¹ For that reason, frequently there was prior recourse to some artistic training that would enable the traveller to produce some small pictorial records during the trip to later add to the written account, thus making it richer. In parallel, the traveller-painter fell in love with an ‘Orient’² that was not only far away but also seductive, later introducing it into the metropole’s idea set by first showing it in the *Salons* and city art galleries and afterwards in major universal exhibitions.

At the beginning of the 20th century, as a result of the increased amount of free time and leisure people enjoyed, there was an increase in travel. This led to tourism becoming a mass movement which later managed to reconfigure the whole of the Western and the Oriental world. As a complement to this, art became a key element and inspired greater numbers of people to become interested in it thus widening the scope of the journeys undertaken: new artistic universes were made known through the creation of museums and exhibition centres, by the promotion of art collections and also by the proliferation of art galleries. This all happened at the same time as research and creative production discovered a new range of diversity and interconnections. The world, universal, international and colonial fairs and exhibitions further spread the emphasis given to culture and the arts, endowing them with greater visibility and including them within an increasingly global and transversal context.

There is obviously a whole genealogy of the relation between art and travel which grew exponentially with the massification of travel: to confirm this, see the various examples collected by Alain de Botton in his work *The Art of Travel*³ or Paul Theroux in *The Tao of Travel*⁴ in which the authors correlate art with travel, listing artists whose

creative impulse mirrored their need for effective mobility. Among the many names we might mention are those of Henri Matisse (1869-1974), Pablo Picasso (1881-1973) and Edward Hopper (1882-1967), just to cite a few of the most pre-eminent artists of the 20th century.

With the era of colonial empires coming to an end after the Second World War, a new world order was established with the Cold War imposing a new bi-polar geography. The Fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 started a new phase in the global era when the art of travelling was redefined. It was then that travelling was given a new lease of life since the countries behind the Iron Curtain belonging to the Warsaw Pact, which had been forbidden for decades, opened up their borders to the West. To this was added the emergence of other destinations, frequently promoted as exotic, the majority of which were nothing other than former European colonies offering their landscape, climate and cultural and artistic (often colonial) heritage as an attraction to differentiate them from an overly similar Western world. Finally, in the last few decades we have witnessed a counter-current, that is to say, the growing movement of visitors coming from the East to the West, who after having acquired the conditions necessary and essential for a global tourist trip — time and money — venture forth into the urban centres of the Old Continent and the New World, thereby getting to know *in loco* the great icons of Western art.

If, on one hand, travelling itself underwent significant changes with the acceleration of both the pace and frequency of trips caused by the growing democratisation of transport costs (especially plane and high-speed train fares), on the other hand, in almost all the corners of the world plastic creation interpreted part of this new idea set, developing and contributing to the miscegenation and reconfiguration of contemporary art itself.

One thing that is certain is that travelling has become a constant in artistic

1 Museums were a distant concept and works of art were only appreciated by an elite authorised to frequent the salons and private collections of European aristocrats.

2 Note that initially the Orient represented a rather vague concept with somewhat imprecise boundaries and included places that are not considered today as part of the Orient, such as Eastern Europe and Africa.

3 Alain de Botton, *A Arte de Viajar*. Lisboa, Dom Quixote, 2004.

4 Paul Theroux, *A Arte da Viagem*. Lisboa, Quetzal, 2012.

inspiration and creation which has found renewal in such movement and enjoys an incomparable dynamic in the global era, which it would not have if we were not living in an age when everyone travels and people travel all over the planet. «But does the concept of travel still make sense in a highly globalised world?» Michel Onfray in *Theory of Travel. Poetics of Geography*¹ says the answer is yes, while Marc Augé in *Non-Places. Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*² has doubts whereas Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan in *Tourists with Typewriters. Critical Reflections*

on *Contemporary Travel Writing* consider travelling impossible nowadays.³

Whatever the answer might be, the truth is that this second decade of the new millennium is full of paradoxes. For example, the idea of a global society points to a macroscopic conception but never have we had a perception of the various fragments that it is made up of as we do now, as Gilles Lipovetsky has pointed out. Thus two archetypes emerge: the global and the national. In this way the mind, constantly searching for a framework inside which it can position itself, opts for one path among thousands in

a world without borders, in a real or virtual mobility from which the meaning of art and travel is chosen within the unlimited (inner) journeys of each of us.

As a result of all this, (re)thinking art and travel in contemporary culture forces us to leave our comfort zone, to let our thoughts fly in various directions and with varying rhythms to announce, if not a new paradigm, at least a reconfiguration of the human worldview which is reflected in myriad directions as in a hall of mirrors.

1 Michel Onfray, *Teoria da Viagem. Uma Poética da Geografia*, Lisboa, Quetzal, 2009.

2 Marc Augé, *Não-Lugares, Introdução a uma Antropologia da Sobremodernidade*. Lisboa, Graus Editora, 2005.

3 Patrick Holland; Graham Huggan, *Tourists with Typewriters. Critical Reflections on Contemporary Travel Writing*. USA, The University of Michigan Press, 2003, p. 202.

THE PARALLEL WORLDS OF THE COLONIAL EMPIRES

The past is a foreign country.

DAVID LOWENTHAL

Ptolemy's *mappa mundi* (Claudius Ptolemy c.90-168 AD) formed the basis of European knowledge up until the end of the 15th century and confirms the Eurocentric view that prevailed until the death of Tamerlane (1336-1405) which marked the end of the attempt to form a Euro-Asian empire. This changed the paradigm of conquest since continental land gave way to the sea, making this the preferred space where imperial geopolitics would be played out and the world would become global. In addition to this, Islamism and the Roman Empire's propagation of Christianity transformed the world, thereby reconfiguring a new era. In parallel, too often were people made to believe that the imperial history of Europe came about in a world that was 'stationary', or rather, that people sought to build a dynamic West as a counterpoint to an East trapped in a certain conservatism; this is in fact not in the least bit accurate seeing as how the 15th century saw the consolidation of Ming absolutism in China, the apogee of the Ottoman Empire, the reunification of Iran, the creation of the Islamic empire in the north of India and its expansion in southeast Asia as well as the commercial growth of Japan, all of which happened at the very same time as the Discoveries driven by such figures as Infante Dom Henrique [Prince Henry the Navigator] (1394-1460), Christopher Columbus (1451-1506), Vasco da Gama (c.1460-1524), Pedro Álvares Cabral (1467-1520), Hernán Cortés (1485-1522), Ferdinand Magellan (1480-1521) and Francisco Pizarro (1476-1541).

What is certain is that during the Age of the Discoveries in the fifteenth and

sixteenth centuries, Portugal and Spain were the pioneers in the European exploration of the world and initiated the process whereby they established their great overseas empires. It must be mentioned here that Portugal's right to the European monopoly to exploit the three-way trade between Asia, America and Africa was approved by the Pope as part of the mission to spread the faith to the pagans; thanks to the Church's endorsement, maritime exploration and ventures and trade proliferated redrawing Ptolemy's map and giving birth to the new *mappa mundi* of Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598). Portuguese-Spanish supremacy derived from the development of maritime trade and its expansion between the Americas and India but it did not take long before other empires were born: first the Dutch, then the British and finally the French.¹ Strictly speaking, Europe had become a huge entrepôt for the whole world's oceanic trade. Furthermore, Renaissance humanism and the Reformation spawned a new mentality that, allied to the wealth coming from the New World, served to fuel the dynastic ambitions of the European states of the *ancien régime* in the centuries that followed.

Territorial expansion was accompanied by economic growth, which led to there being a move to centralise power and increase cultural prestige. Muscovy's expansion under Peter the Great in the 17th century to include the whole of the north of Asia is understood as such as is the English colonisation of North America, two examples of how the Eurocentric world was reconfiguring itself into a Western world. This meant that the European

empires had to spend vast sums of money on maintaining their armies and navies. As a result of the creation of the English, Dutch and French East India Companies, Euro-Atlantic colonisation (Africa and America), the Industrial Revolution, the independence of the United States (1776) and the French Revolution (1789), a new map and a new political reality emerged together with a new factor, unknown until then, that was added into the equation: nationalism.² Growing nationalist sentiment was the justification used by the European powers for their overseas aspirations, making it the standard bearer that would provide the grounds for the subsequent Napoleonic Wars both in the Iberian Peninsula and in Russia.

At the Congress of Vienna (1815), the idea that European civilisation and culture were superior to all others was aired for the first time; such a view enabled the participants to conclude that their civilisation had a universal validity, that it was the matrix by which the rest of the world should be defined and, above all, that it was only European thought that could understand the world as a whole. Belgium's separation from Holland (1830), the unification of Germany, the Crimean War (1854-56) and the unification of Italy (1870) all contributed enormously to consolidate European nationalisms and, consequently, the new wave of colonialism encapsulated by the concerns arising from the Vienna Congress.

It is this confidence in European ascendancy that explains the arrogance with which the Europeans almost always dealt with other cultures. This centrality

¹ The Italian, Belgian and German empires only came into being in the 19th century.

² The word 'nationalism' appeared at the end of the 19th century applied to ideological groups who defended the identification of citizens with their nation and its values, mobilising them politically through a strong degree of patriotism. This in its turn was based on their belonging to a shared territory, language and ethnicity, becoming the new religion of European states. It is important to mention that (primary) schooling organised by the state as of the last quarter of the 19th century became a privileged space where children learnt to be good citizens and subjects in a programme for the aggrandisement of the nation, which greatly contributed to the dissemination of nationalist ideas.

emerged strengthened from the Berlin Conference (1884-85), an event where the idea of 'effective' occupation was established as the criteria for granting colonial rights. Such a ruling meant that a large number of European adventurers, missionaries and diplomats set out for the interior of the African continent. They were supported by recently established bodies such as geographical societies, which played a major role in sponsoring and promoting expeditions whose results would be widely exhibited and divulged in the great universal and world exhibitions.

What must also be remembered is that after Napoleon was defeated, Spain lost Paraguay and Venezuela (both in 1811), Argentina (1816), Chile (1818), Mexico and Peru (1821) and Bolivia (1825), and Brazil gained its independence from Portugal (1822). Another fact that also deserves a mention is that, although liberty and equality still remained a long way from dominating the world, England's abolition of slavery in 1833 brought about a reworking of overseas policies, defining them from a new reality. While England established herself in Hong Kong, France installed herself in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Cochinchina and the Pacific islands. This expansion of imperialism and its authoritarian policies created a great deal of tension since, beside the coloniser-colonised binary, a very ambivalent relationship existed between both.

The sum of all these facts contributed to a geopolitical orientation that enabled the resolutions that came out of the Berlin Conference in 1885 to be translated into a new policy for the African continent. In this way, by the end of the 19th century, the European empires in Africa were no longer just a vague presence but a privileged space for trade and geopolitical interests. The monolithic discourse of that time, as practised by the governments of the European colonial empires, led Eric Hobsbawm (1917-2012) to call it the «Age of Empire»,¹ which was the apogee of the rise of the West. In order to justify such a definition,

three crucial facts must be taken into account in the analysis:

- In 1800 the Western powers held 35% of the world's surface area but by 1878 the proportion had risen to 67%.
- In 1914 Europe held 85% of the world in the form of colonies, protectorates and territorial dominions.²
- In 1914, with the exception of Abyssinia and Liberia, the whole of the African continent was under European dominance.

According to another source, between 1876 and 1915 about one quarter of the Earth's land surface was distributed in the form of colonies.³

The Age of Empire began in 1798 with Napoleon's fight for Africa (Egypt) although European hegemony had of course existed prior to this military action as it formed part of the overseas system of territorial control and military-economic exploitation begun by the Portuguese. However, it was at the Berlin Conference that everything came to be unequivocally defined and structured. As is well known, this imperial expansion generated the need to develop an appropriate ideology that mapped European interests in the African continent as from the mid-1800s. This subjugation of African territories by the imperial European dominions constituted a type of extension of nationality, whence its importance and persistence. Furthermore, the division of Africa allowed Europe to aspire to world supremacy within a competitive co-existence in which other divisions were taking place at the same time: the Russian Empire spread to Siberia and Manchuria, the Dutch to Indonesia and the Dutch Antilles, the British to India, Burma, North America, the Bahamas and Australia, the French to Indochina and the Spanish to South America. And then there was Africa: Britain (whose Empire included Kenya, Zanzibar and Uganda), Germany (Namibia, Tanzania and Burundi), Belgium (the Congo), Holland (South

Africa) and Italy (Libya and Eritrea). Even after the independence of Brazil in 1822, there was still a Portuguese Empire: in Asia, there was Macau, Timor and the State of Portuguese India; and in Africa, Guinea, Cape Verde, Angola, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Mozambique. It should therefore be noted that, with few exceptions, Africa and part of Asia found themselves divided among the European imperial powers as European governments and geostrategic politics gained protagonism and started to play a crucial role globally.

As a result of such a dynamic, in the 1890s the word 'imperialism' became generalised since it was essential for European countries to expand their economic space and exploit their overseas territories since only thus could they supply themselves with raw materials that, for reasons of climate or geology, were only found in distant places. Rubber, oil, tin, non-ferrous metals, copper, gold and diamonds «were the major pioneers in opening up the world to imperialism».⁴ In fact, a convincing reason to explain colonial expansion was this search for markets: the chambers of commerce in each European state hurried to extend their protectionism to their colonies, establishing regional bases from which to penetrate their monopolies.

It is interesting to allude to one very important factor — the occupation of Egypt by Great Britain in 1882 since this opened a new chapter in imperial history and, in many aspects, triggered the race for Africa since the British aspired to control from Cairo to the Cape, just as the Portuguese four years later in 1886 aspired to a Portuguese Africa from coast to coast, from Angola to Mozambique (the famous 'Pink Map'). Until then, Africa had only interested Portugal, France and Great Britain; however, from the end of the 19th century three new, recently formed, interested parties appeared: Belgium, Italy and Germany. Thus the Berlin Conference had not been by chance but rather it was held with the purpose of setting out the conditions

1 Eric Hobsbawm. *A Era do Império 1875-1914* [The Age of Empire:1875-1914]. Lisboa, Editorial Presença, 1990.

2 Edward Said. *Cultura e Imperialismo*. São Paulo, Companhia de Bolso, 2011, p. 40.

3 Eric Hobsbawm. *Op. cit.*, pp. 80-81. However, in Niall Ferguson's view, at its apogee in 1918 the British Empire alone encompassed a quarter of the world's population and area. *Império. Como a Grã-Bretanha construiu o mundo moderno* [Empire. How Britain made the modern world], Porto, Civilização, 2013, p. 13. The historian further states that what ended up destroying the British Empire were the huge costs involved in fighting rival empires. *Idem*, p. 358.

4 Eric Hobsbawm. *A Era do Império 1875-1914*. Lisboa, Editorial Presença, 1990, p. 86.

to divide up a continent that promised to be the bastion of raw materials, capable of enriching the economies of the countries belonging to the new sphere of influence.

It is useful to mention here that at the end of the 19th century, the world «got smaller» thus becoming «more global».¹ The rapid development of communications (the electric telegraph) that ensured communication on a planetary scale in just a few hours, the development of transportation, particularly steamships and railways [the Trans-Caspian Railway (1880-1888), the Trans-Siberian Railway (1904), the Trans-Persian Railway], and the technical achievements that facilitated travel such as the opening of the Suez Canal (1869) and the Panama Canal (1914) all contributed to this shrinkage. These transformations began to eliminate distance on a global level, increase intercontinental and transcontinental traffic, bring countries and people closer together and increase the ascendancy of the Western world. In addition, the commemoration of the centenaries of two revolutions (the American and the French) was a pretext to reconsider empires, with the 19th century ending up as the «century of Europe»² and of a culture dominated by a minority of prosperous individuals belonging to a liberal elite. One additional, positive aspect was that almost all parts of the world were finally mapped: the South Pole was reached in 1911 and the North Pole in 1919. Meanwhile, the United States of America became a huge industrial power, aspiring to a colonial empire.³

The onset of the First World War followed by the Armistice in 1918 saw the beginning of the end of the European colonial empires. The sense of mission became diluted and the resources of the powers diminished. The riots and disturbances that were seen in Egypt, British India and Turkish Anatolia did not appear out of nowhere; rather they were based on demands that came from an earlier time but which only managed to gain visibility in the light of the new post-war context. Although many

of the subversive movements that sought national autonomy and fully believed in the collapse of the European imperial order were silenced, the creation of several European authoritarian states in the 1920s and 1930s prolonged the presence of the colonisers in the overseas colonies. In this interwar period, nationalism and struggles between rival empires helped some decolonisation processes move forward, but it was only with the end of the Second World War and the Americans' help in the Allied victory that the world map was finally redrawn, bringing with it the collapse of the Eurocentric world order. America had never hidden her aversion to European colonial domination, perhaps as she herself had started out as a European colony; nonetheless, the paradox of the second belligerent conflict on a world level was that it was the USA, the cradle of modern anti-imperialism, who ended up founding her own powerful empire. Although her abhorrence of the European empires was grounded on the conviction that they were bastions of privilege and deniers of democracy where the abuse of political, economic and racial power prevailed, the Americans also did not like that they functioned as zones of economic exclusion where American trade could not be successful. For the Europeans, the price of the Allied victory was the dismantling of their Afro-Asian empires but, unlike Great Britain who, on 'handing over' part of her empire (to India in 1947), freed herself from economic and military responsibilities and from diverting resources, there were other empires that considered that in order to rebuild their economies that had been damaged by the war, they needed their colonial raw materials more than ever and therefore persisted in maintaining them. This was the case of Portugal.

At the same time, in 1945 the United Nations Charter established as a principle the duty of each nation to have a state, thereby defending the end of the colonial yoke. Other states were created from

scratch (Israel), pushing American policy now based on the Cold War in a new direction that would polarise the world. The USA and the USSR began to build alliances in conditions that guaranteed their primacy over recently created regions and nations. In the 1960s, with the Cold War at its most critical point, the USA and the USSR competed to win the support of the independence movements in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean. In the majority of these territories, colonial domination had ended and civil war had broken out, and the Americans and the Soviets set about establishing both camouflaged and informal spheres of influence that favoured their own geostrategic interests.⁴

As a result, the reasons for supporting certain newly-formed nations to the detriment of others increased and few were the countries that remained 'non-aligned'. These sub-varieties of the capitalist, or communist, system changed with the fall of the USSR: at that time, the world of the free movement of goods, persons and information only accepted one master: America. The end of the last century witnessed the formation of a unipolar world where unresolved cases left over from the end of the age of the Euro-Asian colonial empires remain — Kashmir, Tibet, Korea and Taiwan are all examples of the problematic transition from empire to nation and are still far from finding a peaceful solution today.⁵

As many studies in the last few decades have acknowledged, especially within the Spanish, French and English contexts, to study colonial empires within the contemporary universe enriches the national history of each nation since it implies a complex inter-relational regard which reformulates the nation's place in the global world. This is because no empire lasted in isolation but rather formed, expanded and declined redefining itself through political practices that interconnected on the world map, thereby mutually influencing each other.

1 Idem, p. 25.

2 Idem, p. 32.

3 Until 1890 the USA did not have any possessions although it was represented at the Berlin Conference as an observer.

4 See the competition between the two superpowers in the 'support' they gave to the orientation of the postcolonial states or even their military and warfare involvement: while one armed or intervened on one of the sides (state or rebels) that suited them, the other armed the opposing side, with the interventions changing according to the interests of each. Examples of this are the Korean War between 1950 and 1953, the Cuban missile crisis in 1962 and the wars in Afghanistan and Vietnam in the 1970s.

5 On the eve of the First World War there were 59 independent countries; in 2020 there were 195 (UN).

What should not be forgotten either is that at the same time as Columbus and Cabral were sailing to America, Vasco da Gama had reached India, the Ottomans were consolidating their power and Magellan was not far behind in discovering the rest of the world. The division of the world into two spheres of influence, consolidated

between the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) and the Cold War (1944-1991), never abandoned the Eurocentrism that was termed 'Westernism', a fact that was established as a simplified and distorted view of a complex and tentacular reality trailing the European empires, of which the Tsarist and Ottoman Empires were a case apart.¹

The Age of Empire was not, however, a solely economic-political phenomenon but also a cultural one. It is this universe that the following pages will now focus on.

¹ The case of the Russian Empire is unique in this context since it was not a 'colonial' empire but was formed exclusively from contiguity as it only involved adjoining territories; the case of the Ottoman Empire is different and falls outside the scope of this study.

ARTISTIC CREATION AND THE COLONIAL CONTEXT

*We don't know if Art has a fatherland.
The fatherland of artists has nothing to do
with the fatherland of the arts.*
DIOGO DE MACEDO

In the 19th century, the expeditions and journeys venturing to explore new lands aroused great interest in the Europeans. This new-found curiosity spread through the whole of the Old Continent at the dawn of the 19th century but its roots in fact lie in the last two years of the 18th century, more exactly in the Military Campaign carried out by Napoleon Bonaparte in Egypt between 1798 and 1799. The Emperor's idea was to advance as far as India where, with local help, he would attack the British dominion; this objective was not achieved but another was to have significant repercussions. In fact, taking the French Army to the land of the Pharaohs was not merely a political move since they were accompanied by a scientific delegation which included a committee for the arts and sciences. Created on 16 March 1798, this committee consisted of some 167 members, 154 of whom accompanied the Emperor to Egypt. Numerous French academics and artists were part of it and their mission was to carry out a cultural-artistic survey of the country. Among them were antiquarians, draughtsmen, engravers, sculptors, Orientalists, painters and writers, but the name which primarily stands out is that of Dominique Vivant Denon (1747-1825), a French diplomat, painter, archaeologist and writer. To him we owe the systematic record of the main Egyptian monuments which served as the basis for the work that is considered the founding work of Egyptology, *Description de l'Égypte*, published in an imperial edition between 1809 and 1828. Denon became the director of the *Musée Central des Arts* and the *Musée Napoléon*, the future

Musée du Louvre, the place chosen to exhibit part of the plundered works.

However, this expedition to Egypt was important not only to France: it triggered a desire in other European colonial empires to also explore this African 'Orient'. Such was the case of England which in 1830 created the Royal Geographical Society, an institution aimed at increasing and developing geographical knowledge. To this end, it financed the expedition to discover the source of the Nile, first with Richard Francis Burton (1821-1890) and then with David Livingstone (1813-1873). The basis underpinning this whole dynamic was justified by the missionary societies initially set up in England during the 18th century, who sought to bring 'spiritual assistance' and 'civilise' the 'less developed' world. This was the second phase of a more ambitious plan that had begun with Great Britain's abolition of slavery mentioned above. However, just as with the anti-slavery movement, the fulfilment of this plan would only really come to fruition the following century. The idea that it was not enough to convert the Africans to Christianity but rather to 'civilise' them is extremely important since the justification for the later acculturation, guiding subsequent cultural and artistic policies, stemmed from this idea. In order to missionarise and civilise, however, it was necessary to explore. «Since the foundation of the Royal Geographical Society in 1830 there had been those who had argued that Africa needed to be explored before it could be converted»,¹ and so the 19th century chopped up and divided the African continent.

Added to this was a series of events that enabled the enlargement of horizons

and discovery of civilisations outside the Western world. Some of these were the Greek War of Independence (1821-1829), the French conquest of Algeria (1830 to 1847), the trade treaties with Japan (1858), the exploratory expeditions in Africa and the growing accessibility of travel brought about by the development of transport. All of this led to a notable rise in interest by the West towards the 'discovered' cultures, even seeking in them a new source of artistic inspiration which spurred on a renewal of the arts.

At the same time, this century of the bourgeoisie, conquering and liberal, proffered an invitation to travel to people motivated by the flourishing of art with a clearly exotic influence and inspired by colonial travels. Artists began to travel to the overseas possessions, recording these far-away atmospheres that they later showed in the salons of the empires' capitals in a wide-ranging process that had different consequences and echoes at different levels on the metropolitan scene.

What stands out is that this 'discovery' of the Orient, the fruit of incursions by the European empires, nourished a travel literature that would have due repercussions on other arts, notably pictorial art. However, and almost without exception, after the initial appreciation of the 'discovery' of the other, there followed a reaction which undervalued this with the Europeans placing themselves in a position of superiority over a world which they considered to be undeveloped and barbarous; in other words, a culture that was unique but inferior. Within the European panorama of the mid 19th century, the Orient had become,

¹ Niall Ferguson, *Império. Como a Grã-Bretanha construiu o mundo moderno*. Porto, Civilização, 2013, p. 168.

as Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881) put it, a career in an endlessly repeated simulacrum: periodicals, dictionaries, grammars, publications and translations, successively edited and re-edited, all flourished on the shelves of Academy libraries, giving birth to a new aesthetic — Orientalism. This fashion became the European way of relating to the Orient, influencing a new cultural wave more idealised than actually experienced. Thus started a rise in this literary *topos* which, allying itself to the Romantic movement and its fascination for ancient remains (ruins) and melancholic and/or sublime landscapes, meant that the countless travel narratives, produced from a culture of travelling to colonial territories, met with unusual success. The poetry of Victor Hugo (1802-1885) in *Les Orientales* (1829) revealed an Orient that would serve as a reference and model for the arts of his time; Charles Baudelaire (1821-1867) too would explore this Orientalist aspect in his work *Fleurs du Mal* (1857) where the theme is dealt with in the poem *L'invitation au voyage*. These authors attest to the idea of the oriental impetus even though the land chosen was but a mirage that would never be experienced. Nonetheless, there were some authors who were ready to abandon their home comforts and depart: in 1811, François-René de Chateaubriand (1768-1848) started a new travel narrative trend with his *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*. In this work, Chateaubriand describes an Orient that he has experienced although the work is still full of myths, legends and obsessions. Taking his initial initiatory experience as a starting point, numerous French writers joined him in this oriental seduction producing a vast number of impressions gleaned while travelling in the Near East. Alphonse de Lamartine (1790-1869) wrote *Voyage en Orient* (1835) giving

an account from the point of view of the coloniser: France is shown as the dominating power of a subjugated Orient seen as an extension of the metropolitan homeland, unreal and reduced to a series of generalisations; Gustave Flaubert (1821-1880) wandered around the land of the Pharaohs on a journey that went far beyond Lamartine's idealisations and published *Flaubert en Egypte* in 1851. The following year, in 1852, Gérard de Nerval (1808-1855) published *Voyage en Orient*; in 1853, Théophile Gautier (1811-1872) launched *Constantinople* and in 1870 *Voyage en Egypte*.¹ However it was perhaps Pierre Loti (1850-1923) who was the French traveller-writer *par excellence* of the Romantic-Oriental period. Loti was an officer in the French navy, which allowed him to travel the world settling for long periods in the Far East. He travelled to Algeria, South America, Easter Island, French Polynesia, Turkey, Vietnam, Cambodia and Japan.²

It can be seen then how for 19th century Frenchmen the journey to the Orient (especially the Orient belonging to the Empire) was an essential quest to experience a 'new' world. But it would be wrong to think that this dynamic was restricted to Imperial France: in 19th century England, *The Corsair* (1814) by Lord Byron (1788-1824), one of his 'Turkish Tales', *Lalla Rookh*, an Oriental novel by Thomas Moore (1779-1852) that was published in 1817, and *The revolt of Islam*, a poem of oriental inspiration written by Percy Shelley (1792-1822) in 1817 are all works that show the fascination shared by Europeans for overseas lands and the desire to make them known to a cosmopolitan public avid for novelty.³

Travel narratives and the fashion for Orientalism became fulchral in that they exerted a great influence over numerous painters who, after plunging into the

narratives of certain works, grabbed their tubes of paint and their easels and departed for those destinations that had become synonymous with exoticism and seduction, but not always the Orient. This was the case of Paul Gauguin (1848-1903) who, before settling in Polynesia, had read Pierre Loti's *Le Mariage de Loti*, and also Henri Matisse who, before travelling to Morocco, had read another book by Loti, *Au Maroc*.

It was through Orientalist canvasses by, for example, Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863) of the north of Africa, Jean-León Gérôme (1824-1904) reproducing the atmosphere of Constantinople, Pierre-Auguste Renoir (1841-1919) painting Algeria, Étienne Dinet (1861-1929) in Egypt, David Roberts (1796-1864) in Cairo and John Frederick Lewis (1804-1876) in Morocco that the West 'saw' the Orient for the first time; under the auspices of the pictures by these painters exhibited in the imperial capitals, Europeans could actually see the concrete reality of the landscape described in travel accounts, experiencing the light and colour of a world as diaphanous as it was dreamlike. These paintings made faraway places 'visible' and made the specificities of the colonial territories known.

However, this travel quest to the practically unknown oriental world immediately raised a series of problems regarding form. One of the first examples was Eugène Delacroix in his journey to the north of Africa who encountered a different light which made it impossible for him to paint it according to the canons in vogue at the time in the Parisian capital. In reality, the light of Morocco and Algeria, the way it changes forms and interacts with the local tones through reflection, led him to the conclusion that neither can be dissociated from the other, a fact that implied a fragmentation of the brushstrokes from which

1 In the same literary tradition, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* by Edward William Lane (1801-1876) had been published in 1836 — a work with a clearly Romantic interpretation — and between 1851 and 1853 Richard Burton (1821-1890) published his *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Meccah*.

2 A large part of his literary work is autobiographical and his novels were inspired by his travels as a sailor. This can be seen in his 1881 novel *Le Roman d'un spahi* (Senegal), his 1882 *Le Mariage de Loti* (Tahiti), *Trois Journées de guerre en Annam*, published between 1884 and 1885 (Vietnam), *Madame Chrysanthème*, dated 1887 (Japan), *Aziyadé* (1879) about Turkey, *Au Maroc* (1890), *Un Pèlerin d'Angkor* (1912), the result of a visit to Cambodia in 1901, *L'Inde sans les Anglais* (1903) and *La Mort de Philae* (1909).

3 There were also female writers who, regardless of the rules of the society of the time, travelled and left important records of these journeys. We can mention *The Turkish Embassy Letters* by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762), a volume in which she describes her incursions into Constantinople palace harems, into a culture veiled by religion and tradition that had been hidden until then from Western eyes; also Lady Hester Lucy Stanhope (1776-1839) and her travels in Egypt, Syria and Lebanon, the result of which was the three-volume *Memoirs of the Lady Hester Stanhope* written by Charles Lewis Meryon, published in 1845, followed by a new trilogy one year later entitled *Travels of Lady Hester Stanhope*; Jane Dieulafoy (1851-1916) who fell in love with Persia, the land which she wrote about in the magazine *Tour du Monde* between 1881 and 1886; Gertrude Bell (1868-1926) who, inspired by her visit to Iran, published *Safar Nameh, Persian Pictures — a Book of Travel* in 1894, later making two trips around the world (1897 and 1903) followed by trips to Imperial India, Afghanistan, Burma, Singapore, China, Korea and Japan on a long journey that brought her back via America. However, Bell specialised in the Middle East, publishing *The Desert and the Sown* (1907) and *Amurath to Amurath* (1911) and leaving a collection of one thousand six hundred letters, five travel books, diaries, reports and around seven thousand photographs from her many journeys around the globe. For a more complete listing, see Sónia Serrano, *Mulheres Viajantes*. Lisboa, Tinta da China, 2014.

Georges Seurat (1859-1891) and Paul Signac (1863-1935) would draw assumptions for their own searches. Delacroix's travel notes and his notebooks filled with drawings that he produced during his stay in North Africa came to influence many of the artists that came after him, especially Vincent Van Gogh (1853-1890), in relation to their research into colour. Indeed, one result of the solution found for this problematic was the emergence of new pictorial content: if, in regard to form, it was necessary to highlight the manner in which light was represented and the suitability of new pigments that could translate this African luminosity, the content — exotic motifs, Arab and Arabist atmospheres, hitherto unknown to the European idea set — became a fashion that not only made this awesome overseas empire known but also reproduced it in the cosiness of the European home.

Thus, under the generic notion of getting to know the empire — and within the limits of the protective hegemony of the West — this «epidemic of Orientalia»¹ motivated poets, essayists, philosophers, writers and painters to set out for a magical Orient, thereby influencing and inspiring the culture and the arts of the metropole. However, many of these witnesses showed «a kind of free-floating mythology of the Orient»,² multiplying stereotypes in the light of which these legendary lands were shown as more idealised than real.

As a consequence of this fashion for Orientalism, a range of destinations almost unknown to the majority of people in the West opened up. This led to the 'discovery' of some 'lost paradises' which had been described since time immemorial³ and to which was linked the romantic myth of the *Noble Savage* propagated by the Enlightenment a century before and whose purity and authenticity would rescue Baudelaire's

'modern man.' In the contemporary era, at the end of the 19th century, one French artist came to materialise this search for the *Noble Savage* and a lost paradise through a pictorial oeuvre that was the precursor of a new period: Paul Gauguin. Gauguin managed more than any other artist to live the existence he evoked in his work since the journeys he undertook, his wanderings in search of somewhere less corrupted by Western society, his finding of a place as yet not contaminated by progress and his search for 'a new meaning of life' signify dissatisfaction and disenchantment, a disbelief in the supremacy of European civilisation which was heading in a direction that no longer satisfied his desires. Having settled on one of the South Sea Islands, Gauguin simplified forms and themes, reducing them to almost iconographic representations full of symbolic value: for this French artist, the renewal of art and Western civilisation could only come from 'primitive' peoples. What is important is that Gauguin's pilgrimage to the South Pacific was a metaphor for something that until then had never been questioned; it symbolised the end of four hundred years of colonial expansion, or rather, by preferring to exile himself in a French colony the painter shows how he exchanged the hegemony of the imperial metropole for a life lived outside the canons of developed society, preferring the 'primitive' life in the colony in Oceania. It is indeed here that all the modernity of his work lies and also the influence this exerted over later artists. This showed the need for a withdrawal from progress, the result of the Industrial Revolution, in the search for a place and a culture still uncorrupted by urban, bourgeois, European Man. This disenchantment, this movement towards the picturesque, an antidote to a society

characterised by the exaltation of material values, incited artists to leave as in the case of Gauguin.

As a result of all this, the Orient was not sought for what it 'was' but for what it 'suggested', a palimpsest through which to re-discover the lost key to a purer and more innocent way of life that acted as a rebirth, a new way of thinking about the country itself and about the culture of origin; in the event this revealed more about situations encountered in the history of Europe than about the Orient itself.

Influenced by these atmospheres, the artistic avant-garde of the early 20th century allowed themselves to show the influence of this extra-European creation in their works, especially in Pablo Picasso's Cubism. At that time, the question of primitive art was related to the belief that so-called 'primitive' societies had fossilised in a state of evolution that had long been overtaken by Western society. Some artists saw in it a return to a primordial art still free of the evils of modern society which had grown out of the Industrial Revolution.⁴ The fact is that the dominant (and discriminatory) form to qualify and characterise art led to a marginalisation of the so-called 'primitive' arts which were of an absolutely unquestionable richness (for example, the art of China, India and Cambodia) and which had only a short time before begun to be studied in connection to the world of Western historiography. As is well known, the history of Western art is based on the idea of artistic progression, a fact that does not constitute a matrix for a definition of art, if such is possible. Indeed, in the case of India, non-Western writers claim that it was in fact European (British) colonialism that caused painting to stop evolving and led to its subsequent decline.⁵ In other words, the model of development established by the coloniser

1 Edward Said. *Orientalismo*. Lisboa, Cotovia, 2004, pp. 58-59.

2 Idem, p. 60.

3 Since Greek-Roman Antiquity, there have been numerous accounts describing an age when humans lived happily like gods, far removed from evil, by such writers as Hesiod (*Les Travaux et les Jours*, Paris, Société d'Édition «Les Belles Lettres», 1979, pp. 106-126), Ovid (*Metamorfoses*, Lisboa, Cotovia, 2007, pp. 89-112) and Virgil (*Éclogas*, Lisboa, Bertrand, 1901, pp. 37-45) all of whom expressed a nostalgic longing for this mythical place.

4 See John Picton on «Yesterday's cold mashed potatoes» in Katy Deepwell (ed.), *Art Criticism and Africa*, where the historian says that «it is said that before the 20th century there was no art in Africa, no 'Art', that is, as 'we' have it in the 'West'», London, Saffron Books, 1998, p. 21. The justification found for such a claim lies in the fact of associating artistic creation to a written theoretical tradition which, so to speak, legitimates it. See also the case of Chinese art: China was never under the yoke of any European colonial empire and it would be difficult to consider it 'primitive' since, because it had existed a long time before the creation of a genealogy of Western art, it had reached such an extreme refinement that made it impossible to consider it as 'primitive'. Furthermore, it was accompanied by a theorisation a long time before the first contacts Europeans had with the Middle Kingdom. The solution found by Western historians was to classify it as immutable; in other words, it was contrary to the progression of European art. This reductive view does not contemplate the possibility that Chinese art had reached such a level of refinement that visible progression became impossible, at least within the conceptual parameters of the Old Continent.

5 See Catherine King, «Parity with the West: the flowering of medieval Indian art» in *Views of Difference: Different Views of Art*, London, Yale University Press, p. 82.

(who neglected local art) disturbed and interfered with Indian artistic production so taking away its vitality. From the imperial point of view, there were other reasons: the art produced up until then was treated with contempt and belittled, being deemed 'inferior' and 'minor', a judgment not only proffered by England but shared by all the 19th century European colonial empires. It was as if the coloniser's settling there might lead to the start of a new era, adjudicated by their 'civilising' mission, which would help to create a new art but obviously according to Western canons. From the perspective of the colonised, it was precisely the ascendancy of the coloniser over the colonised and the resulting miscegenation that caused the loss of artistic vitality and its decline. Added to this argument that European colonial intervention was responsible for the decline of art is the belief of many non-European artists that it was their art that influenced the modernity of Western art, enabling it to gain a new 'breath of life' in terms of form and content. For example, look at those who defend the idea that it was African art (always based on the abstract) that gave birth to abstract art and Cubism, or that Japanese prints and cloisonné were at the origin of Symbolism or Fauvism.

Added to all this is the fact that by the early 20th century the avant-garde had become part of the established culture and were frequently politicised, that is, the artistic avant-garde had become political. The First World War and the 1917 Russian Revolution greatly contributed to such a view. The avant-garde itself (especially Futurism and later Dadaism¹) were apologists for the war even though after 1914 the only formal artistic innovations — among the established avant-garde — were Dadaism and Constructivism: the former gradually turning into (or foreshadowing) Surrealism² in Western Europe while the latter became predominant in Eastern Europe.

Consequently, to evaluate colonial art in the light of Western aesthetic values, regulated by a plastic standard extraneous to other cultures, meant that other arts such as Indian, African or Cambodian art were considered of lesser worth and the value intrinsic to their creation was not taken into account. This reductive position of superimposing on the other an aesthetic taste and a plastic evaluation was not restricted to imperial power or the colonial context: for example, take the art that the Nazis considered 'degenerate', which connoted in a pejorative way an art that did

not obey the aesthetic standards of the Third Reich and was misunderstood, thus being considered subversive.

Paradoxically, the European colonial empires helped to promote a certain artistic knowledge of the colonised territories by sponsoring archaeological expeditions, translating documents and so on, but this was not done for altruistic reasons since a large number of the objects found and the items collected were 'diverted' to the great halls of European museums where they remain until this day.

European colonisers changed their colonised societies but forgot that they themselves suffered influences more profound than might have been thought at first glance. As a result, the well-known remark with which E. H. Gombrich begins *The Story of Art*, «There is no such thing as art. Only artists»,³ remains topical. There is not one univocal reality but various, and each artist sees their own: between contemplation of the world and creation there exists a universe that is fixed to the canvas in a re-thinking of history triangulated between art, travel and empire that attempts to ensure that oblivion does not supplant memory.

1 Dadaism was started by a group of exiles in Zurich in 1916 who undertook a nihilist protest against established formal art and World War I. They took some stratagems (one of which was collage) from the pre-war Cubist and Futurist avant-garde. Scandal was the principle behind Dadaist cohesion as was the fight against conventional bourgeois art. In this respect, we should mention Marcel Duchamp's 1917 urinal.

2 Surrealism, although dedicated to 'the rejection of art' as instituted by the canons of the Academy, had a theoretical basis which justified it and anchored it in the Unconscious (with links to automatic writing) revealed by psychoanalysis, dreams, spontaneous imagination and similar notions.

3 E. H. Gombrich, *The Story of Art*. London, Phaidon, 1995, p. 15.

MODES OF RELATION: POWER AND PORTUGUESE IMPERIAL PAINTING

*The Portuguese have a small country as their cradle
and the whole world as their grave.*

FR. ANTÓNIO VIEIRA

Ever since the time of the Portuguese Discoveries, justification has been sought for the link between the search for imperial greatness and the essence of the national soul but it was only in the 20th century that this relationship became politically defined and widely divulged, translating into an effective relation between art and power.

If it was the persistence of an idea of a humanist and civilising mission that formed the ideological basis for the Afro-Asian-American empire, it was the dictatorship that emerged after 28 May 1926 that built the foundations for a Portuguese overseas policy, an overseas territory undivided and indivisible, stretching 'from the Minho to Timor'.

Immediately after the military dictatorship was established, the government sought to strengthen its control over its overseas territories. It was under the auspices of João Belo (1878-1928), Minister for the Colonies between 1926 and 1928, that an ambitious reform of the Portuguese colonial administration that redefined the metropole's relation with the overseas dominions began. This restructuring included the promulgation of new organic bases for the civil and financial administration of the colonies with the creation of a Superior Council of the Colonies and the approval of an Administrative Code for each. It also led to a political, civil and criminal status being approved for the indigenous peoples of the colonies (Angola and Mozambique) and to a new statute being passed

to regulate the functioning of the Catholic missions in those possessions.

In 1930, even before the *Estado Novo* was constitutionally enshrined, the Colonial Act¹ was drawn up and later republished when the 1933 Constitution came into force. With this Act the group of overseas territories the Portuguese possessed became known as the Portuguese Colonial Empire. This name reflected the centralising nature of the government of Oliveira Salazar (1889-1970), reinforcing the role of Portugal's historical right to possess, colonise and civilise. In general terms, this Act ushered in a new period in Portuguese colonial administration — its imperial and nationalist phase — which would stay in effect until 1951. These years of imperial mystique, regulated by the Act and reiterated in the speeches and actions of Armindo Monteiro, Minister for the Colonies between 1931 and 1935, reflected the international policies of the various totalitarian states of Europe, subject to the tension that forced them to legitimate their colonies in the face of growing pressure from western public opinion.

This mythification of the empire in the period between the two World Wars was shared by other countries (Great Britain, France, Holland and Belgium), but in the case of Portugal there was a sacralisation of the empire capable of firmly seeding within the minds of the Portuguese people an ancestral, and therefore legitimate, idea of ownership. Given this logic, each

of the political periods of the *Estado Novo* corresponded to one form of 'reading' of the work of Gilberto Freyre.² The model of economic development used in the colonies was based on the mere exploitation of natural resources and African labour through forced work and compulsory crops, all for the benefit and in the interest of the metropole and the European settlers. Besides, the imperial stance taken by Salazar's regime made a point of maintaining the rigid opposition between 'civilised' and 'primitive' peoples which rendered the idea of cultural reciprocity impossible. In fact, the only aspect of Freyre's thought and his Lusotropicalism that merited the applause of the regime's colonialists in the years between 1930 and 1940 relates to his confirmation of the Portuguese people's special aptitude for colonisation. However, in the 1950s the picture changed when Lusotropicalism became incorporated and adapted into the official discourse. The post-war period proved to be an unusual time for Portugal as it was the only European country to maintain its colonial empire intact.

However, the winds of change that were being felt all over Europe after 1945 in relation to decolonisation made it increasingly difficult for Portugal to justify its position with regard to its empire. The principle of self-determination for colonised peoples was enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations (1945) and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) where it was declared to be an indisputable right.

1 Decreto n.º 18 570 de 8 de julho de 1930, published in the Diário do Governo n.º 156, 1 Série. Online at <https://dre.pt/application/dir/pdfgratis/1930/07/15600.pdf> (accessed on 1.4.2020).

2 Gilberto Freyre (1900-1987), the Brazilian sociologist, was the author of the theory of Lusotropicalism which in general terms claimed that the Portuguese had a special capacity to adapt to the tropics (the overseas colonies), not out of any political or economic interest but from an inborn and creative empathy. According to Freyre, this aptitude of the Portuguese to relate to tropical lands and peoples was the result of their own hybrid ethnic origin and from their long contact with both Moors and Jews in the Iberian Peninsula in the first centuries of nationhood. It was manifested primarily through miscegenation and cultural interpenetration. In his Lusotropicalist theory, Brazilian multiracialism is praised as being the result of interracial breeding and the crossing of cultures. This made the Portuguese unique among colonisers as it confirmed their singular ability to adapt and to miscegenate with the colonised peoples.

The United Nations began to insist that the colonial powers had an obligation to prepare the territories they administered for independence and self-government in the near future. It was, therefore, in this context that the anti-colonialist movement was born and consolidated and led to the start of the decolonisation process, first in Asia and then in Africa.¹

Portugal tried to find arguments to legitimate maintaining the status quo in her colonies and with this in mind felt pressured into making changes to the legislation. Given this situation, in 1951, within the ambit of a revision of the Constitution, the President of the Council presented a proposal to revoke the Colonial Act, thereby ushering in a new political orientation which would be approved in 1953 as the *Lei Orgânica do Ultramar Português* [Organic Law for the Portuguese Overseas Territories].² This introduced some changes in terminology, the main one being to replace the term 'colonies' by 'overseas provinces'. The 'shift' by Salazar's government to adopt Freyre's Lusotropicalism more completely in order to defend its image as a multiracial country also dates from the time the law was approved.³ So as not to introduce anything novel, one result of this slight alteration was that it provided a basis for the following year's reform. Thus in 1954 the *Estatuto dos Indígenas das províncias da Guiné, Angola e Moçambique* [Status of the Indigenous Peoples of the provinces of Guinea, Angola and Mozambique]⁴ was promulgated.

Consequently, as from the mid-1950s the Minister for Foreign Affairs tried to

indoctrinate Portuguese diplomats in Lusotropicalism with the aim of furnishing them with tools that could validate Portugal's presence in Africa, India, Macau and Timor.⁵ This 'appropriation' of Freyre's ideas by the regime can be accounted for as a way to promote its international policy and to provide grounds to support its official discourse aimed at external consumption. This could have been because Portugal's entry into the United Nations in 1955 obliged it to do so or because of the accusations voiced by anti-colonialists who began to make themselves heard within international diplomatic circles.⁶

In interviews given to the foreign press in the 1960s, Salazar himself argued in line with Freyre's theory of Lusotropicalism to justify Portugal's remaining on the African continent,⁷ but the times that were to come would be different. In 1960 the United Nations demanded that Portugal rid herself of her colonial empire⁸ while in 1961 Salazar's regime had to face a series of political difficulties directly related to the overseas situation — the hijacking of the passenger liner *Santa Maria* by Henrique Galvão (January), the attempt to release prisoners from jails in Luanda (February), the massacres orchestrated by the Union of the Peoples of Angola (UPA — União dos Povos de Angola) in the north of Angola, the military coup by General Botelho Moniz (March), the occupation of Goa, Daman and Diu by the Indian Union (December) and the outbreak of war in Angola. All of these events led the President of the Council to invite Adriano Moreira

(1922-) to become Minister for the Overseas Provinces. He accepted and took office in April 1961. Immediately a series of reforms were proposed including abolition of the indigenous status.⁹ This attempt at relaxing segregationist policies clearly pointed to progressive autonomy and wider administrative decentralisation for the overseas territories. However, this led to Adriano Moreira's removal in 1962, thus extinguishing any hope for progressive colonial autonomy. This signalled the end of the inspiration gleaned from Freyre's Lusotropicalism although Marcelo Caetano (1906-1980) did leave the door open in the 1971 revision of the Constitution. However, by then it was too late for any dialogue between the metropole and independence movements owing to the advanced state of the colonial war.

In the political configuration outlined above, colonial art was not forgotten although it was only acknowledged and encouraged when it became necessary to legitimate the overseas empire in the international sphere, which happened from the 1930s on. The imperial domain also passed through a «Portuguesisation» of the landscape and the arts. From fortresses to colonial architecture, the marks of a European ancestry were of the utmost importance in order to reproduce the power in the overseas territories.

As for painting, it may be said that before the mid 20th century there were no empire painters, or artists interested in spreading knowledge of the overseas provinces. All that existed were a few pictorial

- 1 Indonesia in 1946, India and Ceylon in 1947, Burma in 1948, Morocco, Tunisia and Sudan in 1956, the Gold Coast (Ghana) in 1957. This made the anti-imperialist struggle universal, later proved by the numerous Pan-African, Pan-Arab and Pan-Asian congresses held.
- 2 Lei n.º 2.048 de 11 de junho de 1951. Online at <http://www.parlamento.pt/Parlamento/Documents/Lei2048.pdf> (accessed on 29.2.2020).
- 3 Whether by coincidence or not, two months after national unity was declared in the 1951 Constitution, Gilberto Freyre arrived in Lisbon in August at the invitation of the Minister for the Overseas Territories, Sarmento Rodrigues (1899-1979). He said his aim was to travel around the overseas territories. It was during this trip that the Brazilian sociologist would use the expression 'Luso-tropical' for the first time to characterise how the Portuguese adapted to the tropics.
- 4 Estatuto dos Indígenas Portugueses das Províncias da Guiné, Angola e Moçambique, approved by Decreto-lei n.º 39666 de 20 de maio de 1954. However, discrimination in the other overseas territories would only end in 1961 with the abolition of the indigenous status. Decreto-lei n.º 43893, de 6.9.1961. Online at <https://dre.pt/application/file/180951> (accessed on 29.2.2020).
- 5 In 1955, Adriano Moreira introduced Lusotropicalism in the study program of his course entitled 'Política Ultramarina' [Overseas Policy] in the second year of the graduate course Altos Estudos Ultramarinos [Advanced Overseas Studies] at the Instituto Superior de Estudos Ultramarinos [Higher Institute of Overseas Studies] (later the Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Política Ultramarina [Higher Institute of Social Sciences and Overseas Policy]). The influence of the Lusotropical idea on Adriano Moreira's initiatives would also serve as an incentive to organise two congresses of 'Portuguese Communities in the World', both held at the Lisbon Geographical Society (1964 and 1967), as well as to prompt the creation of the Academia Internacional da Cultura Portuguesa [International Academy of Portuguese Culture] in 1964.
- 6 It is in this context that the Portuguese presence at the International Exhibition of Brussels in 1958 should be understood, and in the related work (published by the event's Portuguese Committee) numerous references to the Lusotropical doctrine may be found. Portugal: Oito séculos de história ao serviço da valorização do homem e da aproximação dos povos [Portugal: Eight centuries of history in the service of enhancing Man's worth and bringing peoples closer together].
- 7 Life Magazine, n.º 45, and the weekly newspaper U.S. News and World Report of 9 June, both published in New York and dated 1962.
- 8 Online at <http://ensina.rtp.pt/artigo/onu-contra-colonialismo-portugues/> (accessed on 7.3.2020)
- 9 Following the same directive, at the beginning of February 1962, Decreto-lei n.º 44171, de 1-2-1962, was promulgated. This established free entry and residence rights for Portuguese citizens in any part of the national territory. Until then, Portuguese people who had wanted to emigrate to the colonies were obliged to have a 'carta de chamada', or letter of invitation, proving they had a job guaranteed or adequate means of subsistence.

notes which showed a sporadic interest in the theme although these were restricted to a painted view of History that was the outcome not of any effective experience but of an image.

This being so, and as the present study deals with Portuguese imperial and colonial painting in the contemporary age, we must begin by mentioning that at the end of the 18th century the pioneering pictorial perspective of Francisco Vieira Portuense (1765-1805) encapsulated for the first time a distinctive treatment of imperial aggrandisement. The pioneering activity of this artist is linked to the fact that he was one of the first painters to experience travelling on a European scale, wandering as he did between Lisbon, Rome, Prussia, Austria and England, thus becoming the most widely travelled Portuguese artist of his time. Sponsored by Englishmen from Porto and by British *Grand Touristes* in Italy, Vieira Portuense lived in and knew the Old Continent that had just been through and emerged from the French Revolution. This did not prevent him discovering the great works of the past and becoming acquainted with the most important artists who were his contemporaries. Acknowledging himself to be a truly European artist, he produced numerous travel notebooks and albums which show an attitude in consonance with the spirit of the age. These allow us access to his way of thinking about the historical moment which he would later encapsulate in a type of painting that enables us to perceive this. The series of small pictures he painted to illustrate the cantos of Luís de Camões' *Os Lusíadas* [The Lusiads] are revealing: *Battle of the Island of Mozambique*,¹ *Vasco da Gama disembarking on the Isle of Love* and *Emissaries from Gama before the King of Melinde*. Painted between 1798 and 1801, they show a form of painting that is restrained and without excess, and they possess a founding feature: the mythological fable that had prevailed among his predecessors was no longer

important but instead heroic acts were. This reflects a maturity that was a result of his observation of the different pictorial universes he encountered among the private collections he visited. This awareness of a shared European culture was the primary element that influenced him when he began a painting and, even if it did not yet have a colonial stamp, it at least bore a relation to other imperial narratives of the Old Continent.

The first few decades of the 19th century brought us Domingos António de Sequeira (1768-1837), considered to be the painter who, in aesthetic terms, led the transition from Neoclassicism to Romanticism in Portugal. His patriotic allegories reflect his intense experience of the political upheavals of the time — he was successively a supporter of the French invasion army, the English alliance, the Liberal revolution and the Constitutional Charter before going into exile in France following the Absolutist counter-revolution. At the Louvre Salon he exhibited *The Death of Camões*,² the first painting to usher in Portuguese Romanticism.

Francisco Metrass (1825-1861), the most widely travelled artist of his generation, also produced paintings with a significant historical theme. His *Camões in the grotto in Macau*, bought by the king, Dom Fernando (1816-1885), and believed to be a self-portrait, is full of symbolism and evokes the isolation and solitude that both Camões and Metrass experienced. Moreover, as Maria Aires Silveira writes:

Camões and the slave Jau are represented in a scenic space, constructed by grotto elements and maritime references. The painting falls within the imagery of the Romantic hero where the representation of the poet of the Lusitanian epic, melancholic and infected with a moral pessimism and despair in human abilities, seems to coincide both physically and spiritually with that of the painter. The choice of a suffering Camões

turns it into an emblem signalling the intellectual path followed by Portuguese Romanticism that had first been announced by Domingos António Sequeira and which finds its literary support in Almeida Garrett. In fact, the theme carries a dual inspiration: if Camões drinks in the springs of Classical Antiquity, then Metrass plunges into the antiquity of his 16th century Patria. In this work the dramatic quality is linked to the chromatic tones of deep brown in which the illuminated face of Camões stands out. The warrior-poet rests from his crusade, his sword at his feet, his quill suspended. The two figures are reflecting; Camões looks fixedly at the horizon while the slave stares at the ground, perhaps reminding us of the words of the poet: 'Amorous Malays and valiant Javanese/ all will be subject to the Portuguese.' (The Lusiads).³

Continuing with the topic of the theme of Camões (one of the most beloved themes of Portuguese Romanticism), we should mention António Manuel da Fonseca (1796-1890), a painter who in 1861 painted *Camões reading the Lusiads to Dom Sebastian*. We should also note that at the Camões Centenary Exhibition, held in 1880 at the Crystal Palace in Porto, the same artist repeated his emphasis on the poet of *The Lusiads* but this time in *Camões invoking the Tágides*. There are also other works by him with the same motif such as *The Landing of Vasco da Gama in Calicut* and *The Landing of the Portuguese Sailors on the Isle of Love*.

On a separate note it is important to mention the specific works by José António Benedito de Barros — Morgado de Setúbal — (1752-1809) and his *Portrait of a Negro* and João António Correia (1822-1896) and his painting *A Negro* as well as Miguel Ângelo Lupi (1826-1883)⁴ a teacher of drawing on the 'Painting of History' course at the Academy of Fine Arts in Lisbon. This is because of his unfinished canvas *The Negroes of Serpa Pinto*, or *The Negress Mariana and*

1 For a detailed genealogy of the plastic arts in Luís de Camões, see B. Xavier Coutinho, *Camões e as artes plásticas. Subsídios para uma iconografia camoniana*, 2 vol., Figueirinhas, Porto, 1948.

2 This painting earned him a gold medal at the 1824 Salon. It was subsequently lost in Brazil but a charcoal and white chalk drawing on paper, a sketch for the painting, can be seen at the National Museum of Ancient Art in Lisbon.

3 Online at <http://www.museuartecontemporanea.pt/pt/pecas/ver/47/artist> (accessed on 22.3.2020).

4 He was a state scholar in Rome (1860-63) and visited Paris in 1864. He took part in the 'Promotora' salons at the Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes in Lisbon (1863-68) and in various exhibitions abroad: the Fine Arts Exhibition in Madrid (1st class medal, 1871), in London (1868), in the Paris Salon (1866, 1867, 1875), in the Universal Exhibition held in Paris (1878) and in Rio de Janeiro (1879).

the Negro Catraio, (c. 1879), a work that given the theme portrayed — two Angolan slaves who served Alexandre de Serpa Pinto (1846-1900) on his travels through the African continent — is a rare example of a colonial experience truly lived (and not just imagined). Between 1851 and 1853 Lupi lived in Luanda where he worked for the Treasury of the Province of Angola and he left behind works with a clear colonial stamp but which, according to Diogo de Macedo (1889-1959), «have gone missing and of which there is no news».¹ It is worth adding here that the way in which the characters are portrayed obeys Academy rules, but the same cannot be said of the abstract background, which is atypical for the time. This type of genre painting contrasts with his 1880 history painting *Departure of Vasco da Gama for India*. An artist's study for this work exists and was exhibited at the Camões Exhibition held at the Crystal Palace in Porto and also at the Lisbon Geographical Society.

Another artist who deserves a mention for his pen and ink drawings done during the Public Works Expedition to Mozambique in 1876 is Isaías Newton (1838-1921), a disciple of Lupi and Tomás da Anunciação (1821-1879). Throughout the journey, Newton was concerned with recording part of the colonial landscape. He later reproduced these landscapes in *Occidente*,

a magazine he collaborated on, as well as taking part in exhibitions² and winning various prizes.³

Likewise, it is important to remember the name of Veloso Salgado (1864-1945) whose oil painting entitled *Vasco da Gama before the Zamorin of Calicut* is an outstanding example of his work. This picture won the gold medal in the painting competition organised in 1898 for the 'Commemorations of the Fourth Centenary of the Discovery of the Sea Route to India'.

From outside the borders of the Empire but showing a vision that was a result of Brazil's independence in 1822, we find João Ribeiro Cristino da Silva (1858-1948), the son of the painter Cristino da Silva (1829-1877). Based on his experiences in Brazil (in the state of Pará), he captured many of the local landscapes as can be seen in his oil painting *Site of Marco da Légua*, his last canvas.⁴

The examples cited above, however, merely punctuate the work of these artists without being a recurrent theme in their pictorial legacy. Moreover, these references (with the exception of Lupi) show them to be but part of an idealised painting of History, the objective of which was to aggrandise through the plastic medium the mythic nature of the empire, which was imagined and bore no relation to geographical, anthropological or ethnographic reality.

This absence of empire painters was noted at the beginning of the 20th century when various voices demanded the presence of artists in the overseas territories who would be able to transpose into the plastic arts images of both the landscape and indigenous societies. One of these voices was that of Diogo de Macedo who, in various articles, called for ethnographic and artistic collections to be increased as well as for the creation of a Museum of Colonial Art. He also encouraged artists to travel to the colonies with a view to capturing the atmospheres and nuances of the natural and cultural landscape. Macedo even said that they should stay

... as long as possible in each region, gathering all that is picturesque, typical, artistic and historical, recording on canvas, in albums or in clay, the landscape, (...) singular individuals, the movements and the expressions of every action, researching legends, superstitions and mysteries, etc, etc.⁵

However, this objective would only be fully achieved from the 1930s on when it became necessary to show the empire to the Portuguese public and to legitimate it abroad, a subject that will be dealt with in the following pages.

1 Diogo de Macedo, «Um Álbum de desenhos sobre Angola» in *O Mundo português*. n.º 1, Ano XIII, IIª série, 1946, pp.17-21.

2 Triennial Exhibition of the Academia Real de Belas Artes, Lisboa (1856); Sociedade Promotora de Belas Artes, Lisboa (1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1870, 1872, 1874, 1876, 1884 and 1887); 10th Triennial Exhibition of the Academia Portuense de Belas Artes, Porto (1869); International Exhibition of Madrid (1871); Fine Arts Exhibition of the Associação Industrial Portuguesa, Lisboa (1888); the Grémio Artístico, Lisboa (1891, 1892, 1893, 1894 and 1896); Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes, Lisboa (1903 and 1905). He also exhibited with João Ribeiro Cristino at the Salon of the «Ilustração Portuguesa», Lisbon (1918).

3 1856 — 1st Medal — Academia Real de Belas-Artes, Lisboa; 1863 — 2nd Medal — Sociedade Promotora de Belas Artes, Lisboa; 1865 — 1st Medal — Sociedade Promotora de Belas Artes, Lisboa; 1867 — Honorable Mention — Sociedade Promotora de Belas Artes, Lisboa; — 2nd Medal — Sociedade Promotora de Belas Artes, Lisboa; — 2nd Medal — Sociedade Promotora de Belas Artes, Lisboa; 1868 — Gold Medal — Academia Real de Belas-Artes. José Júlio Barbosa de Moraes Sarmiento Archive, Coimbra.

4 *Arquitectura*. Revista Mensal. Ano IV, n.º 19, julho 1931, p. 65.

5 Letter from Diogo de Macedo addressed to Augusto Cunha on the subject of the organisation of cruises to the overseas territories by the *Mundo Português* magazine, in *O Mundo Português*. Ano II, Vol. II, 1935, n.p.

2. CREATION

Empire follows art and not vice-versa.
William Blake

Although 20th century colonial Europe maintained the narrow Eurocentric view glorified during the 19th century, after the end of the First World War — in the Roaring Twenties — stereotyped images of an exotic Africa began to circulate in the Old Continent filtered through western eyes: jazz, «negro art»¹, indigenous peoples exhibited in the human zoos of the colonial exhibitions, novels set in faraway places, and a painting genre that grew out of Modernism (Cubism) and depicted the exuberance of the overseas territories.

In Portugal, the First Republic set up the *Agência Geral das Colónias* [General Agency for the Colonies] in 1924 but it was the *Estado Novo* that became the author of a systematised colonial policy. As mentioned earlier, the passing of the Colonial Act in 1930, the setting up of the *Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional* (SPN) [Secretariat of National Propaganda] in 1933, later the *Secretariado Nacional de Informação* (SNI) [National Secretariat for Information], the repeal of the Colonial Act and the transformation of the *Agência Geral das Colónias*

into the *Agência Geral do Ultramar* [General Agency for the Overseas Territories] both in 1951 all allowed for culture to become instrumentalised, exhorting painters to collaborate in upholding the national objective which was to hold onto the African and the Oriental empires. However, no-one thought to sponsor or to support this request with the result that Portugal's colonial pictorial heritage was always left up to the individual. This lack of sponsorship frequently prevented any prolonged experience of living in an overseas universe harbouring its own unique features.

Given the lack of any «continuous and systematic production of colonial art» (the exception being Fausto Sampaio), the latter had to be invented using propaganda that could justify and ensure the preservation of the Portuguese empire, particularly after the end of the Second World War. Three situations contributed to this: on one hand, most of the artists who travelled to the overseas territories in Africa and the (Far) East were ignorant of modern themes, instead preferring idyllic landscapes and the picturesque (Albano Neves e Sousa) even though there are examples of modernist «irreverence» (Jorge Barradas); secondly, those who did not travel to the colonies

were still called upon to collaborate and so «invented» a presence they had never in fact experienced, reproduced through a «soft» record in which the coloniser-colonised relationship was shown as being «serene and civilized» (Eduardo Malta). The third situation involved artists who produced pictorial notes of the colonies but who did not then continue with the works (Álvaro Canelas).

In this way, the construction of a visual coloniality presented using existing pictorial records evolved within its own boundaries. This increased with the outbreak of the Colonial War when dissonant voices were raised since there were certain painters who used their art to show a counter-image that contested the official colonial discourse. Hence the multiple relations in the aesthetic, plastic and political domains that were produced in the colonial context began to operate as the mediator of an imperial power, which resulted in disparate paths, discourses and counter-discourses as will be seen below.

1 It is customary to consider 'negro' or black African art as a primitive art. In this study, the expression «primitive art» should not be understood as an inferior, secondary or imperfect art but one that expresses spontaneity and an expressive simplicity, characteristics of the art produced by non-European peoples.

UNDER THE GAZE OF THE INDIAN GODS: ANTÓNIO XAVIER TRINDADE

António Xavier Trindade (1870-1935) was a Goanese painter who studied at the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy School of Art and Industry in Bombay [Mumbai] where two cultural realities were taught alongside each other — the traditional arts of India and the European artistic schools of classicism and naturalism. His pictures give an accurate record of the atmosphere in the overseas Portuguese territory during the first decades of the 20th century at a time when the European colonialisms in Asia were on the wane. As Cristina Azevedo Tavares says: «it is clear that when it comes to painting customs, and without using the decorative exotic exaggeration used by the majority of French and English Orientalist painters, Xavier Trindade treats the themes of daily life in a veristic way, conferring dignity on them».¹ Hence many of his works present various documental aspects of Portuguese India of that time and the way in which he tried to capture the typical light of each place is very noticeable.

This academic artist certainly did use a pictorial language that was common to European art, but he did so taking his Indian experiences as his starting point. This experience can be seen in the various hues in canvasses such as *Lady Meherbai Tata* (1931). His artistic base is grounded on an India portrayed in a western way in a game consisting of textures, colours, light and shadow. If we look at *Mendigo goês* [Goanese Beggar] (1927), *O poço da aldeia* [The Village Well], *Goa* (1927), or even *Barcos*

de pesca goeses [Goanese Fishing Boats] (1930), we can see how he paints them all using free brushstrokes that seem to be moving towards abstraction, a fact that makes it possible to understand his work in a modern sense.

In *Dolce Farniente* (1920), the pose of the seductive and carnal female reclining on a sofa and barely covered by a long scarf and a sari derives from the traditional reclining nude, as in Ingres' (1780-1867) *La Grande Odalisque* or the harem scenes of 19th century Orientalists. The sensuality that emanates from the canvas, not at all usual in Indian painting, earned Trindade the epithet of «Rembrandt of the Orient» and in fact he won the gold medal at the annual exhibition of the Bombay Art Society with this painting.

One thing we can be certain of is that «Trindade was one of the first generation of artists to be individually recognised in India»² since, before the colonial period, artists generally belonged to an atelier in whose style and themes they became established. This left little room for innovation but contained an undeniable artistic wealth as is the case of the Mughal miniatures developed from the 16th century on, or Rajput painting which flourished in the 18th century. Later, when British colonial rule was established in the 19th century, an artistic era came to an end when schools were set up imitating those in the West and inspired particularly by Victorian models. Indian nationalists accused these schools

of not reflecting Indian spirituality and moving away from the traditional style by embracing perspective and live models and by using secondary and tertiary colours as well as techniques such as *chiaroscuro*. In parallel, in the 1920s (1922 to be exact) Modernism came to India via the Society of Oriental Art in Calcutta. The movement was immediately embraced by Indian artists fighting to free themselves from colonialism since they found in it both a language and a form able to express anti-colonial resistance. However, «academic artists, like Trindade, used the language and syntax of European art but did so using their Indian experiences as a starting point, which means that their art is highly contextual».³ This academic-modernist dichotomy had echoes and repercussions in the next decade, in the 1930s, when it was linked to the political debate about national identity. According to Partha Mitter, «Trindade was aware of the changes that were happening all around him and they affected him, but he liked to paint as he had always done».⁴

Under the gaze of the gods of the East, Trindade's work synthesises the crossing between East (content, theme) and West (form, technique); in other words, his paintings reflect the cultural universe of the Indian subcontinent but using the European artistic currents of the time, thereby integrating both legacies in a form of painting that reflects part of the Indo-Portuguese universe in the early 20th century.

1 Cristina Azevedo Tavares, «António Xavier Trindade: um pintor de Goa» in António Xavier Trindade: um pintor de Goa (1870-1935). Lisboa, Fundação Oriente, 2005, pp. 11-12.

2 Vanessa Rato, «O Rembrandt do Oriente Volta a Casa» in Público P2 magazine of 6 January 2013, p. 35, citing Marcella Sirhandi in António Xavier Trindade: um pintor de Goa (1870-1935). Lisboa, Fundação Oriente, 2005.

3 Partha Mitter, «O Rembrandt do Oriente Volta a Casa» in Público P2 magazine of 6 January 2013, p. 36.

4 Idem, p. 37.

CRYSTALLISED IMAGES OF MACAU: MARCIANO ANTÓNIO BAPTISTA

Marciano António Baptista (1826-1896), a Macanese painter from the mid to late 19th century, was one of the few artists to leave a pictorial legacy of the 19th century Portuguese colony of Macau.

He met the English painter George Chinnery (1774-1852) early on in his life and became his pupil. Like other pupils, he first followed the painting style of his teacher but then developed his own technique and characteristics. According to Geoffrey Bonsall of Hong Kong University Press, his «sketches and watercolours are particularly accurate in terms of detail and bear the mark of his master»,¹ «even when he interpreted the themes in his own style. Baptista's later works are proof of this in both the themes and style he chooses and, more specifically, through the inscriptions he adds to his paintings».²

At the time when Baptista was learning the rudiments of the classical rules of painting and absorbing the influence of the 19th century English landscape school, Macau was going through a troubled period as a result of the First Opium War (1839-1842)³ and the city had been almost ruined.⁴ After the conflict ended, Baptista decided to go and live in Hong Kong, which he did between the end of the 1840s and the beginning of the 1850s when the Portuguese-Chinese territory found itself devastated and impoverished because of the Anglo-Chinese conflict.

Baptista was a painter, art teacher, draughtsman, illustrator, set designer and

photographer. He forged a link with Chinese artists from Hong Kong, contributing in this way to one of the first exchanges between Western and Eastern painting. At the same time, he found himself confronted with the mass production of the less creative Chinese artists of the China Trade who proliferated at this time, but it was the artistic quality of his paintings⁵ that made him stand out from his contemporaries. He produced large paintings depicting scenes of sea ports or landscapes, mainly done in watercolour, albums of medium-sized watercolours with views of local tourist sights, and drawings and paintings of street scenes and historical motifs.

As a result, in the second decade of the 20th century his works came to the attention of a more discerning public, many of whom considered him to be one of the best 19th century painters from Macau. Silva Mendes called him a «notable watercolourist»⁶ in 1914, while in 1918 Humberto de Avelar, the editor of the magazine *Macau*, classified him as «the best artist that has been born in Macau to date».⁷

Baptista used few colours in his paintings, preferring the primary colours of red and blue and sometimes green and brown. His brushstrokes show a decidedly Chinese influence but are combined with Western techniques of linear perspective and colouring. It is important to point out that the painter's artistic works show a Macau on the verge of extinction. He painted pagodas, fortresses and different

types of junks, but not forgetting to frequently introduce steamships symbolizing the new century that was soon to be born. He took particular pleasure in painting the A-Ma Temple — there are several pictures of it painted from different perspectives — and he also painted the ceiling and the altar of the churches of Santo António and São Lourenço. Another aspect to consider «is the fact that there is an intertextuality between the written and the pictorial narratives, which can also be called an inter-arts dialogue. This can be clearly seen with regard to the description of 19th century Macau, especially the maritime fringes of the peninsula that are mentioned in the descriptions of Francisco Maria Bordalo (1821-1861) and which can be compared with the views painted by Marciano Baptista».⁸

Let us climb up one of the hills to contemplate the city which enjoys such a wonderful situation and presents a beautiful collection of buildings whichever way one looks. Let us walk up to Penha de França, below which the wide bay of Praia Grande, fringed by graceful houses, curves before the waters of the Ocean. (...) At the far end, the bare cliffs that form the outer wall of the San Francisco fort. This is on the seaward side.⁹

Marciano Baptista's Macanese canvasses illustrate the local colour of this travel narrative, turning the painter into a visual chronicler who crystallises the landscape

1 Geoffrey Bonsall, *George Chinnery. His Pupils and Influence*. Hong Kong Museum of Art, Hong Kong, 1985, p. 64.

2 Cesar Guillén Nuñez, *Marciano Baptista e A Sua Arte*. Gráfica de Macau, Macau, 1990, p. 12.

3 In 1830, the English obtained exclusive rights to commercial trade in the port of Canton but Great Britain had a huge trade deficit with China as the latter exported large quantities of silk, tea and porcelain, at that time very much in fashion in continental Europe. To compensate for its economic losses, Great Britain trafficked Indian opium to the Middle Kingdom and when the government in Peking decided to ban the opium trade, the British Crown resorted to military force. One outcome was that Hong Kong was ceded to the English.

4 A number of important chronicles, ranging from those by Évariste Régis Huc to Montalto de Jesus, attribute the opening of Hong Kong as a free port as the main cause of Macau's decline. See «Abbé Huc», *Montalto de Jesus, Historic Macau*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1984, pp. 364-367.

5 Cesar Guillén Nuñez, *Marciano Baptista e A Sua Arte*. Gráfica de Macau, Macau, 1990, p. 13.

6 Manuel da Silva Mendes, «Um Museu em Macau», *O Progresso*. 1^o Ano, Macau 29 de Novembro de 1914, n.º 13, unsigned editorial, cited by Cesar Guillén Nuñez, *Marciano Baptista e A Sua Arte*. Gráfica de Macau, Macau, 1990, p. 14.

7 *Macau, Semanário Artístico, Literário e Social*. Ano I, 16 de Dezembro de 1918, p. 16 cited by Cesar Guillén Nuñez, *Marciano Baptista e A Sua Arte*. Gráfica de Macau, Macau, 1990, p. 14.

8 Rogério Miguel Puga, paper given on George Chinnery. FCSH, NOVA University of Lisbon, 8 March 2017.

9 Francisco Maria Bordalo, *Um Passeio de Sete Mil Léguas. Cartas a um Amigo*. Lisboa, Typ. Rua Douradores n.º 31, 1854, pp. 92-93, Online at <https://books.google.pt/books?id=V349AQAAMAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=pt-PT#v=onepage&q=desencantada&f=false> (accessed on 30.3.2020).

of Macau within a certain intentional exoticisation. In this instance, the picture *Fortaleza de São Tiago da Barra* [Fort of São Tiago da Barra] (1875-80) illustrates pictorially the words of Francisco Maria Bordalo. In other words, there is a referential link between the travel chronicle and the work of the Macanese painter at a time when the key word among contemporary theoreticians was «picturesque».¹

If we wish to see the Portuguese imperial territory that was the most distant from the metropole, all we need do is to look at Baptista's painting *Vista da Praia Grande* [View of Praia Grande] (1870-75). Here

he uses an aesthetic common at the time, as Patrick Conner remarks: «the painter's watercolours are in agreement with many of the rules of the picturesque»² as can be observed, for example, in his variations on the A-Ma Temple.

It is important to mention here that after Hong Kong became British and a free port, it was not long before the government of Macau copied the English and saw the benefits of being an economic zone free of customs barriers.³ Therefore, in 1845 Portugal declared the city a free port and ordered an end to payment of the annual rent and Chinese taxes, the expulsion of

the mandarins from Macau and in 1849 the abolition of the Chinese customs house. However, this was not sufficient for Macau to retain its economic and strategic importance as a European port in China since the centre of trade had moved to Hong Kong. It is therefore this Macau which is about to perish that Marciano António Baptista depicts in his distinctive canvasses, making them unique witnesses to a Portuguese-Macanese territory, structured from a singular shared way of life, that had in the meantime disappeared.

1 The word derives from the Italian *pittresco*, which means «in the manner of or made like a picture», a concept that was much used during the Romantic period and which is characterised by landscapes full of rusticity and among whose elements can be found old houses, ruins and ancient-looking trees. It is in fact a concept of aesthetics that refers to subjective impressions in relation to painting triggered by the contemplation of a landscape scene.

2 Patrick Conner, *Marciano Baptista e A Sua Arte. Gráfica de Macau*, Macau, 1990, p. 24.

3 The colonisation of Macau began in the middle of the 16th century with the gradual occupation by Portuguese navigators who rapidly brought prosperity to this tiny enclave, making it into an important trading entrepôt between China, Europe and Japan. However, it was only in 1887 that China officially recognised Portugal's sovereignty and occupation of Macau through the Sino-Portuguese Treaty of Peking.

WHISPERINGS FROM THE AFRICAN CONTINENT

ALBANO NEVES E SOUSA

Albano Neves e Sousa (1921-1995) began his colonial journey in 1951, first as a member of the Angola Ethnographic Mission (of which Álvaro Canelas and António Campino were also a part) and later as one of a working party charged with collecting details related to the landscape with a view to studying the tourist possibilities of the territory. This work was carried out for the governor of Angola.

In one statement he recalled:

I began to travel through Angola from the north with its humid heat to the dry far south, passing through all types of climate, living and mixing with tribes, listening to stories told by firelight long into the night. I began to paint the land and the black people who taught me ancient African wisdom. Little by little I became able to interpret their dances, legends and traditional customs.¹

At the time of the first outbreaks of violence in Angola in 1961, part of Neves e Sousa's work was being exhibited at the Museum of Angola. The incidents led to the exhibition being closed before the

scheduled date. «Taking advantage of an invitation from Sarmiento Rodrigues»,² he left for Mozambique where he stayed for almost a year. While there, he did drawings of the interior. He then returned to Luanda and some time later visited São Tomé, Cape Verde and Guinea.

As Teresa Pereira notes: «to follow the path of Neves e Sousa is to follow some of the paths taken by the empire, from the construction of its image to the contradictions and ambiguities that emerge from the colonial discourse».³ Thus his pictures are seen as the experiential expression of a worldview that acts as a mediator between metropole and colony.

His work, often done from field notebooks, is composed of a pictorial language where naturalist images are interwoven with geometric-abstract elements enshrined, for example, in both the solidity of the female figures and the chromatic tones of the indigenous landscape.

Neves e Sousa remained in Angola for over forty years and had the chance to experience two distinct realities: the colonial era and the postcolonial age. In the former

he was the author of paintings where his idea of landscape and people appears to be extremely bland and, as a result, many considered them concomitant with the image the propaganda of the *Estado Novo* wanted to give; in the latter, after independence, his canvasses show a few vestigial traces that are tinged with a certain *saudosismo*, or nostalgia, thus supporting a certain political-ideological 'alignment'. Independently of the political slant that some people wish to connote to his work or even to implicate him in the formation of a certain colonial ideology, his role in making known an unknown Angola is undeniable since, by re-working the historical discourse, he merges reality, myths, stereotypes, fiction and memories plastically in reminiscences that try to go beyond the past-present dichotomy, being perpetuated in his mixture of paints, because «if we want to bear witness to what the Africa of the end of the Portuguese empire was like, then we have to help ourselves by using his plastic work».⁴

CRUZEIRO SEIXAS

The colonial view proposed by Cruzeiro Seixas (1920-2020) followed the path of surrealist poetry he had trodden that came before his encounter with colonial Africa. What must be mentioned is that before settling in Angola in 1952, Cruzeiro Seixas had journeyed throughout the Portuguese empire. This was because he began his career aboard the ships that sailed among the Portuguese overseas possessions transporting goods and passengers there and

back. This was a determinant stage in his awareness of the way of life in the overseas provinces since it gave him an overall view that was not filtered by the propaganda of the *Estado Novo*.

Once settled in the Angolan capital, he worked in the Museum of Luanda and held his first individual exhibitions, which led to a heated exchange of opinions. The first exhibition was held in 1953 in the foyer of the *Cinema Restauração*. It consisted of pen

and ink drawings which evoked Aimé Césaire (1913-2008), a poet and politician who was heavily critical of European colonialism. In 1954, the *Exposição de Actividades Artísticas de Angola* [Exhibition of Angolan Artistic Activities] inaugurated by Craveiro Lopes (1894-1964) included works by Álvaro Canelas (1901-1953), Alípio Brandão (1916-1965), Neves e Sousa and Cruzeiro Seixas in an event that brought together 187 works of painting, drawing, sculpture and

1 Statement by Neves e Sousa, Albano Neves e Sousa. Oeiras, Galeria Livraria Verney, 2005, pp.17-19.

2 Statement by Neves e Sousa, Coleção Neves e Sousa. Oeiras, Câmara Municipal, 2008, p. 10

3 Teresa Matos Pereira, Uma travessia da colonialidade. Intervisualidades da pintura. Portugal e Angola. Lisboa, Faculdade de Belas Artes, Universidade de Lisboa, 2011, p. 227.

4 Manuel Barão da Cunha, Albano Neves e Sousa e Sousa Delfim Maya. Oeiras, Câmara Municipal, 2005, p. 9.

woodcarving by thirty-six artists.¹ In 1957 his second Angolan exhibition (in a ruined 17th century building) was underpinned by an attitude of challenge that began with the choice of venue. As the painter recalls: «I did not want to exhibit in those places where it was normal to exhibit... where the Neves e Sousas of this world exhibited».² In this show, Cruzeiro Seixas' plastic proposals were what would be called today 'installations' and played not only with the status of works of art but also with the place of the spectator within the exhibition space. It should be noted that this second event was visited mostly by black Africans, perhaps because these people identified with the exhibition format. Cruzeiro Seixas had decided to cover the bare walls of the decaying mansion with the nets of fishermen from the Bay of Luanda, and then he divided the space with more nets to make a kind of labyrinth where he hung objects of his own.³

But his dissent did not end here. At a given moment, as part of his job at the Museum of Luanda, he put a painting by Malangatana (1936-2011) on display in a prominent position. This meant he was called in for questioning by the political police (PIDE) since exhibiting a work by a

black African artist, and what is more by an adversary of the regime, was something that went against the dictates of force.

Apart from his painting and museology work, Cruzeiro Seixas also collected African art and openly assumed his rejection of colonial domination, a position he expressed in the *Exposição Geral de Artes Plásticas* [General Exhibition of Plastic Arts], otherwise known as *Angola-63*, where he exhibited with Helena Justino (1944). Altogether fifty-one candidates presented 200 works. «The exhibition that was on show at the Museum of Angola was organised under the aegis of the Cultural Society of Angola and sponsored by the *Grupo Desportivo* [Sports Group] of Cuca. Its other important sponsor was the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation whose president, Dr. Azeredo Perdigão, even decided to preside at the opening. This was an opportunity to award scholarships and give promises of further support, in particular by providing help to set up an art school in Luanda that would become an incubator for new talent and at the same time an instrument whereby those who were already artists could be helped to develop».⁴

In addition to this, Cruzeiro Seixas travelled frequently in Angola from north

to south, from Cabinda to Moçamedes, sharing the life of the local people and experiencing for himself the difficulties in this province of the Portuguese empire. However, the artist's pictorial discourse was directed towards protest and a questioning of the powers in charge. This led to his return to Portugal in 1964, fleeing from the colonial war, but, as he himself commented: «The most important phase of my painting corresponds to my time in Africa. Africa was my Paris, my great master».⁵

Reflecting on the African period of Cruzeiro Seixas, we can say that one result of his travels and contact with other cultural realities, in this case Africa, was that he constructed a pictorial corpus of objects and collages that are both ironic and provocative. They are made up not only of fragments of fantasy but also of a colonial reality that sets his artistic proposal within the framework of surrealism in an attitude of provocation and reaction to the political power in counterpoint to Neves e Sousa whose production was more consensual and conventional in nature and in line with the metropole's ideological canon.

EDUARDO ZINK

Eduardo Zink (1922-2003), a plastic artist and teacher of visual arts, was a «neo-figurative painter, an abstractionist with an imminently Cubist affiliation tempered by a Cezannian pre-Cubism, by Modiglianism and by the Fauvism of Van Gogh and Matisse, but superseded by his own vision in which syncretism and the analytic are interwoven in a dialogue of softened dynamics that seek to awaken the spectator's sensibility to the subject before them and not to emotionally disturb them,

a dialogue in which even the expressionist Dionysian impulse allows for Apollonian refinements, be it by the way he uses colour or by the line he traces».⁶

Zink received the Rocha Cabral Award from the *Academia Nacional de Belas Artes* [National Fine Arts Academy] in 1960. From 1965 to the middle of 1975, he spent long periods of time on secondment working as a secondary school teacher in Angola (but with some periods spent back in Lisbon), where he produced some important

works such as the panels for two cinemas⁷ — for the *Cinema Império* (now the *Atlântico*) he did a set of paintings (each one eleven metres high), and another series for the façade of the *Cinema Restauração*. Regarding the *Cinema Império* works, the sculptor José Carlos Simões Miranda — who helped decorate the cinema with sculptured panels — mentions that the set of panels produced by Zink were placed on either side of the big screen in the *Império*, the main cinema in Luanda, inaugurated in 1966.⁸

- 1 See Rodrigues Matias (coord.), *Diário da Viagem Presidencial às Províncias Ultramarinas de S. Tomé e Príncipe e Angola em 1954*, vol. I, Lisboa, Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1955, pp. 216-235.
- 2 Interview granted to Teresa Pereira on 21-1-2008. See «A mão de dumba-wa-tembo. Cruzeiro Seixas em Angola ou a arte como ato político» in *Império e Arte Colonial: Antologia de Ensaios*. ArTravel, Lisboa, 2017, pp. 114-115.
- 3 Cruzeiro Seixas in an interview given to the author on 28.08.2017.
- 4 Paper given by Rodrigues Vaz on 17 May 2017 at NOVA University of Lisbon. Online at <http://www.ukuma.net/wp/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/Texto-Rodriguwez-Vaz.pdf> (accessed on 30.3.2020).
- 5 Interview given by Cruzeiro Seixas to Isabel Salvado, «Cruzeiro Seixas ao Jornal do Fundão: África foi o meu grande mestre» in *Jornal do Fundão* 17.12.1972, p. 4, cited by Teresa Pereira *Uma travessia da colonialidade. Intervisualidades da pintura, Portugal e Angola*. Lisboa, FBA, 2011, p. 296.
- 6 David Zink, statement made to the author on 22.8.2017.
- 7 The panels framed the screen of the *Império* Cinema but were later subjected to a «restoration» project that, by wishing to 'Africanise' them, robbed them of their original character.
- 8 Simões Miranda, statement made to the author on 13.10.2017.

As well as doing smaller works for private individuals, he also received important official commissions such as that for CITA (*Centro de Informação e Turismo de Angola* — Tourism and Information Centre of Angola) and the *Instituto do Café* [Coffee Institute], which published a poster used to publicise Angolan coffee internationally and which was seen all over the world. The central and dominating image of this poster reproduced one of his paintings (although in this case it was an adaptation of a very large painting he had painted in Aveiro). On a graphic level, he also produced the cover for a book by José Redinha (1905-1983) called *Artesanato de Angola* [Angolan Workmanship].

There were in effect two factors that had led him to Angola — an interest in researching Cubism's roots that were present in African sculpture and a wish to get to know the land where his father had been Governor of Lunda in answer to a call from General Norton de Matos (1867-1955).

He also travelled to Mozambique to do the aesthetic montage of a pavilion (possibly for Angola) in the FACIM Industrial Fair. Back in Portugal he took part in various collective exhibitions (one of which in the Museum of Aveiro which was the culmination of the *Missão Estética de Férias*

[Holiday Mission in Aesthetics] organised in 1961 in Aveiro by the *Academia Nacional de Belas Artes*) and held one individual exhibition after he had returned for good in 1997 in Fórum Picoas entitled «A cor de Angola» [The Colour of Angola].

When he came back to Portugal at the end of his last tour of duty, his work underwent a huge change. If until then he had favoured large-scale works and a style wholly affiliated to European currents, he now began to work mainly in miniature and, on the thematic level, with elements gleaned from his studies of African art. He was also a collector of African art (and an informal adviser to the Museum of Angola).

According to the list of artists named at the end of the catalogue of the exhibition «As artes ao serviço da nação» [Arts in the Service of the Nation], held in 1966 to mark the 40th anniversary of the National Revolution, Zink should have taken part in the event. However, according to our information, this might not have gone beyond an intention of the organiser and might not actually have happened given that the catalogue's presentation text makes no reference to him and no work of his can be seen in the photographs included in the catalogue. In fact, to back up this hypothesis is the fact that in that year Eduardo Zink was

in Angola on secondment and had always declared himself to be an opponent of the Salazar regime.

Mention should also be made of António Ole (1951-), one of his students, who said at his retrospective: «The City Council organised some art salons and a very special teacher called Eduardo Zink (...) felt I had potential and so encouraged me to compete.»¹

In practice, his African experience had a double importance — firstly, as a painter, he possessed a remarkable sense of the colour and synthesis of modernist design, which he sought to transmit to Angola and, didactically, to his students, and, on his return, having absorbed the lessons of African art embedded primarily in indigenous sculpture, he miscegenated both cultures into a wholly original aesthetic permeated with plastic Africanity even though filtered by his own European roots; secondly, by letting his students know about art in the European tradition, he intended to stimulate their own creativity, never attempting to condition them but helping to train fully-fledged artists with their feet firmly embedded in their own roots and not merely disciples, or imitators, of a master.

JOAQUIM RODRIGO

The work produced by Joaquim Rodrigo (1912-1997) after 1960 was done in Portugal but took into account international realities including the colonial reality. In a large number of paintings on the subject of Portugal's colonial universe, the red, ochre, black and white tones he used highlight the concerns of a troubled political period that had started a short time earlier at the end of the 1950s with General Humberto Delgado's candidacy for president.² The task undertaken by Joaquim Rodrigo's paintbrushes and

paints at that time meant that he painted S.A. *Estação* (1961), which showed the arrival of the «fearless general» at Santa Apolónia Station in 1958 on his return from Porto where he had caused a great wave of euphoria. Thousands of Lisboners were waiting at the railway station to welcome him but the repressive police system acted quickly, sending countless demonstrators gathered there to the hospitals.³

The event to which his picture *A.* (1961) refers uses the scarce and filtered images

that reached the metropole showing the beginning of the colonial war in Africa and it gave rise to a series of canvasses on the colonial question.⁴ As Pedro Lapa notes, the signs in the picture «with trunks identical to heads or legs coming out of them are figures similar to African sculptures. A generalised horizontality defines the position of the figures lying on the ground. In fact, they are African warriors fallen in combat».⁵ Besides this, *A.* gives us metonymically the name of a continent

1 Online at <http://www.noticiasmagazine.pt/2016/0-curioso-senhor-ole/> (accessed on 30.3.2020).

2 Humberto Delgado (1906-1965) was a candidate for the President of the Portuguese Republic in 1958, standing as an opposition candidate to the regime of Salazar who supported Américo Thomaz (1894-1987). The fraudulent victory of the latter led to Humberto Delgado's exile in Spain and afterwards to his assassination by the PIDE.

3 The picture entitled S.M. was also related to future events, particularly as they were the initials of the Santa Maria liner that was hijacked by Henrique Galvão when it was making a voyage in the South Atlantic in January 1965. In the episode of the attack on the Santa Maria, Galvão declared the liner to be a space that was independent of Salazar's government as a way to focus the international community's attention on Portugal's colonial and political situation, which was in violation of the UN agreement. The action was aborted but its repercussions were evident as it showed Portugal's disrespect for the UN's non-colonial principle (Chap. XI, art. 73 of the UN Charter) which obliged the signatory countries to «develop self-government» in the non-autonomous territories under their administration.

4 For an interpretation of the painting, see Pedro Lapa, Joaquim Rodrigo a contínua reinvenção da pintura. Lisboa, Documenta, 2016, pp. 189-190.

5 Pedro Lapa «Arte e Colonialismo: dois casos principais em Portugal in Império e Arte Colonial: Antologia de Ensaios. ArTravel, Lisboa, 2017, p. 29.

— Africa — undergoing a profound transformation in this period of liberation from the colonial yoke.

The first encounter with his African painting occurs with a set of creations that bring to the fore modern art's relationship to other cultures, notably that of the Chokwe people in the Lunda territories of Angola. This manifests itself in the chromatic tones and visual signs that characterise this period in Joaquim Rodrigo's output. Many other paintings followed in the same year. Of these we should highlight *M.L.*, which tells the story of the assassination of Patrice Lumumba, a martyr in the struggle against Belgian colonialism in the Congo. The influence of Lunda painting is once again present.

The picture *19 S (Pesadelos)* alludes, as the title (*Nightmares*) says, to 19 September 1961, the date when the United Nations

appointed the Committee of Seven to investigate whether Portugal was complying with the resolutions and obligations of the United Nations Charter in relation to non-autonomous territories following successive refusals orchestrated by the then Minister for the Overseas Provinces, Adriano Moreira. The figures appear and fall, butchered and mutilated, all over the painting with a violence that links pictorial and verbal text. By assuming an affinity with the painting of the Lunda, it does not adopt a one-directional perspective as had happened until then with modernist practices. This affinity also allows us to see «the political context in which cultural borrowings take place».¹

The synthesis of his painting in this phase points to two characteristics that complement each other: on one hand, the relation between coloniser and colonised

becomes the theme of the painting itself; on the other, the hidden political references are ever-present even though not always easily identifiable. Joaquim Rodrigo was perhaps one of the first artists to add to the cultural influences and exchanges an awareness of the political context in which these occurred and how, as a result, they could be conceived on the creative-artistic level.

His series of paintings with overseas roots came to an end in 1961 and with them the colonial problematic as Joaquim Rodrigo then turned and directed his attention to the political situation in Portugal and resistance to the dictatorship. However, Rodrigo's example was not followed in national pictorial practices despite the long colonial war (1961-1974), most probably because the theme was a mnemonic for a historical reality people did not wish to be silenced.

JORGE BARRADAS

Jorge Barradas (1894-1971) was a precursor of new forms of graphic humour, a cartoonist, caricaturist and illustrator. He played an important role in relation to the African colonial pictorial universe, albeit with some unusual consequences, since he was the first 20th century artist to undertake a colonial journey with the purpose of showing the overseas province to the metropole.

Before this, however, in 1916 he had been in Paris like most of the artists of his generation but he seems not to have gained much from the trip because of the climate of war in the French capital.²

His colonial seduction began in 1923 when he went on a trip to Brazil where he held an exhibition of Portuguese motifs in Pernambuco (where he met Gilberto Freyre), followed by Rio de Janeiro and lastly São Paulo.

The following year, in 1924, he held an exhibition of Brazilian motifs in Lisbon

as an iconographic counterpoint. In the *Diário de Lisboa* of 23 May 1924, Artur Portela wrote: «Jorge Barradas has just brought Brazil to us, a Brazil that Brazilian artists, yoked to French techniques and school, themselves do not know».³ On 30 May 1924, the same newspaper published an article by Norberto Lopes, which said that «to visit the show is to go on a beautiful trip, without even needing a passport».⁴ In fact, the critics did not skimp on their applause or praise for the thirty canvasses that represented the way the artist saw Brazil. He would later comment: «It was the Brazilian flora that called me to Africa».⁵

After producing two panels in 1925 for the *Brasileira* café in the Chiado in Lisbon and in 1929 presenting six paintings at the *Exposição Ibero-Americana de Sevilha* [Ibero-American Exhibition of Seville], his African journey finally became reality in 1930. In his own words: «I thought to

travel all over our Africa in order to collect elements, sketch the traditions, record the people.»⁶ Consequently, he went to the archipelago of São Tomé and Príncipe where he stayed for six months, burying himself in the interior and making pictorial notes. The result was thirty-four oil paintings and fifteen gouaches, which were shown for the first time in his individual exhibition at the *Associação Comercial de São Tomé* in December of the same year.

In 1931, Barradas had four paintings (*Colheita de Café*, *Colheita de Cacau*, *Paisagem Tropical Africana* and *Transporte de Frutos num Ribeiro*) accepted for the Colonial Exhibition of Paris. These four were chosen from among the six sketches he had sent from São Tomé to the selection jury.

A few weeks after the end of the Paris event, on 3 December 1931, the *Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes* (SNBA — National Society of Fine Arts) hosted an exhibition

1 Idem, p. 200.

2 Jorge Barradas in *Opinião* 29.2.1916.

3 Artur Portela, «Abriu ontem a exposição de Jorge Barradas» in *Diário de Lisboa* 23.5.1924, p. 4.

4 Norberto Lopes, «O guia ilustrado do viajante no Brasil» in *Diário de Lisboa* 23.5.1924, p. 3.

5 Jorge Barradas in *Jornal de Benguela* 26.7.1968, p. 57.

6 Idem.

with paintings by Barradas called «Motifs from São Tomé»,¹ which immediately received the acclaim of the critics. Carlos Coelho, in a drawing in *Sempre Fixe*, announced that «Barradinhas has dipped his paintbrush in Africa and opened the window to black painting»,² whilst Augusto Pinto congratulated him saying: «And in the country, the expression of a genre of painting — the colonial genre — that has not yet been worked until now by our artists is laudable, and Barradas remains the first and most intrepid of all the pioneers».³

Artur Portela, in an article entitled «*The Landscape and Customs of São Tomé as seen by Jorge Barradas*», wrote that his works «fully show in the landscape, the identification of customs and the human iconography all the seductive and fascinating exoticism of the island of São Tomé», concluding further on that «the notable pictorial effort of Jorge Barradas will receive, both from the public and from official entities, that material support without which artists cannot live and which is essential for them».⁴

In the *Notícias Ilustrado* he wrote:

Barradas' current exhibition, with its *três à la page* colonial motifs is a success. In effect, one does not find outside today's decorative interiors any notes of art and colour more suggestive and more appropriate than the cartoons of this artist who is so scrupulous and so refreshingly reformist.⁵

Despite Artur Portela emphasising that «there is no colonial propaganda that is more beautiful nor more effective than the propaganda made through literature and the arts»,⁶ the public, used to his pictures of *Lavadeiras* [Washerwomen] and

Varinas [Fishwives], did not understand his *Negras da roça* [Black plantation girls]. If the critics responded enthusiastically to this view of the overseas colony, the public and the State ignored the exhibition: in fact, the official authorities who were invited (including the Minister for the Overseas Provinces) did not appear and the only picture from the exhibition that was sold was *Paisagem Tropical* [A Tropical Landscape] acquired by the National Museum of Contemporary Art in 1933. On the Museum's website, this is what Maria Aires Silveira says about the painting:

A painting that shows us how he saw the island of São Tomé, the view of luxuriant vegetation, understood in a varied chromatic scheme that intensifies the image of the dense jungle in linear forms of superimposed and sequential leaves filling the whole canvas. This modernist line of representing landscape, with reference to the Fauves, co-exists with the simplification of form and vibrant colour contrasts in the foreground plane close to the spectator.⁷

The paint in *Casa de Negros* [A Negro's House] also fills the whole canvas while in *Lavadeira Negra* [Black Washerwoman] what the eye retains is the white luminosity of the cloths among the myriad jungle-greens in the composition. In the case of *Serviçal* [Servant], the emphasis is on the snowy whiteness of the clothes hanging on the washing line in contrast to the tropical atmosphere surrounding the silhouette of a black African woman seen from behind.

The room at the SNBA remained empty of public and the few people who did visit it «laughed stupidly at the people, the

flowers and the landscapes I had copied from the land».⁸

In an interview that was published in the *Jornal de Benguela*, Jorge Barradas said that he had destroyed the rest of the pictures in a fit of rage.⁹ However, more careful research has allowed us to list some works (among the oils and gouaches)¹⁰ that survived although their whereabouts is unknown. It is believed there are a few more in private collections or museum reserves still to be catalogued.

What is certain is that the artist ended his colonial pictorial project even though the «contact with the landscape of São Tomé would influence his work in a decisive way both in the concentration of forms and tropical colours and in his animated liking for the decorative».¹¹ The failure of his project owed much to the fact that Barradas was mistaken in thinking that the public would enthusiastically welcome a representation of the overseas provinces. However, Africa was still too far removed from the everyday lives of the Portuguese to arouse any interest and the regime itself had still not felt the need to invent such an interest. In fact, it was only two years later, in 1933, that the *Estado Novo* established a cultural programme within the *Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional* (SPN) that took into account the colonial empire, and it was within this new political-artistic configuration that Barradas came to take part in national and foreign exhibitions in the 1930s.

Nevertheless, all was not lost. Manuel Cargaleiro, talking about the primacy of the São Tomé landscape in the future work of Barradas, says:

His sojourn in São Tomé was extremely important in his life. In fact, he told me that

1 Oils: Tríptico São Tomé, Manhã tropical, Mercadores de bananas, O serviçal, Mãe negra, Porto do óbó, Mulata, Batuque de quelimanes (study), Negrinha, Fôrroa (2), O pescador, Lavadeira negra, Nu (3), Paisagem, Uma serviçal, Cafeeiro, Capuga, Casa de negros (5), Tronco caído de ócá, Roça de Água Izé mercado de serviçais, Roça de Água Izé margens da roça, Roça de Água Izé correio da roça, Roça Boa Entrada o velho ócá, Roça Boa Entrada trecho da roça, Roça Rio de Ouro entrada do parque, Roça Rio de Ouro trecho da roça, Roça Rio de Ouro trecho da roça Monte Café. Gouaches: Fôrroa, Velho negro, Cabeça de negro, Paisagem tropical, Cacau, Serviçal, Fôrroa, Peito do óbó, Paisagem tropical (another), Casa de negros, A velha do cachimbo, Trecho da roça Bindá, Trecho da roça Lembá, O cão grande visto da roça D. Augusta, Trecho da roça Água-Izé.

2 Carlos Coelho, «Ecos da semana» in *Sempre Fixe* 10.12.1931, p. 8.

3 Augusto Pinto in *Diário de Notícias* 5.12.1931, p. 6.

4 Artur Portela, «A paisagem e os costumes de S. Tomé vistos por Jorge Barradas» in *Diário de Lisboa* 4.12.1931, p. 4.

5 *Notícias Ilustrado* n.º 182, II Série, 6.12.1931, p. 9.

6 António Rodrigues, Jorge Barradas. Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, Lisboa, 1995, p. 69.

7 Online at <http://www.museuartecontemporanea.pt/pt/pecas/ver/203/artist> (accessed on 30.3.2020).

8 Jorge Barradas in *Jornal de Benguela* 26.7.1968, p. 57.

9 *Idem*.

10 Coconut Palms (this was first kept in the Casa de Portugal in Paris and is now housed in the Portuguese Embassy there), Tropical Landscape and Near Obó (National Museum of Contemporary Art), Black Womens' House and Black Woman Hanging Out Clothes (these have been found on the websites of auction houses in recent years, such as Palácio do Correio Velho and Renascimento Avaliações e Leilões). In *Notícias Ilustrado* n.º 182, II Série, 6.12.1931, p. 9, there are three other canvasses, certainly from the 1931 exhibition at the SNBA.

11 António Rodrigues, Jorge Barradas. Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, Lisboa, 1995, p. 69.

he was still thinking about staying there for ever. Later on, this had an enormous influence because many of those pictures, those landscapes that he did in São Tomé seemed to already be studies for his ceramics. This is because those jungles, that powerful and exuberant nature, are what linked him to the work he did, especially in *azulejo* tiles.¹

Curiously enough, according to Barradas, Brito Camacho² had written a note in a newspaper saying that artists needed to travel to Portuguese Africa:

When I was about to leave for São Tomé, I saw him in the *Brasileira* and, although I didn't know him, I went over to tell him about my trip. He was very enthusiastic, praised my initiative and offered me every kindness possible. But then he didn't write a single word about my exhibition and on one occasion he even went to see Medina's, which was above mine, spending some time there which as a rule means time spent in a good exhibition, afterwards only popping briefly into mine and leaving immediately afterwards».³

It is worth digressing here to mention that in 1933 the artistic situation in Portugal was not at its best. The Ministry for the Colonies, with its ambitions and resources, had been kindly disposed towards a project by a group of artists who had presented a proposal in which they offered to travel to the overseas colonies to «paint, sculpt and draw», collecting together the result of their work in a future exhibition of colonial art. The request was signed by Álvaro Canelas and Jorge Barradas. However, despite the Minister himself recognising the project's interest, there was no funding available to support the action.⁴

In 1934, he was invited to take part in the *Exposição de Arte Colonial do Porto* [Colonial Art Exhibition of Porto] with

four pictures showing São Tomé motifs. In the 1937 Paris International Exhibition, he presented a triptych representing the *Império Colonial Português* [Portuguese Colonial Empire]⁵ and in 1939, in the International Exhibition of New York, he exhibited a panel with an allegory of the life of the Infante Dom Henrique plus four more panels depicting the Portuguese in Africa, in Portuguese America (Brazil), in North America and in Asia.

Between 1933 and 1944, he illustrated books by the writer Ferreira de Castro (1898-1974) — *A Selva* (1933), *Terra Fria* (1934), *Emigrantes* (1936) and especially *A Volta ao Mundo* (1938) — where the plasticity of some of the drawings reminds us of colonial Africa. In fact, the cover of the third edition of *A Selva* (1933) could easily have been a reproduction of one of the paintings by the painter of the São Tomé series, such is the formal similarity between them.

Of particular interest is the study dated 1938 for the stained-glass window entitled *O Império* [The Empire], which was to decorate the *Café Portugal* in Lisbon's Rossio Square, and the decoration he did for the 1940 *Exposição do Mundo Português* [Exhibition of the Portuguese World] in the *Pavilhão de Honra e da Cidade de Lisboa* [Pavilion of Honour and the City of Lisbon]. There were two cut-out panels of *azulejo* tiles representing typical 18th century Lisbon figures and, above the entrance, an allegory of Lisbon inspired by a drawing by Francisco Holanda. Nonetheless, recognition of his work only came in 1949 when he won the SNI's Sebastião de Almeida Award.

In the 1950s the importance of the São Tomé landscape mentioned by Manuel Cargaleiro rapidly came to the fore when Barradas began to devote himself almost exclusively to the decorative arts (stained glass, mosaics and ceramics). He produced

a set of panels for the head office of the Banco Português do Atlântico in Porto, in the so-called *Palácio Atlântico*, as a testimony to the «imperial soul», which at the time some sought to save for posterity. Barradas' triptych covers the front wall of the vestibule and its central motif is the Atlantic. The third panel portrays a young emigrant setting out in search of fortune and adventure drawn by the opportunities that Brazil had for centuries offered and a female figure covered in riches that shows the Brazilian land that the artist had experienced back in the 1920s. The ceiling of the entrance arcade is also by Barradas and here there are six panels of polychrome mosaics whose motifs refer to the Maritime Discoveries and Navigation among others.

In the maritime domain, Jorge Barradas proved to be one of the most regular collaborators in the decoration of colonial passenger liners. In the *Vera Cruz*, acquired by the *Companhia Colonial de Navegação* in 1952, there were some decorative panels of his with Portuguese motifs made in polychrome ceramic in the first-class dining room while in the main lounge in first class there was a floral decoration in polychrome ceramic. Standing on the chapel altar were half a dozen figures of saints that he carved in white sapele (Angolan *undianuno*), a type of African wood, representing Our Lady of Fatima, Saint Princess Joana, the Constable Saint (Nuno Álvares Pereira), Saint John of God, Saint John of Brito and Saint Michael the Archangel.⁶ In 1953, Jorge Barradas made a Baroque-type bas-relief of *Senhora Padroeira dos Mares* [Our Lady of the Seas] and also some ten figures of saints for the chapel on the liner, *Santa Maria*.⁷ Still in relation to ships, Barradas made an *azulejo* tile panel with an African design for the passenger liner the *Uíge* in 1954. This was placed on the staircase leading up to first class.

1 Manuel Cargaleiro, video interview on Jorge Barradas and his oeuvre. Lisboa, Ateliê na Viúva Lamego, 2016. Cited by Adriana Anselmo de Oliveira, *Jorge Barradas e os seus caprichos: conservação e restauro de um painel*. Masters thesis, Faculdade de Belas Artes, Lisboa, 2016, p. 8.

2 Brito Camacho (1862-1934) was a doctor, military officer, writer and politician who, in addition to other important posts, was High Commissioner of the Republic in Mozambique between 1921 and 1923.

3 Jorge Barradas in *Jornal de Benguela* 26.7.1968, pp. 57-58.

4 See «A situação precária em que vivem os artistas portugueses» in *Diário de Lisboa*, 22.2.1933, p. 5.

5 Online at <https://www.flickr.com/photos/biblarde/4995522623/in/set-72157624844432503> (accessed on 30.3.2020). Amongst other works in the exhibition, and where it won a gold medal.

6 Nossa Senhora de Fátima (75cmx26cm), Santa Joana Princesa (72cmx26cm), Santo Condestável (73cmx26cm), São João de Deus (72, 5cmx26cm), São João de Brito (72cmx25cm), São Miguel Arcanjo (71cmx25cm). Online at <https://www.olx.pt/anuncio/seis-santos-esculturas-da-capela-do-navio-vera-cruz-IDzVwJL.html> (accessed on 30.3.2020)

7 António Rodrigues, *Op Cit.*, p. 100.

In 1958 he received a commission from the *Instituto de Higiene e Medicina Tropical* [Institute of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene] which led him to reproduce everyday life in Africa in an unsigned and undated triptych of ceramic tiles. In it Africans and colonists are illustrated in scenes that appear to be landscapes in São Tomé and Príncipe: the first panel shows the collecting of exotic woods while the central panel depicts a veranda next to the door of a house where a colonist is caressing a baby girl carried in the arms of a native woman. In the third panel the different jobs involved in the loading of timber, crates and casks can be seen while the steamship lies at anchor offshore.

In 1964, some tenuous links to vegetable motifs, reminiscent of the island of São Tomé, can be glimpsed in the two *azulejo* tile panels he did for the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in Paris.¹

In 1967, the African theme appeared once again; this time in the maquette for the *azulejo* tile panel covering the wall of the former residence of the governors of

the Bank of Angola in Luanda, but the landscape and the African customs were merely the pretext for decorative stylisations.

It is thought that the true reason why his colonial African painting was not accepted lies in his modern and modernist approach² to the São Tomé motifs.

Barradas did what had never been done. He went to the African land to listen to it, to look at it, to feel it, in order to paint it honestly (...) giving us a formidable Art in his figures, in his landscapes, in his customs, in all his motifs and tones. His paintbrush, more than his paints, got drunk on the African atmosphere itself (...) which rises up before us, as it must be, as it is, deep, alluring, disturbing. The oils manage to give the impression of humidity, of fever hidden in the dead waters, of the heavy neurasthenia of the black earth in all its grandeur.³

Barradas, «belonging to the first generation of modern Portuguese artists»,⁴ brought us a new iconography to represent the colonial figure and landscape that only

years later would be officially and publically acclaimed. When we look at his São Tomé pictures, notably *Coqueiros* [Coconut Palms], a profoundly innovative concern can be seen — that painting should not only reproduce nature but also hold the power to interpret that same visual reality. In other words, his colonial work, which time has never refuted, retains its actuality — not because it is a mimetic representation of the colony but rather because it is the image the artist inferred from it. Thus, his São Tomé work is not restricted to a reading with a single meaning but, on the contrary, ventures into an authorial interpretation unique to the time with traces of a modern colonial painting genre. Besides this, or more, his pictorial work with its colonial stamp shows a linearity and a simplification of human bodies that co-exist with a play of contrast of light and colour that are characteristic of Fauvism. This shows how the artist found himself at the forefront of the established national (and colonial) artistic culture; hence the known repercussions of his African work might be understood.

MENEZES FERREIRA

João Guilherme de Menezes Ferreira (1889-1936) was a career military officer, a draughtsman and an artist who founded the *Sociedade de Humoristas Portuguesa* [Portuguese Society of Humorists]. In 1920 he was appointed aide-de-camp to the High Commissioner to Mozambique, Brito Camacho, but he already had some experience of Africa having first stepped on African soil when he took part in the 1914-15 African War defending the empire in Angola. His posting as aide-de-camp was the beginning of a short career in the political-administrative world but it also provided him with the opportunity to go beyond merely humorous

works⁵ and develop a more pictorial line in which Africa became increasingly important and a constant presence in his works. In fact, he participated in the *Salão de Outono da SNBA* [2nd Autumn Salon of the SNBA] in 1926 with a work on this subject — *A Vénus de Barué* [The Barué Venus]. When he was invited in 1929 to collaborate with Emmerico Nunes (1888-1968), António Soares (1894-1978) and Jorge Barradas to decorate Maxim's, a club in the Foz Palace in Lisbon, this canvas was proposed to be on display. However, the remodelling of the club never in fact happened and so the picture remained in his own house.⁶

In 1930 he went to live for a few years in Mozambique where he continued to develop his interest in African art. He also travelled in South Africa and to São Tomé. He painted various pictures and designed two covers for albums published for the Mozambique representation at the 1931 Colonial Exhibition of Paris as well as a leaflet entitled *Les Agrumes* [Citrus Fruits].

In 1932 Menezes Ferreira wrote about the «Negro Art» that had been on display at the Colonial Exhibition the previous year:

All the modalities of (Africa's) artistic activity have provided a truly rich group of works

1 During his life, and in addition to the gold medal he won at the Paris exhibition in 1937, Jorge Barradas was awarded the Columbano Prize by the National Secretariat for Propaganda (SPN) in 1939, and the Sebastião de Almeida Award in 1947.

2 In the sense of a new plasticity, which was a reaction against classical academicism, and taking into account one essential aspect: the objective of the «moderns» was not the mere faithful reproduction of reality but rather a representation that was the inner expression of their sensibility. In this African series, Barradas shows his clearly modern style and line.

3 Augusto Pinto in *Diário de Notícias* 5.12.1931, p. 6.

4 José-Augusto França, *A Arte em Portugal no Século xx*. Bertrand, Lisboa, 1991, p. 153.

5 Menezes Ferreira took part in the I (1912) and II (1913) *Salão dos Humoristas* at the Grémio Literário. He held his first individual exhibition at the *Salão Bobone* (1919 and 1920), he took part in the III (1920) and IV (1924) *Salão dos Humoristas*, in the *Salão dos Humoristas do Porto* (1926), in the II *Salão de Outono* (1926), in the 25^a *Exposição da SNBA* (1928), in an exhibition at the *Grandes Armazéns Nascimento* (1929), in the 26^a *Exposição Geral da SNBA* (1929). In the same year as the Colonial Act was passed (1930), he participated in the I *Salão dos Independentes*, and, finally, in the SNBA's 1935 Exhibition.

6 After his death, his wife, also a painter, decided to recycle the canvas and painted some more palm trees over the sensual Venus so only a jungle landscape remained.

so that one can really evaluate *African Art*, an art that is so curious, so ingenuous and sincere that it ended up being a complete triumph, among all the others, at the Paris Colonial Exhibition.¹

He returned to Lisbon and in 1935 held his last exhibition at the SNBA. Here, out of the forty-nine works exhibited, the theme of Africa was overwhelmingly in the majority and ruled supreme. The critics were generous:

Menezes Ferreira can consider himself a modern artist (...) The landscapes and customs of Africa (...) are unlike those of anyone else and besides the drawing — an essential quality in a painter — have that plasticity and that self-assurance that attest to a defined technique.²

Another critic said of the exhibition:

The drawing at times comes to have the arabesque, the sumptuousness, the parallelism of tapestry, in the vivid colours of enamel, in a wholly perfect stylisation (...). In his landscapes and people of Africa, the earth appears burnt as if drenched in blood with an oasis of intense vegetable life. *A Floresta* [The Forest] is a masterpiece. Man is shown in a paradise-like innocence, helping and working alongside the 'white man' in a brotherhood of effort that is ultimately the secret of our colonisation.³

According to the catalogue, Menezes Ferreira also exhibited canvasses in this show with such titles as *Papaieira (Moçambique)* [Papaya tree, Mozambique], *Fortaleza de Mombaça* [Fort of Mombasa], *Zanzibarista*

[Zanzibari], *Padrão no Zaire* [Marker Stone in Zaire] and *Prôa à Índia* [Sailing to India] thus showing how his portrayal of the empire had spread into other fields.

He had a future project, the *Álbum do Império Português de Além-Mar* [The Album of the Overseas Portuguese Empire], but death intervened before it was completed. «This comprised a series of watercolours and gouaches on paper that were a logical continuation of the works done in Portugal 'from memory' that had been published earlier»,⁴ painted by one who it might be said was a true and committed defender of the Portuguese colonial empire.

PANCHO GUEDES

Pancho Guedes, architect, sculptor and painter, lived between São Tomé e Príncipe, Guinea, Lisbon, Lourenço Marques, Johannesburg and Porto. He described his Luso-Mozambique style of painting as «a hybrid art invented by me, a Portuguese citizen resident in Mozambique».⁵

In 1961 he organised the 1st Malangata-na Exhibition in the Economic Activities Building — Guedes had allowed his house to be used by Malangata as a studio the previous year. In the same year he also organised a «Summer School» involving the painter Maluda, amongst others.

In the following year (1962), Pancho Guedes participated in the 1st International Congress of African Culture, held in Salisbury (today Harare, Zimbabwe), organised by Frank McEwen (1907-1994) to discuss the aesthetics of contemporary art. Portugal had been invited to participate but it declined, supposedly for lack of time.⁶ In fact, the metropole had been grappling with other more urgent matters as the colonial war had erupted the previous year

in Angola, monopolizing attention and resources. Nevertheless, Pancho managed to get support from the Lourenço Marques Tourist Board to transport his works and a large group of marimba players from Zavala. Numerous delegates were present, including representatives of western museums, like Alfred Barr (1902-1991) of MoMA and William Fagg (1914-1992) of the British Museum, who took the opportunity to acquire works that they later exhibited back home. The Ford Foundation was the main sponsor of the event, a collaboration that had not come out of the blue since this was the time of the Cold War.

After the end of the Second World War, the world had suffered profound transformations, leading to the rapid disintegration of the European empires as the priority was reconstructing a Europe in ruins and so the scarce resources were employed at home. The USA had integrated Europe into the capitalist economy through the Marshall Plan (a way of containing communism), while at the same time assuming

an anticolonial stance — an orientation shared by the other super-power, the USSR. This political *pas-de-deux* between two spheres of influence affected decolonisation at various levels, particularly because both the USA and the USSR sought to export their models of political organization to the countries recently emerging from colonialism, particularly in Africa and Asia. Thus, this 1st Congress was designed to enable the newly independent states to become aware of the new reality at a time when opposition to apartheid was intensifying. This convergence of interests and attentions attracted art specialists from all over the world, contributing to the promotion and elevation of African artistic production.

As regards Pancho Guedes' intervention in the event, we might recall the words of Pat Pearce (1912-2006), a Rhodesian artist and collaborator with Frank McEwen, who described the artist as «one of the most interesting events in the congress», adding that he «had grasped the very essence of

1 Menezes Ferreira, «Arte Negra» in *Ilustração*. n.º 6, Ano VII, Lisboa, Bertrand, 16.3.1932, pp. 14-15.

2 Catalogue Menezes Ferreira, *Capitão das Artes*. Lisboa, Câmara Municipal, Museu Bordalo Pinheiro, 2014, pp. 252-253.

3 A. P. «Menezes Ferreira numa galeria brilhante apresenta os seus trabalhos» in *Diário de Lisboa* de 14.06.1935, p. 7.

4 From a statement by João Menezes Ferreira's grandsons to the author on 20.5.2018 and 16.6.2018.

5 Pancho Guedes, catálogo *VITRUVIUS MOZAMBICANUS*. Lisbon, MCB, 2009, p. 47.

6 Alda Costa, *Arte em Moçambique. Entre a construção da nação e o mundo sem fronteiras 1932-2004*. Lisbon, Seebo, 2013, p. 191.

African culture, just as Picasso had done before, but in a more intense way».¹

Of the words spoken by Guedes on the occasion, the following passage is worth citing:

Here (in Salisbury), in Nigeria, Ibadan, Khartoum, Lourenço Marques and Johan-

nesburg, something is stirring, something that I believe will bring change to art, something that will transform painting (...). It is a thing that comes originally from Europe and which is now being returned to Europe and America from Africa. It is a very simple, direct style of painting, and I think that it will be very profitable for the rest of modern

art — for other contemporary artists all over the world.²

Tristan Tzara (1896-1963), who was present at the congress, was enthusiastic about Pancho Guedes and postponed his return in order to travel to Lourenço Marques to see his work.

¹ Pat Pearce, mentioned in the catalogue *As Áfricas de Pancho Guedes*. Lisbon, CML, 2010, p. 46.

² Words of Pancho Guedes during this speech at the opening session of the Congress. See the catalogue *As Áfricas de Pancho Guedes*. Lisbon CML, 2010, p. 230.

FAUSTO SAMPAIO. THE PAINTER OF THE PORTUGUESE EMPIRE

As mentioned above, it was during the period of the *Estado Novo* that art became connected to the political power in a unique way, serving as an instrument of propaganda and indoctrination for the nation and the Empire. However, this relationship was not always considered and defined *a priori*; it even happened that in the case of the well-regarded «Painter of the Portuguese Empire», this resulted from an unusual personal artistic journey which was only taken advantage of *a posteriori* as a pictorial «showcase» of an overseas territory almost unknown to the majority of the metropolitan population. This means that there had not been any prior political intention to encourage a Portuguese painter to travel to the overseas provinces but rather a subsequent exploitation of his colonial plastic output. This makes all the difference when it comes to cataloguing an artist's work, forcing one to think about it beyond the reductive labels of political alignment or commitment. In fact, as we shall see, Fausto Sampaio's viatic journey was due above all else to his desire to set off and record the Portuguese colonial experience, and not due to an overseas journey planned beforehand and subsidised by the *Estado Novo* — although that did not stop it being appropriated by Salazar's government.

In 1926, encouraged by Columbano (1857-1929), José Malhoa (1855-1933) and José de Sousa Pinto (1856-1936),¹ Fausto Sampaio² left for Paris where he enrolled

in the Académie Julien, under the direction of Laurens. He visited museums and galleries and the following year, in 1927, he attended the Académie Renard where he was taught by Émile Renard. During his years in Paris, he submitted works for the 1928 and 1929 *Salons* and his paintings were accepted for exhibition. On his return to Lisbon in 1929, he held an individual exhibition at the Salão Bobone where he sold all his exhibited works, some thirty-nine canvasses in all.

Then in 1934 he returned to Paris to enrol in the Académie La Grande Chaumière and allowed himself to be influenced by the plastic quality of the paintings of Edouard Manet (1832-1883) and by the vibrant light of the exotic canvasses of Eugène Delacroix (1789-1863), Paul Klee (1879-1940), Pierre-Auguste Renoir (1841-1919), Henri Matisse (1869-1954) and Paul Gauguin (1848-1903). Their power would travel with him on his colonial journey which was just about to begin.

Later in the year 1934 he set sail for São Tomé, establishing his first contact with the Portuguese colonial empire in a sojourn that would last for some months and from which resulted his first exhibition at the *Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes* (SNBA) in 1935.³

In a laudatory text on the occasion of this São Tomé series, Lopo Vaz de Sampaio e Melo (1848-1892),⁴ a professor at the *Escola Colonial* [Colonial School] went so

far as to call him «the **first** national artist who knew how to see the colonial atmosphere».⁶ Using the painter's artistic journey, Sampaio e Melo developed a strategy for colonial propaganda and the political dissemination of art whereby painting assumed the role of an instrument used to form both an awareness of empire and the «Lusitanian character» in terms of race and identity.

The pigments Sampaio chose and the tonalities he reproduced highlight the care he took in his figurative representation of the tropics, the people and landscapes, captured by an eye that observed the exoticism of customs that were strange and far removed from the metropolitan reality. The power of this evocation was so strong that the *Agência Geral das Colónias* bought *Fruta da Terra*,⁷ *Batuque de Moçambicanos*⁸ and *Pérola do Cacau*,⁹ three of the pictures from the São Tomé series mentioned above.¹⁰

Later, the artist would once again call upon his images of São Tomé in a series of drawings he did to complement a text entitled *Outras Terras, Outras Gentes* [Other Lands, Other Peoples] by Henrique Galvão (1895-1970). In this series, what stands out is the graphic treatment achieved through parallel vertical lines that, varying in thickness and concentration, manage to mould the forms in terms of both light and volume. It is almost as if it were pointillism but using vertical lines instead of dots. This

1 Maria José Sampaio, *Macau que Fausto Sampaio sentiu: o pintor Fausto Sampaio e a sua obra*. Lisboa, M.M., 1992, p. 11.

2 Fausto Sampaio attended the Instituto Araújo Porto in the city of the same name from the age of eight, later becoming a boarder at Casa Pia in Lisbon where he had drawing and painting classes.

3 In addition to São Tomé motifs he also exhibited paintings of Paris and Portugal, namely of Batalha, Estarreja, Gerês, Leiria, Nazaré, Tondela and Rio Sul.

4 Professor at the Escola Superior Colonial where he was in charge of the following subjects: Portuguese Colonisation, Administration and Legislation, Indigenous Policies, and Ethnology and Ethnography.

5 Author's bold.

6 Lopo Vaz de Sampaio e Melo, «A Arte ao Serviço do Império», *O Mundo Português*. Vol. II, n.º 24, Dezembro 1935, p. 431. A phrase later repeated on the occasion of the artist's 1942 exhibition at the Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes. Lopo Vaz de Sampaio e Melo, «A arte ao serviço do império», Fausto Sampaio, pintor do ultramar português. Lisboa, Agência Geral das Colónias, 1942, p. 26.

7 Exposição retrospectiva de Fausto Sampaio. Pinturas do Ultramar. Lisboa, Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1973, n.p.

8 Teresa Matos Pereira, *Uma travessia da colonialidade. Intervisualidades da pintura, Portugal e Angola*. Lisboa, FBA, 2011, p. 217.

9 Lopo Vaz de Sampaio e Melo, «A arte ao serviço do império», Fausto Sampaio, pintor do ultramar português. Lisboa, Agência Geral das Colónias, 1942, p. 26.

10 According to the catalogue of the Exposição retrospectiva de Fausto Sampaio. Pinturas do Ultramar, Lisboa, Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1973, the Agência Geral das Colónias (later do Ultramar) also bought *Tipo de Nativa* (São Tomé, 1935), *No bazar* (Macau, 1936), *Avenida Almeida Ribeiro à noite*, *Farmácia China* (Macau, 1936), *Manhã nevoenta*, *Uma boa cachimbada*, *Vista da Praia Grande* (all from Macau, 1937), *A caminho do poço*, *Baía de D. Paula*, *Capelinha em Margão*, *Castelo de Díu: Forte do mar e Gogolá*, *Fortaleza da Aguada*, *Machim e Machana*, *No Varadouro*, *Rua dos Banianes*, *Templos: conventos e ruínas*, *Portas de entrada do castelo* (all from Índia, 1944).

technique, which required great graphic mastery, also became known as dip pen [*Bico de Pena*] drawing allowing the thick and thin effect of the lines to give the drawing volume.

In 1936, he accepted an invitation from his brother, Carlos Sampaio, the Head of Civil Administration for the Colony of Macau, and left for the Orient. During his year in Macau, Sampaio organised drawing and painting classes and it was at this time that he began to sign his pictures with a Chinese brush.

In the pictures he painted there, «the old China, ancient, mysterious and distressing, is evoked (...), fragments of the faraway colony in the East. Fausto Sampaio's journey to China was like an artistic embassy that Portugal sent to the ancient Middle Kingdom».¹

The painter produced pictorial works that roamed between panoramic views of the city and the people and their ethnographic customs, which were far removed from those of Europeans, even though he always kept within the familiarity of non-defined figurative contours. However, quick impressionistic brushstrokes began to become more dominant in his work, with him managing to reproduce the hustle and bustle of the Macau streets as well as the stillness of the seascapes and the interiors of local everyday life. In a purely pictorial expression — before becoming a figurative image — this type of brushstroke would be repeated years later on his tour of the lands of Portugal. In a clear idealisation of the nation's unity, Sampaio would achieve pictorially the cohesion of an empire that stretched «from Minho to Timor».²

On the first floor of the Rua do Campo, the artist founded a school that brought Chinese and Portuguese students together and then in 1937 he held an exhibition in Macau in which he showed forty-two oils and six charcoal portraits.

In the same year, 1937, Sampaio travelled to Timor and some islands in Indonesia, visiting Dili, Baucau and Makassar. Later that year, he exhibited some works in the Town Hall in Dili that reflected the «acceptance of the objectives of a nationalist spirit (...) as seen from images of Portuguese lands in the East».³

In 1939, the Timor series was shown at the SNBA in the capital of the Portuguese empire where they were very enthusiastically received. Álvaro de Fontoura (1891-1975), the Governor of Timor, said that «in his paintings there is not the slightest exaggeration, neither in the tones nor in the colour, since he has reproduced everything faithfully».⁴ Along with other places, Sampaio painted the bay of Dili, the town and waterfalls of Baucau (at that time called Vila Salazar), the plain between Era and Manatuto, the Laçlo Valley, Mount Libânia and the town of Hatolia (at that time Vila Celestino da Silva). However, he did not only do landscapes; he also portrayed local personages such as *Uma das rainhas de Timor* (a village chief) and *O Régulo Dom Aleixo Corte Real*.

Holding his Makassar sword, Dom Aleixo is portrayed wearing a small Latin cross over the gold moon, which shows the Anadia artist's attention to detail. In fact, it was the constant care he took with details of the representation and figuration that earned him the eulogy at the end of Álvaro Fontoura's speech that «Fausto Sampaio is unique in his art».⁵

In 1944, the artist also began a cultural pilgrimage through India, visiting Goa, Dadra, Nagar Haveli, Daman and Diu. The former Portuguese provinces were represented through their ruined fortresses and churches and shown in one hundred and fifteen canvasses and sixteen drawings exhibited at the SNBA in 1945. The artist's pen and ink drawings that appear scattered throughout the catalogue of the *Estado*

da Índia [State of India] Exhibition show a technique he had probably learnt in the lands of the East.

In 1954, the show *Assuntos da Índia* [Indian Affairs] was held in the exhibition room of the *Secretariado Nacional de Informação* (SNI) [National Secretariat for Information] in Palácio Foz in Lisbon. The pictures, painted on his tour of Portuguese India in 1944, depict landscapes and portraits from Diu, Daman and Goa.⁶

It is important to remember that, at the time of this exhibition, the political tensions between Portugal and the Indian Union were becoming more critical. Ever since 1950 the Indian Union had been formally demanding that the «Portuguese State of India» be integrated into its territory. As Fernando de Pamplona (1909-1989) pointed out: «Now that Portuguese India is in danger and has suffered unacceptable aggression from Hindu imperialism, the artist, obeying a noble patriotic imperative, wished to bring before our eyes a collection of canvasses that speak to us of these Portuguese lands which are so far away yet so close to our hearts in these uncertain times of national provocation».⁷

It is important to say that Fausto Sampaio's exhibition at the SNBA was part of a much wider series of events that counted on the support of the government despite the 1950s being a problematic decade for national politics. There was, for instance, the trip made by the minister Sarmiento Rodrigues (1899-1979) to the Portuguese provinces of India, Timor and Macau in 1952 on board the *Índia*, a ship that inaugurated with this voyage a regular route between Lisbon and Macau with a stopover in Mormugão, Goa,⁸ and there was also the Portuguese Art Exhibition held in London in 1955-56 which was an «art exhibition, a political exhibition».⁹ Not only were the consequences of the British government having given India her independence in

1 Américo Jorge, *Macau que Fausto Sampaio sentiu: o pintor Fausto Sampaio e a sua obra*. Lisboa, M.M., 1992, pp. 21-27.

2 One of the slogans that gained ground in the 1960s in Portugal at a time when the nationalist movements of various African countries were growing and the international community was pressuring Salazar's government to abandon the empire.

3 Maria de Aires Silveira, *Fausto Sampaio, Viagens no Oriente*. Fundação Oriente, Lisboa, 2009, p. 15.

4 Álvaro de Fontoura, *Fausto Sampaio, pintor do ultramar português*. Lisboa, Agência Geral das Colónias, 1942, p. 51.

5 *Idem*, p. 72.

6 It is worth saying that of the 115 canvasses in this exhibition, 9 referred to Mozambique (Niassa and Lourenço Marques), painted during his stay in South Africa in 1946.

7 Fernando de Pamplona, «Paisagens e Tipos da Índia Portuguesa na Pintura de Fausto Sampaio» in *Diário da Manhã*, 11.11.1954, p. 4.

8 Barradas de Oliveira, *Roteiro do Oriente na viagem do Ministro do Ultramar, comandante Sarmiento Rodrigues às províncias portuguesas da Índia, Timor e Macau, no ano de 1952*. Lisboa, Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1953, p. 11; *Relação da Primeira Viagem do Ministro do Ultramar às Províncias do Oriente 1952*. Vol. 2, Lisboa, Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1953.

9 Maria Amélia Fernandes, *A Exposição de Arte Portuguesa em Londres 1955/56*. Vol. I, Lisboa, FL, 2001, p. 14.

1947 being felt but there were also concerns about the aspiration of the newly independent India to incorporate the Portuguese territory. What was of even greater importance though was the fact that in 1955 Portugal had been accepted as a member of the United Nations where it was becoming increasingly difficult to defend maintaining its overseas empire.

In 1946, a last intercontinental trip took him to Africa once again, but this time to South Africa. There he painted portraits and landscapes, and more than eighty canvasses were shown in exhibitions in Johannesburg and later in Lourenço Marques (now Maputo). The paintings in this series were exhibited in 1948 at the SNBA, mixed in with others showing the Portuguese islands, India, Macau, Paris, São Tomé and Timor. The following year, in 1949, a new exhibition in the Salão Silva Porto in Oporto provided another opportunity to exhibit the Johannesburg canvasses.

Based on the idea proposed by the Colonial Act of a «multiracial pluricontinental empire», it became urgent to create the conditions necessary for there to be a corresponding plastic image that would help people «see» this distant mythical territory. This aspiration was achieved through exhibiting the works of Fausto Sampaio and making them known to the public.

Where did this happen? This took place during the important commemorations of the Double Centenary of 1940 [the founding of the nation (1140) and the restoration of independence (1640)]. The event that became known as the *Grande Exposição do Mundo Português* [Great Exhibition of the Portuguese World] did not forget to provide a special place for the representation of the colonial empire. The event was the expression of a major documentary of civilisation that commemorated eight hundred years of independence and three hundred years since the restoration of independence from Spain. It brought light to Lisbon and especially the area of Belém, and was in marked contrast to the foreign political reality that was marked by the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and the Second World War (1939-1945), crises from which Portugal

remained officially detached. It should be remembered that the Salazarist regime had been architecting a whole line of historical and patriotic legitimisation events which highlighted the triumphal moments of the nation's past and of which the maritime discoveries and the building of the colonial empire were the jewels in the crown, and thus continually on show. As a result, the representations referring to the lands beyond the seas had the right to their own section, installed in the Tropical Garden, where the players were the indigenous peoples of the Portuguese colonies. This colonial section consisted of five pavilions (which represented the overseas territories) and two streets (from Macau and India) which gave the space a picturesque and exotic feel in a clearly fictionalised appropriation of the overseas possessions.

The cover of the colonial section's catalogue reproduced one of Fausto Sampaio's Macau paintings¹ and the following text appeared in the preface:

It seems to us to be in our greatest interest to create a school of Portuguese Colonial Art — the first in the last hundred years — not with the intent to resolve that huge problem but with the sincere desire to foment the interest that it could and should create.

Portuguese art does not bear a nationalist stamp — such a stamp that could and should be the reason for its originality. It merely finds here and there the support and effort of one or other artist whose creative spirit seeks to react against its internationalism — or rather, against its lack of defined expression. We write in the French way, we paint in the Spanish way, we build in the American way — but neither in the form nor in the motifs, neither in the technique nor in the inspiration is this so for the artists are Portuguese (...).

In fact, we can not see or understand any Portuguese art which has no overseas inspiration, no intervention from the colonies. It is overseas where our artists have to find the nationalist features of their art and the distinct stamp of their originality — because the fundamental elements of its greatness form part of the physiognomy of the Nation.

Unfortunately, our colonies have not been visited by artists. We can point to a Jorge Barradas, painting for some weeks in São Tomé and later showing — through his works — that the time he had was not sufficient to see and feel the island — and to a Fausto Sampaio, whose dedication and personal sacrifice is providing us with the first great and valuable artistic documentary of the Empire.

And so a decision has been taken to cultivate among the artists of the Colonial Section an appreciation of the motifs of Portuguese Colonial Art and to form the beginnings of a School that might well also be a school of Nationalist Art.

The public shall say whether these ideas have been achieved. The author has sought to give them the most extensive and widest practical projection, judging that the interests of the Nation would thus be best served.²

However, Galvão's wish that national artists should visit and paint the colonies took some time to materialise and, in its absence, a visual idealisation of the empire was created. Hence the work produced by Fausto Sampaio until then was extensively used to give colour to the area reserved for the Empire. A nucleus of ninety-one of his pictures figured as a «showcase» and a colourful album of the far distant places imagined by a population who were ignorant of the Empire. Forty had been painted in Macau, twenty-six in São Tomé, twenty-two in Timor, two in Makassar and one in Singapore. This was art assuming the role of a visual compromise between the ideology of the regime and the evocation of the distant colonial empire.

The Rua de Macau, including an arch that can still be seen today in the Tropical Botanical Garden in Belém, was a typical street from the old colony in the East «with all the colour, movement, picturesqueness and the most important features that characterise it».³

In this street — built to resemble Sampaio's painting *Rua 5 de Outubro* — was the Colonial Pavilion inside which a wide range of documentation, several commercial establishments, a Fan-Tan lottery

1 Rua 5 de Outubro, Macau.

2 Preface by Henrique Galvão, *Exposição do Mundo Português de 1940. Secção Colonial*, Lisboa, Neogravura, 1940, s.p.

3 *Catálogo da Exposição do Mundo Português, Secção Colonial*. Lisboa, Neogravura, 1940, p. 277.

house, a pagoda temple and houses of the colony's local people were on show. In a workshop recreated for the purpose, there were artisans who had come from Macau who worked in cedar and camphor wood; outside the workshop rickshaws carrying passengers went by. On the first floor of a special building next to the Colonial Pavilion, the «Fausto Sampaio Room» was installed in homage to the artist who had lent his paintings to the exhibition and «who is the first painter in the History of Portuguese Imperial Art who, on his own initiative, went to the colonies with the aim of undertaking a major artistic documentary of the Empire through painting».¹ There were also pictures by Fausto Sampaio dotted around the pavilion of the Colony of Macau, in the Pagoda and in the Pi-Pa-Chai Music Room, and in the pavilion of the Island Colonies (Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Timor) in the São Tomé Room and in the Timor Room as well as in the Exhibition Director's office.

The critics, more concerned with being in line with the regime than in producing any serious artistic analysis, showed their nationalist leanings, thereby reducing the scope of their work. For example, take the title of the book of lectures presented on the occasion of the 1942 exhibition in the SNBA which called Sampaio «the painter of overseas Portugal». What must certainly have pleased the critics and contributed to a clear identification between the position of the State and the work of Sampaio was the fact that his appropriation of the overseas universe was not only thematic (colonial atmospheres) but also plastic (academic naturalism with a touch of impressionism) with no trace of tension between them. As Maria de Aires Silveira said in the catalogue *Fausto Sampaio, Viagens no Oriente*, «the colour and formal content of his foreign canvasses contrasted with the grey national backdrop, based on the image as presented in newspapers, films and

documentaries, all in black and white».² In fact, the visual chromatic impact of Fausto Sampaio's pictures brought colour to the monochrome taciturn national landscape as he brought his impressions of his travels overseas to life through colour.

Matos Sequeira, in an article in the newspaper *O Século*, refers to «the power of the artist who was able to capture and spiritualise those distant homes that were linked only by the Portuguese spirit».³ By this he meant that the Portuguese presence was palpable and concrete in the overseas territories. Sequeira's article ends with the promise that «the State will not fail in its duty towards the service provided by the artist and will purchase his paintings. It is necessary that it buys the artist himself in the good and honest meaning of the phrase. Fausto Sampaio, instead of travelling through the Empire at his own expense, should do so at the Government's expense. Nobody asked us for this; it is our conscience that requests it», meaning that the Portuguese presence was real in those far distant places.

According to Américo Jorge, his work was «an artistic ambassador that Portugal, this New Portugal in its upward movement towards renewal, sent to the old Middle Kingdom»,⁴ referring to the colonial ethnographic fidelity that Sampaio reproduced in his Macau pictures, thus rendering «good service to the Empire's propaganda».⁵

In the early 1940s his work received special prominence, reiterating his role as a painter of the overseas territories, especially after two exhibitions: the 1940 one (in the colonial section of the *Grande Exposição do Mundo Português*) and the 1942 one (in the SNBA). Later there was the 1954 SNI one and a retrospective exhibition (1973).

In an article that appeared in the magazine *Viagem*, António Montês (1896-1967) called him «the painter of the Empire»,

praising him for his «Portuguesism» and for the artistic and documentary value of his work with its truly patriotic flavour, and saying that «it is a genuine source of pride for all the Portuguese» and that his paintings are «a precious album of the Portuguese Empire».⁶

As for Américo Chaves de Almeida, he relates Gilberto Freyre's Luso-tropicalism with Fausto Sampaio's work, highlighting the faithfulness of his artistic «interpretation»⁷ to the «reciprocal exchange of cultures and not the dominance of one over the other».⁸

Even though his travel painting incorporated fragments in line with the discourse of empire, this did not make it any less valid or relevant. In fact, the artist, who died on April 4th, the same day as he was born, lived for most of his 53 years elaborating a pictorial album which lasted beyond the end of the empire, showing that his work justified itself and did not need any political or ideological validation. Before committing himself to the Empire, Fausto Sampaio was committed to painting. His representation of the overseas lands led to the construction of a view of a nationalist and colonialist nature which, in a certain way, reflected the *Estado Novo's* imperialist propaganda but did not, however, limit itself to this. Using an artistic language that was heir to the best representatives of Portuguese naturalism — Fausto Sampaio was born in the year that Silva Porto, one of the founders of Portuguese naturalism, died — the painter produced a 'classically inspired'⁹ pictorial cartography of both overseas and home territories that endured for a long time even after the dismantling of the colonial empire. The conceptual support behind his painting is not therefore limited to mere art bound to the regime: it has its own worth *per se* as a representation of an overseas era and a colonial space which are linked in a Luso-tropical discourse of paint and have survived in

1 Idem, p. 278.

2 Maria de Aires Silveira, *Catálogo Fausto Sampaio, Viagens no Oriente*. Fundação Oriente, Lisboa, 2009, p. 17.

3 Matos Sequeira, «A exposição do pintor Fausto Sampaio» in *O Século*, 5.12.1939, p. 2.

4 Américo Jorge, «A China que Fausto Sampaio sentiu», *Fausto Sampaio. Pintor do ultramar português*. Agência Geral das Colónias, Lisboa, 1942, p. 17.

5 Francisco Machado, in the opening note to the artist's 1942 exhibition, *Fausto Sampaio. Pintor do ultramar português*. Agência Geral das Colónias, Lisboa, 1942, p. 7.

6 António Montês, «Fausto Sampaio. Pintor do Império», *Viagem, Revista de Turismo, Divulgação e Cultura*. dir. Carlos D'Ornellas, Ano XIII, n.º 135, Janeiro de 1952, p. 8.

7 Américo Chaves de Almeida, *Macau que Fausto Sampaio sentiu: o pintor Fausto Sampaio e a sua obra*. Lisboa, M.M., 1992, pp. 129-133.

8 Idem, p. 129.

9 In the sense that its plasticity was dissimilar to the «moderns».

the artistic-cultural hybridity of post-coloniality. «His paintings, where his spatula works with dollops of paint, making them highly expressive, and all superfluous detail disappears»¹ constitute a rare oeuvre documenting the overseas lands of the Portuguese empire. The artist compiled a sort of pictorial dossier of the Empire and his palette brings us the atmospheres of Africa, Asia and Europe with an intuitive perception of light and colour that characterises an artistic output divided between landscape and portraiture, most produced using paint but also some pen and ink drawings. Between his background in naturalism and his passion for Impressionism, Fausto Sampaio became the interpreter of an overseas aesthetic enjoying an unusual versatility that flows beyond the canvasses and endures in their perpetual nature.

Sampaio's work is an album of colonial Portugal and a documentary of painting. It illustrates what Reinaldo dos Santos (1880-1970) claimed some time before when he said that «art does not only express the Empire in the sense that it conveys its greatness (...) but it expresses the Empire in terms of the consequences of its expansion, in the discovery of new aspects of nature, men and customs».² He refers to art as the realisation of something that is truly capable of assimilating the empire's hybridity, a reflection of the sensibility of national artists towards the new conquered

lands. Reiterating this idea, consider what Lopo Vaz de Sampaio e Melo said at a conference in the *Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes* back in 1935:³

The intervention of art, as a consequence or cause in the imperial expansion, is a double-edged sword that promotes, in the direction of uniformity, the phenomenon of exchanges of motifs and processes between the artistic manifestations of the metropole and the different parts of the Empire, and can be considered under different aspects. One of them, the most important for me, is that of the great services that Art can provide to the Empire, competing admirably through the dissemination and pictorial or plastic description of the Empire's charms (...) to clarify minds about the worth and the possibilities of the Empire, to intensify and generalise a great interest in the colonies in the national spirit. In a word, to tighten and strengthen imperial ties. But there are many aspects of the problem that it is legitimate, interesting and may be convenient to consider. Thus, while it is interesting to examine the influence the exotic motifs might come to exercise on imperial art, no less interesting and which should be considered too are the fundamental alterations, or simply improvements, or the new orientations that the influence of metropolitan art might inevitably have on the indigenous arts of the overseas colonies.⁴

A hearing problem when he was a young child led to Fausto Sampaio becoming deaf. What for others would have been a disadvantage was for him an advantage that allowed him to plunge into a silent world free from the distractions of sound. «Enclosed within his own world, only his eyes became used to communicating with life (...) and from this isolation was born a poet of colour».⁵ He was «totally detached from everything, living intensely only the emotion of inspiration».⁶ Consequently, he could channel all his senses and attention towards light and colour, which allowed him to hone his unusual sensibility and which produced works of an uncommon popular nature.

The evocative power of Fausto Sampaio's canvasses might well come from his being a traveller, which above all else defines him as a reader of the world. «Although given the opportunity to be able to hear again, Fausto Sampaio chose to remain in his world of silence in order to be able to continue to paint».⁷ He continued to give himself over totally to painting, which perhaps shows how true his commitment was not only to the identity and history of metropolitan Portugal but above all to a multicultural art that honours him as a rare painter of the Portuguese overseas.

1 Mário de Carvalho, *Exposição retrospectiva de Fausto Sampaio. Pinturas do Ultramar*. Lisboa, Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1973, n.p.

2 Reinaldo dos Santos, «O império português e a arte», *Conferências de Arte*. Lisboa, *Gazeta dos Caminhos de Ferro*, 1941, pp. 21-22.

3 Lopo Vaz de Sampaio e Melo, «A Arte ao Serviço do Império», *O Mundo Português*. Vol. II, n.º 24, Dezembro 1935, p. 431.

4 Lopo Vaz de Sampaio e Melo «A arte ao serviço do império», *Fausto Sampaio. Pintor do Ultramar Português*. Lisboa, Agência Geral das Colónias, 1942, pp. 32-33.

5 C. C. *Notícias* (Lourenço Marques), 23.4.1944, *Exposição retrospectiva de Fausto Sampaio. Pinturas do Ultramar*. Lisboa, Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1973, n.p.

6 Mário de Carvalho, *Exposição retrospectiva de Fausto Sampaio. Pinturas do Ultramar*. Lisboa, Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1973, n.p.

7 According to his daughter, Maria José Sampaio, in a statement to the author on 19.8.2016.

PICTORIAL NOTES OF COLONIALITY

*We, the Portuguese (artists), continue
and will continue outside our dream,
knowing nothing... and understanding even less
of this world that for centuries
we have been revealing to the world itself.*

DIOGO DE MACEDO

Throughout the 20th century there were numerous artists who represented the colonies but who did not keep up a continuous creative output, or rather, they did not prolong their output of colonial influence but only sporadically recorded this overseas universe.

In the odd instance, the regime gave a political dimension to the arts, namely to

painting, through sponsorship: such was the case of Isabel Areosa, who exhibited in the SNI's Studios in 1946,¹ and Pedro Cruz who travelled to Africa sponsored by this same official entity and who afterwards presented the result of this journey in an exhibition in 1953.² However, here too there lacked any long-term dynamic to eventually support any continuous artistic creation.

As a result, these two official exhibitions and the ephemeral notes of some painters of the Portuguese colonial universe only had a momentary impact and so they never in fact ended up being true painters of the empire.

ALMADA NEGREIROS

Although Almada Negreiros (1873-1970) was born in São Tomé, at the time a Portuguese colony, this fact does not appear to have been of any major importance in his work. This is despite (or maybe indeed because of) the fact that his father, António Lobo de Almada Negreiros, had been the administrator of the municipal area of São Tomé and left São Tomé when he was entrusted by the government in Lisbon with the task of organising both the Pavilion of the Portuguese Colonies at the Paris World Exhibition in 1900 and the Portuguese representation at the 1906 Colonial Exhibition, also in Paris.³

Almada lost his mother at an early age and grew up far from his father. Although he never returned to São Tomé or visited any other territory in the Portuguese empire, he refers to the empire in a couple of pictorial works.

In 1940 he produced the stained-glass windows for the Colonisation Pavilion at the Exhibition of the Portuguese World, and shortly afterwards, he was chosen to paint the inside of the departure halls at the Alcântara and the Rocha do Conde de Óbidos passenger terminals. Almada painted frescoes in both terminals and finished the work only after they were inaugurated and in operation: the Alcântara one kept him busy from 1941 to 1945 and the Rocha do Conde de Óbidos one from 1946 to 1949. Even though the nautical theme predominates in all the panels of the triptychs — such as the reference to the voyages of the Discoveries in *A Nau Catrineta* [The 'Catrineta'] in the Alcântara terminal — the figure that is worth highlighting is found in the Rocha do Conde de Óbidos triptych and forms part of the narrative relating to embarkations from the quayside. The

fresco shows a black fishwife depicted in very graphic pictorial language where the colours are defined in blocks with no gradation in tones and with a sharply geometric design for the face and body with the outlines marked in thick lines. There are strong contrasts between light and shadow in which the face of the African girl portrayed appears almost like a mask. The figure is totally modern and accords with how the language of Cubism, which found a new lease of life in the post-war period, had evolved. Underpinning the frescoes in the terminals is also the statement that there is no mythification of the empire or the theme (the sea) linked to it.

In 1946, Almada participated in an exhibition of Black Art that was part of the *Semana de Arte Negra* [Black Art Week] organised by Ernesto de Sousa (1921-1988) with his collaboration and that of Diogo

1 «A primeira portuguesa que faz quadros de África expõe hoje no SNI» in *Diário Popular* 30.6.1946. Cited by Teresa Pereira, *Uma travessia da colonialidade. Intervisualidades da pintura, Portugal e Angola*. Lisboa, Faculdade de Belas-Artes, 2011, p. 201.

2 «A exposição de pintura de Pedro Cruz, no SNI, foi inaugurada pelo Ministro do Ultramar» in *Jornal do Comércio* 29.8.1953, p. 5.

3 With the proclamation of the Republic, the government in Lisbon appointed António Lobo de Almada Negreiros (1868-1939) as the person responsible for Portuguese propaganda services in Paris with the rank of vice-consul, a post from which he was removed in 1918 by the government of Sidónio Pais. After that he remained in the French capital but only as a journalist. Before that though, in 1895 he had published his magnum opus — a monograph entitled *História Etnográfica da Ilha de S. Tomé* [Ethnographic History of the Island of São Tomé], an important volume in the national colonial bibliography.

de Macedo in the *Escola Superior Colonial* [Higher Colonial School] in Lisbon.¹ This was the first exhibition of its kind in Portugal and on show, in a comparative perspective, were sculptures from Benin belonging

to the Lisbon Geographical Society and from Angola, Mozambique and Guinea as well as an original work by Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso (1887-1918), a drawing by Amedeo Modigliani (1884-1920),

reproductions by Henri Matisse and Pablo Picasso and a drawing by Almada Negreiros, now lost.

ÁLVARO CANELAS

Álvaro Canelas was a painter of popular customs with a naturalist heritage who had an irregular but diverse pictorial output, the fruit of his life as a traveller which took him to the territories of Angola, Mozambique, French Equatorial Guinea and Timor.

In 1941 he returned from Oceania with a series of works which he exhibited at the SNI. «Sad motifs, treated in an almost oriental way with a line that is sometimes as

delicate as a butterfly's antenna, sometimes as violent and as strong as a steel wire».² One critic commented in the article «Exposição de Álvaro Canelas e Álvaro Perdigão no estúdio do SPN» that «his gallery of Timorese figures are worth highlighting. They are flagrant in their exoticism which is so well transmitted, so well marked by his characteristic pencil strokes, ingenuous and almost childlike».³

In the same year he was invited to head

the Mission of the «Brigada de estudos artísticos e etnográficos» [Brigade for artistic and ethnographic studies] organised by the Museum of Angola on a field trip that resulted in a series of drawings and paintings in which the ethnographic element is particularly salient. In 1954, a posthumous exhibition of his African works with over a hundred drawings was held at the Museum of Angola in Luanda.

ANTÓNIO COSTA PINHEIRO

Imprisoned from 1964 to 1966 for opposing Salazar's regime, António Costa Pinheiro (1932-2015) produced around this time a series of canvasses entitled *Os Reis* [The Kings]. These allude to a symbolic mythology of the history of Portugal pointing to those individuals who had initiated an undertaking worthy of titans, heroes possessed of a rare courage, among whom the picture of Infante Dom Henrique [Prince Henry the Navigator] stands out. Even

though he was not a king, he was the driving force behind the Discoveries.

Thirty years later, Costa Pinheiro produced the *Navegadores* [Navigators] series which followed on thematically and continued his national mythographic inventory, but this time from the perspective of a nation of people who looked at the sea «with the complexes natural to a generation marked by the memory of the double failure of colonisation and

decolonisation».⁴ The *Navegadores* depict spectral self-portraits that are the antithesis of the powerful and robust kings of the previous series, thus showing the different artistic phases of one single artist.

Although these notes by António Costa Pinheiro cannot be considered a work of a colonial nature, they give a plastic view of the early days of the colonial empire.

BARTOLOMEU CID DOS SANTOS

The justification for including Bartolomeu Cid dos Santos (1931-2008) lies in the fact that this painter exhibited the first Portuguese work opposing the colonial war. The 1961 print entitled *Portuguese Men of War* was a precursor, in the sense that it was done at the start of the colonial war. Announcing and denouncing the demise of the various empires, it was probably the

first metaphor against Portuguese colonialism.

A dark jellyfish in the form of a Portuguese caravel appears transfigured in a ship full of argonauts, ploughing the depths of imminent war. The murky scene suggests a world of darkness where the only points of light are the small jellyfish which rise up like an army, in bad augury. Like spectres

on the prow, figures are now transformed into soldiers in a silent and grotesque apparition haunting the Portuguese who appear condemned to live in the past, *Portuguese Men of War* is a presage of the war in Angola soon to break out and has an oracular force.

1 An event held between 27 March and 3 April 1946 as part of the activities of the Students' Association of the Faculty of Sciences.

2 Albano Neves e Sousa, Álvaro Canelas, *Exposição Retrospectiva*. Luanda, Museu de Angola, 1954, p. 9.

3 *Diário de Notícias* 10.4.1941, p. 3.

4 Bernardo Pinto de Almeida, *Costa Pinheiro*. Lisboa, Caminho, 2006, p. 25.

JOÃO AUGUSTO SILVA

Born in Cape Verde, João Augusto Silva (1910-1990) was an official working for the colonial administration in Guinea, Angola and Mozambique as well as being a draughtsman and writer. In 1929 he held a joint exhibition with the painter and decorator Tom (Tomás de Melo).

In 1936, he won the 1st Colonial Literature Prize awarded by the *Agência Geral das Colónias* with his book *África — Da Vida e do Amor na Selva* [Africa — Of Life and Love in the Jungle] (with a preface by Eduardo Malta). The work was translated into French as *Grandes Chasses. Tourisme*

dans l’Afrique Portugaise and distributed at the International Exhibition of Paris in 1937.¹ What is remarkable in this work is the delicacy of the line with which he draws the animals of the African jungle using a stylized form that endows them with an unusual formal elegance. In fact, he later added an interest in science to his passion for art, publishing his own books and collaborating on others with his delicate drawings.

In 1936, he organised an exhibition of indigenous art in the UP Gallery. He returned to Africa as a colonial official from

the 1940s to 1960s and using a variety of illustrations by artists such as Stuart Carvalhais (1887-1961) and Jorge Barradas that he recovered from earlier publications of the *Agência Geral do Ultramar*, he collaborated on the illustrations of indigenous peoples in *Portugal no Ultramar* [Overseas Portugal], a two-volume patriotic work published in 1954 about the Portuguese presence in Africa.

JOÃO MARTINS DA COSTA

In 1946, João Martins da Costa (1921-2005) received a travel scholarship in the «Spring Salon» that enabled him to go and spend time in Spain and Italy. Then in 1947, at the invitation of Sarmiento Rodrigues, the governor of Guinea, he visited the colony with the aim of painting local subjects. The invitation turned into a scholarship offered by the *Centro de Estudos da Guiné* [Study Centre of Guinea] that allowed him to discover a colonial landscape that he would later depict in a series of paintings, watercolours and drawings that were then exhibited in Bissau, Porto and Lisbon.

He travelled out there on board the *Lunda*, a steamship belonging to the *Companhia Colonial de Navegação* which transported Allied troops in the Atlantic Ocean. Martins da Costa sailed along the African coast calling in at Cape Verde, «a rugged land».² According to his own account, he spent the rest of the days on the high seas drawing passengers and crew-members until he finally landed in his chosen destination. About equatorial Africa and Guinea-Bissau, of which he visited almost all, he wrote:

I lived with people of all races and creeds and with animals too. A place where I suffered tropical diseases, after having crossed the same ocean as our pioneering navigators and inhaled the same air and perfumes, and where I painted and exhibited for others what came to me through my senses and principally through my heart.³

In 1949, sponsored by the *Agência Geral do Ultramar*, Martins da Costa exhibited at the SNI *Aspectos e Tipos da Guiné Portuguesa* [Aspects and Peoples of Portuguese Guinea], an event which led to the following unsigned review in the *Diário de Lisboa*’s ‘Artistic Life’ column:

Guinea now has its own artistic physiognomy. This is proved by this exhibition which shows us not only the physical climate but also the indigenous customs through a series of paintings, watercolours and drawings which confirm most definitely the qualities of Martins da Costa.

Today Bissau has a museum where many of the works now exhibited in the Palácio Foz’s gallery will be shown. It must be one of the first art galleries in our overseas dominions, a fact that should please everyone.

One large painting dominates the event: it is number one, ‘Mercado Indígena’ [Local Market] which has a balanced composition in which the realism of the scene in no way detracts from the decorative flavour of the work. The naked flesh of the black women, their striking, pale garments, the decorative elements — ceramics, baskets, fruits — all painted in vivid colours blend harmoniously in a view that, one could say, symbolizes the work and fecundity of this our Atlantic colony.

Martins da Costa has succeeded in capturing the light of Guinea, different from that of the cold climates, as being greyish and misty from the heat and its greens, at times overwhelming, at others washed out, almost hazy, in the rainy season.

We should particularly point out ‘Coqueiros’ [Coconut Palms] which gives us a view of the town with some colonial-type houses.

Finally, this is an exhibition that can be considered a brilliant artistic event. Guinea has found its painter who has brought to our urban eyes not only its physical expression but also its light, its character and its soul.⁴

He received numerous awards throughout his career — in 1946, the Armando de

1 In addition to his passion for art, his interest in animals awoke a scientific curiosity in him which is what led him to publish two books, *Animais Selvagens: Contribuição para o Estudo da Fauna de Moçambique* (1956) and later, *O Comportamento dos Animais Perante o Homem* (1963). He was director of the Gorongosa National Park and later curator of the Lisbon Zoo, for which he published a *Guide* in 1977. He wrote a wonderful work on the Gorongosa, *Gorongosa: Experiências de um Caçador de Imagens* (1964), and one year later *Selva Maravilhosa: Histórias de Homens e Bichos*, a fictional narrative based on collected traditional Mozambican oral stories.

2 Martins da Costa «Uma viagem a Bissau» in Martins da Costa, *Contos Vividos*. Penacova, Câmara Municipal de Penacova, 2016, p. 190.

3 Martins da Costa, *Op Cit.*, p. 323.

4 «A exposição sobre motivos da Guiné do pintor Martins da Costa» in *Diário de Lisboa* 14.3.1949, p. 6.

Basto Award, in 1948, the António Carneiro Award, and in 1950, the Henrique Pousão Prize — and his pictures are to be found scattered throughout the four

corners of the world. What makes Martins da Costa's path different is the fact that he was one of the few artists supported by the State to portray the colonial atmosphere

of the overseas provinces, something that is worth highlighting because of its exceptional nature.

LUÍS JARDIM PORTELA

In the 1960s, Luís Jardim Portela (1931-2003), who had studied at ESBAL [Lisbon University's Fine Art School] and won the Malhoa Prize in 1952, moved to Luanda where he lived from 1966 to 1973. He was appointed curator of the Museum of Angola and, in the words of José de Guimarães:

It was Jardim who opened up the Museum of Luanda to contemporary art and less conformist exhibitions (...) helping to agitate the waters of the existing cultural swamp and allowing others to later find a greater

openness and acceptance of more advanced cultural projects».¹

Enamoured with the relation between African art and contemporary art, he promoted and organised lectures as well as exhibitions that travelled around the main cities in Angola. Besides this, he also produced frescoes and panels for a number of buildings in Luanda. He collaborated on newspapers and with the Angolan radio broadcasting service, took part in art salons and worked intensively on painting

and drawing following a cultural path that was rather unusual at the time.

His African painting shows a vigorous energy given by the line (or patches of colour) that considers only what is essential in a simple language of body and skin capable of reflecting, plastically, the substance of his Angolan experience. The figures, semi-undefined, play in the warm watercolours, transmitting their endemic strength through powerful musculature in which lies the power of a land of various colonial hues.

MALUDA

Maluda (1934-1999) was born in Panjim in Goa, in what was at that time the Portuguese State of India. She then went to live in Lourenço Marques (today Maputo) in 1948 where she began to paint.

In 1961, the Indian Army invaded Goa and the colonial war began in Africa. In the same year, Maluda took part in an exhibition with three other artists who called themselves «The Independents», a name that proved to foreshadow the quality that she fought to maintain and defend throughout her life as an artist. Until 1963,

»The Independents« organised one show a year.

In 1962 Maluda studied drawing and painting in Lisbon and two years later, in 1964, she returned to Lourenço Marques to do three panels inspired by Maconde designs for the Banco Nacional Ultramarino.

In the 1970s, she was invited to work again in Africa; in Lagos, Nigeria, she painted the portrait of Chief Lawson and in Libreville, Gabon, she painted the portrait of the Oil Minister. She also visited Abidjan in the Ivory Coast.

In the 1980s she returned to India and in the summer of 1998, at the time of the International Exhibition of Lisbon (Expo '98), the artist met the painter Malangatana (1936-2011) in the Mozambique Pavilion. In her own words, she said: «I came from the East, where the light is born; I passed through Africa, where I learnt to love life»² retaining in each work the memory of the vibrant colours of India and the huge open spaces of Africa.

MARCELINO VESPEIRA

In the 1950s, more specifically in 1956, Marcelino Vespeira (1925-2002) travelled to Africa for a six-month stay that would prove fundamental for the development of his painting and would leave its mark on his future work. He passed through Angola and then settled in Mozambique where he decorated a branch of the Industrial Fair, taking advantage of the opportunity to hold a joint exhibition. On the African

continent Vespeira, a surrealist artist, developed in greater depth «the sensual relationship of an abstract form that recalls the rhythms inspired by the stage shows he attended».³ He painted an indigenous Africa, not an imperial or mythic one.

Vespeira was primarily interested in tribal rhythms and dances but also in the skeletons of the ships he saw lying on the beaches of Lourenço Marques. In his work

Chiribibi (1956) he presents the embryonic genesis of a new need for formal expression that reproduces the rhythmic memory he retained of the festive manifestations of the tribes he visited. Africa compels him to this. In *Marimbeiros de Zavala* [Marimba players of Zavala] (1957) the contrast between the lines of the drawing and the background has become more emphatic, with the painter highlighting signs that are

1 José de Guimarães, Luís Jardim retrospectiva 1931-2003. Cascais, Centro Cultural de Cascais, 2003, pp. 14-15.

2 Review Galeria de Arte. n.º 5, Julho/Agosto de 1996.

3 David Santos, Catálogo Vespeira. Lisboa, Museu do Chiado, 2000, p. 223.

animated by a colour palette of warm tones — the tones of the African earth. As for the canvas *Figuras Negras* [Black Figures] (also from 1957), the colour and the forms are moving towards an unquestionably autonomous affirmation leading him gradually on the path to abstraction.

As a further reflection of the African influence, in 1957 *Vespeira* painted a long decora-

tive panel for Edmundo Pedro's shop 'Natolga' in Lisbon. Although now destroyed, this extremely wide, horizontal wooden panel presented a vibrant dynamic organisation of signs constructed in the movement and suggestion of tribal dances (...). This would be one of the last works where the black line is what provided the essential structure to the painting.¹

The same African-based graphic signage was found in his graphic works, for example, on the cover he did for Castro Soromenho's 1957 novel *Viragem* [Turning], part of the Camaxilo Trilogy that takes place in the colonial world. The African mask punctuated by anthropomorphic signs of primitive inspiration shows how much impact his colonial African journey had on his artistic output.

MARIA HELENA VIEIRA DA SILVA

Any account of painting in the colonial context needs to include a mention of the *História Trágico-Marítima* [Shipwreck] by Vieira da Silva (1908-1992) with its dual readings. Superficially, it evokes the 17th

century work by Bernardo Gomes de Brito (1688-1759) about shipwrecks of Portuguese warships in the era of the Discoveries, but she goes beyond this to express her own voyage into exile, to Brazil, which was

where the work was painted. This was in 1944, after having managed, with her husband Árpád Szenes (1897-1985), to evade the restrictions on Jewish emigration.

NUNO BARRETO

Until the 1980s, Nuno Barreto (1941-2009) divided his time between painting and giving classes in the Escola de Belas Artes [School of Fine Art] in Porto. He then left for Macau where he started a completely new phase in his painting exploring Portuguese-Asian themes. He lived in Macau for over twenty years, immersing himself in Macanese life. This is reflected in his work which explores Portuguese-Chinese themes and combines various artistic elements.

He was the main driving force behind the Escola de Artes Visuais [School of Visual Arts] inaugurated in 1989 which later became the actual Escola Superior de Artes [Higher School of Arts]. Much of his pictorial work produced in Macau can be found in official institutions in the current Macau Special Administrative Region and also in the city of Shanghai. It was during his time in Macau that his painting became better and more widely known, pointing out «the talent to capture the spirit of a place as well as the feelings of the people who inhabit it».²

Particularly in the last few years of the Portuguese presence in Macau, the theme of his production paid special attention to the unique characteristics of the territory as well as the differences in mentalities. And it was precisely this that was evident in a canvas painted five months before the transfer of Macau to China entitled *O Embarque no Pátria I* [Embarkation on the Pátria I]. This is an allegory of the end of the Portuguese administration of the colony in China and at the same time marks the end of the Portuguese empire. The picture portrays a historic moment for the former Portuguese territory and represents the farewell between the heads of state of China and Portugal in an imagined port. In it appear such figures as the Infante Dom Henrique and Camilo Pessanha (1870-1926) among Chinese mandarins and local people.

A second version was painted, almost identical to the first but with some slight alterations, entitled *O Embarque no Pátria*

II [Embarkation on the Pátria II]. This places the emphasis on the hull of the boat rather than on the people who are on the quay. In this version, the painter highlights everything that was being taken away by the Portuguese authorities, notably works of art and various antiquities. In both pictures, the Pátria can be seen tied up in Nam Van with the Hotel Lisboa — still under construction — in the background and Jorge Sampaio, the Portuguese president, can be seen shaking the hand of a Chinese leader. There are Chinese officials dressed as in the Qing dynasty as well as important figures from Macau.

«With the lowering of the Portuguese flag in the Fortaleza do Monte, a chapter of my work also closed,» Barreto said in an interview published in «Galeria Imaginária» even though he had taken advantage of the time he lived in Macau to travel to the former colony of Timor which he also painted.

1 Idem, pp. 39-40.

2 Fernando António Baptista Pereira, preface to Galeria Imaginária. Lisboa, Fundação Oriente, 2006, n. p.

Sá Nogueira (1921-2002) spent the first years of his life in Angola. He always said throughout his professional life how he was of Cape Verdean descent. His father and mother were both born in Cape Verde and he was the only surviving child of their marriage. When only a few months old, he accompanied his parents on the missions his father, a career soldier, was sent on in Angola and Mozambique. It was in this context of African lands that Sá Nogueira would grow up until he was five.

He was a pupil at the Vasco da Gama Jesuit College in Lisbon (today the Colégio do Sagrado Coração de Maria) and in an interview given to the review *Arquitectura e Vida*, Sá Nogueira refers to those times around the beginning of the 1930s when

a «person of colour» was relatively rare in Lisbon and he mentions the clear racial discrimination he suffered when still a child which left its mark on him.¹

Between 1961 to 1964 he lived in England with a scholarship from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, and in the following years he dived into his «roots»² — not so much in terms of the themes he dealt with but above all for the luxuriant, saturated colour palette he would use from then on which was made up of primary colours and at times secondary hues, thereby recognizing his African ancestry in the colour of the majority of his work.

In the African colonies, contrary to the metropole of the time, only a few of Sá Nogueira's works applied to architecture

are known. One that stands out is the extensive panel designed for the headquarters of the Banco Nacional Ultramarino in the city of Lourenço Marques, Mozambique (1963).

«Later, in the 1980s, Sá Nogueira accepted a mission from Augusto Pereira Brandão (1930-2018), the Director of the Faculty of Architecture of the Technical University of Lisbon (UTL) where he taught Design (1984-1990), to go to Maputo as the Faculty's representative. This was the last time he would set foot on African soil».³

1 Revista *Arquitectura e Vida*. n.º 7, Lisboa, Agosto 2000, pp. 22-29.

2 Revista *Arquitectura*. n.º 80, Lisboa, Dezembro de 1963.

3 Alexandra Ai Quintas, personal statement, 2018, n.p.

METROPOLITAN (RE-)CREATIONS

*What fell to us, in the division of Europe,
Was a narrow strip, almost only a beach,
Almost only a quay.
From there we set sail (...)
To continue to expand far away
The Europe that here we lacked.*

AGOSTINHO DE CAMPOS

We should begin by noting that the use of painting and drawing as propaganda vehicles is directly related with the intrinsic plastic characteristics of these two supports, especially since they are capable of transmitting something visible that could easily be apprehended by the metropolitan public. This fact would come to justify a somewhat uncommon situation — some of the contemporary Portuguese painters represented the overseas possessions without ever having stepped outside mainland Portugal. How was such a situation possible?

The reality is that their colonial pictorial work was constructed from stories that had been told, from photographs brought back by travellers, from journalistic chronicles, from ethnographic albums, from sketches

of colonists and from postcards. Like some 19th century «Orientalists» who never travelled to the Orient, many Portuguese artists had never set foot on colonial soil although they evoked this imperial reality. In their work they frequently make use of allegories or stylised figures and landscapes in an idealisation that is of a person who has never travelled in the overseas territories. In this respect these authors are interpreters rather than creators since the work they produce results from an imagery created from an unknown reality that only reaches them through an intermediary support. As they did not have the *in loco* experience of any African and/or Asiatic lands, they could not create a corpus based on visual reality and were easily influenced by the stereotyping

of an empire associated with the political proposal of the *Estado Novo*. They therefore received commissions to decorate official events of an imperial propagandistic nature. Such was the case of Abel Manta (1888-1982), Alberto Souza (1880-1962), Dórdio Gomes (1890-1976), Eduardo Malta, Francis Smith (1881-1961), Lino António (1898-1974) and Manuel Lima (1911-1991).

The main consequence of this rather chimerical vision of the (re-)creation of the empire in the image of the metropole's centralising power was that «Our Africa continues to be there waiting to be discovered! She is waiting for our painters to do this, she anxiously awaits your embrace of love. Yet our painters continue to be blind and deaf to this summons».¹

ABEL MANTA

It is important to point out that Abel Manta was involved in decorating the Portuguese pavilion at the 1931 Colonial Exhibition in Paris with three different works:

a panel showing Diogo Cão as a representative of Portuguese rule in Africa; a canvas portraying the brothers Vasco and Paulo da Gama; and a triptych inspired by

the actions of Mouzinho de Albuquerque during the African campaigns of 1885.²

ALBERTO SOUZA

It is important to mention Alberto Souza, a watercolourist and painter of military architecture. He took part in the Colonial Exhibition of Paris in 1931 representing the Military Museum of Lisbon with a series of watercolours of Portuguese monuments in

the north of Africa with which he won the Grand Prix. These works were the result of a trip to survey fortifications in Morocco and are dated 1925. The last work in this series is entitled *Campo de Batalha de Alcácer Quibir* [Battlefield of Ksar el-Kebir]

«where the Portuguese empire of Morocco vanished forever»,³ a metaphor for an imperial chimera that is always being praised, albeit here with paint.

1 Fernando de Pamplona, «Urge que se lancem à descoberta dos tesouros do nosso Ultramar os pintores portugueses» in *Diário da Manhã* 19.10.1952, pp. 7-8.

2 See *Exposition Coloniale Internationale de Paris. Catalogue officiel, Section Portugaise*. Lisbonne, C.G.P.E.C.I.P., 1931, p. 285.

3 Júlio Dantas «Prefácio», *Centenário de Alberto Souza 1880-1980*. Lisboa, FCG, 1980, p. 3.

DÓRDIO GOMES

Dórdio Gomes was a Portuguese modernist painter. He was trained in Historical Painting at the Academia Real de Belas Artes [Lisbon Royal Academy of Fine Arts] then left for Paris in 1910 on a scholarship. He returned to Paris in 1921 where he stayed for five years. He travelled to Belgium, Switzerland, Holland and Italy, places where he became acquainted with the

works of the great masters. This awakened in him an interest in fresco painting, an important characteristic for us to understand his final works.

Changing the way he painted after contact with new international currents, Dórdio Gomes was invited to produce a series of decorative panels to be shown in the Portugal Pavilion at the Colonial

Exhibition of Paris in 1931. Entitled *África Portuguesa* [Portuguese Africa] and *Ásia Portuguesa* [Portuguese Asia], the works reflected a certain stylisation far removed from the modernity of his expressionist works produced during the first half of the 1920s.

EDUARDO MALTA

At the time of the 1st Colonial Exhibition of Porto in 1934, Eduardo Malta did a series of portraits in pencil (with some colour notes) of individuals who had been in the indigenous villages during the exhibition. These would later be reproduced in an 'Album of Honour' where drawings could be found of *Namgombe (Maria)*, daughter of the *soba* or village leader *Cancuangué Muenegundo*, and the village leader *Calungeia* and his daughter *Sagala* from Angola, *Chadi* and *Ignez* (Bijagós dancers), *Rosa (Rosinha)*, a Balanta girl, and the *régulo* or traditional chief *Amadu Sissé* from Guinea, and *Lu-Fu*, a musician from Macau. These drawings would later be reproduced in a collection of illustrated postcards distributed during the Paris International Exhibition in 1937 even though for some people, such as Diogo de Macedo, Eduardo Malta «was content to merely ennoble the black African girls from the exhibition» given that he had never been to Africa.¹

However, this 1st Colonial Exhibition of Porto would display what was considered by Henrique Galvão to be the «First

Great Work of Portuguese Colonial Painting»², an unfinished commemorative triptych that sought to show the Portuguese races. The central panel of the triptych was dedicated to the Head of State and the Head of the Government. The two large lateral oils were later shown at the 1940 Great Exhibition of the Portuguese World in the colonial section. The first side panel depicted a Bijagós chief wearing a ceremonial costume, surrounded by *régulos* and warriors, while the second oil depicted a Timorese chief surrounded by indigenous peoples.³ The structure of the work follows the rules of classical composition with each panel presenting a figure seated in the foreground with a group of individual figures standing in the background. At the outside edge of each panel there is a figure, crouching in the left panel and sitting on the ground in the right panel, so as to establish a correspondence between the two extremes of the triptych composed of hieratic forms. The rigid poses show a stylisation of the ethnic races who lived in the overseas possessions,

a sort of typology of the empire's different colonies. There was, however, a certain care taken to characterise those portrayed in ethnographic terms, serving as a show case of the races present at the Exhibition and showing the ascendancy of European acculturation over the indigenous populations.

At the 1940 event Henrique Galvão also found a way to produce a series of drawings of some of the women who lived in the «indigenous villages» that were set up in the Tropical Garden. These and other drawings — like the portrait of Dom Pedro VII [Peter VII], King of the Kongo, of whom there was a photograph in the Exhibition — were published in the second edition of Henrique Galvão's album *Outras Terras, Outras Gentes*.

It cannot be denied that these works were integrated within an artistic creation of a classical nature and a certain aesthetic conservatism in line with a tradition that the artist considered imposed on the modern work of art.

FRANCIS SMITH

Francis Smith was born in Portugal but went to live in Paris when still a young man. It was here that he held his first individual exhibition in 1913. He lived in Montparnasse and Montmartre and at

one point was a neighbour of Modigliani's studio. Marshall Hubert Lyautey (1854-1934) visited his atelier on behalf of the French state and ordered thirty works for the Musée de la France d'Outre-Mer,

located in the Palais de la Porte Dorée (Museum of the Colonies). The paintings were executed during the course of the Colonial Exhibition of Paris in 1931 and show different pavilions. They

1 Diogo de Macedo, «Arte Indígena. Artistas Portugueses nas Colónias» in *O Mundo Português*. Ano II, Vol. II, 1935, p.246

2 Henrique Galvão «Um quadro de Eduardo Malta» in *Portugal Colonial*. n.º 45, Nov.1934, p. 4.

3 See the article «Tipos de Império. Uma exposição de Eduardo Malta inaugurado pelo Chefe de Estado» in *Diário de Lisboa* de 7.9.1940, p. 4. Online at <http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=05766.030.07818#!4> (accessed on 3.4.2020).

are presently housed in the Musée Quai Branly¹ The group includes the titles *Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, Cambodia, Dutch*

Indies, West Africa I, Syria and Lebanon, Mansard in Belgium, Madagascar I, Martinique, Italy and Cochinchina. In 1933, the

French government made him a Knight of the Legion of Honour.²

LINO ANTÓNIO

Lino António, a painter who belonged to the second generation of Portuguese modernism, was involved in decorating the Portuguese Pavilion at the Colonial Exhibition of Paris in 1931 with a triptych, of which a fragment from 1932, probably from the time when the artist split it into sections, is presented here. Entitled *A Obra das Missões* [The Work of the Missions] it shows a group of black Africans painted in an elongated style and was awarded the Medal of Honour in Paris. He became one of the artists-decorators for the Exhibition

of the Portuguese-Speaking World in 1940 after starting to receive public commissions, namely for the National Assembly and the Institute of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. In the former, he painted traditional scenes and figures from Portuguese history, especially from the period of the Discoveries, for the President's Room of the National Assembly. However, it was in the Cambournac Room of the Institute of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine that Lino António surpassed himself with an exuberant ceramic panel and long frieze

dated 1958 which, in sharply contrasted polychrome, depicts scenes from everyday African life. The extremely dynamic background and the interrelationship of scenes with fauna and flora evoke not only the African landscape but also a stylisation of African features.

He produced panels for the liner *Príncipe Perfeito* as well but it has not been possible to find records of these.

MANUEL LIMA

With a strong connection to the theatre and cinema, Manuel Lima took part in the Holiday Missions in Aesthetics (*Missões Estéticas de Férias*) and participated in the decoration of rooms at the History of the Occupation Exhibition of 1937. For this, he painted a mural showing the chronology of deeds carried out on the level of instruction, and co-designed a wall panel for the Sala da Marinha, showing a group of navigators around Infante Dom Henrique.

In the Portuguese World Exhibition of 1940, he was part of a group of artists who worked on the Pavilions of Foundation, Formation and Conquest, and Independence. With Joaquim Rebocho, he created a composition about the voyage of Ferdinand Magellan, painted in the room dedicated to maritime exploration in the Pavilion of the Discoveries. Passages of the mural in the Oriental Room of the

Colonisation Pavilion are also by him, as is a panel celebrating Oceania, painted in the room dedicated to the subject in the Pavilion of Portuguese in the World.³

Manuel Lima also designed a ceramic tile panel on an African theme for the Egas Moniz Hospital — a 1960s extension of the former Hospital do Ultramar (dating from 1902). The panel appears to sanction the civilising actions of the coloniser by highlighting the provision of healthcare to the natives in a tone that alludes to the capacities of medicine provided by the Portuguese imperial state. However, the work was executed at a late phase of the *Estado Novo* (it is dated 1973), when the country was in the middle of the colonial war and the dictatorship was coming to an end.

The composition shows various African figures, along with a doctor and nurse, framed by dense vegetation, surrounding

an allegorical female figure representing medicine. This is very different from the exotic style of the panels with which Jorge Barradas and Lino António decorated the Institute for Tropical Medicine, located in the vicinity of the hospital. This inclusion of painting in public facilities indicates a function that goes beyond mere decoration: it was a way of legitimising political actions (in this case the civilisational deeds of the Portuguese colonial empire) for the benefit of a broader public.

1 Online at <http://collections.quaibrany.fr/#dcb4dbc1-b69b-4846-b2ed-6c559c410125> (accessed on 29.9.2019).

2 See the catalogue Francis Smith Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon, 1972.

3 See Ana Mehnert Pascoal, «Arte e Medicina como instrumentos do poder: Considerações em torno de um painel cerâmico de Manuel Lima para o Hospital do Ultramar (1973)» in *Revista ArtisOn*, n.º 7, 2018, p. 152. Online at <http://artison.letras.ulisboa.pt/index.php/ao/article/view/201/170> (accessed on 17.07.2019).

3. EXHIBITION

CROSSING OF ART AND EMPIRE IN THE GREAT EXHIBITIONS

In the middle of the 19th century, an ambition for universality and the desire to spread knowledge of the benefits brought by industrialisation and faith in progress meant that there arose a need to create an exhibition structure that could bring together the new urban experience — and so the great exhibitions were born. The ‘Universal Exhibition’ became a platform where the results of development on various levels and in different registers could be exhibited in a compact fashion. They brought together in one place the most glorious aspects of the 19th century, with the national industrial exhibitions held in the first half of the 1800s serving as the forerunner.¹

Exhibiting everything from agriculture to mining, from machinery to art, the exhibitions gave the public a view of the human cosmos immersed in a new movement that found its *raison d’être* in one of the main identifiers of the age — the birth of the phenomenon of the masses.

Held in the modern metropolises, these events reproduced in miniature a new

model of urban life, imprinting a new rhythm on the city which was itself adapting to the novelty of crowds avid with curiosity and interest to witness and experience the recent fruits of progress. Furthermore, these exhibition centres functioned in two ways: they gave an overview of what had already been achieved and provided a foretaste of what still remained to be done. Visited by large numbers of a public eager to see and experience a new reality, the great exhibitions of the 19th and 20th centuries (universal, world, international and colonial) were set up and became excellent experimental laboratories in technological terms being places of the future yet at the same time spaces for revisiting the past.

If, in their genesis, these exhibitions proposed to show progress, they themselves were the result of that very same progress as they were built in areas redeveloped for the purpose and supported by a series of infrastructures that were themselves also the product of progress. These exhibitions were a manifestation of

prestige and ostentation, and the stage on which nations could assert their economic, technological and even cultural power, thereby revealing their own aspirations to progress. In other words, these showplaces encapsulated what the 19th century understood as modernity by becoming epicentres of a cosmopolitanism that urgently sought to demonstrate and teach the virtues of the present age at the same time as confirming predictions for an exceptional future. Moreover, the exhibitions provided unique opportunities to highlight new landscapes, especially those that exhibited the local indigenous artistic culture of the distant possessions belonging to the European colonial empires.

What this work is interested in doing is to draw attention to the tripartite strand of empire—art—painting as collected and shown in these unique spaces. We have therefore chosen to refer exclusively to those exhibitions whose typology falls within this triangulation.

¹ The first 19th century industrial exhibitions in Portugal took place in 1838, 1840 and 1844. See Ana Cardoso Matos, *Sociedades e associações industriais oitocentistas: projectos e acções de divulgação técnica e incentivos à actividade empresarial*. Lisboa, ICS, 1996. Online at <http://dspace.uevora.pt/rdpc/bitstream/10174/2401/1/Sociedades%20e%20Associações.pdf> (accessed on 31.3.2020).

UNIVERSAL EXHIBITION OF LONDON, 1851

Originally, these fairs were born of an attempt to respond to needs of a basically economic nature. They were born of the political desire to expand commercial trade and stimulate consumption while promoting international exchange. Their antecedents date back to previous centuries but their international aspiration materialised at the end of the 18th century, becoming a reality in the mid 19th century.

Held in Crystal Palace in Hyde Park, the 'Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations' was inaugurated by Queen Victoria (1819-1901). One of its main objectives was to convince the public that the Empire provided the source from which the modern era and progress flowed besides

showing it as an extension of the metropolitan territory. It is therefore understandable why Britain felt the need to reserve a wing for the jewel in the British Crown — India — where the East India Company exhibited its rare collection. At the same time, exoticism and Orientalism were becoming fashionable, heightening interest in the items from those remote territories of the Empire that were so often talked about.

From the point of view of having their own representation, Algeria was the only colony (brought by France) that was present¹ although from the British Empire alone there were products on display from thirty-five colonies and/or territories under British dominion.²

In this inaugural exhibition, Portugal was represented in a section next to Spain; however, the national exhibits were limited to agricultural products and a few lithographs and wooden sculptures.³ For the rest, the fine arts were restricted to sculpture by dint of the regulations.

The fact is that the exhibition's astounding success set in motion the calendar for international, universal, world and colonial exhibitions to be held on a global scale and involving the different capitals of such European countries as had overseas empires, with Paris being the most exceptional.

PARIS EXHIBITION, 1855

This exhibition, inaugurated by Napoleon III (1808-1873), was the French head of state's response to the success of the 1851 London event. Unlike the majority of the buildings built for these official shows, and particularly in the case of Crystal Palace mentioned above, the objective behind the *Palais de l'Industrie* was to provide a setting for permanent exhibitions in the very heart of Paris.⁴

The fact that both industrialisation and colonialism were seen as important marks of western civilisational progress must be reiterated and as a result both of these were not only taken into account but also became national priorities. Besides this, there was a link between them and a mutual interest that cannot be ignored: industry and trade sought to expand their markets and the overseas territories became attractive targets owing to the protectionist policies practised by the metropolises. In addition, it was essential to acquire new raw materials at competitive prices and there was no better work-force than the indigenous

worker. Using such workers still oscillated at the time between slavery and forced labour despite abolition and the anti-slavery laws defended by individuals such as the Marquês de Pombal (1699-1782) and the French Revolution. These laws though were slow to come into effect in the various empires' distant possessions. This then was the first time in the imperial period that preceded the republican regime in France that the colonial dominions had been seriously concerned about being represented.

Colonial «Old» England brought a large committee to the event — it was not only British India that was on show in Paris but also, among other dominions, the Bahamas, Barbados, British Guyana, Canada, Ceylon, Jamaica, Mauritius and New Zealand, all of whose products had already been part of the 1851 event. And unlike what had happened in 1851, when only the host country had been aware of the potential in promoting its empire, Paris saw a separate 'Imperial Pavilion' being built. This structure's visual image was made up

of colonial products and it was also used as a centre where dignitaries representing the various empires could meet.⁵

One new aspect that featured in the French exhibition was the space given to the fine arts. This had been decreed by Emperor Napoleon III⁶ and an exhibition space all their own, albeit temporary, was created — the *Palais des Beaux-Arts*. With the importance of art thus enshrined, that year's *Salon* was incorporated into the event. Canvasses by Ingres, Delacroix and Alexandre Descamps (1803-1860) were exhibited, the first painters of the Barbizon School were presented and forty pictures by Gustave Courbet (1819-1877) were shown in his *Pavillon du réalisme*. It is important to add that the exhibition included a section dedicated to colonial products. This was larger than the one in London but even so not very selective and somewhat disorganised.

The Portuguese king, Dom Pedro V (1837-1861), visited the exhibition during what was his second visit to Europe and

1 Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas. The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939*. Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1988, p. 56.

2 Idem, p. 58.

3 For an inventory, see *Revista Universal Lisbonense*, n.º 5, 11 de setembro de 1851, p. 51. Online at http://hemerotecadigital.cm-lisboa.pt/OBRAS/RUL/1851-1852/Setembro/N.-C2%BA%20005/N.%C2%BA%20005_master/RULN5.pdf (accessed on 31.3.2020).

4 The building was used for the Universal Exhibitions of 1855, 1878 and 1889 as well as being used for the art salons of 1857 and 1897 and other public events. To prepare for the 1900 Exhibition, the building was pulled down to give place to the Petit Palais and the Grand Palais.

5 Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas. The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939*. Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1988, p. 56.

6 Decree of 22 June 1853.

the first to France.¹ The Portuguese representation included twenty-two works by fourteen painters and three sculptors

among whom António Manuel da Fonseca, Tomás da Anunciação, Cristino da Silva — who presented his work *Cinco artistas*

em Sintra [Five artists in Sintra] — and Leonel Marques Pereira (1828-1892) were of special importance.

LONDON EXHIBITION, 1862

The second London event saw the rise of the new fashion of Japonism, with Japan being represented for the first time in the short history of the universal exhibitions. Not only the objects on show but also the flamboyant clothing worn by the Japanese ambassador and his entourage created a huge impact and the great impression made by the Japanese presence was part of the period's fondness for two aspects already mentioned — Orientalism and the exoticism of non-European cultures. In this period of the Old Continent's marked imperialism, alterity was produced for western consumption and everything that came from the distant external world was

invested with a strange, enigmatic and seductive charge. It was the repository of the alter ego of European identity, with all the antagonistic characteristics of the West projected in its Other.

The Portuguese representation's committee was presided over by the king himself, Dom Fernando II (1816-1885), and had a subsection called the 5^a *Secção de Produtos das Províncias Ultramarinas* [5th Section of Products from the Overseas Provinces] and a 4^a *Secção de Belas Artes* [4th Section of Fine Arts] but still no attention was paid to the arts produced in the context of the Portuguese empire. Neither of these sections won any prizes although

there had been a definite concern to include various products from the empire as well as some major examples of fine arts from the metropole. Once again, the overriding need to legitimate their overseas territories was enshrined on the stage of the world's showplace, an ultra visible space *par excellence* for national imperial policies.

Finally, these exhibitions increasingly incorporated 19th century ideas on education through recreation and proposed a recreational dynamic that was being increased by both affluence and prosperity.

PARIS EXHIBITION, 1867

The *Exposition Universelle d'Art et d'Industrie* was the first to be built on the Champ de Mars and not only did it include a large elliptically-shaped palace but it was surrounded by a park which enabled national pavilions to be built. These were supposedly designed according to the respective architectonic typologies of each country. The imperial committees sought to present living images of their culture and art, inscribing within them colonial notes that included the presence of some indigenous peoples for the first time.

The exhibition was a lesson in colonial geography and included an Egyptian temple, a Tunisian palace, a Moroccan kiosk, a Turkish pavilion and also some Algerian architectonic features. All of these were among the most popular attractions. It should be remembered that the fashion for Orientalism and colonial exoticism was at its height at this time and the

representations in these exhibitions made a part of those destinations that were inaccessible to most visitors visible. They thus became veritable curiosity cabinets and consequently both desirable and popular.

This Parisian showcase confirmed the place of the Barbizon School's naturalism although many French artists had been rejected (among them Pissarro, Cézanne, Manet, Monet and Courbet). This is why some of them decided to open their own private galleries as was the case of Manet, who exhibited his *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* and *Olympia* in his own pavilion on the Avenue de l'Alma.

For the first time Portugal had her own pavilion, which was designed by Rampin Mayor according to a drawing that appeared in *Arquivo Pittoresco*.² This linked the Portuguese representation to its empire imparting an image of sumptuous magnificence and exoticism. The neo-Manueline

architecture included features of an Anglo-Indian nature in an interpretation of an Orient full of bulbous domes, a type of new Monserrate but «with a religious typology, expressed in the form of a small church laid out like a Greek cross in which the large central dome sat on a tall drum and the façade extended outwards through a portico or galilee of neo-Manueline inspiration with exuberant ornamentation».³ This merited the following comment from a French journalist, Léon Plée (1815-1879), which was immediately translated and reproduced in the *Jornal do Comércio*:⁴

The Portuguese building (...) feast your eyes on it, and you will immediately find the alliance between the arts of the Far East and the West. When discovering the Indies, the frequent dealings with Muslim countries had already become part of the thinking behind this edifice. It is impressive, soaring, majestic

1 His first Grand Tour had been in 1854 when he visited England, Belgium, Holland, Prussia and Austria. On this second Grand Tour he visited Italy, Switzerland, Belgium and Great Britain (the Isle of Wight) but the country where he stayed longest was France, precisely in order to visit the Paris Exhibition.

2 *Arquivo Pittoresco. Semanaria Ilustrado*. Vol. X, n.º 7, 1867, p. 49. http://hemerotecadigital.cm-lisboa.pt/Periodicos/ArquivoP/1867/TomoX/No7/No7_master/ArquivoPitoresco1867No7.PDF (accessed on 31.3.2020).

3 Maria Helena Souto. *Portugal nas Exposições Universais (1851-1900)*. Lisboa, IHA, 2011, p. 110.

4 *Jornal do Commercio*. n.º 4085, 18 de maio de 1867, p. 2.

and adventurous like the Portuguese spirit: it is not like any other. The Manueline style, as it is called, appears there in all its glory.

Evoking a glorious past, the article «Casa Portuguesa» [Portuguese Pavilion] that appeared in the review *España en París. Revista de la Exposición Universal de 1867* was published in translation in the *Diário de Notícias*.¹ It commented that:

Monuments had been built in Portugal in the 15th century similar to the Portuguese Pavilion in Paris, a building that lies between

East and West, which would seem to symbolise the discoveries in the Far East by the inhabitants of the far West (...), and which was called 'Manueline' because of its decoration in honour of the king who had the good fortune to preside over the Portuguese Renaissance and to drive forward the conquests of all the Vasco da Gamas, the Cabrais and the Albuquerque (...). The extraordinary luxury of the interior arrangement houses the rich products of its colonies.

The exhibition of colonial products taken to Paris might well have been one of the

most significant displays with particular prominence given to agricultural species.

As for painting, the Portuguese delegation contained 26 paintings with works once again by António Manuel da Fonseca, Tomás da Anunciação, Cristino da Silva and Leonel Marques Pereira, but also by Francisco José de Resende (1825-1893), Miguel Ângelo Lupi, Marciano Henriques da Silva (1831-1867), Ferreira de Chaves (1838-1899) and Luís Tomasini (1823-1902) among several others.

PHILADELPHIA EXHIBITION, 1876

The first world exhibition held in the United States of America commemorated the centenary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence which had actually taken place in Philadelphia. The second and last emperor of Brazil, Dom Pedro II (1825-1891),² attended the inauguration making him the first Portuguese ruler to visit the United States.

The Brazil pavilion emphasised the exotic nature of a country that wanted to show it was as civilised as any in Europe.

Incidentally, the main painting featured was *A Primeira Missa no Brasil* [The First Mass in Brazil] by Victor Meirelles (1832-1903) which had already been shown in the 1861 *Salon de Paris*. The painting, considered an iconic Brazilian treasure, portrays an event that took place on 1 May 1500 when Pedro Álvares Cabral ordered a mass to be said to symbolically mark his taking possession of the land of Vera Cruz for the Portuguese crown and the establishing of the Catholic faith in the

new dominion. Meirelles took his inspiration from the letter written by Pêro Vaz de Caminha (1450-1500).

Portugal and her colonies were represented together and the following year a list of the Portuguese exhibitors was published in the *Diário do Governo* along with an appended note addressed to the Minister for Maritime Affairs and Overseas Territories indicating the prizes awarded to the governors of the overseas provinces.³

PARIS EXHIBITION, 1878

In 1878 the rectangular Trocadéro Palace was built and adjacent to it an autonomous area was reserved for the colonies called the *rue des Nations*. This was a space where a lesson in the various colonial architectures could be given in situ.

Portugal was represented by two pavilions. One reproduced the south portal of the Jerónimos Monastery and there was a carefully studied relationship between

the interior and the exterior, internally alluding to the cloisters of Belém and the Monastery of Batalha in acknowledgement of the Manueline art inspired by the Portuguese Discoveries. The second pavilion was exclusively for the Colonies and was designed by Jean-Louis Pascal (1837-1920). This was eclectic in that it combined Manueline elements with polychrome neo-Mudéjar *azulejo* tiles in a

conventional and static arrangement with a vaguely Orientalist flavour. The job of filling the exhibition space was given to the commissioner Luís Andrade Corvo (1824-1890), who focused on the work he had been doing at the Colonial Museum of Lisbon⁴ during the previous two years. The products included in the exhibition received a large number of distinctions and were greatly praised.

1 *Diário de Notícias*, 3^o Ano, n.º 705, 17 de maio de 1867, pp. 1-2.

2 Dom Pedro II was considered a traveller. He fulfilled his diplomatic obligations but he also took advantage of this to have direct contact with a wide variety of cultures. In 1871 he travelled to Europe visiting Spain, Great Britain, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Italy, Egypt, Greece, Switzerland and France. After the Philadelphia exhibition, he extended his trip, travelling around the United States and also going up to Canada. Afterwards, he once again crossed the Atlantic and travelled to Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Russia, the Ottoman Empire and the Holy Land, returning to Brazil in 1877. The sovereign recorded the places he visited in his *Diários*, or *Diaries*, a vast work that is not just a written eye-witness account but also includes drawings. Forming part of the Archive of the Imperial House of Brazil, the whole collection of diaries, travel itineraries, correspondence, records of visits, contacts, expenditure reports, periodicals, pamphlets, programmes, homages, invitations and drawings by Dom Pedro II total 2, 120 documents. They were donated to the Imperial Museum by the prince Dom Pedro Gastão de Orleans e Bragança, great-grandson of Dom Pedro II, in 1949 and were recognised as World Heritage documents by UNESCO's Memory of the World (MoW) Programme in 2013. Online at <http://www.museuimperial.gov.br/diario-d-pedro-ii> (accessed on 31.3.2020).

3 *Diário do Governo*, n.º 85, 17 de abril de 1877, Vol. 2, pp.980-981.

4 The Colonial Museum was established in 1869 under the Ministry for Maritime Affairs and Overseas Territories and functioned for 22 years in the Escola Naval [Naval School] in Rua do Arsenal, Lisbon. In 1892, the Government decided to incorporate its collection in a private institution, the Lisbon Geographical Society (set up in 1875). The result of this merger was the Colonial and Ethnographic Museum of the Lisbon Geographical Society. It is worth pointing out that the universal exhibitions were at the origin of many European museums — in the case of England, the first universal exhibition of 1851 led to the founding of the Victoria and Albert Museum (the V&A).

Portuguese painting was represented by the usual artists, Francisco José de Resende and Leonel Marques Pereira, but

also by Manuel Maria Bordalo Pinheiro (1815-1880). Lupi was the most represented with seven pictures and he was joined by

Alfredo Keil (1850-1907), Silva Porto (1850-1893) and Artur Loureiro (1853-1932), all studying in Paris at the time.

AMSTERDAM EXHIBITION, 1883

The first colonial exhibition whose main objective was to reproduce in miniature all the resources of the empire took place in Amsterdam.

The Indian or Hindu architecture that decorated the façade of the main building introduced the colonial atmosphere created within the interior with representations from 28 nations. In its own colonial

section, a type of reproduction of a native village with indigenous people (from Surinam) was shown for the first time.

Note that on the part of the European countries who had colonial empires, the growing importance of an effective colonial policy for Africa was the order of the day. On the eve of the Berlin Conference (1884-85), Portugal did not have a representation

at this exhibition but, as is well known, the political questions that were raised in the last decade of the 19th century were particularly sensitive to Portuguese sovereignty in Africa, with the British Ultimatum putting an end to any hopes of a Portuguese «Africa from coast to coast».

ANTWERP (ANVERS) EXHIBITION, 1885

When the exhibition in Belgium was inaugurated (on 2 May), little more than two months had passed since the end of the Berlin Conference (26 February) and Europe was in the aftermath of the main directive to come out of it — the division of Africa among the European powers. It is in this that we can find the explanation for including in the exhibition area a native village (the first true human zoo),¹ coinciding with the creation of the Congo Free State, the idea of King Leopold II (1835-1909) who ran it as his own private possession. France's imperial representation should be given special mention as it included the presence of colonies from Oceania (New Caledonia), Africa (Algeria), America (Martinique) and Asia (Cambodia and Cochinchina). Basically, all these structures sought to encourage intercolonial relations highlighting the ways in which human

progress, idealised in the age of imperialist expansion, had been achieved.

Through the Banco Nacional Ultramarino (BNU) — the main agent for Portugal's commercial affairs in Africa — and the Lisbon Geographical Society (SGL), Portugal was represented in a pavilion with a Moorish design, which showed her fascination for Islamic architecture, and was linked to the cult of the «Orient», a resource that was always well received in these exhibitions. The Portuguese representation was awarded 14 Diplomas of Honour, of which three went to the Ministry for Maritime Affairs and Overseas Territories, six to the SGL and two to the BNU. According to the magazine *Occidente*:

Besides the colonial products that are on show in the Portuguese section, there is also another proof of African civilisation, which

has given rise to many comments because it was a real surprise. We are referring to the São Tomé Police Band, composed of Africans between the ages of 13 and 18, taught by Sr. Silva who went to São Tomé as a state employee and there, using his invaluable musical knowledge, he managed to teach and organise this band that is proving to be the great novelty of the exhibition. It is easy to calculate the astonishment that must have been caused in Antwerp by this perfectly disciplined and trained marching band coming from the Portuguese possessions that were perhaps considered to be lands of savages, where the faintest light of civilisation had not yet penetrated.²

PARIS EXHIBITION, 1889

If, in 1886, the Colonial and Indian Exhibition held in London had shown each colony of the British Empire on a scale never before seen, the 1889 exhibition in

Paris surpassed itself with its magnificence. Commemorating the centenary of the French Revolution, the City of Light undertook the building of the Eiffel Tower,

the official entrance to the event, a privileged symbol and a panoramic observatory.

The part devoted to the empire was a huge *tableau vivant* divided into four

1 The «Human Zoos» were recreations and staged scenes of indigenous peoples' way of life in the great universal exhibitions of the 19th and 20th centuries. These spaces were meant to idealise the exotic territories, inviting people from the metropole to «travel» through the colonies without leaving home. Another objective was to highlight the distance between the «civilised western world» and the «primitive colonial world», thus legitimating the ascendancy of the imperial nation with its «civilising» role. This was a cultural attitude that was prevalent up until the Second World War when geopolitics changed. Hence the importance of the presence of the indigenous people, of the «Other», who served to certify the «authenticity» of that very same representation. By bringing in «living pieces of the empire», the colonial exhibitions became hybrid spaces of convergence where the benefits of European colonialism could be emphasised.

2 *Occidente*. n.º 231. 21 Maio 1885, p. 3.

zones: Arabia, Oceania, Africa and Asia. There was a Palace of the Colonies and a Palace of Fine Arts. Chinese houses, Mayan temples, Indian pavilions, mosques and countless exhibition spaces dedicated to the colonies were present to delight the curious eyes of the visitors. However,

The biggest sensation were the indigenous peoples brought from the African and Asian colonies. These 'living mannequins' (African, Javanese, Chinese and Japanese) wore the costumes of their own different cultures, produced arts and crafts and sold them, cooked, ate and performed rituals in front of the 'civilised' public, and even gave special shows at certain times of the day.¹

The purpose of this indigenous «vitrine» was simple — to emphasise the backward state of the way of life in the colonies by dramatically contrasting it with the European development evident in the rest of the exhibition and thereby validating the «civilising mission» of the coloniser.

It is in this event that the *rue du Caire* first appeared. This immediately became a huge success owing to its exotic spaces with replicas of cafés, Arab-like atmospheres and environments, and artefacts brought back from the expeditions mounted by the exploratory missions undertaken throughout the 19th century.

In the 1889 Paris Exhibition, the Portuguese pavilion was situated on the banks of the River Seine and displayed features

relating to the Tower of Belém. Inside the pavilion, eleven of the sixteen rooms contained objects of a colonial nature again organised by Andrade Corvo and lent by the SGL. Among the works of art on show, prominence was given to those by José de Sousa Pinto, who had gone to Paris in 1880 on a scholarship, and those by Henrique Pousão (1859-1884).

At a time when imperial importance was being (re)considered by the European hegemonies — remember that the Berlin Conference had taken place only four years previously and the consequences of the directives that issued from it were only now beginning to be implemented in the field — the exhibition functioned as a privileged stage for this battle of interests.

PARIS EXHIBITION, 1900

The last and the most grandiose exhibition ever mounted offered an overview of the century and was supported by a series of infrastructures that were an apologia for progress. If initially these were essentially industrial, from 1900 on they became linked to an aesthetic of illusion and magic, and the recreational component became a requisite.

Claiming the status as the beacon of the universe in matters of art (with the triumph of Impressionism) and with Art Nouveau at its apogee, railway stations, railway bridges and the first Métro lines were inaugurated with electricity acting as the great fairy godmother.² Film projections, the Ferris Wheel [*la Grande Roue*], the escalator or a 'journey' in a Trans-Siberian Railway carriage became the attractions that allowed illusion to triumph and exalted progress. At each new universal exhibition, the shows became progressively more mechanised with state-of-the-art technologies occupying the place of honour.

The event also included an important foreign and colonial section that was

unequaled in size when compared to what had been done until then as the space had more than doubled since 1889.³ A *rue des Nations* was also built that, although no longer a novelty, integrated a rare multiplicity of countries where panoramic views were the order of the day.

Panoramic ecstasy was reached by the *Tour du Monde*, a pavilion inside which the visitor could go on a journey around the world that evoked and simulated such different realities as a Chinese pagoda, an Indian temple or elephants from Cambodia. The round-the-world journey was done using the technique of the so-called «Moving Panorama» in which the circular exhibition was replaced by a moving canvas. You started out in Marseille, visited a variety of countries and then returned to the starting point. To animate and make the décor more lifelike there was a sequence of living tableaux, that is, the human figures were not actors but real. Thus visitors saw real Chinese people when they were shown China, and genuine Hindus when they «passed» through India. This panorama in which movement was added to the

static picture achieved astounding success by creating the ideal journey around the world without ever leaving Paris. Once again, the human landscape integrating the foreign landscape brought to the exhibitions appeared — being exotic, it brought the picture presented to life.

Portugal's representation consisted of two pavilions: one on the Quai d'Orsay designed by Ventura Terra (1866-1919) reflected the formal influence of French architecture (as Ventura Terra had been a student at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris); the other pavilion, that of the Portuguese Colonies, was located on the Trocadéro and had a façade showing a group of women symbolising the colonies who held a shield bearing the arms of Portugal, thus evoking the Portuguese maritime discoveries.

In the painting section, special emphasis was given to the works by José Sousa Pinto and Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro even though their paintings were limited to the metropolitan universe.⁴

1 Maria Helena Souto, Op. Cit., p. 211.

2 António Guerreiro, *Exposições Universais: Paris 1900*. Lisboa, Expo 98, 1995, pp. 48-57.

3 See *Le livre des expositions universelles 1851-1989*. Paris, éditions des arts décoratifs, 1983, p. 294.

4 When the mission in Paris was over, the ship that was carrying the Portuguese works was shipwrecked off the coast of Sagres with all the cargo on board lost.

COLONIAL EXHIBITION, MARSEILLE, 1906

The colonial exhibition of Marseille was a veritable showcase for the so-called «human zoos», with tribes exhibited in forced situations in a reconstituted environment. This cultural attitude of racial supremacy mirrored the mentality of the time, with the euphemised term being «ethnic villages» or «ethnographic exhibitions». The argument used to defend the presence of these indigenous groups was that the

exhibitors sought to highlight the differences in culture and technological evolution between European and non-European peoples and by means of these differences to attest to the alleged superiority of the colonising society.¹

The 1907 Colonial Exhibition in Paris once again exhibited indigenous villages with the usual success, this time in the tropical garden of the Bois de Vincennes.

Organised by the *Société Française de Colonisation*, the exhibition included pavilions representing the French empire around which villages from Indochina, Madagascar, the Congo, Sudan, Tunisia and Morocco were recreated with the aim of reproducing all the empire's resources in miniature.

IBERO-AMERICAN EXHIBITION OF SEVILLE, 1929

The Ibero-American exhibition of Seville launched a new paradigm for world fairs, as it incorporated overseas material into national art production and projected it throughout the territories of the empire. How was this achieved?

Firstly, it was through the representation of the oldest European colony in the Far East (Macau), which had its own

pavilion in the style of a pagoda; this was not a replica of any pagoda in particular, but a mixture of various temples in Macau.

A second point has to do with the works Portugal decided to exhibit in its pavilion. In a project by the Rebelo de Andrade brothers, the Portuguese representation included a Colonial Salon where the highlights were

diamonds from Angola and a miniature train from the Benguela Railway Company. The artistic dimension was left out but there was a reason for this: the military dictatorship had recently been established in Portugal (1928) and the new political reality was still not represented in the plastic arts; as a result, primacy was given to artifacts belonging to the distant empire.

PARIS EXHIBITION, 1931

To a certain extent the 1931 International Colonial Exhibition held in Vincennes in Paris consisted of the final affirmation of the colonial empires, in particular the French empire. The event became the stage for colonial propaganda, which was at its apogee, allowing a never before achieved concentration of imperial plastic discourses, of which the Portuguese example is a case in point.

The area set aside for the Portuguese section was represented by pavilions whose interiors and façades all merged to show the grandeur of the empire. The architectural authorship of the various spaces fell to Raul Lino (1879-1974) who used crosses of the Order of Christ and a Manueline portal to great effect. The whole counted on the collaboration of Costa Motta (nephew, 1877-1956), António Máximo Ribeiro, Cândido da Silva, Canto da Maia (1890-1981), Carlos Botelho (1899-1982), Bernardo Marques, Diogo de Macedo,

Francisco Franco (1885-1955), Emmerico Nunes (1888-1968) and Henrique Moreira (1890-1979), who helped with letters, drawings, statuary, maps, graphics, maquettes, dioramas and bas-reliefs.

As for the paintings on display, it must be mentioned that none of the invited artists (with the exception of Jorge Baradas) had ever set foot in the colonies, hence they had been limited to seeing reproductions of documents or to «imagining» the mythic destiny of the nation as mentioned in the previous chapter and of which the works of Abel Manta, Alberto Souza, Dórdio Gomes and Lino António are examples.

In a clear appropriation of art as a vehicle for colonial propaganda, the Portuguese representation of 1931 turned out to be one of the most powerful ever. The Minister for the Colonies, Armindo Monteiro (1896-1955), made a point of appearing at the exhibition's closing

ceremony together with an «embassy» from Portuguese colonies as recounted in *Portugal Colonial*.² The *Estado Novo* had started to concern itself with its overseas territories (passing the *Acto Colonial* [Colonial Act], the base law for the future empire) and art began to be seen as something that could mould the empire into a single entity owing to its historically proven power of imagetic persuasion. If, in the European context, the increasing importance given to the visual register and to painting in particular had already proved its power to influence metropolitan populations in regard to overseas peoples, it was now the turn of Portugal to use its art (and its artists) in the service of the colonial empire.

It should be added that the French surrealist group took a stand against the 1931 exhibition with the slogan «Ne visitez pas l'Exhibition coloniale» (Do not visit the Colonial Exhibition). This protest was due

1 Nevertheless, the discriminatory and racist nature inherent to this practice culminated in its gradual disappearance in the 20th century. However, at the end of the 19th century it was still quite frequent.

2 Ano 1, n.º 9 de novembro de 1931, p. 15.

to what they thought was the exploitation of colonial peoples, especially in regard to

forced labour and the exhibitionary humiliation inflicted on ancient cultures.

PARIS EXHIBITION, 1937

The International Exhibition of Art and Technology in Modern Life was the setting for a European peace whose days were numbered. Here the duel for political-cultural supremacy between the Third Reich and the USSR was brought to the fore as the two pavilions were situated opposite each other. The two countries engaged in a power struggle challenging each other and foreshadowing the conflict that would break out two years later. It also mirrored the struggle between two distinct political-artistic orientations. A few metres from the Soviet pavilion, Picasso's *Guernica* was on display, a testament to the loss of all innocence and an allegory of the Spanish Civil War which had started one year before (1936) and was the prelude to the Second World War.

Behind Germany's pavilion and on the banks of the Seine was the Portuguese pavilion. António Ferro (1895-1956) was the general commissioner while the chief architect was Keil do Amaral (1910-1975). The pavilion's façade had decorative sculptures alluding to figures relating to the Discoveries such as Vasco da Gama, Fernão de Magalhães, Afonso de Albuquerque, Pedro Álvares Cabral and Luiz Vaz de Camões, modelled by Canto da Maia and Barata Feyo in enormous cement bas-reliefs with an excellent graphic quality. Inside the building, a pre-defined itinerary determined the route to be followed. In Room

IV, dedicated to the overseas territories, diagrams showed the colonial works undertaken in the Portuguese empire in accordance with the policies set out in the 1930 Colonial Act. The key highlights of this section were the photographic enlargements of the building work carried out in the imperial colonies — the construction of the bridge over the Zambezi River and the Benguela railway line — shown in a clear and simple discourse that received a great deal of praise.

In this propagandist staging of empire, the national representation gave special prominence to painting, particularly Jorge Barradas' triptych *O Império Colonial* [The Colonial Empire].

Various publications by the SPN [National Propaganda Secretariat] were distributed (such as *Portugal, le pays qui a plus contribué à la connaissance géographique du monde; L'Empire Colonial Portugais; La domination portugaise au Maroc; Grandes chasses. Tourisme dans l'Afrique portugaise*), often accompanied by illustrated postcards especially printed for the occasion as was the series entitled *Types de l'Empire Portugais* with drawings by Eduardo Malta.

In the complex propaganda web of the national and nationalist representations at the exhibition, one significant event reflected a different reality. This was the inauguration of the *Musée de l'Homme*, the

heir to the *Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro* founded in 1878 whose collection had been built up since the 16th century with items of a pre-historic, anthropological and artistic nature. This indirectly revealed a certain disquiet related to appreciating the so-called primitive arts among the cosmopolitan intellectuals of Paris. One could say there was a certain budding indigenous awareness and naturally this situation called into question the legitimacy and interests of the colonising nations, especially the host country, France.

Paradoxically, at the same time as the Paris exhibition and the inauguration of the *Musée de l'Homme*, the «Degenerate Art» exhibition¹ was held in Germany. This was where the Third Reich confirmed its position against modernist and avant-garde tendencies and their authors. According to some writers, it was this politicisation of culture that became an aestheticization of politics in the case of Germany and in the case of the USSR the politicisation of art.² In this respect, facing each other in Paris both nations wanted to show an artistic position that was concomitant with the identity of the type of totalitarianism they represented, thereby destroying any equivocation that might still exist.

NEW YORK EXHIBITION, 1939

The 1939 World's Fair opened its doors at the same time as Adolf Hitler's troops began the invasion of Poland. It was the start of the Second World War, a conflict that would make it impossible to continue the

programme of universal, world, international and colonial exhibitions.

Nevertheless, Portugal was represented with António Ferro once again the commissioner and Jorge Segurado (1898-1990)

the architect responsible for the pavilion. Over the main entrance, the phrase «Portugal, a great Colonial Nation in a small country» summed up the nation's representation. Above this, a frieze showed

1 The name officially given by the Third Reich to modern art and to the exhibition that was held for the first time in Nuremberg in 1935 where avant-garde works by Dadaists, Expressionists, Impressionists, Cubists, Fauves, Futurists, Constructivists and Surrealists were confiscated. According to the view of the Nazi regime, they were not in agreement with the National Socialists' concept of art. However, it was the Munich exhibition of Degenerate Art inaugurated on 19 July 1937, only one and a half months after the opening of the Paris Exhibition that achieved international fame. According to Hitler's government, degenerate works were those that did not conform to the classical patterns of beauty and naturalist representation in which what was valued was the perfection, harmony and balance of the figures; in this sense, modern art, with its freedom of form and fundamentally anti-naturalist stamp, was considered to be essentially «degenerate», thus marking the peak of the Third Reich's public campaign to discredit the avant-garde art movements of the early 20th century

2 Walter Benjamin, «A Obra de Arte na Era da sua Reprodutibilidade Técnica», *Sobre Arte, Técnica, Linguagem e Política*. Relógio D'Água, Lisboa, 2012, pp. 70; 93-95.

maps and caravels which emphasised the maritime calling illustrated by the pavilion's interior. After the entrance hall came the room called «The Discovery of the Atlantic». Here a reproduction of a *padrão* [a stone marker] placed by Diogo Cão, which acted as a kind of Portuguese signature in the world, could be found as well as an allegory by Jorge Barradas of the School of Sagres and five globes by Fred Kradolfer (1903-1968) showing the Portuguese maritime routes around the world.

In the adjoining room, named «Columbus» as a type of afterthought to the Discoveries, a photomontage in the form of a giant book showed the house where Columbus had lived on the island of Madeira as well as part of his memoirs and a mural by António Soares inspired by images of the Portuguese navigators. The room called «Portuguese Expansion in the World» continued the exhibition discourse of historical continuity. In this room the voyages made to America before Columbus were shown, evoking all the contributions made by Portugal. There was also a great deal of documentation about Asia,

North America, Brazil and Africa and to finish there was an illuminated planisphere that summed up Portugal's epic enterprise. Jorge Barradas painted an allegorical panel about the life of Infante Dom Henrique as well as four others relating to the Portuguese in Africa, Portuguese America, North America and Asia.

However, it was in the «Main Hall» that the national and imperial dignity was impressed on the visitor. Before entering the room, a whole range of information provided data about the colonies but the moment one stepped into the room two enormous mural paintings *A Fé* [Faith] and *O Império* [Empire] by Fred Kradolfer from 1939 forced themselves onto the visitor. Both works were four times larger than the sculptures they enveloped — the statues of the President of the Council, Salazar (by the sculptor Francisco Franco) and the Head of State, Carmona (by the sculptor Leopoldo de Almeida). The monumentalising ambition of both Kradolfer's murals translated into the magnitude of the Portuguese presence in the world and the size of the first western empire on a global scale.

In the gardens outside were statues and sculpted friezes depicting figures such as Luís de Camões, Pedro Álvares Cabral and Vasco da Gama (all by Barata Feyo), which celebrated and wound up the defence of the empire and the lesson on Portugal's historical monumentality.

The whole scenic discourse of the national representation was designed so that the Americans would not forget «that the world would not be so big if it had not been for the Portuguese navigators (...) and that Fernão de Magalhães [Ferdinand Magellan] was the first architect of the world and of the great sphere of the World's Fair»,¹ a comment on Portugal's pre-eminence in the (re)discovery of the modern world. However, the fair's designation, «World of Tomorrow», was overshadowed by the outbreak of war. As for the Portuguese section, despite showing different periods in history that augured a promising future, the exhibition model chosen was without a doubt traditional, distancing itself from so-called modern art and consequently from the conception of the future envisioned by the event.

EXHIBITION OF PORTUGUESE ART, LONDON, 1955

The exhibition of Portuguese art in London between 1955 and 1956 was not a universal, world, international or colonial exhibition but a unique case inasmuch as it became an example of how art could help recover political dividends, even if these were anachronistic. Hence the need for a short digression to refer to it.

The choices made by the commissioner, Reinaldo dos Santos, are worth commenting on. The main thrust of the programme he drew up for the event highlighted the «Portuguese Primitives», sculpture, painting from the second half of the 16th century, the 17th century and Manueline, Baroque and Romantic works.² Following its own strategy, the exhibition tour ended up in a room called «Portugal in the East», which showed

how Portuguese art had been influenced by Asian art. In fact, back in 1936 Reinaldo dos Santos had delivered a speech entitled «Portuguese Empire and Art»³ in which he discussed the relationship between Portuguese and oriental art and in which he criticised the concept of Indo-Portuguese art, a concept that had appeared when more value was given to 19th century exoticism. The term was attributed to John Charles Robinson (1824-1913) and immediately reiterated in Portugal by Sousa Viterbo (1845/46-1910).⁴ At the time Santos had proposed the broader term 'Portuguese-Oriental art' with the idea of including not only India but also Japan and China.

Linked to the London exhibition at the Royal Academy of Arts was another at the

Frost & Reed Galleries which displayed Eduardo Malta's official portraits and was visited by the Head of State, Craveiro Lopes. In this period when Portugal was repositioning herself on the international political chess board, this visit to England was undoubtedly used to reaffirm the alliance between Portugal and England. The stance taken in the past by Portugal in an attempt to nullify divergent paths, such as on the question of Portuguese India which had appeared on the international agenda, was justified by using a strategy of political-artistic communion. It must be remembered that Portugal's colonial position was unusual and unpopular — this was ten years after the end of the Second World War, after sovereignty of British

1 «Exposição de Nova Iorque. O discurso pronunciado por António Ferro» in *Diário de Notícias*, 14.12.1938, p. 1.

2 For a detailed description, see Maria Amélia Fernandes, *A Exposição de Arte Portuguesa em Londres 1955-56. A personalidade artística do país*. Lisboa, Universidade de Lisboa, 2001.

3 Reinaldo dos Santos, «O império e a arte» in *Alta Cultura Colonial, Discurso inaugural e Conferências, República Portuguesa*. Lisboa, Agência Geral das Colónias, 1936, pp. 353-374. The text was also published under the same title in *Conferências de Arte*. Lisboa, Imprensa nas Oficinas Gráficas da Gazeta dos Caminhos de Ferro, 1941, pp. 1-26.

4 See Carla Alferes Pinto, «A arte ao serviço do império e das colónias: o contributo de alguns programas expositivos e museológicos para o discurso de legitimação territorial», *MIDAS*. 6 | 2016. Online at <https://midas.revues.org/957> (accessed on 3.4.2020).

India had been handed over and with independence starting to be given to Asian and African states. The 1951 Constitutional Revision had only dealt with part of the problem: by considering the colonial territories to be «overseas provinces», it conferred a status on them similar to that of all its other European provinces. However, this integrationist perspective had not produced the desired effects in the western diplomatic world since the bond laid down

in the Colonial Act and in Armino Monteiro's subsequent policy prevailed despite the 1951 alterations. Therefore, the themes chosen by Reinaldo dos Santos coincide with the major questions of national historiography; in other words, not only were they the most consensually accepted but also those that had been previously recognised by foreign critics.

Without a doubt the London exhibition was a project of a national nature

— endorsed from the start by the President of the Council and visited by the Head of State — to which was added the authorial vision of its commissioner, Reinaldo dos Santos, a true artistic ambassador. Even given that few exhibitions were held in the 1950s (the exceptions being this event and the 1958 Brussels Exhibition), a tentacular imperial dimension was advocated that once again excluded any modernising element.

BRUSSELS EXHIBITION, 1958

When the international exhibition calendar was taken up again in 1958, the world was another world. The post-war period had brought an end to the European colonial empires except for Portugal's, but it had ushered in a world divided by the Cold War. Note that the Yalta Conference¹ had imposed a new distribution of zones of influence between the West and the East, pitting the capitalist world against the socialist. With the 1947 Marshall Plan² this separation into two distinct areas became a political reality separated by the Iron Curtain, NATO and the Berlin Wall.

As a result, the confrontation between the Americans and the Soviets at Expo'58 was inevitable and took the form of two gigantic pavilions built to serve as propaganda tools extolling the virtues of the two antagonistic systems. In addition, the atomic danger that had brought the Second World War to an end was still very much present and so the event wished to emphasise the virtues of the «peaceful atom». It therefore used the Atomium as its symbol. The intention was to stress the application of science for good at a time when things nuclear were the order of the day.

Besides the Cold War and the paradox of nuclear energy, a new element also featured at the event — the end of the British and French colonial empires was confirmed and

the consequent decolonisation brought representations from the newly autonomous countries. What was particularly noticeable was that the winds of change brought to the exhibition newly independent countries such as Cuba and Morocco, recently emancipated from the French yoke. France had been defeated in Indochina and the colonial conflict in Algeria was just around the corner while the host country itself, Belgium, was attempting to reaffirm the virtues of its African colonial policy by highlighting its «civilising mission» along with the anachronistic Congo and Rwanda-Urundi representation³ that did not foresee their independence (two years later for the Congo and four for Rwanda).

The same could be said of the Portuguese presence which glorified «the effort made by the nation in the vast overseas territories it retained after its expansion».⁴ The pavilion designed by Pedro Cid (1925-1983) was built using iron and glass and sought to be a defence of nationalist colonial propaganda but now reconfigured in light of the world that had emerged from the post-war period.

It is worth looking at Portugal's presentation message:

Portugal's representation is a synthesis of Portuguese humanism and a summary of

the spiritual and material riches of the Nation. Based on the theme of the exhibition, this representation enables the visitor to discover the aspirations of a hard-working people to raise their standard of living and develop the resources of the whole of their vast territory, which is made up of the European provinces situated in the Iberian Peninsula where the capital (Lisbon) is to be found and the overseas provinces scattered throughout the world.⁵

As was now usual, the pavilion devoted a section to Portugal's overseas territories «with a valuable and complete photographic documentation of the most progressive activities in our overseas provinces».⁶ Outside the south façade was a huge bust of Infante Dom Henrique by Barata Feyo which was a kind of plastic epilogue to the Portuguese representation. Critics⁷ accused the exhibition space of being somewhat ill-defined and lacking any clear coherent plastic thread in a pictorial group that highlighted the works of various artists — this despite the fact that the technical description⁸ of the winning project made no mention whatsoever of the presence of artistic interventions. However, as we know, the decorative system is not always incorporated into the architect's initial design. Consequently, it is difficult to

1 At the 1945 Yalta Conference, also called the Crimea Conference, the three heads of state, Franklin Roosevelt, Winston Churchill and Josef Stalin, created a new world order dividing the areas of influence between the West and the East.

2 The initiative following the Truman Doctrine that President Truman set out with a view to the recovery and reconstruction of Allied Europe in the years after the Second World War.

3 12 hectares of tropical gardens with seven pavilions.

4 Indústria Portuguesa. Boletim da Associação Industrial Portuguesa, n.º 362, Abril 1958, p. 133.

5 Idem.

6 Idem.

7 See article by Nuno Portas and Gomes da Silva in the journal *Arquitectura*. n.º 64, Janeiro/Febrero 1959, p. 24.

8 «Concurso para o Pavilhão de Portugal em Bruxelas. Exposição Internacional e Universal de 1958». *Arquitectura*. n.º 57-58, Jan-Fev. 1957, p. 7.

attribute authorship. However, we do know that on the second floor, there was a space (Sector V, *Portugal Ultramarino*) dedicated to Portugal's overseas provinces. Coordinated by Manuel Lapa (1914-1979) and Fernando de Azevedo (1923-2002, who had been in Africa with Marcelino Vespeira), this contained an exhibition of handicrafts and cultural objects from the Portuguese

colonies. In particular, there was a wall inspired by Chokwe designs and drawings which José Redinha had collected some time before (1953, in the album *Paredes Pintadas da Lunda*)¹ as well as painted panels of lush African vegetation framing a display of stuffed animals.

Obviously, Portugal's contribution in Brussels was far removed from the

everyday life of the Portuguese who, in this summer of '58, watched, with a mixture of perplexity and surprise, as Humberto Delgado became a presidential candidate, an event which, although not accomplished, showed that the golden age of the *Estado Novo* had come to an end.

JAPAN EXHIBITION, 1970

One hundred and nineteen years after the inauguration of the first world exhibition in London, Japan hosted the first world exhibition in Asia. Osaka '70 represented the end of an era of exhibitions in which the nationalist discourse was abandoned and the nations turned their faces towards international cooperation and solidarity. This was the end of colonial representation

discourse. The Emperor of Japan, Hirohito (1901-1989), presided at the opening and closing ceremonies at a time when there were practically no overseas empires left. Portugal, the last of the resisting nations, would lose Africa four years later in 1974 but at the time of Osaka the winds of decolonisation were unquestionably already blowing. The last European empire and the

first to link the East to the West was on its last legs and despite trying to emphasise the humanist angle of the arrival of the Portuguese in Japan² — with a certain racial and cultural miscegenation — the beginning of the 1970s did not allow for anachronisms from the Portuguese empire.

SEVILLE EXHIBITION, 1992

The year 1992 coincided with the 5th centenary commemorations of the Discovery of America, for which Christopher Columbus was made into a kind of pioneer of the future — a theme that was amplified and disseminated throughout the Seville

Exhibition. Inside the Portugal Pavilion designed by Manuel Graça Dias (1953-2019) and Egas José Vieira (1962-), the main exhibit was the original of the Treaty of Tordesillas. Hence, within the various thematic lines included inside the pavilion,

the role of the Discoveries and of Portugal as a mediator between peoples was given special prominence.

1 On line at <https://www.flickr.com/photos/biblarde/4746306094/in/album-72157624260411593/> (accessed on 31.3.2020).

2 The 16th century Namban Screen that depicts the arrival of the Portuguese in Japan was the main artistic object highlighted in the Portuguese pavilion.

CARTOGRAPHIES. FROM THE «IV CENTENARY OF INDIA» (1898) TO EXPO'98 (1998)

It is a well-known fact that colonialism was a structuring element of Portuguese history and another well-known fact is that art transcends geography. Hence the contemporary era has witnessed a growing commitment to the holding of exhibitions, which has reconfigured visual culture at

a transnational level as was shown in the previous sub-chapter.

The emergence of modern colonialism at the start of the 20th century created a new rhetoric of imperial propaganda that enjoyed its own cartography in exhibition representations by classifying the artistic

culture of the mother-country (or administering power) from a Lusocentric perspective that increasingly became transformed into a pluricontinental, multiracial view albeit one remaining within the limits we now know.

«IV CENTENARY OF INDIA», LISBON 1898

The event that announced the winds of change that the 20th century would bring was the event held in 1898 which commemorated the 4th Centenary of the Discovery of the Maritime Route to India. The «Pearl of the Orient» described in Camões' verses was the pretext for the first major national event in terms of imperial commemorations although there had already been other earlier exhibitions such as the 1865 Porto International Exhibition¹ or the 1894 Portuguese Insular and Colonial Exhibition.² Neither had included any colonial artistic representation though.³

Fin-de-siècle Portugal was going through a troubled period (the 1890 Ultimatum and the problematic issue of Portuguese interests in Africa, the scepticism of the ruling elites as well as a financial, political and moral crisis). The commemorations had an implicit political dimension and were seen as a bid to restore the nation's power by reaffirming its imperial greatness. The commemorations officially began on 8 July 1897 with the inauguration of the Lisbon Geographical Society's (SGL) new headquarters and the Colonial Ethnographic Museum. In point of fact, the event

was organised by the SGL and publicised by royal decree. Its significance was based on evoking both historical and mythic memory as well as the epic figures of the Discoveries through the first maritime voyage of the Portuguese to India and Vasco da Gama, the navigator responsible for this. Moreover, the support that was most commonly chosen to show the numerous events that took place at the time as well as the extremely varied means employed was art.

The diversified programme that had been proposed ended up foundering through a lack of funds and the availability of suitable premises,⁴ although a Free Fair and an Exhibition of Traditional Industries and Customs was set up on the land at the top of the Avenida (today the Marquês de Pombal roundabout and surrounding area). The Fair opened with «two artistic stands», one of which was «a 7-metre high elephant inside which objects and themes related to India were exhibited and presented by genuine Indians».⁵

One point of interest is that some typical native huts were erected and a group of Africans who were brought over especially

for the celebrations were exhibited in what was certainly the first display of indigenous people from the colonies — they came from Cape Verde, Guinea, Mozambique and Portuguese India, although the latter group arrived so late that they did not take part in the civic procession.

Commemorations were held throughout Portugal, spreading into the provinces to promote a veritable evocation on a national scale in order to perpetuate the cult and projection of the nation's inclusive and unitary memory. However, the most significant achievement of all was the construction and inauguration of the Vasco da Gama Aquarium in Algés.

Despite all this colonial representation, no-one thought to include any display of paintings associated to the publicised theme. There were of course other exhibitions of a less popular nature and the one organised by the *Grémio Artístico* [Artistic Guild] is notable as it presented a sampling of contemporary Portuguese art. José Malhoa presided over the jury which was tasked with selecting and classifying the 246 works exhibited by artists such as Columbano, Roque Gameiro, José Malhoa,

1 The Exposição Internacional do Porto [Porto International Exhibition] was the first to be held in the Iberian Peninsula. The exhibition was mounted in the Crystal Palace (demolished in 1951) and officially visited by the king, Dom Luis. There were 3, 139 exhibitors, of whom 499 were French, 265 German, 107 British, 89 Belgian, 62 Brazilian, 24 Spanish and 16 Danish, and there were also representatives from Russia, Holland, Turkey, the United States and Japan. With this event, the Portuguese public had the opportunity to observe foreign products, especially art. France mostly displayed the official painting of the Salons, ranging from Eugène Boudin (1824-1898) to Théodule-Augustin Ribot (1823-1891), and paid tribute to Tomás da Anunciação by awarding him the medal of honour in the Fine Arts section.

2 The event commemorated the 5th centenary of the birth of Infante Dom Henrique.

3 The commemorative dimension of the Discoveries had been explored from the 300th anniversary of the death of Camões (1880) to the already mentioned birth of Infante Dom Henrique (1894).

4 See Maria Isabel João, «As Comemorações do Centenário da Índia» in O Centenário da Índia 1898 e a memória da viagem de Vasco da Gama. Lisboa, Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações, 1998, pp. 33-34.

5 José Pedro do Carmo, *Evocações do Passado*. Tipografia da Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, Lisboa, 1943, pp. 148-149.

Carlos Reis (1863-1940), Veloso Salgado and Sousa Pinto. Not surprisingly, no colonial paintings were included which showed that, between India's zestful spiciness and the metropole's insipid blandness, a colonial silence crept in — such silences did not overlap although they did touch.

The Portuguese artists that participated in this exhibition had no first-hand experience of Portuguese India and celebrated it with Africa in mind. One exception was the Historical Painting contest, whose jury, headed by José Malhoa, awarded the first prize to Veloso Salgado, with a canvas by Ernesto Condeixa (1858-1933)¹ coming in

second place. A theatrical composition later awarded a medal in Paris (in the 1900 exhibition), *Vasco da Gama before the Zamorim of Calicut* (1898) fulfilled the rhetorical function for which it had been created, namely to aggrandise the role of the India route, making it into the official image of a historical fact. It has been displayed at the entrance to the Lisbon Geographical Society ever since.

One fact worth mentioning is that just a few days before the event opened at the end of June, the threats made by Great Britain and Germany against Portugal's empire became a reality when both powers

initiated diplomatic negotiations with a view to dividing up the Portuguese colonial empire in Africa should Portugal not honour its financial commitments.² The spheres of influence of the major European imperial powers shifted according to their interests in the division of Africa. It is therefore important to consider how the need to face positively a moment that was so adverse in various ways was more than justified and therefore it became essential to commemorate the figure of Vasco da Gama historically.

FIRST PORTUGUESE COLONIAL EXHIBITION, PORTO, 1934

The first Portuguese colonial exhibitions took place outside the country, that is, in the overseas territories: the first Portuguese colonial exhibition was held in Goa (1860), followed by one in Cape Verde (1881). The first one to be held in the metropole though was the First Portuguese Colonial Exhibition which took place in Porto in July and August 1934. Following the model of similar exhibitions, and akin to what had happened in Marseille (1922), Antwerp (1930) and Paris (1931), the location chosen divided the event between an enclosed covered space (the Crystal Palace) and the surrounding open-air area which allowed the «parts» of the empire to be shown. The event was intended to be the first major act of colonial propaganda that would put into practice and render the policy underlying the 1930 Colonial Act visible and show off the vast pluricontinental empire. The technical director was Henrique Galvão,³ the author of the catchphrase «Portugal is not a small country». This was printed on a map that would become the exhibition's main symbol but also the symbol of an era since it was reproduced over and over again and

hung on the walls of classrooms all over the country.

The official bulletin of the event was *Ultramar* [Overseas]⁴, which was edited by Henrique Galvão who also co-authored the Exhibition's *Álbum-Catálogo Oficial* [Official Album-Catalogue].⁵ In the exhibition space indigenous villages from the various colonies were reproduced, a zoo housing exotic animals was set up, replicas of overseas monuments were built and hundreds of exhibitors from both the metropole and the colonies attested to the empire's entrepreneurial dynamic.

What is particularly interesting is the Colonial Art Competition that was held as part of the event and which included a section for painting.

As indicated in note 200 of this volume, the painting that Henrique Galvão considered to be the «First Great Work of Portuguese Colonial Painting» would become a double metaphor for Portuguese colonial painting. First of all, it was never finished (and the intended triptych ended up as a diptych). This shows the vicissitudes of the importance given to art and

painting as the standard bearer for colonial representation. The second point concerns the fact that it is a staged image in which the expressionless faces are clearly the result of a staged theatricality that came from the plastic idealisation of an artist who had never travelled to the empire so that the work — even if it had been finished — could never reflect the actual reality born of experience overseas. The artificiality of his painting results in a series of stylised stereotypes that are nothing more than a mythic and pretentiously exotic view of a certain 'Portugueseness' in the world.

Related to the above is the information provided in numbers 15 and 16 of the review *Ultramar*⁶ where the list of exhibited artists and works is published:

- Abel de Moura. *Cabeça Negra* [African Head],
A Porta da Cubata [The Hut Door]
 Abeilard de Vasconcelos. *Paisagem de S. Tomé* [São Tomé Landscape]
 Alberto de Sousa. *Cabeça de Índio* [Head of an Indian], *Coronel Côte Real* [Colonel Côte Real], *Dungula-Mulher do Soba de*

1 He was a naturalist painter who won a scholarship to Paris where he studied at Alexandre Cabanel's studio. He dedicated himself primarily to historical painting, an example of which is his melodramatic picture *Dom João II perante o Cadáver do Filho*, exhibited in the 1886 Paris Salon, which gained him some recognition. His works include a series of historical paintings such as *El-rei Dom Fernando e o infante Dom Dinis* (1896), *Recepção feita pelo Samorim a Vasco da Gama* (1899), *Conquista de Malaca* (1903), *Vasco da Gama no Cabo das Tormentas* (1905) and *Adamastor* (1905).

2 See António Telo, *Lourenço Marques na política externa portuguesa 1875-1900*. Lisboa, Cosmos, 1991, pp. 145-149.

3 A military officer with experience of colonial affairs. He was the director of the Colonial Products Fairs and, in this role, had represented Portugal at the 1931 Paris Colonial Exhibition. Since March of the same year he had edited the review *Portugal Colonial*, and later was responsible for the colonial section at the 1940 Great Exhibition of the Portuguese World. All of this of course was before he became one of the regime's most newsworthy dissidents.

4 Online at <http://hemerotecadigital.cm-lisboa.pt/Periodicos/Ultramar/Ultramar.htm> (accessed on 31.1.2020).

5 Online at http://hemerotecadigital.cm-lisboa.pt/RaridadesBibliograficas/OImperioPortugues/OImperioPortugues_item1/index.html (accessed on 31.3.2020).

6 *Ultramar*. n.º 15, 1 Set. 1934, p. 7; *Ultramar*, n.º 16, 15 Set. 1934, p. 8.

Quipungo [Dungula — Wife of the Chief of Quipungo], Sibila [Sybil]

Jorge Barradas. *Lavadeiras do Rio de S. Tomé [Washerwomen in the São Tomé River], Habitação de Negros [African Housing], Perto do Obó [Near Obó], No Mato [In the Bush]* (all from São Tomé)

José Luís Brandão de Carvalho. *Bobo Negro* (tipo bijagós) [African Court Jester from Bijagós]

Manuel Guimarães. *Negra [Negro Woman]*

Maria Amélia Fonseca Roseira. *Vista do Pico de S. Tomé [View from São Tomé Peak], Cápsulas de Cacau [Cacao Pods]* (still life)

Maria Noémia de Almeida e Vasconcelos. *A Sabina-Angola [Angolan Savin]*

Ventura Júnior. *Manipiaços [Fetiches]* (still life)

The following were listed under the category of drawing:

Alberto de Sousa. *Tipo Indiano [Indian Figure], Dungula, Sibila [Sybil], Tipo Macaista [Macau Figure], Congo-Dançarino Tipo Bijagós [Bijagós Congo-Dancer], Concerto Macaense [Macaense Concert], Tipo Mucancala [Mucancala Figure], Tipo Mucancala (2) [Mucancala Figure 2], Coronel Côrte Real [Colonel Côrte Real]*

Armando Bruno. *Sinfonia Negra [Black Symphony]*

Fernando de Oliveira. *Desenho [Drawing]*

Maria Noémia de Almeida e Vasconcelos. *Xeque Amand Agi Abdul Reim Hakmi [sic]*

Octávio Sérgio. *Raça Fina (Guiné) [Figure — Guinea], Soba da Guiné [Guinean Village Chief]*

In addition to the works in this list, there were a pair of canvasses by Jorge Barradas and a reproduced image of a panel by Ventura Júnior, which in the end was little

for an exhibition that was named the First Portuguese Exhibition of Colonial Art.

What the Porto exhibition unmistakably showed was how it was impossible for there to be any multicultural artistic dialogue between the metropole and the colonies; in fact, the exhibition was based on a monologue of the coloniser's civilisational supremacy that showed an anachronistic and reductive cultural-artistic stance that was, however, in perfect harmony with the whole colonial policy advocated by the government. Above all else, the exhibition laid out the path the *Estado Novo* intended to follow in relation to painting — colonially-inspired plastic experimentation that would not be based on any actual experience of the overseas territories but rather on the recreation and stylisation of stereotypical elements of what the colonies and their artistic culture were thought to be.

EXHIBITION OF THE PORTUGUESE WORLD, LISBON, 1940

To commemorate the double centenary of the Foundation of the Portuguese Nation and the Restoration of Independence (1140 and 1640 respectively), the *Exposição do Mundo Português* [Exhibition of the Portuguese World] was held in Lisbon in 1940. It was concentrated in the area around Belém, the imperial quay from which the first Portuguese navigators had set sail to explore the world.

In the context of art and travel in the Portuguese empire, some emblematic pavilions should be considered. The Pavilion of the Portuguese in the World, designed by Cottinelli Telmo, the chief architect of the whole exhibition, shared the space in the Praça do Império with the Pavilion of Honour designed by Cristino da Silva. Its façade was crowned by a heraldic frieze showing the coats of arms of the Castro, Gama, Albuquerque and Cabral families while inside was a journey via a *mappa mundi* through the history of the Portuguese people in an image of sovereignty that invoked its former dominions. There was also the Pavilion of the Discoveries

which recreated several milestones in the 15th and 16th century voyages, with the most vibrant feature being a huge Sphere of the Discoveries which crowned the architectonic body of the building. Inside the Pavilion there was a huge open circular room whose scenographic effects lit up the routes taken by the caravels. Two other pavilions were the Colonisation Pavilion and the Pavilion of Brazil, the only (former) Portuguese colony with the right to its own building.

However, most of the overseas-related aspects, particularly in regard to painting, were to be found in the Colonial Section, one of the thematic sections into which the exhibition was divided. This was set up in the Colonial Garden¹ and was organised by Henrique Galvão. Inaugurated on 27 June 1940, it was a sort of annexe to the main exhibition covering an area of some 50 000m². Access was via a ramp located in the northeast corner of the exhibition. Here the characteristic architecture of each of the overseas provinces was recreated and even indigenous villages were installed

(as in earlier international and/or colonial exhibitions) to recreate the habitats of the people in Cape Verde, Guinea, São Tomé, Angola, Mozambique and Timor.

The entrance led to the Rua da Índia in a composition suggested by Indo-Portuguese architecture. Bordering the street were the Pavilion of Guinea, the Pavilion of the Island Colonies (São Tomé, Cape Verde and Timor) and the Pavilion of Indigenous Art, where the most representative works of African and Oriental art were on show. The largest exhibition areas were the Pavilion of Angola and the Pavilion of Mozambique but there was also enough space for the Rua de Macau, which recreated a street in this Portuguese city in China and was accessed by way of an arch.² In addition, serving as an observation platform, there was an elephant made by António Pereira da Silva, which was a copy of an anonymous bronze from Indochina.

The Avenue of Colonial Ethnography displayed sculpted reproductions of the most characteristic heads of races and tribes from the empire based on

¹ Today the Jardim Agrícola Tropical [Tropical Agricultural Garden], but previously called the Jardim do Ultramar [Overseas Garden].

² Still present today in the Jardim Agrícola Tropical.

photographic documentation provided by the Institute of Anthropology in Porto.¹ And surrounding all these buildings was the garden's exuberant African and oriental flora that lent the final exotic touch necessary to recreate Portugal's African and Asian territories.

One thing worth noting is that the Colonial Section counted on the participation of numerous artists who helped to «add colour» to this overseas scenario. They included such names as Fausto Sampaio (referred to in detail in chapter II) but also the painter M. A. Amor who exhibited a series of paintings of Goa, Daman, Diu, Chaul, Malacca and Macau in the Pavilion of India. A note appended to the text in the Colonial Section inventory said that the paintings could be bought at the prices published in the catalogue but could only be taken away after the end of the event.

Inside the Pagoda on the Rua de Macau there were paintings by the Chinese artist Chiu Shiu Ngong, who had already exhibited at the International Colonial Exhibition of Antwerp (Belgium) in 1930 where he had been awarded a gold medal. In Lisbon, Ngong exhibited forty-two pictures which were on sale at 50 patacas each.

The Colonial Section also enjoyed the collaboration of Maria Adelaide, Mário Reis and Roberto Araújo,² painters who undoubtedly helped to crystallise the conservative and conventional taste that put an end to any initial attempt to establish a modern colonial pictorial genre.

Henrique Galvão's idea behind the edification of a Colonial Section was to create a School of Portuguese Colonial Art (as mentioned in note 156) from this core group of artists who he had brought together. However, this idea got no further than being an intention just like so many others had been in the past and would be in the future. And, in a certain way, this is what Adriano de Gusmão refers to in an article in the newspaper *O Diabo* when he says that the paintings on display in the exhibition led him to have certain reservations and the artists had wasted an excellent opportunity to launch themselves into a type of painting that would open up new perspectives for the future. In other words, there was nothing new pictorially and the paintings exhibited were, on the whole, «extremely poor».³ Gusmão discusses the work of some of the artists present, such as Lino António, who painted a mural depicting different types of long-haul vessels that was displayed on the walls of the Dom Afonso V room in the Pavilion of the Discoveries. He also mentions the following artists: Jorge Barradas, creator of a frieze drawn in sanguine depicting the leading female figures in the history of Portugal, which decorated the Reception Room in the Pavilion of Honour; Eduardo Malta, who painted a panel in the Pavilion of the Portuguese in the World that depicted a series of religious figures but which «had no value at all»; Manuel Lima, the author of a panel for the Oceania Room; Almada

Negreiros, who exhibited several paintings and especially a modern *Camões* that made Gusmão indignant as he considered it an «insult» to the memory of such a great poet. The disappointment caused by the 'colonial' paintings exhibited also extended to the *Exhibition Guide* itself, which was poor and not very informative. It did not name the artists whose paintings decorated the various pavilions, indicating how little importance was given to such an easily understood form of visual art.

What is also important to mention is that on the occasion of the *Festivities Commemorating the Double Centenary of the Foundation of Portugal and the Restoration of Independence*, an «Art Exhibition» was held in the Vasco da Gama Institute in Nova Goa from 5 to 15 October 1940. This was one of the few (if not the only) satellite events organised outside the metropole during the time when the exhibition was on in Belém. This exhibitionary decentralisation sought «to stimulate the artistic vocation of the children of India»,⁴ the Indo-Portuguese artists. The pictorial sections in the Nova Goa event were for oils, watercolours, pastels and works done in crayon, but other arts such as sculpture, photography, jewellery, bookbinding, and printed and painted textiles were represented as well.

LISBON EXHIBITION, 1998

The World Exhibition of 1998, officially named the *International Exhibition of Lisbon 1998*, commemorated on a worldwide level not only the 500 years of the Portuguese Discoveries but also aimed to highlight how urgent it was to change political behaviour in regard to the oceans while looking to the future as a witness to history and a privileged place for the crossing of cultures. Under the theme «The Oceans: a

heritage for the future», colonial pasts were revisited but now in the light of late 20th century multiculturalism.

In the mythic opulence of the revisited empire, it is worth mentioning that on the threshold of the new millennium these international exhibitions acted as a means for cultural and artistic dissemination and mediation, an aim they still uphold today.

In terms of the arts, and painting in particular, the 1998 event brought with it a pictorial miscegenation that up until then had been impossible to bring together in the capital of the Discoveries, not because there had been no occasion to do so but because the context had not been right. In fact, nor was the context of Expo'98 which was meant to update the epic of the Discoveries by starting from another, the epic

1 The Institute still retains this documentation today.

2 Unsigned article entitled «Exposição do Mundo Português. Inaugurou-se ontem a Secção Colonial» in *Diário de Notícias* 28.6.1940, pp. 1-2.

3 Adriano de Gusmão, «A Arte na Exposição de Belém» in *O Diabo* 16.11.1940, p. 1.

4 Programa da Exposição de Arte. Instituto Vasco da Gama, Nova Goa, Tipografia Rangel, 1940, p. 3.

of the oceans and cultural encounters. Even so, the outcome surpassed previous experiences.¹

As to what was shown in the pavilions of the former Portuguese colonies, these decided to exhibit indigenous art without making any reference to the colonial «era», thereby taking a stance that was simultaneously anti-colonialist and independentist. They abstained from denouncing the obstacles put in their path by the governing body which were in place during the Portuguese imperial yoke, preferring to showcase the art that was the legacy of the first tribes who had inhabited the land. Such was the case of the Mozambique pavilion where the painter Malangatana created a wall panel. He was also Mozambique's National Deputy-Commissioner for Culture at the Lisbon exhibition.

However, what stands out from the whole context of Expo'98 in terms of the proposed study is the creation of a sign designed by José de Guimarães to represent Portuguese tourism that is still used today.

The symbol for the whole country which has lasted until now, more than two decades later, is a work commissioned by ICEP (Investimentos, Comércio e Turismo de Portugal), today the official international representative of the Portuguese Tourist Board. It is a painting that gave rise to the symbol for Portuguese Tourism. It embodies the history of a nation that discovered worlds while discovering itself. Guimarães felt it was important for the logo to represent Portugal as an Atlantic country and, taking the idea of a mythical figure as found in fables, he transformed it into a being capable of walking on the waters of the ocean, thereby linking it to the history

of navigation and the Discoveries. Inspired by the national flag, he painted two open hands, one in red and the other in green, stretching them out of a body whose head, shaped like the sun, represented the warmth not only of the country but also of its people. Lastly, the type of font he used adopts the spirit of the original symbol through a spiral shared by the letter 'g' and the wave that lies above it.² This configuration of a Portugal by the sea, with a sunny climate and waiting with open arms, reiterates and synthesises the artist's attitude towards his country and its history in the world, positioning it as a nation receptive to, and of, the contemporary world. As José-Augusto França described in a review of the volume published by ICEP that explains his development process, this was «an album that recounts a journey of artistic realisation»,³ whose conception entails a far greater complexity than one would have supposed from the outset.

In a final consideration about imperial representations in the great universal, world, international and colonial exhibitions of the 19th and 20th centuries, it is important to recognise the increasing visibility given to art and to colonial painting as these events became more wide-ranging and complex. Even if art was not contemplated at first, it gradually came to occupy a significant place as an act of imperial political propaganda, helping people to visualise the overseas territories and even encouraging some artists to actually travel to these faraway possessions, but an act that the Portuguese state only fortuitously put into practice. The discovery and display of indigenous civilisations provided a lesson in geography

at a time when travelling was the privilege of only a minority, thus enabling the metropolitan urban population to get to know the distant possessions through the colonial sections and the indigenous villages exhibited within them. The saying «The French are ignorant of their geography and so it comes to them»⁴ demonstrates the importance of setting up scenes in these exhibition spaces to show the territories that were part of the empire. A good example is the success of the India section in the first London exhibition in 1851 in Crystal Palace, or the presence of Africans in the 1867 exhibition who were singled out as being a rarely seen curiosity. Such features greatly facilitated learning about the empire despite the limitations, that is, they were a real presence albeit within a fictionalised scenario.

Decorating these realities, the art of indigenous cultures (referred to as savage and/or primitive) or distant ancient civilisations (such as the presence of Japan in the 1855 exhibition in London) served above all to emphasise the superiority of the metropole in relation to the overseas territories and to assuage the curiosity shown by western culture for faraway possessions. But, more than just «showing» the exotic and the foreign, it had to «appear to be» as T. Vijayaraghavacharya, commissioner of the India Section at the 1924 British Empire Exhibition, said: «What the public wants to see of India is what *appears to be* Indian, more than what *is* Indian».⁵ It was the invention of a condition that rarely corresponded to reality, the myth of the West in the face of almost unknown and consequently undervalued cultures.

1 It is important to mention the xvii Exposição Europeia de Arte, Ciência e Cultura [17th European Exhibition of Art, Science and Culture] held in Lisbon in 1983 and subordinated to the theme: Os Descobrimentos Portugueses e a Europa do Renascimento [The Portuguese Discoveries and Renaissance Europe]. This only included historical painting whose themes were based on the Portuguese Discoveries. Once again, the opportunity to show a broader range that included painting in the colonial context was wasted.

2 To understand how the idea developed, see *Viagem do artista*. Journey by an artist. Lisboa, ICEP, 1993.

3 José-Augusto França, «Viagem do Artista» in *Colóquio*. Artes. Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2^a série, 35^o ano, n.º 97, Lisboa, Junho de 1993, p. 72.

4 Paul Morand (1888-1976), French diplomat, novelist, playwright and poet, on the subject of the 1900 exhibition.

5 T. Vijayaraghavacharya, cited by Filipa L. Vicente in «Exposições coloniais na Índia Portuguesa e na Índia Britânica (séculos XIX e XX)», *Revista Oriente*. n.º 8, Lisboa, Fundação Oriente, p. 80.

OCEAN CROSSINGS. PAINTINGS OF THE SEA AND BEYOND

*The Sea was won, the Empire undone.
Lord, we still must win Portugal!*
FERNANDO PESSOA

In the beginning was the Sea. As one of the most important elements of Creation, the sea has always been a legendary and metaphorical space associated with countless myths and populated by a wondrous panoply of fabulous creatures, enchanted islands and enchantresses. Symbolically, the sea represents life and death since the never-ending movement of the water symbolises the transitory side of existence, the inexorable flow of time, with the first forms of life emerging from it. Like Narcissus who made the fatal mistake of looking at his own beauty reflected in the waters of a pool, Portugal looked towards its own sea and sea-inspired verses began to appear in the songs of the troubadours and *poetas palacianos* [palace poets] from the 12th to the 15th century. However, it was the 16th century Discoveries that consolidated the *Mare Tenebrosum* [the Dark Sea] as the natural gateway to the collective adventure of Portugal's history — the sea and the sea beyond the horizon had been discovered.

It was therefore the sea that enabled Portugal's expansion and became the unifying force of the empire. Through their inter-ocean links, the Portuguese made global communication and multi-ocean trade possible. Moreover, the connection to the sea (and via the sea to the rest of the world) became the launch pad for civilisational development, showing the determining role of maritime geography. Portugal's expansionist policy, which relied on its overseas voyages, began by them exploring the Atlantic and then the Indian Ocean, thus giving «new worlds to the World».¹

The sea enabled the ideas underlying the spirit of the Crusades — the propagation

of the faith and the idea of 'mission' — to be once again taken up. In the name of the Cross of Christ, *padrões* [stone markers] were raised and the epic poem, or *gesta*, glorified the new world now discovered. As we are reminded by Camões, Gil Vicente (c. 1460-1524) and João de Barros (1496-1570), when the sails were unfurled and the vessels departed, some offered up prayers while others shouted from the shore: *Bon voyage!* After the long odyssey came the moment to return home, back to the Lusitanian shore, to their native Ithaca, to the Portuguese quayside. With the call to expansion fulfilled, with the overseas empire won and undone, the time came to return to the dream that had not been achieved — the dream of a multicontinental Portugal whose provinces stretched from the Minho to Timor.

In the Portuguese 'tragic-maritime' or 'shipwreck' epic, the seas of the empire were not paid their full due except in the lyric poetry started by Camões. As a result, the brushstrokes that painted the Portuguese sea were crystallised in the spray of forgetfulness and oblivion, unlike the pictorial maritime epigraphs of other European colonial empires which created a continual and dignified image worthy of the memory. Take William Turner's (1775-1851) overwhelming and tumultuous seas which illustrate an age when Horatio Nelson's (1758-1805) England guaranteed its global imperialism, or the splendour of the sea in Théodore Géricault's (1791-1824) canvasses, or the maritime pictures and seascapes of the Russian Ivan Aivazovskii (1817-1900), or 18th century Dutch maritime painting. And why might this be? One explanation

that has been put forward is that they were primarily corsairs and privateers while we, the Portuguese, were navigators. In other words, their level of interest in the ocean was founded on a different matrix, but that does not fully explain it.

One undeniable truth is that as a result of advances in technology, the sea lost some of its danger and, consequently, some of its tragic-romantic aura. Even so, the Impressionists continued to embrace the sea, invoking it in different hues and colours that lent it a melancholy that was nostalgic for a glorious past.

In 19th and 20th century Portugal, merchant vessels and warships sailing to the colonies became the link between the mother-country and the overseas provinces. However, although steam navigation began in 1835, the use of steam-driven vessels was late in coming to Portugal's imperial maritime communications as a result of the domestic political upheavals.

One thing that is certain is that artists insisted on painting the sea close to the shore, a melancholic yet pleasing ocean that caressed the land and was far removed from the real torment and demons experienced in the Atlantic Ocean, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean by the Portuguese navigators. It is worth looking at the following examples: Marques de Oliveira's *Praia de Pescadores* (n.d.), António Raimalho's *Marinha* (1880) or the 1918 painting with the same name by José Malhoa, who also painted *Dois artistas pintando à Beira-Mar* (1918), Paulino Montês' *Berlengas* (1926), Roque Gameiro's *Ericeira* (n.d.), José Contente's *Dunas na Costa da Caparica* (1935), Arnaldo Figueiredo's *Ericeira*

¹ An expression that appeared for the first time in the leaflet of the 1934 Exposição Colonial Portuguesa do Porto.

(1948), or Alberto Souza's *Foz do Arelho* (1940).

Moreover, there are various pictures depicting a sea theme even though painted looking landwards: Fausto Sampaio's *Ribeira* (1919), *Pescador* (1933), *Peixeira* (1937), *Na Praia, Beira-Mar, Barcos de Pesca* (all 1940), *Barcos em Repouso* (1944), *Consertando as Redes* (1946), *Berlengas* (1950), or João Vaz's *Rochedos Peniche* (n.d.). Vaz also painted a sea with boats suspended in a timeless, recreated moment such as *Marinha com Barco à Vela*, *Marinha* and *Vista de Portimão*.

Historically, and contrary to what one might think, the sea of the Portuguese empire did survive in small notes but with different emphases. Even Fausto Sampaio, the «painter of the empire» limited himself to some half-dozen canvasses with a maritime theme as is the case of those painted in Macau, *Porto Interior* (1936), *Cais do Porto com Chuva* (1936), *Macau vista da ilha de Coloane* (1937) and *Lorchas e Tancares* (1937), in Timor, *Cascata em Baucau* (1937), and in Goa, *Vista da Fortaleza da Aguada* (1944). This does not mean that other pictures by Fausto Sampaio do not have the overseas ocean as their motif; it only shows that the theme of the sea was a side theme in his vast pictorial oeuvre representing the Portuguese colonies of Africa and Asia. In other words, even a painter who dedicated his life to painting Portugal's overseas colonies refused to use his brushes to perpetuate the overseas oceans.

In fact, what was painted more than anything else was the sea close to the beach. The following works are examples of this: Alfredo Keil's *Praia Grande* (1880), Cristino da Silva's *Recuar da Onda* (1857), *Marinha* (1860), *Paisagem* and *Cabo Carvoeiro* (both 1885-60) and three canvasses entitled *Boca do Inferno* (1863-65) also by Silva, João Marques de Oliveira's *Praia de Banhos* (1877-78), Silva Porto's *Praia da Póvoa de Varzim* (1884), António Ramalho's *Praia em Leça* (1892), João Vaz's *Praia da Póvoa de Varzim* (n.d.) and *A Praia* (n.d.), Adriano Sousa Lopes' *Manhã na Praia da Caparica* (n.d.), António Carneiro's *Contemplanção* (1911) and *Rochedos da*

Boa Nova (n.d.), Milly Possoz's *Praia de Pescadores* (1919), Roque Gameiro's *Praia da Adraga* (1923) and Noronha da Costa's (1942-2020) *Do Subnaturalismo ao Sobrenaturalismo* (1988).

Also falling within the representation of the Portuguese beach and sea scene are the following works by Artur Loureiro (1853-1932) which should be mentioned: *Farol da Foz* (1905?), *Praia do Molhe* (1906), *Molhe de Caminha* (1906), *Praia de Carreiros* (1906), *Paisagem Marítima* (n.d.), eight *Marinhas* (one 1903, two 1908 and the other five undated), *Esporão de Leixões* (n.d.), *Praia da Foz* (n.d.), *Destroços do Naufrágio* (1910), *Tempestade* (1914), *Farol* (n.d.), *Praia do Ourigo* (n.d.), *O Portinho* (1914), *Praia com Figuras* (1920), *Mole do Minho com Ínsua* (1921), *Na Praia de Mole do Minho* (1932), *Paisagem* (n.d.) and *Sargaceiras* (1932). Lino António did not paint the sea itself but life relating to the sea: fishermen, trawlers, the coast, bathers. This approach was followed by other artists who set their easels down in the sand and never moved from there.

One primary consideration runs all the way through the above list of works — the sea that is painted is always a coastal sea, never an oceanic sea. Even Miguel de Unamuno (1864-1936), when travelling around Portugal, painted the sea shore with a suggestive picture of a peasant girl sitting at the edge of the sea with her back turned on Europe, her bare feet in the foam of the breaking waves, gazing at the sun setting over the Atlantic. A second characteristic is that this sea is for contemplation and there is no real depth to it in the paintings. In truth, what these pictures lack is the artist actually plunging into it in the literal sense of the word, which is in fact what Turner did — he had himself tied to the mast of a ship during a storm in order to really 'feel' the sea and so be better able to depict it. A third point has to do with the fact that the sea only makes its appearance in history painting after the empire had been formed and expanded.

When Portuguese artists did show an interest, they painted the sea of the fishermen, never the sea of the navigators. This

happened for one very simple reason: contemporary painters never visited the colonies but painted their pictures using photographs of landscapes and 'picturesque' customs. These the artists completed by giving free rein to their imagination since pictorial representation was not based on a reality that had been lived or experienced. In other words, they did not embark aboard the Portuguese liners and so did not know the reality that could have served as a motif for their work.

Two special cases of marine painting are Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso's *A Chalupa* [The Sloop] (1914-15) and Maria Vieira da Silva's *História Trágico-Marítima* [Shipwreck] (1944), with the latter revealing the *mare nostrum* of the «nação-navio» or nation-ship, something desired more than actually experienced. This is the sea of metropolitan Portugal, but is it the sea of the empire and the overseas colonies? In what way was this represented and how?

As for other European colonial empires, Portugal's history made the sea a new space of power; however, unlike other imperial hegemonies from the Old Continent with a history shaped by their maritime power, Portuguese art did not give it a leading role or make it a noble motif. This would perhaps entail a canvas similar to Caspar David-Friedrich's (1774-1840) *Monk by the Sea* (1808-10), one which would combine the sea of the Discoveries with the mission of faith allowing the contemplative introspection of the Lusitanian soul to be reflected within it. Standing before the vast expanse of the sea there is the feeling of a gentle threat: humanity's fragility before the sea, crushed by its mystery and immensity.

There was the sea of myths, the sea of imperial power and today there is the sea of the global age. The sea created the desire to leave and sail away and thus the travel routes were forged, but the Portuguese empire did not think to record this in painting, instead mythicating it in sonnets about the Atlantic and the sea, the cradle and the grave of its glories.

OCEAN BREEZES. ART AND THE COLONIAL SHIPPING COMPANIES

Without ships, there are no colonies.

OLIVEIRA MARTINS

Formally speaking, Portuguese navigation began with ships plying the coasts, but all the time staying in sight of land and calling in at numerous ports. As shipbuilding evolved and knowledge of winds, currents and nautical instruments became more advanced, the Portuguese later set off on journeys that crossed seas and oceans. Ships of the Portuguese *mare nostrum* developed from the barque and the round ship (a type of cog) to the caravel, the 'nau', the carrack and the galleon, then to the frigate, the corvette and the steamship, and finally to the passenger liner powered first by mixed propulsion (steam and sail) and then by diesel turbines.

One determining circumstance in Portugal's ascendancy over the seas was the fact that the Portuguese crown's initial imperial programme «did not seek to conquer territories nor found colonies like those Castile was already establishing in the Antilles, but only to dominate the main ocean navigation routes».¹ In fact, ruling the seas continued to be the predominant paradigm even though establishing colonies in India and Brazil (from the mid 16th century on) became increasingly important. In 1580, with the union of the Iberian crowns and the geostrategy employed by Felipe II of Spain (Filipe I of Portugal) that proved incapable of holding back the English and the Dutch, the maritime empire collapsed. In

1640, the same year as the restoration of independence, Portuguese 'naus', or carracks, dropped anchor off Japan, thus giving a new impetus to Portuguese maritime imperialism albeit on a different scale to the earlier one. Having lost the lands of Vera Cruz (Brazil) in the 19th century, Portuguese imperial maritime traffic turned towards the African coast and the East. The sea became the means by which it was able to retain its overseas African and Asian possessions. The shipping companies were essential to answer the expansionist call up until the time when the empire collapsed and Portugal returned to the Lusitanian Ithaca, steering the nation-ship in a new direction.

In order for the last phase of the Portuguese empire to sail around the African continent and Asia, it was crucial that there be a fleet of ships to assure and promote the Portuguese voyages both to and from the colonies. «In Portugal, the passenger liner was in a certain way at the forefront of the final cycle of Portuguese overseas expansion, which increased its speed at the same rate as the different types of transport that evolved».² As a result, in a contemporaneous time frame and until air travel came within the reach of the majority of colonial passengers, it was the ship that ruled the colonial seas.

Reflecting Portugal's backwardness to a certain extent, Portuguese steamship com-

panies established between 1820 and 1871 only enjoyed an ephemeral and intermittent existence.³ From 1871 on, the *Empresa Lusitana* line specialised in the West African route, a situation that continued until 1883 by which time new Portuguese shipowners had appeared on the scene.

Meanwhile, in 1880, the first national shipping company was born, the *Empresa Nacional de Navegação a Vapor para a África Portuguesa* (ENN).⁴ They were granted exclusive rights of transportation to West Africa, but other competitors soon appeared. In 1888 the *Mala Real Portuguesa* (MRP) was set up which assured routes for Mozambique and India as well as the *Companhia de Vapores África Occidental Portuguesa* known as the *Linha Benchimol & Sobrinho*. After the collapse of the MRP in 1893, the ENN began to provide a regular service to Mozambique at the beginning of the 20th century in 1903. Their fleet continued to increase with new vessels added that were destined for cabotage in Mozambique and also to operate the service to East Africa.

In 1918, the ENN became the *Companhia Nacional de Navegação* (CNN),⁵ which continued operating until 1985 when it closed down. The CNN enjoyed exclusive rights to the Portuguese maritime routes to Africa until 1922 when they began to face competition from the *Companhia Colonial de Navegação* (CCN),⁶ founded in 1922 in

1 João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, *História da Expansão e do Império Português*. Lisboa, Bertrand, 2014, p. 102.

2 Luís Miguel Correia, *Paquetes Portugueses*. Lisboa, ed. Inapa, 1992, n.p.

3 The maritime links to those foreign parts that were of national interest were serviced by the *Empresa Lusitana*, the name under which the English firm of Bailey & Leatham operated in Portugal. The fact that there was a lack of Portuguese shipowners had forced the State to subsidise the services of this foreign company.

4 The founders were Bensaúde & C^o., António José Gomes Neto and Ernesto George who on 30 December 1880 signed a contract of exclusivity with the Portuguese government to operate the route between Lisbon and West Africa for a period of ten years. They also obtained a passenger licence for their steamships and exemption from customs duties for ten years for their ships, machines and spare parts. The registration deed is dated 20 December 1880 and the ENN contracted to make twelve voyages a year on the Lisbon-Moçâmedes line calling in at Funchal, São Vicente and São Tiago in Cape Verde, Príncipe, São Tomé, Zaire River, Ambriz, Luanda and Benguela.

5 Through a deed dated 4 April 1918, the maritime partnership *Empresa Nacional de Navegação a Vapor para a África Portuguesa* became a limited liability company with capital of 9000 contos (45 000 euros) and changed its name to *Companhia Nacional de Navegação* (CNN) (1918-1985) with its head office in Rua do Comércio, 85, in Lisbon.

6 The *Companhia Colonial de Navegação* was started in the city of Lobito, Angola, on 3 July 1922 by the *Sociedade Agrícola de Ganda*, *Companhia do Amboim de Angola* and Ed. Guedes Lda. to exploit the maritime service between the metropole and the African colonies.

the city of Lobito, Angola. The maritime links between metropolitan Portugal and the overseas provinces thus remained within a monopoly, or rather a «duopoly» if such a neologism is permitted: only the CCN and the CNN were allowed to transport goods and people to the colonies. The majority of civilian passengers, military troops and assorted raw materials were carried by these two shipping lines, thereby guaranteeing the regular circulation of people and goods.

At the end of the Second World War, the Portuguese government decided to commit resources to renew and expand its merchant navy¹ and its fleet of vessels. From that moment on, the CNN began to operate services to São Tomé, Angola, Mozambique, India, Macau and Timor as well as to the United States of America, the Gulf of Mexico and Argentina.

In the 1950s and 1960s Portugal's position in relation to its colonies forced it to make an extra effort to defend and maintain its presence in the overseas territories. The shipping companies were thus called on to collaborate with this effort consolidating the maritime links for transporting troops and war material.

It is now important to reflect on how art, and painting, was integrated into these maritime comings and goings to the overseas territories. Let us begin with the front cover of *Portugal 1934*, the country's official photograph album, which shows how the *Estado Novo* was concerned with disseminating an image of itself as a nation that had become imperial by turning towards the sea. The image of a ship's prow would thus become the symbol of the greatness of the Portuguese empire, which Salazar's government would reiterate throughout the following decades. It was an indication of the growing importance given to the colonies and consequently to the means by which this voyage was possible — the maritime fleet. It can thus be seen how special care was taken from the 1940s on to endow future ship acquisitions with a plastic

aesthetic that would reflect the greatness of the nation and be in consonance with the propaganda ideology of Salazar's government. Added to this is the fact that the end of the Second World War led to the collapse of all the European empires, although the Portuguese empire continued to survive for a time. However, it became necessary to legitimate it before international public opinion, which was increasingly contesting Portuguese hegemony over the sovereign right of its colonised territories.

The first Portuguese passenger ships where there was a genuine concern with comfort and decoration during their construction were the *Pátria* and the *Império*. They were the first to be equipped with steam turbines, radar and swimming pools and came into service in Portugal in 1948. One aspect that should be highlighted is that great care was taken to «personalise» the recently acquired ships, with Portuguese artists being invited to reflect the national (maritime) history in the interior. In the case of the *Pátria* there was a panel by Ayres de Carvalho (1911-1997) on the First Class staircase as well as a panel alluding to the *patria* [motherland] in the Main Lounge.

At the beginning of the 1950s, the increased number of passengers travelling on the ships on the African line meant that both the CNN and the CCN considered acquiring larger passenger liners that would enable them to carry a thousand passengers at a time. In 1954 the CCN took delivery of the *Uíge*. It possessed an *azulejo* tile panel with an African design by Jorge Barradas that was on the staircase leading to First Class. Barradas was the artist who had made a Baroque-type bas-relief of the *Senhora Padroeira dos Mares* [Our Lady of the Seas] the previous year and also some ten figures of saints for the chapel on the *Santa Maria*,² one of the passenger ships that plied the Brazil and Central America route. The *Uíge* also possessed a series of five decorative panels by Hansi Staël (1913-1961) painted in tempera on hardboard

which should be mentioned. They were allegorical representations of Harvesting, Fishing, Fruit picking, Grape harvesting and Hunting. The same artist also made four ceramic bas-reliefs all dating from 1954 but whose current whereabouts is unknown.³

The *Vera Cruz*, acquired by the CCN in 1952, had a triptych by António Soares in the First Class vestibule representing the embarkation of Admiral Salvador Correia de Sá e Benevides (1594-1681), and in the First Class Dining Room there were decorative panels by Jorge Barradas in polychrome ceramic with Portuguese motifs. The Third Class Smoking Room had paintings on wood by Estrela Faria whose motifs focused on Portuguese artisanal fishing and customs. In the Main Lounge in First Class there was a floral decoration in polychrome ceramic also by Jorge Barradas and a panel by Manuel Lapa depicting the evolution of costumes and ships. In the chapel there was a mural painting also by Manuel Lapa which depicted scenes from the Passion of Christ.⁴

However, from 1958 on, commercial aviation began to gain a new momentum with the introduction of the first Boeing 707 jets on the transatlantic routes. Daring to fight this trend though, the CNN took delivery in 1961 of a «pure» passenger liner, the *Príncipe Perfeito* (referring to Dom João II) and the CCN took delivery of the *Infante Dom Henrique*. Both names had been suggested as a result of the Henrician Commemorations⁵ of 1960. Here too was a concern to decorate the interiors using the best national artists. The *Infante Dom Henrique* was intended to be a symbol of patriotic affirmation and hence the shipbuilding yard and the CCN commissioned the architect Andrade Barreto at the very start of the draft project to design a decorative programme for the interiors. As a result, the interiors and communal areas involved the collaboration of a notable group of plastic artists, which meant that their works were not merely decorative

1 Despacho 100, de 10 Agosto de 1945.

2 António Rodrigues, Jorge Barradas. Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1995, p. 100.

3 According to information in the catalogue by Rita Ferrão, Hansi Staël, Cerâmica, Modernidade e Tradição. Lisboa, Objetivismo, 2014, p. 25.

4 See CCN (1952), Pacote Vera Cruz. Lisboa, Tip. Litografia de Portugal e Bertrand (Irmãos), Lda.

5 Commemorations to celebrate the 500th anniversary of the death of Infante Dom Henrique [Prince Henry the Navigator]. The extensive programme of events (including the important rebuilding of the Padrão dos Descobrimentos in concrete with rose-coloured stonework) sought to «conceal» the revolt and rebellious activity that was beginning to be seen in the overseas provinces.

features but rather an integral part of the space. The First Class Lounge was designed by Andrade Barreto and in the atrium there was a bas-relief depicting the *Lenda do Mar Tenebroso* [Legend of the Dark Sea, or *Mare Tenebrosum*] by the sculptor Amara de Paiva. A polyptych entitled *Estaleiro das Naus* [Shipbuilding Yard of Portuguese Naus] by Júlio Pomar (1926-2018) that depicted a 17th century dockyard was made up of four moveable canvasses,¹ which, when pulled back, allowed films to be projected. In the First Class Smoking Room and Bar were panels by the painter António Alfredo (1932-2000) in a free composition with mediievally-inspired motifs,² and in the same rooms in Tourist Class there was a panel by Carlos Ribeiro. The First Class Dining Room had a large enamel panel by Ramos Chaves designed by Manuel Lapa,³ entitled *Alegoria à Lenda dos Marinheiros* [Allegory of the Mariners' Legend], as well as another work by the same artist which were the panels dedicated to the *Ínclita Geração* [Illustrious Generation]⁴ located in the vestibule of the First Class chapel and another referring to the *Santíssima Trindade* [Holy Trinity]⁵. The altar base was a polychrome ceramic by Jorge Barradas and the altar stones were carved from the rock of the Sagres promontory. The First Class cabins (even numbers on the starboard side and uneven numbers on the port side) were identical to the forty-eight on 'B' Deck, with thirteen engravings by Jorge Barradas and sixty-nine by Manuel

Lapa also on show. On the First Class 'B' Deck there was also a commercial atrium that opened onto an elliptical staircase decorated with panels by Daciano da Costa (1930-2005) that were made in Italy following a design by the artist. The staircase in the First Class atrium was theatrically positioned in the centre and gave a view over a statue of the Infante Dom Henrique by the sculptor Álvaro de Brée (1903-1962), the first to be displayed inside a Portuguese ship. In the First Class Writing Room on the port side there was a gouache painting by Armindo Ayres de Carvalho entitled *Atlântico* [Atlantic] and a collection of engravings with motifs from the overseas colonies. On the starboard side the First Class Reading Room displayed two oil paintings by an unknown painter.⁶ Besides its lavish and abundant decoration, the *Infante Dom Henrique* was also the biggest liner in terms of number of passengers and the most expensive, the most modern and the most impressive Portuguese colonial ship.

At the start of the 1960s, Portuguese ocean liners could constantly be seen moored alongside the quays of Lisbon and passenger terminals to provide berthing support had been built especially for them. It is worth mentioning here that it was only in 1928 that a law had been passed in Portugal that obliged ships to dock at a quay: until then, ships anchored offshore and the passengers were ferried ashore in boats. Two terminals were designed by the architect Pardal Monteiro (1897-1957), one kilometre

apart — the Alcântara Passenger Terminal and the Rocha Conde de Óbidos Terminal. The terminals were in a permanent state of flux with the constant movement of passengers embarking and disembarking, and ships often had to anchor offshore to await their turn to dock. The Alcântara Terminal was used more by the CNN while the Rocha one was where the CCN used to moor. In architectonic terms, the first floor was used for the loading and unloading of baggage, goods and all river-related logistics, while the second floor was for passengers and included areas reserved for a small bureau de change and a kiosk for the sale of newspapers and the like. It was the architect Pardal Monteiro himself who invited Almada Negreiros to paint the frescoes, as referred to in chapter II.

Finally, and in the multi-discursive panorama of the contemporary era, it is interesting to note that the fleets owned by the ENN, CNN and CCN were the means by which the empire became known to the metropole, and the metropole travelled to the African and Asian overseas territories. This was achieved through sovereignty trips (Presidents of the Republic) and tourist cruises from (and to) the distant colonies in a dynamic exchange in which numerous artists were invited to participate, both on land (passenger terminals) and at sea (the interior decoration of passenger liners), characterising in this way the journeys of the 20th century Portuguese empire.

1 Currently on show in the Marine Museum in Lisbon.

2 See Comércio do Porto 28.9.1961, p. 7.

3 Idem.

4 Destroyed when the vessel was scrapped in China in 2004.

5 Idem.

6 See Teresa Paiva. (2007), *O Infante Dom Henrique: um paquete português e os seus ambientes decorativos*. Porto, Universidade Católica Portuguesa, p. 254.

ITINERANCIES

GENERAL VISUAL ART EXHIBITIONS

The General Visual Art Exhibitions organised between 1946 and 1956 by the Movement for Democratic Unity (MUD) were characterised by the anti-colonial political thinking typical of the post-war period. The exhibitions took place in the National Society for Fine Art (SNBA) in Lisbon and were decisive for affirming the artistic currents and movements emerging from a Europe in ruins. Ten editions were held in consecutive years, with the exception of 1952, when the SNBA was closed on the orders of the political police (PIDE).

These exhibitions mixed «new» and established artists from the worlds of painting, sculpture, architecture, drawing, prints, graphic arts, publicity, decorative arts and, more sporadically, photography.

The success of the first, in 1946, was extended in the second, held in 1947, whose catalogue marked the desire to get closer to the art of the people, a purpose part of the

ideology of Neorealism. In fact, these exhibitions (or at least the first two) marked the dawn of the Neorealist tendency in Portuguese art. However, the regime, having been tipped off as to the real significance of the initiative, reacted violently, carrying out a police raid and seizing works by authors such as Júlio Pomar and Maria Keil (1914-2012), amongst others. As a result, the subsequent exhibitions underwent prior censorship, leading to a rupture with the Surrealists, who refused to subject their works to the censor. As a result, the later exhibitions did not have the force and significance of the early ones, and the initiative came to an end in 1956 with a retrospective.

The regularity of these salons, and the fact that they had no jury or prizes, stimulated the emergence of successive waves of young artists, and gave visibility to diverse tendencies. There were not many neorealist artists on show, but their works bore

significance and aroused interest among a sympathetic public.

In a way, the General Exhibitions constituted the main opposition to the cultural policy of António Ferro and the Modern Art Exhibitions organised by the National Secretariat for Information (SNI), bringing most artists into opposition with the regime.

However, it is noticeable that amongst the titles listed in the catalogues over the decade in which these exhibitions ran, the art of African/colonial inspiration was barely represented, at least in the domain of painting.

As the reality of the colonial experience was markedly absent from these General Art Exhibitions, the participants' anti-colonial spirit led to the so-called Study Missions into the Ethnic Minorities from the Portuguese Overseas Territories (ME-MEUP).

STUDY MISSIONS INTO THE ETHNIC MINORITIES FROM THE PORTUGUESE OVERSEAS TERRITORIES

Throughout the thirties and forties, the Study Missions into the Ethnic Minorities from the Portuguese Overseas Territories had been collecting art objects from the Portuguese overseas colonies (principally Angola and Mozambique) in a somewhat erratic way. The action followed in the wake of the regimented collections amassed by the General Agency for the Colonies or those put together over the years by Portuguese explorers, now found in the salons of the Lisbon Geographical Society.

However, this was a one-way trip in the sense that, with rare exceptions, it was limited to collecting artefacts, with an indifference on the part of the over-seeing body to the bulk of colonial art,

particularly painting. In those days, «indigenous art» was understood to be sculpture, and so sculptures from Maconde in particular were stored. In 1959 an exhibition dedicated to the Life and Art of the Maconde People was inaugurated in the SNI with dozens of objects and hundreds of photographs — this was considered to be an inaugural moment for a new perception of African art in the metropole.¹ In parallel, in rooms adjoining the Foz Palace (SNI), a painting exhibition opened displaying the Angolan motifs of Neves e Sousa and another by Mário de Oliveira (1914-2013) entitled Notes from Guinea.²

In 1963 the SNI presented another exhibition of Black Art with pieces from the

Victor Bandeira Collection — one which had been inaugurated the previous year at the Porto School of Fine Art.

It is clear that the Study Missions into the Ethnic Minorities from the Portuguese Overseas Territories depended on the individual interest of very few and for that reason had limited consequences. The return journey — namely the implantation and activation of artistic centres in the overseas territories — took some time to be put into practice, which hindered the development of a fruitful pictorial partnership between metropole and colony.

¹ In 1946 a Black Art Week was organised in the Escola Superior Colonial [Colonial School] in Lisbon. This was an initiative taken by several students and one in which Ernesto de Sousa and Diogo de Macedo were involved. Its aim was to relate African art to modern art.

² Boletim Geral do Ultramar. Vol. XXXV, 405, Lisbon, Agência Geral do Ultramar, pp. 95-101.

MOZAMBIQUE ART CENTRE

In 1936 the Centre for Art of the Colony of Mozambique was set up in Lourenço Marques to promote art and disseminate artistic education. For this, it was necessary to organise courses in art education, hold exhibitions and create an art museum, promoting visits of artists from the metropole in a fruitful exchange that would materialise the imperial ideal by approximating the colony to insular Portugal. One of its sections was dedicated to the visual arts, above all painting.

The 1st Annual Exhibition took place in 1935, when the Centre's statutes were still being drawn up. However, there had been prior initiatives of a similar kind: what was probably the first exhibition was held in Lourenço Marques in 1932.¹ The 1935 Salon contained over a hundred works, including «indigenous-type» portraits by artists like Joaquim Vilela and Alberto Peão Lopes. Black Africans were used as models, though they only became active participants later on. Various newspapers² mentioned the initiative and how it closed with a talk about the origins of art by Humberto de Avelar, a founding member of the Art Centre. In it he made reference to Maconde art and the alterations provoked in

the system of production of these pieces from contact with whites, particularly as regards new instruments and materials.

Art courses began in 1938 with the arrival in Mozambique of sculptor Jorge da Silva Pinto (1900-1990), who became responsible for the drawing course. From 1941, this was shared with the painter Frederico Ayres (1887-1963).

In the following years, the Centre was charged with divulging African art and presented its second Salon — the name officially given to the exhibition — in 1939. It had the particularity that various artists from the metropole also competed through the SNBA.

In 1940 the first exhibition was held of works by students from the school, and in the following year, another display took place in the hall of the Gil Vicente theatre.

By 1943, there were free courses operating in charcoal drawing, painting and sculpture, and with time the number of exhibitions grew. Participants gradually came to include artists that were resident in the colony or were passing through, as well as amateurs and students.

In 1949, the Centre held its 1st General Exhibition of Visual Art from Mozam-

bique, bringing together a heterogenous group of participants including names like Luís Polanah (1921-2005), José Soares (1927-1996), Alfredo da Conceição (1919-2011), António Bronze (1935-2003) and Pancho Guedes.³

At the end of the 1940s, the Centre underwent various changes and enjoyed great activity, including exhibitions by South African artists, conferences and public debates.

In 1950, the 2nd Exhibition of Visual Arts of Mozambique took place, and in following years, exhibitions continued to be organised in different forms such as the Mozambique Artists Salon and the 4th Exhibition of Painting, Sculpture and Drawing (1953). In those years, the organisation moved premises several times as they did not have their own headquarters and faced financial difficulties. However, its activities were never interrupted, and it even managed to sponsor the visit of an exhibition in 1956 of work by Fernando Azevedo (1923-2002), Nuno San Payo (1926-2014) and Marcelino Vespeira.

ART SALONS IN ANGOLA

To think about pictorial production from an overseas perspective is the same as including it in a wider universe of visual discourse, calling up a multiplicity of routes and contexts with different scopes.

In a revealing article by someone who lived the experience *in loco*, Manuel Vaz illustrates this almost forgotten world extremely well and makes us aware of a certain plastic effervescence that many of the artists who lived in the colonies possessed despite the State's continuing disinterest. The journalist writes:

It was in 1960 exactly when the first salon of plastic arts, the 1st Salon of Independents, was held in Luanda, and presented 81 works of painting, sculpture and drawing by nine exhibitors — António Tavares, Apolinário, Benúdia, Fernando Reis, Fernando Rodrigues, Henrique Abranches, Henrique Guerra, Daniel Saraiva and Tito Vitorino. Most of them are figurative artists, but some works already showed hints of modernity, while all of them emphasised the robust vigour of the Angolan natural world as was customary.⁴

Also in 1960 the *Grupo Desportivo da Cuca* [the Cuca Sports Group], the first brewery in Angola, held an Exhibition of Modern Painting under the auspices of the businessman Manuel Vinhas (1925-1977), who wrote the catalogue's foreword. These works formed the initial core of his collection in Angola which he later donated to the Museum of Angola. The show included such major names in Portuguese painting as Júlio Pomar, Fernando Azevedo, Menez (1926-1995), Nikias Skapinakis, Marcelino Vespeira, Nuno Siqueiros, Alice Jorge (1924-2008), Artur

1 The initiative was launched by a group of enthusiasts headed by Felisberto Ferreira (1896-1953), one of the most enthusiastic to materialise the idea of an annual art salon. The event was inaugurated on 9 November in the supper hall of the Scala Theatre in Lourenço Marques. See Alda Costa, *Arte em Moçambique. Entre a construção da nação e o mundo sem fronteiras (1932-2004)*. Lisbon, Verbo, 2013, pp. 89-97.

2 See *O Brado Africano* 13.7.1935, p. 2.

3 For a complete list, see the catalogue *As Áfricas de Pancho Guedes*, Lisbon, CML, 2010, p. 28 and Alda Costa, *Arte em Moçambique. Entre a construção da nação e o mundo sem fronteiras (1932-2004)*. Lisbon, Verbo, 2013, pp. 101-115.

4 Online at http://triplov.com/novaserie.revista/numero_65/manuel_rodrigues_vaz/index.html (accessed on 31.3.2020).

Bual (1926-1999) and Mário Eloy (1900-1951).

According to Teresa Matos Pereira:

Having travelled through the lands under Portuguese colonial rule, or having lived there, this group produced a series of images that mix realities, myths and stereotypes. Aimed primarily at a bourgeois public, their works transfer to African or Asian scenes the modalities of European painting, using the scenes, human figures, landscapes or animalist themes typical of the genre and impregnated with a whimsical naturalism that oscillates between decorativism and an ethnographic documental pretension. These artists celebrate an Africa of rural and «traditional» roots, frequently ignoring any signs of modernisation, with a view to materialising in the painting a picturesque and exotic image of the customs, people, fauna, flora and landscape. On a par with these thematic lines, we also find another which follows the path taken by history painting in which battles between Africans and Europeans, the celebration of historical dates and deeds carried out by the first governors appear as ways to affirm European superiority and its rule; here there are some works by Martins Barata that stand out.¹

The conditions were thus created for there to be an increase in the number of exhibitions held of Angolan plastic arts. The next event came about as the result of a casual conversation between the plastic artist Cruzeiro Seixas and Helena Justino (1944-2019), at the time a student of fine art. It was called the *Exposição Geral de Artes Plásticas* [General Exhibition of Plastic Arts], otherwise known as Angola-63, and was held in the Museum of Angola in August 1963.

After expecting only a couple of dozen Sunday painters plus a handful of young artists to appear as was usual in other cultural initiatives, there was general surprise as there were 51 candidates who presented 200 works. And figures who were minimally well received locally also participated. These were: Carlos Ferreira, Carlos Fernandes, Cruzeiro Seixas, Eleutério

Sanches, Henrique Abranches, Henrique Pereira, Artur Taquelim and his wife, Angélica, Maria Manta, Mário Araújo, Neves e Sousa, Roberto Silva, Rocha de Sousa, Vaz de Carvalho, Vítor Teixeira (Viteix) and, we must not forget, Luandino Vieira who still continues to design the covers of the books published by his publishing house, NÓSSOMOS, which says much about the importance he was given.

The exhibition, organised under the auspices of the *Sociedade Cultural de Angola* [Cultural Society of Angola], was held at the Museum of Angola. It was sponsored by the Cuca Sports Group with its other major sponsor being the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation whose president Dr. Azeredo Perdigão even decided to preside at the opening. This was an opportunity to award scholarships and give promises of further support, in particular by providing help to set up an art school in Luanda that would become an incubator for new artists and at the same time an instrument whereby those who were already artists could be helped to develop.

The reaction was notable in various respects with the important journalist Roby Amorim, who would be expelled shortly afterwards for political reasons, even dedicating an article to it in the newspaper *O Comércio*. The article contained an exhaustive analysis and concluded that «the show demonstrates there are a sufficient number of values to justify more important, larger initiatives». This was in fact the intention and justification, as the organisers clearly pointed out, and the initial core, Cruzeiro Seixas and Helena Justino, were joined in this idea by Denise Toussaint, Graça Neto de Miranda, Mário António and Bobela Mota. In his turn the well-known poet Mário António said in his *Carta de Angola* [Letter from Angola] for the review *Colóquio* that the exhibition was surprising for the standard shown, which was superior to what the occasional attendance at exhibitions open to the public in Luanda would lead one to imagine.²

In addition, this artistic dynamic inspired other local artists to devote themselves to

colonial themes in Angola. Such was the case of Alípio Brandão and Domingos Teixeira Lopes (father of Gil and Hilário Teixeira Lopes), who spent time in Luanda every year holding an exhibition of his works there in May, all of which were sold. Preto Pacheco (1922-1989), who worked in Angola from 1964 to 1975, made a name for himself with a naturalist style of painting very much in the manner of Henrique Medina and also as an unofficial portrait painter.

Another name to bear in mind is that of Estevão Soares (1914-1992), an artist who travelled around Angola depicting the daily life of the colony. In 1955 he held an anthological exhibition in the Luanda Trade Centre entitled «101 Óleos e Aguarelas». His success made him postpone his return to Lisbon and prolong his travels in Africa for another six years, painting and exhibiting not only in Angola and Mozambique but also in the Belgian Congo, French Equatorial Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland as well as the Republic of South Africa. During this time he painted towns and large public works as well as natural landscapes and indigenous peoples assembling a large portfolio of work that provided an invaluable picture of life overseas in those years. In 1961, already back in Lisbon, he did not forget overseas themes but continued to plunge himself, retrospectively, into the Africa he had experienced. He later held two individual exhibitions in Palácio Foz in 1967 and 1968.

In 1967, the *I Salão de Arte Moderna da Cidade de Luanda* [1st Modern Art Salon of the City of Luanda] took place as a result of all these earlier movements. A need was felt for there to be an artistic activity more in keeping with the new times while the more immediate and urgent needs of the Portuguese presence in Angola also seemed to demand it. Promoted by the Luanda City Council in collaboration with Lisbon's *Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes* and the *Núcleo de Arte de Lourenço Marques*, it was an art salon done in the European style, with the same rigorous requirements, parameters and canons. Then followed the Salons of 1968 (2nd Salon), 1969 (3rd Salon)

1 Teresa Pereira, *Uma travessia da colonialidade. Intervisualidades da pintura, Portugal e Angola*. Lisboa, Faculdade de Belas Artes, 2011, p. 204.

2 Manuel Vaz, *Op.Cit.*

and 1970 (4th Salon) for which the jury, made up of Adriano Gusmão, José Troufa Real, Luís Jardim and José Manuel da Nóbrega, decided unanimously to admit 64 works. Of the 27 artists, the only Angolans chosen were António Ole, Cabral Duarte, Carlos Barradas, Duarte Ferreira and Gracinda Candeias (1947). From the capital of the empire there were works by Gil Teixeira Lopes (1936), Graça Antunes, Ilda Reis (1923-1998), João Vieira (1934-2009), Luís Gonçalves, Mário Varela,

Man, Manuel Baptista (1936), Miguel Aruda, Nuno Siqueira (1929-2007), Pires Vieira, Rocha de Sousa and Sérgio Pinhão.

The following year, 1971, the jury of the 5th Salon was made up of Hélder Silva Moura, José Manuel da Nóbrega, Luís Jardim, Troufa Real and Rui Mário Gonçalves (1934-2014). In the same year, Manuel Vaz came up with the idea of a *Salão de Novíssimos* [Salon of New Talent] and the project was carried out with the support of Manuel Vinhas. Inaugurated in the rooms of the

Palácio do Comércio, works by the following artists were exhibited: Carlos Ferrão, Eduardo Dias, Costa Araújo, Filipe Henriques, Duarte Ferreira, Carlos Barradas, António Santiago, António Trindade, Rui Garção, Gui, João Serra, Álvaro, Maria José Furtado, Helena Trindade, Pombinho and Travanca da Costa. Generally speaking, «the participating works were excellent, revealing a real freshness and desire to be up-to-date and on the same wavelength as that of the western world at that moment».¹

EXHIBITION OF PORTUGUESE LIFE AND ART, GOA, 1952

The Goan Exhibition of Portuguese Life and Art of 1952 coincided with the 400th anniversary of the death of St Francis Xavier and took place in the Vasco da Gama Institute with a display of painting and drawing as part of the Xavier commemorations. The action was launched by Leonel Banha da Silva (1901-1967?), the General Overseas Agent, and was divided into three sections: painting and drawing, sculpture and ceramics, puppets and graphic arts. According to *Novidades* of 21 December 1952, artists and works from the metropole with distinct tendencies were displayed side by side, such as by Agostinho Salgado (1905-1967), Alberto de Sousa (1880-1961) who had already participated in the Paris exhibition of 1931 with a series of watercolours

of Portuguese monuments in Morocco, and in the Colonial Exhibition of Porto in 1934, Alda Machado Santos (1892-1977), Alfredo de Moraes (1872-1971), Domingos Rebelo (1891-1975), Eduardo Malta, Fernando dos Santos (1892-1965), Henrique Medina (1901-1988), Jaime Martins Barata (1899-1970) who in 1940 had taken part in the Portuguese World Exhibition, designing two triptychs for the Lisbon Pavilion which represented scenes from the Conquest of Lisbon, João Alves de Sá (1878-1972), João Barata (1918-1984), João Reis (1899-1982), Júlio Resende (1917-2011), and Varela Aldemira (1895-1975).

The part dedicated to Goanese artists included names like António Xavier Trindade, Ângela Trindade (1909-1980), Ângelo

da Fonseca (1902-1967), Antsher Lobo, D. J. M. Colaço, D. S. Maencar, Drecélio Fernandes, Francisco João Fernandes, Inácio Vaz, J. S. Mendes, Manguexa V. Quencró, Newman de Sousa, Olímpio C. Rodrigues, Peter Lobo, R. Dabolcar, R. G. Chimulcar, V. R. Karehar, and Vítor Fernandes.

Any repercussions this initiative might have had seem to have been silenced in the coming years. However, at that time, no one would have imagined that, less than a decade later, Goa would no longer be part of the Portuguese overseas empire.

EXHIBITION OF PORTUGUESE LIFE AND ART, MOZAMBIQUE 1956

Organised by the General Overseas Agency under the direction of the then agent-general Leonel Banha da Silva — and with the support of Raúl Ventura (1919-1999) and Carlos Abecassis, Minister and Sub-Secretary of State for Overseas respectively, and with the support of the overseeing body, the Exhibition of Portuguese Life and Art took place in Lourenço Marques on the occasion of the presidential visit by Craveiro Lopes to Mozambique in 1956.²

The event documented the developments of an era whose historical synthesis

of nationality was supported in the colonial empire. As the catalogue explained: «In this exhibition we give no more than a hurried view to much that could be shown of the Portuguese lands in Europe, Africa and the Orient».³ However, the event contained over three hundred artists, who, using various formats and styles, displayed oils, sculptures, drawings, watercolours, ceramics, glass, tapestry, forged iron and books.

In the rooms dedicated to the visual arts, various aesthetic sensibilities and styles were on show from naturalism to

impressionism and other «isms». The display brought together over thirty artists who, in different registers and formats presented landscapes, portraits and scenes from African daily life.

Amongst the names of the participants were some from the metropole like Abel Manta, Alípio Brandão, Almada Negreiros, António Lucena Quadros (1933-1994), António Lino (1898-1974), Bernardo Marques, Cândido Costa Pinto (1911-1976), Carlos Botelho (1899-1982), Carlos Carneiro (1900-1971), Dórdio Gomes, Eduardo Malta,

1 Idem.

2 See Álbum Comemorativo da Viagem Presidencial a Moçambique. S.I.: n.n., 1957.

3 See catalogue Exposição da Vida e da Arte Portuguesas. Documentário da vida, artes decorativas. Livro português, artes plásticas. Lourenço Marques, Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1956, p. 5.

Fausto Sampaio, José Júlio (1916-1963), José Viana (1922-2003), Júlio Resende, Lourdes de Castro (1953), Mily Possoz (1888-1968), and Portela Júnior (1898-1985).

The overseas territories were also generously represented: from Angola, there were Carlos da Rocha Ferreira (1925-2007), José Pino, Mário do Carmo, Neves e Sousa, Óscar Moreira (1928-) and Rogério de Matos; from Mozambique Frederico Ayres, João Ayres (1921-2001), Bertina Lopes (1924-2012), Ruy Calçada Bastos (1930-1999), Rui Filipe (1929-1997), Saulino Já Assam (1932-) and Vasco Campira (1933-2008); from Goa Ângela Trindade, daughter of the painter António Xavier Trindade, Ângelo da Fonseca, R. Dabholkar and R.G. Chimulkar.

A rare occurrence in the life of the empire, the Exhibition of Portuguese Life and Art had broad repercussions in the Mozambique press. The journalist Mota Lopes even suggested that the proliferation

of works of art from the exhibition could constitute a resource for the Lourenço Marques Art Museum «so necessary for the good aesthetic guidance of the province and prestige of our art».¹

Another journalist — Julião Quintinha (1886-1968) — even before the exhibition had got under way, alluded to the need for an exchange programme that would enable Mozambique to promote a similar event in the metropole given that it had such an incomplete idea about life in the overseas territory. The author also stressed the absence of a Museum dedicated to the Overseas Territories in Lisbon and the importance and urgency of such a projection of the truly great image of Portugal. In his words:

How many articles have I written over dozens of years reminding people of the convenience of such a museum, such exchanges, and the coming overseas of artists (...) who serve these patriotic events!²

This was not a mere whim of Julião Quintinha. The journalist knew what he was talking about as he had travelled around the Portuguese African colonies for over two years, recounting what he saw. He made his name writing chronicles and books, some of which were awarded prizes in literary contests of the General Agency for the Colonies.

The echoes of the event even reached South Africa. The Capetown newspaper *Cape Argus* published an article which described how John Paris, director of the South Africa National Gallery, had praised the initiative, stressing the importance of art as revealing the character of a people and an instrument for approximation and comprehension among nations.³

No one heard these echoes and they dissipated forever. With them was lost the last opportunity to raise a pictorial memory of the empire from a diversified and unusual collection.

1 See Boletim Geral do Ultramar, vol. XXXII, n.º 375-376, Sept-Oct. 1956, p. 143 Online at <http://memoria-africa.ua.pt/Library/ShowImage.aspx?q=/BGC/BGU-N375-376&p=143> (accessed on 31.3.2020).

2 See Boletim Geral do Ultramar, vol. XXXII, n.º 377, Nov. 1956, p. 105; Online at <http://memoria-africa.ua.pt/Library/ShowImage.aspx?q=/BGC/BGU-N377&p=1066> (accessed on 31.3.2020). Julião Quintinha, *Notícias de Lourenço Marques*, cit. *Boletim Geral do Ultramar*, vol. XXXII, n.º 373, July 1956, pp. 198-199. Online at <http://memoria-africa.ua.pt/Library/ShowImage.aspx?q=/BGC/BGU-N373&p=1999> (accessed on 22.7.2019).

3 Boletim Geral do Ultramar, vol. XXXII, n.º 377, November 1956, pp. 105. Online at <http://memoria-africa.ua.pt/Library/ShowImage.aspx?q=/BGC/BGU-N377&p=106> (accessed on 31.3.2020).

4. ECHOES

EVANESCENT GHOST: THE MUSEUM OF COLONIAL/INDIGENOUS ART

As José Júlio Gonçalves wrote in 1957, «the idea of creating a museum for the archiving, conservation and exhibition of the most expressive objects from overseas was not exactly contemporary; on the contrary, it was centuries old».¹

In fact, in 1796, Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, the Minister and Secretary of State for Navy and Overseas Affairs, had asked the captain general of Mozambique to send colonial artefacts for exhibition in the Royal Museum, while, almost a century later, Sá da Bandeira (1795-1876) proposed the creation of a museum in the overseas territories themselves in keeping with that desire. The executive orders of 2 and 19 July 1836 recommended the organisation of a museum in Mozambique and on 11 September that same year, an analogous order was issued for a museum in Angola. Finally, in 1859, Sá da Bandeira himself ordered the establishment of a museum in Cape Verde. In the 20th century, Decree No. 5239 of 8 March 1919 laid out the legal provisions for the creation of local overseas museums upon prior organisation of the collections destined for them. It was in this sense that the Museum of

Ethnography and Indigenous Art of the Portuguese Congo was founded in Angola (Angolan Congo) and the Museum of Portuguese Guinea.² In 1936 the Museum of Dundo was founded in Angola (property of the Angola Diamond Company) and two years later, in 1938, the Museum of Angola opened its doors — today the Museum of Natural History.

However, the concerns of this order were not confined to the overseas territories but also included the capital of the empire. The creation of a museum in the metropole dedicated to the overseas artistic heritage had been requested early on by the Lisbon Geographical Society, and in 1892 — seven years after the Conference of Vienna 1884/85 — the Colonial and Ethnographic Museum of the Lisbon Geographical Society opened its doors (see note 219). Incorporating the collections of the Colonial Museum of the Navy, the new museum reflected the concern to «divulge amongst the Portuguese the potential of the colonies, altering the negative image that Portugal had amongst countries with colonial aspirations, as well as affirming the long presence of the Portuguese in Africa».³

This was thus, in part, a response to the directives emerging from the Conference of Berlin, which reflected the growing interest in Africa of the European colonial powers and, at the same time, protected part of the Portuguese overseas heritage. In another sense, the empire was too far removed from the daily reality of the metropole and needed to be symbolically brought closer. It was necessary to construct a discursive and visual imagery that could display the best of the overseas geographies.

The end of the monarchy and the First Republic brought other imperial concerns. In the meantime the Colonial Museum had gradually accumulated works but without any clearly defined matrix. Only with the establishment of the dictatorship a year after the Constitution of 1933 did Diogo de Macedo, in the wake of the 1st Portuguese Colonial Exhibition of 1934, begin to write insistently about the need to create a museum of colonial (i.e. African) art. The album *Arte Indígena Portuguesa* [Portuguese Indigenous Art], published by the General Agency of the Colonies and with a cover by Almada Negreiros,⁴ brought together the

1 José Júlio Gonçalves «O Museu do Ultramar e a Protecção das Artes Plásticas» in Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa, Vol. XII, n.º 47, 1957, p. 347. Online at <http://memoria-africa.ua.pt/Library/ShowImage.aspx?q=BCGP/BCGP-No47&p=655> (accessed on 2.4.2020).

2 Dec. 36.639 de 29 de novembro de 1947.

3 Manuela Cantinho «As coleções extraocidentais do Museu da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa» in Império e Arte Colonial Antologia de Ensaios. ArTravel, Lisbon, 2017, p. 101.

4 Nevertheless, in this Álbum there was not a single reproduction of a painting, except for two Namban screens. In 1949, the Exhibition of Black Art at the SNI (a collection which came from the colonies) did not include any examples of painting.

texts that had been published in the magazine *O Mundo Português* [The Portuguese World].

While most of his contemporaries saw the barbarous expressions produced by uncultured peoples as inherently inferior, Macedo saw pieces that were deeply expressive and pure. He ultimately became a pioneer in the sense that he sought to explain the so-called 'indigenous' art as Portuguese heritage — «our colonial art».¹

However, Diogo de Macedo was not alone: there was also an interest amongst private collectors, whose pieces were starting to be displayed in thematic exhibitions. This was the case with Carlos Selvagem (1890-1973), João Castro Osório (1899-1970), Armindo Monteiro, Julião Quintinha (1886-1968) and Bernardo Marques.

However, there was a crucial problem: in general there was not much of a taste for nor comprehension of African art in the metropole and, as a result, it was undervalued. As mentioned above, throughout the 1930s, the overseas territories were only dimly perceived as something diffuse and distant. On the occasion of the Exhibition of Pagan Art in the Portugal Room of the Lisbon Geographical Society between 19 and 26 April 1936 on the occasion of the Week of the Colonies, the incomprehension of African art prompted Diogo de Macedo to write:

The commentaries and laughter of the few hundred Portuguese that visited the exhibition, the indifference of certain newspapers, critics and most Lisbon artists, the miserable sales of the exhibition catalogue for a dozen and a half *tostões*, the stubborn habits of moving and removing the objects on display, the lamentable behaviour of school children, looking at things without seeing anything beyond the ridiculous or obscene, poorly guided by teachers who prevent all

freedom of judgement, and finally... the famous uselessness of these official and private initiatives increasingly disappoint whoever sacrifices themselves for Art, whether black or white, civiliser or barbarian.²

There was of course a political root to this posture, which came from the need to promote the values of Portuguese colonisation, a secular work of civilisation and mission amongst the so-called backward inferior races.³

It should be noted that Diogo de Macedo, as an artist, had himself drawn inspiration from the theme of the Empire, particularly in the busts he sculpted of Bartolomeu Dias and Ferdinand Magellan for the Portuguese pavilion at the Paris Colonial Exhibition of 1931. However, the museums were the focus of various chronicles produced by him. In 1934, we find him appealing for the creation of a Museum of Comparative Art:

I have longed dreamed of the creation of a Museum of Comparative Art, that is, an educational museum of sculpting and graphic reproductions, in a documentary chosen and necessary for the teaching of sculpture.⁴

He defended this idea persistently and eventually the Portuguese state allocated the Church of Trinas for this purpose, and Diogo de Macedo was charged with organizing it. However, he was ultimately disappointed because it never got under way.

Though it was only much later, in 1948, during a mission to Angola and Mozambique as director of the National Museum for Contemporary Art that Diogo de Macedo experienced colonial reality first hand, studying the possibility of setting up two art museums in those capitals, this did not prevent him from beginning a collection of African art in the 1930s. In 1942 he wrote: «When will the first museum of art from our colonies be inaugurated in Portugal? It

is already getting late, and much of that art already belongs to foreign museums, which knew how to put together such galleries of art history long before us. Such a museum would be an interesting expression of our past mission and adventures».⁵

But Diogo de Macedo did more than just collect and publish inquisitive articles; he also argued that each people and each region produced its own art, legitimised by the conditions of their creators. In other words, by contextualising the artistic creations, he stressed the almost total ignorance about the origins of the so-called 'black' art as well as the ethnocentrism which made it impossible to plunge into the experiences and sensibilities of those people.

In parallel, other individuals corroborated Macedo's idea. This was the case with Alfredo Augusto de Oliveira Machado e Costa in 1936,⁶ and Joaquim R. dos Santos Júnior, head of the Mozambique Anthropological Mission, in a paper presented at the Colonial Conference in Lisbon in 1940:

The Portuguese Colonial Museum will make visible the titanic effort and perseverance that it was necessary to expend on the discovery, conquest and occupation of our dominions overseas, propagating colonial ideas in the metropole, familiarising the visitor with our vast overseas dominions (...) as it is necessary to put an end to erroneous opinions that exist about our African possessions. The Portuguese Colonial Museum would help enable those that visit it to have direct true contact with the multiple important colonial possibilities, sweeping away false opinions and prejudices (...) The Colonial Museum will be the great Portuguese Museum.⁷

When Portugal joined NATO in 1949, it was obliged also to make changes to its colonial policy by revoking the 1951 Colonial Act. What is clear is that these political concerns brought by the reconfiguration

1 Vera Mariz, «A Coleção de Arte Negra de Diogo de Macedo — uma tentativa de valorização num contexto pleno de gargalhadas e indiferença» in *Coleções de Arte em Portugal nos séculos XIX e XX. Perfis e Trânsitos*. Maria João Neto ed., Caleidoscópio, Lisbon, 2014, pp. 231-233. Online at https://www.academia.edu/20729242/_A_colec%C3%A7%C3%A3o_num_contexto_pleno_de_gargalhadas_e_indiferen%C3%A7a (accessed on 2.4.2020).

2 Diogo de Macedo, «Arte Negra. Particularidades da nossa arte colonial» in *O Mundo Português*. Vol. III, 1936, p. 326.

3 See António de Oliveira Salazar, *Discursos e Notas Políticas*. Coimbra, Editora Coimbra, Vol. IV, 1959.

4 Diogo de Macedo, *Notas de Arte*, Revista Ocidente. n.º 13, Vol. V, Lisboa, 1939, p. 422.

5 Diogo de Macedo, «A Arte dos Negros de Portugal» in *Panorama*, Revista Portuguesa de Arte e Turismo. n.º 9, Junho de 1942, Lisboa, p. 34.

6 (1870-1952). Docente universitário. «O Museu Colonial» in *Separata n.º 5 do Museu de Mineralogia e Geologia da Universidade de Lisboa*, Casa Portuguesa, Lisboa, 1936, n.p.

7 Joaquim R. dos Santos Júnior, «Museu Colonial» in *Congresso Colonial*. Lisbon, Bertrand, 1940, pp. 5-7.

of the post-war world drew the attention of the Portuguese state to art matters. That is to say, only in 1952 were there sufficient resources to think about planning a Palace of Overseas Territories to be built in the Praça do Império (Imperial Square) in Belém¹ and which would include in its architectural plan a Museum of Overseas Territories.

Given the nature of the commission, this intention can only be seen as constituting a bastion of the colonialism that was dominant at the time, a monumental work designed to face off the international contestations and decolonisation taking place in the African and Asian continents. In an interplay between monumental form and sparse volumetry, the architect Luís Cristino da Silva reflected the concerns of the political power before a Western world that was increasingly conflicted about the maintenance of the colonies. Rather than a lack of funds or an alteration in public works policy, or even the decision to remodel the Praça do Império which meant that the studies were definitively suspended in 1959 (the idea dated from 1951), it was, above all, the lack of political will which determined the failure to build a Colonial Museum to reflect the maritime vocation and dimension of the Portuguese empire.

Although Cristino da Silva's project was never built, the idea for a Colonial Museum continued to be aired, particularly in the National Assembly. António de Almeida, professor of Ethnography at the College of Overseas Studies, pointed to the «propensity of modern civilised artists to take inspiration from indigenous visual motifs»,² warning that purchasing agents — in the pay of foreigners — were removing indigenous artworks from Portuguese African territories. Other authors, like José Júlio Gonçalves, called attention to the fact that the European empires had long hoarded indigenous art, sometimes at the expense of what remained in Angola, as in the case of the Royal Museum of the Belgian Congo in Tervuren (Belgium) and the Museum of Mankind in Paris, and British Africa.³

Whatever the reason, it was necessary to wait till 1965 for the creation of the National Museum of Ethnology. Under the auspices of the then Ministry for the Overseas Territories, the new museum's specialisation in ethnology meant that much of the so-called colonial art, such as painting, was left out. Consequently, many of the pictorial records undertaken in the colonial context were lost, scattered, sold, forgotten or destroyed.

We might wonder why a Portuguese museum of colonial art was never built. There can only be one answer: because there was no memory! The importance of artistic creation in the colonial context was neglected, and little esteem was shown for a relationship that was not always consensual.

It is curious to note that, even now in the 21st century, the plan to create a museum related to the empire — a possible museum of the «Discoveries» for Lisbon — continues to be hotly debated without generating any kind of consensus.

Today, more than ever, it will not be easy to fulfil this intention for two distinct reasons: firstly, because important works of the national colonial heritage were plundered and scattered across other continents, with the Portuguese legacy around the world «diverted» to other countries and collections; and secondly, because this intention is not seen today as being politically correct. In the postcolonial era, it will not be easy for a project predicated on a dichotomy between coloniser and colonised to win approval and enough consensus to enable it to go ahead and be put into practice.

Anyway, the question of returning heritage items belonging to former colonies and illegally appropriated by those Europeans with imperial colonies is now found on the agendas of the Western institutions involved and has led to heated discussion. With regard to facts though, two distinct situations should be taken into account:

1. In relation to the colonising country, Portugal
Despite there being no comparison possible between the spoils brought from overseas

territories by the Portuguese and those by other European nations with overseas empires who looted and seized buildings and stole whole collections, this does not mean that our colonialism was one of «gentle ways» [*brandos costumes*] because it was not, but this is not what we are discussing here. What is relevant is that the Portuguese empire did not care about looting nor did they focus on it as did the English in Greece or the French in Egypt. Although there might be some exceptions, the Portuguese — through their inability, ignorance or mere indifference — did not bother to make inventories or collect and bring back the most important heritage art and artefacts. Why not? Simply because it was never a priority because nobody took the trouble to define a strategy, a policy to systematise artworks which would enable a representative sample of the colonised culture to be collected. And this happened simply because of the lack of importance given by the *Estado Novo* to colonial cultures. As a result, it is solely due to the absence of any effective cultural policy that Portuguese museums today do not show collections that are comparable to those of the British Museum or the Louvre. Therefore, the scale could never be comparable.

2. In relation to the countries of origin of the works

The criteria used to reconstitute the items and under what conditions the new countries will receive these works as well as what guarantees the new exhibition spaces will give for safeguarding them and providing public access are all important. This is because in less than fifty years the leaders of the vast majority of newly independent African countries have plundered more of their people's riches than Portugal did in five hundred years of colonisation. Just look at what has happened to the Museum of Angola and the items it had in 1974 — almost all vanished without trace after the war of independence and found their way into private houses.

1 Decree-Law No. 38.727, of 23rd April 1952.

2 António de Almeida «Diário das Sessões (166) 17.7.1956 cited by José Júlio Gonçalves «O Museu do Ultramar e a Protecção das Artes Plásticas» in Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa, Vol. XII, n.º 47, 1957, p. 351. Online at <http://memoria-africa.ua.pt/Library/ShowImage.aspx?q=/BCGP/BCGP-No47&p=69> (accessed on 2.4.2020).

3 José Júlio Gonçalves «O Museu do Ultramar e a Protecção das Artes Plásticas» in Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa, Vol. XII, n.º 47, 1957, p. 351. Online at <http://memoria-africa.ua.pt/Library/ShowImage.aspx?q=/BCGP/BCGP-No47&p=655> (accessed on 2.4.2020).

RETURN TO DOCK: THE RETURN TRIP OF THE LAST EUROPEAN EMPIRE

As we know, modern colonialism began with the carving up of Africa by the European powers, and it was within that confluence of interests that the African cycle of the Portuguese empire was militarily and administratively located, translating into a concrete occupation after the exploratory missions of the first quarter of the 19th century. The awakening from the imperialist torpor occurred late and was peripheral, happening alongside the emergence of the political discourse of colonial patriotism. Actual occupation and the euphemistically named 'pacification' campaigns repressed the aspirations of the rebelling ethnic groups, generating resistance among populations that passed from slave labour to forced labour in what has come to be known as the African cycle of the empire.

In Portugal, the anarchist journals of 1910 were the first to speak of anticolonialism, but it would be the postcolonial current (in the sense of one coming after the colonial era) of the 1990s which would clearly reconfigure the return of the Portuguese empire to its European dock.

The emergence of republicanism increased the interest of the elites in colonial matters, but the process of constructing a territorial power in the Portuguese colonies of Africa was slow. The idea of empire in the discourse of the 1st Republic was structured from the creation of a Ministry of Colonies in 1911. In practice, only in 1920, with the creation of a new governing entity — the high commissioners of Angola and Mozambique¹ — was an effort made to create a concrete colonial dynamic in the tropics.

With the end of the Second World War and the new international order in the post-war period, a context emerged that was favourable to the appearance of

independence in the former European dominions in Africa and Asia. Some weeks after the capitulation of Japan, the last episode of the Second World War, the Minister for the Colonies left for Africa² on an anachronistic sovereignty trip which went against the anticolonial spirit that was developing internationally and which would soon begin to take effect in Asia. The conference held in Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955 would reinforce the movement for emancipation and extend decolonisation to Africa.³ By the start of the second half of the 20th century, the Portuguese government was obliged to repeal the Colonial Act and its main presuppositions in order to adapt to the new international situation, although they continued trying to maintain the unitary character of the empire.

At around this time, the colonial condition began to fade with the maturing of an indigenous consciousness; for, as we know, the civilisational mission brought by the European empires, while offering the possibility of development, encouraged the local populations to aspire to autonomy and independence as part of a natural growth process.

The end of the Second World War provided the geopolitical change necessary for this demand to be implemented. The correlation of international forces altered in favour of the right to self-determination and independence of the colonial peoples, and decolonisation began to occur throughout the 1950s and '60s.

However, in the case of the Portuguese empire, we would have to wait until 1973 for the first granting of independence to an African country. And Portuguese imperial history, which had begun in 1415, did not come to an end in 1973 with the independence of Guinea-Bissau, nor in 1974 with

the end of the dictatorship; rather, it was prolonged until 1975 (Cape Verde, Angola, São Tomé and Príncipe, Mozambique), 1999 (Macau), even until 2002 when Timor became independent.

As for the diptych of art and colonial voyages, the return of the former colonisers (the so-called *«retornados»*) was never recorded pictorially, at least at the official level. There were a few odd paintings, but not enough to create a genealogy, a continuous reading that traces a credible history. However, some notes have survived, fragments of a reality that only now is reconfiguring in parallel registers, such as literature, film or photography.

Too far from the concrete reality of the metropole, the pictorial discourse of the return from empire hovers on the symbolic or imagistic level, with an emphasis on the Christian ideal and colonial vocation. Thus, the overseas territories were eternalised in an ontological dimension of imperial (and mythical) mystique.

As regards the arts — and painting in particular — the Portuguese context diverges from the other European colonialisms, particularly the English and the French, which gave a certain prominence to recording the end of their imperial era.⁴ With the return to the Lisbon dock, the pictorial record collapsed, and no more than a handful of examples, mostly photographic, literary and journalistic notes, remain. And the few examples that exist revive the habit of seeing Europe (and the West generally) as the centre and matrix of creation and artistic discourse. Only recently, in the light of postcolonial studies, has another polycentric version of history begun to be written, which takes account of the polyphonic creations occurring in the overseas territories.

1 Laws numbers 1805 and 1022 of 7th and 20th August 1920. First commissioners: Norton de Matos (for Angola) and Brito Camacho (for Mozambique).

2 More precisely on 9 June 1945.

3 Morocco, Tunisia and Sudan in 1956, Ghana in 1957, Nigeria in 1960, Sierra Leone, Somalia and Tanganyika in 1961.

4 See Alison Smith, David Blayney Brown and Carol Jacobi, *Artist and Empire, Facing Britain's Imperial Past*. London, Tate Publishing, 2015; Sarah Ligner, *Peintures des Lointains*. Paris, musée du quai Branly, 2018.

The colonial empire was an extraordinary opportunity for artistic experimentation as regards both form and content, but this opportunity was not taken up by Portuguese artists and was not promoted by the national government. This was because, if the colonial places had a «physiognomy» and an «atmosphere» that needed to be transferred to canvas, the return to the metropole, after the loss of the overseas territories, also required pictorial testimony.

The transoceanic route, the ballast of the return home of an art concomitant with the new winds of change and African decolonisation, was lost in the ocean mists, with only a few notes of a forgotten memory subsisting. For example, in 1983 the History of Sea Tragedies Exhibition held at the National Society for Fine Art in Lisbon invoked a subject that had been recurrently treated by a variety of artists over the centuries. The old questions were revisited using new approaches, and discourses were rewritten in a collective that involved a heterogeneous range of artists and formats. The common denominator

was tragedy and misfortune; for this was an «anti-exhibition of monsters and shipwrecks, and we might say for real art reasons with its need for and enjoyment of the great mythological obscenity of history».¹ As for the catalogue, this took the form of a sheet of card folded in the form of a ship's sail — a creation by Fernando de Azevedo — where the text by José-Augusto França also formed the shape of a sail.

In the same year, the 17th *European Exhibition of Art, Science and Culture* used the theme of the Portuguese discoveries and Renaissance Europe to revisit an era in the light of a myth more imagined than real.

In 1986 Portugal joined the European Economic Community (EEC), and in 1988, the National Committee for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries² was set up to oversee both *Europália 1991* (a cultural festival held in Belgium, which had Portugal as its theme country) and *Lisbon 94, European Capital of Culture*, which commemorated the 500th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Tordesillas. The commemorative cycle, whose common

denominator had been the Discoveries, came to an end in 1998 with the Lisbon Exhibition (Expo '98).

The following year, with the independence of Timor and the furling of the Portuguese flag in Macau, the last territories of the Portuguese colonial empire crumbled. Portugal now looked ahead to face new challenges.

The departure from the Maritime Gare of Alcântara and Rocha do Conde de Óbidos that Almada Negreiros had painted now returned in the form of Nuno Barreto's *Embarkation on the 'Pátria' II* or *For Timor*. This was the farewell to 500 years of empire and the return to dock in the mythical mist and silence of loss. The Cais das Colunas was now empty and devoid of memory. As the ex-combatants and almost 500 thousand «returnees» were repatriated, arriving in aeroplanes and ships, artists began constructing and rethinking images of post-imperial Portugal. Meanwhile, the ghosts, unburied by definition, hover over those years, haunting the paints.

1 José-Augusto França, *Catálogo desdobrável da Exposição*. SNBA, June- July, n.p.

2 Decree-Law No. 391/22 November 1986, later extinguished with Law No. 16-A/2002 of 31st May 2002.

FROM THE OTHER SIDE OF THE MIRROR: NATIVE BRUSHSTROKES

The inherent dynamic in art between the point of view of the colonisers and that of the colonised obliges us to see the other side of the mirror, the output of the colonial natives. While Portuguese paintings done in the colonial context tended to depict military triumphs, exotic landscapes or the

strange habits of the peoples in these foreign lands, the pictorial production of the «other» reflected a very different point of view — a desire for autonomy and independence that could be translated so well into paint.

Although the dissemination of these works was conditioned by the regime,

certain names stand out, artists whose work is only now beginning to be systematised and considered as a whole. Here we can only describe a tiny part. Far from being circumstantial, the visual art output of numerous African artists had a long reach, influencing later generations, and those of today.

ANGOLA ANTÓNIO OLE

The rhizomatic character of Angolan artist António Ole's work shows that it developed at the crossroads of African and European cultures, reiterating the artist's idea that the arts are not isolated, but encounter one another.¹

Ole had been a student of Eduardo Zink in Angola (and later supervised the recuperation of some frescos that his former teacher had painted for a cinema in Luanda), and early on became aware of the movement for renovation that artists like Troufa Real, Cruzeiro Seixas and others wanted to bring to art in Angola. However, the person that would most mark his future work was José Rendinha (1905-1983), a fundamental figure in the creation of the Museum of Dundo and a pioneer in traditional ethnological Angolan studies. This identification with the world of the ethnologist was sedimented with his connection to the Modernism (strongly marked by black art) of Picasso and Braque (1882-1963), which Eduardo Zink had introduced him to.

And it would be this that he remembered when he stopped painting completely

between 1974 and 1982 in order to plunge into the events of post-independence Angola. He travelled deep into the heart of the country, worked in television and cinema and made his first, highly politicised documentaries. In the United States, where he went to study cinema, he discovered the great art museums and was impressed with the works of Jean-Michel Basquiat (1960-1988). In fact, he discovered more than this in the streets of New York: he discovered his own African nature.²

When he got back to Luanda he began painting again. He was not insensitive to the state of affairs in his country — he always sought to maintain «a radical demand for creative liberty, never far from the realities that surrounded him»³ — and it was at that moment that his art became truly political. As he put it, «I believe that my art can help people to change, because it is always provocative». ⁴ This was indeed the case with all the media he used: painting, photography, sculpture, installation or film.

The catalogue *António Ole. Luanda. Los Angeles. Lisboa*⁵ depicts the artist's

geography, strongly marked by travel and mobility. Works that bear witness to this include *The Entire World/Transitory Geometry* of 2010 (a mural anchored in travel, an assemblage of containers of merchant ships, a mural *mundi* which occupies the façade of a historical building in Berlin) and the earlier installation *Hidden Pages, Stolen Bodies* (1996-2001), a double video projection, which records the abuses of the colonial experience using official documents from national archives in Portugal and Angola.

Despite the volume's focus on painting, the fact that the arts in the 21st century are not hermetically sealed off from one another makes it worth mentioning what is probably his most emblematic work in this context: *Untitled*, a video from 2006 in which Ole brings together images of landscapes from Portugal, Macau, Belgium and Africa. This is a true travelogue, enclosed in a broad shot of a double mask, which itself becomes an empty frame in which fit the vastness of all the landscapes of the world.

ANGOLA ELEUTÉRIO SANCHES

Born in Luanda, Eleutério Sanches (1933-2016) participated in collective

exhibitions in Angola from the early 1970s, such as those held in the Chamber

of Commerce, Museum of Angola and the Angolan Cultural Society. In 1965 he came

1 See António Ole. *Marcas de um percurso (1970-2004)*. Miguel Wandschneider (ed.), Lisbon, C.G.D, 2004, s.p.

2 Interview conducted by Isabel Carlos in António Ole. *Luanda. Los Angeles. Lisboa*, Lisbon, F.C.G., 2016, p. 33.

3 José António Fernandes Dias in António Ole. *Marcas de um percurso (1970-2004)*. Miguel Wandschneider (coord.), Lisbon, C.G.D, 2004, p. 24.

4 António Ole in António Ole. *Marcas de um percurso (1970-2004)*. Miguel Wandschneider (ed.), Lisbon, C.G.D, 2004, p. 24.

5 António Ole. *Luanda. Los Angeles. Lisboa*, Lisbon, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation., 2016.

to Portugal and enrolled in the Lisbon Fine Art School where he completed the Painting course.

From 1965 on, he began to hold individual exhibitions, first in Lisbon and then in Luanda, broadening the geography to other countries (particularly Lusophone ones) in the following years.

In 2004 an anthological exhibition was

held in the Galveias Palace in Lisbon entitled *Cycles*. Reclaiming a Luso-African identity, Eleutério Sanches constructs a visual art which mixes references from the African cultural universe with the European/Western one on the level of both form and theme.

What stands out in visual terms from his work is «a graphism of white lines on

black backgrounds where the human figure is protagonist, dominated by an almost Spartan monochrome»,¹ as well as the presence of a line that visually affirms itself not only as the structuring element of the composition but above all as an expressive entity that goes beyond the modelling of form.

MOZAMBIQUE BERTINA LOPES

Bertina Lopes's years as a student in the metropole coincided with the start of the General Art Exhibitions organised by the National Fine Art Society (1946-1956), which influenced many young artists in their quest for a more interventive art form. Lopes was not immune to this environment, which marked her artistic training and practice. When she returned to colonial Mozambique, Lopes — daughter of an African mother and European father — taught drawing in various schools in Lourenço Marques and exhibited regularly. She took part in the 2nd Visual Arts contest in 1950, where she presented seven paintings, including portraits, landscapes and still life.

In 1952 she took part in the Mozambique Artists' Salon — 4th Exhibition of Painting, Sculpture and Drawing, exhibiting alongside Frederico Ayres, João Ayres, António Bronze, José Freire, Luís Polanah, Ruy Gouveia, Joaquim Vilela, Jorge Silva Pinto, José Lobo Fernandes, and others, with 12 works, above all portraits.

In 1953 she participated in the 1st Annual Visual Arts Contest: Artists of Mozambique, entering nine paintings. She was recognised in the domain of drawing, painting technique, tempera and oil, on account of the confidence and ease demonstrated. She won the Modern Enterprise Award, attributed to the best Mozambique painter in the competition.

In the 1st Salon organised by the City Council in 1957, on the occasion of the city festivals, she presented paintings and watercolours which, according to the critics, displayed an increasingly confident mastery of colour. In the same year, she had individual exhibitions involving oils, gouaches, drawings and occultations, which revealed the clear influence of Amadeo Modigliani, particularly as regards the deformed portraits and gradual abandonment of detail in favour of a greater freedom of form and growing valorisation of colour.

The following year, she participated in the Salon organised by the Economic Co-ordination Organizations and sponsored by the Metropole House, and also in the 2nd Visual Arts Salon of Beira, an initiative of the then Manica and Sofala Art Centre.

After an individual exhibition in the metropole, in 1959 she took part in the collective exhibitions of the SNBA: 50 Independent Artists and the 2nd Modern Art Salon — this despite the fact that modern African art was still virtually invisible in Lisbon.

In the same year, 1959, she became a member of the Mozambique Art Nucleus, appearing in the Visual Arts Section.

In 1960 she exhibited oils, gouaches and drawings, mostly on social themes; and in the following year, sponsored by the Art Nucleus, she presented 23 oils, almost all

based on poems by José Craveirinha (1922-2003) and Noémia de Sousa (1926-2002).

In 1962 she entered a decorative panel in a contest to adorn the hall of one of the floors of the headquarters of the Banco Nacional Ultramarino (today the Bank of Mozambique), having won the Garizo do Carmo Contest (1927-2001). At around that time, she left Mozambique and, in 1963, was awarded a grant by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, which brought her to Portugal and later to Italy.

In Lisbon, she took part in the 1st Chiaroscuro Salon in the SNBA, early in 1964, before settling in Rome, enamoured with the colours of the city and intensity of its light. Her painting began to be almost a modulation of rhythms reduced to the chromatic minimalism that would become a notable style in works of African origin.

In 1982 she had her first individual exhibition in independent Mozambique at the National Art Museum, which was just being established. Aware of the importance of constituting a public collection, she donated a number of her works. In 1994, she brought to Maputo her exhibition *África Dentro* (Inside Africa), returning in 2002 at a time when she was scarcely noticed. However, Africa continued to be present in her gallery-home in Rome, a testimony that remained to the end of a geography that had stuck to her skin and never abandoned it.

MOZAMBIQUE FREDERICO AYRES

Frederico Ayres was a disciple of Carlos Reis and belonged to the Silva Porto Group. He went to Mozambique in 1941

to teach Decorative Painting and Drawing at the Lourenço Marques Technical School.

Alongside this and as a member of the Mozambique Art Centre, he coordinated various courses, though without ever

¹ Teresa Pereira, *Uma travessia da colonialidade. Intervisualidades da pintura, Portugal e Angola*. Lisboa, FBA, 2011, p. 486.

stopping painting and exhibiting. His first exhibition was held in Lourenço Marques in 1942 in the salon of the Old Settlers' Association and contained 42 works, «including portraits and landscapes of Portugal

and Lourenço Marques».¹ He also showed a series of 14 canvasses called *Manchas de África* [Patches of colour: Africa], which was very successful.

As well as teaching, Ayres also included

students in his studio, supervised courses at the Art Centre, undertook commissions for public spaces, and continued to hold exhibitions, such as the one in 1945 which brought together 37 works on different themes.

MOZAMBIQUE JOÃO AYRES

João Ayres, son of the painter Frederico Ayres, was born in Lisbon and studied architecture while at the same time starting work as a painter. Along with Júlio Pomar, Júlio Resende, Nadir Afonso, Victor Palla and others, he participated in the first Exhibition of Independents in Porto and Coimbra in 1944, abandoning his architecture course at this time to devote himself exclusively to painting.

In 1946 he went to Lourenço Marques to join his father, with whom he shared an exhibition in 1947. In this, it became clear that he was not going to follow in his father's footsteps as regards motifs or technical processes.

In 1949, he held his first individual exhibition. He also began diversifying his activities to include teaching at the Lourenço Marques Art Centre and Industrial School as well as producing works of architecture, publicity and graphic arts.

In 1955, on the eve of his departure for Brazil, he exhibited oils and gouaches at the Salon of the Institutions for Economic Coordination. Far from the colonial environment, the works had nothing to say about their place of production, but rather dealt with European conflicts and problems. This attracted criticism that «the artist's feelings should not be disconnected from the place where he has his feet».²

In Brazil, he exhibited in the São Paulo Museum of Modern Art, and fraternised with Portuguese artists settled there, such as Fernando Lemos (1926-2019), Adolfo Casais Monteiro (1908-1972) and António Botto (1897-1959), also meeting Portinari (1903-1962), Di Cavalcanti (1897-1976), Oscar Niemeyer (1907-2012), and others.

Returning to Mozambique, he directed and collaborated in the Great Exhibition of Economic Activities, and in the following years he was very active in South Africa,

exhibiting in Johannesburg and Pretoria as well as maintaining broad contacts with South African artists including names like Battiss (1906-1982), Van der Reis (1927) and Johan Von Herdes.

In 1966 he won the prize for best Mozambique artist in the 4th Mozambique Press Festival. During the 1960s, he made numerous trips all around Europe, with long stays in Paris, London, Florence and Rome, returning to Portugal afterwards.

According to Pancho Guedes,

João Ayres was the great artistic disturber of Mozambique; he was the first to vigorously announce and demonstrate the visions of our time; it was he who, for years, influenced and guided almost everyone else that was painting there at that time.³

MOZAMBIQUE JACOB ESTÊVÃO MACAMBACO

The painter Jacob Estêvão (1933-2008) exhibited for the first time in 1951 in the cities of Xai-Xai, Beira and Inhambane.

He took part in the 1st Annual Art Contest of Mozambican Artists, organised by the Art Centre in the city of the same name in 1953. In the following year, he received a grant from the colonial government to have lessons with Frederico Ayres. According to the painter, «his taste for drawing and painting developed early when he lived in João Belo (now Xai-Xai), his native city, and remembered how a passing sailor

had made him a gift of paints because he painted his sea and his land».⁴

Thereafter, he participated in various collective and individual exhibitions, influencing a growing number of colonised subjects; in 1971 alone, he exhibited in Italy, Germany, South Africa and Switzerland.

After the independence of Mozambique in 1975, he participated in numerous collective exhibitions and held three individual ones, winning the second prize for painting in the *Week of Nature* exhibition.

In 2004, MUSARTE dedicated a tribute exhibition to him, entitled *Jacob-Percurso 20 Milénio*.

Jacob Estêvão was very influential for many of his contemporaries as he was the first black African painter that they saw paint. In fact, his participation in the first exhibition — the 1st Annual Art Contest of Mozambican Artists (1953) — was only possible due to the interest shown in him by the governor-general, who had encountered his work during the *Rhodes Centenary Commemorative Exhibition*⁵ in Bulawayo (in

1 Alda Costa, *Arte em Moçambique. Entre a construção da nação e o mundo sem fronteiras 1932-2004*. Lisbon Seebo, 2013, p. 114.

2 José Craveirinha, *O Brado Africano de 25.6.1955*, pp. 2-5 quoted by Alda Costa, *Arte em Moçambique. Entre a construção da nação e o mundo sem fronteiras 1932-2004*. Lisbon, Seebo, 2013, p. 142.

3 Online at <http://www.buala.org/pt/a-ler/pancho-guedes-e-todas-as-artes> (accessed on 2.4.2020).

4 Quoted by Alda Costa, *Arte em Moçambique. Entre a construção da nação e o mundo sem fronteiras 1932-2004*. Lisbon, Seebo, 2013, p. 152.

5 This exhibition was designed to publicise the merits of the colonisation of Central Africa and the commercial and industrial potential of its territories. Various European colonial powers, including Portugal, participated in it and the governor-general of Mozambique, Gabriel Maurício Teixeira (1897-1973), travelled there for the purpose.

former Southern Rhodesia, today Zimbabwe). Jacob worked as a domestic servant in that city, prompting the governor-general to comment that «he was an artist and should never have been a servant».¹ This work, presented in Bulawayo, was probably also presented at the 1st Annual Lourenço Marques Contest, attracting the following remark from a critic:² «As he is black, and not because of the value of his work, he is urged to

seek masters».³ Perhaps because he was the first black artist to exhibit in the Centre, he was one of the first beneficiaries of colonial government support under the imperial propaganda policy of the Salazar regime, which covered the visit of the president of the Portuguese Republic to the colony of Mozambique in 1956.

We should add that, from the 1950s, various painting exhibitions by «native»

artists took place in Mozambique, opening up the way for a growing number of black Mozambicans to learn easel painting in the following decades. However, falling between the «assimilated» and the «native», Jacob Estêvão continued to feel the racial discrimination and exclusion that sustained colonial society as he sold his paintings from door to door in the 1950s with Vasco Campira.

MOZAMBIQUE MALANGATANA

Malangatana Valente Ngwenya was a student at the Mozambique Art Centre where João Ayres taught while at the same time attending a course in Decorative Painting in the Industrial School.

He exhibited for the first time in 1959 in a collective at the Metropole House in Lourenço Marques, shortly after which he met Pancho Guedes. That meeting would change his life. He left the Centre and, free of influences, followed his own artistic path resulting from the various historical conditions that determined his painting.

His first individual exhibition took place in 1961, the year he joined FRELIMO, which led to his being arrested by the political police (PIDE). He came to Portugal with a grant from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and following the independence of Mozambique came to prominence

in politics as a deputy for FRELIMO. After the Civil War in 1992, he resumed his cultural and artistic projects, becoming one of the creators of the Mozambique National Art Museum.

His work as a whole is the voice of a colonial past unaligned with the regime, denouncing situations and abuses although his art is grounded in his African roots — the only way he felt he could achieve authenticity.

He designed panels for the Mozambique pavilion at Expo'92 in Seville,⁴ and for Expo '98 in Lisbon,⁵ and exhibited in four continents: Africa, Europe, America and Asia.

It is important to mention his canvases in the context of the (post)colonial scene as he was one of the first artists to pictorially cultivate a more transversal reflection about colonial spaces, the spaces

of independence and the repercussions of that long journey upon the world in which he lived, winning an unusual degree of international recognition.

Nominated «Artist of Peace» by UNESCO, his work is marked by strong brushstrokes in vibrant colours, portraying figures suffering under colonial oppression and the war of liberation. The colonial authorities, understanding his art to be an emancipatory and vindictive political act, arrested him, overlooking the fact that this would make him into the spokesman for independence throughout the territory.

His work, which is frequently invoked, offers multiple possibilities of reading and interpretation; with his paintbrushes, he managed to combat an anachronistic colonialism through a purely African form of art.

MOZAMBIQUE VASCO CAMPIRA

Born in Sofala, Vasco Campira studied at the Beira School of Arts and Crafts. He lived in Southern Rhodesia, the former Belgian Congo and Kenya. When he returned to Mozambique, he studied with Frederico Ayres, from 1954 on, and took part in different exhibitions.

In 1959, through the General Overseas Agency, he took part in an exhibition

organised by SNI in Lisbon where his work was displayed alongside that of Jacob Estêvão and his brother Elias Estêvão (1937-1960). Taking advantage of a stay in Lisbon, and with the help of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, he attended António Arroio School and the School of Fine Art. Discussing one of his various exhibitions, it was said: «It is an example

of how the National Government protects and nurtures all within its principles of equality that were and are the slogan of its centuries-long overseas policy».⁶

1 Alda Costa, *Arte em Moçambique. Entre a construção da nação e o mundo sem fronteiras 1932-2004*. Lisbon, Seebo, 2013, p. 152.

2 *Notícias da Tarde*, 12.10.1953, pp. 1-3; Itinerário. n.º 134, Set 1953/Jan 1954, p. 1 quoted by Alda Costa, *Arte em Moçambique. Entre a construção da nação e o mundo sem fronteiras 1932-2004*. Lisbon, Seebo, 2013, p. 133.

3 Alda Costa, *Arte em Moçambique. Entre a construção da nação e o mundo sem fronteiras 1932-2004*. Lisbon, Seebo, 2013, pp. 132-133.

4 Online at <http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=07361.015.0022> (accessed on 2.4.2020).

5 Online at <http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=07360.001.004> (accessed on 2.4.2020).

6 *News of 8.8.1962*, p. 9 cited by Alda Costa, *Arte em Moçambique. Entre a construção da nação e o mundo sem fronteiras 1932-2004*. Lisbon, Seebo, 2013, p. 153.

5. DRIFTS

POSTCOLONIAL TRACES

*It was not the Portuguese Empire
that came to an end but
the Euro-world empire.*

ADRIANO MOREIRA

Postcolonial studies, which developed in the 1960s, has its origins in essays produced in the United Kingdom about its Commonwealth and which extended to academia in the following decade, thanks to authors like Edward Said (1935-2003). It derives from a specific context, which relativises the ways the West perceived its Other(s), displacing axes and bringing «fringes» and «margins» to public debate.

There is no doubt that colonial pasts continue to be present in postcolonial contexts in a wide variety of forms.

Postcolonial Lisbon not only received back its former colonial settlers (pejoratively called «returnees»), but also brought home the real dimension of that other overseas Portugal, mythologized decades before by the *Estado Novo*. The global city of today — which confirmed «Lusophone» citizenship with the creation of the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Nations (CPLP) in 1992 — has experienced increasingly rapid change, successive cosmopolitan experiences that have provoked an intercultural and

multicultural dialogue that is reflected in artistic rhetoric, especially pictorial.

The experience of empire has meant that numerous artists have moulded the art of the past to influence the present in a fragmented history that has lasted. In recent decades, some of these heirs of the Portuguese imperial experience have reassessed the Portuguese cultural legacy, producing multiple approaches and interpretations that offer a new way of looking at the past, a questioning gaze grounded in the artistic hybrids of the present day.

ÂNGELA FERREIRA

Ângela Ferreira (1958), a contemporary artist born in Mozambique, has reflected about the colonial and postcolonial experience from a conceptual perspective. Using different formats and materials, the common denominator underpinning her work is the (post)colonial world, as in *Amnesia* (a video from 1997), *Maputo House: An Intimate Portrait* (two videos

from 1999), *Praia Grande Hotel* (photograph from 2003, which gestures towards the period of decolonisation and the «reception» of the returnees in hotels). Ângela Ferreira's oeuvre is marked by territorial duality, the result of her biographical trajectories involving multiple trips between Africa (Mozambique and South Africa) and Europe.

Used to seeing the painting and murals of Malangatana in the public space of Lourenço Marques during her childhood and adolescence, Ângela Ferreira familiarized herself with this register, later inscribing it into her own artistic output. As she claimed, «the African side is paradigmatic in my work; it is its *raison d'être* (...) these are my conceptual roots, my foundations».¹

¹ Interview given to the author in the artist's atelier in Lisbon on 25.7.2019.

And this was the path she trod after finishing her academic training in South Africa at a time when «the country was burning up»: it was the 1980s and the regime was in decline using increasingly brutal forms of repression. On the brink of civil war, grappling with an economic crisis, and pressurised by international institutions that were halting investment, the situation was explosive and difficult to control. Considering apartheid to be appalling, Ângela Ferreira joined a group of colleagues in an «intimate process of sharing of ideas, concepts, a kind of common and informal education, which had incredible power, as there is nothing like having something to struggle against to unite us with a special energy.»¹

That grouping led to the formation of a centre with 14 participants, which was invited to paint the inside space (a corridor) of a building in Cape Town: *Community House*. The work was structured around a diagonal line which crossed the wall space

made of tools — symbols and signs of the working class — and the overlooked and suffering classes: women, children, old people. On paper, the project grew organically in accordance with the capacities and skills of its participants. Ângela Ferreira was responsible for animating the diagonal line with work objects of the proletariat; and from there, the mural branched off into various scenes, with a black woman in the foreground at the end of the chain of rights in Africa. From amongst the markedly political details of the mural, inscriptions stand out, camouflaged words that reveal more than they hide, such as T-shirts with anti-regime slogans,² amongst the characteristic sarongs (*capulanas*) on veiled or distant figures.

Recently Ângela Ferreira decided to look back on her previous career and pick up again that mural left behind in Cape Town over thirty years ago. Reappropriating the collective work, she gave it a new interpretation and context and decided to

exhibit it in Portugal and the world. The justification was that in it was inscribed her conceptual and political school. She began by photographing the original mural and projecting the photographs onto the walls of MAAT³. Then she repainted the parts that interested her — details, more specifically three fragments. She then invited a group of artists, condensing the result into an exhibition called *Pan African Unity Mural*. An important curiosity is the fact that each time the work is painted, it is erased afterwards. The aim is not to leave any permanent record of the project.

One last detail is the fact that the mural that now emerges in the postcolonial context, while maintaining its political content as part of an assumedly politicised art form, has now acquired an individual nature, marked by the fact that it bears a signature. (The 1987 original, painted by the self-styled *CAP Muralist Group*, was not signed for obvious reasons.)

EMÍLIA NADAL

On the occasion of the Camões celebrations in 1972-73, Emília Nadal (1938), an artist who works with various media, accepted the invitation to do a painting about the Lusiads. In order to pay homage to the poem and the poet, academics also planned to award her the Painting Prize for that year (1973).

In that period, the proposal exacerbated the indignation that motivated my watercolours on the subject of wars. Hesitating between accepting or refusing the invitation, I decided eventually to accept as it would give me an opportunity to protest against the use and abuse that was then being made of Camões and the Lusiads to ground the overseas orthodoxy and justify the war in Africa. The painting was a staging of signals alluding to Lusitanian myths, reduced to the kind mediocrity of thought that is the enemy of

true culture, an inexorable path to the second Alcácer-Quibir. *Canto XI* showed the palm trees of the African coast devoured by napalm (information that was always denied) and the monument destined for Sagres, which was never built. Although many people predicted that the painting would be rejected, I thought that the Academy might be capable of accepting an iconoclastic provocation. The argument that the academicians found to airily resolve the question of the painting and the promise of the prize never occurred to me: fearing that 'a new Luandino Vieira-style case' might lead to the closure of their premises by the PIDE, they alleged that the painting did not correspond to the theme proposed, as there is no eleventh canto in the Lusiads! Nice!⁴

Between 1975-77, she produced a series of drawings entitled *Abaixo a Cultura* [Down

with Culture] and *Viva a Liberdade* [Long Live Freedom]. At that time of the Cold War, the Ongoing Revolutionary Process [PREC] and intimidatory manoeuvres to impose uniformity of thought and censorship in the arts, a new period of darkness seemed to be augured with the threat of a new dictatorship of an opposite persuasion to the previous one. But this did not come about.

In 1976, Emília Nadal exhibited a drawing entitled *O Ditador* [The Dictator] and a print *O Comando* [The Commando] within the collection *Pena de Morte, Tortura, e Prisão Política* [Death Sentence, Torture and Political Imprisonment] at the National Fine Arts Society, an event which was strangely overlooked by the press.

In 1983, in the exhibition *Trágico-Marítimos* [Sea Tragedies] held at the National Fine Arts Society, Emília Nadal par-

1 Idem.

2 For example, in the mural, one of the figures wears a T-shirt on which we can only see written «dela» (from Mandela) and «der» (from the word «leader»), and also «viva cosatu» («Long live Cosatu» — COSATU was the federation of the general workers trade unions and was illegal at the time. We should note that in those years, Nelson Mandela (1918-2013) had been transferred from the prison on Robben Island to Pollsmoor in Capetown, reigniting the struggle against apartheid.

3 Lisbon Museum of Art, Architecture and Technology, Exhibition Ângela Ferreira. Pan African Unity Mural, held between 28 June and 8 October 2018. Online at <https://www.maat.pt/exposicoes/angela-ferreira-pan-african-unity-mural> (accessed on 2.4.2020). See catalogue Ângela Ferreira. Pan African Unity Mural. Lisbon: MAAT, 2018.

4 Author's statement, given on 6.8.2019.

anticipated with two paintings on canvas (*O Naufrágio da Nau São Bento* [The Wreck of the Ship São Bento] and *As Lágrimas de D. Leonor Sepúlveda* [The Tears of D. Leonor Sepúlveda]) and an installation called *O Novo Capítulo da História Trágico-Marítima* [The New Chapter in the History of Sea Tragedies], a critique of the Fishing Treaty

that had been signed between Portugal and Spain and which was very restrictive for Portugal.

In addition to other recurrent iconographies, common to all wars and peacetime threats on the Portuguese and African coasts, Emília Nadal was able to maintain a critical and inventive eye on Portuguese

postcolonial society, corroborating what José-Augusto França wrote about her work in his preface to *Guerre et Paix* [«War and Peace»]: «Painting is a war tool to be used defensively and offensively against the enemy»,¹ paraphrasing Picasso in 1945.

GRAÇA MORAIS

Between 1988 and 1989, at the invitation of the then ambassador of Portugal in Cape Verde, José Fernandes Fafe, Graça Morais produced a body of work about the archipelago during an extensive artistic residence there. In a series of works which document her stay on the archipelago, Cape Verde was «a parenthesis»² which opened and closed there, but which did not leave her indifferent. This was in part because the stay in Cape Verde allowed her to revisit the Africa of her childhood since she had lived for a while in Mozambique. As she herself said, that Africa, where she had arrived by boat, «was amazing».³

She lived in Guijá (later Vila Trigo de Morais) in the Limpopo valley, two hundred kilometres from Lourenço Marques, today Maputo. That was where she started to paint, developing an oeuvre which led her to be invited to hold an initial exhibition for the inauguration of the Sines Art Centre in 2005-06. The artistic residence immersed her in a maritime reality which inspired her to create a series of canvasses and to paint a triangular sail of a boat. On a large panel, Graça Morais condensed the renewed adventure of confronting the unknown, combatting it and imprisoning it in the mix of paints, in *Uma história*

trágico-marítima [A Maritime Tragedy] in which she highlights a man «drawn on a background of endless blue, telling us that he/it is there, in the undecipherable depths of his eyes (...), which reveal the true history of the [Portuguese] sea»⁴. It was that same sea that saw the caravels depart and now sees the fishing boats arrive at a quay in a place that some historians believe to have been the birthplace and residence of Vasco da Gama.

JOSÉ DE GUIMARÃES

Travel is one of the factors that has long influenced the work of José de Guimarães, who conceives his work as the «cultural osmosis»⁵ of someone who lives in Europe, but who once lived in Africa, while also travelling in Asia and America. His oeuvre is to be found in Portuguese and foreign collections scattered about the four corners of the world.⁶ In fact, one constant that emanates from his production is the plasticity of frontiers which are permeable to the influence of the geographies he has travelled through and which reveal his creative diversity — a diversity that began in Angola, a former colony of the Portuguese empire.

Perhaps one should begin with his original creative source, Africa, where he lived

from 1967 to 1974. There he allowed himself to be influenced by the simplification of form and his fascination with masks. This interest stemmed from his early trips to Paris⁷ where he first came into contact with African tribal art when he saw the canvasses of Paul Klee (1879-1940), Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944), Pablo Picasso (1881-1973), Joan Miró (1893-1983), Giorgio Morandi (1890-1964) and Giorgio De Chirico (1888-1978) whilst wandering around the galleries, the Louvre and the Museum of Modern Art.

In Africa he passed through an initiation ritual and felt the awakening of an awareness of a colonial empire that turned into an empire of the senses. As Portugal

was the only country in the world that still possessed colonies, the regime of António de Oliveira Salazar thought it imperative to hold onto the overseas possessions of an empire considered larger than Europe for the simple reason that it extended 'from the Minho to Timor'. With the onset of the struggle for independence, the colonial wars began and contingents of troops were sent to safeguard the interests of an anachronistic and solitary metropole. It is within this context that José de Guimarães, a captain and engineer, went to Angola where he let himself be seduced by the local tribes and sculptures with their stylised forms bursting with primeval energy. This breeding ground led him to create a unique and

1 José-Augusto França, Emília Nadal *Guerre et Paix*. Paris: Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian, 2016, p. 9.

2 António Mega Ferreira, Graça Morais. *Os olhos azuis do mar*. Lisbon, ASA, 2005, p. 81.

3 Graça Morais, Graça Morais. *A grande arte tem a dimensão do mistério*. Guerra & Paz, Lisbon, 2018, p. 46.

4 António Mega Ferreira, Graça Morais. *Os olhos azuis do mar*. Lisbon, ASA, 2005, p. 87.

5 As Joana Neves mentions in her article «José de Guimarães, 40 anos de criação artística na Cordoaria» in *Público* de 26.7.2001. Online at <https://www.publico.pt/culturaipsilon/noticia/jose-de-guimaraes-40-anos-de-criacao-artistica-na-cordoaria-33068> (accessed on 2.4.2020).

6 Among these are the Museum Würth in Germany, his biggest collector, the Akemi Foundation in Japan and the Veranneman Foundation in Belgium.

7 Pierre Restany, José de Guimarães: le nomadisme transculturel. Paris, Ed. de la Différence, 2006.

personal iconographic universe that was the result of his proximity to local artists, his leanings towards tribal culture and the fact that he frequented different intellectual environments.

In 1968, the year after his arrival, he launched the manifesto «Arte Perturbadora! Manifesto aos pintores inconformistas» [Disturbing Art! Manifesto for non-conformist painters]. This consisted of nineteen commandments that exalted subversive art, and coincided with a period of major political and social upheaval. What must not be forgotten is that for centuries missionaries and colonial administrators had destroyed the idols of the indigenous peoples to try to convince them they were false. Later, at the end of the 19th century, anthropologists sought to explain this relation, this tension, in a way that takes into account not only the colonists' 'side' but also considers the 'indigenous' people thus showing an anthropological background that can easily be seen in Guimarães' work and is referred to below.

From the moment he encountered a different culture and a different world, the artist let himself be carried away by them, and so began a personal journey that led him to embark on an initiatory work that defines his plastic discourse in those years: the «Alfabeto Africano» [African Alphabet]. This was made between 1970 and 1974 and is, in brief, «the acquisition of a new language influenced by ideographic thought, one that belongs to African tribal culture,»¹ that allows a univocal view of the world to be overcome.²

In different readings, the geometric alphabet was used to compose different puzzles in patterns that developed into endless variations, which were then in their turn revisited over time by the successive journeys their creator undertook. There are 132 symbols that can be combined in multiple solutions waiting for the viewer to decode the hidden message, a message that is reformulated in every new phase with every new inspiration; in other words, the African sign-alphabet remains, but it presents new aesthetic and symbolic re-readings

whether in light of his Asiatic period or in the context of the Mexican period referred to below. The artist himself states that «the narrative direction of European art is replaced in African art by codes full of symbolism and intended meanings».³

However, the objects that probably had the strongest influence on his work were African masks. Appearing in his imagery from the mid-1960s to early 1970s, the mask became a recurrent motif in his work, one that he obsessively revisited. Its force is related to what it hides rather than its power to disguise, with part of its fascination lying in this ambiguous characteristic.

It was this force that seduced Pablo Picasso at the beginning of the 1900s when he visited the Musée de l'Homme in Paris. There the Spaniard let himself be won over by African primitive art, and it was not long before this influence became so famous in his work that it caused a 'revolution' in 20th century art. When he created *Les demoiselles d'Avignon* (1907), the founding painting of Cubism, its origins in African primitive art became 'visible' since deconstructing the figurative idea of the image and replacing the face by a mask made people rethink the notion of the portrait that the Renaissance had given us. This is because the mask diffuses the signs of identification and identity, leaving them only inside the artist's head where he recreates them as he sees them and not necessarily as they are. This means the destruction and reconstruction of the portrait as a possible means of identification, which is why it was so revolutionary and the first example in the 20th century. In addition to this, the artist shatters the compositional order, the conventional distance where the background not only becomes as important as the figures but itself becomes a figure too. This was the truly revolutionary element in 20th century Cubism. Put another way, the order and the composition of the canvas completely alter the painting, rebalancing it totally. In the painting, Picasso does not subject himself to any rule of perspective but moves 360 degrees around the figures to capture their movement and discover them. Representation has ceased

to be frontal; instead the whole figure is seen simultaneously, but without actually being seen with the eyes (as everything can not be seen at the same time). The painter puts in not only what he sees but also what he knows (the mental turn he makes around the face and body of the represented figure), thus introducing a new era in painting. What this meant was that suddenly art became incomprehensible to his contemporaries because art stopped being merely reproduction and became what the artist thought about art itself. Overall, however, *Les Demoiselles* confirm the power of the mask, highlighting the angular and geometric planes of the faces he seeks to compose, destroying the western pictorial tradition based on figuration, and succeeding in achieving the aesthetic innovation that prefigured Cubism. In a certain way, this iconic painting reproduces the image reflected in the colonial mirror in the period when Europe dominated Africa but when the imaginary of the overseas possessions flooded the metropolises with their ancestral power. And this is what can be found in the painting-sculpture masks José de Guimarães produced during his sojourn in Angola. They are creations that convey the archetype of an impersonal humanity with great plastic simplicity and are a symbol of an existential primitivism that goes all the way back to the earliest days of representation.

On this point, it is useful to digress briefly and remember that some artists had already gone to find inspiration in so-called 'primitive' art in order to break with the canons of their time and introduce a new aesthetic. Such was the case of Paul Gauguin (as mentioned in Chapter I, Artistic Creation and the Colonial Context) in Polynesia, a French colony where he changed both his themes and content. In fact, the artists referred to above (Picasso and Gauguin) were so important in José de Guimarães' formation that he would later pay homage to each of them pictorially.

Let us just say that masks similar to those that influenced Picasso were what José de Guimarães saw in his oft repeated

1 Nuno Faria, Guia de Coleção, Centro Internacional das Artes José de Guimarães. Guimarães, 2012, p. 10.

2 The series of 150 symbols forms a complex system of codes developed from the pictograms used by the Ngoyo tribe of the Cabinda enclave. The project represented a kind of Esperanto of shapes, a contribution to peace in a turbulent period of colonial history.

3 Interview with José de Guimarães by Fernando Pernes, José de Guimarães. Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1984, p. 32.

visits to the Museum of Angola, a place where he acquired the desire to become a collector. He started to acquire items as soon as he left the country when the colonial war ended in 1974 and he returned to Portugal.

It is perhaps worth going back a bit in time in order to understand the origins of African art and its importance within the context of Portuguese maritime expansion. When the first Portuguese navigators sailed along the coasts of the African continent, they discovered that the indigenous art consisted of objects made of wood, steatite (soapstone) and ivory that were venerated for their power of 'sorcery' or for the 'magical' function attributed to them. The distrust that the sailors immediately felt meant that importance was only given to objects made of valuable materials — such as ivory or gold — while the rest were shunned. From early on, the mask occupied a special place in African art. It possesses a dual nature (physical and metaphysical) and it was this ambiguity that attracted the attention of artists, particularly José de Guimarães. His masks at the beginning of the 1970s reveal a dual power that is interesting when seen in the light of today's postcolonial studies: that of fighting in a war while hiding one's face (for not agreeing with it) and that of trying to understand a culture and be accepted by it. Masks allowed this bipolarity, becoming disquieting objects not for what they hide perhaps but for what they reveal.

One fact that should be noted is that José de Guimarães visited the retrospective exhibition in homage to Picasso in Paris in 1966. This exhibition marked him deeply even though «the big leap really happened when he went to Africa and came into contact with a culture that was not museological and had no visibility in Europe».¹

His plastic trajectory, unlike Picasso and other Modernists, who limited themselves to visiting European museums, is

therefore the result of actually plunging headfirst into the African continent, seeking «to see and understand African art free of prejudice or preconceived ideas without dissociating it from the culture that produced it».² Fernando de Azevedo (1923-2002) expressed an identical opinion back in 1974 when he said:

At no time did any Portuguese painter come so close to a deep and at the same time so decidedly epoch-making understanding of a culture that we never in all truth knew how to feel.³

In fact this understanding, the result of actual experience, permeates the whole of his subsequent production. It marks a path made up of discourses that are the result of an intrinsic mobility, the desire for a worldview that reveals his creative urge.

While still in his African phase, Guimarães produced sculptures and paintings that, as they had been created during, and as a protest against, the colonial conflict, some people catalogue as «works of war».⁴ As for his sculptures, these are «imprisoned within static and rigid forms, where the green and red tones and the colour black symbolise the coloniser and the colonised respectively, (...) they idealise the miscegenation of peoples and cultures».⁵

In regard to his painting, this follows the same theme, transposing to the two-dimensional plane the three-dimensionality of the sculpted figure. His pictures are filled with multicoloured pictorial elements that visually saturate the canvas to show his horror of the emptiness the colonial war brought.

With his African cycle coming to an end, what he brought away from it was an awareness that the essence of art is not to represent the exterior world but to express the interior world, a characteristic that would accompany all of his future work.

On his return to Lisbon in 1974, he began a new phase of artistic creation although the African chip remained throughout his career. Observe his *Gioconda Negra* [Black Gioconda] from 1975 where he revives the emblematic Renaissance work by Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519).

If the Italian painter wanted to render homage to the noble Florentine lady, then José de Guimarães wanted to pay tribute to the black woman by combining Modernist plasticity with the African aesthetic. However, this blonde-haired, mixed-race 'Mona Lisa' with a mask on her face presents a body that is fragmented by the Modernist-Surrealist-Pop aesthetic but is born in a hybrid Africa that suggests a combination of genes and cultures.⁶

At the beginning of the 1980s, navigating in the ocean depths of memory, Guimarães devoted special attention to the theme of the Portuguese Maritime Discoveries and to the poem *Os Lusíadas* [The Lusíads] by Luís de Camões (c. 1524-1580). This would be the beginning of a long reflection on Portuguese identity by Guimarães through which he revisited the History of Portugal and the History of the Empire. As João Cerqueira says:

Through anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and geometric signs, José de Guimarães retrieves the myths and forms of expression of the various different cultures the Portuguese had connections with in past centuries, setting them against the very history of Portugal. Just as Manueline art incorporated exotic elements into the national decorative style, the artist transposes masks, mythological beings and oriental calligraphy to his pictures, merging them with his modern plastic expression.⁷

The evocative series about Camões that came about after he read *The Lusíads* was entitled «As variações camonianas» [The

1 P de Pop, Pintura Poster. José de Guimarães. Lisboa, Documenta, 2016, p. 70

2 João Cerqueira, Por mares nunca de antes navegados: José de Guimarães na rota dos descobrimentos e do encontro de culturas. Vol. I e II, Porto, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2010, p. 66.

3 Fernando Azevedo, «Um começo num fim» in Revista Colóquio. Artes. n.º 21, 1974, p. 54.

4 João Cerqueira. Op. Cit., p. 68.

5 Idem.

6 Just as he took inspiration from da Vinci's iconic Renaissance painting, his later work «Vénus Africana» [African Venus] from 1990 is inspired by the goddess of love of classical mythology — the past of European culture — to create a hybrid work. Here the white figure is transformed into a black figure through a structure that reminds us of a totem, whose association to animist practices makes it responsible for the safety and prosperity of the tribe or community and is, therefore, venerated.

7 João Cerqueira. Op. Cit., p. 3.

Camões variations],¹ a type of Camonian alphabet. It uses a language far removed from tragic or epic *pathos* but close to the symbology that allows one to imagine new narratives for Portugal's Tragico-Maritime History.

This reading of Camões' poem allows for a huge variety of interpretations depending on the stance of the spectator, but it also allows a transversal reading of Lusitanian mobility on the seas in the poetry of the Discoveries from the 16th to the 21st century. Perhaps it was the dimension of the traveller in Camões that Guimarães sought to encapsulate in his plastic interpretation when he used a source of inspiration like *The Lusiads*. What is certain is that travel has become a constant source of inspiration and artistic creation that has been regenerated in this moving from place to place and has experienced an unparalleled dynamic in the global era.

Next in the sequence comes his 1985 *Camões*, who is a warrior and adventurer striding out into the world with his sword and adopting the triumphal pose of someone who has taken part in battles and travelled the world. His *Rei Dom Sebastião* [King Dom Sebastian] also takes us back to the time of the Discoveries and to the dream of expanding the empire and converting the Moors. This all ended though with the defeat at the Battle of Alcácer Quibir [Ksar-el-Kebir] and the loss of national independence. Emanating a certain bravado, this king is presented to us wearing a crown transformed into a hat with three snake brims, which indicate the temptation of the forbidden fruit — conquest — and the punishment for such an action that will claim the life of the monarch himself.

This period also encompasses his first Asiatic phase at the end of the 1980s. In 1987, the Director of the Goethe Institute in Osaka invited him to create some pieces according to the traditional Japanese paper craft of kite-making. To do this, he went to live in the Himeji Monastery where he learnt the ancestral techniques of kite-making and where he designed and built *Dom Sebastião*, a 4-metre long kite mounted on a bamboo structure. Freeing

itself from the laws of gravity, the bird flew during a Japanese festival in which over a hundred international artists took part. The kites later toured the world as part of a travelling exhibition that was proposed to the Goethe Institute in Osaka. The show's itinerary included Munich, Moscow, Hamburg, Berlin, Madrid, Turin, Vienna, Zurich and London before closing in 1992 at the Guggenheim Museum in New York.

The paper kite that flew in Japan, five centuries after the arrival of the Portuguese in the country, was the first of many works related to this theme by José de Guimarães in the Land of the Rising Sun. In fact, from 1990 on, the painter made several trips to Japan and China. This resulted in his discovering a culture whose ancestry influenced a new phase in his journey and plastic discourse: after Africa, Europe and Mexico, it was the turn of Asia.

Nevertheless, at the beginning of the 1990s, Guimarães returned to the theme of the Portuguese Discoveries through a series of six paintings called «Navegadores e Descobridores» [Navigators and Discoverers], a tribute to the History of Portugal and to its overseas possessions. The pictures are brought to life by a primitivist aesthetic that borders on abstraction, as in the case of *Encontros* [Encounters] whose dripping technique weaves a parallel between two distinct worlds — that of the colonist and that of the colonised — crystallising in one moment the bloody encounter that lasted for years.

Reiterating his emphasis on the Empire's expansion, during the 1990s Guimarães created reliquary boxes that are used to once again evoke Portugal's overseas past. Inspired by Catholicism and the faith shown in its mission to evangelise the 'heathens', the reliquaries collected by Christians were the heirs to ritual African artefacts. Both these cultures sealed themselves off in beliefs (sacred and profane-pagan) in a symbolic dichotomy that was sacralised in timeless practices. A good example is *Vasco da Gama* from 1991, a reliquary made out of a cardboard box standing on a block of wood that recreates the discovery of the sea passage to India.

The piece portrays a male figure standing with his arms wide open and his legs splayed on a coloured painted background. There are some objects glued to it (a paintbrush, two sweet papers and a lobster shell), symbols that are hard to associate to 16th century nautical exploits, or to Vasco da Gama himself, but that refer to the observer's fragile construction of certainties offering multiple narrative interpretations.

Then comes his Mexican phase, which started in 1994. His collection of Pre-Columbian Art can be seen in the José de Guimarães International Arts Centre (CIA-JG) and through the multiplicity of objects on show offers its own view of the mobility triggered by the Iberian Discoveries of the 15th and 16th centuries. More than being of a documental or historical nature, this collection offers a view of the «pre-Hispanic [universe] which survived even after the arrival of the Spaniards, with a complex syncretism being created between Christian beliefs and ancient Andean rites».² The truth is that throughout the past there had been constant interaction between the different coastal peoples that played a fundamental role in the cultural dynamics that shaped the arts of the region. Once again, the weight of colonisation is revisited along with the inhibiting role played by the Church that was subsequently prolonged by conservative Mexican society and the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz (1830-1915). Their censoring of sexuality meant that it manifested itself and was liberated in the different *México* series Guimarães produced during the 1990s. His multicultural project in which he reinterprets the Mexican *Fiesta de los Muertos* (Day of the Dead) and Pre-Columbian rituals spreads over numerous works whose content reflects the concerns of this traveller-artist.

Within the scope of the present study, it is pertinent to mention one of the murals designed by Guimarães for the Chabacano metro station entitled *As Civilizações* [Civilisations]. The blue background representing the oceans stands out clearly. This alludes to the Portuguese maritime discoveries, claiming it was the sea route that effected the meeting between Mexico and

1 These works were the Portuguese representation at the 16th Biennale in São Paulo, Brazil, in 1981.

2 María Jesús Jiménez Díaz, *Guia de Coleção*, Centro Internacional das Artes José de Guimarães, Guimarães, 2012, p. 67.

Portugal. There is a blue plumed serpent with a red fish mouth and a forked green tongue, a metaphor for the meeting of civilisations, which is surrounded by skulls (two black and one yellow) that celebrate Mexico's past. However, the symbolism of this work on show in the Mexican metro station speaks for itself as does that of another mural by Guimarães dated 1997 in the Carnide metro station in Lisbon.

The coloured neons of the *Mural dos Oceanos* [Mural of the Oceans] are jumbled up in a multicoloured tangle of curved lines organised in spirals that symbolise the ceaseless movement of the waves of the sea. On the opposite platform is the *Mural dos Descobridores* [Mural of the Discoveries], once again celebrating the history of Portugal.

The second part of his Asiatic phase takes place between 1997 and 2003 when he fell in love with Chinese poetry and calligraphy. In this period, the painter encapsulates in his canvasses the encounter of Western culture with that of the Middle Kingdom, thereby recalling the Portuguese presence in the East. The Portuguese navigator, Jorge Gonçalves, set out from Malacca in 1511 and reached Canton. As a result of this, regular trade with China was born, leading Dom Manuel I (1469–1521) to send an embassy headed by Tomé Pires (1465–1540) in 1517. Pires later settled in Peking as the representative of the Portuguese court in China but it was not long before the Portuguese were expelled from the lands of the Celestial Empire. However, with the arrival of the Portuguese in Japan in 1543, trade between China and Portugal was again encouraged, which enabled the representatives of the Portuguese king to settle in Macau in 1557.

Another work that should be mentioned is his logo for *Turismo de Portugal*, the Portuguese tourism board (referred to in detail in Chapter III).

In contemporary mobility, in which concepts such as nation and nationality are more than ever present, Guimarães'

transcultural nomadism stands out as does «his liking for humanity, travelling all over the world in search of it» because «what is important in a work of art is the emotion it provokes».¹ This is exactly what «Esconjurações»² [Exorcisms], his individual exhibition in Lisbon, shows. Here the works exhibited reveal the «long path walked among emotions, journeys, encounters with other civilisations (...) in a life that is the sum of different cultures, all of which are concentrated in the world in which we live».³

When trying to understand the work of an artist who has travelled to the four corners of the world in a mobility initiated by his 15th century Portuguese navigator ancestors, what primarily comes across is the inspiration of the cultures he espoused along his personal path and the way they have been incorporated in his aesthetic discourse. José de Guimarães' circumnavigation has been accompanied by a search for new materials and techniques, leading to plastic innovations and a constant renewal of his repertoire.

Be that as it may, he constantly (re)visits the history of Portugal both to question it and to subvert it to his own purpose as an artist-traveller. The colonial war, the 25th April Revolution, the Portuguese Discoveries and the mythical figures of *Portugalidade* that are reconstructed in postcolonial history all make him an artist who retrieves the memory of the world.

From the dichotomous perspective of traveller and artist, José de Guimarães himself considers that the Portuguese, even though they settled on three continents and interacted with countless peoples, did not establish many connections with the indigenous cultures either by assimilating their values or by spreading Portuguese artistic expressions. Unlike other colonial powers, for example the English or the French, the Portuguese showed only minor interest in the native art of the peoples they colonised. This therefore explains «the dearth of indigenous art collections in

Portugal in contrast with the huge reserves held by England and France.⁴ Perhaps for this very reason, Guimarães «resolved to travel all over the world»,⁵ finding inspiration in the worldview of a world in constant movement.

As his art is infused with this atmosphere of travel, it has perhaps also revealed a facet related to power, political power. Ever since his «Arte Perturbadora!» manifesto, a certain desire for political intervention can be noted as in *Pátria* [Homeland] from 2000–03 (in which the image of Che Guevara appears), the *Batalha de Cartago* [Battle of Carthage] from 2001–02, or even *Bagdad* [Baghdad] from 2003, works brought together in a pictorial procession of tragedies that have accompanied the latest paths trodden by world history. Integrated within a cycle called «Impérios do Fim» [Final Empires], these testimonies are a type of political intervention within the field of painting, updating the plastic language in accordance with the historical moment and portraying the world's memories.

It cannot be forgotten that the beginning of his career was during the swansong of the last of the European empires — the Portuguese empire. Through the plastic arts, Guimarães develops and defends *mestiçagem*, or interracial breeding, with which Claude Lévi-Strauss and his theory expounded in *Tristes Tropiques* would not disagree. Lévi-Strauss points out that there is no such thing as a 'pure' culture since all societies have been infiltrated and overtaken by currents of cultural and artistic exchange. In other words, today's globalisation is far from being a new phenomenon, but rather a recurrent factor of human experience. In this respect, the exhibition «África: Diálogo Mestiço» [Africa: Mestizo Dialogue] organised by the Lisbon City Council in 2009 should be mentioned as it defended miscegenation as being humanity's greatest wealth and possibly its only hope. By combining cultures in his work, José de

1 Interview with Alexandra Tavares Teles in Notícias Magazine of 25.01.2016. Online at <http://www.noticiasmagazine.pt/2016/jose-de-guimaraes/> (accessed on 2.4.2020), pp. 25 and 31.

2 At the Galeria Millennium in Lisbon.

3 Interview with Alexandra Tavares Teles in Notícias Magazine of 25.01.2016. Online at <http://www.noticiasmagazine.pt/2016/jose-de-guimaraes/> (accessed on 3.4.2020), p. 26.

4 João Cerqueira. Op. Cit., p. 75.

5 José de Guimarães, *A cultura e As Civilizações*. Dois murais de José de Guimarães para a Estação Chabacano do Metropolitano da Cidade do México. Lisboa, Metropolitano de Lisboa, 1997, p. 12.

Guimarães offers a mixed gaze blending influences from different peoples and cultures, a gaze capable of designing a truly multiracial society.

Above all else, José de Guimarães knew how to interpret both real and mythical Portuguese history, giving it a meaning all of its own. This in itself is a sign of an

awareness of the world around him, but he has never forgotten his own place as a Portuguese citizen in this world.

JULIÃO SARMENTO

The theme of travel is present in all Julião Sarmiento's work (1948), although not always perceptibly. It evokes a journey of provision, initiated during his stay in a province of the Portuguese empire in 1972: Mozambique. While he was there, he lived in Matola, from where he travelled to Swaziland and South Africa, without socializing with other artists except for Malangata, who kindly gave him paints and canvasses, encouraging him to paint.

This stay resulted in his first exhibition in collaboration with another artist (in this case Eleonor Cruz) which took place in the Texto Gallery in Lourenço Marques. The force behind this gallery-bookshop was the artist António Quadros (1933-1994), who organised individual, collective and itinerant exhibitions and retrospectives. Although it was not Quadros who invited Julião Sarmiento to exhibit, the event nevertheless went ahead. It was inaugurated on 25th April 1974, when Sarmiento was already back in mainland Portugal. It did not take place on the publicised date but opened later on. The series of paintings was entitled *Quartos*, and showed representations of bedrooms, and also the legs of animals in accordance with the double meaning of the word in Portuguese. A leaflet prepared for the exhibition contained a text by Sílvia Chicó, which reads as follows:

A game that takes place on the level of the signifier: the word «QUARTO» can refer both to a specific architectural space and also to the leg part of the animals represented. These animals, which form part of the traditional African theme, are also part of the poetics of children. An exhibition of hindlegs. Figurative hindlegs, abstract hindlegs. The backgrounds are treated in an

abstract-geometrical way, and against them the figures and silhouettes stand out.¹

The canvasses had titles like *Quarto de Cama* [Bedroom], *Quarto de Relva* [Lawn room], *Quarto de Elefante* [Elephant's room/hindleg], *Quarto de Leão* [Lion's room/hindleg] or *Quarto de Leopardo* [Leopard's room/hindleg] and used a mixture of paints which, later — though still in the 1970s — spread to a group of works with a generic title, *Segredos do Mundo Animal* [Secrets of the Animal World] in which the artist mixed people and animals, considering that people had a certain sense of animality.

In fact, the canvasses exhibited in the Texto Gallery in Lourenço Marques were never returned to the artist, although he has a collection of snapshots of some of them when they were still unfinished. In these, we can see portraits of animals, framed in spaces confined by lines and colours «whose leitmotif was Africa».²

Harking back to these years, and based on an artistic lineage of African inspiration, the exhibition *Leopard in a cage. Projetos Inéditos* [Unpublished Projects] 1969-2018, was organised in the José de Guimarães International Art Centre (CIAJG) in 2018.³ The title refers to the project *Um Leopardo na S.N.B.A* [A Leopard in the S.N.B.A] proposed in June 1975 to the National Fine Arts Society, and which consisted of releasing a live leopard into the main exhibition room. This project, which was never carried out, featured in the CIAJG exhibition as an artistic object in itself, some forty years after the initial idea.

Also included in the CIAJG exhibition in the 1970s was a group entitled *Um Quarto de* (zebra, girafa etc.) [The Zebra's/ Giraffe's etc. Room/Hindleg]. Part of the

respective animal can be glimpsed in the corner of the pictorial space, with an off-field dominated by bright luxuriant colours. Behind this series was the exhibition in the Texto Gallery in Lourenço Marques in 1974, and the photographs that the artist had taken of the works exhibited. In fact, the unifying theme of this exhibition («animália») was based on impressions made on paper of animal skins, showing the patterns of the zebra, tiger or leopard. There are other ideas from the same decade, the 1970s, such as the project for a postcard — now realised — *Cheetah* — or the photograph of an action in the Lisbon Zoo entitled *Jaula* [Cage] in which Julião Sarmiento placed a tiger in a cage and documented the action from the animal's point of view.

These interventions recall a piece (also from 1975) composed of three photographs mounted on fibreboard, which show a woman wearing eight fur coats — all of different skins (*Sem título — Casacos de Pele* [Untitled — Fur Coats]), establishing a performative relationship between the fur, body and image. This piece opened his biggest retrospective, *Noites Brancas* [White Nights] in Serralves in 2012. Nuno Crespo (1975) has written about this exhibition in Porto:

It is imbued with a certain animality — not as artistic theme, but in the way the artist sees the world. It's not only about seeing in animality a good metaphor for the artist's condition, but of recognising through it the direct, original, primitive contact that he establishes with the fundamental experiences of the human being and which make part of the celebration of pleasure, the discovery of the body, of sex, but also of sadness, suffering. This animality is expressed in the irreverence and crudeness that characterise many of his works. A crudeness that is syn-

1 Leaflet of the Lourenço Marques exhibition, 1974, p. 3.

2 Interview given to Hubert de Haro and Paulo Costa Dias. Online at <https://espiraldotempo.com/2012/05/28/juliao-sarmiento-em-entrevista-exclusiva/> (accessed on 2.4.2020).

3 Online at <https://contemporanea.pt/edicoes/07-2018/juliao-sarmiento-leopard-cage-projetos-ineditos-1969-2018> (accessed on 2.4.2020).

onymous with inexhaustible brute force. All this is expressed in the words and fixed emotional gaze of the artist as he leads the visit through *White Nights*.¹

It is also inspired by Africa, as he explains: «My head has completely changed (...) and I would not be the same if I hadn't had that African experience»,² a place where the earth and the jungle «attach themselves to us».³

This does not mean that he has remained tied to the past. On the contrary. He never remains hostage to past time, nor does he look back to lose himself in inconsequential nostalgia; rather he sets his gaze on the future, experiencing the present.⁴ This is because the past only interests

him as a good memory, which is perhaps why he has not gone back to Mozambique, though he has occasionally returned to Africa including South Africa (such as when he went to participate in the Luanda Triennial in 2010).

We should mention that the work included in the Gulbenkian exhibition, *África, outros Territórios* [Africa, Other Territories] in 2017, *The Swiftness of Skin*, from 1989, is like a very summary figuration which, while not itself having any connection with Africa, inherits from it a certain economy of stroke, which needs only show the primordial, a kind of primitive rip from which the world of man was gradually constructed.

Contrary to what we might suppose, the heterogeneity of languages, media and registers used by Julião Sarmiento are defined from force-lines that converge in singular coherence. This can be seen in the world map hanging on his studio wall, where pins mark the geography of his artistic trajectory: there they are, the points marked on the African continent, corroborating «the special relationship with Africa, from which has resulted an indelible affinity».⁵ So indelible were the paintings painted in Mozambique that, despite having been lost, they maintain their power and force in the multiple imagetic perspectives offered.

JÚLIO RESENDE

Any interpretation of Júlio Resende's art has necessarily to take account of the places he visited, as these not only provided him with inspiration for the series that he painted in each country, but also supplied material for later phases of his production. Júlio Resende was a versatile painter, whose repertoire of forms and colours was enriched by the places he visited, particularly former colonies of the Portuguese empire, such as Brazil, Cape Verde and Goa.

While his paintings of Brazil were executed swiftly and fluently, evoking Delacroix's Moroccan phase,⁶ his landscapes of Cape Verde are constructed from a different palette, with the human figures appearing detached from the landscape, which nevertheless contains them.

In Goa, in 1996, Resende fulfilled a series of openly figurative pictorial intentions. We might say that he allowed himself to be seduced by the atmospheres, enveloping in the magic of colour a fluid space in which mostly female figures are inscribed in a movement without end.⁷

In 1997, he returned to Cape Verde after a five-year absence. It is clear from both the catalogue *Um Olhar sobre Cabo Verde* [A Glance at Cape Verde],⁸ and the travel notebooks he kept about this journey that he was never indifferent to place. The many drawings and paintings he made on this last journey show a world far from the yoke of colonialism although still with the impressions of a shared Lusophony.

In 1999, he took part in a collective at

the Camões Institute in Maputo together with six other artists — Armando Alves, Francisco Laranjo, Manuel Casal Aguiar, Marta Resende, Victor Costa and Zulmiro de Carvalho. However, the exhibition was not his only reason for visiting Mozambique. He was on his way to the Island of Mozambique, where he would observe and prepare works dedicated to it. This eventually resulted in the collective exhibition *Viagem — Ilha de Moçambique* [Voyage — Island of Mozambique]), which he took on international tour in 2004. From that journey, Resende produced a group of works using pastels and mixed techniques, which cultivate a certain diaphanous atmosphere that he had explored in the Cape Verde and Goa series.

PAULA REGO

The painting that gave rise to the tapestry *Alcácer-Quibir* by Paula Rego (1935) was originally commissioned for the Hotel Algarve in Praia da Rocha. When the order

was cancelled, it remained for years in her houses at Ericeira and Estoril.⁹

The only piece on permanent display in the Paula Rego House of Stories, its

theme is of interest as it is inscribed into a North African geography in the midst of the colonial war. Executed in 1966, the wealth of pictorial references included in

1 Online at <https://www.publico.pt/2012/11/23/culturaipilon/noticia/juliao-sarmiento-faz-a-sua-maior-retrospectiva-em-serralves-313278> (accessed on 2.4.2020).

2 According to an interview given to the author on 16 September 2019.

3 Idem.

4 Online at <https://ionline.sapo.pt/artigo/418647/juliao-sarmiento-ser-artista-e-uma-forma-de-vida-nao-e-uma-forma-de-trabalho-seccao=B.I>. (accessed on 2.4.2020).

5 According to an interview given to the author on 16 September 2019.

6 Bernardo Pinto de Almeida, *Antológica — Resende: Centenário do nascimento do pintor Júlio Resende*. Gondomar, Lugar do Desenho, 2017, p. 11.

7 See Resende, *Goa, lodeur couleur*. Bruxelles, Cordeiros Galeria, 1999.

8 Centro Cultural Português, *Praia*, Cape Verde, 1997.

9 See Joana Mendes, *Alcácer-Quibir. Uma obra têxtil de Paula Rego na década de 1960*. Lisbon, FCSH, 2013, p. 95. Online at <https://run.unl.pt/handle/10362/12083> (accessed on 2.4.2020).

the tapestry's narrative reveals a political critique against the war. Indeed, as an artistic experiment, it makes «a political statement, questioning the legitimacy of the colonial occupation as a key factor of Portuguese foreign and economic policy, in the light of humanitarian principles established since 1948 with the Charter of Human Rights».¹ The piece undoubtedly contributed to the de-mythification of the historical self-narrative of the *Estado Novo* in the colonial war, auguring the consequences of a heavy defeat.

A theme running through other works by Paula Rego is the colonial war which is also present in a 2000 work entitled *Jardim do Interrogador* [The Interrogator's Garden]² which also refers to the Portuguese colonial presence in Africa, pointing an accusing finger at the affluent classes of the

metropolitan bourgeoisie that closed its eyes to the atrocities committed overseas.

However, her most important work, as regards painting in the postcolonial context, is undoubtedly *A Primeira Missa no Brasil* [The First Mass in Brazil]. Dated 1993, the canvas shifts the focus of the title, questioning the grandeur of a heroic deed by placing a young pregnant woman in the foreground. Paula Rego inverts the scene in Victor Meirelles' (1832-1903) well-known painting³ of the same name, dating from 1860. If Meirelles' painting was created at the time when Brazil was attempting to put down its own roots and become independent of the Portuguese mother-country by way of matricide,⁴ Rego's canvas gives primacy to maternity, turning its back on the bloody past as figured in the Portuguese caravels that can be glimpsed

through the window, which is viewed as illusory and patriarchal. Rego's version also suggests a subjective reading in the sense that it may also allude historically «to the rape of slave girls, whose mixed-race progeny was both a testament to violence and a form of demographic capital, which served to increase the master's wealth».⁵ A final reading of this work suggests that there is a clear critical awareness, denounced in the colonisation of land and bodies, of the landscape and its people.

With its imagery of ambiguous characters, these three examples by Paula Rego are redolent with recurrent allusions to history and politics, whose key moments lie in the Discoveries and the Salazar dictatorship.

1 Idem, p. 115.

2 Saatchi Gallery Collection.

3 In Meirelles' painting, the Portuguese, having arrived in Brazil, are raising a cross above an altar surrounded by members of Pedro Álvares Cabral's crew and semi-naked natives. This is the character of the «civilising» mission imposed by the Europeans with the blessing of the cross. This work has a powerful ideological charge, glorifying the people that founded the new order that would transform the Indians into slaves. The work was based not only on the description given in Pêro Vaz de Caminha's famous letter (a kind of birth certificate of Brazil) but also on the painting by the French artist Horace Vernet, *Première messe en Kabylie*, of 1855.

4 It should be pointed out that Meirelles' painting was produced on the eve of Brazilian independence, 1821-1825.

5 Ruth Rosengarten, Contrariar, Esmagar, Amar. A família e o estado novo na obra de Paula Rego. Lisbon, Assírio & Alvim, 2009, p.158.

THE SOLILOQUY OF (POST)COLONIAL PAINTING IN CONTEMPORARY CULTURE

When Picasso painted Gertrude Stein in 1905-1906, the model seemed to appreciate the results. «That's not me,» she said, to which the artist replied, «But it will be!»

Two decades later, Stein was photographed with the painting behind her, which shows that they were indeed very similar. Although the painting may not appear very revolutionary, the face is composed of the simpler geometric figures that marked the first step towards cubism. What does this story mean? What is the importance of art, what is its great ambition? It anticipates!

It is the artist's anticipatory character which gives art its power and force. It can serve to announce or denounce, or simply to give aesthetic enjoyment, but, above all, it anticipates its own time.

This paradigmatic example reveals part of the power of the work of contemporary art in the sense intended by Giorgio Agamben:¹ in the understanding of a diachronic relationship that the individual establishes with his own time, or rather, the historian manages to be present in one time, while at the same time distancing himself from it, seeing it from the outside. It is this particular fact that enables him to read and understand the work of art with all its involvement and dynamism.

In this sense, and casting a brief glance on an integrated perspective, we might say that the correlation between painting and the colonial context and national political discourse brought together various aesthetic sensibilities, which gave rise to a spiral of different intentions: that of the few artists that bent the bar and plunged into the colonial reality, experiencing it and painting, and those that remained in the metropole, imagining an empire from the quayside.

One truth is unalterable, however: art and politics are two poles of the same

reality; an art that is free of all political influence does not exist, simply because the artist is inserted into the surrounding political world and dialogues with it. Even if he does not assume an explicit position, his art will reflect a point of view, transmit an idea, therefore, it has power; thus, artistic creation brings the mark of the era to which it belongs to the political history that it is a part of as well as the dominant mentality. The reactions that it arouses become a vehicle of power, an instrument of propaganda, and even a weapon that governments have used to legitimise and diffuse their empires, reiterating the idea that there is «no act that is really more political than the act of painting».²

The narrow geography of insular Portugal was aggrandised overseas, largely because the metropole had actually omitted to embark on the journey, and instead crystallised that other world and mythified it from a quay from where it never set sail...

It acquired its imperial consciousness too late — with the Ultimatum — renewed almost seven decades later with the colonial war as new winds brought the defeat of the first and last European empire — an empire which had lasted 500 years and which stretched from the Minho to Timor (its final border), closing a historical cycle.

Nowadays, it has become evident that, as regards artistic creation, the Portuguese colonial empire had few interlocutors, making painting into a soliloquy with few echoes.

Although painting was not rare in the colonial context, it was far from being the norm and attracted little attention from the authorities. The generalised lack of interest — even chronic apathy on the part of most metropolitan artists — meant that the pictorial output from overseas was

crystallised into a journey of many silences, frugal notes and rare cries.

If national painters were unwilling or unable to take advantage of the challenge and opportunity offered by the overseas space, this did not prevent artists from those territories taking the few opportunities available to develop an art that was truly their own. We should not forget that the coloniser and the colonised share a common history, and that there were reciprocal influences in the pictorial discourses of colonialism, though often transversal and/or dissimulated. If nothing else, it should be noted that it was not only the colonised world that was changed by imperialism, but also the colonising societies themselves; thus, a de-Westernised view of history is the primordial condition for advancing contemporary knowledge.

In this sense, and far from a historical outcome, the universe of colonial empires left many questions open to which only the future will provide answers. Perhaps the most urgent is the fact that museums today are seen as institutions of colonial perpetuation. We have only to think of the Louvre or British Museum as holders of the spoils that resulted from pillages carried out in previous centuries in Egypt, Greece, Ethiopia and elsewhere. As various authors have noted,³ the problem of devolving these works of art to the former colonies of European empires, and the moulds in which such a restitution could be carried out, raises a series of questions as diverse as colonial terminology (today, for example, the notion is refuted that the colonial territories were «discovered» by European powers; instead, we prefer to say that they were «explored» or «exploited») or the Portuguese controversy about the Museum of the Discoveries in the second decade of the 21st century.

1 Giorgio Agamben, «What is an Apparatus?» and other Essays. Palo Alto, Stanford University Press, 2009, p. 50.

2 Cruzeiro Seixas «Desaforismo», manuscript. Cruzeiro Seixas Collection (n.º 38) Cx 31, Doc. 2184, BNP.

3 Nicholas Mirzoeff. On line at <http://visao.sapo.pt/actualidade/entrevistas-visao/2018-07-15-Nao-podemos-afirmar-que-os-europeus-descobriram-o-resto-do-mundo.-Dize-lo-significa-aceitar-que-aqueles-povos-nao-sao-nossos-iguais> (accessed on 2.4.2020).

All these questions are positioned between Eurocentrism (or Western-centrism) and a global world without a centre of gravity — and multipolarity, to the detriment of a unipolar or bipolar vision. The «era» of the West is at a crossroads, or even at its end, as Eduardo Lourenço predicted in 2000.¹ We are at a moment of transition, without a matrix and model culture to guide us against which others could measure or position themselves.

In a certain way, postcolonialism began with the Cold War, when each superpower established various alliances and diplomacies becoming transcontinental empires, two global colossi. Two superlative empires, endowed with a growing sense of international mission. But that bipolar world has come to an end. Closing the circle, at the end of the 20th century with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the USSR (1989-91), the September 11 attacks (2001)

and the Arab Springs (2010-12), the paradigm shift points to new challenges.

It is, however, essential to emphasise that, in these pages, we have not sought to offer an exhaustive genealogy of artists and their output in the contemporary colonial context, but only enunciate some of them, envisaging one of the many routes of colonial pictorial drawing. We have also not tried to arrive at definitive considerations that are enclosed within themselves but rather to trace some coordinates that permit a new reading of artistic universes in the to-ing and fro-ing of the overseas territories.

Today, in the 21st century, more than ever before, we know that art is ephemeral, even when it lasts, and that it lasts even when it is created with ephemeral purposes: it is the mediatisation of the work of art that remains — that is its essence, transversal to space and time, and for this reason, eternal, because it is always capable

of new interpretations and new sensations. This, as Agamben announced, is called the contemporaneity of art and it is about this that it is important to continue to reflect, rescuing canvasses and forgotten histories, and bringing them into the remembrance of a collective identity that is more than the sum of its parts and which reflects about it and beyond it.

It remains for us to stress that *Contemporary Colonial Painting* was configured from the *Solitude of the Metropole to a Horizon of Possibilities*, travelling within a unique historical-artistic time frame whose polyphonic nature is only now beginning to be truly revealed, or memory might not only hold glimpses but might also lead to oblivion!

1 «Para uma revisitação improvável» in *Labirinto da Saudade*. Lisbon, Gradiva, 2010, p. 13.

*(The first lesson of painting)
is a great lesson in silence.*

PAUL CLAUDEL

CAPTIONS

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Tentou-se, por todos os meios disponíveis, encontrar os créditos fotográficos das imagens reproduzidas. Quaisquer erros ou omissões não são intencionais e deverão ser comunicados ao editor que tudo fará para que os mesmos sejam corrigidos em caso de reimpressão.

SIGLAS | ABBREVIATIONS

FCG, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian
MoMA, Museum of Modern Art
NATO, Organização do Tratado do Atlântico Norte
ONU, Organização das Nações Unidas
SNBA, Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes

SGL, Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa
SNI, Secretariado Nacional de Informação
SPN, Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional

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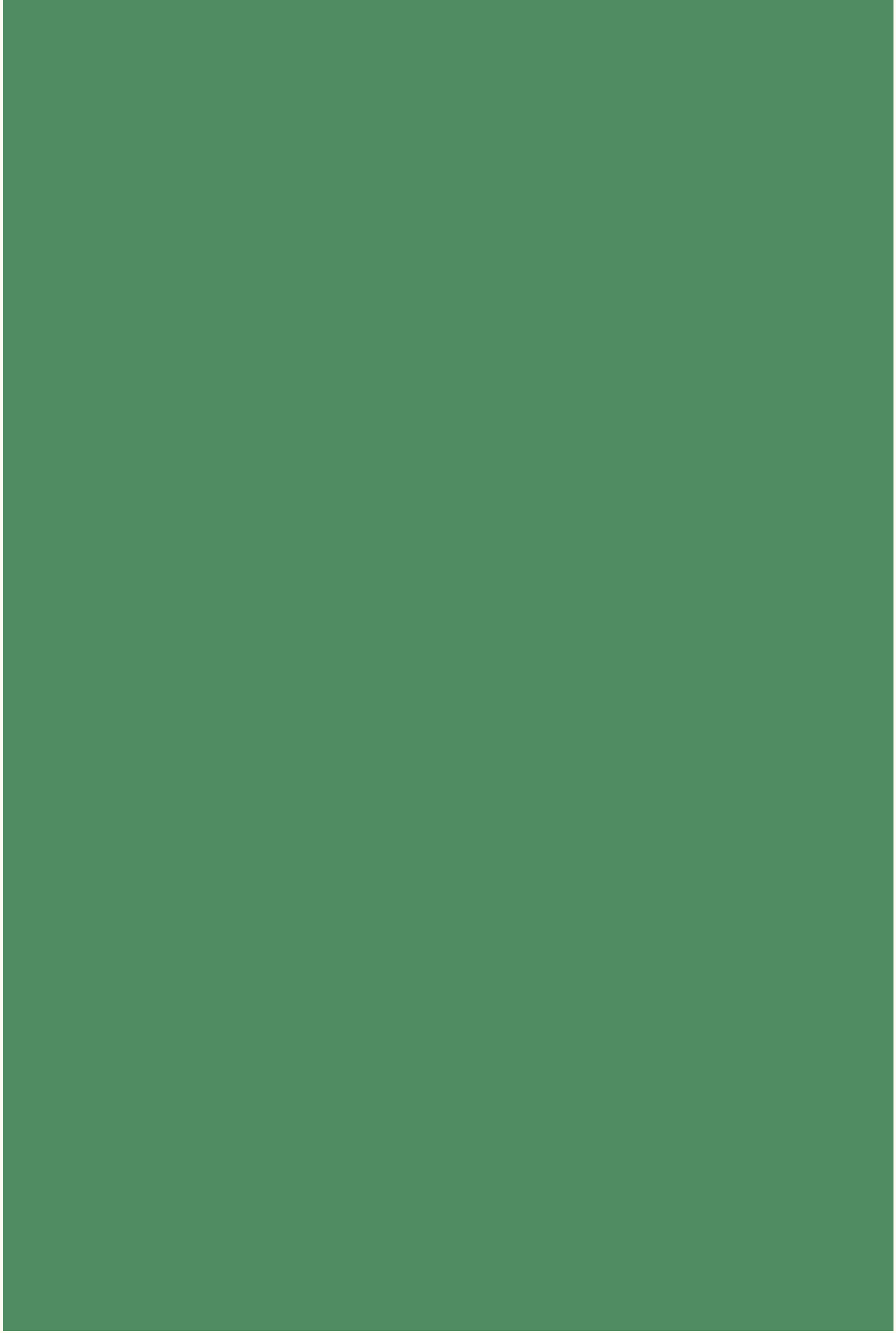
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