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# COLLECTIONS, EXHIBITIONS AND MUSEUMS IN PORTUGAL AND ITS EMPIRE FROM THE 18TH TO THE 20TH CENTURY

Edited by  
FILIPA LOWNDES VICENTE  
and LEONOR DE OLIVEIRA

Project originally conceived by Foteini Vlachou



# Collections, Exhibitions and Museums in Portugal and Its Empire

Focusing on the period between the beginning of the eighteenth century and the late twentieth century, this edited volume examines the histories of objects, museums, exhibitions, and collections in Portugal or outside Portugal but representing Portugal, or related to it through colonial relationships.

The book highlights the specificities of the Portuguese case, set against a globalised, transnational, and transcolonial context, and provides a precedent for future studies and a dialogue with equivalent studies related to other geographies. The diversity of the cultural, intellectual, and political contexts (imperial, colonial, monarchical, republican, authoritarian) offered by the Portuguese example allows for the exploration of a number of complex case-studies. Chapters study the artistic, collecting, and museological practices in Portugal and in the various geographical contexts of its colonial empire, with particular emphasis on the circulation and connectedness of objects, products, people, and ideas.

The book will be of interest to scholars working in art history, museum studies, intellectual and cultural history, and imperial and colonial history.

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# **Collections, Exhibitions and Museums in Portugal and Its Empire**

From the 18th to the 20th century

**Project originally conceived by Foteini Vlachou**  
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**Leonor de Oliveira**

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We dedicate this volume to the memory of Foteini Vlachou (Janina, Greece, 18 March 1975–Lisbon, Portugal, 8 June 2017), dear and inspiring colleague and outstanding art historian, who originally conceived this volume.

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# Introduction

## Mapping Visions: Collections, Exhibitions, and Museums in Portugal and Its Empire, from the 18th to the 20th Century

*Foteini Vlachou, Filipa Loundes Vicente, and Leonor de Oliveira*

### Introduction

This volume introduces a global perspective to Portuguese art history encompassing three centuries, from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. It aims to analyse the histories of objects, museums, exhibitions, and collections in Portugal and the Portuguese-speaking world between the beginning of the eighteenth century and the late twentieth century, after the fall of the *Estado Novo* (New State) dictatorship in 1974 and the dismantling of the scattered remains of the Portuguese colonial empire in 1975. This was also the historical period that witnessed the development and proliferation of different collecting and displaying practices throughout the world. The aim of this volume is, hence, twofold: to understand the ways in which objects, collections, exhibitions, and cultural institutions contributed to shape Portuguese culture and identity, and to set the Portuguese case against a global, transnational, and transcolonial context and to present it as a reference for similar studies concerned with other national and colonial contexts.

*Collections, Exhibitions and Museums in Portugal and its Empire* is a project which was first conceived by Foteini Vlachou in 2016 as a challenge to crystallised ideas that still dominate art historiography in Portugal: the binary relationship between centre and periphery, in which Portugal is placed in the latter context; “the persistence of traditional historiography of art in Portugal that tends to interpret works by assigning them stylistic labels (romantic, neoclassic) or focus on monographic/biographic approaches”; the dichotomy between “high arts” and “low arts” (Vlachou 2016a), especially between painting and decorative arts; and the detachment of visual culture from the political, and overall historical, context that surrounds the artistic practice.

This volume follows therefore the groundbreaking research of Foteini Vlachou, who argued for a study of art production, collecting, and reception historically inscribed. While preparing this volume, Vlachou was also working on an English edition with Routledge of her own research on Portuguese historical painting. The uncompleted project was, fortunately, retrieved by Mariana Pinto dos Santos, who posthumously published her texts in 2019 (Vlachou 2019). It is in one of these essays that she asserts that “the history of art history in Portugal remains to be written” (Vlachou 2019, 253). Vlachou belongs to a long tradition of non-Portuguese scholars who have made a determinant contribution to Portuguese art history. However, unlike her counterparts, she had the privileged viewpoint that results from being simultaneously an outsider and an insider. She was born in Greece and completed her PhD at the University of Crete, which already focused on Portuguese history painting in the early nineteenth century, and she

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soon moved to Portugal to become part of the Universidade NOVA de Lisboa. This in-betweenness, as well as the fact that she moved from one European “periphery” to another, from Greece to Portugal, certainly enhanced her potential – and daringness – to deconstruct what had been the main key to the interpretation of Portuguese art history, the dichotomy between centre/periphery (see [Vlachou 2016a](#)). Her methodology – and her inspiring work and life – is present in all contributions of this volume, especially in the indissociable relationship between collections, exhibitions, and museums with politics and political power. Vlachou’s tragic passing in 2017 did not interrupt this project as it was her wish to conclude it with our collaboration. This publication is therefore an homage to her inspiring career and life.<sup>1</sup>

Situated in the geographical margins of the European continent but having possessed a vast empire since the early fifteenth century, Portugal has occupied a hybrid position, between centre and periphery, for the entire part of its early modern and modern history. This dual position, of a periphery in the European context and a centre in a global context – a tension maintained as late as the 1970s, when the country lost its overseas colonies – has had repercussions in various fields of study, especially in the humanities. “Reduced” after 1975 to a narrow strip of continental land, the country tried to redefine its position in Europe and the world, often reimagining its cultural heritage according to the theoretical models or insights that had been developed in other contexts. The field of Art history, in particular, has been dominated by the notions of marginality and peripherality in relation to the European models. This is especially evident in the traditional historiographical approaches to the twentieth century, but also in the analysis of previous centuries. Commonplace observations regarding the lack of important painting collections or the “belatedness” of recognition of modern art, as Mariana Pinto dos Santos has noted ([Santos 2012](#)), can be explained by the prevailing canon of art history that prioritised linear progressivist narratives (inevitably culminating with the triumph of modernism), and privileged the “fine” arts in detriment of the so-called decorative arts (a distinction itself derivative from the Italian model).

This volume intends to go beyond the traditional disciplinary boundaries of art history and conceptualise collections, museums, and exhibitions as objects of enquiry that could and should be approached through multiple disciplines and perspectives. In order to do that, we revise the concepts of centre and periphery, thus consolidating new critical approaches in Portuguese art historiography ([Santos 2019](#)). By going beyond this dichotomy, we have deleted from art-historical vocabulary the term “influences,” which, more often than not, has implied the idea of a country or region that has passively received and integrated artistic trends from elsewhere, as if the circulation of people, ideas, and objects did not create more complex ways of interaction and appropriation. Another central point of our argument is that the birth of art history as a discipline presupposes paths and outcomes that are mostly defined within national boundaries. This inevitably blocks a more global approach, and as a consequence, developments which occurred in supra or transnational contexts, such as imperial ones, are often uneasily included in the larger art-historical narratives.

Perhaps not coincidentally, the institutionalisation of the discipline of Art History in Portugal, with the first master’s degree and later undergraduate department in the Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, dates precisely from the late 1970s, the decade when the Portuguese empire once and for all transitioned from a living reality into an historical past, even if its legacies were, and still are, a part of the present. It is also important to note that art history began as a branch of History degrees in Lisbon, Porto, and Coimbra

two years after the reform of 1976 and only in 1992 did it become an autonomous University degree. An overview of the history of the discipline in Portugal, and its most significant research areas, can be found in the referential work of one of the authors of this volume, Luis de Moura Sobral (2001–2003).<sup>2</sup> “Museum Studies” was also a late arrival in the academic landscape in Portugal. At the beginning of the twentieth-first century, the University of Évora and the two main public universities in Lisbon – the University of Lisbon and NOVA – started to address these subjects in master’s and doctoral degrees as they recognised that the history of museums, collections, and exhibitions in Portugal, especially related to artistic production, remained unexplored.

### Historiographical Inheritances

Imperial history is central to the history of museums and art history in Portugal. An example can be found in the proposal for what would have been the first national museum in Portugal, as early as 1781 (*Breves instruções 1781*). It was intended to be a museum of natural history, a field of knowledge, enquiry, and enterprise fundamental for imperial administration and economy, especially during the period that would signal a concerted attempt to rationalise and further associate the colonies with the continental territory (Paquette 2014). Natural history was at the centre of the Enlightenment model of collecting and comprehending the world, and Portugal, very much due to its geopolitical position, participated in processes of exploration and enquiry in which economical and extractive ambitions did not contradict scientific and scholarly ones. Therefore, the gathering and classification of natural history specimens was the first systematic and sustained collecting practice with modern contours, and it is not by chance that the first museums created during the second half of the eighteenth century were botanical gardens, as João Brigola has demonstrated (Brigola 2003 and 2009). The collection and classification of specimens in colonial territories and the knowledge produced and appropriated in these distant geographies played a crucial role in the collective imaginary and in the development of early scientific careers. As a result, many publications since the mid-1990s have concentrated on the Portuguese (and Spanish) relationship to Brazil and to South America.<sup>3</sup>

Although Brazil was at the centre of these earlier enquiries, Africa and India – particularly the regions in which Portugal already had a political, military, and religious presence – soon became the laboratories where those cultures of extractivism were rehearsed in the nineteenth century. Having lost by then possession of Brazil, the basis of its transatlantic empire, and dealing with more powerful Dutch and British colonial forces in Asia, Portuguese conquering and explorative drives started to target more and more African regions. When in the 1850s the Queen of Portugal, D. Maria II, sponsored the botanical mission to Angola led by the Austrian naturalist Frederick Welwitsch, what was mainly at stake then was how best to explore and profit from the region’s natural resources.<sup>4</sup> Before any potential economic benefits, there was the need to identify, collect, and study, encompassing all the disciplines of natural history. These gestures were always museological in essence – to grab and take – and take to very distant places – display, and study.

What the art history of Portugal has also revealed is how the so-called decorative arts are the most relevant contribution of Portuguese material culture in and outside Europe. Decorative and “applied arts” have enjoyed immense prominence in Portugal since the sixteenth century onwards and were an essential feature of the Portuguese

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presence overseas. If the mark of the periphery is traditionally the inability to carry a model outside its own borders, Portugal did disseminate specific elements related to architectural building and decorative arts. This tension between painting or sculpture as fine arts and the so-called decorative or applied arts – a tension that has always been part of the discipline of art history – has been challenged by Foteini Vlachou, as we have already mentioned. It is interesting to think of this tension in the case of the main Lisbon art museum, the National Museum of Ancient Art, which displays in the same rooms paintings and “decorative arts,” in spite of trying to establish a clear distinction between them.

Many of the publications focused on early modern collecting practices in Portugal and their relationship to its empire have been authored by non-Portuguese scholars and have been published abroad as books or exhibition catalogues in the twentieth and twentieth-first centuries (see Bailey 2014; Gschwend 2010; Trnek and Silva 2001). The Americans George Kubler (1959) and Robert C. Smith (1968) wrote specific books on Portuguese art and architecture in the early modern period, while the French Germain Bazin (1963) and the British John Bury (1991) wrote on Brazilian baroque.

In the last decade of the twentieth and the early twenty-first century, Jay Levenson had a determinant role in the international projection of Portuguese art. The American art historian was the driving force of two major exhibitions and exhibition catalogues that were determinant for the dissemination of Portuguese artistic and material culture abroad. In 1993, he curated the exhibition and edited the catalogue *The Age of the Baroque in Portugal* (Levenson 1993) and in 2007 he organised the most ambitious exhibition to ever take place on Portuguese art and culture of the early modern period. *Encompassing the Globe* (Levenson 2007), first organised in Washington, had afterlives in two other cities. First, in Brussels, and, two years later, in Lisbon.<sup>5</sup> The exhibition and the catalogue congregated a rich and diverse group of authors and exemplified the first critical approaches to the so-called “Portuguese Discoveries.” An example of this new critical historiography included in the exhibition catalogue was the essay by Diogo Ramada Curto, “Portuguese Navigations. The Pitfalls of National Histories” (2009). Ten years later, in 2017, the National Museum of Ancient Art organised another ambitious exhibition – *The Global City. Lisbon in the Renaissance*, curated by Annemarie Jordan Gschwend and Kate Lowe (Gschwend and Lowe 2017).

Annemarie Jordan Gschwend has published referential texts on Portuguese collections and material culture in the early modern period, focusing particularly on royal collections (Gschwend 1994 and 2010). Angela Delaforce has also made a significant contribution to the internationalisation of eighteenth-century Portuguese art and culture. Her work has resulted in publications in English published outside Portugal, with a particular focus on baroque art, aristocratic patronage, and the royal commissions of King João V, contributing to the historicisation of the links between intellectual and political culture and collection-making (Delaforce 2002 and 2019).

Finally, we should also refer to the work that has been published in English by Portuguese scholars in international publications<sup>6</sup> and also, in most cases, in bilingual (Portuguese and English) editions by national publishers or institutions, such as the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Oriente Foundation, the Ricardo do Espírito Santo Silva Foundation, or the National Commission for the Commemoration of the Portuguese Discoveries.<sup>7</sup> Antiquaries-collectors have also sponsored and published catalogues of exhibitions that were organised in the context of diplomatic and political relations<sup>8</sup> and publications that include the contribution of scholars.<sup>9</sup>

The work of these authors, international or national, who published in English, has been determinant to place the Portuguese case-study within a wider international bibliography and to disseminate it to a diverse audience. However, Portuguese has been the language of most of the work produced on the history of exhibitions, collections, collecting practices, or museums in Portugal or in the Portuguese imperial world.<sup>10</sup> From this literature, we can highlight the names of Maria João Baptista Neto and João Brigola. Neto published extensively on monuments, artistic teaching, and heritage and restoration policies and politics, while also supervising many thesis on restoration and monument-making in Portugal (Neto 2001 and 2017; Neto and Malta 2016). Brigola authored the most encompassing books on eighteenth-century Portuguese collections and museums, from scientific cabinets to botanical gardens (Brigola 2003 and 2010). His work has shed light on the origins of museums in Portugal and has thus been a reference for subsequent scholarly work. Another attempt to trace the history of museums and exhibitions in Portugal in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was authored by José Alberto Seabra Carvalho and Marta Barreira Carvalho (2009). In their essay, the authors note how from the nineteenth century onwards, there was a clear search for a “national,” “Portuguese,” identity that should be “exhibited,” not only through the discipline of art history but also through ethnography or archaeology or, we could add, all the colonial sciences that developed during the period (2009, 121).

New research on private collections and biographical surveys on relevant personalities of the Portuguese museological panorama have been the subject of published MA or PhD thesis and exhibitions. Together they also contribute to a systematic and problematising assessment of Portuguese heritage policies, artistic and cultural institutional investments, and public reception nationally and internationally (see, for instance, Martins 2003). Temporary exhibitions on well-known collectors have also been instrumental in producing new research on relevant figures for a history of collections in Portugal (see Matos 2003; Serra 2008; Brandão and Ribeiro 2010). Indeed, many museums were founded due to private collector’s willingness to make accessible in the same space and to the public eye the objects they gathered throughout the years. This was the case of Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian (1869–1955), Anástacio Gonçalves (1888–1965), António de Medeiros e Almeida (1895–1986), and Ricardo Espírito Santo (1900–1955). Even a superficial analysis of the contents of these collections can lead to the conclusion that the art produced until the nineteenth century remained the most desired and valued and the focal point of the Portuguese art market and collecting by the mid-twentieth century. More recently, researchers have also focused their attention on private collectors of modern and contemporary art in Portugal, in the second half of the twentieth century, as Adelaide Duarte’s book exemplifies (2017).

Authors like Sharon Macdonald have been stressing the political dimension of the activity of museums. According to her, they operate as stances of “recognition and identity,” not only through the selection of objects but also by resorting to a specific “language” (architecture, spatial arrangements, forms of display) and “discursive commentary” (“of fact, objectivity, superior taste, and authoritative knowledge”) (Macdonald 2006, 4). This process of associating meaning/political discourse to a display or collection has become a major guideline to approach the exhibitions promoted by the Portuguese state and national museums, especially in the last decades. As we look deeper into the dictatorship period, from 1926 to 1974, it becomes clear that Portuguese history and art, science, or anthropology proved to be instrumental to attest the cultural

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and ethnic unity formed by the country and its colonies in Africa and Asia and, consequently, assert its imperial identity.

The definition and portrayal of a national identity was a common topic in the cultural and artistic sectors in the *Estado Novo* period. However, it was not exclusive of the political leadership, since private collectors, art historians, and museum curators were also engaging in this enterprise. Inevitably, the Portuguese case followed international trends that spread particularly at the beginning of the twentieth century and that determined the creation of a national artistic tradition and the identification of a national spirit behind the art produced in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Susana S. Martins' examination of the Portuguese pavilion in the 1958 Brussels Universal Exhibition (2011), the publications of Ana Cardoso de Matos and Maria Helena Souto on the Portuguese participation in Universal Exhibitions (2012), as well as Rui Afonso Santos's research on Portuguese design and decorative arts in fairs and exhibitions (1994) and Amélia Fernandes's analysis of the Portuguese art exhibition in the Royal Academy of Arts, in London, in 1955–1956 (2001), exemplify the growing relevance of surveying artistic and cultural events so as to critically assess the historiographical and political spheres.

Two research projects financed by the national research funding entity Foundation for Science and Technology should be mentioned here for their impact on the field. Raquel Henriques da Silva, one of the authors in this volume, directed the project “Sources for the History of Art Museums in Portugal” and published its results in 2013 (Silva et al. 2013). Together with Emilia Ferreira and Joana d’Oliva Monteiro, she also coordinated a more recent project that carried out a survey of who’s who in the Portuguese museum world (Silva 2017–2022). Marta Lourenço, the current director of the National Museum of Natural History and Science, coordinated the project “On the Instruments’ Trail: Exploring Royal Cabinets of Natural Philosophy in Portugal.” Lourenço has written extensively on scientific and natural history collections in Portugal and contributed to the identification, preservation, study, and display of a wide range of collections and scientific historical spaces (Lourenço 2016; Lourenço and Dias 2017). Both projects had a pioneering role in systematically organising their respective fields of knowledge while making available for further research a vast number of primary sources. Beyond publications and exhibitions, another significant contribution to the history of exhibitions in Portugal should be mentioned: the online project created by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation which lists the exhibitions organised by this institution from 1957 to 2020.<sup>11</sup> This project stemmed, among other contributions, from the PhD thesis of Leonor de Oliveira (2013), one of the editors of this volume, which analysed the crucial role of the Gulbenkian Foundation in the support and internationalisation of Portuguese artists from the late 1950s onwards (Oliveira 2013).

More recently, Portuguese subjects, geographies, monuments, and institutions have benefited from the scholarly encounter of postcolonial studies with museum studies. Elsa Peralta’s work has been exemplary of this approach by addressing critically the city of Lisbon, as a space of (contested) material and visible legacies of empire (Peralta 2013 and 2017; Peralta and Domingos 2023). Another reference is Patrícia Ferraz de Matos’s *The Colours of the Empire* (Matos 2013). Peralta’s and Matos’s research, as well as that of Gonçalo Carvalho Amaro, Rui Gomes Coelho, Mariana Pinto dos Santos, Pedro Cardim, Afonso Dias Ramos, and Filipa Lowndes Vicente, one of the editors of this volume, should be included in a wider context of Portuguese scholarship, which, in the last ten years, have started to approach the more recent Portuguese empire and its abundant material, monumental, and visual legacies in a more systematic and critical way, also

with the contribution of anthropologists, literature critics, sociologists, and political scientists.<sup>12</sup> In and outside academia, Portuguese of African descent have also been decisive in bringing this discussion to the fore (Cardim 2023).

This late encounter with such a dominant subject of Portuguese history may also be due to the late chronologies of the Portuguese empire (the colonial territories became independent nations in 1975). As a consequence, researchers in their early 50s today were born in an imperial nation, in the late 1960s or early 1970s, and a majority of Portuguese citizens have colonial histories in their recent family past as well as marks of this history in their passports, their photographic albums, their personal objects, their papers, and in their memories or their post-memories. The research of the legacies of empire have implied therefore a confrontation with the present as well as the past. Within these approaches, colonial-related museums, collections, and exhibitions are privileged objects of reflection and debate. The Portuguese case is, naturally, a relevant one regarding the links between cultures of collecting and displaying and cultures of colonialism.

This volume, which started being written almost ten years ago, participates in this debate, one that has become so dominant in contemporary approaches to cultural institutions of the past. Much more dominant now than at the beginning of this project. It aims therefore to contribute to a critical enquiry in the field of art history and the history of museums and collections and to deconstruct traditional approaches based on ideological and nationalist readings of Portuguese colonialism and to propose creative dialogues in a global context.

### A Map of the Authors and Subjects

As it often happens in edited volumes, the essays included are a subjective selection of approaches and subjects, a contribution for a critical history, in which many other themes could be included. The volume comprises 12 chapters in a triple thematic division, which takes into consideration the dimensions of time, space, and the characteristics of specific spaces of display or objects. The first section, “Artistic and natural history collections in the eighteenth century: Between Lisbon, Brazil, China, and India,” brings together different types of collections from the long eighteenth century: two are dedicated to painting, one to the so-called decorative arts and another one to natural history. Travelling and circulation – the travelling of objects with people that travel – is a common subject in all four chapters.

The first chapter by Foteini Vlachou, “The empire in transition and history painting from Lisbon to Brazil,” condenses some of her insightful contributions and critical approaches regarding Portuguese visual culture in the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century. This was the temporal, geographical, and cultural territory that Vlachou elected to “narrate the periphery” (Smith 2019, xxiv). Her chapter examines the complex textures of the political times that inevitably entangled artistic production. She is especially concerned with the “ruptures involving unprecedented events such as the migration of a Western monarch to a South American colony,” which refers to the transference of the seat of Portuguese monarchy to Brazil in 1807, in the context of the French invasions of the Iberian Peninsula. One of the most influential results of Vlachou’s renewed observation of the period is the definition of “New History Painting” and the concept of “visual ideologies” (see Vlachou 2016a). The scenes and histories of these new paintings were intrinsically patriotic and aristocratic in their content and intent, and visually materialised the unity between monarchy and empire. This resulted in an

imagery that revived the grand narratives of Portuguese history, from its independence as a country in the twelfth century to its colonial expansion from the late fifteenth century. Contrary to countries like England, whose contemporary historical events were swiftly transferred to canvases or prints (William Hogarth could be mentioned), Portugal's history painting remained centred on the past. However, according to Vlachou, "far from constituting a nostalgic reference to a glorious imperial past, [the visual narrative of Portuguese colonial expansion] spoke to the anxieties of the present, when the necessity to reorganise the Portuguese army in the face of constant and renewed threats (from France and Spain) was acutely felt." Vlachou's approach to a specific historical period and its intersection with the systems of artistic commission, collecting, and display assert a methodological guideline which orientates all the chapters included in this volume. They reveal, on the one hand, a constant and strategic reimagination of the past and, on the other, obscured and neglected stories in their own time and context.

Brazil and Lisbon are also the main geographical coordinates of the second chapter. In "Travelling and collecting: Natural history in Brazil during the Enlightenment," Lorelai Kury discusses Brazil's natural resources, a different field of colonial inventory and of economic exploitation which shaped a completely new world for the men of science of the time. Collecting the empire was therefore another instrument of demonstrating dominance or influence in a cross-continental territory where artistic production, cultural practices, and natural environment inevitably encompassed a rich diversity. Travel instructions or manuals that disseminated guidelines on what and how to collect natural history specimens were a major historical source regarding these collections, along with written descriptions and natural history illustrations. By centring her attention on the "philosophical journeys" and setting the appropriation of Brazil's flora and fauna against the cultural and scientific backdrop of the Enlightenment, Kury reveals a complex and unbalanced web of profiles, methodologies, interests, and configurations of the natural world that singularises the Portuguese administration in relation to other European empires (see [Pais 2021](#); [Paquette 2014](#)). The trajectory of these collections from the colony to the metropolis was, however, disrupted by the unprecedented episode in which the Portuguese court moved to Brazil in the first decade of the nineteenth century. This was an event that also had a significant impact on the fate of a diversity of objects, from written archives to painting collections, as Vlachou also points out in her chapter. In Lorelai Kury's analysis, historical vicissitudes, and the specificities of colonial administration conditioned scientific cataloguing, documentation, assemblage, and display.

In the next chapter, "The painting collections of the Dukes of Aveiro in the eighteenth century, with a note on the acquisitions of an English gentleman," Luís de Moura Sobral examines an aristocratic collection which has so far received little attention from scholars, despite constituting an example of the taste and the cultural and artistic interests of the Portuguese elites of the time, and the contingencies of the art market in that period. Having as a direct source the general inventory of the artistic possessions of the Dukes of Aveiro (1759), Moura Sobral's thorough analysis provides an invaluable contribution to recover the complex trajectory of a painting collection until its dispersion as well as the artistic taste of one of the oldest Portuguese aristocratic families. By doing so, he demonstrates how the reconstitution of its original context gives cohesion and historical meaning to an otherwise eclectic assemblage. The author also establishes an afterlife of the collection and consequently a second stage of validation and reassessment according to a different taste and cultural background. When the Aveiro collection was auctioned in 1759, more than half of the paintings were acquired by an Englishman. This transference

of the collection from an aristocratic Portuguese family into the hands of a British merchant who lived in Lisbon and then took it to London becomes a poignant testimony of the transnational and “trans-social” movements of collections. It also sheds light on the existence in the Portuguese capital of a British community dedicated to commerce and potentially competing with the local elites. Moura Sobral’s careful mapping of the provenance and destiny of the Dukes de Aveiro’s paintings also signals multiple encounters and dialogues with the European market, in Portugal and abroad, another proof of how the history of collections (as well as that of museums and exhibitions) is always a history that goes beyond national frontiers.

Like Moura Sobral, Maria João Ferreira and Miguel Metelo de Seixas examine a collection from the same period in “Asian material culture in the estate of Alexandre Metelo de Sousa Meneses, ambassador of King John V to China and president of the Overseas Council.” The authors centre however their attention on a distinct group of objects: those of Asian provenance, including the pieces collected by Alexandre Metelo (1687–1766) during his mission to China as the ambassador of King John V. Due to its organisation “piece-by-piece,” the 1766 inventory of Metelo’s collection offers a rare insight into the decoration of the rooms of a Baroque aristocratic residence in Lisbon, providing, therefore, an invaluable contribution to the study of the material culture and domestic interiors of the time and their intersection with diplomatic endeavours, overseas expansion, and the administration of the Portuguese empire. This chapter provides, therefore, a new input to the already vast international bibliography on the European interest in Asian and mainly Chinese art and material culture, and contributes to the study of the global movements of objects and images that make the history of collections a global history.

In the second section of this volume, “Exhibiting Identities in the Portuguese colonial empire (1860–1999),” imperial and international networks continue to be determinant frameworks to examine public practices of collecting and displaying. What is shown, by whom and to whom, was, however, far from linear or homogeneous even when what was at stake was an idea of “Portugueseness.” This section reveals that not all official and governmental exhibitions which took place in the colonies were centralised or originated from the metropolis. Many of the events taking place in colonial spaces in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century were much more local, and dependant on the initiative and involvement of the local indigenous elites. Overall, this section deals with the interception between collecting and displaying practices and the materialisation of national or geographical identities.

In “Exhibitions in Goa: The making of visible identities (1860–1952),” Filipa Lowndes Vicente, one of the editors of this volume, analyses the history of temporary exhibitions in that region of India throughout a long-time span of almost 100 years. This extended period allows for a diachronic approach which enables the author to assert one of her arguments: that the local exhibition model, a temporary space in which a variety of objects were on display under a single theme/narrative, was adaptable to all the political configurations that Goa went through as an Indian territory under Portuguese colonial rule. This *longue durée* starts in the mid-nineteenth century, when the encompassing exhibition model, which was first set up in London in 1851, became globalised and adapted to the specificities of each territory. And it continues until the mid-twentieth century, more precisely 1952, the date of an ambitious exhibition organised in Goa as an anachronical swan song of Portuguese colonial efforts in India. This chapter demonstrates, therefore, the pertinence and persistence of the exhibition model as an instrument for the Portuguese and Indian empowered local Indian and Portuguese

elites to present specific narratives of a place called Goa, while also revealing how the meanings of “Goa” could change.

As Kathrin Raminger argues, “exhibiting” is not a candid enterprise, since it implies selecting, classifying, and labelling objects and, as a result, constructing the identity of a country, territory, or culture. In “Creating a Portuguese imperial identity: Art exhibitions in the metropolis and in the African colonies (1933–1974),” Raminger examines the *Estado Novo* politics of colonial representation by revisiting major exhibitions set up by the dictatorship in 1934 and 1940, which encompassed a double effort: to bring to the metropolis representations of the colonial past and present that could reinforce the shaping of an imperial identity, and to raise and consolidate support for its overseas politics and policies. In these exhibitions, the inclusion of artistic representations of colonised peoples was essential to crystallise an imagery of the African population which replicated the unequal power relations between coloniser and colonised. It was only after the Second World War in the context of decolonisation movements that the *Estado Novo* seriously considered the organisation of a series of exhibitions destined for the African and Indian territories under Portuguese rule. As Vicente has done for a previous period in India, Raminger contextualises the exhibitions promoted by the *Estado Novo* in Africa in its strategy of response and adaptation to the political changes, from the inter-war period to the post-war and decolonial wars.

The chapter by Leonor de Oliveira, another editor of this volume, also intercepts with Raminger’s contribution. In “National identity, modernity and aspirations to internationalisation in the 1950s: The Portuguese fine arts at international exhibitions,” Oliveira analyses the ways in which, after the end of the Second World War, the regime progressively appropriated modern art by including it in national representations at São Paulo biennials and at universal exhibitions. However, the introduction of artworks in general representations of the country entailed levels of visibility and invisibility, according to its correspondence to the nationalistic official discourse: a careful interpretation of their interaction with the overall national propagandistic plan may reveal dissenting views of cultural identity and universalism. The 1950s recovery and acclamation of the early twentieth-century modern painter Amadeo Souza-Cardoso points to another example of the different interpretations suggested by modern art and its political manipulation. Oliveira exposes, therefore, the contradictions of the supposedly international opening of the country and the uses of modern art, and she does so by confronting the regime’s “nationalisation” of Portuguese modern art with the aspirations of internationalisation from the new generation of Portuguese artists.

This section concludes with Patrícia de Sousa Melo’s chapter, “Museum-making in Portuguese Macao: The creation of the Luís de Camões Museum from colonial to postcolonial times,” which advances a comprehensive review of the history of museological and heritage preservation in Macao, from the beginning of Portuguese ruling of the territory, in the sixteenth century, to its handover to the People’s Republic of China, in 1999. Melo centres her analysis on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and, specifically, on the creation of the Luís de Camões Museum. Its difficult trajectory illustrates the episodic and inconsistent response from the Portuguese authorities to the safeguard of the cultural, artistic, and architectural heritage of the region. However, the need to leave tangible testimonies of the Portuguese administration before the handover in 1999 determined new campaigns of heritage preservation by the end of the twentieth century. As a result, the reimagination of the “Portuguese world” had a last significant episode in Macao in 1999, thus succeeding the Lisbon World Exposition, organised in the previous

year, which commemorated the 500th anniversary of the arrival of the Portuguese navigators in India in 1498. Despite the updated visual representation of the Portuguese colonial past in the 1998 exhibition, national memory was still shaped by the historical narratives promoted by the *Estado Novo*, the same ones that still persist today in different forms. As Pedro Cardim states, these narratives of “celebration of an imperial past” were strong enough to survive the passage from Dictatorship to Democracy (Cardim 2023, 178).

The final section of the book, “The displaying of art and history in the first half of the twentieth century,” expands on another relevant line of critical enquiry related to material and visual narratives about national identity, history, and its heroes. Exhibitions and museums, collections, and campaigns for the preservation of heritage were instruments used by distinct political regimes in the twentieth century to crystallise an official vision of the past. The establishment of the Republican regime in Portugal in 1910, after almost eight centuries as a monarchy, was an historical moment full of repercussions for the museological sector. In “Museums and the art reforms of the First Portuguese Republic (1910–1926),” Joana Baião provides an insightful reading of the new legislation regarding the safeguarding of artistic, scientific, and industrial heritage and the creation of new museums and monuments. She also establishes continuities with the preceding constitutional monarchy and the political period that succeeded the First Republic, the *Estado Novo* right-wing dictatorship. These continuities were ensured by men who navigated these distinct political regimes and promoted the consolidation of a national museum system. Baião’s analysis pays particular attention to the ideological background of museum reforms and of the constitution and enlargement of state collections, which, in the Republican period, benefited from a massive integration of assets from the royal family and the Church. The Republican experience of institutionalisation of national heritage became, therefore, an enduring one. The role attributed to museums in the configuration of a national identity and promotion of patriotic union persisted in the subsequent political context.

Alicia Miguélez’s “Heroes on display: The (re)construction and exhibition of the tomb of the legendary hero Egas Moniz in early twentieth-century Portugal” provides a concrete example of the role that the successive political regimes attributed to museums and monuments in materialising a pantheon of national heroes and official narratives glorifying the past. Departing from the historical and symbolic importance of the Medieval figure of Egas Moniz, Miguélez establishes an historical nexus from the nineteenth to the twentieth century which emphasises the relevance of the Medieval period in the construction of national myths. These myths were believed to inspire patriotism and the regeneration of the country in contemporary times. The specific case addressed in this chapter demonstrates that the material and aesthetic integrity of a monument was less important than the character and story it aimed to celebrate. Thus, by thoroughly examining the process of mythification of Egas Moniz, Miguélez deconstructs the traditional narratives that were crystallised by visual arts and literature to finally shed light on the systems of reimagination and fictionalisation of the past, which served political purposes. This is, in fact, a common premise of this book – museums, exhibitions, monuments, and heritage had (and still have) the capacity to adapt to different political contexts and circumstances and the past they aim to represent can never be naturalised as a separate instance from the present.

Museums and exhibitions are also platforms that allow us to track and analyse the circulation of political ideas and ideological affiliations. The last two chapters have a

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common thread – they reveal how Nazi Germany and the Second World War had an impact on the Portuguese artistic, cultural, and intellectual world, even if Portugal itself remained “neutral.” The penetration in Portugal, and specifically in its artistic context, of the Nazi instrumentalisation of artistic production is visible in Eduardo Malta’s case study. In her chapter, “Anti-semitic and anti-modern fractures in the Portugal of Salazar: The case of portrait painter and museum director Eduardo Malta (1933–1965),” Raquel Henriques da Silva reviews the painter Eduardo Malta’s direction of the National Museum of Contemporary Art in Lisbon. Her text draws attention to the conflictual relationship between the regime’s conservative and nationalistic position and post-war arts. Eduardo Malta accused modernist artists of being dangerous communists and attributed the decline of European art to the predominance of Jews in the School of Paris. Silva shows that the handling of the National Museum of Contemporary Art to a man such as Malta was symptomatic of the disdain that the highest ranks of the Portuguese regime and the social and economic elites felt towards contemporary artistic production. Therefore, while internationally, modern art was a useful instrument to make visible the modernisation of the state; internally, it was considered a lower form of artistic expression and representation of the Portuguese “soul.” For this reason, a museum dedicated to contemporary art was a neglectable element in the museological strategy of the regime.

In the last chapter of this section and of the volume, “‘Worthy of enabling and support:’ The exhibitions of the Lisbon Buchholz Bookshop and their critical reception in the context of the Second World War,” Inês Fialho Brandão reveals how the so-called “Degenerate Art” was introduced and circulated in the Portuguese art market. Through her comprehensive and original study of the exhibitions organised at the Lisbon Buchholz Bookshop in the 1940s, Brandão confirms the activity of its founder, Karl Buchholz, as an intermediary of the Nazi government through the display of German modern art in Portugal. She also analyses how Buchholz included Portugal in the circuit of artistic commercialisation between Europe and the United States, which aimed at funding the Nazi regime and its war effort. Brandão discloses then for the first time the hidden history of what was considered one of the most referential venues of modern art in Portugal and, by association, of cultural and artistic resistance against the dictatorship in Portugal. As in most chapters in this volume, Brandão uncovers the international networks and relations that are indissociable from the history of art in any specific country. In this case study, she contributes to a wider understanding of the international art market at the time of the Second World War and the ways in which the movements of people – voluntary and involuntary – defined the movements of objects, in this case, artistic objects.

### Notes

- 1 Due to the unexpected passing of Vlachou, the process of publication of this volume was relatively lengthy. Most chapters were concluded before new relevant bibliography came out and for that reason more recent references may not be cited in this book.
- 2 See also: “Historiographie de l’histoire de l’art au Portugal” 2021; [Cardoso 2019](#); [Senos 2019](#); [Serrão 2001](#), 215–223; for an analysis of feminist art history in Portugal or the reasons for its late arrival, see [Vicente 2012](#).
- 3 See [Pais 2021](#); [Bleichmar et al. 2009](#) and [Bleichmar 2017](#); [Safer 2008](#); [Driver and Martins 2005](#); [Almaça 1996](#).
- 4 For a critical analysis of Welwitsch’s case in Angola and Geoffroy Saint Hilaire’s involvement with the Brazilian collections reassembled in Lisbon and taken to Paris, see [Vicente 2003](#) and [2020](#).

- 5 The catalogue was reedited two years later by the National Museum of Ancient Art as *Encompassing the Globe: Portugal e o Mundo nos séculos XVI e XVII* (2009).
- 6 An example of an international publication on the material results of cross-cultural encounters edited by Portuguese scholars but with contributions from a wide array of authors is [Ramos and Boavida 2004](#).
- 7 For more examples related to the history of collections within a Portuguese imperial context, see [Fonseca 2021](#); [Hallet 2009](#); [Silva 1996](#).
- 8 For example, see the catalogue of an exhibition organised within the context of the Portuguese Presidency of the European Union, [Crespo 2021](#).
- 9 This is the case, for example, of São Roque Antiguidades & Galeria de Arte ([Roque 2022 and 2023](#)); or the Antiquarians Álvaro Roquette and Pedro Aguiar Branco (AR-PAB) ([Crespo 2019 and 2020](#)).
- 10 More recent publications include: [Falcão 2020](#); [Soares 2019](#); [Ferreira 2017](#); [Carvalho 2017](#); [Souto 2016](#); [Baião 2015](#); [Xavier 2013](#).
- 11 *História das Exposições de Arte da Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1957-2020*, online catalogue, <https://gulbenkian.pt/historia-das-exposicoes/>
- 12 The bibliography is now so immense that we would be inevitably unfair if we tried to summarise its outputs.

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## The Painting Collections of the Dukes of Aveiro in the Eighteenth Century, with a Note on the Acquisitions of an English Gentleman

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## National Identity, Modernity, and Aspirations to Internationalisation in the 1950s

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## Anti-Semite and Anti-modern Fractures in the Portugal of Salazar

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