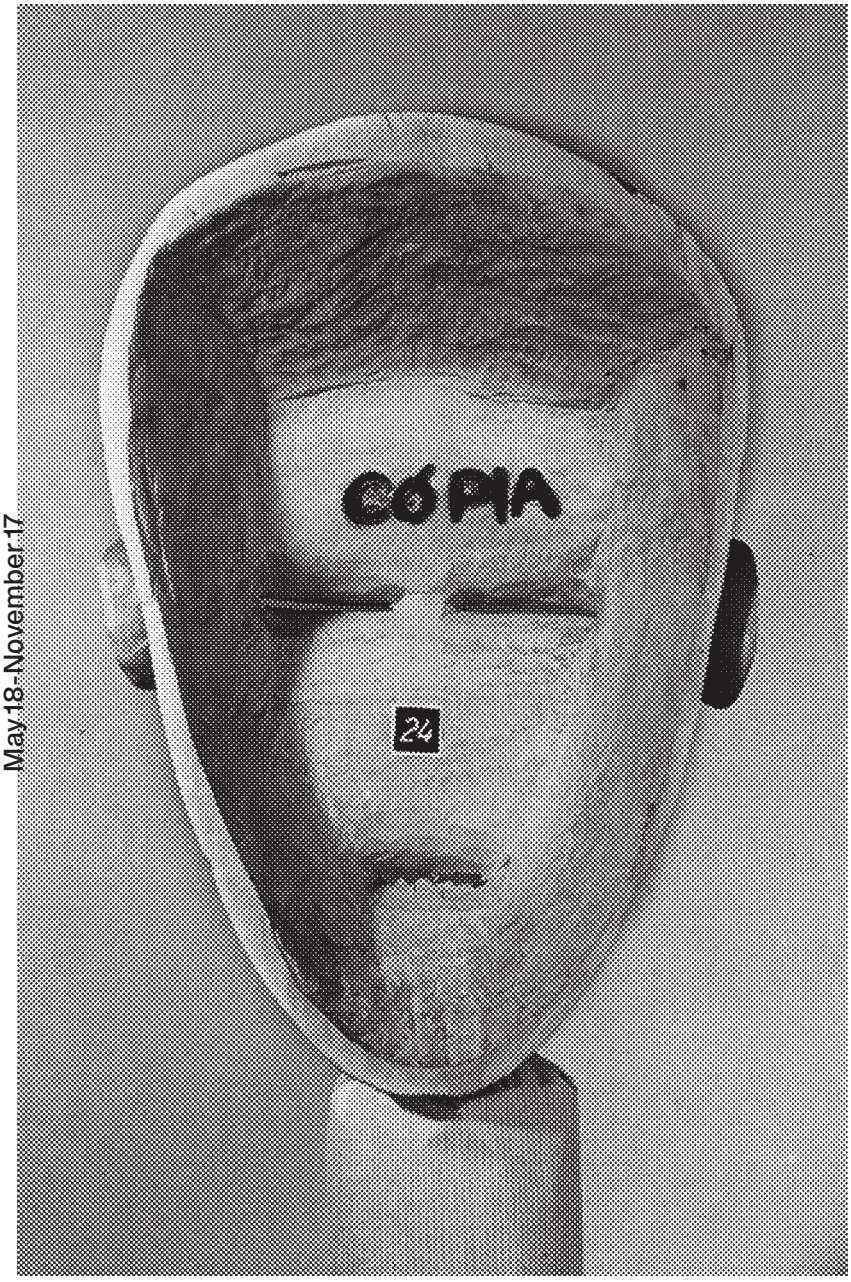
Troubles with Primitivism — a view from Portugal

May 18–November 17



5-10 “Portuguese Sea” GROUND FLOOR
11-16 Civilisation GROUND FLOOR
17-22 Museum GROUND FLOOR
23-28 Ingenuous GROUND FLOOR
29-33 1ST FLOOR “Jazz-Band”
34-39 -1 FLOOR Extraction

PREVIOUS STATEMENT 1

These translations are meant solely as an aide to an English-speaking audience in order to navigate the exhibition *Troubles with Primitivism — a view from Portugal* at CIAJG. Whenever possible, published English translations of cited authors, or original texts in English, were consulted. Other translations were made as an aide for the visitor and are not meant to be literary translations. With that in mind, we have opted not to follow the usual translation norm that maintains titles in their original language, and instead have translated books', essays', magazines' and paintings' titles. The original titles can be seen in the exhibition's captions.

PREVIOUS STATEMENT 2

The *Museum* and *Ingenuous* sections occupy the same room and interpenetrate each other. Therefore, the numbering of documents, works, and videos in that section is not always continuous.

WARNING

This exhibition shows images from the colonial period that contain stereotyped and racist depictions that may be considered offensive. The curators believe the exhibition's theme cannot be addressed without those images. By promoting this exhibition, CIAJG aims to underline its mission of being a space of critical reflection, both inclusive and plural.

One may say that what became known as "primitivism" has a long history; however, it was only at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century that it was unequivocally expressed. The various forms of fascism and the effects of colonisation, as well as the development of mass culture and mass consumption within Europe's *malaise*, fomented a fascination and fetishisation around cultures considered "remote", "primordial", "primitive", "naïve", "archaic", "savage", "primaeval", among other designations. The appreciation and value that artists, intellectuals and *marchands* attached to objects t from non-European territories (the majority of them colonised), as well as from local contexts, such as popular art, in parallel with the exponential improvement of image reproduction techniques, caused the primitivist aesthetic to irradiate through the predominant visual culture of modernity in the West.

Primitivism was perceived as a path for the renovation and affirmation of art as modern, as well as an artistic practice based on the return to the origins and new beginnings. It was responsible for a real aesthetic revolution in the Western art of the twentieth century while at the same time emptying the temporality and the history of objects considered "primitive" by referring them to a distant and undetermined past. In an era of fascisms and imperialisms, primitivism was perceived not only as a nationalist tool for the legitimation of the colonial project but also as a libertarian and anti-colonialist instrument, given that many intellectuals and artists were inspired by primitivist imagery and mobilised by a will to subvert the established social order. However, stereotypes, prejudices, and a homogenous perspective of the "Other" were always present in primitivism's various, and sometimes conflictual and antagonistic, uses.

Through meticulous research in Portuguese archives and collections, *Troubles with Primitivism – A View from Portugal* presents a fresh perspective on "primitivism" and the inherent contradictions of this historical and cultural process. This innovative, research-based and experimental curatorial proposal invites the entire museum to engage in a critical dialogue, amplifying a polyphony of voices from diverse sources, authors, and artists.

The exhibition is structured around six interconnected keywords: Civilization, Museum, Naïve, "Portuguese Sea", "Jazz-Band" and Extraction. This inclusive approach allows for dynamic exploration, transcending fixed chronologies and instead following routes and diagrammatic interrelations, fluxes, tensions and synapsis between texts and images, "high" culture and mass culture. It navigates history, history of art, politics, anthropology and economy, as well as the ideological, social and cultural structure upon which the dissemination of an intense visuality related to the idea of "primitive is constructed.

This exhibition approaches the problems of primitivism from Portugal's perspective and in relation to the context of dictatorship, colonisation, anti-colonialism, and post-colonialism via a visual machine full of images and artistic and cultural references that question the invention of the "primitive" and its persistence in contemporaneity.

“Portuguese Sea”

“Portuguese Sea” is the title of the second part of Fernando Pessoa’s only book written in Portuguese and published during his lifetime – *The Message*, 1934 – and also of one the most renowned poems of that book, which includes the following verses: “O salty sea, so much of whose salt / Is Portugal’s tears!” and “Was it worth it? Everything is worthwhile/ If the soul is not small”. *The Message* is full of mythical figures from Portuguese history and their maritime endeavours. In 1952, Cruzeiro Seixas subverted the glorification of that mythical narrative (which was particularly eulogised during the dictatorship) by giving the same title to a surrealist object consisting of a sea whelk captive inside a birdcage. To show the captured sea in the shape of a sea whelk that cannot be listened to operates a consequential disruption that exposes, with humour and subtlety, not a glorious narrative but, instead, a history of violence. The idea of the sea as a territory that is possessed and through which more territories are conquered prevailed within national imagination. But the sea was also the symbol of war, emigration, plundering, death, departures and arrivals, as denounced in the poem “Maritime Ode” from 1915 by Álvaro de Campos. The fish vendors, the fishermen and fishing itself were the subjects of both a nationalistic image of the nation and of those who resisted the dictatorship. The primitivist imagery exoticising remote places and cultures was part of this expanded idea of the ocean, either in a colonialist and celebratory context, such as in the propagandistic exhibitions of the empire or denouncing colonialism, such as in Mário Cesariny or Eduardo Batarda’s works, as well as when eaten and spitted back by Oswald de Andrade and Tarsila do Amaral.

“Cabralism. The civilisation of the grantees. Pastures and Exports. Carnival. The Sertão and the Favela. Brazilwood. Barbaric and ours. [...] Against the fatality of the first white man who arrived and diplomatically dominated the savage jungles. Quoting Virgil for the Tupiniquins. The Bachelor. A country of anonymous pains. Of anonymous doctors. Society of erudite castaways.”

Oswald de Andrade, *Pau-Brasil*, 1924.

“Against Father Vieira. Author of our first loan, to earn commission. The illiterate king had told him: put this on paper, but not too glibly. The loan was made. Brazilian sugar was recorded. Vieira left the money in Portugal and brought us the glibness. Before the Portuguese discovered Brazil, Brazil had discovered happiness. [...] Happiness is the litmus test.”

Oswald de Andrade, *Anthropophagic Manifesto*, 1928.
In Piratininga, Year 374 of Bishop Sardinha’s Deglutition (*Revista de Antropofagia*, Year I, no. 1, May 1928).

“In this land, all things cultivated will grow.”

Pêro Vaz de Caminha, Letter to king Manuel I, 1500.

"What voice comes in the sound of the waves
That is not the voice of the sea?
(...)
But if we wake up,
The voice falls silent and there is only the sea."

Fernando Pessoa, "The Fortunate Islands", *Message*, 1934.

"When the Portuguese arrived
Under a heavy rain
He dressed the Indian
What a shame!
If it had been a sunny morning
The Indian would have undressed
The Portuguese."

Oswald de Andrade, 1925.

Colonial Literature

Rita Chaves

"Although it was written all around the Empire, i.e., either in the metropolis or the colonies, the main target of this literature was the metropolitan reader, regarded as the preferential receiver of the intense 'propaganda of our colonies and the Portuguese colonial work'. Such production was part of a wider movement ruled by the New State, including the creation of the Overseas (*Ultramar*) General Agency and of the Overseas Investigation Board, the organisation of colonial exhibitions and the implementation of school curricula exalting Portugal's imperial glory in complement to the propaganda policy. It is impossible to forget the iconic map of the colonies projected on European soil designed by Henrique Galvão, which, stamped on educational compendiums, sealed the central image of an imagined destiny. Literature was thus summoned to 'legitimize' the possession of invaded territories: one of its main features was the sedimentation of an idea of void attached to the image of the occupied land, insisting on the belief that in order to conquer existence, space ought to be occupied, that is, occupied by the colonizer's discourse. It was as if the only voice capable of conferring meaning to everything that already existed there was that of the white coloniser/man. In other words, the right of inscription in the code of 'civilisation' depended on that voice, a kind of sacred breath. By being so demarcated, the goals of propaganda emptied the hypothesis of structuring colonial knowledge.

(...) The settings of these narratives varied, with stories unfolding in Angola, Moçambique, or Macau. However, the characters, whether they were protagonists, antagonists, or mere background figures, were predominantly white, and more often than not, they hailed from Portugal.

(...) The dominance of the coloniser in these narratives reveals that the conflicts with the invaded territory are indicative of an attraction exerted by the space, contrasting with the indifference and/or rejection of its inhabitants. In the course of these conflicts, the ability to render invisible those people who had inhabited that landscape long before the colonizers' arrival was a recurring theme. (...)

The allusion to the extraordinary dimension and charge of mystery impregnating those lands is implicit in the titles of the books: in *Portentous Africa* (Gastão de Sousa Dias, 1926), *Mysterious Africa* (Julião Quintinho, 1928), *Ardent Soil* (Norberto Lopes, 1948), *Africa, promise land* (Rodrigues Júnior, 1950), *Conquered land* (Eduardo C. de Matos, 1956), *Skies of fire* (Campos Monteiro Filho, 1933),

Lands of spell (H. Galvão, 1934) and *Land of hope* (E. Castelo Branco, 1940), we find examples of that attraction.

(...) Although it is usually celebrated as a humanizing activity, the function of literature seems to be distorted in this case. (...) The polysemic charge typical of the literary text is often presented as a sort of curtain behind which the desire to perpetuate asymmetries is camouflaged, indicating that the game of exoticization is extended to preserve a petrified vision of societies that, by being alive, struggle to avoid paralysis and reduction. Since this struggle also takes place in the literary arena, it was up to a few writers from the old colonies to pursue the path of insurgency and commit to writing pages that propelled the uncovering of the 'truths' constructed by the colonial writers. Names such as António Jacinto, José Craveirinha, José Luandino Vieira, Luís Bernardo Honwana, Pepetela, Noémia de Sousa and Viriato da Cuz, among others, offer their readers sharp tools for vertical reading of the ambiguities inherent to the concept of 'colonial literature' itself. Therefore, a good exercise may be to investigate, in their poems and/or narratives, the forms of figuration and completeness confiscated by the colonisation of the imaginary."

In Rita Chaves, "Colonial literature and the confiscation of the imaginary", *Portuguese Cultural Studies* vol. 7, issue 2, 2022

TABLE

1 "Africa is the last surrealist continent. Everything that precedes, combats or goes beyond the narrowly rationalist interpretation of man and his ways has to do with a surrealist sense of life. Africa enjoys the rare privilege of having produced neither Cartesianism nor any of the systems of thought and action based on universes of categories. Africa knows a myth that we ignore. We think it's asleep in the past and perhaps it's making its way into the future."
Mário Cesariny, lecture with Daniel Filipe, broadcasted on the radio on the occasion of Cruzeiro Seixas' first exhibition in Luanda, 1953. Angola ("Voz do Império" radio programme, 1954). *The Surrealist Intervention*. Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim, 1997.

2 Gastão Souza Dias, *Portentuous Africa*. Lisbon: G. S. Dias, 1926. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

3 Julião Quintinha, *African Gold*. 1st ed., Lisbon: Portugal Ultramar, 1929. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

4 Julião Quintinha, *African Novel*. Cover by Bernardo Marques. 2nd ed., Lisbon: Nunes de Carvalho. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

5 Maria Archer, *Savage Africa. Folklore of the "Bantu" black people.* Lisbon: Livraria Editora Guimarães & C.ª., 1935. (Reproduction)

6 *Propaganda Magazine of Portuguese Activities and Portuguese Work in the World*, Lisbon: National Advertising Company, 1953. (Reproduction)

7 Francisco Valença, "On the Return of the Triumphal Journey", *Sempre Fixe: humorous weekly*, September 14, 1939. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

8 Amarelhe, "Captain Henrique Galvão", *Sempre Fixe: humorous weekly*, October 31, 1940. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

9 Henrique Galvão, map "Portugal is not a small country", 1934. BLX-Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

10 *Colonial Portugal: magazine of propaganda and colonial expansion*, Year 1, no. 7-8, September and October, 1931 - Special issue: Colonial Exhibition of Paris. BLX-Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

11 Henrique Galvão, "Colonial Portugal: a presentation", *Colonial Portugal: magazine of propaganda and colonial expansion*, Year 1, no. 1, March 1931. BLX-Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

12 *Bulletin of the Luso-African Society of Rio de Janeiro* – Commemorative Special Issue of the First Portuguese Colonial Exhibition held in Porto, April - July 1934. BLX-Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

13 "General plan of the 1st Portuguese Colonial Exhibition", *The Portuguese Empire at the first Portuguese Colonial Exhibition*: official catalog album, 1934. BLX-Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

14 Carlos Botelho, "Echoes of the Week – Impressions through Africa in Porto, views from Lisbon", *Sempre Fixe: humorous weekly*, June 21, 1934. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

15 José Constantino Ribeiro Coelho, "Braga and the Empire", *Colonial Action* – Commemorative Issue of the Colonial Exhibition of Porto, 1934. BLX-Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

16 "Inauguration of the 1st Portuguese Colonial Exhibition", *Illustration* n. 205, July 1, 1934. BLX –Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

17 Kodak advertisement, *The Portuguese Empire at the first Portuguese Colonial Exhibition*: official catalog album, 1934. BLX-Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

18 "At the 1st Portuguese Colonial Exhibition", *The Province of Angola – Extraordinary Issue for the Colonial Exhibition of Porto*, August 15, 1934. BLX-Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

19 "Guide: elucidative summary for the visitor of the First Portuguese Colonial Exhibition - villages", *The Portuguese Empire at the first Portuguese Colonial Exhibition*: official catalog album, 1934. BLX-Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

20 *Colonial Action – Commemorative Issue of the Colonial Exhibition of Porto*, 1934. BLX-Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

21 *Atlantic: luso-brazilian magazine*, n. 1, 23 May 1942. BLX-Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

22 Paris International Exhibition - Pavilion of Portugal, Colonial Section, 1937. Col. Mário Novais Studio | FCG - Art and Archives Library. (Reproduction)

23 "Cape Verde: the archipelago of melancholy lives the effort of an important economic realization", *The Portuguese Empire at the first Portuguese Colonial Exhibition*: official catalog album, 1934. BLX-Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

24 "São Tomé and Príncipe: the pearl of our colonial domains", *The Portuguese Empire at the first Portuguese Colonial Exhibition*: official catalog album, 1934. BLX-Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

25 "Mozambique", *The Portuguese Empire at the first Portuguese Colonial Exhibition*: official catalog album, 1934. BLX-Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

26 "Guinea: the colony of red lands", *The Portuguese Empire at the first Portuguese Colonial Exhibition*: official catalog album, 1934. BLX-Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

27 Exhibition of the Portuguese World, *Diário da Manhã: commemorative issue of the double centenary (1140-1640-1940)*, December 1940. BLX-Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

28 "Portuguese World Exhibition – General Plan", *Centenary Review* n. 2-3, February-March 1939. BLX-Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

29 "Portuguese World Exhibition – Plan of the Colonial Ethnographic Section", *Centenary Review* n. 2-3, February-March 1939. BLX-Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

30 "The New Apostle... or the inventor of clear day", *ABC a Rir: humorous and news weekly*, January 7, 1922. Casa Comum/ Mário Soares and Maria Barroso Foundation. (Reproduction)

31 Canto da Maya posing as the supposed African native he portrayed in the bas-relief, placed behind him (to the right). Author and date unknown (attributed to 1940). The final work was presented on a facade of the Pavilion of Honor and Lisbon, at the Portuguese World Exhibition of 1940. Glass plate photograph. Col. Carlos Machado Museum (inventory n. 0191). (Reproduction)

32 Detail of Canto da Maya's bas-relief "The Reconquest and the Discoveries", placed on a facade of the Pavilion of Honor and Lisbon, at the Portuguese World Exhibition of 1940. Author and date unknown (attributed to 1940). Glass plate photograph. Col. Carlos Machado Museum (inventory n. 0145). (Reproduction)

33 "Portuguese from the Colonies", *O Século: commemorative issue of the Centenaries (1140-1640-1940)*, June 1940. BLX-Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

34 *O Século: commemorative issue of the Centenaries (1140-1640-1940)*, June 1940. BLX-Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

35 Horácio Novais, Exhibition, poster, undated. Col. Horácio Novais Studio | FCG - Art and Archives Library. (Reproduction)

36 Castro Soromenho, *Men without Path: novel*. 2nd ed. Lisbon: Inquérito, 1946. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

37 Augusto Casimiro, *Creole Portugal*. Lisbon: Cosmos, 1940. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

38 *Angolan Poets - Anthology of the House of the Students of the Empire*. 1962. (Reproduction)

39 Nuno Bermudes, *Gandana and other tales*. Illustrations by José Pádua. Beira: [s.n.], 1959. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

40 José Luandino Vieira, *Luuanda*. 3rd ed., Lisbon: Edições 70, 1972 (1st ed. 1963). The author wrote this work in prison and obtained for it the Prize of the Portuguese Writers Society in 1964, of which he learned in the concentration camp of Tarrafal, to which he had been transferred. The awarding of this prize caused a controversy that led to the dissolution of the Portuguese Writers Society. (Reproduction)

41 Communist Party-Returnees Organism, sticker, undated. Ephemera - Library and Archive of José Pacheco Pereira. (Reproduction)

42 Gouveia, "Lisbon 1975. Crates of returnees from the ex-colonies at the port of Lisbon, also showing the monument of the Discoveries", 1975. PT/TT/SNI/ ARQF/DO-014-005A/29379-NG19A. Image provided by ANTT. (Reproduction)

43 Gouveia, "Lisbon 1975. Crates of returnees from the ex-colonies at the port of Lisbon" 1975. PT/TT/SNI/ARQF/DO-014-005A/29378-NG24A. Image provided by ANTT. (Reproduction)

44 Kiluanji Kia Henda, *The Discovery*, 2007 (detail). Artist's courtesy. (Reproduction)

45 "Statues don't tell the story, they are the result of political choices that attest to who power values, as well as the memory they want to stage. They reveal decisions that impose certain narratives, certain figures, a certain aesthetic

on the public landscape. None of this is neutral." Françoise Vergès, "Tearing down a statue, is there anything more legitimate?" in *Punkto*, n. 28, September 2020 (Portuguese translation Maria Rebelo and João Paupério).

46 Alfredo Cunha, "Lisbon 1975. Crates of returnees from the ex--colonies at the port of Lisbon, also showing the monument of the Discoveries", 1975. PT/TT/SNI/ARQF/DO-014-005B/36632. Image provided by ANTT. Artist's courtesy. (Reproduction)

47 "In the sea, in the sea, in the sea, in the sea,
Put out to sea, to the wind, to the waves,
My life!
Salting foam tossed by the winds
My palate of great voyages.
[...]
Broken keels, sinking ships, blood on the seas!
Decks full of blood, fragments of bodies!
Severed fingers on the walls!
Children's heads, here and there!
People with their eyes out, screaming, howling!
Eh-eh-eh-eh-eh-eh-eh-eh-eh-eh!
Eh-eh-eh-eh-eh-eh-eh-eh-eh-eh!
I plunder, I kill, I crumble, I tear!
All I feel is the sea, the prey, the loot!
[...] this in the sea, this in the se-e-e-e-a, this in the SE-E-E-E-A!
(...) Damn! for not being able to act according to my delirium!
Damn! for always clinging to the skirts of civilisation!"
Álvaro de Campos, "Sea Ode", *Orpheu* 2, 1915.

48 Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro, "The Historical Inheritance", *A Paródia* n. 9, March 14, 1900. EGEAC/Bordalo Pinheiro Museum. (Reproduction)

49 Oswald de Andrade, drawing by Tarsila do Amaral, "Anthropophagic Manifesto", *Revista de Antropofagia*, Year 1, n. 1, May 1928. Brazilian Digital Library/National Library Foundation. (Reproduction)

50 Oswald de Andrade, *Brazilwood*, printed by "Sans Pareil" of Paris, 1925. Note on the frontispiece: "Oswald de Andrade's Songbook prefaced by Paulo Prado illuminated by Tarsila in 1925 / FOR BACHARACH POET OSWALD TRADER / 15-1-27 São Paulo." (Reproduction)

WORKS ON THE WALLS, PLYNTHS AND VIDEOS

51-52 Mário Cesariny, *Poème*, 1947. Collage on paper. Col. CAM - Modern Art Center Gulbenkian, Lisbon.
Mário Cesariny, *Poème*, 1947. Collage on paper. Col. CAM - Modern Art Center Gulbenkian, Lisbon.
In 1947, a young Mário Cesariny travelled to Paris. That was the year of the Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme, orchestrated by Marcel Duchamp and André Breton, and where Breton asserted his anti-colonial position through the inclusion of Martinica's poet Aimé Césaire in the exhibition. While in Paris, Cesariny probably visited the Musée de l'Homme, inaugurated in 1937. Besides its pre-existing ethnographic collection, this museum received a huge volume of objects transported from the mission Dakar-Djibouti, which took place between 1931 and 1933 and involved ethnologists and anthropologists who were close to Surrealism and collaborated in George Bataille's magazine *Documents*, as well as surrealist writer Michel Leiris, who wrote an impressive diary of that expedition. During his stay in Paris, Cesariny made these two significant collages, combining image and cut-up text, along the lines of the montage practised by the ethnographic Surrealism of *Documents* magazine. Both collages put the attraction to the "primitive" of twentieth-century artists, including his own, into perspective. In one of those collages, Cesariny used the image of a head, originally from Hawaii, belonging to the Musée de l'Homme collection, next to which he pasted words extracted from French newspapers that show her saying "Je ne veux pas» [I don›t want to], as if refusing the appropriation it is being subjected to. The other collage shows an African spell studded with nails, also in tension with words cut out of newspapers. On this trip, Cesariny joined Surrealism at the very moment when the Surrealist movement was renewing itself after the Second World War and taking an anti-colonial stance. This stance is also evident in these collages - they give a voice to the images so that they can reject primitivist appropriation, colonial violence and forced "civilisation".

53 Eduardo Batarda, *The Victory of Marracuene*, 1973. Paper, Indian ink, and watercolor. Col. CAM - Modern Art Center Gulbenkian, Lisbon.
The title of this painting refers to the battle of 1895 in Marracuene (Mozambique), in which the Portuguese soldiers adopted the square formation, which was, however, broken more than once by their opponents, armed only with spears. The fighting was taking place in the context of a bloody containment of indigenous uprisings, and there are clear parallels with the colonial war that was still going on at the time of the work. In 1977, the painting was boycotted by African university students when it was exhibited in Bulgaria, who saw racist connotations in it. This interpretation was due to the stereotyped representation of Africans (using the image of the pickaninnies, a rendering of the Portuguese "pequenino" to designate black children, and later African doll-types frequent in cartoons and adverts, with big eyes and thick lips) with an ironic function, in other words, actually anti-racist and anti-colonialist. These characters attack a transparent cube in the centre, inside which are the settlers, no less stereotypical thugs - the "square formation", which is actually a triangle (referring to the religious connotation), will also be a pictorial epithet of reactionism. The action takes place on a stage whose scenery combines abstract elements recognisable from modernism. On closer inspection, we realise that instead of spears and arrows, the weapons of most of the characters represented are paintbrushes and their shields are palettes, which, together with other references from the history of art, allows us to understand this combat in a different light: as an attack by the neo-avant-gardes (pot-smoking, chaotic, feisty) on a modernism they saw as stodgy, official, obsolete, while they themselves were debtors to it, perpetuating, for example, modernist primitivisms in a so-called anthropological art.

54 Almada Negreiros, Untitled (Self-portrait as Egyptian), 1938. Private collection, deposited in Col. CAM – Modern Art Center Gulbenkian, Lisbon.

In 1915, Almada Negreiros wrote the poem "The Scene of Hate" for the third unpublished issue of the *Orpheu* magazine. It was signed: "Sensationist poet and Egyptian Narcissus". Although he never used this signature again, he was often associated and self-associated with Egypt. In the poem "Englishmen Smoke Pipe" of 1919, he wrote: "I have seen a pipe that looks like me / I wanted to buy it / but they did not sell it to me / they told me it was the portrait of an Egyptian." In his book *The Invention of the Bright Day*, of 1921, Egypt is portrayed as the place where knowledge and civilisation originated. In 1927, Ramón Gómez de la Serna wrote about Almada, saying that "he also has much in common with those Egyptians depicted in pharaonic paintings in profile and holding a lotus in their hands. Especially in toasts, of which Almada is a master, his Egyptian planning over the walls of life becomes much more specific, raising the glass of champagne as if it were the flower of hieroglyphs [...]". He is described in Portuguese press as, for example, "the chief of modernism, with his Egyptian eyes and smile" (*Diário de Lisboa*, July 20, 1941). Unsurprisingly, in 1938, Almada portrayed himself as an Egyptian scribe in a simultaneous profile and frontal stereotypical pose. There are several things at stake here: to be in profile and frontal at the same time is one of the codes of primitivist cubism; on the other hand, Egypt is perceived as an original civilisational place, so to claim the Egyptian identity means to affirm the deliberate return to a mythological origin, which configures the primitivist demand; on the other hand, still, this stereotypical self-representation allows Almada to solve his actual African origin (he was born to a biracial mother in São Tomé, in 1893), projecting it in Egypt through performativity aligned with the aestheticisation of the return to a primitive origin found in several modernist manifestations.

55 Querubim Lapa, *The moon seller*, 1957. Oil on canvas. Col. Millennium bcp.

56 "In this land, what we plant will flourish."
Letter from Pêro Vaz de Caminha to King Manuel I, 1500.

57 "What voice comes in the sound of the waves
That is not the voice of the sea?
(...)
But if we wake up
The voice falls silent, and there is nothing but the sea."
Fernando Pessoa, "The Fortunate Islands", *Message*, 1934.

58 "PORTUGUESE MISTAKE
When the Portuguese arrived
In a rainy morning
He dressed the Indian
Pitty. If it were a sunny morning
The Indian would have undressed the Portuguese."
Oswald de Andrade, 1925.

59-62 José de Guimarães, Installation at the Luanda Museum, 1968. José de Guimarães Archive.

VIDEO
63 "Lisbon, returnees from Angola are authorised to settle in Brazil and many who are already in the capital are withdrawing their possessions at the Alcântara docks". National News 16 October 1975. RTP Archives.

VIDEO
64 "Lisbon, crates with the belongings of returnees from the former overseas colonies, stored on Alcântara Quay and in a warehouse at Rua da Junqueira". National News 20 September 1977. RTP Archives.

65 Cruzeiro Seixas, *The Portuguese Sea*, 1952. Wooden cage and conch shell. Donation by Cruzeiro Seixas. Col. Fundação Cupertino de Miranda.

66 Cruzeiro Seixas, *Your gaze no longer looks toward the earth, but has its feet on it*, 1953. Pacaça shell, paper collage, gouache, wood, and turtle bone. Donation by Cruzeiro Seixas. Col. Fundação Cupertino de Miranda.

67 [Tarsila by Sérgio Milliet] Tarsila do Amaral, Two silkscreens from a special edition of 5 silkscreens, undated. Col. Millennium bcp.

Civilisation

Walter Benjamin famously wrote that "there is no document of civilisation [*Kultur*] that is not at the same time a document of barbarianism". Since the nineteenth century, "Civilisation" has been a fundamental concept for Europe's self-perception and its relationship with other continents. It was also an inseparable notion from the construction of modernity. The distinction between "civilisation" and "barbarism", or "primitivism", established a clear hierarchy between people based on the idea that Europe was supposedly invested with a "civilisational mission" that was used to justify the occupation, exploitation, extraction and plundering of "other" cultures. In the case of Portugal, the Colonial Act of 1930 determined that according to its "civilisational mission", the Portuguese colonies were an integral part of the national territory. It also established the statute of the indigenous in opposition to that of the civilised, thereby allowing forced labour and defining a racial hierarchy based on a degree of "lack of civilisation".
On the other hand, art history was born as a discipline from a Eurocentric position that established an equivalence between art and civilisation. With it, a critical civilisational element was born: the ethnographic or artistic museum. The narrative of modern art's progress was developed in parallel with the narrative of civilisational progress. Paradoxically, it included the appropriation of the "primitive" aesthetic by "civilised" artists as an instrument of artistic innovation beyond the representation of reality. In Portugal, the art history written by José-Augusto França unequivocally expressed the idea of art as civilisation and assigned civilisational value to art according to its path through evolutionary stages to the point of abstraction.

"Europe is indefensable."

Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, 1955 (English translation by Joan Pinkham).

"The Subject's [post-Enlightenment European Man] *sensus communis*, of course, only emerges through the constitutive excommunication of the Savage (THE CONQUERED), the Negro (THE COMMODITY), the Primitive (THE OTHER), and the Traditional (THE UNDERDEVELOPED) — figures who nevertheless come to haunt Man as the bearers of an ontological dissonance, an immanent declension, we might call blackness."

Rizvana Bradley and Denise Ferreira da Silva, "Four Theses on Aesthetics ", *e-flux Journal*, September 2021

"They talk to me about progress, about 'achievements,' diseases cured, improved standards of living. (...) I am talking about societies drained of their essence, cultures trampled underfoot, institutions undermined, lands confiscated, religions smashed, magnificent artistic creations destroyed, extraordinary possibilities wiped out (...) I am talking about millions of men torn from their gods, their land, their habits, their life — from life, from the dance, from wisdom."

Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, 1955 (English translation by Joan Pinkham)
(Portuguese translation by Noémia de Sousa).

The three instruments for domination

Wladimir Brito

On February 4, 1889, the London Times published the poem The White Man's Burden, by Rudyard Kipling, which encouraged the occupation of colonial territories and made it the white man's duty, together with the political power of the colonial powers, to assume the "burden" of civilising peoples considered inferior, imposing European civilisation on them by violence. To fulfil this task, the white man occupied the territories of these peoples — *Half-devil and half-child* —, subjugated them by force, dismantled their local societies, and exploited their resources allowing himself to be made richer in the process.
In exchange, the white man offered them a civilisational pattern of suffering, poverty and misery. In order to do so, he utilized three domination tools, namely: the *administration*, represented by the sword, *religion*, represented by the cross, and *economic exploitation*, represented by currency. Each in its own way had as one of its fundamental objectives the disruption of the political organisations, religious beliefs, cultures and economic and commercial systems of local societies. To civilise the colonised presupposed the activation of these 3 Ds. Therefore:

— *The Administration*, which was predominantly military in nature until the end of the 19th century, imposed its dominance and its rules of political, social and economic behaviour by violence, thereby ensuring the disruption of the local socio-political, economic and cultural system;

— *Religion* had the task of legitimising colonial domination and imposing civilisation. To this end, in the service of its God and its civilising mission, and with the support of the Administration, it claimed for itself a double task: the forced conversion to Christianity and the excommunication of local beliefs;

— *The Economic Exploitation*, which began with colonisation and was carried out until the nineteenth century without resorting to the monetisation of the local economy, was ensured through slavery and the plundering of natural resources. From the nineteenth century onwards, the need to integrate local economies into the capitalist economy meant that they had to be monetised, which meant an end to barter, the payment of a wage and the imposition of currency as a means of payment. Among the various instruments used to this end, all of which disrupted the local economy and trade, one was the obligation imposed on the native to buy with money products he needed in the agricultural unit where he worked; another was the construction of railways, which meant thousands of workers had to move out of their villages, forcing them in turn to buy with money products sold by other local natives, who were also forced to monetise their trade.

Through these *3 DD*s, the civilising mission of the white man was accomplished and with it, it was thought, an end was put to the civilisation in which the colonised lived, classified as primitive. Thus was imposed the dominance and universalisation of the capitalist system, which is another way of spelling civilisation.

António Areal's *The Ghost of Avignon*, and the tension figuration-abstraction

Mariana Pinto dos Santos

In 1967, the Portuguese painter António Areal produced a series of six large-format paintings entitled *O Fantasma de Avignon (The Ghost of Avignon)*, which tell a visual story in sequence, like a comic book, using a pop graphic vocabulary. From a red cube, with its front face black as if in shadow, emerges a square, a kind of two-dimensional drawer with a white frame and two diagonal white stripes that crisscross from one corner of the square to the other, intersecting. In the first picture of the series, one of the stripes is partially black; in the next, a little more, and so on. The progressive darkening of the stripes shows the correct sequence of the paintings. A head comes out of the two-dimensional drawer and hides again. It's the head of a Demoiselle d'Avignon from Picasso's 1907 painting, which, according to the canonical narrative, marks the inauguration of cubism alongside the inauguration of African-inspired primitivism. The head of the Demoiselle chosen is the most iconic of that painting: it is a combination of African masks, with uneven eyes, a small, displaced opening that represents the mouth, and a striped nose in profile, which was a synthetic technique to represent shadow or darker skin. Areal abandons the stripes of Picasso's painting and paints the nose in a single, dark colour, with a contrast of yellow (the tip of the nose) and blue (the nostril) and uses a piece of the blue and yellow background from the original painting, formatted in graphic language. Concisely and humorously, Areal's series shows a history of art that links cubism to abstractionism and both to primitivism. In those years, Areal proposed what he called "figuration-abstraction" (1967), a tense mixture that, in this case, results in an ironic version of the canonical evolutionary history of art: from the fragmentation of figuration brought about by cubism via primitivism to monochrome and geometric abstraction. The head of the pop-up Demoiselle becomes *pop* when painted as a *prop* that holds together the modernist narrative of abstract art and is shown as its prelude, but it also unsettles that narrative. By presenting itself as supposedly apolitical and autonomous and as the outcome of artistic progress, abstract art helped to obliterate the colonial context involved in the visual revolution that primitivism offered modern art. The Picassian mask in Areal's painting reminds us of the footprint of modern art, which has nothing apolitical about it. But, symptomatically, the head is soon hidden again behind the abstraction, and in the last canvas, it is barely visible, as the cube and the crossed square prevail. This tension between primitivist figuration and abstraction can also be interpreted as an opposition between civilisation and the primitive, or civilisation and barbarism, showing that the art that the history of canonical art considered the "most civilised" of the twentieth century rests on the shoulders of previous experiences that aroused interest in, and created a market for, an enormous quantity of works by anonymous creators, often looted or acquired in situations of injustice, and which were considered primitive.

TABLES

1 "I am led to believe that the nonstop progression of the white man — and of him alone — over thousands of years explains his de facto ascendancy over the planet, a privilege he has obtained by virtue not of racial predestination but of historical and societal gains. Only Western societies have proved adaptable; (...) Man's entire history teaches that the only great societies are those in which adaptation occurs not by empirical accommodation to exterior conditions, but by wellthought-out domination of materials. The greatness of the European race resides in its once again having assumed power, in the past two centuries, over technology and the gods — that is, over all collective values, of which art is undoubtedly one means of expressing (...)"
Pierre Francastel, *Art & Technology in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, 1954 (MIT Press, 2000, transl. Randall Cherry) (Portuguese translation by Humberto D'Ávila and Adriano de Gusmão).

2 *Le Frondeur*, Liège, Belgium, December 20, 1884. (Reproduction)

3 "Chacun reçoit sa part", *L'Illustration*, Paris, 1885. (Reproduction)

4 Henrique Augusto Dias de Carvalho, *Portuguese Expedition to Muatiânvua 1884-1888. Ethnography and traditional history of the peoples of Lunda*. Lisbon: National Press, 1890. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

5 José Redinha coord., *Cunene 73*, Luanda, 1973. (Reproduction)

6 Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro, "The Morality of the Treaty", *O António Maria* n. 307, June 4, 1981. BLX - Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

7 "Imperialist domination, with all its procession of misery, plunder, crime, and destruction of human and cultural values, has been nothing but a negative reality. The immense monopolistic accumulation of capital in a handful of countries in the northern hemisphere, as a result of piracy, the plundering of other peoples' goods and the unbridled exploitation of those peoples' labour, led to the monopoly of colonies, the sharing of the world and imperialist domination."
Amílcar Cabral, speech read in his absence at the meeting of Experts on the notions of race, identity and dignity, UNESCO, Paris, 3-7 July 1972.

8 Bulletin of the Lisbon Geography Society, 70th series, 4-6, April to June 1952. (Reproduction)

9 Lisbon Geography Society, Portugal Room, No Date. Lisbon Geographic Society. (Reproduction)

10 Mário Novais, Lisbon Geography Society, Medunga Masks (Congo). Polychrome wood and feathers. On display at the Lisbon Geography Society Museum, César Ribeiro Collection, No Date. Col. Mário Novais Studio | FCG - Art and Archives Library. (Reproduction)

11 Mário Novais, Lisbon Geography Society, Detail of Chief Loliale's throne, Tchokwe. Style of the Moxico school. Wood and brass, No Date. Col. Mário Novais Studio | FCG - Art and Archives Library. (Reproduction)

12 Mário Novais, Lisbon Geography Society, Detail of chief's throne, Tchokwe. Wood, leather, and beads, No Date. Col. Mário Novais Studio | FCG - Art and Archives Library. (Reproduction)

13 Stuart Carvalhais, *The Comic Century: humorous and current affairs supplement of The Century*, 2nd series, No. 789, April 2, 1921. BLX - Lisbon Municipal Hemeroteca. (Reproduction)

14—19 Photographs taken at the Lisbon Geography Society, October 2019.

20 Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso, *Reddish-blue Ocean BLUE head (symbolic continuities) Rouge bleu vert*, 1915. Watercolor on paper. Col. CAM - Gulbenkian Modern Art Center, Lisbon. (Reproduction in smaller format)

21 Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso, Untitled, 1915. Watercolor on paper. Col. CAM - Gulbenkian Modern Art Center, Lisbon. (Reproduction in smaller format)

22 Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso, Untitled, 1915. Watercolor on paper. Col. CAM - Gulbenkian Modern Art Center, Lisbon. (Reproduction in smaller format)

23 "The macabre art of the primitives", *ABC: Portuguese magazine*, January 31, 1929. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

24 "Modernism", *ABC: Portuguese magazine*, October 4, 1928. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

25 Caricatures illustrating the text by Augusto Cunha, "SBNA", *ABC a rir: humorous and current affairs weekly*, December 31, 1921. Casa Comum/ Mário Soares and Maria Barroso Foundation. (Reproduction)

26 Illustration by Emmerico Nunes, "The Ivory Sculptors"/"What the black sculptors did to Arturinho", *ABCzinho: stories, dolls, constructions*, November 26, 1923. FCG - Art and Archives Library. (Reproduction)

27 "The morning hours in Lourenço Marques", text by Fernando Baldaque, illustrations by Santana, *O Ilustrado*, Year 1, No. 7, July 1, 1933. BLX - Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

28 "Dream of an August night... a figure from Lourenço Marques grants an interview", text by Fernando Baldaque, illustrations by Santana, *O Ilustrado* Year 1, No. 11, September 1, 1933. BLX - Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

29 Eduardo Batarda, *Cahora Bassa (Where the work stops)*, 1973. Watercolor and ink on paper. Private collection. (Reproduction in smaller format)

30 Cahora Bassa Dam, Mozambique, 1969. Unknown author. (Reproduction)

31 Cahora Bassa Dam, Mozambique, 1979. Unknown author. (Reproduction)

32 Cahora Bassa Dam, Mozambique, 1997. Unknown author. (Reproduction)

33 Almada Negreiros, *Catechesis*, panel for the Historical Occupation Exhibition, Lisbon, 1937. (Reproduction from the catalog)

34 Almada Negreiros, *Education*, panel for the Historical Occupation Exhibition, Lisbon, 1937. (Reproduction from black and white photograph)

35 Photograph of Almada Negreiros working on *Education*, panel for the Historical Occupation Exhibition, Lisbon, 1937. (Reproduction)

36 Mário Novais, International Exhibition of Paris - Pavilion of Portugal, Jorge Barradas Triptych, 1937. Col. Mário Novais Studio | FCG - Art and Archives Library. (Reproduction)

37 "We will only be able to maintain white domination in Angola and Mozambique, which is a national objective, if white settlement is at a rate that keeps up with or at least slightly exceeds the production of educated blacks, because if the opposite were to happen, if settlement were to be exceeded by the production of educated blacks, then two things would fatally happen: either we would install apartheid, which would

be terrible for us and in which we would not be able to hold on, or we would have black governments."
Kaúlza de Arriaga, *The Portuguese Strategic Problem*, vol. XII of the *Strategy Lessons of the Senior Command Course*, 1967 (quoted by Ana Barradas, Ministers of the Night. *The Black Book of Portuguese Expansion*, Antígona, 1991).

38 António Alberto de Andrade, *The Traditional Anti-Racism of Portuguese Civilizing Action*. Lisbon: General Agency of the Overseas, 1953. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

39 "First we must study how colonization works to decivilise the colonizer, to brutalise him in the true sense of the word, to degrade him, to awaken him to buried instincts, to covetousness, violence, race hatred, and moral relativism."
Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, 1955 (English translation by Joan Pinkham) (Portuguese translation by Noémia de Sousa).

40 Advertisement Benguela Railway Company, *A Província de Angola - Special Issue for the Colonial Exhibition of Porto*, August 15, 1934. BLX - Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

41 Cement National Company Advertisement, *Colonial Action – Commemorative Issue of the Porto Colonial Exhibition*, 1934. BLX - Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

42 "With the European presence and the ways of life that were established there, Africa experienced for the first time all the benefits of technical progress, with all that it brought in the field of health, hygiene and well--being itself."
Marcelo Caetano, *Conversations with Marcelo Caetano*, António Alçada Baptista, 1973 (quoted by Ana Barradas, *Ministers of the Night. The Black Book of Portuguese Expansion*, Antígona, 1991).

43 "Colonisation and civilisation? (...) I say that between colonisation and civilisation there is an infinite distance; that out of all the colonial expeditions that have been undertaken, out of all the colonial statutes that have been drawn up, out of all the memoranda that have been dispatched by all the ministries, there could not come a single human value."
Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, 1955 (English translation by Joan Pinkham) (Portuguese translation by Noémia de Sousa).

44 *O Mundo Português: Magazine of Culture and Propaganda. Colonial Art and Literature* No. 26, February 1936. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

45 Reproduction of Fred Kradolfer, poster of the Portuguese Colonial Exhibition in Paris, 1931. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

46 *Colonial Portugal* n. 1, March 1931. Cover by Carlos Botelho. BLX - Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

47 Máximo Ramos Lopez, *Illustration* n. 205, July 1, 1934. BLX - Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

48 José Redinha, *Ethnic Distribution of Angola*. [Luanda]: Tourism and Advertising Fund, 1975. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

49 José Redinha, *Angolan Masks and Masked: Use, Forms, and Rhythms*. [Luanda]: CITA, 1973. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

50 José Redinha, *Ethnographic Contribuitions: Outline of the Classification of Angolan Masks; An Evolutionary Scheme of Angolan Anthropomorphic Sculpture*. Luanda: Angola Tourist Information Center, 1964. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

51 Works of the 1st National Congress of Colonial Anthropology, 1935. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

52 "Cinema - Its function as a colonial agent", *A Província de Angola - Special Issue for the Colonial Exhibition of Porto*, August 15, 1934. BLX - Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

53 António Soares, poster of the film *The Empire's spell*, by António Lopes Ribeiro, 1940. (Reproduction)

54 José-Augusto França, *Still Life*, 2nd ed., Arcádia, 1961. (Reproduction)

55 "Art is the product of an elite capable of renewing and directing collective taste."
José-Augusto França, "'The artistic fact' in the sociology of art", (1987), in *(In) definitions of culture: texts on culture and history, arts and letters*, Ed. Presença, 1997.

56 *Contemporânea* n. 1, May 1922. ("Magazine made expressly for civilized people", "Magazine made expressly to civilize people"), May 1922. RIC Portal – Ideas and Culture Magazines. (Reproduction)

57 António Ferro, *The Policy of the Spirit and Portuguese Modern Art*. Lisbon: SPN, 1935. FCG – Art and Archives Library. (Reproduction)

58 Catalog of the 1st Exhibition of Modern Art organized by the National Propaganda Secretariat. Portugal. National Propaganda Secretariat; National Society of Fine Arts (Lisbon, Portugal), lit. ed. Lisbon: National Propaganda Secretariat, 1935. FCG – Art and Archives Library. (Reproduction)

59 Catalog of the 4th Exhibition of Modern Art organized by the National Propaganda Secretariat. Portugal. National Propaganda Secretariat, lit. ed. Lisbon: SPN, 1939. FCG – Art and Archives Library. (Reproduction)

60 Catalog of the 5th Exhibition of Modern Art organized by the National Propaganda Secretariat. Portugal. National Propaganda Secretariat, lit. ed. Lisbon: SPN, 1940. FCG – Art and Archives Library. (Reproduction)

61 Catalog of the 7th Exhibition of Modern Art organized by the National Propaganda Secretariat. Portugal. National Propaganda Secretariat, lit. ed. Lisbon: SPN, 1942. (Reproduction)

62 Catalog of Almada Negreiros exhibition, Março Gallery (directed by José-Augusto França), 1952. (Reproduction)

63 "An examination of hinge dates (...) marked by facts of history, artistic creation and technology, that is, by 'facts of civilisation', leads us to verify the existence of fairly regular intervals between them. (...) A society does not produce its objects of culture (ideologies, arts, techniques) like an apple tree produces its apples: it creates them, of course, but at the same time it is created, fond of, defined by them — P. Francastel's favourite idea, the basic idea of a true sociology of the objects of civilisation."
José-Augusto França, *Romanticism in Portugal*, vol. 1, Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1974.

64 José-Augusto França, *Portuguese Abstract Painting in 1960*. Lisbon: Artis, 1960. FCG - Art and Archives Library. (Reproduction)

65 "[T]he total failure of the policy of 'progressive assimilation' of native populations is a clear proof [...] of the capacity of dominated peoples to resist an attempt to destroy or depreciate their cultural heritage. (...) subjected to political domination and economic exploitation, [the masses] find in their own culture the only stronghold capable of preserving their identity. Repressed, persecuted, humiliated, betrayed (...), taking refuge in villages, forests and in the spirit of generations who have been victims of domination, culture survives all storms to regain, thanks to liberation struggles, its full capacity for development. (...) The liberation struggle is the most complex expression of a people's cultural vigour."
Amílcar Cabral, speech read in his absence at the Meeting of Experts on the Notions of Race, Identity and Dignity, UNESCO, Paris, 3-7 July 1972.

66 "This is how, immersing himself only in his own strength and only listening to the magical voice of his family (his father had been a 'medicine man' and Malangatana had associated himself as a sorcerer's assistant with the rites and operations of the shaman), he became the first (in strength and date) 'absolutely modern' painter of the native cultural complex of 'Portuguese' East Africa."
Mário Cesariny, "Malangatana Valente", *Phases* magazine n. 4, Paris, 1973. Included in *As mãos na água a cabeça no mar*, Assírio & Alvim, 1985.

WORKS ON THE WALLS AND VIDEOS

67 Malangatana, *Because the soul lives eternally*, 1970. Oil on canvas. Col. CAM - Gulbenkian Modern Art Center, Lisbon.

68 António Areal, *The Ghost of Avignon I-VI*. 1967. Platex, enamel paint. Col. CAM – Gulbenkian Modern Art Center, Lisbon.

69 Back of a fifty thousand meticais note, with an image of the Cahora Bassa Dam. Republic of Mozambique, in circulation between March 1, 1995, and December 31, 2012. (Enlarged reproduction)

70 Cruzeiro Seixas, Wooden Cross. Wood. Undated. Cupertino Miranda Foundation.

71 "Cabora Bassa Dam." Mozambique, start of construction works for the Cahora Bassa Dam. National News of 1971, Mozambique. July 19, 1971. RTP Archives.

72 "Construction of the Cabora Bassa Dam." Construction of the Cahora Bassa Dam on the Zambezi River, in Mozambique, and preparation of the native population for the changes that will occur with resettlement. National News of 1968, Mozambique. March 12, 1968. RTP Archives.

Museum

Art History and Ethnography, disciplines that emerged during the era of rationalism and the scientific spirit, were also shaped by the backdrop of European imperialism. Concurrently, the Museum was born, a product of consolidating artistic, archaeological, and ethnographical collections. These collections were not only a testament to national material history but also included objects plundered from conquered territories. The formation of several museum collections, a significant event in the history of museums, took place in the latter half of the nineteenth century. This period coincided with the dispute over Africa involving multiple European countries, culminating in a sharing agreement negotiated at the renowned Berlin Conference (1884-85). In Portugal, the Geographical Society of Lisbon, established in 1875, housed objects brought from expeditions to Africa, including pieces from Chokwé, Luba, Kongo, Bijagó, or Benin.

Since the 1930s, the modernist Diogo de Macedo, a passionate advocate of the art produced at the then-colonized territories, which he considered to be "Portuguese", championed the establishment of a national museum capable of receiving and preserving those artistic works. There was an ethnographic museum in Porto (founded in 1945 and later directed by the painter Fernando Lanhas) and the Popular Art Museum, inaugurated in 1948, at one of the spaces created for the Exhibition of the Portuguese World (1940). However, it was in Angola that the first museum dedicated to African arts was created. It was the Dundo Museum, founded in 1936 by the Company of Diamonds of Angola / Diamang and which would later be directed by the ethnologist José Redinha. In Lisbon, the Museum of Ethnology of the Ultramarine Empire was inaugurated in 1965 while the war for the colonies' liberation took place. Still, it only opened for the first time under the designation of "National Museum of Ethnology" in 1976, on the occasion of the exhibition *Modernism and Black-African Art*, where paintings by Picasso, Emil Nolde or Modigliani were displayed alongside the museum's collection.

"The museum has been a powerful device of separation."

Achille Mbembe, *Necropolitics*, 2016. (English translation by Steven Corcoran) (Portuguese translation by Marta Lança)

"The museum is a space of neutralization and domestication of forces that were once living forces — flows of power — prior to their museumization."

Achille Mbembe, *Necropolitics*, 2016. (English translation by Steven Corcoran) (Portuguese translation by Marta Lança)

"If culture is a definition of personalities and a link between men, it also gives an impetus to progress. This is the reason why Africa devotes such care and accords such value to the recovery of its cultural heritage, to the defence of its personality and the creation of new branches of its culture."

Pan-African Cultural Manifesto (Organization of African Unity: First All African Cultural Festival, Algiers, July/August 1969)

Dundo Museum. Two instances of primitivism: the first as tragedy, the second as farce.

Nuno Porto

Established in 1936 under the auspices of Diamang – Diamond Company of Angola, the Dundo Museum in North Luanda stands as a stark testament to the direct correlation between the categorisation of certain art forms as 'primitive' and the subsequent political and economic exploitation of the artists associated with such aesthetics.

There are two instances in this connection. Firstly, in 1953, José Redinha, by then the Conservator of the Dundo Museum, published a collection of images painted by Tshokwe individuals on the walls of colonial houses and explained that style of mural painting as an "amateur art" and as a seasonal art – typical of the "dry season or *cacimbo*" (Redinha, 1953: 9), therefore ephemeral – "they completely disappear with the first rains" –, most of them the mere elements in a chronicle of "daily life, reflecting, like an illustrated newspaper, notable incidents, trends, worries and joys" (*idem*: 10). Redinha makes a distinction between decorative and figurative painting, analysing their dominant formal, conventional and chromatic resources, as well as the pictorial techniques used in the "representation of the volume", a field in which this "people of sculptures" "is not more advanced that many other primitive people". About its depth and perspective, he concludes that this "simplicity of visual interpretation (...) is common among primitive people" (*idem*: 12). People whose material proofs of life and art were inevitably doomed to disappear because of Portuguese colonial action. The "primitives" of art were, in the real life of the colonial individual, the victims of atrocious policies of forced labour and actual or attempted genocide.

Secondly, in 2006, the Lunda-Tshokwe project at the Luanda Triennial Art Fair rehabilitated the paintings created by Redinha in his 1953 collection as 'first art '. The drawings, stripped of their author's signature, were printed in serigraphy and enlarged to the size of a postcard (ca. 9x12 cm in the book), to 1 meter by 0.7 at the gallery and 2x3 meters in the outdoor format. The *'rescue, absorption and visibility'* – the terms used in the Lunda-Tshokwe project's subtitle – were a mere exercise of privatisation, as the Triennial was organised outside the structures of the Angolan state and financed by a businessman who was the President's son-in-law. He aimed to transform Luanda into a gallery designed to house his private collection. The Triennial did not offer any lasting legacy to the general public, and the real Tshokwe, the inhabitants of the East of Angola, were not consulted. Ultimately, the *Lunda Tshokwe Project* substantiated an exercise of internal colonialism, nationalising what was specific to the East and privatising the public estate.

Thus, this amounts to two instances of primitivism: the first as tragedy, the second as farce.

José Redinha, *Paredes Pintadas da Lunda,* Lisbon, Publicações Culturais do Museu do Dundo — Companhia de Diamantes de Angola, n. 18, 1953

The Liberation of the *Ninthe-Camatchol*

José Neves

In 1971, at a decisive stage of the liberation war against Portuguese colonialism, the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) announced that it had taken possession of an object displayed at the Museum of Portuguese Guinea. The object was a *ninthe-camatchol*, a wooden sculpture shaped like a bird and identified as the god worshipped by the Nalu people. A photograph of the sculpture – placed on a table covered with a cloth stamped with the Party's acronyms – was the cover of one of the editions of the *PAIGC Actualités* newspaper. The Museum of Portuguese Guinea was a privileged tool of the museological ideals and anthropologic perspectives defended by Portuguese colonialism.
In recent years, museums across the globe have been urged to embark on a journey of decolonisation. This call to action is rooted in the recognition that a colonial matrix of power continues to exert influence even after political and institutional decolonisation. The same decolonising spirit that led to the birth of new independent states is now being extended to cultural mechanisms, aiming to generate knowledge on a global scale. The episode of the *ninthe-camatchol's* liberation by the PAIGC serves as a stark reminder that the struggle against colonialism and the quest for cultural autonomy have long been intertwined.
The announcement of the liberation of the *ninthe-camatchol* denounced the illegitimacy of its appropriation by imperial institutions. The liberation subtracted the object from its museological use, transforming it into a testimony of a way of living perceived—although adequately identified, observed, and classified—as pre-civilised. On the other hand, its presentation as a protagonist under PAIGC's custody indicated a particular national identity and pointed to an independent future. The sculpture was no longer regarded as an object of anthropological knowledge, thus becoming a cultural subject.

The most sceptical among us would say that a transformation of this nature did not prevent the persistence of identitarian grammar and patrimonial logic in Western modernity. And the most cynical would add that such grammar and logic have only become more hegemonic and globalised than they were during the colonial period. Against this cynicism, the solution may be not to give up on the goal of decolonising culture and its institutions but perhaps to radicalise it or, in other words, perceive decolonisation as more than the simple adoption of a policy of content guided by principles of inclusivity and multiculturalism. Such a concept will imply the admission of the end of culture, as well as a renewed awareness of the historical limits of institutional forms, such as museums and universities, and the ontological instability of categories, such as art.

TABLES

1 C. Cass, "Now we're leaving the hall of stuff we stole from other cultures and entering the hall of stuff we paid too much for", *The New Yorker*, August 27, 2018.

2 "Once in Europe, the most spectacular objects were incorporated directly into national collections (Louvre, British Museum, British Library, National Library of Paris, ethnological or colonial museums specially created for the purpose). Others are sold at auction, feeding the mass art market, and ensuring its capitalisation and redistribution on a European scale. Museums of all nations draw on this source, including those not directly served by military fortunes. Private collectors also turn to this source and their acquisitions often end up being bequeathed or donated to the museums of their respective countries. Finally, some objects remain in the families of the military personnel involved for several generations, resurfacing on the market or through donations to museums or libraries" Felwine Sarr and Bénédicte Savoy, *Report on the Restitution of African Cultural Heritage. Towards a New Relational Ethics*, November 2018.

3 Edith Pritchett, "How to 'acquire' things, British Museum Style", *The Washington Post*, November 30, 2023. (Reproduction)

4 "Guided by dialogue, polyphony and exchange, the gesture of restitution should not be seen as a dangerous gesture of assigning identity or compartmentalising cultural heritage. On the contrary, it invites us to open up the meaning of objects and to offer the 'universal' with which they are so often associated in Europe the possibility of being experienced elsewhere." Felwine Sarr and Bénédicte Savoy, *Report on the Restitution of African Cultural Heritage.*

Towards a New Relational Ethics, November 2018.

5 "The first art museums came into existence at the turn of the nineteenth century, and became established over the course of the nineteenth century as a consequence of revolutions, wars, imperial conquest, and pillage of non-European cultures."
Boris Groys, *Art and Power*, MIT Press, 2008.

6 Plan for the Dundo Museum and the museum village. Annual Report of the Dundo Museum of 1956. Diamang Digital - University of Coimbra. (Reproduction)

7 "Collection of ceramics arranged by systematic method according to the evolution of forms" at the Dundo Museum. Annual Report of the Dundo Museum of 1956. Diamang Digital - University of Coimbra. (Reproduction)

8 Hall of the Indigenous/Noble Hall of the Dundo Museum. Annual Report of the Dundo Museum of 1950. Diamang Digital - University of Coimbra. (Reproduction)

9 Sculptors of the Dundo Museum. Annual Report of the Dundo Museum of 1969. Diamang Digital - University of Coimbra. (Reproduction)

10 Man from the Cacongo [Kakongo] cultural group holding a mask made of copper sheet. 2nd Collection Mission of Musical Folklore of the Dundo Museum, 1951-1952. Diamang Digital - University of Coimbra. (Reproduction)

11 Conservation, restoration, and treatment on masks carried out by two workers from the Dundo Museum, 1966. Diamang Digital - University of Coimbra. (Reproduction)

12 "We pilfer from the Africans under the pretext of teaching others how to love them and get to know their culture, that is, when all is said and done, to train even more ethnographers, so they can head off to encounter them and 'love and pilfer' from them as well."
Michel Leiris, Letter to his wife, September 19, 1931 (Michel Leiris, *Miroir d'Afrique*, Edited and Annotated by Jean Jamin, Paris: Gallimard, 1996)

13 "The peoples who were victims of this plunder, sometimes for hundreds of years, have not only been despoiled of irreplaceable masterpieces but also robbed of a memory which would doubtless have helped them to greater self-knowledge and would certainly have enabled others to understand them better.
They know, of course, that art is for the world and are aware of the fact that this art, which tells the story of their past and shows what they really are, does not speak to them alone. They are happy that men and women elsewhere can study and admire the work of their ancestors. (...) These men and women who have been deprived of their cultural heritage therefore ask for the return of at least the art treasures which best represent their culture, which they feel are the most vital and whose absence causes them the greatest anguish. This is a legitimate claim."
Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, ex-Director da UNESCO, "A Plea for the return of an irreplaceable cultural heritage to those who created it". Discours made on June 7th 1978, UNESCO, Paris.

14 "The Gentile Art", *O Século: commemorative issue of the Centenaries (1140-1640-1940)*, June 1940. BLX- Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

15 Settlement in Dundo, Angola, February 1967. Diamang.com. (Reproduction)

16 José-Augusto França, "Mural Walls in Lunda", *Comércio do Porto*, April 27, 1954. FCG - Art and Archives Library. (Reproduction)

17 Poster of the Picasso exhibition at Musée Dynamique, Dakar, 1972. This exhibition was organized while Picasso was still alive, at the invitation of the then newly elected president of Senegal, Léopold Sédar Senghor. Léopold Senghor met Picasso in Paris and was, along with Aimé Césaire, one of the main theorists of the *Négritude* movement.

18 Photography negative by San Payo. Col. Diogo de Macedo, *Mundo Português. Colonial Culture and Propaganda*, Art and Literature Magazine, n. 2, General Agency of the Colonies/National Propaganda Secretariat, February 1934. National Library of Portugal (Reproduction).

19 Photography negative by San Payo. *Mundo Português. Colonial Culture and Propaganda,* Art and Literature Magazine, n. 3, General Agency of the Colonies/National Propaganda Secretariat, March 1934. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

20 *Mysterious Africa*, Julião Quintinha. Cover by Bernardo Marques. 1st ed. Lisbon: Portugal Ultramar, 1929. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

21-22 Dundo Museum Art Pavilion. Annual Report of the Dundo Museum for 1950. Diamang Digital - University of Coimbra. (Reproduction)

23 "One of the museum's functions has also been the production of statues, mummies, and fetishes—indeed objects deprived of their breath and returned to the inertia of matter. Mummification, statue-fication, and fetishization all correspond perfectly to the aforementioned logic of separation. (...) In order to acquire a right to the city in the museum as it exists today, the slave necessarily had to be emptied—as did all the primitive objects that had gone before—of all force and primary energy. (...)
This slave ought not to enter into the museum. What the history of Atlantic slavery urges us to do is thus to found a new institution — the anti-museum. The slave must continue to haunt the museum such as it exists today but do so by its absence. (...) As for the anti-museum, by no means is it an institution but rather the figure of another place, one of radical hospitality. A place of refuge, the anti-museum is also to be conceived as a place of unconditional rest and asylum for all the rejects of humanity and the 'wretched of the earth,' the ones who attest to the sacrificial system that will have been the history of our modernity."
Achille Mbembe, *Necropolitics*, 2016. (English translation by Steven Corcoran) (Portuguese translation by Marta Lança)

24-25 Exhibition "Modernism and Black-African Art", National

Museum of Ethnology, 1976. National Museum of Ethnology. This exhibition showed originals by Picasso, Emil Nolde and Modigliani for the first time in Portugal. (Reproduction)

26 Painting by Pablo Picasso at the exhibition "Modernism and Black--African Art", National Museum of Ethnology, 1976. National Museum of Ethnology (Reproduction)

27 Painting by Emil Nolde at the exhibition "Modernism and Black-African Art", National Museum of Ethnology, 1976. National Museum of Ethnology (Reproduction)

28 Painting by Pablo Picasso at the exhibition "Modernism and Black--African Art", National Museum of Ethnology, 1976. National Museum of Ethnology (Reproduction)

29 *Modernism and Black-African Art*, Exhibition catalogue, National Museum of Ethnology. Lisbon: National Museum of Ethnology, 1976. (Reproduction)

30 "Picasso
The Demoiselles of Avignon
1907,
would simply be
a painter, a painting, a date
if seventy years later
were not for our memory
the painter, the painting and the date
emblematic beginning of the world's
youth (...)
Those who saw it then soon realised
that the secular interval would
be bridged.
That it was then that began
the great act of acrobatics over
the dividing line.
From the mysterious, seductive, terrible
and still indecipherable forest
emerged magical, sovereign
the objects of their cult
travellers of myth everywhere
anywhere themselves,
coming from the depths of time that
crossed from end to end
a continent of massacres
their black forms, intuited and pure,
discovered
their hidden conceptualism
making the word modern transparent.
The mask and the statue
the sacred and the idol, everyday life
and rhythm
the fertile woman and the man,
an object that an anonymous hand
lovingly creates
or in terror conceives.
Art and ritual rediscovered.
It took creators, artists
for the exotic to become
brother and companion,
so that the anonymous hand could
finally realise its
of the same origin.
I recall Picasso, Vlaminck, Matisse,
Nolde
Derain, Rottluff and so many others.
They were the discoverers of this truth
when they searched within themselves
for the truth they had
We owe them
in their visible way of doing it
a widening of the world
reducing distances, times
and differences
discovering the necessary coincidence
in the exact human moment
and offering it the language that will
bring it forward."
Fernando de Azevedo, in *Modernism and Black-African Art*, Exhibition catalogue National Museum of Ethnology, Lisbon, 1976.

31 Page from "Modernism and Black--African Art", text by Fernando Dil and photographs by Eduardo Gageiro, *O Século Ilustrado*, 1976. Library/Mediateca of the National Museum of Ethnology. (Enlarged reproduction)

32 Mário Cesariny, "Black-African Art at the Ethnology Museum in Belém", *O Século*, 2 October 1976. Library/Mediateca of the National Museum of Ethnology. (Reproduction)

33 José Luís Porfírio "Is there a third world of art?", *O Jornal,* 24 September 1976. Library/ Mediateca of the National Museum of Ethnology. (Reproduction)

34 "A.I.C.A. Congress began today*",* *Diário de Lisboa*, 6 September 1976. Casa Comum / Mário Soares and Maria Barroso Foundation. (Reproduction)

35 "A.I.C.A. Congress - Modernism e Black-African Art", *Diário de Lisboa*, 9 September 1976. Casa Comum / Mário Soares and Maria Barroso Foundation. (Reproduction)

36 "Anonymous Africans and famous modernists at the Ethnology Museum", *A Capital*, 07 September 1976. Library/ Mediateca of the National Museum of Ethnology. (Reproduction)

37 "The triumph of black art", *ABC: Portuguese magazine*, 10 May 1928. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

38 Diogo de Macedo, Luís de Montalvor, *Indigenous Portuguese Art*. Cover by Almada Negreiros. Lisbon: Colonial General Agency Geral, 1934. (Reproduction)

WORKS ON THE WALLS, PLYNTHS AND VIDEOS

93 Room of Masks at the Dundo Museum. Annual Report of the Dundo Museum, 1970. Diamang Digital - University of Coimbra. (Enlarged reproduction)

94 Diogo de Macedo, "Regarding Black Art", *Bulletin of the Luso--African Society of Rio de Janeiro*, n. 16-17, 1936. BLX-Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Enlarged reproduction)

95 Diogo de Macedo, "Indigenous Art", *Bulletin of the Luso-African Society of Rio de Janeiro*, n. 16-17, 1936. BLX- Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Enlarged reproduction)

96 *PAIGC Actualités*, n. 35, November 1971. Social History Archive-University of Lisbon. (Reproduction)

VIDEO
116 "Metting at... the Ethnology Museum" — Programme about the Museum of Ethnology, highlighting the exhibition "Modernism and Black-African Art" and an interview with Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira, 1 October 1976. RTP Archives.

VIDEO
117 The Meeting and the Congress of the International Association of Art Critics — Programme dedicated to the Congress of the International Association of Art Critics, on the theme "Modern Art and Black-African Art: reciprocal relations", held at the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and organised by the Portuguese Section of the AICA, and to the exhibition "Modernism and Black-African Art", at the Museum of Ethnology. 17 September 1976. RTP Archives.

97 José de Guimarães, Untitled, 1973. Oil on canvas. Col. Millennium bcp.

98 José de Guimarães, Lunda, 1971. José de Guimarães Archive.

99 Village at Dundo, Angola, February 1967. Diamang.com. (Enlarged reproduction)

STILL

100 «Joaquim Rodrigo Exhibition» – Lisbon, Chiado Museum, Joaquim Rodrigo Retrospective. TV News, 8 January 2000. RTP Arquives.

101 Back of a mask labelled "copy", to indicate that it is a reproduction made by the sculptors working for the Dundo Museum, and not an original piece. Dundo Museum Monthly Report for 1957. Diamang Digital - University of Coimbra. (Enlarged reproduction).

102 Memorandum no. 57, Lisbon, 25 January 1963. Contains instructions issued by Diamang headquarters for the production of pieces by sculptors working for the Dundo Museum. Dundo Museum Memoranda, 1st Volume, 1959-1963. Diamang Digital – University of Coimbra. (Enlarged reproduction)

103 Memorandum no. 110, Dundo Museum, 25 March 1966. Presents the sculptor Comboia's proposal for a new type of sculpture to Diamang headquarters. Memoranda from the Dundo Museum, 2nd Volume, 1964-1969. Diamang Digital – University of Coimbra. (Enlarged reproduction). Photographs of the pieces proposed by the sculptor Comboia. Annexes to Memorandum no. 110, Dundo Museum, 25 March 1966. Dundo Museum Memoranda, 2nd Volume, 1964-1969. Diamang Digital – University of Coimbra. (Enlarged reproduction)

104 Three whistles from the Quioco [Cokwe] cultural group. 2nd Mission for Collecting Musical Folklore of the Dundo Museum, 1953. Diamang Digital –University of Coimbra. (Enlarged reproduction)

105 Spoon from the Caluio [Kalwio] cultural group. 2nd Mission for Collecting Musical Folklore of the Dundo Museum, 1950. Diamang Digital – University of Coimbra. (Enlarged reproduction)

106 Musical instruments from the Lunda-Muatiânvua [Lunda Mwat Yamv] cultural group. 2nd Mission for Collecting Musical Folklore of the Dundo Museum, 1953. Diamang Digital – University of Coimbra. (Enlarged reproduction)

107 Dance belt from the Quioco [Cokwe] cultural group. 2nd Mission for Collecting Musical Folklore of the Dundo Museum, 1951-1952. Diamang Digital – University of Coimbra. (Enlarged reproduction)

108 Two bells from the Baluba cultural group. 2nd Mission for Collecting Musical Folklore of the Dundo Museum, 1953. Diamang Digital – University of Coimbra. (Enlarged reproduction)

109 Knife from the Cacongo [Kakongo] cultural group and its sheath. 2nd Mission for Collecting Musical Folklore of the Dundo Museum, 1951-1952. Diamang Digital – University of Coimbra. (Enlarged reproduction)

110 Woman from the Bena-Lulua [Bena-Lulwa] cultural group holding two metal bells. 2nd Mission for Collecting Musical Folklore of the Dundo Museum, 1953. Diamang Digital – University of Coimbra. (Enlarged reproduction)

VIDEO

131 "Museu Etnográfico do Dundo" - Documentary on the Ethnographic Museum of Dundo, Roteiro do Ultramar, 15 March 1961. RTP Archives.

Ingenuous

The word “ingenuous” derives from the Latin *ingenuus*, “born free”, that is, non-slave, but came to designate innocence and authenticity, often associated with the either romanticised or pejorative idea of the “primitive”, the “popular”, or the “infantile”. At first, the association of popular and African art with naïveté conveyed a negative meaning, which was turned into a positive one by the first artistic vanguards of the twentieth century, which sought both a vocabulary that could break with naturalism and be capable of synthesising shapes and colours in new, refined aesthetics. A few Portuguese artists also found in popular art a source of new artistic forms of expression. In 1946, Ernesto de Sousa would establish a connection between popular and African art and twenty years later, he began studying the “savage”, the “naïve” and the “popular” in Portuguese art, electing artists such as Rosa Ramalho and Franklin, along with Almada Negreiros, as masters of naïveté and tutelar figures of a revolutionary form of art. However, the meaning of “ingenuous” as “simple”, “pure”, or “original” was also perceived, along with a domesticated modernism, as an instrument of the New State’s nationalist propaganda fomented by the Secretariat of National Propaganda, which controlled the Portuguese dictatorship’s cultural and artistic production materialised in commissions, publications, public works and exhibitions. In 1940, the “Exhibition of the Portuguese World” displayed the inhabitants of the then colonies, scantily dressed in indigenous villages, and the peasants in their regional costumes in various traditional villages of Portugal, a fictional tradition invented to mythologise rural Portugal while hiding its poverty.

“I like clay oxen better than real oxen”.
Almada Negreiros, *The Invention of Bright Day*, 1921.

Nationalism and "Primitivo-Mania" at the Museum of 'Popular Art'

Vera Marques Alves

In 1948, the National Secretariat of Information (SNI) – formerly known as the Secretariat of National Propaganda – inaugurated the Museum of 'Popular Art' in Belém, Lisbon. Since the mid-1920s, António Ferro, the Secretariat's director between 1933 and 1949, had been announcing the creation of a "great museum of the people" devoted to what he called "the poetry of the simple": handcrafted objects of artistic nature, the result of the peasant's alleged naïve creativity, still untouched by massified taste fomented by society's industrialisation. Inspired by romantic ideas circulating among intellectuals and artists at the end of the eighteenth century, the SNI intended to reveal the essence of the nation itself via those artefacts. Sculpted spoons, wicker baskets or embroidered quilts, the objects of the so-called "popular art" were displayed at the museum not as the elements of the material culture, economy and imagination of the communities who produced them but instead as part of a scenery celebrating our fatherland. Ferro declared at the inauguration of the Museum of 'Popular Art' that "the objects – blankets, oxbows, carriages, clay pieces, all sorts of tableware – seem to live outside the earth, and it is as if they float above a world that one may qualify as merely imagined, or dreamt of". Far from being an isolated initiative, the museum benefitted from a set of previous Portuguese rustic art exhibitions organised by the Secretariat, several of which were shown abroad: in Geneve, 1935; at the 1937 Paris International Exposition, or the New York World's Fair of 1939. These displays were characterised, as would later occur at the museum, by converting folk objects into aesthetically refined symbols of the nation.

The insistence on presenting rustic art to the public of those foreign capitals as one of the components of a culturally elevated image of Portugal was instrumental to the portrait of a sweet, art-minded people, conflict-averse and uninterested in political issues, in precise accordance with the Salazar's regime ideological features. However, at the same time, António Ferro began to appropriate the "primitive mania" that permeated the modernist circles at the beginning of the twentieth century and which would soon capture his attention through contact with the *Ballets Russes* (1909-1929). As soon as it premiered in Paris, Diaghilev's company immediately conquered the Western elite's affection, mainly because it conciliated the radically innovative nature of its artistic project with a primitivist evocation of the motifs present in Russian popular art. The *Ballets Russes* were able, using a vanguardist recreation of their folklore, to affirm a simultaneously exotic and sophisticated Russia, thus enchanting every European metropole. Fascinated with the world success of the Slavic company (whose shows he had seen in Lisbon), as well as with other modernist appropriations of folk art, Ferro attempted, like other artists and intellectuals from peripheral countries did, to replicate this exact model and transform Portuguese rural objects, often diminished as mere testimonies of a poor and underdeveloped country, into the symbols of an authentic and modern national culture worthy of being displayed both inside and outside the country.

Folk Art and Modern Art

Joana Cunha Leal

In a series of articles dedicated to the study of Portuguese popular art published in 1915 in the magazine *A Águia*, the art historian Virgílio Correia (1888-1944) attributed a universal and atemporal dimension to popular art – that is, a-historical, and therefore untouched by contingencies and specificities. The author underlines the relation between "African art and European folk art" in his thesis. In other words, folk art, while being considered worthy of his interest, expresses the negative connotation associated with the root of primitivism since it is, according to Correia, a "sign of primitivity"; it is, he writes, the product of an "inferior artistic layer, all simplicity and rawness, naiveté and traditionalism". This idea is in contradiction

to other approaches of popular culture such as, for example, the translation of *folk-lore* as "popular knowledge" proposed by Philippine author Isabelo de los Reyes (1864-1938) or, in the case of Portugal, the celebration of folk art and culture present in the projects developed by the *Corporation Nouvelle*, a collective of artists active in 1915-16 whose members included painters Amadeo de Souza Cardoso (1887-1918), Almada Negreiros (1893-1970) and Eduardo Viana (1881-1967), as well as the couple Sonia Delaunay-Terk (1885-1979) and Robert Delaunay (1885-1941) who were residing in Portugal at the time. While in Paris, the Delaunay couple celebrated the "primitive genius" of Henri Rousseau (1844-1910). Still, several other possibilities of a positive and creative relationship with popular art were attempted within the *Corporation Nouvelle*: the desire to restore forms of collective production involving the artists who were members of the corporation; the use of a pallet of pure colours only; or the introduction in their paintings of direct references to local experiences, markets, elements of vernacular architecture, handcrafted objects (vases, vessels, bowls, jars, toys, etc.). From those artists' point of view, the consideration of popular art and culture was a crucial element of the project for the construction of modern art. Therefore, the features of authenticity and simplicity assigned to them were not conducive to a repertoire of specific (regional or national) formulas and shapes but were instead aimed at underlining the transformative potency of folk art in the cosmopolitan context of the avant-garde artistic creation of the beginning of the twentieth century.

Humour and racism

Margarida Cafede Moura

Throughout most of the twentieth century in Portugal, the satirical and juvenile press was an important agent for the construction and consolidation of racist prejudices. Even though racism was present in virtually all Portuguese publications from this period, the intention behind the jokes and their juvenile audience seemed to be used as pretexts for the worsening of violence detectable in the representations of black people. Illustrating news or stories, the representations of black people – many of them authored by emblematic Portuguese illustrators, such as Stuart Carvalhais or Emmerico Nunes – followed a typified representation model: exaggeratedly dark skin, eyes wide open and excessively voluminous and bulging lips which looked extremely red on print. Female black figures were subjected to a process of hyper-sexualisation and objectification highlighting their large and undisclosed breasts, as well as the sharp curves of their bodies, themselves the target of misogynous and sexist comments that would not be tolerated had they been addressed to white women.

While white figures were granted the right of representation of their individuality, black figures, on the contrary, were characterised as a homogenous group, not only due to their physical appearance but also regarding their behaviour: unbridled, clumsy, not very brilliant, rough in comparison to the civilised whites who visit them, even violent and dangerous – just as the "natives" who pursue the protagonists portrayed on the covers of *ABCzinho* magazine. In comedic publications like *Sempre Fixe*, these images are printed in small format, illustrating brief "jokes" placed at the corner of the pages or as accessories to caricatures of personalities such as Henrique Galvão. The series featuring characters such as Juca Alcatrão (*O Papagaio*) was recurrent in juvenile newspapers. In both cases, these representations appear in huge and revolting numbers because of the power of infiltration of images in the popular imagination and its efficacy in legitimising the New State's agenda, surreptitiously contributing to the consolidation of national identity. "Our" identity, when presented in opposition to the "Other", i.e. a typified and formulaic "other", becomes easier to identify and define since the sharing of a strong sense of national identity was one of the New State's most crucial tools and purposes. While the indifference and the condemnation of the flaws of the "Other" provoked the desired comedic effect of these caricatures, it was precisely this distorted portrayal of the "Other" that justified the New State's "civilisational mission" – to which even Tintin is recruited when he is portrayed lecturing about the concept of "Fatherland" in Angola. Not only do these images resort to racist stereotypes already present in Portuguese society, but they also strengthen those same prejudices by creating an illusion of superiority projected upon the colonised territories and peoples, whose dehumanisation is normalised in each edition, with repercussions that are still loudly expressed today.

TABLES

39-40 Ernesto de Sousa, *Black Art Week*, Colonial School, Lisbon, 1946. In 1946, Ernesto de Sousa organised an exhibition of African art at the Colonial School in Lisbon, for which he borrowed several objects from Diogo de Macedo's collection. He gave a lecture in which he associated modern art, African art, popular art, and neorealism, and gave a speech critical of colonisation and anti-racist. Ernesto de Sousa Estate, Isabel Alves Collection. (Reproduction)

41-42 Ernesto de Sousa at the African Art Exhibition he organised as part of the African Art and Folklore Week at the University Jazz Club in Lisbon in 1961. Ernesto de Sousa Estate. Col. Isabel Alves. (Reproduction)

43 "An approach to naïve art is possible by considering that its most intimate meaning is precisely that it consists, through all the assimilations and repetitions, in an attitude of pre-discovery of its world." Ernesto de Sousa, "A coincidence methodology", Report for the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, October-December 1966, National Library of Portugal.

44-46 Some pages from Ernesto de Sousa's reports to the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation as part of the grant he received between 1966 and 1968 to study folk Portuguese sculpture. As a result, he intended to publish the book *The Savage and the Naïf in Folk Art*, which he never did.

47 "A clown. Did Beuys know the deep respect I have for the clown? He had to. Almada Negreiros was also a bit of a clown and that was not one of the minor reasons for my fascination, I can even say for my love. I'll go further: a self-respecting intellectual who takes himself one hundred per cent seriously in this society, in this system, is for me the last of the fools. Or perhaps he's naive. 'A voluntary naïf,' Almada used to say. And perhaps it's no coincidence that in a graffiti drawn on a Beuys poster someone wrote: I'm a naïf!"
Ernesto de Sousa, Interview to Joseph Beuys in "The zero: encounter with Joseph Beuys", *República*, 28 December 1972.

48 *Folk Art in Portugal – Islands and Overseas*, 3 vol. Lisbon: Verbo, 1968-1975. (Reproduction)

49 "The future museum about the Portuguese people's Art and Life", *Panorama: Portuguese magazine of art and tourism* n. 20, 1 April 1944. BLX-Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

50 "The new folk-art museum in Belém", text by Luís Chaves. *Panorama: Portuguese magazine of art and tourism* n. 35, 1948. BLX-LIsbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

51 "Popular art derives from a primitive rudimentary artistic background, traditionally preserved in the lower classes of peoples [...]. In Portugal, the uneducated man, without special education, without schools, practises a characteristic, naive, traditional art. [...] all savage and civilised races and peoples possess and practise it." Virgílio Correia, " Portuguese Folk Art", *A Águia*, 2, VII, 39, March 1915.

52 "The bulls in folk art", text by Guilherme Felgueiras, *Panorama: Portuguese magazine of art and tourism* n. 25-26, 1945. BLX-Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

53 "Group of washerwomen from Minho, who took part in the soiree of the Geographical Society, in honour of the congressmen", *Portuguese Illustration,* 2nd series, n. 10, 30 April 1906. BLX- Lisbo Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

54 Cloister of the Old Convent of S. Domingos - Martins Sarmento Museum. 20th century. Reproduction from Foto Simão, Guimarães. Martins Sarmento Society Archive.

55 Colossus of Pedralva at the Martins Sarmento Museum. 20th century. Reproduction from Photo Archiv Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Madrid. Martins Sarmento Society Archive.

56 "Portuguese World Exhibition – Where our people demonstrated their creative power and their extraordinary productive capacity", *Panorama: Portuguese magazine of art and tourism* n. 1, June 1941. BLX- Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

57 Cover by Artur Pastor, *Nazaré*, Portugal. Lisbon: Portugal, 1958. FCG - Art and Archives Library. (Reproduction)

58 Mário Novais, Portuguese World Exhibition - People's Life section, Inside the Land and Sea Pavilion, 1940. Mário Novais Studio Collection | FCG - Art and Archives Library. (Reproduction)

59 Mário Novais Studio, Paris International Exhibition, 1937. Mário Novais Studio Collection | FCG - Art Library and Archives. (Reproduction)

60 Mário Novais, Portuguese World Exhibition - Portuguese Villages Centre, 1940. Mário Novais Studio Collection | FCG - Art and Archives Library. (Reproduction)

61 Mário Novais, Portuguese World Exhibition - Portuguese Villages Centre, 1940. Mário Novais Studio Collection | FCG - Art and Archives Library. (Reproduction)

62 Mário Novais, Portuguese World Exhibition - Portuguese Villages Centre, 1940. Mário Novais Studio Collection | FCG - Art and Archives Library. (Reproduction)

63 Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso, *Folk Song – the Russian Woman and the Figaro*, 1916. Modern Art Centre - Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (Reproduction in smaller format).

64 Sonia Delaunay-Terk, *Marché au Minho*, 1916. Col. Centre Georges Pompidou. (Reproduction in smaller format)

65 "Mrs. Rosa was a very interesting character. She was a woman from the countryside, like all the others, with eyes that fooled no-one and were absolutely exceptional in their finesse, intelligence and cleverness. It was António Quadros who brought her art and her name out of anonymity after seeing her one day making a clay doll with disconcerting agility at the Fontainhas fair in Porto. As a woman very attached to her roots, Mrs Rosa is much more than a simple follower of tradition.

As well as an unusual ability to handle clay, she has a great imagination, increases the size of the pieces and invents and mixes things up — women with animal bodies, pigs with horns or wolf heads — and clearly moves into the field of pure artistry."

Alexandre Alves Costa. "The surrealist craftswoman from Barcelos", interview by Sérgio C. Andrade with Alexandre Alves Costa on the occasion of Rosa Ramalho's exhibition at the Barcelos Pottery Museum, *Público Newspaper*, 14 August 2008.

66 Sarah Affonso, *Ploughwomen and oxen*, 1937. Private collection. (Reproduction in smaller format)

67 Eduardo Viana, *The Pottery Man*, 1919 (Private collection, former Carlos Ramos collection). (Reproduction in smaller format)

68 Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso, *Açude's Song – Poem in colours*, [1913]. Col. Modern Art Centre – Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. (Reproduction in smaller format)

69 Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso, BROKEN CRYSTAL HEART DIAMOND, [1913]. Modern Art Centre - Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. (Reproduction in smaller format)

70 Pascoal Viana de Sousa Almeida Viegas Lopes Vilhete (Canarim), *Congo dance*, nineteenth century, São Tomé and Príncipe. National Museum of Ethnology, Inv. n.: AY.992. Image: Photographic Documentation Archive / Museums and Monuments of Portugal, E.P.E. (Reproduction in smaller format)

71 Pascoal Viana de Sousa Almeida Viegas Lopes Vilhete (Canarim), *Tragedy of the Marquis of Mantua or Tchiloly*, twentieth century, São Tomé and Príncipe. National Museum of Ethnology, Inv. n.: AY.993. Image: Photographic Documentation Archive / Museums and Monuments of Portugal, E.P.E. (Reproduction in smaller format)

72 "The influence of black art on modern art is indisputable. Modern art is synthesis. Black people have always had the instinct for synthesis. Black people stayed in childhood – to stay in truth. The child is the abbreviation for Nature. Children, crazy people and black people are the drafts of Humanity, the theses that God developed and complicated. There is no Rodin sculpture that has the truth of a manipanso."

António Ferro, *The age of Jazz-Band*, Portugália Livraria-Editora, 1924 (Conference of 1922).

73 "A caricatura nos primitivos", *ABC: Portuguese magazine* n. 336, 23 December 1926. National Library of Portugal (Reproduction)

74 "The Dancing Peasant", *ABCzinho: stories, dolls, constructions*, n. 84, 28 April 1924. FCG - Art and Archives Library. (Reproduction)

75 "The Dancing Peasant Woman", *ABCzinho: stories, dolls, constructions* n. 85, 5 May 1924. FCG - Art Library and Archives. (Reproduction)

76 Mário Novais, Portuguese World Exhibition - Portuguese Villages Centre, 1940. Mário Novais Studio Collection | FCG - Art and Archives Library. (Reproduction)

77 Casimiro dos Santos Vinagre, Portuguese World Exhibition - Portuguese Villages: Beira Alta - detail with extras in regional costume from Minho. Washerwoman's costume, 1940. Great Portuguese World Exhibition 1940 - Photo. Casimiro Vinagre | FCG - Art and Archives Library (Reproduction)

78 Casimiro dos Santos Vinagre, Portuguese World Exhibition - Portuguese Villages: Beira Alta - detail of extras at the exhibition in regional costume from various localities, sitting on a pillory. 1940. Great Portuguese World Exhibition 1940 - Photo. Casimiro Vinagre | FCG - Art and Archives Library (Reproduction)

79 Mário Novais, Portuguese World Exhibition - Regional Centre: Portuguese Villages - view of a traditional kitchen. Col. Estúdio Mário Novais | FCG - Biblioteca de Arte e Arquivos. (Reproduction)

80 Casimiro dos Santos Vinagre, Portuguese World Exhibition – Colonial Section, 1940. Casimiro Vinagre | FCG - Art and Archives Library. (Reproduction)

81 Cover of Stuart Carvalhais, *ABCzinho: stories, dolls, constructions* n. 2, 1 November 1921. FCG - Biblioteca de Arte e Arquivos. (Reproduction)

82 Cover by Emmerico Nunes, *ABCzinho: stories, dolls, constructions* n. 51, 10 September 1923. FCG - Biblioteca de Arte e Arquivos. (Reproduction)

83 Cover of Emmerico Nunes, *ABCzinho: stories, dolls, constructions* n52, 17 September 1923. FCG - Biblioteca de Arte e Arquivos. (Reproduction)

84 *O Papagaio: small magazine for small kids* n. 208, 6 April 1939. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

85 *O Papagaio: small magazine for small kids* n. 229, 31 August 1939. National Library of Portugal.

86 *O Papagaio: small magazine for small kids* n. 213, 11 May 1939. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

87 *O Papagaio: small magazine for small kids* n. 66, 16 July 1936. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

88 Emília de Sousa Costa, *Joanito from Africa*. Illustrations by Raquel Roque Gameiro. Lisbon: Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1932. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

89 Fernanda de Castro, *Little Mary in Africa: a children's novel*. Illustrations by Sarah Affonso. Lisbon: Empresa Literária Fluminense, 1925. Silva Library. (Reproduction)

90 Maria Cecília Correia, Black's and White's Stories. Illustrations by Maria Keil. Lisbon: Ática, 1960. Silva Library. (Reproduction)

91 Fernanda de Castro, *Little Mary in Africa: a children's novel*. Illustrations by Ofélia Marques. Lisbon: Ática, 1959. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

WORKS ON THE WALLS, PLYNTHS AND VIDEOS

111 Quintino Vilas Boas Neto, *Crucifix*, 1960s. Granite. Courtesy of Andreia Sofia Pinto Oliveira.

113 Ernesto de Sousa and Rosa Ramalho, undated. Courtesy Isabel Alves. (Enlarged reproduction)

114 Milly Possoz, *Lisbon fishmongers*, c. 1930. Watercolour on paper. Millennium bcp collection.

115 Júlio Reis Pereira, *Vila do Conde*, 1929. Oil on card. Millennium bcp collection.

119 José Redinha, *The Painted Walls of Lunda*. Lisbon: Companhia dos Diamantes de Angola. Cultural Services, 1953. Donation by Sofia Agrela. NOVA-FCSH Conservation and Restoration Department. José-Augusto França (1922-2021) gave this copy to the painter Joaquim Rodrigo (1901-1999), who took it as one of the central references of his painting from the 1960s onwards and used it to make colour tests which have remained visible on the pages.

120 Franklin Vilas Boas, *Dwarf eaten by ants*, 1968. Wood. Courtesy Andreia Sofia Pinto Oliveira.

121 Sacunganga [?], Masked. Miniature of a Ganguela masked figure, in polychrome wood, with ritual costume. 20th century, Bié [?], Angola. [Inv. n.: ET-0509] Donation from José de Guimarães, Martins Sarmento Society - Martins Sarmento Museum.

122 Candanda [?], Masked. Miniature of a Ganguela masked figure, in polychrome wood, with ritual costume. 20th century, Bié [?], Angola. [Inv. n.: ET-0510]. Donation from José de Guimarães, Martins Sarmento Society - Martins Sarmento Museum.

123 Catelenga [?], Masked. Miniature of a Ganguela masked figure, in polychrome wood, with ritual costume. 20th century, Bié [?], Angola. [Inv. n.: ET-0511]. Donation from José de Guimarães, Martins Sarmento Society - Martins Sarmento Museum.

124 Socou, Masked. Miniature of a Ganguela masked figure, in polychrome wood, with ritual costume. 20th century, Bié [?], Angola. [Inv. n.: ET-0506]. Donation from José de Guimarães, Martins Sarmento Society - Martins Sarmento Museum.

125 Chauila, Masked. Miniature of a Ganguela masked figure, in polychrome wood, with ritual costume. 20th century, Bié [?], Angola. [Inv. n.: ET-0507]. Donation from José de Guimarães, Martins Sarmento Society – Martins Sarmento Museum.

126 Covole, Masked. Miniature of a Ganguela masked figure, in polychrome wood, with ritual costume. 20th century, Bié [?], Angola. [Inv. n.: ET-0521]. Donation from José de Guimarães, Martins Sarmento Society - Martins Sarmento Museum.

127 The soba's procession. Sculptural composition, in painted wood (polychrome), representing the various characters that composed the soba's procession. 20th century, Angola. [Inv. No.: SMS_MMS_ET_11/2019]. Donation from José de Guimarães, Martins Sarmento Society - Martins Sarmento Museum.

128 The burial of the soba. Sculptural composition, in painted wood (polychrome), representing the procession of the soba's burial. 20th century, Angola. [Inv. No.: SMS_MMS_ET_12/2019]. Donation from José de Guimarães, Martins Sarmento Society - Martins Sarmento Museum.

129 Rosa Ramalho, *Beasts*, 1960s. Ceramic. Courtesy Isabel Alves.

130 Bust of dictator Salazar by a Makonde sculptor, s/date. Rosewood. Estate of Amancio and Dorothy D'Alpoim Guedes.

“Jazz-Band”

In 1922, António Ferro, who would later become the leading ideologue of the New State’s cultural policy, published *The Age of Jazz-Band*, the text of a conference held in Brazil where he used the name *jazz-band* as a synonym for modernity. A band formed by black musicians playing wind instruments and drums, called a *jazz band,* even though the music they played was not precisely jazz, loudly interrupted the lecturer while a female dancer danced. Ferro referred to the *jazz band* as the “restlessness of a woman’s body”, associating the modern age with the age of dancing bodies. The fascination that half-naked female black bodies provoked in the modern masculine gaze was not new. The letter written by Pêro Vaz de Caminha in 1500, describing the Amerindian women with their “naked embarrassments and such undisclosed innocence”, of which “we were not slightly ashamed”, indicated that the naked other weakened modesty and allowed masculine gaze, desire and sense of property. In the “age of the jazz band”, the black fetishised woman became an image of modernity, reinforcing and, at the same time, fighting against racist and masculine stereotypes. Through music and dance, women and men were also the agents of emancipation, as proven by how they were received in Portugal by Mário Domingues, a black journalist and novelist. The works of Vera Mantero and Marlene Monteiro Freitas bring out the paradoxes and the strength of the impact that black bodies (either inhumanly displayed in colonial exhibitions or exalted as the ultimate exponent of modernity) had in the twentieth century.

“It’s an apotheosis of modern ideas! The artists dress up with their own bodies! The joy is alacrity, spontaneous, healthy in the dancing, singing and music. It’s a hell of a jazz band! [...] Instruments in the air! Clumsy bodies! White, clear souls in firebrand bodies!”

in *Primeiro de Janeiro* (news about the show by Sidney Bec and the “Revue Nègre” Company at the Sá da Bandeira Theatre, Porto, 1928.

“It is nothing new to declare that for us music, gesture, dance are forms of communication, just as importante as the gift of speech. This is how we first managed to emerge from the plantation: aesthetic form in our cultures must be shaped from these oral structures.”

Édouard Glissant, *Le Discours antillais*, 1981.

“Portraits of black women: resistance and contradictions”

(excerpt)

Cristina Roldão, José Augusto Pereira, Pedro Varela

“Lisbon’s famous nightclubs and cabarets — Palace, Majestic, Bristol Club, Maxim’s, etc. — vibrated to the rhythm of the fox-trot, black-bottom and the Charleston, music genres relative of jazz and descendant of the black music that enslaved women and men in the south of the United States of America had created. The Harlem Renaissance, an artistic-intellectual movement, was fuelled by the great black migration after the abolition of slavery in the USA. This phenomenon had reconfigured the position and experience of African Americans, opening up space for new ways of ‘being black’, and part of these transformations echoed in Lisbon, a place where the black condition was being redesigned. The Roma Club, fictionalised by Mário Domingues in the novel *O Preto do Charleston [The Black Charleston dancer]*, portrays exactly one of the interface zones between semi-peripheral colonial Lisbon and the black diaspora of global economic power. The languid romanticism of the soirees (...) was opposed by the black music and dance created by the Harlem Renaissance, which was openly noisy and frenetic and which the conservative sectors would describe as immoral. But in these Lisbon nightclubs, frequented mainly by a white clientele, the music and dance of the African-American diaspora was unlikely to be enjoyed by black people. (...) Did they see the black shows that have passed through the city? The Ba-ta-clan company in Lisbon with their ‘artistic nudes’ (1926) and, later, the black duo Maud and Forest (1927)? Did they see the ‘Black Follies’ revue by Louis Douglas’s Dance Company (1928), Harry Flemming’s group (1930) or the Mulata Brasileira Company (1932)? (...) Did they follow closely, in the press, the meteoric rise of Josephine Baker, who would, years later, make her debut in Portugal at the Trindade Theatre (1941)? (...) The ‘black star’ (...) was an unprecedented figure, that of the globalised black entertainer, the fruit of the Harlem Renaissance and whose most finished personification was undoubtedly Josephine Baker. [...] If Mário Domingues had written the story of Tomé, a Charleston dancer in Lisbon’s nightlife, his colleague and friend, Guedes de Amorim, a white journalist, would bring Fernanda, the Queen of the Charleston, to life in the soap opera *A Bailarina Negra [The Black Dancer]*. (...) Later, the Estado Novo would try to inferiorise and dehumanise black women and men in different ways, starting with the Statute of Indigeneity and the imagery in colonial exhibitions. However, the Black Atlantic produced and circulated images that broke with this imaginary, not only as a reaction to the policy of subalternisation, but also by creating something new for itself, which was constituted as a counter-culture to modernity.”

Excerpt from Cristina Roldão, José Augusto Pereira, Pedro Varela, *Tribuna Negra. As origens do movimento negro em Portugal (1911-1933)* [Black Tribune. Origins of the Black Movement in Portugal (1911-1933)], Lisbon: Tinta-da-China, 2023.

Guintche, 2010

Marlene Monteiro Freitas

“This piece derives from a person I drew as a memento of a concert. I called it *Guintche* and meanwhile it grew, acquired self-life, autonomy, rebelled. *Guintche* is a word in creole, Cape-Verdean spoken language; It is the name of a bird, the name of a prostitute, but it may stand as well for an attitude, the one of someone who jumps from an event to another, lacking coherence in his/her choices. Through its counter-intuitive structure, *Guintche* respond as a wax sculpture: it melts, it solidifies, it breaks, changes form... Yet, it keeps the same nature, that is to say, it remains the same wax.”

A mysterious Thing, said e.e. cummings, 1996

Vera Mantero

"[I was] very impressed by Josephine Baker's story, by the impact that her body had had in Europe. Men went crazy about her, with that exotic thing, that crazy thing, funny and sexy. That is why e. e. cummings wrote the following about her: 'one mysterious Thing, neither primitive nor civilised, or beyond time, in the sense that emotion is beyond arithmetic'. Her (almost naked) body and her, let us say, dynamic (energy/movement/comedic sense) aroused a frisson around her. So, if I wanted to work with her, I would have to somehow bring back her body; she was unavoidable. And, in a way, Josephine also became half-black, half-white throughout her life because she was completely assimilated by white European culture. (...)
How can I position myself 'between' this person, between the work of this person? The black and white woman is also an answer to this question; I do a kind of fusion.
One other thing: black people have a (terrible) record of trying to make their skin whiter. And I knew I was turning history upside down by painting my skin black."

Vera Mantero's letter to Aylin Ersoz about *a mysterious Thing, said e.e. cummings*, 1996

TABLES

1 "Passage through Lisbon of the dancer Josephine Baker: at the time of boarding", March 17, 1939, unidentified author. PT/TT/EPJS/SF/001-001/0064/1112N. Image provided by ANTT. (Enlarged reproduction)

2 "Passage through Lisbon of the dancer Josephine Baker", March 17, 1939, unidentified author. PT/TT/EPJS/SF/001-001/0064/1111N. Image provided by ANTT. (Enlarged reproduction)

3 "Passage through Lisbon of the dancer Josephine Baker: with the journalists Félix Correia and Augusto Fraga", March 17, 1939, unidentified author. PT/TT/EPJS/SF/001-001/0064/1109N. Image provided by ANTT. (Enlarged reproduction)

4 "Passage through Lisbon of the dancer Josephine Baker", March 17, 1939, unidentified author. PT/TT/EPJS/SF/001-001/0064/1110N. Image provided by ANTT. (Enlarged reproduction)

5 Josephine Baker in Bairro Alto, *Illustration* n. 319, April 1, 1939. BLX- Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

6 "Josephine Baker at the Trindade Theater", *Diário de Lisboa*, March 23, 1941. Casa Comum/ Mário Soares and Maria Barroso Foundation. (Enlarged reproduction)

7 "[M]odernity's ethnocentric aesthetic assumptions have consigned these musical creations to a notion of the primitive that was intrinsic to the consolidation of scientific racism."
Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic. Modernity and Double Consciousness,* Verso Books, 1993.

8 Georges Henri Rivière and Joséphine Baker in front of a showcase of the Dakar-Djibouti exhibition, June 1933. Roger--Viollet cliché. In *Les années folles de l'ethnographie: Trocadéro 28-37*, Paris: Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle, 2017. (Enlarged reproduction)

9 Joséphine Baker in front of a showcase of the Dakar-Djibouti exhibition, 1933. Roger-Viollet cliché. In *Les années folles de l'ethnographie: Trocadéro 28-37*, Paris: Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle, 2017. (Enlarged reproduction)

10 "The queen of the Charleston and fashion", *ABC: Portuguese magazine*, January 19, 1928. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

11 "The 'Black Star'", *O Domingo Ilustrado* n. 125, June 5, 1927. Digital Hemeroteca. BLX- Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

12 António Ferro, "Black Rhapsody", *O Notícias Ilustrado* n. 5, April 28, 1928. BLX- Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

13 "The black theater", by Repórter X, *ABC: Portuguese magazine* n. 324, September 30, 1926. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

14 Miriam, "Music and... jazz-band!", *ABC: Portuguese magazine* n. 451, March 7, 1929. NationalLibrary of Portugal. (Reproduction)

15 Eugénio Navarro, "The crowd of city cafes", *A Batalha: literary and illustrated supplement* n. 142, August 16, 1926. Portal Revistas de Ideias e Cultura. (Reproduction)

16 Félix Correia, "Lisbon nights after midnight in the neighborhood clubs and cosmopolitan clubs", Diário de Lisboa, July 13, 1927. Casa Comum/ Mário Soares and Maria Barroso Foundation. (Reproduction)

17 Almada Negreiros, [Jazz], [1929], panel for the interior decoration of Cine San Carlos, Madrid (architect Eduardo Lozano Lardet), diptych in low relief in plaster. Col. CAMB. (Reproduction in smaller format)

18 "Dancing in the name of Josephine Baker in the former capital of the last European colonial empire, a hyperbolically (not) naked woman performs a series of half--presences before us. Sweating, made up, she proposes an image that refuses to ground itself within a set of fixed identities within representation. (...) She is partly whore, partly enchantress, partly accuser; she might be in pain, she may be a monster, she is perhaps beautiful, but she definitely and defiantly teeters at the threshold of what may perhaps still be dance. She attempts to stand, but that is the most excruciating physical task. She methodically and insistently tells us of an atrociously pervasive field of blindness while staring directly into our eyes. (...) Mantero's wobbling feet, her unbalance, metonymically reveal otherwise invisible cracks in the terrain, denouncing the stage as hollow ground, as a gathering place for those bodies atrociously improperly buried by the hands of colonialism. (...) As her physical strain increases, sweat also subtly removes the dark paint from her skin, opening white scars in her body, showing it is all fiction, an image, an image of women-whores condemned to dance to tunes whistled by someone else's lips." André Lepecki, "The melancholic dance of the postcolonial spectral. Vera Mantero summoning Josephine Baker", André Lepecki, *Exhausting Dance*, Routledge, 2006 (portuguese translation by Miguel Cardoso).

19 Juan Gil Albert, "Josefina Baker", *Ilustração* n. 116, October 16, 1930. BLX- Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

20 Artur Portela, "A new circus company at Coliseu", *Diário de Lisboa*, February 11, 1930. Casa Comum/ Mário Soares and Maria Barroso Foundation. (Reproduction)

21 Ferreira de Castro, "The spread of Jazz-Band", illustrations by Bernardo Marques, *Ilustração Portuguesa* n. 935, January 19, 1924. BLX- Lisbon Municipal Hemeroteca. (Reproduction)

22 "The jazz band is the clock that best shows today's hours, the hours spent dancing, fox-trotting, nervous hours... In the jazz band, as on a screen, all the images of modern life fit." António Ferro, *The Age of Jazz--Band*, Portugália Livraria-Editora, 1924 (1922 conference).

23 "Figures from clubs and cabarets", illustrations by Roberto Nobre, *ABC: Portuguese magazine* n. 286, January 7, 1926. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

24 Cottinelli Telmo, "The Jazz-Band of ABC-zinho", *ABCzinho: stories, dolls, constructions* n. 17, July 3, 1922. FCG – Art and Archives Library. (Reproduction)

25 Félix Correia, "Five O'Clock Tea: The American Invasion", *Diário de Lisboa*, April 2, 1930. Casa Comum/ Mário Soares and Maria Barroso Foundation. (Reproduction)

26 "The case of the day – Blacks and whites at Coliseu in session shows", *Diário de Lisboa*, February 11, 1930. Casa Comum/ Mário Soares and Maria Barroso Foundation. (Reproduction)

27 *Old fool, Fox-trot by Camilo Rebocho*. Poster by Almada Negreiros. FCG – Art and Archives Library. (Reproduction)

28 Carlos Botelho, "Echoes of the Week", series of "Echoes of the Week" from a trip by Carlos Botelho to the United States. *Sempre Fixe: humorous weekly*, April 13, 1939. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

29 Carlos Botelho, "Echoes of the Week", series of "Echoes of the Week" from a trip by Carlos Botelho to the United States. *Sempre Fixe: humorous weekly*, April 24, 1939. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

30 Cover by Jorge Barradas, *ABC: Portuguese magazine* n. 360, September 9, 1927. FCG – Art and Archives Library. (Reproduction)

31 Poster "Stuart. Centenary, 1887-1987". Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1987. FCG – Art and Archives Library. (Reproduction)

32 "Harry Flemming, in Lisbon", *Diário de Lisboa*, February 16, 1935. Casa Comum/Fundação Mário Soares e Maria Barroso. (Reproduction)

33 Harry Flemming advertisement at S. Luiz, *Diário de Lisboa*, March 4, 1935. Casa Comum/Fundação Mário Soares e Maria Barroso. (Reproduction)

34 "Harry Flemming, at São Luiz», *Diário de Lisboa*, March 7, 1935. Casa Comum/Fundação Mário Soares e Maria Barroso. (Reproduction)

35 Amarelhe, "Some costumes for the doctors' ball", *Sempre Fixe: humorous weekly*, February 17, 1938. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

36 "The first jazz-band", *O Malho*, Rio de Janeiro, October 11, 1924. Brazilian Digital Hemeroteca/ Fundação Biblioteca Nacional. (Reproduction)

37 Reynaldo Ferreira, *Black and White*. Lisbon: Delta Editions, 1923. (Reproduction)

38 "The Charleston – the fashionable dance", *ABC: Portuguese magazine* n. 303, May 6, 1926. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

39 Miriam, "In the Age of Jazz", *ABC: Portuguese magazine* n. 304, 13 May 1926. National Library of Portugal (Reproduction)

40 Poster for the film *The Empire's Spell*, by António Lopes Ribeiro, 1940. (Reproduction)

41 Tomaz Vieira da Cruz, "Kiôca", illustration by Vasco Vieira da Costa, *A Província de Angola; Extraordinary issue for the Colonial Exhibition in Porto*, 15 August 1934. BLX-Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Reproduction)

42 Alfredo Margarido, *Poem for a black dancer*. Viana do Castelo: Viana do Castelo City Council, 2011. Facsimile edition of: Porto: Folhas de Poesia: 1958. National Library of Portugal.

43 Fausto Duarte, *Auá: black novel*. Lisbon: Livr. Clássica Editora, 1934. National Library of Portugal (Reproduction)

44 "Whether you like it or not, the past can in no way be my guide in the actual state of things. (...)
I am not a prisoner of History. I must not look for the meaning of my destiny in that direction. I must constantly remind myself that the real leap consists of introducing invention into life. (...)
I am not a slave to slavery that dehumanized my ancestors. (...)
There should be no attempt to fixate man, since it is his destiny to be unleashed. (...)
The misfortune of the man of color is having been enslaved. The misfortune and inhumanity of the white man are having killed man somewhere. And still today they are organizing this dehumanization rationally. But I, a man of color, insofar as I have the possibility of existing absolutely, have not the right to confine myself in a world of retroactive reparations."
Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, 1952 (English translation by Richard Philcox) (Portuguese translation by Alexandre Pomar)

WORKS ON THE WALLS AND VIDEOS

45 Advertisement for Sadie Hopkins at the Bristol Club, *Diário de Lisboa*, March 11, 1927. Casa Comum/ Mário Soares and Maria Barroso Foundation. (Enlarged reproduction)

46 Drawing by Almada Negreiros of Sadie Hopkins, *Diário de Lisboa*, March 5, 1927. Casa Comum/ Mário Soares and Maria Barroso Foundation. (Enlarged reproduction)

47 Announcement from the Bristol Club, *Diário de Lisboa*, March 5, 1927. Casa Comum/ Mário Soares and Maria Barroso Foundation. (Enlarged reproduction)

48 Advertisement for Sadie Hopkins at the Bristol Club, *Diário de Lisboa*, March 7, 1927. Casa Comum/ Mário Soares and Maria Barroso Foundation. (Enlarged reproduction)

49 Advertisement for the Bristol Club, *Diário de Lisboa*, March 10, 1927. Casa Comum/Fundação Mário Soares e Maria Barroso. (Enlarged reproduction)

50 Advertisement for Sadie Hopkins at the Bristol Club*, Diário de Lisboa*, March 9, 1927. Casa Comum/ Mário Soares and Maria Barroso Foundation. (Enlarged reproduction)

51 Advertisement for Sadie Hopkins at the Bristol Club, *Diário de Lisboa*, March 15, 1927. Casa Comum/ Mário Soares and Maria Barroso Foundation. (Enlarged reproduction)

52 Advertisement for Sadie Hopkins at the Bristol Club, *Diário de Lisboa*, March 16, 1927. Casa Comum/ Mário Soares and Maria Barroso Foundation. (Enlarged reproduction)

53 "Josephine Baker - Out!", *Estandarte: youth newspaper*, April 10, 1941. BLX-Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Enlarged reproduction)

54 Baltazar Fernandes, "Josephine Baker and Murat answering our editors", *Animatógrafo* n. 5, December 9, 1940. BLX-Municipal Hemeroteca of Lisbon. (Enlarged reproduction)

55 "Josephine Baker - The Black Star", *Illustration* n. 30, March 16, 1927. BLX- Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Enlarged reproduction)

56 "The Black Venus", *Illustration* n. 54, March 16, 1928. BLX- Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Enlarged reproduction)

57 Eugénio Navarro, "The Jazz-Band Black", *A Batalha: literary and illustrated supplement* n. 143, August 23, 1926. Portal Revistas de Ideias e Cultura. (Enlarged reproduction)

58 Mário Domingues, "Eccentricity and comedy in the Black Ballet", *Illustration* n. 50, January 16, 1928. BLX- Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Enlarged reproduction)

59 "The premieres", *ABC: Portuguese magazine*, January 12, 1928. National Library of Portugal. (Enlarged reproduction)

60 "Black Theater", *ABC: Portuguese magazine* n. 341, January 27, 1927. National Library of Portugal. (Enlarged reproduction)

61 Advertisement for the Bristol Club, Jorge Barradas, *O Domingo Ilustrado* n. 50, December 27, 1925. BLX- Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Enlarged reproduction)

62 Guedes de Amorim, *The Black Dancer*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nac. de Publicidade, 1931. National Library of Portugal. (Enlarged reproduction)

63 Mário Domingues, *The Charleston Black Dancer: a novel*. Lisbon: Guimarães, 1930. National Library of Portugal. (Enlarged reproduction)

64 António Ferro, *The Age of the Jazz-Band*. Book cover by Bernardo Marques. Portugália Livraria-Editora, 1924 (conference of 1922). FCG - Art and Archives Library. (Enlarged reproduction)

65 Cover by Emmerico Nunes, *Illustration* n. 29, March 1, 1927. BLX- Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Enlarged reproduction)

66 *Illustration* n. 118, November 16, 1930. BLX- Lisbon Hemeroteca Municipal. (Enlarged reproduction)

67 Cover by Stuart Carvalhais, *Mistakes* [Sheet Music]: *Fox-trot*, by Frederico G. de Freitas. Lisbon: Valentim de Carvalho, cop. 1922. National Library of Portugal. (Enlarged reproduction)

VIDEO
Vera Mantero, *a mysterious Thing, said e.e. Cummings*, 1996. Conception and Interpretation: Vera Mantero. Characterization: Alda Salaviza (original drawing by Carlota Lagido). Props: Teresa Montalvão. Executive Production: Forum Dança. Touring: O Rumo do Fumo. Production: Culturgest, Lisbon, 1996 / "Homage to Josephine Baker." Duration: 20 minutes. O Rumo do Fumo.

VIDEO
Marlene Monteiro Freitas, *Guintche*, 2010. Conception and Interpretation: Marlene Monteiro Freitas. Music: Johannes Krieger (trumpet), "Rotcha Scribida" by Amandio Cabral, Cookie (drums), Otomo Yoshihide (excerpt from a guitar solo), Anatol Waschke (shards). Shorts: Catarina Varatojo. Image: João Francisco Figueira. Production: P.OR.K (Lisbon, PT). Co-production: ZDB Negócio (Lisbon, PT). Artistic Residency: O Espaço do Tempo (Montemor-o-Novo, PT), Alkantara Festival (Lisbon, PT). Support: Re.al (Lisbon, PT), Forum Dança (Lisbon, PT). Duration: 3 minutes, 33 seconds.

Extraction

The context of the accumulation of objects from Africa, or of constructing a primitivist, exotic imaginary, is a context of capital accumulation. Marx spoke about "primitive accumulation" in reference to the primordial accumulation of capital, allowing a surplus susceptible to being reinvested in order to generate more capital. This accumulation was possible not only through the expropriation and conversion of the common good into private property but also through the various processes of appropriation and extraction of raw materials and manpower perpetuated during the era of European conquests and colonisation. In parallel, the scientific and ethnographic missions, not to mention wars and territorial conquests, resulted in the capture of cultural objects and specimens of flora and fauna, forming the "primitive accumulation" originating several collections of European museums. Although it has existed for a long time, extractivism is now assuming alarming proportions due to the exhaustion of natural resources and the concentration of the Global South's resources and cheap manpower. One of its aspects is tourism, and for a long time, the promotion of various tourist destinations has drawn on the exotic fantasy perpetuated concerning the territories that were once colonised.

"Promising field for prospectors
Gold and copper
Good agricultural Land–Tropical and other products
Parhdise [sic] for Sportsmen – All kinds of Big Game
Direct Sea and Railway Communication with wall partes [sic] of South Africa."

Álvaro da Fontoura, " Brief report on some organs of colonial propaganda". Colonial School Yearbook, 5-63, 1928.

"There is nothing so strange, in a strange land, as the stranger who comes to visit it."

Dennis O'Rourke, *Cannibal Tours*, 1988

" The result of the contradictions created is that, day by day, the devastation of the African land is accentuated [...]"

Amílcar Cabral, *Agrarian Studies by Amílcar Cabral.* Tropical Research Institute & National Institute for Studies and Research, 1988.

Portuguese industry, colonial raw-materials

Tiago Saraiva

The history of the Portuguese textile industry cannot be written without referencing Mozambique's cotton cultivation. Portugal's food history requires knowledge of the history of the oil *Fula*, which is produced with peanuts from Guinea-Bissau. The last country in Western Europe to achieve the status of industrialised country did so by resorting to African raw materials whose violent stories of extractivism were foundational to their liberation wars. Eduardo Mondlane, FRELIMO's first president, was committed to denouncing the regime of mandatory cultivation of cotton imposed on Macondes and Macuas in Nampula or Cabo Delgado. The PAIGC's leader, Amílcar Cabral, elevated the peanut, cultivated by Fulas, Mancanhas and Mandingas, to the epitome of the colonial agriculture that destroyed African soils and sensibilities. Cabral's first study 1951 of extractivist agricultural practices was, however, not about Africa but the Alentejo region. Besides his mother, he dedicated it to the day labourers, the "workers of the land of the latifundium", and to all lives threatened by erosion. The erosion was a direct consequence of the Wheat Campaign (1929-1938), which mobilised machines, fertilisers and selected seeds to tear up the moorland and make cereal, in fascist rhetoric, "the frontier that best defends us". At the same time, the Farming Guilds also arrived at Alentejo and the people's houses, which institutionalised fascism and its respective social order. The expansion of the most prominent Portuguese industrial conglomerate of the twentieth century – *Companhia União Fabril* (CUF) – was achieved mainly through the colonisation of the agricultural fields of the South. While Alentejo's pyrite mines provided the raw materials necessary for producing superphosphates in Barreiro, these were used to fertilise the earth rammed for crops. At CUF's installations, the oil *Fula* was produced using peanuts purchased in Guinea-Bissau by Casa Gouveia, a company that was part of the same conglomerate.

The New State's propaganda obsessively reproduced images of a Portuguese rural arcadia and primitive African people living outside of history. On the contrary, Cabral invites us to understand the history of the agricultural fields of the South of Portugal as a colonial continuum comprised of spaces under the extractivist regime of fascism, both in Europe and Africa. Consequentially, he insisted that African liberation also meant the end of Portuguese fascism. The Pidjiguiti massacre of 1959, perpetrated against dockers and sailors on strike against Casa Gouveia, which was at the origin of PAIGC's armed resistance, was a crucial factor that influenced the April 1974 revolution, the fall of the regime and Portugal's decolonisation.

Tourism, colonialism and other "Big Games"

Maria Cardeira da Silva

Some include colonial tourism in a colonial continuum of successive campaigns of occupation, religious missions and pacification, which precede the arrival of tourists in the territories of modern empires. On top of this, others see tourism (the last campaign) as the ultimate moment in a cannibalistic economy shared by ex-Primitives and post-Moderns, a version of the capitalist dream of "everyone getting rich together". Until very late, the old regime's Portugal used tourism fundamentally as a machine for producing propaganda documentaries and defining and drawing up national maps and subjects. It was also within this propagandist and normalising logic that, when it wanted to extend the perimeter of the nation to the empire, it imitated Italian and German models of Pedagogical Cruises that took "metropolitan" individuals to the "overseas" colonies and brought the settlers back to the Metropolis to show, both abroad and in, that Portugal was not a small country. However, in some colonial territories, notably Mozambique,

the doors were opened early on to a predatory international tourism economy. In 1928, the colony was already advertised as "Parhdise [sic] for Sportsmen - All kinds of Big Game / Direct Sea and Railway Communication with wall partes [sic] of South Africa", and presented as the terminus of the Rhodesia Railway. As early as 1929, it was described in the Rhodesia Herald as a destination for holidays and contemplation of the wonders of nature, departing on the magnificent trains that linked the port to its hinterland (the blue trains). Exploiting tourism in Mozambique is presented as an extractive activity based on "natural" resources such as the sea, hunting and picturesque nature (and, to a lesser extent, culture). This economic preponderance relativises the state's role in shaping tourism practices and the functions of colonial representation of the nation, which are usually assumed to be key players in its genesis. Its natural insertion into a regional tourist economy encouraged Mozambique, despite the specificities of Portuguese nationalism and colonialism, to adopt a neighbouring colonial habitus in order to capture its surpluses. From the early 1950s onwards, tourists and regional destinations were disputed, with Lourenço Marques, for example, proposing to capture the five million pounds of tourists who, in the Rhodesias, retained the "British lifestyle" and aspired to the "continental European environment", without having to travel to the Union of South Africa. Mozambique also saw its best opportunity in hunting - the same game that the British took from the homeland to the empire, and which seemed to be starting to become scarce in neighbouring territories - and that's how the fox became the elephant: By incorporating a colonial tourist habitus (or its remnants), the Portuguese empire opened itself up as a destination for international tourism, even before exposing the continent to the global tourist market.

TABLES

1 "The economic factors that had been one of the causes of the Age of Discovery in Europe led Europeans to settle in Africa. From simply trading in goods, including the black man, the European moved on to exploiting the land. However, like the Afro-black, his aim was not to produce what was essential for food. He cultivates or makes the Afro-black cultivate export products. [...] The result of the contradictions created is that, day by day, the devastation of the African land is accentuated."
Amílcar Cabral, *Agrarian Studies by Amílcar Cabral*. Tropical Research Institute & National Institute for Studies and Research, 1988.

2 Diamang Advertisement, *The Province of Angola – Special Issue for the Colonial Exhibition of Porto*, August 15, 1934. BLX-Municipal Library of Lisbon. (Reproduction)

3 "It was extremely important for bourgeois economy to promulgate the doctrine that accumulation of capital is the first duty of every citizen, and to preach without ceasing, that a man cannot accumulate, if he eats up all his revenue, instead of spending a good part of it in the acquisition of additional productive labourers, who bring in more than they cost. To accumulate is to conquer the world of social wealth, to increase the mass of exploited human beings, and thus to extend both the direct and the indirect sway of the capitalist. Accumulate, accumulate! Therefore, save, save, i.e., reconvert the greatest possible portion of surplus-value, or surplus-product into capital!"
Karl Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, chapter 24, 1867

4 Colonial Cotton Advertisement, *The Province of Angola – Special Issue for the Colonial Exhibition of Porto*, August 15, 1934. BLX-Municipal Library of Lisbon. (Reproduction)

5 "To summarise: colonialism introduces a new system of production in Africa, translated into the économie de traite. However, it maintains the itinerant system of cultivating the land. It applies or tries to apply European agricultural practices to the itinerant system, without taking into account the difference in mesological conditions, because it is convinced of the "superiority" of these practices. [...] We can even say, without fear of contradiction [...] that defending the Earth is the most efficient way of defending Humanity."
Amílcar Cabral, *Agrarian Studies by Amílcar Cabral*. Tropical Scientific Research Institute & National Institute for Studies and Research, 1988.

6 "Amílcar Cabral created what he called an Experimental Laboratory at Granja de Pessube´and, in 1953, conducted an agricultural census: a data collection process that provided him with a direct connection to the population and access to topographic data across the country."
Granja de Pessubé, unknown author, undated. Casa Comum/Mário Soares and Maria Barroso Foundation.

7 Dombe Grande Company. Visual Archive by Jill Dias. AJD-CDombe016. CRIA-NOVA FCSH. (Reproduction)

8 Collectible stamp from the Mozambique Company, 1918-1925. (Reproduction)

9 "[One] aspect of the accumulation of capital concerns the relations between capitalism and the non--capitalist modes of production which start making their appearance on the international stage. Its predominant methods are colonial policy, an international loan system—a policy of spheres of interest—and war. Force, fraud, oppression, looting, are openly displayed without any attempt at concealment, and it requires an effort to discover within this tangle of political violence and contests of power the stern laws of the economic process. The historical process of the

accumulation of capital depends in all its aspects upon the existence of noncapitalist social strata, so that imperialism is the political expression of the accumulation of capital in its competition for the possession of the remainders of the noncapitalistic world."
Rosa Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital, Contribution to the Economic Explanation of Imperialism*, 1913.

10 "With an unbalanced life, [the African] tends to satisfy not only the new needs created but also the demands of his new social condition; he gradually uproots himself, emigrates or has to emigrate, abandons or doesn't even have time to assimilate the wisdom that he himself, based on empirical knowledge of the environment and the experience of centuries, had created."
Amílcar Cabral, *Agrarian Studies by Amílcar Cabral.* Tropical Scientific Research Institute & National Institute for Studies and Research, 1988.

11-17 Images of the Portuguese participation in the Comptoir Suisse - International Commercial Exhibition of Lausanne, in 1957. The participation aimed to promote Portuguese industry, including products from the then colonies. The architects of the Portuguese pavilion were Conceição Silva, Santa Rita, and Sena da Silva, with decoration by Manuel Rodrigues and graphic design by Sebastião Rodrigues. The sculptor Jorge Vieira participated, as did Querubim Lapa with a mosaic panel and Almada Negreiros with a tapestry titled *Portugal*. This tapestry "symbolized the origins of the Portuguese economy", representing, on the left side, a ship under construction in an exotic, colonial environment, and on the right side, present--day maritime trade. Querubim Lapa's ceramic panel represented elements of a cosmogony with references to fish, fruits, and pottery. (Reproduction)

11 Graphic design by Sebastião Rodrigues, decorative panel, Comptoir Suisse - International Commercial Exhibition of Lausanne, 1957. Col. Mário Novais Studio | FCG - Art and Archives Library. (Reproduction)

12 Mário Novais, International Fair of Lausanne - Ceramic panel by Querubim Lapa, 1957. Col. Mário Novais Studio | FCG - Art and Archives Library. (Reproduction)

13 Mário Novais, International Fair of Lausanne - Ceramic panel by Querubim Lapa, 1957 (detail). Col. Mário Novais Studio | FCG - Art and Archives Library. (Reproduction)

14 Mário Novais, International Fair of Lausanne - View of the assembly with the tapestry *Portugal* by Almada Negreiros, 1957. Col. Mário Novais Studio | FCG - Art and Archives Library. (Reproduction)

15-17 Official visit by Marcelo Caetano to the assembly of the exhibition, Comptoir Suisse - International Commercial Exhibition of Lausanne, 1957. Mário Novais Studio | FCG - Art and Archives Library. (Reproduction)

18 "When capitalism had pervaded the entire economic structure and all social strata had come into the orbit of its production and consumption system, capitalists clearly had to decide either to see the whole system collapse or to find new markets, that is, to penetrate new countries which were not yet subject to capitalism and therefore could provide a new noncapitalistic supply and demand. The decisive point about the depressions of the sixties and seventies, which initiated the era of imperialism, was that they forced the bourgeoisie to realize for the first time that the original sin of simple robbery, which centuries ago had made possible the "primitive accumulation of capital" (Marx) and had started all further accumulation, had eventually to be repeated lest the motor of accumulation suddenly die down. (...) The concept of expansion, the export of government power and annexation of every territory in which nationals had invested either their wealth or their work, seemed the only alternative to increasing losses in wealth and population."
Hannah Arendt, "Imperialism" in *The Origins of Totalitarism*, 1951

19 Negrita Coffee Advertisement, undated. (Reproduction)

20 Colonial Coffee Advertisement, "Always Prefer Colonial Coffee", *Panorama: Portuguese Magazine of Art and Tourism* n. 12, December 1942. BLX-Municipal Library of Lisbon. (Reproduction)

21 Francisco Valença, "Brasileira do Chiado 'Museum' — Foolish... canvas", *Sempre Fixe: Humorous Weekly*, July 15, 1926. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

22 Francisco Valença, "Brasileira do Chiado 'Museum' — Foolish... canvas", *Sempre Fixe: Humorous Weekly*, May 27, 1926. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

23 Francisco Valença, "Brasileira do Chiado 'Museum' — those who stained the paintings", *Sempre Fixe: Humorous Weekly*, July 29, 1926. National Library of Portugal. (Reproduction)

24 Advertisement "Drink coffees from Timor, S. Tomé, Cape Verde, Angola because they are the best and they are Portuguese", *Panorama: Portuguese Magazine of Art and Tourism* n. 2, July 1941. BLX-Municipal Library of Lisbon. (Reproduction)

25 "A closer look at Marx's description of primitive accumulation reveals a wide range of processes. These include the commodification and privatization of land and the forceful expulsion of peasant populations; the conversion of various forms of property rights (common, collective, state, etc.) into exclusive private property rights; the suppression of rights to the commons; the commodification of labour power and the suppression of alternative (indigenous) forms of production and consumption; colonial, neo-colonial, and imperial processes of appropriation of assets (including natural resources); the monetization of exchange and taxation, particularly of land; the slave trade; and usury, the national debt, and ultimately the credit system as radical means of primitive accumulation. [...] All the features of primitive accumulation that Marx mentions have remained powerfully present within capitalism's historical geography up until now."
David Harvey, *The New Imperialism*, Oxford University Press, 2003.

26 Santana, Tourism Advertisement in Lourenço Marques, Mozambique, undated. (Reproduction)

27 Advertisement "Colonial Navigation Company", *Panorama: Portuguese Magazine of Art and Tourism* n. 18, December 1943. BLX-Municipal Library of Lisbon. (Reproduction)

28 «One lady gently touched the young girl's wrist. "Dear, are you a real Indian?" she asked. "I hope you don't mind my asking. But you look so American".»
Quoted by Deirdre Evans-Pritchard in "How 'They' See Us: Native American Images of Tourists" *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 16, 1989.

29 Eduardo Batarda, Plate 46 of *O Peregrino Blindado / The Blind Penguin*, Gallery 111 Edition, 1971. (Reproduction in smaller format)

30 Photographs by Arnaldo Silva, "Easter Holidays at Polana Beach", *O Ilustrado*, Year 1, n. 3, March 1, 1933. BLX-Municipal Library of Lisbon. (Reproduction)

31 "At Palmar and on the Beach", *O Ilustrado*, Year 1, n. 9, August 1, 1933. BLX-Municipal Library of Lisbon. (Reproduction)

32 "A season in the joy of the sea", *O Ilustrado*, Year 1, n. 9, August 1, 1933. BLX-Municipal Library of Lisbon. (Reproduction)

33 António de Navarro, "Lourenço Marques: Portuguese garden at the Doors of the Orient", *Panorama: Portuguese Magazine of Art and Tourism*, A. 1, n. 5-6, 1941. BLX-Municipal Library of Lisbon. (Reproduction)

34 José Osório de Oliveira, "The landscape of the Cape Verde archipelago", *Panorama: Portuguese Magazine of Art and Tourism*, A. 1, n. 7, 1942. BLX-Municipal Library of Lisbon. (Reproduction)

35 G. de Medina Camacho, "Lourenço Marques, remarkable tourism center", *Bulletin of the Luso--African Society of Rio de Janeiro* n. 1, May 1931. BLX-Municipal Library of Lisbon. (Reproduction)

36 "Angola", *The Province of Angola – Special Issue for the Colonial Exhibition of Porto*, August 15, 1934. BLX-Municipal Library of Lisbon. (Reproduction)

37 "Bolama", *Bulletin of the Luso--African Society of Rio de Janeiro* n. 14, July to September 1935. BLX-Municipal Library of Lisbon. (Reproduction)

38 Photograph by Uliano Lucas. Posters advertising vacations in Mozambique on the walls of Lisbon, May 1974. (Reproduction)

39 "Today's extractivist practices present something like a historical archive that contains all the pasts of capital, from the oldest to the newest forms of producing and accumulating value, ancient and postmodern methods of exploitation and control, with wide geographical and cultural differences. [...] Primitive accumulation and formal and real subsumption help us articulate how today's centrality of extraction in its various faces—from the extraction of oil and minerals to the financial capture of value produced through social cooperation and popular forms of life—does not indicate either a further step in a linear history or a cyclical return to the past. [...] Capitalist development is defined by multiple temporalities, mixing precapitalist and older capitalist methods with the newest technologies of production and control."
Michael Hardt, Toni Negri, *Assembly*, Oxford University Press, 2017.

40 "Misericórdia do Porto censures exhibition at the Conde de Ferreira Hospital Center", text by Luís Miguel Queirós. *Público Newspaper*, May 20, 2023. (Reproduction)

WORKS AND VIDEOS

Almada Negreiros, *Portugal*, Tapestry. Manufacture of Tapestries of Portalegre, 1957. (Reproduction)

VIDEO

42 "Visit of Baltazar Rebelo de Sousa to Gorongosa Park", The Governor-General of the overseas province of Mozambique, Baltazar Rebelo de Sousa, visits the Gorongosa National Hunting Park during his journey through the districts of Manica and Sofala. National News, Mozambique, May 27, 1969. RTP Archives.

ELO VEGA AND ROGELIO LÓPEZ CUENCA, *The Islands*, 2019. Multimedia installation. 12 mannequins, 12 shirts, digital video (color, no sound, 50 minutes). Audio: Río Sánchez and Mariano Ibáñez. Courtesy of the artists and Juana de Aizpuru Gallery.
The work of Rogelio López Cuenca (Nerja, Spain, 1959) and Elo Vega's (Huelva, Spain, 1967) is the result of a detailed attention paid to the texture of life in conditions of extreme touristification. *Las Islas* elaborates a critique of the tourism industry and the ways in which it operates on our subconscious. A set of mannequins in various poses perform an occupation of the space, which conveys a feeling of omnipotence and pleasure, while the projected images further amplify those meanings.
At first, *Las Islas* arouses visual excitement and commotion due to its colourful lushness and tropical joy. Still, that feeling fades away as the idea of infinite extraction pervades the paradise landscape. The imaginary of a "terra nullius", i.e. "a land that belongs to no one", a depopulated territory apt to unlimited possibilities, and the primacy of hegemonic masculinity, pierces through a work that attempts to resist the reification of the colonial gaze.
BIO
ROGELIO LÓPEZ CUENCA (Nerja, Spain, 1959) and ELO VEGA (Huelva, Spain, 1967) are visual artists and researchers who focus their artistic practice on analysing media and constructing identity. They collaborate in artistic projects that are cultural criticism devices perceived as political tools. Their work devotes particular attention to its processual nature and is materialised in the form of audiovisual productions, exhibitions, publications, and interventions in public spaces and on social media.

ILÍDIO CANDJA CANDJA,
The Wind Blows from the South, 2014-2023. Installation. Mixed technique on canvas. Courtesy of the artist.

In his multifaceted paintings, Ilídio Candja Candja (Maputo, Mozambique, 1976) reverberates the cultural heritage he shares with those who came before him. Noisy and chaotic, Candja Candja's paintings usually result from collages of older canvases, producing a type of composition that is alien to the canons of painting. For this reason, the temporality of her work points towards Afrofuturism, a post-apocalyptic imaginary that mixes tradition and technology and imagines other possible worlds. The paintings form an extensive mural in the installation *O vento sopra do sul (The wind blows from the south)*. In the artist's words: "All resources come out of the south and are extracted, a wind that takes everything to the other side, a change that can only be seen, felt and touched on the side of the money. By money, I mean prosperity, accumulated wealth, and capital, be it cultural, ethnographic, scientific, etc."

BIO

ILIDO CANDJA CANDJA (Maputo, Mozambique, 1976) graduated from the National School of Visual Arts of Maputo. He has presented his work in exhibitions, both individual and collective, in Portugal, Mozambique, Spain, USA and the United Kingdom, among other countries. We may highlight the following exhibitions: The Ghost of Freedom – 5h Yearzero Coimbra Biennial, 2024, Resonance of Form: a Tribute to Sarah Baartman, This is not a White Cube Gallery, 2024, The magnificence, light and fusion, São Mamede Gallery, Octopus & Myopia, Quadrum Gallery, Lisbon, 2019.

LUDGERO ALMEIDA,
Machine Destroyers, 2024. Installation (set of 750 sculptures made with pine resin, ethylene vinyl acetate, taquific resin, paraffin, iron oxide, powdered graphite, shellac, alcohol; set of materials found in the Ave Valley: scientific magazines, X-rays, architectural projects, photographic images, gear wheels; cabinet, table, and soil. Courtesy of the artist.

"Sculptural beings invade, conquer, and inhabit some of the materiality made obsolescent by the system of provision, production, labour, commerce and consumption of textile goods. These materials, gathered and collected by me over the last few years, denote what was and, in a sense, still is, the cotton's trajectory from the cotton fields located at multiple points of the world and the existing industries in the Ave Valley, the articulations between the extractivism and the developmentism arising from the chains of technical, human and mechanical processes. Since they resist the economic, political and civilisational process behind the industrial enterprise, the locusts and the pink caterpillars present in this installation are the enemies of the cultivation processes that forced technoscience to invent new ways for nature's domestication and mechanisation (...)"
(Ludgero Almeida)

BIO

LUDGERO ALMEIDA'S (Santo Tirso, Portugal, 1989) work is based on archives, photographic documentation, historical accounts, and affective memories. His goal is to think, criticize, retouch and challenge the public to see the contemporary world through the lens of reality and fiction. Since 2012, he has presented his work in Portugal, Spain and Brazil, at institutions such as the Goiás University and the Arts Institute of UNESP, in São Paulo, at Rampa and Silo – Cultural Space in Porto, and at the CAAA – Centre for Art and Architecture Affairs, in Guimarães. Ludgero Almeida is currently pursuing a PhD in Fine-Arts at the University of Porto.

URIEL ORLOW,
Reading Wood (Backwards), 2022. Installation. Wooden objects, wallpaper, photographic prints, sound. CACE – State Contemporary Art Collection

Reading Wood (Backwards) is an installation focused on the Calheta Palace's Wood Library, located at the old Colonial Garden in Lisbon (currently the Tropical Botanical Garden). It is a repository of ten thousand wood samples from trees that once existed in several regions of the old Portuguese colonies. The artist asks, "What happens when a forest becomes a library at the service of Western extractive economies and knowledge systems?"

Uriel Orlow (Zurich, Switzerland, 1973) undertakes a comprehensive exploration of the ongoing global deforestation, tracing it back to a long-term process that originated in the fifteenth century. He meticulously documents the various stages of exploitation, from the initial destruction of Madeira Island's original forest for sugar cultivation to the botanical expeditions in Angola, Mozambique, and other African countries.

BIO

URIEL ORLOW (Zurich, Switzerland, 1973) lives and works between London and Lisbon. He studied at Central Saint Martin's College of Art & Design, London, the Slade School of Art, the University College London and the University of Geneva, where in 2002, he completed his doctorate in Fine Arts. In 2017, he won the Sharjah Biennial Award. He was also awarded the annual art prize promoted by the city of Zurich in 2015 and with three Swiss Art Awards at the Art Basel (2008, 2009, 2012). In 2013, he was nominated for the Jarman award.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS
The curators and the CIAJG would like to thank everyone who lent their work, authorised reproductions, provided images, information and their invaluable support in the creation of this exhibition.

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IHA is funded by national funds through FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, I.P., under the projects UIDB/00417/2020 and UIDP/00417/2020, DOI 10.54499/UIDB/00417/2020 and 10.54499/UIDP/00417/2020. The Associated Laboratory IN2PAST is funded through FCT–Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, I.P., under the reference LA/P/0132/2020 (DOI 10.54499/LA/P/0132/2020).