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ARTICLE



Celebrate Nation, Commemorate History, Embody the Estado Novo: The Exhibition of the Portuguese World (1940)

Annarita Gori 

Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon, Lisbon, Portugal

ABSTRACT

In 1940, the Portuguese regime, named Estado Novo, hosted its biggest national exhibition: the Exhibition of the Portuguese World (EPW).

The event aimed both to commemorate Portuguese history and to justify the teleological nature of the dictatorship. This article discusses the national identity narrative conveyed by the allegorical pavilions conceived for the historical section of the EPW. In examining the ephemeral architecture and the debate which arose among intellectuals at the event, this article explores the process of narration and reinterpretation surrounding the display and elucidates the complex process of reception by the citizenry.

KEYWORDS

Estado Novo; Portugal; Exhibition; Public use of history; Portuguese national identity

On 28 May 1926, a military coup ended the unstable First Portuguese Republic (1910–1926) and established a dictatorship that was to last until 1974. Two years later, President Óscar Carmona appointed António de Oliveira Salazar, a professor at the University of Coimbra, as Finance Minister. In a short period of time, by obtaining the right of veto on every financial issue, he was able to produce a budgetary surplus and stabilise Portugal's currency; all these achievements started to foster the image of Salazar as a man sent by Providence to rescue the Country. In 1932, he was designated as President of the Council of Ministers and a year later he was the first signatory of the new constitution that transformed the military dictatorship into a regime called the New State (*Estado Novo*).

The first decade of the regime is an interesting case study both in terms of politics and propaganda. The 1930s represented a period of change for Portugal, in which the Estado Novo progressively defined and consolidated itself: political oppositions were banned, political police and a civilian paramilitary forces were created, a corporatist economy was adopted and mass organisations and a system of propaganda were established. With regard to this last aspect the Estado Novo, in 1933, created a specific office called Secretariat of National Propaganda (SPN *Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional*) and organised various public events – such as parades, commemorations, civil rites – in order to promote the regime and to celebrate Portuguese nationalism. Along with these propaganda tools, exhibitions played a pivotal role.

CONTACT Annarita Gori  annarita.gori@ics.ul.pt  Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon, Av. Prof. Aníbal Bettencourt, nº, Lisbon, 1600-189, Portugal

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The biggest and most important of such initiatives organised by the Estado Novo was the 1940 Exhibition of the Portuguese World (EPW – *Exposição do Mundo Português*). The EPW was conceived as the pivotal moment of the Centennial Commemorations, designed to celebrate the eight hundredth anniversary of the foundation of Portugal (1140) and the three hundredth anniversary of the country regaining its independence from Spain (1640). On 23rd June, the EPW was inaugurated with a prominent official ceremony, indicating its symbolic importance for the regime. Only a few hours earlier, France had signed the Armistice of Compiègne and war had spread quickly to the rest of Europe. Portugal was thus presented as an ‘oasis of peace’; 1940 as a year dedicated to the celebration of national renaissance; and Salazar, as the creator of this new period of recovery.

Whilst several studies have focused on the architectural, anthropological, colonialist and folkloric aspects of the EPW,¹ this article, by following the cultural history approach,² examines how the exhibition’s historical section was conceived to celebrate the nation and embody the regime by showing the magnificence of Portuguese history with an ongoing cross-referencing of past and present.

The first part of the article will be dedicated to the memory policies used by the Estado Novo, paying particular attention to the 1930s: the use of national past to legitimate itself, the tools adopted to create consensus and a shared national identity among Portuguese citizens, the relationship with other initiatives of the cultural and propaganda policy of Estado Novo. The second part will scrutinise the genesis and the structure of the entire EPW. In particular, the main core of the article will explore in detail the pavilions of the EPW’s historical section as an example of the public use of history for purposes of propaganda; furthermore this portion will be analysed, highlighting some affinities with other similar ‘political exhibitions’ held in the southern European dictatorships of the same period with specific focus on Italy and Spain. Finally, on account of the suggestions about cultural politics of nationalism arising from recent interdisciplinary studies, some thought will be given to the EPW’s effectiveness in creating national pride and consensus to the regime among the Portuguese population.

Memory policies

Although the Portuguese dictatorship chose, as its official designation, the name ‘New State’, in terms of identity it was solidly rooted in the national past.³ From the outset, the regime polarised a tendency that had been present in several European countries since the eighteenth century⁴ for which ‘the past gradually ceased to provide comparative lessons, but came to be cherished as a heritage that validated and exalted the present’.⁵

Both remote and recent history have been re-read to justify the new regime and create a shared national identity. With regard to its ancient history the regime defined itself as a bridge between the past and the present; the last step of an historical centenary path that would lead Portugal to a great new future: in so doing, the teleological meaning of this memory policy was evident. The recent Liberal and Republican periods were depicted as years characterised by imperial feebleness and political chaos, and were used by the dictatorship as a reason to appoint itself as both

the defender of the empire's political and economic interests which were threatened by the British Ultimatum of 1890,⁶ and the restorer of order and morality after the recent European political turmoil and the troubled time of the First Republic (1910–1926).

The contrast between order and chaos was a milestone for the Estado Novo propaganda and a lens through which to see the dictatorship's public use of the past,⁷ to the extent that the regime was defined as an 'order revolution' by the historian João Ameal.⁸ The restoration of prior order and values was both a material and a moral objective. In the first instance, the regime paid particular attention to the restoration of selected heritage sites considered emblematic for the nation. The intent was clear: the dictatorship took care of its heritage and, in common with a long-lasting European tradition,⁹ restored 'monuments and memories as emblems of communal identity, continuity and aspiration'.¹⁰ Furthermore reconstruction works did not strictly follow the criteria recommended by the theories of architectural restoration, but were instead adapted to the official historical narrative. Great relevance was given to the Medieval heritage sites for their magnificence, their widespread presence in the country and their role as document-symbols of the National past, namely walls – as in the case of Bragança; churches and monasteries – such as those in Leça do Bailo and fortresses and castles such as the ones in Cete.¹¹ A pivotal propagandistic role was played by the Guimarães and Lisbon Castles; the former because it was considered the Nation's cradle, the latter for its role as the capital's castle and because its re-opening to visitors was planned for 1940, thus becoming one of the stages for the Centennial Commemorations.

With regard to the moral objective, a crucial role was played by António Ferro, the director of the SPN throughout his Politics of the Spirit (*Política do Espírito*). This policy was based 'on the historical nationalism'¹² and aimed to strengthen Portugal through some traditional national values that had their origin in the last decades of the nineteenth century. These were the same principles that epitomised the three pillars on which Salazar based the regime: God, Fatherland and Family as he stated in a speech in Braga in 1936. In short, rather than promoting a radically new vision, the regime aimed to 'reportuguesify' (*reaportuguesar*) the country.¹³ The rhetoric of 'portugueseness' (*portugalidade*) and the desire to promote a shared national identity led to experimentation with various formats that fused public use of past, ritual and simulation.¹⁴

From 1933 and 1940, the Estado Novo promoted several cultural initiatives using different tools and languages in order to address the various segments of population and create a widespread awareness of nationalism, thereby consolidating the regime. Regarding the upper and middle classes, in tracing a tendency common in Europe during the same period,¹⁵ the regime launched special artistic awards both to legitimate the dictatorship and give value to the link between 'power and artists'. Furthermore it published essays, novels and poetry books for the SPN publisher; organised exhibitions of arts and photographs; produced the propaganda newsreel the *Jornal Português* and the documentary film *The May Revolution* by António Lopes Ribeiro, making a deliberate blend between the nationalistic message and the modernist forms of communication. With regard to the rural population and working class the Estado Novo created mass organisations that drew workers, youths and women and promoted various activities to disseminate propaganda across the whole country such as, radio broadcasts and the itinerant cinema. Finally it also reinvented some folkloristic

traditions – i.e. Lisbon Festivals – and promoted nationalistic contests such as the best patriotic shop windows, and the ‘most Portuguese village in Portugal’.¹⁶

By the gathering in one place of all these aspects – the celebration of the national history, the regime’s consecration, the commitment to different types of artistic trend, the feeling of grandeur embodied by the Nation and colonies, the use of different propaganda approaches and languages – the EPW represented the peak of the cultural and educational policy undertaken by the regime to celebrate Portuguese nationalism.

An (ephemeral) world in one glance: the EPW

Since the end of the nineteenth century Portuguese intellectuals have built a cultural and imaginary idea of the Nation – its centennial history, its rural people, its Portugueseness – as assimilated to the order of things, and therefore ‘pure, atemporal and indisputable’. When the Estado Novo was established, it was presented as the natural and the most prominent result of the ‘harmonic and organic image of the nation’ ‘forged by the mythology’¹⁷ and, as stated by Salazar, with ‘its unshakable base in Portuguese nationalism’.¹⁸

This process had taken more than 40 years and involved intellectuals, writers and journalists, as well as the main protagonists of the EPW; the exhibition could be considered as the biggest effort and the last step on a long ideological path of constructing nationalism. In organising the event, the Estado Novo successfully gathered together the plurality of intellectual visions within the regime in a massive effort to celebrate the Nation. Among the organisers there were some intellectuals such as António Ferro and the EPW’s general curator Augusto de Castro who were fascinated by the Italian fascist liturgies; architects and artists, namely Almada Negreiros and the Architect in Chief José Ângelo Cottinelli Telmo, who was also a filmmaker and a cartoonist, were closer to the modernist values. At the same time there were also intellectuals close to the conservative, Catholic, ruralist, traditionalist orientation of the regime embodied by the president of the Centennial Commemoration Júlio Dantas, and by Salazar himself.¹⁹

The variety of ‘souls’ and positions clearly emerge if we analyse the EPW’s subdivision, and, as we will later investigate in the analysis of the historical section, the aesthetic solutions undertaken. Regarding its composition the EPW originally consisted of three separate exhibitions that were to take place in various parts of the city: the national and colonial ethnographic exhibitions at Laranjeiras Park; the Estado Novo exhibition at Eduardo VII Park; and the great historical EPW in the surroundings of the Jeronimos Monastery. After a period of intense debate, it was decided that bringing together all these events in one place would be successful in terms of propaganda and would engender a feeling of completeness in the visitors, and as a result only one big exhibition would be set up.²⁰ A commercial area and an amusement park were also added to the final plan.

The area overlooking the Jeronimos Monastery in Belém on the banks of the Tagus River was chosen to host the EPW.²¹ The space incarnated the values of the Catholic faith, the empire, Latin lineage and openness to the world: Belém was the place from which Portuguese sailors departed to discover new lands and the monastery is the burial site of Vasco da Gama. Therefore the location’s choice could be seen as a clear tribute to the memory of the Portuguese empire and the Age of Discovery.²² At the

same time, it was also a celebration of the Estado Novo: the neighbourhood of Belém had been totally renewed by the dictatorship, becoming tangible proof of the regime's attention to the patrimony of national heritage and the jewel in the crown of the Estado Novos's urban dynamism and efficiency.²³

Until the end of 1930s, Belém had been characterised by a chaotic and irregular urban fabric; the area was composed of traditional small traders, the local market, working and middle class houses mixed with disused space, old factories, shipyard, docks, some gas industry buildings including a big gasometer that diminished the visibility and the impact of the Monastery and the Belém Tower (Figure 1). In a short period Estado Novo, thanks to the strenuous work of the Minister of Public Works, Duarte Pacheco, transformed a surface of more than 560,000 square metres, into an area for leisure, culture and other urban activities. A new layout was created for the zone that included, alongside the ephemeral exhibition pavilions, new squares, streets, docks and a fluvial and railway stations.²⁴ The urban plan that integrated the exhibition between the historical landscape and banks of the Tagus, and the new infrastructures gave rise to an urban space that could be considered both an 'irreplaceable monument of human life' and a space for the public display of power (Figure 2).²⁵

In 1940, Belém, thus became an ideal bridge between the past and the future of the nation; furthermore, by hosting the three previously planned exhibitions, it was able to embody and to display, at a glance, the various aspects of the Portuguese social and cultural life: the extensive empire, the economic system, the folklore and the national history. As written by the main curator: in Belém a 'true city of illusion' was built.²⁶

Cottinelli Telmo planned the EPW area as an 'urban show'²⁷ based on ephemeral architecture (Figure 3). In a very short time, he designed a scenario, in which 'the architectural



Figure 1. Gas factory of Belém in 1938. Lisbon municipal archive. Doc: PT/AMLSB/KPI/000238. (Photo Kurt Pinto).



Figure 2. General view of EPW in 1940. Fundação Gulbenkian CFT164.163258 (Photo Estúdio Horácio Novais).

forms and the transcendence of meaning were perfectly balanced²⁸ and the pavilions' grandiosity were able to communicate the value of a culture and the image of a civilisation.²⁹ Abiding by a common exhibition canon, aiming 'in their heyday, to make the whole world, past and present, metonymically available in the assemblages of objects and peoples',³⁰ the EPW was structured as a dreamlike city suspended in space and time.³¹ Visitors, although aware of its illusory character, were taken into a totally different dimension, far away from reality: they could visit a seventeenth century shop in the commercial section or walk through a street of Macau in the colonial part whilst remaining in Belém. In summary, the EPW aimed to be an allegory of an entire world, but the latter was tied in with a Portuguese dimension. The 'Portuguese World' was indeed a vast world that encompassed 800 centuries of history and territories that were spread over several continents, but, at the same time, was conceived of mainly as a multifaceted dimension of a unique, great nation.



Figure 3. EPW's map, in *Exposição do mundo português: guia oficial* (Lisbon: 1940).

An 800-year-long path: the EPW historical section

National past has a crucial role in the entire conception of the EPW. In his inaugural speech, Castro defined Belém as the ‘Symbolic city of Portugal’s history’ and the EPW a ‘great exhibition of history’,³² in which national past and civilisation were staged, celebrated and ritualised through images and symbols. Editor of the daily newspaper *Diário de Notícias*, Castro was the former chief of the Portuguese legation in Rome during the early 1930s, a period in which he had numerous contacts with Fascist hierarchs and he was able to witness Italian propaganda firsthand.³³ Both Castro and Ferro, who also visited Italy during the 1920s and 1930s,³⁴ remained particularly fascinated by Mussolini’s propaganda and by the Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution (*Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista*) organised in Rome to commemorate the first decade of the coup. The Roman exhibition had a strong influence on two political and historical exhibitions held in Lisbon during the 1930s. The documentary exhibition organised in 1934 (*Exposição documentária da obra da ditadura nacional*) aimed to recreate the path that had led to the dictatorship’s establishment, and to show the Estado Novo’s accomplishments. In particular the first part, that was more aesthetically and conceptually similar to the Roman one,³⁵ was set up as an historical itinerary of the years 1910–1926 as interpreted by the regime. Two years later an exhibition that once more represented the Estado Novo and celebrated the first decade of the seizure of power was set up. The motivation behind the exhibition and the use of the Roman number X in its name (*Exposição do ano X*) openly recall the previous Italian exhibition (Figure 4).

The Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution had a strong influence especially on the events planned in 1934 and in 1936 while the EPW’s historical section had more affinities with another event held in Rome in 1937 that had a large international echo: the Augustan Exhibition of Romanness (*Mostra Augustea della Romanità*) organised to

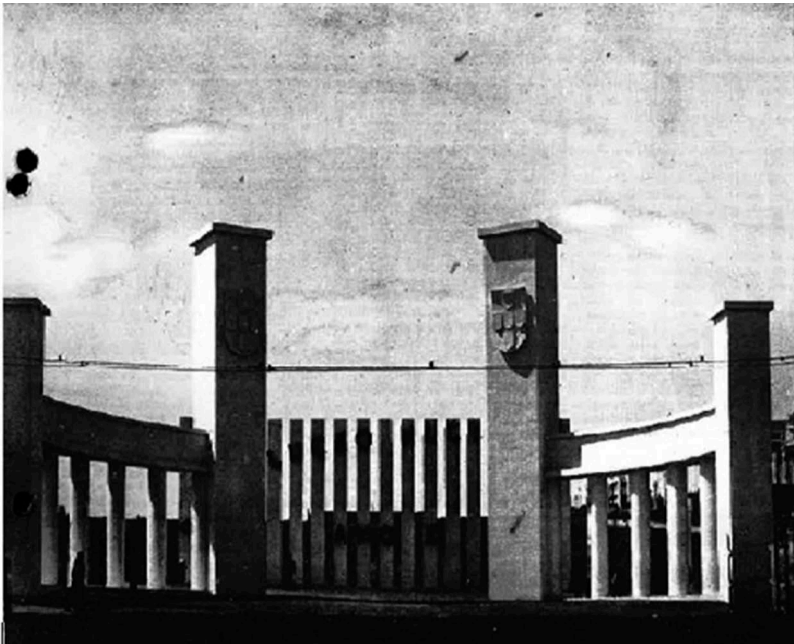


Figure 4. *Exposição do Ano X*. Lisbon 1936. Arch. Paulino Montez (*Arquitectos*, n.6, Aug–Oct. 1936).

celebrate the bi-millennial of Emperor Augustus.³⁶ In particular, the most relevant point that the two exhibitions had in common was that both initiatives were planned as a historical path through the past in order to theologially justify the new regime.

The EPW's historical section can be defined as a 'political exhibition' following Jeffrey T. Schnapp's definition. Like other initiatives organised in Europe during the same period – the aforementioned Italian and Portuguese exhibitions, and later The Exhibition of Spanish Expansion in the World (*Exposición de La Expansión Española en el Mundo*) organised in Madrid in October 1940 – these exhibitions were 'a place of nation-building where myths of origins could be created, disseminated, and venerated, and genealogies linking the present to remote or recent past be forged'.³⁷ However, even though the EPW shared some features with the other political exhibitions organised by European dictatorships during the 1930s – the comparison with a previous governmental system; the demonisation of other ideologies; the supremacy of the new regime; the theological nature of the dictatorship; and the educational function of the 'show and tell'³⁸ – it was deeply influenced by Portuguese myths and national values. The mission given by God to Portugal to spread the Catholic faith all over the world, the idea that the country was historically destined to be powerful,³⁹ and, in addition, its uniqueness, were particularly stressed in the historical journey staged through the pavilions.

The historical section was meant to be a 'history lesson' for the visitors, as clearly confirmed by the decision to put a team consisting of a historian and one or more architects in charge of each pavilion and to entrust a specific historical advisory council with the role of supervising the entire planning process, providing informations, documents and advice to respect the 'full compliance with the highest values of historical, archaeological, literary research of the country'.⁴⁰ The cooperation between architects – most of whom were close to modernism – and intellectuals more closely aligned with the traditionalist channel of academia, generated a variety of aesthetic solutions. The façades, the monumental gates, the light displays were planned by architects, and the frescos and decorations painted by modernist artists coexisted with 'traditional and academic' works namely statues, low reliefs and paintings, created by some members of the National Society of Fine Arts, who worked mostly inside the pavilions.⁴¹ The aesthetic heterogeneity in the exhibition structure and display openly appear in the propaganda documentary made by António Lopes Ribeiro. The vision of the film, divided into a 'bright and dynamic' part dedicated to external spaces and another 'heavy and atemporal' part in which the interior of the pavilions were shown,⁴² proved how the aesthetic differences created an effective synthesis between the feeling of majesty expressed by the pavilions and the metaphoric language used by artists.

Inside the exhibition

The official guide suggested, as a starting point for the visit the pavilion dedicated to the founding of the nation (*Pavilhão da Fundação*). This was the first of three buildings that dealt with the remote national past. They were dedicated respectively to the foundation, formation and the regained independence of Portugal, and all were planned by architect Raul Rodrigues Lima in collaboration with the historian Luís Pastor de Machado. The Foundation Pavilion was envisaged as an allegory in which the solemn sobriety of the Portuguese mediaeval cathedrals was merged with the loftiness of the castles, in order to

emphasise the continual bond between faith and fatherland.⁴³ The modernist façade was inspired by the Lisbon cathedral, and inside the main room of the pavilion were placed a scale model of Guimarães Castle, and traditionalist sculptures of King Afonso and the sacrifice of the knight Martim Moniz, hero of the conquest of Lisbon in 1147.⁴⁴ By evoking fortresses and castles the exhibition also highlighted the importance of the restoration work undertaken by the Estado Novo throughout the country. Simultaneously stressing how, during its fructuous past, Portugal had already proven its capability to defend and retain peace in the country, the regime fostered an important parallel with the 1940 context.

The pavilion was connected to the main core of the historical exhibition by the Founder's Gateway (*Porta da Fundação*). (Figure 5) Designed by Cottinelli Telmo as an aesthetic solution to cover the railway flyover and insert a dynamic element between the pavilions, this footbridge, which re-interpreted, in a modernist-monumental style, the figure of crusaders, was composed of four warriors that made up the supporting pillars, serving as a reminder of the mediaeval era. The flyover, besides connecting two parts of the historical section, evoked emotional responses due to the ceremonial uses of the site – this was the main entrance door and all the parades passed under it. In addition, the door represented the flow of time by means of a big inscription on its parapets: 1140-1640-1940, respectively year of foundation, restoration and the new present of the country.

The journey through the National past continued in the Pavilion of Formation and Conquest (*Pavilhão da Formação e conquista*). This pavilion was dedicated mainly to the Battle of Ourique (1139) and its myth. According to the legend, the night before the battle, King Afonso I heard the voice of Christ who told him that by using his courage and his faith he would defeat the Moors. This historical fact and its legendary halo were therefore used to argue that Portuguese independence was a divine will. The civilising

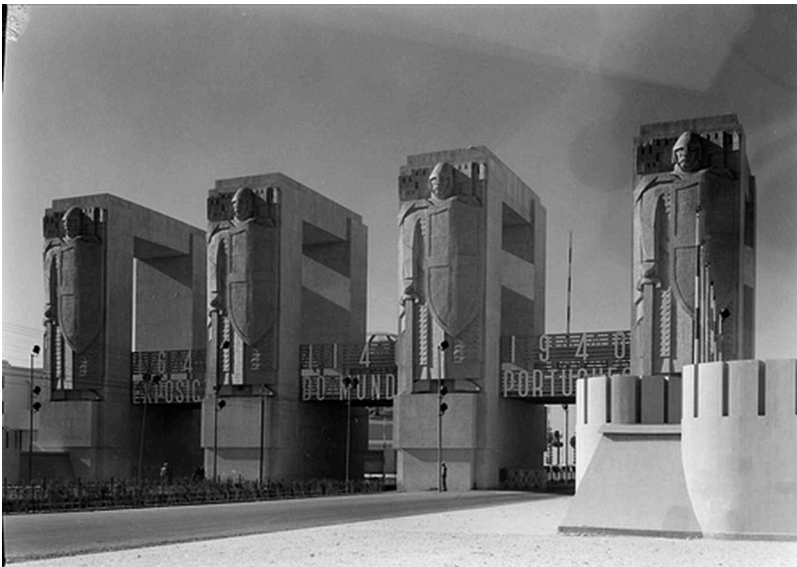


Figure 5. *Porta da Fundação*, arch. Cottinelli Telmo, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, CFT003 025645. ic. (ph. Mário Novais).

mission entrusted by God to Portugal was repeatedly evoked both in the façade,⁴⁵ decorated with the Aviz lineage insignia, and a low relief representing an enormous sword shaped like a cross surrounded by 12 stylised castles in honour of their presence all over the country. Inside the pavilion the concept was restated by the big cross, accompanied by a caption reading 'Portugal has always been Christian'. Once again the fortress and castle were used as historical symbols and, if we exclude the luminous map that displayed the formation of the Nation, the pre-eminence was given to standards, sculptures, traditional frescos and low reliefs such as the ones displaying King Denis of Portugal and his wife Saint Elizabeth of Aragon. Political and military achievements were indeed openly connected to the Catholic mission entrusted to Portugal by God (Figure 6).

The past reference was obviously the Iberian *Reconquista*, but the emphasis on the religious goals of this enterprise also mirrored the Estado Novo's fight against left wing ideologies and the overturning of Republican liberal and secularising reforms (e.g. new holidays that replaced the religious ones, divorce, civil registry): Christianity, therefore,

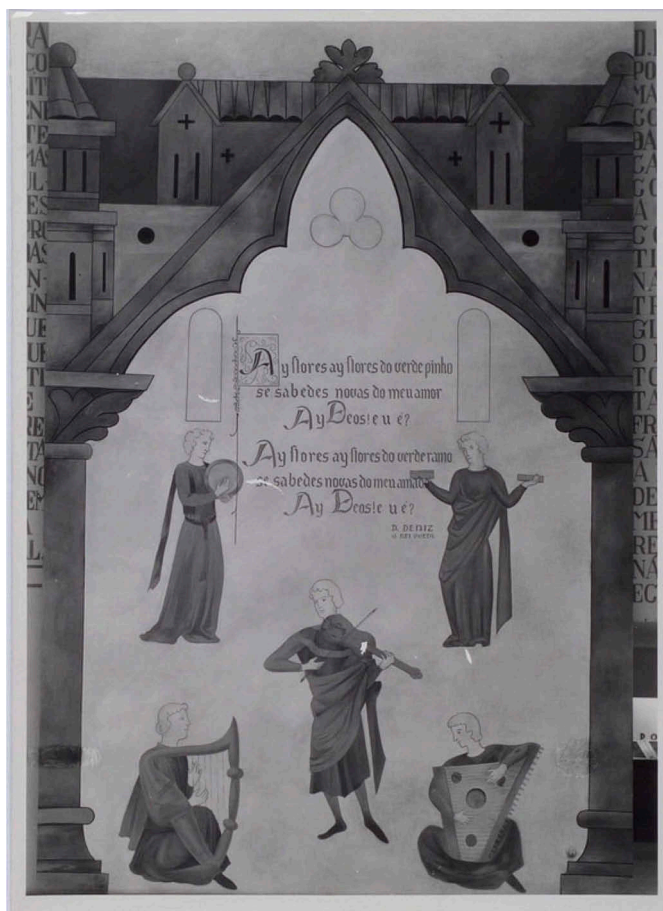


Figure 6. Pavilhão da Formação e Conquista – Sala D. Dinis, Fundação Gulbenkian, CFT003.201595 (ph. Mário Novais).

can be seen as a pillar of the regime's legitimisation as well as of the exhibition itself.

The path, strictly chronological thus far, changed subsequently with a sudden time jump from the mediaeval to the modern era. Once again Cottinelli Telmo solved the problem by resorting to an allegorical structure that represented the flow of time. He designed a modernist, monumental evocative door composed of three stylised ogival arches that recalled the gothic cathedral entrances and symbolised 'an escape from reality to dreams, a symbol of conquest through artwork'.⁴⁶ This structure was not the only metaphorical building of the EPW historical section; the exhibition planned by Cottinelli Telmo was conceived more as a modern dreamlike and allegorical place than a careful historical reconstruction. This idea is also reported in the Lopes Ribeiro documentary film: the voice-over describing the pavilions of this part of the exhibition says that they 'were not just made of matter, but also of the spirit and soul of Portuguese history'.⁴⁷ The EPW, and in particular its historical section, was therefore based on a dual language: one that expressed the nationalism and the celebration of the regime through metaphors and complex historical analogies and connections; and another one that, using the magnificence of the exhibition and the emotional impact of the historical myths, immediately conveyed a feeling of grandeur capable of producing a collective pride to be part of great nation with a prominent past. A feeling that Castro emphasised during the opening ceremony:

I invite you not to translate literally the inscriptions and images that you'll see. I invite you to find in these symbols the charm allowing you to dream and meditate; I invite you not to understand critically; not to use your brain, because this is not a museum or a book. I invite you to use your soul, your heart, your imagination and your faith to understand this supreme glory' (Castro, 'Inauguração do Pavilhão', 227).

Through the ogival arches the exhibition continued with the Pavilion of Independence (*Pavilhão da Independência*); this encompassed the long period spanning from the reign of King João I (1385–1433) until the Restoration War (1640–1668), a chronicle that was mainly reproduced in traditional sculpture and low reliefs dedicated to the main protagonists and historical events such as the Aljubarrota battle. Many art critics at the time disliked the idea of condensing such a long period of Portuguese history into a single pavilion, and disapproved of what they labelled 'a three-century-long somersault'. In particular, Ferdinando de Pamplona, in an article published by the journal *Ocidente*, defined the decision 'debatable even for artistic motivations' and wondered if an entire pavilion dedicated to the restoration of 1640 would not have been better than a single small room. In addition, Pamplona, anticipating the criticism that would arise in subsequent months, expressed his concern about 'this chronology, so twisted, comprehensible only to the intellectual that runs the risk of producing confusion in the minds of less cultivated people'.⁴⁸

Beyond the artistic choices, it is possible to see a clear decision made by the organising committee to highlight some parts of Portuguese history to the detriment of the linearity of the events and of architectonic and artistic homogeneity. The lack of emphasis on the traditional anti-Castilian/Spanish myth within the historical section – e.g. the absence of an entire pavilion dedicated to the 1640 restoration, which was one of the principal dates of the centennial commemorations – can also be interpreted as a political strategy in

terms of cultural diplomacy undertaken by the Estado Novo. On the eve of the Second World War Salazar was interested in preserving a neighbourly policy towards Franco's regime, as testified by the fact that during the setting up of the EPW, the Iberian Pact, a non-aggression treaty between Spain and Portugal, was being negotiated. Moreover, Spain was the only European country invited to organise any events during the last period of the exhibition: the cartography exhibition and the Room of Portuguese mementos in Spain (*Sala das recordações Portuguesas em Espanha*) inside the Jeronimos Monastery; and three theatrical performances by the Spanish Theatre of Madrid.⁴⁹

The exhibition path continued with some pavilions that aimed to lead the visitors through the modern and contemporary Portuguese history. These pavilions were designed mainly by Cottinelli Telmo (Pavilion of the Portuguese in the World and Monument to the Discoveries), along with Porfírio Pardal Monteiro (the Sphere of the Discoveries and the Pavilion of the Discoveries). In designing the buildings the two architects particularly emphasised the evocative nature of the building, which gave an almost oneiric aspect to these parts of the exhibition. The Pavilion of the Discoveries (the *Pavilhão dos Descobrimentos*) that was conceived of in collaboration with the historian Quirino da Fonseca, opened the historical section that aimed to represent the nation's role as an imperial power that created a new order by imposing its language, religion and culture on faraway territories. The pavilion was internally divided into two themed sections: the first was dedicated to the great figures of the era of the discoveries; the second presented the myths and legends of the sea through a dreamlike scene. The main protagonist of this pavilion was Prince Henry the Navigator, who would play a crucial role throughout the Belém exhibition as well as in the rest of the Estado Novo propaganda. This prominence held a political meaning: portraying him as a leader who indicated the correct direction to take during the difficulties openly recalling the analogies that António Ferro had made in 1932 between Henry the Navigator and Salazar. The two had several leadership traits in common: 'the tenacity, the mysticism, the strong self-confidence'.⁵⁰ Furthermore both were defenders of Faith: Prince Henry spent his life disseminating Christianity and fighting Moors; Salazar was engaged in a conflict with those doctrines that threatened Western and Christian civilization namely communism and atheism. Connecting these two individuals gave prominence to Salazar and his dictatorship.⁵¹

The second part of the pavilion was strongly allegorical.⁵² The staging of a dark ocean surmounted by a starry sky; the presence of angels that 'defended' visitors from sea monsters, winged sharks, horned fishes, all blended in an allegorical path, providing 'a touch both of reality and dream'.⁵³ This oneiric atmosphere also inspired the Sphere of the Discoveries (*Esfera dos Descobrimentos*). The building consisted of a big dome decorated with a low relief of zodiac signs. Inside the dome was a globe on which the Portuguese discovery routes were shown as luminous trails. It was described by magazines as dreamlike and surreal.⁵⁴ Pardal Monteiro and Cottinelli Telmo were chosen to narrate Portuguese history through a sophisticated network of symbols and analogies, and at the same time, the modern propaganda methods and the 'theatrical' setting that emotionally involved the visitors, were able to convey a feeling of historical magnificence and proudness to be part of the nation that could be perceived clearly by the whole audience.

The Age of Discovery also provided the inspiration for the monument that would become the symbol of the entire EPW: the Monument to the Discoveries (*Padrão dos Descobrimentos*).⁵⁵ (Figure 7) The monument, which would be turned into a permanent structure in 1960 to commemorate the quincentenary of the death of Henry the Navigator, had a strong relevance in Estado Novo propaganda. Although Salazar decided to cut the EPW budget on the eve of the Second World War, he sent the following note to the Council of Ministers about the *Padrão*'s construction: 'It is not possible to put aside the construction of the monument and the big sphere. The monument, in particular, has to be built'.⁵⁶ Besides featuring all symbols that recalled the idea of 'portugueseness' (the *padrão*, the caravel, the emblem of King João I and the giant cross-shaped sword), the monument represented a sort of 'family album'⁵⁷ providing the basis for a common national identity. On the sides of the monument the sculptor Leopoldo De Almeida chiselled the 15 main protagonists of the Portuguese Age of Discovery – kings, sailors, warriors, missionaries,



Figure 7. *Padrão dos Descobrimentos*. Arc. Cottinelli Telmo. Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, CFT178 091.ic.

scientists, cartographers and the poet Luís de Camões – and on the bow of this symbolic caravel the statue of Prince Henry the Navigator stood. His place on the caravel is a clear metaphor of his role as a leader who points out which way to go.

Portugal 1940

The EPW's historical section ended without a pavilion expressly dedicated to the third axis of celebration, 1940. As previously mentioned, the SNP had planned a

big Estado Novo exhibition in order to emphasise the importance of Portugal and show the entire world the accomplishments of the Estado Novo: its foundation, its structure, the moral renewal and the recovery works, and moreover, its idea of future, the works actually in progress and the ones already planned.⁵⁸

However, the project was scaled back owing to budget cuts. Instead of a specific pavilion dedicated to the Estado Novo, only a special room, named 'Portugal 1940', was included. This room, located in the south wing of the Pavilion of the Portuguese in the World (*Pavilhão dos Portugueses no Mundo*), on the western side of the Empire Square, was far away from the historical section. Some artistic and propaganda techniques, already used for the first political exhibition organised by the regime held in Lisbon in 1934, were deployed for the setting up of the room. The contrast between the chaos of the First Republic and the order restored by the Estado Novo was once again highlighted. This comparison played a crucial role in the new regime with regard to the national renaissance visible to visitors. Cottinelli Telmo and the director of SNP, António Ferro who was in charge of this room, turned once more to using a mix of traditional and modern artistic pieces. The classic statues of Carmona and Salazar by the artist Francisco Franco were juxtaposed with graphs and photo-collages representing the 'extraordinary' works carried out by the Estado Novo in all areas of national life. Some theatrical tricks were also employed: the big ramp similar to a proscenium that symbolised a ship's bow into which visitors had to walk in order to see, at a glance, graphs that showed the achievements of the Estado Novo. The special lighting and the almost obsessive repetition of the national anthem and political songs, used by the regime during the official parades and gatherings, created an empathetic atmosphere and suggested the existence of a strong link between people, fatherland and the regime (Figure 8).

The pavilion in which room *Portugal 1940* was located was devoted to the Portuguese colonial enterprises, and evoked once again that 'perpetual flux'⁵⁹ distinguishing the universality of Portugal's historical mission. As pointed out by Ellen W. Sapega the past was used to mark 'the "universality of Portugal's historic mission", to stress the "eternal instant instead of the historical process" and to remind [the visitors] that this universality was "an ongoing condition and not just a word that has lost its meaning"'.⁶⁰ Inside the pavilion, past, present and future were blended, as Augusto de Castro remarked in his opening speech:

there is the miracle that over eight centuries our heritage has been characterised by the fact that our limit is only the impossible. [In the pavilion] not only the past is represented. We are all represented, especially our current spirit that, as in the past, was characterised by



Figure 8. *Sala de Portugal 1940*. Fundação Gulbenkian, CFT003.202019 (Ph. Mário Novais).

infinity, dreams, unexpected wishes, ambition, *saudade*. Inside these walls there is the Arabian Nights palace of Portugal. There is the Portuguese uniqueness.⁶¹

Therefore, even though a specific pavilion was not built for the history of the Estado Novo, the figure of Salazar discreetly lingered over the exhibition for the entire period. This choice seems to reflect the Portuguese dictator's policy with regard to self-representation. Actually, even if the importance given by Salazar to his physical presence was totally different in comparison to the other European dictators, namely Mussolini or Franco, he was not completely adverse to the cult of personality. Especially during the 1930s, the Portuguese dictator promoted his image as a father of the nation, a bashful professor of humble origin devoted to restoring his own country.⁶² As Teresa da Jesus da Costa Pinto writes, Salazar was depicted in the exhibition 'as the providential man that, after King Afonso (the founder of the nation) and King João IV (the restorer), could be considered the third pillar of Portuguese history, the symbol of 'national resurgence'. The commemoration therefore emphasised this resurgence, 'exalting the values of Portuguese identity: the glorification of the past, the imperial spirit, the love for the country, the importance of pastoral lifestyle, family, work and discipline'.⁶³

With room *Portugal 1940* the long path through Portuguese history ended. Throughout the exhibition visitors were led through an experience that combined various aspects: propaganda, pedagogy, aesthetics, religion and entertainment. Undoubtedly, the EPW can be classified using the definition given by Warren Susman on exhibitions as 'rites of passages for society, which made possible the acceptance of a new way of life; new values and a new social organisation'.⁶⁴ EPW indeed epitomised the peak of the Estado Novo propagandistic effort, the strengthening of the regime and the strongest attempt by the dictatorship to use a political exhibition – loaded with the aforementioned messages – as a site in which to celebrate the Nation, commemorate the history, embody the Estado Novo.

A 'Multi-language' event

The EPW officially closed on 2nd December. Initially conceived as a means of international promotion and internal legitimacy, the EPW was visited almost exclusively by the Portuguese as a result of the restriction imposed on foreign travel by the Second World War. Even the propaganda programme, expressly designed to impress the other nations and beckon foreign visitors, was slowly abandoned until its final closure in May 1940.⁶⁵ In the more than five months since its opening, three million people had visited the EPW according to the numbers reported by the newspaper *O Século*.⁶⁶ Considering that the majority of visitors were Portuguese and that the total population in 1940 was 7,700,000 people,⁶⁷ it can be argued that the exhibition was clearly a success for the Estado Novo in terms of participation.

As scholars have pointed out with regards to similar events across Europe,⁶⁸ excursions are a useful indicator to further analyse audience composition. Estado Novo encouraged these journeys and even created a special section of the EPW committee (*Serviços de Exploração*) appointed for the organisation of the excursions. António Machado, in charge of the department, wrote in a letter sent to all Portuguese district governors asking for assistance with planning EPW trips, that the regime considered the journeys as an 'act of the highest national importance' and a 'full-immersion lesson in National History'.⁶⁹ The Estado Novo promoted the majority of the excursions, otherwise some of them were organised by parishes, the local branches of the regime's only party *União Nacional* and the urban and rural corporative sections. Sometimes factory owners took their own workers to visit EPW, as in the case of the Casa Hipólito manufacturer in Torres Vedras and the Vacuum Oil Company whose director stated in an interview that he hoped that by visiting the exhibition the employees 'would have felt proud to belong both to a great nation and to a great company'.⁷⁰ During the whole period of EPW the press constantly reported the excursions that had been organised and particularly stressed the number of people taking part in the trips (240 people from Sesimbra on 21st October; 400 people from Arganil, 2000 from Sesimbra and 2000 from Sintra districts on the occasion of EPW's closure).⁷¹ With regard to their composition, if we cross check these numbers with the district archival documents a data pattern emerges in terms of geographical distribution and class belonging.⁷² The journeys seemed to enjoy success especially in the wealthier and better-educated districts of the country instead of the rural and economically depressed areas. For instance, in his reply to Pinto Machado, the head of the local authority of Beja wrote that 'although an excursion had been planned for 5th October, it was easy to predict that the day trip to the historical section of the EPW would not have the desired effect owing to the serious economic crisis affecting the province'.⁷³ Other significant data came from the analysis of the composition of participants from the excursion to the EPW organised by the City Council of Porto. Of a total 512 excursionists, 170 bought a third-class train ticket while 133 chose second class, 147 purchased first-class tickets, while the remaining 62 participants bought the 'full package' of train ticket and accommodation. The success that the excursions had among the urban, middle and upper class Portuguese population, could be explained mainly by economics factors. The Porto excursion tickets, for instance, ranged from 55 to 241 escudos when the average daily salary of a factory worker did not reach 15 escudos at that time.⁷⁴ It is also arguable that the higher

segment of society flocked to the EPW because they were traditionally more accustomed to taking part in this kind of urban event, and more familiar with its allegorical language and its canon that, since the nineteenth century, had been created 'largely for, but not, of the people'.⁷⁵

While some assumptions in terms of audience composition can be made on the basis of objective, if not partial, data; measuring the effects of these events, planned as an imaginary space for the construction of national identity and self-representation of the political system is complex both methodologically and,⁷⁶ particularly in light of historical events, because of the poor quality of documents which had been amplified by the high levels of illiteracy.

With regard to the historical section of EPW some assumptions can be made if we analyse this as an event occurring across several levels of communication. This part of the exhibition, making a deliberately public use of history, conveyed a unique message – celebrate and, to a certain extent, 'construct a glorious (and glorified) national past',⁷⁷ to connect the regime and the living nation to the glorious historical ages. The exhibition also had a unique main purpose – to generate a shared nationalism and collective pride among the citizens – and in doing so, as made evident by the description of the pavilions, it used a plurality of languages following that fructuous path already undertaken by the Estado Novo propaganda.

A first, and more sophisticated language, created using historical analogies, visual metaphors and architectural allegories spread over the entire historical section of the EPW, was easier to understand by the more cultivated element of the audience. Regarding this aspect various critics emerged among some intellectuals at the time. Jorge Machado, a journalist at *O Diabo* – a left wing magazine, often collaborated on by communist sympathisers, that was used by 'all the disparate groups of journalists, intellectuals and writers marginalised by the regime as a cultural popular front'⁷⁸ – pointed out that this kind of language, along with the poor clarity of the official guide, prevented the working class audience from fully understanding all the facets of the exhibition.⁷⁹ Other articles, published in the Catholic journals *A Voz* (3 August 1940) and *Novidades* (26 August 1940), condemned the complex allegorical nature of the pavilions that penalised the clarity and immediacy of the comprehension of the entire set of nuances and ended up making the EPW historical section less accessible to the lower echelons of the population.⁸⁰

The EPW historical section, however, concurrently used another level of language based on the repetition of the well-known historical heroes and national symbols and on the prominence of architecture, light displays and ephemeral set designs that provided more immediate access to the main message and were subsequently accessible to the whole audience. All these aspects provided a strong 'aesthetic experience' that fascinated the visitors.⁸¹ The strength of these impressions was recently stressed by an anthropological study that collected oral testimonies on the memories of the EPW. Almost all the interviewees related that the grandeur of the buildings and the spatial-temporal estrangement of the historical and colonial section provided them with a sense of wonder.⁸²

As had happened in 1934 on the occasion of the Colonial Exhibition in Porto organised by Henrique Galvão – when for the first time the famous poster *Portugal is not a small Country* was displayed – the EPW's historical section successfully embodied

the dimension of national grandeur and transmitted to the visitors the idea of being part of a magnificent past: two powerful propaganda tools in a peripheral country, largely poor and illiterate (the national average in 1940 was 55%). Furthermore, in establishing a direct connexion between past golden ages and present and leveraging the idea of majesty, it also succeeded in giving the regime an image of prominence and generated a shared nationalism that led the audience to feel a collective pride.⁸³ The impact and the effectiveness that such language would have on the Portuguese people was also recognised by the clandestine communist party. In some illegal pamphlets they argued that the regime used the feeling of splendour generated by EPW to conceal, especially from the working class, the real problems faced by the country, such as the possibility of an imminent war, the unemployment and the endemic poverty.⁸⁴

In summary, despite the criticism expressed at the time, that the lower echelons of the population might not fully understood all the nuances and allegorical connexions conveyed by the language chosen by the organiser, it became evident that the immediate feeling of grandeur and the contemporary use of a selective national past, different languages, as well as aesthetic solutions adopted, allowed the EPW's historical section to enchant a broad audience, to create consensus in the regime and to generate a collective pride in belonging to a Portuguese nation and its history.

Consequently, to try to give an analysis of the effects that the EPW's historical section had on the population, it is necessary to see it as a 'multi-language' event. As pointed out by Pedro Vieira de Almeida, there were 'different ways to see' the exhibition: 'the aura of sublimity and rituality'⁸⁵ embodied by the event generated an instinctive national attachment and pride for the nation in the illiterate audience; the same feeling was also experienced by the more cultured sector of society that added a more contemplated and rational approach to the emotional and emphatic impact created by the EPW.

Conclusion

The 1940 exhibition could be considered the most forceful moment in the long process of Portuguese modern nationalism as well as a powerful propaganda tool of the Estado Novo. The historical section, in particular, represented the regime's peak in terms of memory policy and public use of history, becoming a living embodiment of the nation and a strong connexion between past, present and future. Staged for almost 6 months, receiving massive media attention, and attracting a large audience, the EPW became a sort of 'time bubble of nationalism' that, following Randall Collins' definition, is a short intense capsule of collectively experienced time in which the nationalist sentiment is strongly felt among the population.

During the EPW's existence the visitors had the chance to easily see in one place all the aspects of Portuguese nationalism – its history, its culture, its portugueseness – and feel a sense of belonging to the nation. The exhibition was a mix of sections that cleverly blended the recreational, commercial, exotic and cultural dimensions, avoiding, as pointed out by Nadia Vargaftig, the risk of organising a purely conceptual event as had happened on the occasion of the Historical Exhibition of Occupation in 1937 that revealed itself to be something of a failure both in terms of audience and effectiveness.⁸⁶ The historical section, the EPW's main core and the more pedagogical part, avoided this risk by adopting an effective mix of styles and using a plurality of languages.

With regard to the aesthetic choice, the EPW's historical section represented the capacity of the regime to subsume within itself the traditionalist and modernist artistic options; its ability in representing history to blend nationalistic long-established themes within modernist forms in creating a proper style definable as controlled 'Portuguese modernism' – an 'official irreverence' as stated by Ferro,⁸⁷ and more generally, its efficiency in bringing together differences in a coherent orderly whole.

Finally the historical section, through the variety of its languages and registers, that blended historical allegories and propaganda tools, was able to use national past to embody the Estado Novo and to convey an effective message of national belonging and a consensual view of Portuguese history that was received in its essence and shared by a large proportion of the Portuguese population. A further confirmation of the effectiveness of this message was the participation in the exhibition of artists and intellectuals who were not closely linked with the regime itself and the participation of these groups of people in collateral events, such as the case of historian Jaime Cortesão – a figure that criticised the regime – who attended the historical Congress of the Portuguese World organised in conjunction with the EPW.⁸⁸

Notes

1. Among others: Margarida Acciaiuoli, *Exposições do Estado Novo. 1934–1940* (Lisbon, 1998); Vera Alves, *Arte popular e nação no Estado Novo. A Política Folclorista do Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional* (Lisbon, 2014); Maria Isabel João, *Memória e Império, Comemorações em Portugal (1880–1960)* (Lisbon, 2001); Rosaria Andrade Dias do Nascimento, *O Brasil colonial e a Exposição do Mundo Português de 1940* (Salvador de Bahia, 2008); David Corkill and José Carlos Almeida, 'Commemoration and Propaganda in Salazar's Portugal: The Mundo Português Exposition of 1940', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 44, 3, (2009), pp. 381–9.
2. Ellen W. Sapega, *Consensus and Debate in Salazar's Portugal: Visual and Literary Negotiations of the National Text, 1933–1948* (University Park, 2008), in particular chapter 1. 'Staging Memory', pp. 9–45.
3. On the importance of the past in Portuguese culture see: Eduardo Lourenço, *Nós e a Europa, ou as duas razões* (Lisbon, 1988) and Luís Cunha, 'A nação e o império: a (re) invenção do lugar de Portugal no mundo', *Cadernos do Noroeste*, vol. 4, (1991), pp. 221–7.
4. Among others, Nicola Gallerano, *L'uso pubblico della storia* (Milan, 1995); Anne-Marie Thiesse, *La création des identités nationales* (Paris, 1999); David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge, 1985); David Boswell and Jessica Evans, (eds), *Representing the Nation: a Reader* (London, 1999). For Portuguese case: Isabel Nobre Vargues, *A Aprendizagem da cidadania em Portugal (1820–1823)* (Coimbra, 1997).
5. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. XVI.
6. With this Ultimatum Britain forced the retreat of Portuguese military forces from areas which had been claimed by Portugal on the basis of historical discovery and recent exploration, but which the United Kingdom claimed on the basis of effective occupation. The Ultimatum had a strong impact on the Portuguese national pride based on the myth of Age of Discovery and maritime culture. See Nuno Severiano Teixeira, 'Política externa e política interna no Portugal de 1890: o Ultimatum Inglês', *Análise Social*, vol. XXIII, 98, (1987), pp. 711–2.
7. António Oliveira de Salazar, *Discursos* (Coimbra, 1936), vol. II (1935–1937), pp. 128–9.
8. João Ameal, *A Revolução da ordem* (Lisbon, 1932).
9. David Lowenthal, 'Identity, Heritage and History', in John R Gillis (ed.), *Commemorations. The politics of National Identity* (Princeton, 1994), p. 49.

10. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. XVI.
11. Luís Miguel Corrêa, *Castelos em Portugal* (Coimbra, 2011).
12. Artur Portela, *Salazarismo e Artes Plásticas* (Lisbon, 1980), p. 78.
13. Salazar, *Discursos*, vol. III, pp. 64–5. See also Sérgio Gomes, ‘Nation, Identity and ideology: Romanità and Portugalidade under the Fascist Dictatorships’, in Stephanie Koerner and Ian Russell (eds), *Unquiet Pasts. Risk Society, Lived Cultural Heritage, Re-designing Reflexivity* (London, 2010) pp. 63–80.
14. Acciaiuoli, *Exposições*, p. 13; Id., *Os anos 40 em Portugal* (Lisbon, 1991); Jorge Ramos do Ó, *Os anos de Ferro, Dispositivo Cultural durante a «Política do Espírito». 1933–1949* (Lisbon, 1999), pp. 73–5.
15. Maddalena Carli, Maria Stavrinaki, ‘Artisti e Partiti. Estetica e politica in Europa (1900–1945)’, *Memoria e Ricerca*, pp. 5–13.
16. António Ferro, *Dez Anos de Política do Espírito* (Lisbon, 1943). See also: Sapega, *Consensus*, p. 9–45; Ramos do Ó, *Os anos de Ferro*, p. 123–95; Rui Pedro Pinto, *Prémios do Espírito* (Lisboa, 2008), Maria do Carmo Piçarra, *Salazar vai ao Cinema* (Lisbon, 2011).
17. Luís Trindade, *O estranho caso do Nacionalismo Português* (Lisbon, 2008), p. 12 and 27, Ramos do Ó, *Os anos de Ferro*, p. 73.
18. Salazar, *Discursos*, vol. II, p. 132.
19. In 1915 Almada Negreiros published a pamphlet entitled *Manifesto Anti-Dantas* (Manifest against Dantas), which argued that Júlio Dantas, who harshly criticised the recent intellectual modern movement, was the symbol of the most reactionary trend in Portugal.
20. *Comissão Nacional de Centenários*, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (ANTT), Secretariado Nacional de Informação (SNI), b. 3959. On this aspect, see: Sapega, *Consensus*, p. 12.
21. *Comissão Nacional de Centenários*, ANTT, SNI, b. 3949.
22. Teresa Jesus da Costa Pinto, *A Exposição do mundo português 1940 e a suas arquitecturas* (Lisbon, 1999), p. 69.
23. *Revista dos Centenários*, February–March 1939, p. 5. The Belém renewal was a part of more general urban plan characterised by the creation of infrastructures, social houses, iconic buildings, new urban and cultural neighbourhoods such as the area contiguous to Arreeiro Square. On this topic, see: Sandra Vaz Costa, *O País a régua e Esquadra* (Lisbon, 2012).
24. The works also resulted in the demolition of dwellings and traditional shops and the displacement of the area’s inhabitants as the journal *Écos de Belém* denounced. See: ‘Piedade, Senhores!’ and ‘Era uma vez um bairro sossegado’, *Écos de Bélem*, 10 February and 20 March 1939. On the urban plan and Duarte Pacheco see: Sandra Vaz Costa, *O País a régua e Esquadra* (Lisbon, 2012).
25. Aquilino Machado, *Os espaços públicos da exposição do Mundo Português e da Expo 98* (Lisbon, 2006) p. 134 and Christian Von Oppen, *Urbanism: The Driving Force and Stage of the Portuguese Dictatorship*, in Harald Bodenschatz, Piero Sassi, Max Welch Guerra (eds), *Urbanism and Dictatorship* (Basel, 2015), p. 109. More in general: Giandomenico Amendola, ‘Public Spaces and City Regeneration’, *Culture and Neighbours* (Strasbourg, 1995), p. 75; Tony Bennet, ‘The exhibitionary complex’, *New formations*, vol. 4, (1988), pp. 73–102.
26. Augusto de Castro, *A Exposição do Mundo Português e a sua finalidade nacional* (Lisbon, 1940), p. 61.
27. Paul Greenhalg, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World’s Fairs 1851–1939* (Manchester, 1988).
28. ANTT, SNI, b. 3959. A few years before Cottinelli Telmo wrote about this topic that architects being free ‘to get rid of the forms chastised and massacred by the obsessive sense of responsibility’ induced by permanent buildings were able to design pavilions whose symbolic meaning was more powerful than their utility. José Ângelo Cottinelli Telmo, *Arquitectos*, vol. 6, (1936), p. 136. See also Paulino Montês, *As Belas Artes nas festas públicas em Portugal* (Lisbon, 1931).

29. See: Umberto Eco, 'A Theory of Expositions', *Travel in Hiperreality* (San Diego, 1986), p. 299.
30. Bennet, 'The Exhibitionary Complex', p. 79.
31. Greenhalg, *Ephemeral Vistas*; Alexander C.T. Geppert and Massimo Baioni, 'Esposizioni in Europa tra Otto e Novecento: Spazi, organizzazione, rappresentazioni', *Memoria e Ricerca*, vol. 17, (2004), pp. 259–65.
32. Augusto de Castro, 'Discurso inaugural', *Diário de Notícias*, 10 July 1940.
33. Reports sent to Salazar: *Comemoração da Marcia su Roma*, in Arquivo Histórico Diplomático- Ministério Negócios Estrangeiros (AHD-MNE), 3p, a1, m. 473, and *Culto Fascista* AHD-MNE, 3p, a1, m. 47.
34. António Ferro, *Viagem a volta das dictaduras* (Lisbon, 1927).
35. See: Stone, Marla, 'Staging Fascism: The Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 28, 2 (1993), pp. 215–43.
36. Castro followed the planning phase and discussed this exhibition with Galeazzo Ciano in his years as Portuguese ambassador in Rome. *Progetto di una mostra della civiltà latina in Roma in occasione del Bimillenario di Augusto*, Archivo Centrale dello Stato (ACS), Segreteria Particolare del Duce (SPD), Carteggio ordinario (CO), b. 147.327; *Exposição da civilização latina*, Arquivo Histórico Diplomático – Ministério Negócios Estrangeiros (HD-MNE), 3p, a1, b. 675, Exposições, congressos e conferências 1935.
37. Jeffrey T. Schnapp, 'Mostre' in Hans-Jörg Czech and Nikola Doll (eds), *Kunst und Propaganda im Streit der Nationen 1930–1945* (Dresden, 2007), p. 60. On the Italiana and Spanish exhibitions, see, among others: Jeffrey T. Schnapp, *Anno X. La Mostra della Rivoluzione fascista del 1932* (Pisa, 2003); Marla Stone, *The Patron State: Culture and Politics in Fascist Italy* (Princeton, 1998); Flavia Marcello, 'Mussolini and the Idealisation of Empire: The Augustan Exhibition of Romanità', *Modern Italy*, vol. 16, 3, (2011), pp. 223–47; Margarida Basilio, *Visual Propaganda. Exhibitions, and the Spanish Civil War* (Farnham, 2013) pp. 203–17.
38. Bennet, 'The Exhibitionary Complex'.
39. Portela, *Salazarismo e artes plásticas*, p. 78; Sapega, 'Staging memory', p. 14.
40. *Actividade do Commissariado da Exposição do Mundo Português*, ANTT,AOS,CO,PC-22, b.15.
41. Nadia Vargaftig, *Des Empires en Carton. Les expositions coloniales au Portugal et en Italie (1918–1940)* (Madrid, 2016), p. 225–7; José Augusto França, *O Modernismo na Arte Portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1979), p. 88.
42. Trindade, *O estranho caso do Nacionalismo Português*, p. 302, on the aesthetic choices: Portela, *Salazarismo e artes plásticas*, p. 70.
43. R. Cavalheiro, 'O pavilhão da Fundação', *Ocidente*, vol. VIII, (1940), p. 440.
44. Fernando De Pamplona, 'Uma obra de arte: A exposição do Mundo Português', *Ocidente*, vol. XI (1940), p. 166.
45. R. Cavalheiro, 'O pavilhão da Conquista', *Ocidente*, vol. VIII (1940), p. 113; Pamplona, 'Uma obra', p. 167.
46. Secretariado Nacional de Informação, *Mundo português: imagens de uma exposição Histórica 1940* (Lisbon, 1956).
47. António Lopes Ribeiro, *A Exposição do Mundo Português* (Lisbon, 1941), b/n, 35mm, 62 min.
48. Pamplona, 'Uma obra', p. 168.
49. ANTT, Ministério do Interior (MI), Gabinete do Ministro (GM), Correpondência recebida (CR), 1940, fd. 513.
50. António Ferro, 'Salazar o homem e a sua obra', *Diário de Notícias*, 23 December 1932.
51. Pedro Vieira de Almeida, *A arquitectura no Estado Novo. Uma leitura critica* (Lisbon, 2002), p. 46; Annarita Gori, 'Historia de una obra nunca realizada. El monumento al Infante Dom Henrique y la autorrepresentación del Estado Novo', *Historia Contemporánea*, vol. 52, (2016), pp. 276–9.
52. *Revista do Sindicato dos Arquitectos*, vol. 9, (1983), p. 254.

53. De Pamplona, 'Uma obra', p. 169.
54. Ibid., pp. 169–70.
55. The padrão was a particular type of column that Portuguese explorers erected in new lands to show that this part of the world belonged to the nation.
56. *Andamento das construções da Exposição do Mundo Português*, 22 May 1939 ANTT/AOS/CO/PC-22 Pt.20. Few months later, after a new budget cut Salazar declared again that the 'Government still remains very interested' in the construction of the monument. *Revisão da despesa de cada secção da Comissão Nacional dos Centenários* ANTT,AOS,CO,PC-22, Pt.27.
57. Annarita Gori, 'Album di famiglia. Uso pubblico della storia nel Portogallo salazarista', *Storiografia*, vol. 17, (2013), pp. 247–63.
58. *Relatório sobre as projectadas comemorações* 24 February.1938 ANTT,Arquivo Oliveira Salazar (AOS), Correspondência Oficial (CO),PC-22, pt.1.
59. Schnapp, 'Mostre', p. 60.
60. Sapega, 'Staging Memory', p. 37.
61. 'Foi inaugurado ontem o Pavilhão consagrados aos Portugueses no Mundo', *Diário de Notícias*, 10 July 1940.
62. Ramos do Ó, *Os anos de Ferro*, p. 24–7; Helena Matos, *Salazar. A propaganda, 1934–1938* (Lisbon, 2004), pp. 146–8.
63. Jesus da Costa Pinto, *Exposição do Mundo Português*, p. 9.
64. Warren, Susman 'Ritual Fairs', *Chicago History*, vol. 12–3, (1983), p. 4.
65. *Offício 5004*, ANTT, Secretaria Geral da Presidência do conselho de Ministros (SGPCM), Gabinete do presidente (GDP), b. 69, proc 7-c/38, n. 15.
66. 'O chefe do Estado encerra amanhã a Exposição do Mundo português', *O Século*, 1 December 1940.
67. Instituto Nacional de Estatística, *VIII recenseamento geral da população* (Lisbon, 1945), p. XVI.
68. On the working class excursions in other European exhibitions: M. Reberieux, 'Les ouvriers et les expositions universelles de Paris au XIXe siècle', in *le livre Des expositions universelles 1851–1889* (Paris, 1983); Anna Pellegrino, 'Il gran dimenticato: lavoro tecnologia progresso nelle relazioni degli operai fiorentini all'Esposizione di Milano del 1906', *Memoria e ricerca*, vol. 17, (2004), pp. 164–190; Annarita Gori, 'Tra patria e campanile. Gli operai fiorentini alle mostre di Roma del 1911', *Memoria e Ricerca*, vol. 37 (2011), pp. 173–92.
69. Carta do Serviços de exploração aos Governadores distrituais, ANTT, MI, Direcção Geral da Administração Política e Civil (DGAPC), NT 1858 (Inc. 2002),b. L87. A similar service was present also in Italy, see: Marla Stone, 'Staging Fascism: The Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 28, 2, (1993), pp. 235–6.
70. *O Século*, 3 December 1940, *Diário do Alentejo*, 7 October 1940.
71. Sesimbra, Arganil and Sintra had in 1940 respectively a population of 22,000, 13,282 and 45,170. *O Século*, 1st and 3 December 1940 *Cecimbrense*, 21 October 1940.
72. Arquivo Distrital do Porto (ADPRT), Governo Civil do Porto (AC/GCPRT), Assistência e Saúde Pública (A), Comissões Eventuais (B), Comissão de Auxílio dos Pobres no Inverno (CAPI), 113–9; *Carta do Governador civil de Beja*, 9 August 1940, ANTT, MI, DGAPC, NT 1858 (Inc. 2002) b. L87.
73. 5 October is a National holiday in Portugal. *Carta do Governador civil de Beja*, 9 August 1940, ANTT, MI, DGAPC, NT 1858 (Inc. 2002).
74. *Documentação relativa a uma excursão promovida pelo Governo Civil, à 'Exposição Histórica do Mundo Português'*, ADPRT, AC/GCPRT,A,B, CAPI, 113–9. See also, Fernando Rosas, 'Salários diários nominais dos operários', Fernando Rosas, *Portugal entre a Paz e a Guerra*, (1990), p. 350.
75. John R. Gillis, 'Memory and Identity: A History of a Relationship', in Id. (ed.), *Commemorations. The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, 1994), p. 9. The ordinary people, as common in other 'rites of the nations', had 'an indispensable, if often passive, part of ritual', so much so that even the popular representation in the EPW folkloric

- section, as had happened in other European exhibitions, was strongly stereotyped and the ugliest and most miserable side of it was omitted. See: Anthony Smith, 'The Rites of Nations', in Racher Tsang and Eric Taylor Woods (eds.), *The Cultural Politics of Nationalism and Nation-Building* (London, 2014), p. 23; Trindade, *O estranho caso*, p. 307.
76. In the last decade social scientists, have started to rethink how to identify and measure the success of the rituals using an interdisciplinary approach that takes into account the theory of 'collective emotions' and combining a 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' vision. See: Christian von Scheve and Sven Ismer, 'Towards a Theory of Collective Emotions', *Emotion Review*, vol. 5, 4, pp. 406–13 and the exchange between Jon Fox and Cynthia Miller Idriss, 'Everyday Nationhood', *Ethnicities*, vol. 8, 4, pp. 536–63; Anthony Smith, 'The Limits of Everyday Nationhood', *Ivi*, pp. 563–73.
 77. Jon Fox, 'National Holiday Commemorations. The View from Below', in *The Cultural Politics*, cit. p. 38. Similar worlds were used by Castro, *Exposição*, p. 65.
 78. Luís Trindade, *Narrative in Motion* (New York, 2016), p. 195. *O Diabo* was a weekly magazine that ran in Portugal from 1934 to 1940 when it was forcibly closed down by censorship; see also Id., *O 'Espírito do Diabo'* (Lisbon, 2004).
 79. José Machado, 'História na Exposição de Belém', *O Diabo*, 14 December 1940. (SONO PIU D'.
 80. *A Voz*, 3 August 1940; *Novidades*, 26 August 1940.
 81. Sapega, 'Staging memory', p. 41.
 82. The team was based on the *Centro em Rede de Investigação em Antropologia* of the University of Lisbon and coordinated by Professors Maria Cardeira da Silva and Marta Prista. The first 28 were shown at the exhibition *Out of the Monument. Memories of the 1940 Exhibition* held in Belém during the summer 2016. For more information see: <http://cria.org.pt/wp/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Press-Release.pdf>.
 83. On nationalism as way to generate collective pride: Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism and the mind* (Oxford, 2006); Gavin Brent Sullivan, 'Collective Pride, Happiness, and Celebratory Emotions', in Christian von Scheve and Mikko Salmela (eds), *Collective Emotions* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 266–80.
 84. *Em Frente* (June 1940) and *Ante a guerra imperialista* (August 1940). ANTT, MI, Gabinete do Ministro (GB), Correspondência (CR), f. 515.
 85. Vieira de Almeida, *Arquitetura*, p. 101.
 86. Vargaftig, *Des empires*, p. 212.
 87. *A política do Espírito e a Arte Moderna Portuguesa* (Lisboa), p. 16. The EPW was the peak of Portuguese modernism and its contemporary swansong. See Acciaiuoli, *As exposições*, p. 125, Dael Melo, *Salazarismo e cultura popular*, p. 37.
 88. Almeida, *Arquitetura*; Annarita Gori, 'Tra Sagres e Lisbona', *Memoria e Ricerca*, vol. 54, (2017), pp. 61–79.

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Notes on contributor

Annarita Gori is Research Fellow of Contemporary History at Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon, Portugal. Her research focuses on national identity, exhibitions, cultural and intellectual networks during the interwar period.

ORCID

Annarita Gori  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-8703-8700>