

RACI
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6.5.2017 / 3.9.2017

PADRAC
DOS
DESCOBRI
MENTOS

EXHIBITION CURATOR
Francisco Bethencourt
King's College London

ESSAY
Francisco Bethencourt

This exhibition offers a reflection on the tension between racism and citizenship that characterised Portuguese global expansion from the fifteenth to the twentieth century.

The exhibition's two-part, six-section structure opens with an examination of prejudice against the New Christians and Mouriscos, Jews and Muslims who were forced to convert to Catholicism. They were subjected to discrimination through blood purity laws. This section is followed by representations of systemic marginalisation of Africans and Asians. From the outset, an ambiguous tension between collective discrimination on the one hand and the promotion of individuals on the other is visible in the demonization of Africans in religious sculptures alongside the existence of black saints. The first part of the exhibition is completed by an early representation of the theory of races.

The second part of the exhibition focuses on modern colonisation, from slavery and forced labour to free labour, which were behind the perpetuation of anti-African prejudices visible in photography, comics, advertisements and pottery. The last section highlights the spreading notion of citizenship after the Carnation Revolution and the independence of the colonies. The establishment of laws against racism is highlighted, while the work of Portuguese and African artists shows the extraordinary creativity of the post-colonial period, where memory is used in the search for identity and a future free of prejudice.

A

the hostility towards Jews and Moors living in medieval Portugal, which was projected onto these communities forced to convert

B

a focus on people of African origin who were enslaved and transported to Portugal, Brazil and Asia

The exhibition is arranged into two parts, early modern and modern, and six sections:

This exhibition focuses on two interlinked realities: racism, understood as prejudice against those of different ethnic origins, combined with discriminatory actions; and citizenship, seen as the right to live, work and participate in the political life of a country, equally involving duties and responsibilities. The tension between exclusion and integration lies at the heart of this exhibition. I invite viewers to reflect on various historical realities and recent developments, with the help of objects – paintings, sculptures, engravings, shackles, manillas, ceramics, posters, photographs and videos. Images are presented in their crudity, but they also reveal subtle contradictions, hinting at what lies beyond outward appearances.

E

the contradictory realities of the 20th century, in the colonies and Portugal alike

C

the representation of peoples of the New World and Asia, which led to the first European conception of a hierarchy of peoples of the world

F

the dynamics involved in the attempt to repair the fractures in the contemporary and post-colonial period

D

the Portuguese colonies, where slave labour was replaced by forced labour and free labour

Two paintings serve as a starting point. The depiction of The Flagellation of Christ (1514–17; Quentin Metsys, 1466–1530) including Jews with stereotypical physical features reflects the medieval prejudice against the Jews, who were believed to have witnessed the divine message about the coming of the Messiah, but instead chose to execute Jesus, whose divinity they refused to recognise. Subject to a status of servitude but protected by the king, the forced conversion of the Jewish community in 1497 increased competition between it and the wider population, due to successful integration. Converted Jews ascended to high positions in civic bodies and religious institutions within the Christian society, as had happened throughout the 15th century in Spain. For the first time in the history of Christianity, this sparked mass discrimination against converted people, defying the universalist message of Paul of Tarsus (c.5–67).

The converted Jews were named New Christians and discriminated against on the grounds that their blood was contaminated. They were massacred in a riot in Lisbon in 1506 and excluded from religious orders, confraternities, *misericórdias*, colleges and municipal councils due to statutes that stipulated pure blood. Such statutes were issued later and were less far-reaching than in Spain, and their abolition in 1773, at the behest of the Marquis of Pombal, preceded the equivalent Spanish decree by about a century. The New Christians were the main target of persecution by the Inquisition, which accused them of Judaism; over 20,000 were put on trial. However, some New Christians with a record of exceptional financial and military service had their blood decreed as clean by the king, allowing them to rise to positions in the military orders and become members of the Portuguese aristocracy.



Quentin Metsys (1466-1530)
Flagellation of Christ (1514-1517)
 Oil on wood, 191 x 92 cm
 Museu Nacional Machado de Castro,
 Inv. no. 2518
 © José Pessoa, (DGPC/ADF)

Attributed to Júlio Dinis do Carvo (?-1617), master
St James to the Moors (c. 1590),
 paint on wood, 169x165cm
 Museological Core of Sacred Art of the Museu de Mértola
 - Câmara Municipal de Mértola



St James fighting the Moors (c. 1590; Júlio Dinis de Carvo, ?-1617) is the second painting at the start of the exhibition, depicting the main topic of the Christian reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula which influenced the Portuguese expansion into Africa and Asia, where the Muslims were seen as the main enemy from the 15th to the 17th centuries. The Muslims were expelled in 1496, unlike the Jews, but many were also forced to convert, especially those who were made slaves in North Africa.

These converts were dubbed *mouriscos*, and suffered the same prejudice as their ancestors. Statutes of purity of blood precluded the descendants of Jews and Muslims from taking up civic or religious posts, subjecting them to the same discrimination. Prejudices against Muslims never waned: there is a plethora of anecdotal evidence attesting to the presence of *mouriscos* in everyday life. Despite their prejudice, the Portuguese forged alliances with Muslim powers in Africa and Asia, while nobles who had converted maintained their status. There were a number of unexpected affiliations in the 20th century.

Depictions of Africans initially relied heavily on slavery and cannibalism. Work on the plantations of Brazil was the subject of a number of paintings, as was the black man in nature, shown holding a tray of fruit. Objects play an important role, in this section in particular the shackles for the hands and feet and the manillas, used as money in African trade. Slaves were also seen as accessories at the Royal Court, as shown here in the portrait of the Infante Dom Afonso (c. 1643; Avelar Rebelo, 1600–1657) and the portrait of Ciriaco (1787; Joaquim Leonardo da Rocha, 1756–1825). References to cannibalism, human sacrifice and judgement by fire can be found in various engravings and drawings.



José de Avelar Rebelo (c.1600-1657)
Infante D. Afonso and a black page (c.1653)
 Oil on canvas, 128 x 174 cm
 Museu Nacional Frei Manuel do Cenáculo,
 Inv. no. ME 1540



Iron shackle
 Museu Nacional de Arqueologia
 No. ETNO 2017.1
 © Luís Pavão

The Devil, representing as a black man, is a recurrent feature of paintings and sculptures, as in the case of the 17th-century sculpture depicting St Bartholomew. The punishment of slaves began to be represented in the early 19th century by foreign artists who were inspired by the abolitionist movement, such as Debret (1768–1848), but the widespread condemnation of the inhumane conditions in which slaves were transported, triggered by the plan of the ship *Brookes*, went virtually unnoticed in Portugal.

Unknown artist,
St Bartholomew (17th century),
 Painted and gilded wood, 102 x 35 cm
 Main Church of Idanha-a- Nova



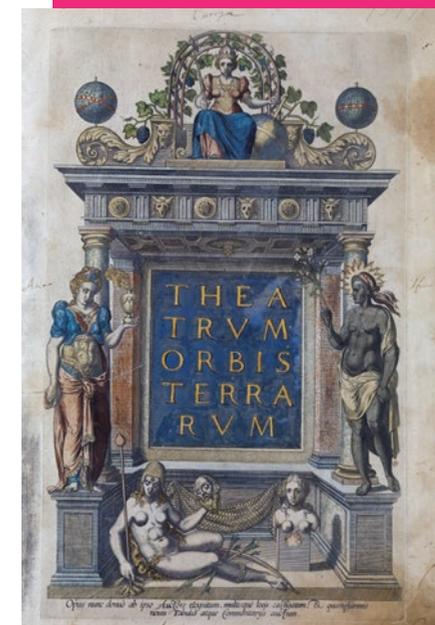


Vasco Fernandes (1475-1542) and
Francisco Henriques (?-1518)
Adoration of the Magi (1501-1506)
Oil on wood, 132 x 81 x 2.5 cm
Museu Nacional Grão Vasco
Inv. no. 2145
© José Pessoa, (DGPC/ADF)

Human sacrifice in India found its way into Portuguese images of people from Asia, adapted and integrated into *Itinerario* (1596) by Linschoten (1563–1611), who was secretary to the Archbishop of Goa. Nonetheless, respect for wisdom from Asia, in particular from China and Japan, emerges in many other representations. Cannibalism in America, spread through letters by Columbus (1451–1506) and Vespucci (1454–1512), and depicted in woodcuts and engravings, is one of the stereotypes of that continent, and appears in various publications and the painting of the Tapuia woman (c. 1641) by Eckhout (1610–1666).

The innocence of the native Americans alluded to in the Carta by Pero Vaz de Caminha (1450–1500), a description of the first voyage to Brazil, provided the inspiration for the representation of one of the three Wise Men as a native American (1501–6) by Vasco Fernandes (1475–1542), which contrasts with the depiction of the Devil in the anonymous Portuguese painting *Inferno* [Hell] (c. 1510–20). At once innocent and diabolical, the native American was seen as open to conversion, yet permanently liable to relapse into traditional beliefs.

The theory of races started to be outlined in the 16th century when Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598) put together his atlas (1570). The title page personified continents as female figures who embodied some of the stereotypes that we have already mentioned: Europe festooned with symbols of power, religion, fertility and the liberal arts; Asia sensual, defined by both lightness of character and spirituality (with incense); Africa is seen as primitive, semi-naked, surrounded by the sun, which burns everything that its rays strike; America, meanwhile, is a nude cannibal, bearing the symbols of conflict between its native peoples and the head of a human sacrifice victim. This representation became a matrix for hundreds of European depictions of the hierarchy of races up until the late 19th century. Moreover, it formed the foundation for the theory of races developed in the 18th and 19th centuries, when divisions along purely continental lines due to the pursuit of scientific grounds for the previously established hierarchy.



Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598)
Theatrum orbis terrarum
Antwerp, 1579
Frontispiece, 42,5 x 27,2 cm
Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, inv. LBS Res2047
© Luis Pavão



Unknown artist.
Saint Ephigenia (18th century)
 sculpture in gilded wood, 112 x 61 cm
 Convent of Santa Clara, Porto
 Inv. no. 161.22.30

This first section is rounded off by a look at the ambiguity of depictions of people from Africa, as there are cases in which they increased their social standing reaching military orders (Chafariz d'el Rei, c. 1560-80), along with anecdotal evidence revealing their ability to respond to the prejudice to which they were subjected. There are also sculptures attesting to the existence of black saints (e.g. St Ephigenia, 18th century, shown with black skin but European features), which engaged converts of African origin. There is a certain ambiguity inherent in the process of forced conversion, which sought to uproot Africans from their original beliefs, while at the same time making them vassals of the king and integrating them into confraternities, which represented and assisted them on their individual path towards emancipation.

Engraving of a caravan of slaves in David Livingstone
 Narrative of an expedition to the Zambezi
 (London, 1865)
 Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, H.G. 6286 V.



Breaking open cacao pods (c. 1910);
 São Tomé;
 Collection João Loureiro

The second part of the exhibition begins with images of the slave trade and slavery, which persisted into the 19th century. This situation came to define the status of indigenous people in the colonies, where slavery was replaced with forced labour and, ultimately, by free labour, gradually introduced according to economies of scale and with a view to international trade. Cocoa production in São Tomé was, however, the subject of a huge debate about the true status of the workers, who had been brought from Angola. Mechanisms for enforcing work, in particular the 'hut tax' that drove the monetarisation of the economy, were part of the strategy for integrating Africa in the international division of labour driven by the European empires. This break with the traditional concept of work is clear from photographs from the first few decades of the 20th century.



Raul de Caldevilla
 Advertising poster for Arêgos soap (c. 1910-1916)
 106 x 75 cm
 Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal
 CT.129 G. PL

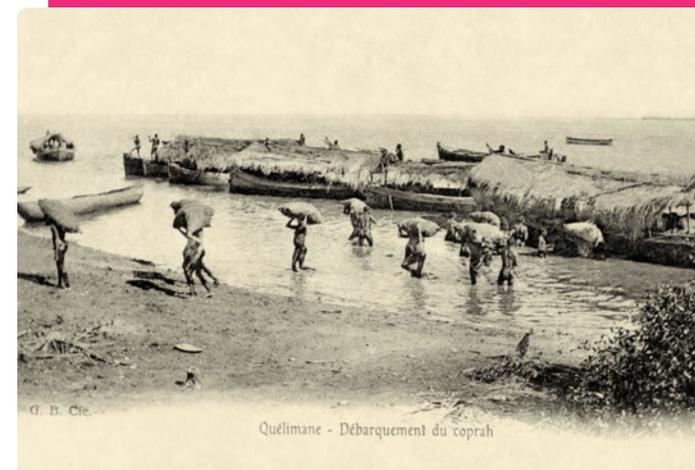
Tobacco pouch in the shape of a black woman's head, 18 th -19 th century, faience from Viana do Castelo, 21.3x13x18cm, Museu Nacional de Machado de Castro, inv. no. 9435, C-892



The involvement of African people in intensive work that was geared towards international trade is in stark contrast with their derisory representation in Lisbon. The custom for tobacconists sell containers in the form of black man's or woman's head were in the same vein as the ceramics that belittled King of Gaza Gungunhama (1895; Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro, 1846-1905), who was defeated, imprisoned and exiled by colonial troops during the wars of occupation over the African territories. The typical themes of European racism – the saying that it was impossible to whiten black skin, or the belief that work was something done by black people – are echoed in advertisements for products and shop logos. The racial inferiorisation of Africans persisted until the 1950s, with constant allusions to cannibalism on book covers and in comic strips. The eroticisation of indigenous peoples (Inês Cabrocha Brasileira, 1938; Eduardo Malta, 1900-1967), meanwhile, in a metropolitan society that supposedly espoused a strait-laced moral code, also formed a key part of such prejudices.



Municipal labourers
Ilha de Moçambique (c. 1906) Mozambique
Collection João Loureiro



Unloading copra (c. 1905)
Quelimane - Mozambique
Collection João Loureiro

The colonial exhibitions held in Porto and Lisbon in the 1930s imitated those held in England, France, Belgium and the Netherlands in the second half of the 19th century. The creation of 'human zoos' made up of communities dragged from the colonies, exhibited in their 'natural habitat', meant recreating villages and landscapes, including lagoons, where the indigenous people would row or carry out crafting activities. Photographs of the colonial exhibition in Porto reveal a densely-packed scene, which was partially replicated at the Portuguese World Exhibition in 1940. Military squadrons of natives of natives were also marshalled in order to re-enact the participation of the local populations in defence of the empire.



Island of Guinea, Bijagós village
Portuguese Colonial Exhibition at the Palácio de Cristal, Porto,
Alvão Photography Collection
Image provided by the Centro Português de Fotografia
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Benguella. Escola-régia - A primeira
Communhão em 1908.



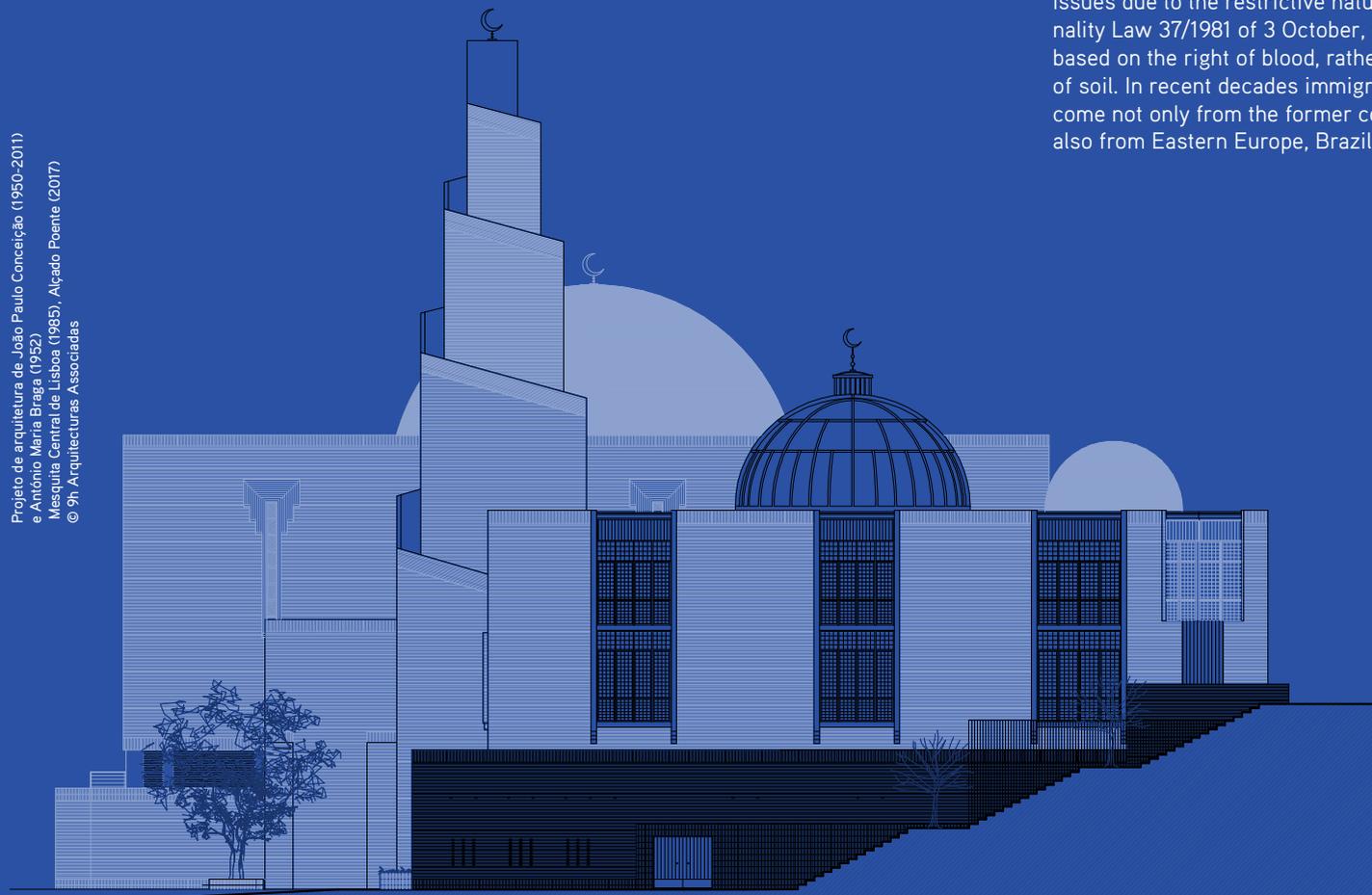
The uptake of European values, modes of behaviour and education among the people of Africa was one of the pretexts for dividing the continent up between the European powers at the Berlin Conference in 1884–1885. This notion of a civilising mission was, however, debunked by the 1950 Portuguese census, according to which the entire indigenous population of Cape Verde, Macau and the enclaves in India were considered civilised, a figure that dropped to 69% in the case of São Tomé and Príncipe, and dwindled into utter insignificance in Guinea and Angola, at 1%, and Mozambique, at 0.1%. Access to citizenship among the indigenous population, which had been severely restricted, improved during the colonial wars in the 1960s. Images of those who were assimilated attest to their ambiguous status, as they were at once subordinated to the settlers and uprooted from African customs, but with access to a certain range of professions. Their importance in the process of gaining independence and post-colonial transition has not yet been adequately analysed.

*Royal School. First communion (1908),
Benguela, Angola*

The constitutional monarchy (1834–1910) had already opened the way for religious freedom, authorising the return of Jewish communities and, in 1904, the construction of the first synagogue in Lisbon since the Middle Ages. This freedom was further supported by the First Republic (1910–1926). It was, however, the establishment of democracy in Portugal in 1974 and the independence of the colonies in 1975 that marked a new era in the dissemination of human rights and access to citizenship.

Islamic communities engaged in a process of immigration, as highlighted by the construction of Lisbon's first mosque in 1985. The immigration of people from the newly independent countries, in particular Cape Verde, created a number of citizenship issues due to the restrictive nature of Nationality Law 37/1981 of 3 October, which was based on the right of blood, rather than right of soil. In recent decades immigrants have come not only from the former colonies, but also from Eastern Europe, Brazil and Asia.

Projeto de arquitetura de João Paulo Conceição (1950-2011)
e António Maria Braga (1952)
Mesquita Central de Lisboa (1985), Alçado Poente (2017)
© 9h Arquitecturas Associadas



Racism is no longer supported or overlooked by the state, which has made acts of discrimination and segregation due to prejudice of ethnic descent illegal. Law 134/99 of 28 August forms the pillar of this legislation. Informal racism still exists, just as it does in other countries, but it is not backed by the state – a huge difference. Anti-racism organisations have a legal basis for their work, which is recognised by those in power. People of ethnic minorities have been integrated into the political process. There is still a long way to go, but the fact that Portugal's current prime minister is of Goan origin, while the Minister of Justice was born in Angola, is an indication of just how far this process of integration has come.

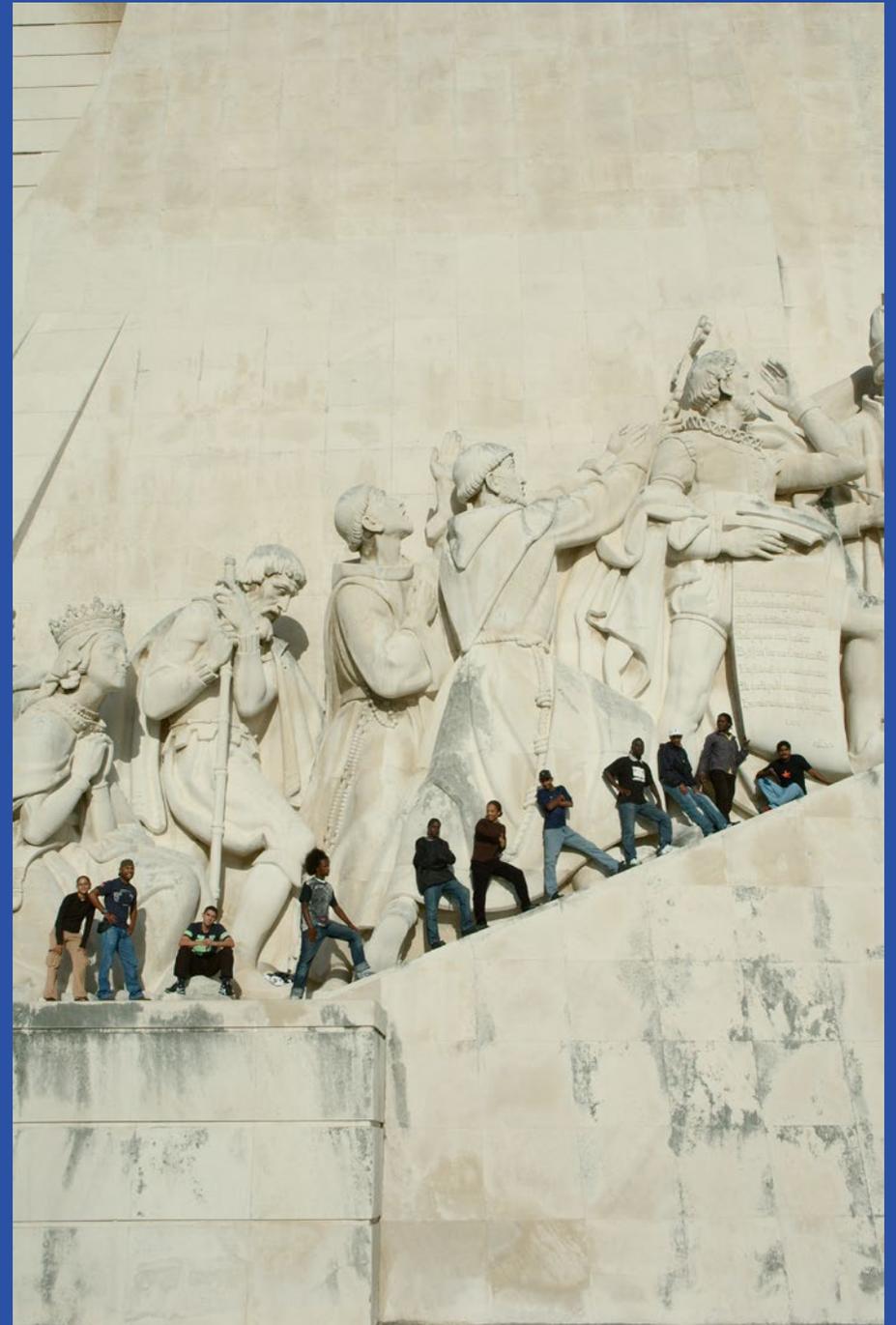
African artists, immigrant communities and residents with dual nationality are now working within this new context to produce music, dance and art, injecting a fresh experience of life and innovative artistic forms in the process.



Gonçalo Mabunda
Memórias (2013)
Metal and wood, 80 x 68 x 14 cm
Collection Fundação PLMJ, Lisboa
© T COM ART

Kiluanji Kia Henda
Padrão dos Descobrimentos (2006)
Inkjet print on cotton paper, 188 x 120 cm

Gonçalo Mabunda's use of weapons and ammunition, Kiluanji Kia Henda's photographs of the Monument to the Discoveries and Nástio Mosquito's videos (*My African Mind, Power*) question identity as they confront the colonial legacy and post-colonial realities. Moreover, Portuguese artists who have lived in the former colonies or witnessed the cultural impact of African peoples have used those experiences and images from the past to reflect on their new position within the world. The work of Ângela Ferreira and Vasco Araújo reveals the rootedness of a conception of citizenship that surpasses borders and is open to cosmopolitanism in a spirit of exchange and the exploration of new possibilities for expression.



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