

DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

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Art History (19th century)

Portuguese art historiography of the 19th century emerged around 1815 with painters Cyrillo Volkmar Machado and José da Cunha Taborda; it acquired consistency thirty years later with the Prussian ambassador Athanasius Raczyński, and gained critical sophistication with Ramalho Ortigão, but it was undoubtedly Joaquim de Vasconcelos who represented it best as he embodied the greatest breath of renewal. It was born amid speeches on the nobility of the art of drawing, it became full-blown in its erudition, and was coloured with national enthusiasm. It thus took on a dual personality, which lasted until the Estado Novo [New State], and an aesthetic uniformity, which made it tenaciously oppose "modern" currents. It ended in the second decade of the 20th century with the last books by Joaquim de Vasconcelos and a pronounced generational change.

Until 1780, studies were rare, except for a few noteworthy unpublished literary productions by painter and architect Francisco de Holanda (Lisbon, 1517 - Lisbon, 1584) and painter Félix da Costa Meesen (1639-1712). The sculptor Machado de Castro (Coimbra, 1731 - Lisbon, 1822) expressed the eighteenth century through booklets on the merits and usefulness of the art of drawing.

True historiographical intention began to emerge, as stated above, in 1815, with artists who used their writings to safeguard the memory and importance of their art. Cyrillo Volkmar Machado and José da Cunha Taborda illustrated these beginnings under the banner of classical rules and biographical focus. In the same year, royal painter José da Cunha Taborda (Fundão, 1766 - Lisbon, 1834), active in the Palaces of Ajuda and Mafra, added a *Memória dos mais Famosos Pintores Portugueses* [Memoir of the Most Famous Portuguese Painters] to his translation of Prunetti's *Regras da Arte da Pintura* [Rules of the Art of Painting]. In 1823, in a posthumous work, painter Cyrillo Volkmar Machado (Lisbon, 1748-1823) presented a *Coleção de Memórias Relativas às Vidas dos Pintores e Escultores, Arquitectos e Gravadores Portugueses e dos Estrangeiros que Estiveram em Portugal* [Collection of Memoirs on the Lives of Portuguese Painters and Sculptors, Architects and Engravers and of Foreigners who Resided in Portugal], which featured almost one hundred and fifty names. Paulo Varela Gomes defined him as "the first Portuguese art historian and the man who wrote most in our country about art issues from Francisco de Holanda to the end of the 19th century" (*A Confissão de Cyrillo* [The Confession of Cyrillo], 1992, p. 15). He studied painting with an uncle, attended academies in Seville and



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Rome, founded an ephemeral drawing class in Lisbon, and worked in Mafra for over a decade, where he intensified his erudite slant in works such as *Conversações sobre a Pintura, Escultura e Architectura* [Conversations on Painting, Sculpture and Architecture] (1794-1798) and *Nova Academia de Pintura* [New Painting Academy] (1817), and in the translation of Bellori's *Honras da Pintura, Escultura e Architectura* [Honours of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture] (1815). The *Colecção* has become a compulsory reference for its bibliographical synthesis and information regarding the art of its time.

Unlike Taborda, he did not research archival sources, but took advantage of key works (almost unknown at the time) and sought the "interaction of art forms in the historical fabric" (Paulo Varela Gomes, *A Cultura Arquitectónica e Artística em Portugal no Século XVIII* [Architectural and Art Culture in 18th Century Portugal], 1988, p. 172). In 1822, Almeida Garrett published a brief "essay on the history of painting" as an appendix to the poem *O Retrato de Vénus* [The Portrait of Venus]. Although he intended to give the "nation something it did not have, namely a critical biography of its painters," he used Taborda's work, going no further, neither in knowledge, method, nor sources. Garrett reorganised the available information against a historical scheme defined by "four epochs": 11th-14th, 15th-16th, 17th, and 18th-19th centuries. In addition to biographical details, he made comparative appraisals in terms of merits and faults, thus revealing a clear critical attitude.

After this beginning marked by biographical record, art historians deepened their erudition and extended it to the "descriptive memories" of buildings. Francisco de São Luís Saraiva (Ponte de Lima, 1766 - Lisbon, 1845), a Benedictine scholar, a doctor in theology, a professor at the *Colégio das Artes* [College of Arts], the dean who reformed the *Universidade de Coimbra* [University of Coimbra] during the *Vintismo*, president of the *Câmara de Deputados* [Chamber of MPs], vice-president of the *Câmara dos Pares* [Chamber of Peers], and patriarch cardinal of Lisbon, studied historical and linguistic studies and wrote a *Lista de Alguns Artistas Portugueses* [List of Some Portuguese Artists], compiled between 1825 and 1839, and a *Memória Histórica Sobre o Mosteiro da Batalha* [Historical Memoir of the Monastery of Batalha] (1827). Cardinal Saraiva's work was based on (and almost limited to) documentary research. "With him," stated José-Augusto França, "it may be said that a particular line of art historiography in Portugal was initiated, a line of philological erudition and critical detachment." (*A Arte em Portugal no Século XIX* [Art in 19th Century Portugal], 1990, vol. I, p. 392.).

This trend was continued by Father António Dâmaso de Castro e Sousa (Lisbon, 1804 - 1876), who distinguished himself for his oratory and descriptive character and sparse historical criticism. Between 1838 and 1845, he published pamphlets entitled *Descrição do Palácio Real na Vila de Sintra* [Description of the Royal Palace in the Town of Sintra], *Carta Dirigida a Salústio* [Letter to Salustio], *Amador de Antiguidades* [Amateur of Antiques], *Descrição do Real Mosteiro de Belém* [Description of the Royal Monastery of Belém], *Memória Histórica Sobre a Origem da Fundação do Real Mosteiro de Nossa Senhora da Pena* [Historical Memoir on the Origin of the Foundation of the Royal Monastery of Our Lady of Pena], *Memória Sobre o Majestoso Quadro que Está na Sacristia do Real Mosteiro de S. Lourenço do Escorial* [Memoir on the Majestic Painting in the Sacristy of the Royal Monastery of Saint Lawrence of the Escorial], *Vida de Francisco de*



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Holanda [Life of Francisco de Holanda], and *Notícia Sobre os Antigos Coches da Casa Real e Itinerário que os Estrangeiros que Vem a Portugal devem Seguir na Observação e Exame dos Edifícios e Monumentos Mais Notáveis deste Reino* [Note on the Ancient Carriages of the Royal House and on the Itinerary that Foreigners who Come to Portugal Should Follow when Observing and Examining the Most Remarkable Buildings and Monuments in the Kingdom].

Portuguese art historiography was defined between 1815 and 1845 with Taborda, Cyrillo, Garrett, Cardinal Saraiva and Father Castro e Sousa, but it was clear that none of them regarded themselves as art historians. They were sculptors, painters, writers and scholars who fulfilled a secondary vocation. This was also the case of Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen (São João de Ipanema, Brazil, 1810 - Vienna, Austria, 1878). This Brazilian diplomat and historian, a graduate in military engineering in Lisbon, who came to prominence for his study of the history of Brazil, authored a key essay on the *Mosteiro da Batalha* [Monastery of Batalha], the *Notícia Histórica e Descritiva do Mosteiro de Belém* [Historical and Descriptive Note on the Monastery of Belém], published in 1842 in the journal *O Panorama* [Panorama] and compiled in a booklet in the same year. Varnhagen's importance was due almost exclusively to this work, despite having authored two notes on the *Torre de Belém* [Tower of Belém] (1840) and the side portal of the *Igreja de São Julião de Setúbal* [Church of São Julião de Setúbal] (1843). It was here that he coined the term *Manueline*, which became an almost obsessive touchstone. The idea that it had been coined by Garrett in 1839 in a note to the poem *Camões* is wrong, since the term *Manueline* only appeared in the poem's 1854 version.

Who was the first scholar to regard himself as an art historian? Perhaps Raczyński, the foreigner who gave critical and methodological substance to Portuguese early art history. Although Paulo Varela Gomes considered Cyrillo Volkmar Machado "the first Portuguese scholar with a relatively modern approach to History of Art" (in *Vértice* [Vertex], Lisbon, June 1988, p. 47), he also recognised the historiographical innovation brought by the Prussian diplomat. "Raczyński did not substantially change the assumptions, methodologies and objects of this history. He only added a little taste to it...which is not bad per se." (Id.. ib.) Born in Rogalin, on the outskirts of Poznan, capital of the Prussian-dominated Polish territory, Athanasius Raczyński (1788-1874) was the grandson of a marshal (and count) and the son of a brigadier, both great art lovers, who ensured he was appropriately educated. His military and diplomatic career was constructed during the unstable political circumstances of the Napoleonic campaigns. He devoted fifteen years to the administration of his estates, and in 1830 embraced diplomacy for good. He became minister plenipotentiary to Prussia and lived in Portugal from 1842 to 1845. When he arrived in Lisbon, he had just published the third and last volume of the *Histoire de l'Art Moderne en Allemagne*. His study of Portuguese art, by invitation of the Art and Scientific Society of Berlin, bore fruit in two works: *Les Arts en Portugal* (Paris, 1846, the year which also marked the beginning of the publication of Alexandre Herculano's *História de Portugal* [History of Portugal]) and *Dictionnaire Historico-Artistique du Portugal* (Paris, 1847).



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His work set a new historiographical standard, praised by the *Revista Académica* [Academic Journal] (Coimbra, vol. I, 1845-48, no. 23, p. 360) in the following terms: "he discusses controversial points, investigates news, and writes with all the erudition and wisdom of a German. We find this better than the French levity; we would rather have pages laden with style and quotations but penned by someone who has a first-hand account, and has sought the truth of things, to the detriment of brilliant forms." An experienced scholar, combining an artist's taste with critical independence and methodological rigour, he felt at ease both in analysing and appraising the art of his time. He was therefore able to reassess fanciful authorships and teach a lesson on good work. The relentless exercise of criticism, through which he made some enemies, allowed him to appreciate the value of Alexandre Herculano with words that to a certain extent were also befitting to him: "C'est un des hommes les plus amis de la vérité que je connaisse en Portugal, d'une grande vivacité d'esprit, très érudit, écrivain d'un mérite généralement reconnu, d'une imagination ardente, plein de zèle, et infatigable." (Dictionnaire..., p. 131.)

Clearly, Raczynski's work benefitted from support. He himself referred to the contributions received from the Visconde de Juromenha [Viscount of Juromenha], who collected for him "Notices sur quelques artistes portugais, peintres, architects, sculpteurs, etc.", from Vasco Pinto de Balsemão, a librarian who provided him with a large number of documents and a list of paintings attributed to Grão Vasco, and, among many others, from Francisco de Assis Rodrigues, director of the Academia das Belas-Artes [Fine Arts Academy]. But it was Raczynski who was the driving force behind this activity, its organiser, and the author who was best suited to organise sparse and often mythologised references. José-Augusto França (*A Arte em Portugal no Século XIX*, vol. I, pp. 393 et seq.) considered his volumes the "first modern work of historical criticism", which "dropped a bombshell on Portuguese circles, in its publication of neglected documents, showing errors, insufficiencies, and the pretensions of researchers, artists, and collectors." His "lesson in quality", given "at both the level of contemporary creation and historical research", did not bear fruit immediately. It may be said that this only occurred in the 1870s, with Joaquim de Vasconcelos. However, all the scholars leaned on his work and paid him homage, even when they disagreed with his ideas.

In the following twenty-five years, art historiography continued to be carried out by dilettantes, some of undeniable merit, spurred on by some foreigner or other. Certain features denoted an imminent change: the interest in monuments grew, as did the number of authors and specialised journals.

While the definition of a "Manueline style" followed its path, most of the attention was geared towards the mythical figure of Grão Vasco. It was on this painter that J. C. Robinson, consultant to the South Kensington Museum, wrote an article in a London journal, which José-Augusto França described as "a new example of professional work" (op. cit., p. 396), although elsewhere he reduced Robinson to the status of a "modest British historian" (in *Ler História* [Reading History], no. 34, 1998, p. 9). After collaborating with Raczynski, the Segundo Visconde de Juromenha [Second Viscount of Juromenha], João António de Lemos Pereira de Lacerda (Lisbon, 1807 - Lisbon, 1887), who studied Mathematics and Philosophy at the Universidade de Coimbra, devoted



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himself to the study of Camões. In the field of art history, he limited himself to writing only a few articles. In 1877, he published a text on Grão Vasco in the *Revista Crítica de Belas-Artes* [Fine Arts Criticism Journal], deemed by Joaquim de Vasconcelos as an "interesting and useful study for the history of the root of the problem" constituted by this artist and the "school" of painting around him. Francisco de Sousa Holstein (Paris, 1838 - Carnide, 1878), Marquês de Sousa Holstein [marquis of Sousa Holstein], son of the Primeiro Duque de Palmela [First Duke of Palmela], with a doctorate in law, who was a member of parliament, peer of the kingdom, and inspector of the Academia de Belas-Artes, wrote the brochure for the Academis's painting gallery and collaborated in several journals.

In *Artes e Letras* [Arts and Letters], he published an essay on "Grão Vasco e a história da arte em Portugal" ["Grão Vasco and the history of art in Portugal"] (1872) and a series of eight articles on Domingos António de Sequeira (1874). Luís da Silva Mouzinho de Albuquerque (Lisbon, 1792 - 1846), an engineering colonel, inspector-general of public works, a minister of the kingdom and member of parliament, studied in France and was one of the liberal resitants of the Terceira Island and Mindelo. His only work on art was the *Memória Inédita Acerca do Edifício Monumental da Batalha* [Unpublished Memory on the Monumental Building of Batalha], which was published four times between 1854 and attests to his commitment in the defense of the heritage, threatened at the time by the extinction of religious orders. During his short life, Henrique Feijó da Costa (Lisbon, 1842 - 1864) attended the *Curso Superior de Letras* [former School of Arts], dedicated himself to heraldry, the novel and theatre, and founded the short-lived monthly journal *Crónica Enciclopédica* [Encyclopaedic Chronicle]. He wrote *Esboços Biográficos dos Principais Pintores Italianos* and *Rápida Descrição Artística e Histórica dos Quadros Existentes nas Galerias de Florença* [Biographical Sketches of Major Italian Painters and Biographical Sketches of Major Italian Painters and Brief Artistic and Historical Description of the Paintings in the Art Galleries of Florence], published posthumously, in 1866. Latino Coelho (Lisbon, 1825 - Sintra, 1891), a military engineer graduated from the *Escola Politécnica de Lisboa* [Lisbon Polytechnic School] (where he was a professor), a writer, journalist, member of parliament, peer of the kingdom and *Ministro da Marinha* [Minister of the Navy], wrote an art historiography marked by literary overstatement. Some of his articles, focusing on the *Mosteiro de Jerónimos* [Monastery of Jerónimos] and *Mosteiro da Batalha* [Monastery of Batalha], Raphael and on the statues of Rua Augusta arch, which appeared in the 1850s and 1870s, were compiled under the title *Arte e Natureza* [Art and Nature].

Nevertheless, art history lacked a figure like Alexandre Herculano to moderate inconsistent ideations and take up archival research, inventory, and informed criticism. There was still an absence of epistemological autonomy in art historiography and it remained outside the university system. Fine arts schools did not promote historical research. This accounts for the antiquated oratory of one of their directors, Francisco de Assis Rodrigues (Lisbon, 1801-1877), in his speeches in the 1850s and 1860s, and the attachment to Winckelmann, evident in the *Dicionário de Pintura, Escultura e Architectura* [Dictionary of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture] (1875).



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It was in this context, so propitious to dilettantism and national rhetoric, that Joaquim de Vasconcelos (Porto, 1849 - Porto, 1936) emerged, unanimously considered the first great Portuguese art historian. Reynaldo dos Santos described him, in 1922, as "the illustrious master and true initiator of the studies of art history criticism in Portugal" (A Torre de Belém Coimbra, 1922, p. 10), and, in 1929, as a true landmark marking two eras: "Art historiography in Portugal can be divided into two periods - one before Mr. Joaquim de Vasconcelos, and another, initiated by him". ("Joaquim de Vasconcelos", *Ilustração Moderna* [Modern Illustration], Porto, February 1929, p. 282). His training in Germany endowed him with a methodological and critical competence far superior to that of our country. And it fostered in him an intransigence towards mediocrity and the most superficial forms of artistic patriotism.

"We were born in Portugal," he wrote in 1873; "our physical existence holds us here, but it is fragile and can only last the regular existence of a lifetime; intellectual and moral existence we owe to Germany" (O Consumado Germanista [The Ultimate Germanist] Porto, p. 1). The son of a merchant, orphaned at the age of four, he had been sent to Hamburg in 1859. He returned six years later to prepare for university, but eventually abandoned this plan. He then experienced a "withdrawal from studies" and a "profound disgust" for society. These are his own words. He responded to both with constant labour, which resulted in a large body of work on architecture, sculpture, painting, ceramics, industrial arts, goldsmithery, music, and art education. He saw "not only the monuments of Portugal from north to south, but also the country's sculpture, goldsmithery, painting, furniture, faience, clothing, embroidery, in other words all aspects of decorative forms and traditions, along with a culture of general art history, a mastery of bibliography and knowledge of foreign works, essential to the study of the affinities and origins of national art" (Reynaldo dos Santos, cited article).

This was a man who had made his professional life as a high school teacher (from 1883 until he retired in 1919), and who, for a very brief period, and when he was already over the age of sixty, taught History of Art at the Escola das Belas-Artes do Porto [School of Fine Arts in Porto] (1913-1917) and archaeology at the Universidade de Coimbra (1915-1918); he built an enormous and pivotal set of works, focused on painting, architecture and art industries, where the following titles are worthy of mention: *Os Músicos Portugueses* [Portuguese Musicians] (1870), *Luísa Todi* (1873), *Albrecht Dürer e a Sua Influência na Península* [Albrecht Dürer and his Influence in the Peninsula] (1877), *A Reforma Geral do Ensino de Belas-Artes em Portugal* [The General Reform of Fine Arts Education in Portugal] (1877-1880), *Miscelânea Artística* [Art Miscellany] (1878-1881), *A Pintura Portuguesa nos Séculos XV e XVI* [Portuguese Painting in the 15th and 16th Centuries] (1881), *História da Ourivesaria e Joalheria Portuguesa* [History of Portuguese Jewellery and Goldsmithery] (1882), *Exposição de Cerâmica* [Ceramics Exhibition] (1883), *Da Arquitectura Manuelina* [On Manueline Architecture] (1884), *Indústrias Portuguesas* [Portuguese Industries] (1886-87), *O Museu Municipal do Porto* [the Municipal Museum of Porto] (1889), *Relação da Embaixada Famenga* [Inventory of the Flemish Embassy] (1428-1430) and *Viagem de Jehan Van-Eyck a Portugal* [Journey of Jehan Van-Eyck to Portugal] (1898), *Catálogo da Cerâmica Portuguesa: Museu Municipal do Porto* [Portuguese Ceramics Catalogue: Municipal



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Museum of Porto](1909), *Arte Religiosa em Portugal* [Religious Art in Portugal] (1914-15) and *Arte Românica em Portugal* [Roman Art in Portugal] (1918).

Until the end of the 19th century, no one deserved the title of art historian so aptly. In the MA dissertation *A Historiografia Artística Portuguesa: De Raczynski ao dealbar do Estado Novo* [Portuguese Art Historiography: From Raczynski to the dawn of the Estado Novo [New State]] (1993), a prosopographical sketch of one hundred and seventy-six active Portuguese authors between 1800 and 1940 was made. These scholars were men (99%), often holding degrees, but only in 11% of the cases with an art component: Law (16%), Letters (13%), commercial and technical training (12%), Theology (12%) and Medicine (9%). For the period under study, studies on art were a secondary activity for the authors, whose profession was clearly different: 26% were teachers, 13% librarians or conservators, 12% politicians or diplomats, 8% civil servants, 8% military personnel, 7% ecclesiasts and 5% artists. Art was not their only object of study. Among the other subjects covered were fiction (short story, novella, novel, drama) and poetry (15%), literature and Portuguese language studies (15%) and history (14%). Subjects such as local monographs (7%), archaeology (6%), biography (4%) and heraldry and genealogy (4%) ranked far lower. However, these percentages had to be corrected by considering the first three genres. The occurrence of themes and not their volume was accounted for. As is known, many authors wrote fiction, poetry, literature and history and sometimes intensively. Art studies were, in general, a minority, as may be deduced from their main activities listed in the *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira s.d. [1935-1960]* [Great Portuguese and Brazilian Encyclopedia, undated] [1935-1960] and in *Verbo: Enciclopédia Luso-Brasileira de Cultura* (1963-1980) [Verbo: Luso-Brazilian Encyclopaedia of Culture (1936-1980)] Among the one hundred and seventy-six authors, only twenty-eight are referred to as art scholars. The entries of the remaining one hundred and forty-eight were for reasons unrelated to their work in this field.

Without escaping these constraints, art historiography experienced ongoing development. A count of the main books published between 1800 and 1940 shows that their number grew steadily from the 1860s, doubled between 1895 and 1910, and reached a new peak in the 1920s.

Historiography fostered the regular practice of archival research, which was reflected in the erudite and descriptive line. Sousa Viterbo (Porto, 1845 - Lisbon, 1910) is an outstanding example of this paradigm. Despite holding a degree in Medicine, he barely practised this profession and became a professor of History of Architecture at the *Escola das Belas-Artes* and a journalist. In addition to his large body of literary and historical work, he dedicated himself wholeheartedly to art, where he excelled in his incomparable archival research. His bibliography on art, with two dozen titles, gave considerable prominence to the "industrial arts". He began by writing on *A Exposição de Arte Ornamental* [The Exhibition of Ornamental Art] (1883) and the *Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra* [Monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra] (1890), but became an undisputed reference as a result of the *Dicionário Histórico e Documental dos Arquitectos, Engenheiros e Construtores Portugueses ou ao Serviço de Portugal* [Historical and Documentary Dictionary of Portuguese Architects,



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Engineers and Builders or at the Service of Portugal] (three volumes, 1899, 1904 and 1922) and the *Notícia de Alguns Escultores Portugueses* [Notes on Some Portuguese Sculptors] (1900) and *Notícia de Alguns Pintores Portugueses* [Notes on Some Portuguese Painters] (three volumes, 1903, 1904 and 1915).

Inácio de Vilhena Barbosa (Lisbon, 1811 - 1890), from a former period, studied theology, but gave up religious life to dedicate himself to journalism. He founded the *Universo Pitoresco* [Picturesque Universe] (1839-1844), collaborated assiduously in *O Panorama* [Panorama] and was vice-president of the *Academia Real das Ciências* [Royal Academy of Sciences]. As an art historian, he devoted himself to the descriptive monography of buildings, as can be seen in *Estudos Históricos e Arqueológicos* [Historical and Archaeological Studies] (1874 and 1875) and *Monumentos de Portugal: Históricos, artísticos e arqueológicos* [Monuments of Portugal: Historical, artistic, and archaeological] (1886). It was also in the 19th century that Maximiano de Aragão (Fagil de Mangualde, 1863 - Viseu, 1929), a lawyer and high school teacher in Viseu and a graduate in Law and Theology, began to devote himself to the study of his region, with particular attention to its art and artists, as can be seen in *Estudos Históricos Sobre Pintura* [Historical Studies on Painting] (1897) and *Grão Vasco ou Vasco Fernandes, Pintor Viseense* [Grão Vasco or Vasco Fernandes, a Painter from Viseu] (1900). Tomás Lino de Assunção (Lisbon, 1844 - Paço de Arcos, 1902), a public works supervisor for the *Instituto Industrial* [Industrial Institute], secretary of the *Biblioteca Nacional* [National Library] and general inspector of libraries and archives, wrote comedies, drama and history, but also bequeathed the *Dicionário dos Termos de Arquitectura* [Dictionary of Architectural Terms] (1895).

The Coimbra scholars should also be noted. The first was Augusto Filipe Simões (1835-1884), a professor of Medicine and member of parliament, author of a diversified bibliography that made a significant contribution to the knowledge of Roman architecture. Of special note are *Relíquias da Arquitectura Romano-Bizantina em Portugal e Particularmente na Cidade de Coimbra* [Relics of Roman-Byzantine Architecture in Portugal and particularly in the City of Coimbra] (1870), *Da Arquitectura Religiosa em Coimbra Durante a Idade Média* [On Religious Architecture in Coimbra during the Middle Ages] (1875) and articles on Grão Vasco, Cistercian architecture and Coimbra sculpture compiled in *Escritos Diversos* [Miscellaneous Writings] (1888). He thus became the first of a series of names to give consistency to what has been termed the "Coimbra school", in which António Augusto Gonçalves (Coimbra, 1848 - Coimbra, 1932) played an important role. This scholar's education was limited to the "secondary school course" and "and a brief period at university" (*Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*), but his activity in the city of Coimbra was extensive and varied: he was a technical education teacher, a drawing teacher at the university, founder of the *Escola Livre das Artes do Desenho* [Free School of Design Arts], a republican since the 1880s, creator and director of the *Museu Machado de Castro* [Machado de Castro Museum], restorer of the *Sé Velha* [Old Cathedral], a writer, sculptor and archaeologist. As an art historian, he published articles and pamphlets on the *Conventos de Celas e de Santana* [Convents of Celas and Santana] (1886 and 1891) and the *Sé Velha* (1895), as well as a *Roteiro Ilustrado do Viajante em Coimbra* [Illustrated Traveller's Guide to Coimbra] (1894). In the 20th century, his



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production expanded and was more geared towards inventory: Museu de Antiquidades do Instituto de Coimbra [Museum of Antiquities of the Institute of Coimbra] (1911), *Notícia Histórica e Descritiva dos Principais Objectos de Ourivesaria Existentes no Tesouro da Sé de Coimbra* [Historical and Descriptive Notes on the Principal Objects of Goldsmithery in the Treasury of the Cathedral of Coimbra] (1911), in collaboration with Eugénio de Castro, *Museu Machado de Castro* (1913; 2nd edition, 1916) and *Estatuária Lapidar* [Lapidary Statuary] (1923). It is also worth mentioning Augusto Mendes Simões de Castro (Coimbra, 1845 - 1932), a librarian at the Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra [Coimbra University Library], where he graduated in Law. He dedicated himself to the history of this city and region, writing monographs and travel itineraries in which his interest in architecture and sculpture are clearly visible: *Guia Histórico do Viajante em Coimbra e Arredores* [Historical Traveller's Guide to Coimbra and its Surroundings] (1867; 2nd ed., 1883; 3rd ed., 1896; 4th ed., 1907), *Guia Histórico do Buçaco* [Historical Guide to Buçaco] (1875) and *Notícia Histórica e Descritiva da Sé Velha de Coimbra* [Historical and Descriptive Notes on Coimbra's Sé Velha] (1881). In the first quarter of the 20th century these names were followed by university professors Joaquim Martins Teixeira de Carvalho (Lamego, 1861 - Coimbra, 1921), Vergílio Correia (Régua, 1888 - Coimbra, 1944) and António Nogueira Gonçalves (Sorgaçoosa, Arganil, 1901 - Coimbra, 1998).

At the end of the century, the history of Portuguese art received the crucial contribution of another foreign author, the German Karl Albrecht Haupt (Büdingen, Hessen, 1856 - Hanover, 1932). An architect, teacher and art historian, with a doctorate in philosophy from the University of Giessen, a professor at the Higher Technical Institute in Hanover, he focused on the study of Renaissance architecture, and published the work *Arquitectura da Renascença em Portugal* [Renaissance Architecture in Portugal] (1890 and 1895), translated into Portuguese in the journal *Serões* [Soirées] between 1903 and 1909 which were later published in volume in 1922.

The work of Joaquim de Vasconcelos and many of the afore-mentioned authors remained on the fringes of an increasingly important field: art criticism, that is, the appraisal of contemporary art, particularly present in the journals that multiplied after 1840, namely the general magazines which, while granting little interest to art, contributed to raising the public's awareness of the historical heritage and, occasionally, of painting and sculpture, thanks to historical and descriptive articles, engravings, and dissemination notes. The most important were *O Panorama* (1837-1844, 1846-47, 1852-58 and 1866-68), "the literary and instructive journal of the Sociedade Propagadora de Conhecimentos Úteis [Society for the Dissemination of Useful Knowledge]", *Revista Universal Lisbonense* [Universal Lisbon Journal] (1841-1859), *Arquivo Pitoresco* [Picturesque Archive] (1857-68) and *O Ocidente* [The West] (1878-1915).

As we approach the end of the century, the journals disseminating art through chronicles, front-page prints, and travel notes multiply, as can be seen in the weekly *Branco e Negro* [White and Black], in 1896. But art remained very much a side-line issue in literary journals. One of the most significant examples is perhaps the *Revista de Portugal* [The Journal of Portugal] (1889-1892), directed by Eça de Queirós, where, as noted by



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José-Augusto França, "in its three thousand pages of text there were only three articles on art". The specialised press, except for the *Jornal de Belas-Artes* [Journal of Fine Arts] or *Mnémosine Lusitana* [Lusitanian Mnemosyne] (1816-17), saw an increase with the publication of the homonymous *Jornal de Belas-Artes* (1843), directed by Almeida Garrett, which was remarkable for its criticism on painting. The "art journals" did not exclude literature, history or archaeology. Their main feature was that they gave art a more prominent place and frequently sought to promote and guide it. In fact, literary preponderance continued to be recurrent in periodicals whose title would seem to suggest otherwise: *A Arte* [Art] (Porto, 1895), *A Arte* [Art] (Coimbra, 1895-96), *A Arte* (Porto, 1897-98) and *Arte Livre* [Free Art] (Braga, 1897-98). Despite the obvious difficulties in terms of the autonomization of the press dedicated to art, four journals are particularly noteworthy: *Artes e Letras* [Arts and Letters], directed by Rangel de Lima (Lisbon, 1872-1875), *A Arte*, directed by Sousa e Vasconcelos (Lisbon, 1879-1881), *A Arte Portuguesa* [Portuguese Art], under Joaquim de Vasconcelos (Porto, 1882-1884) and *Arte Portuguesa*, under the literary direction of Gabriel Pereira and art direction of aquarellist Casanova (Lisbon, 1895).

In these journals, historiography and criticism appeared side by side, reflecting the practice of many scholars. The frequently fabulous search for strict objectivity was based on an intrinsic unanimity of aesthetic enhancement criteria, which was extended to both historians and critics, giving them epistemological security and making them believe in criticism as a science. They all shared three interdependent convictions: art is the expression of absolute beauty, art expresses the artist's subjectivity, art should not contradict nature. The balanced exercise of these dogmas prevented the potential excesses contained in each of them and provided an impregnable basis for appraisal. It followed, therefore, that criticism was structured around three aspirations which, as stated elsewhere, were no more than the consequences of aesthetic dogmatism: scientific grounds, impartiality, and critical character. Obviously, these features embody a theory of art marked both by the predominance of idealism that tends to reject the subjectivity of taste and by the acceptance of positive, descriptive, and erudite knowledge. Until the beginning of the 20th century, art criticism was a judgement and therefore wished to be a science. It became impression and therefore wished to be art.

Criticism underwent remarkable development in the last three decades of the 19th century, initially thanks to authors such as Rangel de Lima, Luciano Cordeiro, António Enes and Zacarias d'Aça. Francisco Rangel de Lima (Lisbon, 1839 - Lisbon, 1909), a civil servant and playwright, authored many articles in *Artes e Letras* and *A Arte*, in the 1870s. Luciano Cordeiro (Mirandela, 1844 - Lisbon, 1900) a graduate from the *Curso Superior de Letras*, was a teacher, director-general of Public Instruction, a member of parliament for the *Partido Regenerador* [Regenerator Party], and founder of the *Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa* [Lisbon Geographical Society]. He was secretary to the committee for the reform of art education, conservation of historical monuments and the formation of national museums. He wrote on the Portuguese colonies and maritime expansion, as well as on science, literature, geography, travel, hydrography, and banking. In the field of the arts he published *Tesouros de Arte: Relances de um viajante* [Art Treasures: A traveller's glimpse] (1875), an



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opinion article on *As Obras dos Jerónimos* [The Works of Jerónimos [Monastery]] (1895) and a compilation in two volumes: *Livro de Crítica: Arte e literatura portuguesa de hoje: 1868-1869* [Book of Criticism: Portuguese art and literature today: 1868-1869] (1869) and *Segundo Livro de Crítica: Arte e literatura portuguesa de hoje: Livros, quadros e palcos* [Second Book of Criticism: Portuguese art and literature today: Books, paintings and stages] (1871). António Enes (Lisbon, 1848 - Queluz, 1901) was a journalist, a librarian of the Biblioteca Nacional, a playwright, colonial administrator, a member of parliament, ambassador, and *Ministro da Marinha e do Ultramar* [Minister of the Navy and Overseas Territories] (1890-1891). He collaborated in the journal *Artes e Letras*, where he wrote on "Os abusos do realismo" ["The abuse of realism"] (1872) and reviewed exhibitions. Zacarias d'Aça (Lisbon, 1839 - 1908), a librarian of the Academia de Belas-Artes, a member of the *Direção-Geral de Instrução Pública* [Directorate General of Public Instruction] and a teacher for fourteen years in a private school, wrote on hunting, history and art. He contributed to the *Revista Contemporânea de Portugal e Brasil* [Contemporary Journal of Portugal and Brazil] and *O Ocidente*. One of the three chapters of the voluminous book *Lisboa Moderna* [Modern Lisbon] (1906) was dedicated to the fine arts.

In the 1880s, naturalism prevailed as a current and gained traction in criticism. José-Augusto França referred to Ramalho Ortigão, Fialho de Almeida, Ribeiro Artur and Monteiro Ramalho as the "critics of naturalism". Defining himself as an artist of criticism, since he did not fulfil the rigorous precepts he deemed necessary for the exercise of such activity (profound erudition, direct and comparative study, penetration of spirit, sensitivity, discursive aptitude, etc.), Ramalho Ortigão (Porto, 1836 - Lisbon, 1915) was, in fact, one of the most important critics of this period. His articles on the history of architecture, sculpture and painting and the historiographical dimension of chapter VII of *A Holanda* [Holland] (1883) and *O Culto da Arte em Portugal* [The Cult of Art in Portugal] (1896) revealed rather than obscured his critical endeavour. In addition to the references in *As Farpas* [Barbs] (1871-1882), he published around three dozen texts in newspapers, journals and catalogues, namely: "Cifka" (1879), "O concurso de pintura na Academia de Belas-Artes" ["The painting competition at the Academy of Fine Arts"] (1879), "Silva Porto" (1879 and 1895), "Carolus Duran, Silva Porto e Columbano" ["Carolus Duran, Silva Porto and Columbano"] (1880), "A exposição de quadros – Alberto de Oliveira" ["The exhibition of paintings - Alberto de Oliveira"] (1883), "Na morte de Miguel Lupi" ["On the Death of Miguel Lupi"] (1883), "A Pintura Moderna em Lisboa" ["Modern Painting in Lisbon"] (1883-84), "As louças de Bordalo Pinheiro" ["Bordalo Pinheiro's Earthenware"] (1886), "A obra de Ventura Terra" ["The Work of Ventura Terra"] (1903), "Soares dos Reis" (1904) and "A Pintura de Malhoa" ["The Painting of Malhoa"] (1906). The writer Fialho de Almeida (Vila de Frades, 1857 - Cuba, 1911) embraced criticism mainly in the last twenty years of his life, in chronicles collected in *Os Gatos* [Cats] (1889-1904), *Vida Irónica* [Ironic Life] (1892), *À Esquina* [On the corner] (1903), *Barbear, Pentear* [Shaving and Combing] (1911) and *Vida Errante* [Aimless Life] (1925). Ribeiro Artur (Lisbon, 1851 - 1910) was, in professional terms, a military man. He reached the rank of lieutenant-colonel of infantry, wrote instruction manuals, and wrote the history of the "Portuguese hunters in the Peninsular War". However, he devoted himself mainly to watercolour painting, displaying his



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works at the Grémio Artístico [Art Guild], the Sociedade Nacional de Belas-Artes [National Society of Fine Arts] and at the 1900 Universal Exhibition in Paris. His expressive critical work was compiled in three volumes entitled *Arte e Artistas Contemporâneos* [Contemporary Art and Artists] (1896, 1898 and 1903). Evaristo Cândido Monteiro Ramalho (Barqueiros, Mesão Frio, 1862 - 1949), a journalist and writer who was a member of the Grupo do Leão [Leão [Brewery] Group], collected his critical work in *Folhas de Arte* [Art Sheets] (1897). Jaime Batalha Reis (Lisbon, 1847 - Torres Vedras, 1933), a graduate in Agronomy, a journalist and diplomat, member of the Geração de 70 [1870s Generation], was interested in theoretical issues and in criticism on painting. One of the best expressions of 19th century art criticism was the book that António Arroio (Porto, 1856 - Lisbon, 1934), a public works engineer and education inspector, dedicated to Soares dos Reis and Teixeira Lopes in 1899, entitled "Estudo crítico da obra dos dois escultores portugueses, precedido de pontos de vista estético" ["Critical study of the work of the two Portuguese sculptors, preceded by aesthetic points of view"]. This author, who directed the Portuguese representation at the 1900 Universal Exhibition in Paris, wrote extensively on music.

Save for the collective work *A Arte e a Natureza em Portugal* [Art and Nature in Portugal], the first decade of the 20th century witnessed a bibliographic slowdown, only offset by the ongoing work of Joaquim de Vasconcelos and Francisco de Sousa Viterbo. The other 19th century scholars either ceased to be present or interrupted their historiographical activity. Art historiography in the 20th century began in 1910 with José de Figueiredo's *O Pintor Nuno Gonçalves* [Painter Nuno Gonçalves] and in 1916 with Vergílio Correia's *Etnografia Artística* [Art Ethnography], and it was consolidated immediately afterwards with the appearance of an unusual number of authors: Reynaldo dos Santos (1880-1970), José Pessanha (1865-1939), Manuel de Aguiar Barreiros (1874-1961), Aarão de Lacerda (1890-1947), Pedro Vitorino (1882-1944), Luís Chaves (1889-1975), Carlos de Passos (1890-1958), etc. While Vergílio Correia represented the erudite scholar, fond of documents and reticent towards hypothetical propositions, José de Figueiredo (Porto, 1871 - Porto, 1937), while not neglecting documentary research, preferred to emphasise intuition and a nationalist slant.

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