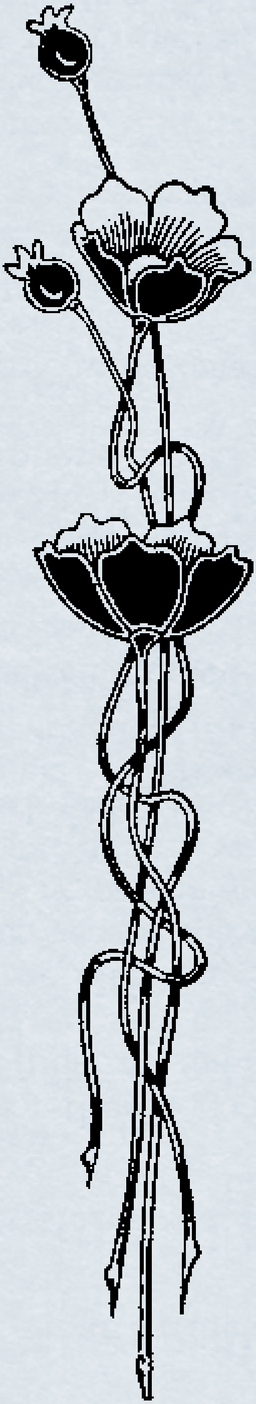
A JOURNEY
to
THE 1920s

The diaphanous glitter of extravagance



Maria João Castro

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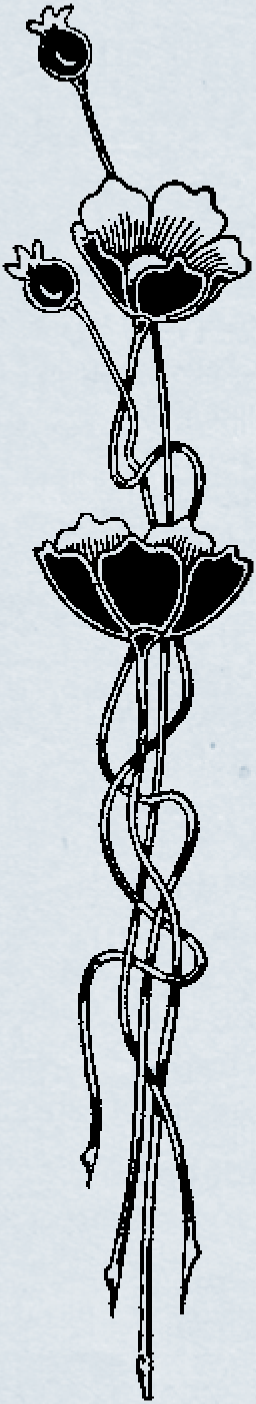

To the memory of José-Augusto França,
master, interlocutor and inspiration for this
new undertaking about the1920s.

PREFACE

At the end of the 1920s two events occurred that marked the economic history of the 20th century: Black Friday on 13 May 1927 at the Berlin Stock Exchange and Black Thursday on 24 October 1929 at the New York Stock Exchange. Preceding these but with a purely local dimension was 28 May 1926 when General Gomes da Costa seized power for a few days in the military coup that would enable António de Oliveira Salazar to lead the country after his appointment as Minister of Finance in 1928 and Prime Minister in 1933. He remained at the head of the *Estado Novo*, which survived even after he was unable to work following an illness in 1968. The Dictatorship lasted until 25 April 1974.

If I refer to these dates it is in order to situate the period that Maria João Castro studies in this book, which starts in 1918 at the end of the First World War. This was then followed by the Spanish flu pandemic that lasted in Portugal until 1919 carrying off, along with thousands of other Portuguese, several figures that had marked the previous decade such as Santa-Rita Pintor with his Futurist provocation, Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso in plastic arts and João Lúcio in poetry but also in his chalet in Ria Formosa which followed an esoteric design in both its architecture and construction. The splendour of the European *Belle Époque* in Portugal took place within a space of time that was slightly shorter than in other countries if we let the 1926 military dictatorship mark its end. It was also diminished by the politics of the First Republic, which was presented by the *Estado Novo* as being a chaotic period of coups and counter coups, union turmoil and anarchist terrorism. All of this leads us to forget that there were also people living the good life with an aesthetic enjoyment of bohemia and the artistic world, but sadly this has left us with no significant memories. What is lacking is a literary record, a theatre that survived the circumstantialism of the time or even a cinema that took a closer look at this daily life of drama and pleasure which Maria João Castro describes for us so well and of which "the diaphanous glitter of extravagance" remains shamefully hidden.

In fact, for Salazarism, the cult of poverty, and even more the cult of "shameful" poverty that was the most important quality the Portuguese people could possess, brushed aside the ostentatious display of pleasure, largely connected to money, that would undergo its own crash in the Banco de Angola e Metropole scandal in 1925. This was caused by the huge number of counterfeit banknotes forged by Alves dos Reis who, until his imprisonment, had been seen as a wealthy member of the financial elite of that rich country. As a result, ostentation and being ostentatious became a crime. The showy pretentiousness that had been so much a part of the habits of high society from France to the United States was a practice that was very negatively viewed among us. So much so that a dandy like Manuel Teixeira Gomes, the wealthy businessman who, after being the minister plenipotentiary in London where he won British royalty over to favour the Republic, was elected President of the Republic in 1923, ended up resigning in 1925 as a result of the attacks that his aristocratic demeanour triggered in a political class incapable of finding a solution for the successive crises that prevented the country from being governed effectively. He went into voluntary exile in Algeria where he died in 1941.

Despite this unfavourable context, there was also a lifestyle that followed the cultural and social models of the *Belle Époque* that we can read about in this book. As I have mentioned, its legacy was often hidden and undervalued by the fascist regime but also by the opposite aesthetic, that of neorealism which became established from the 1940s on, attacking everything that smacked of the bourgeoisie and a way of life that was contrary to that of the oppressed classes. And only the belated discovery that without the 1920s the modernists, with José de Almada-Negreiros at their head, would not have found recognition, nor would we have been able to enjoy the quality of such magazines as "Contemporânea" or at the end of the decade "Presença" (which unveiled a new generation that followed the model of the French psychological novel as well as revealing for the first time the greatness of Fernando Pessoa and heteronyms), only this discovery allows us to value those years that were, despite everything, happy.

And this is all that has been bequeathed to us by this very brief and undervalued period that we find in this work with its vast and rigorous survey of all those aspects in which the "glitter of extravagance" rightfully emerges from the diaphanous cloak under which it lived during decades of a puritan morality with conflicting signals.

Nuno Júdice

PRELUDE

In the first month of the year 1920, Amedeo Modigliani died in Paris on 24 January; on the same day nine years and nine months later (in October 1929), the New York Stock Exchange crashed and the Great Depression began. Between those two dates, a unique, intoxicating, creative and tumultuous decade emerged: the Roaring Twenties, which cut right through a society that was reacting to the post-war period with a euphoria of living *today* as if there was no *tomorrow*.

Rebuilding a Europe in ruins led to the launch of new businesses and services. Companies and industries were born, true empires on a worldwide scale, the harbingers of golden years and opulence with both ready to be driven at a dizzying pace. With money in their pockets, society took revenge on the difficulties caused by such a belligerent conflict through an irreverence that shocked long-standing conservative patterns. Amidst the clichés of the time, the female silhouette was reformulated, with the waist going down and the skirt going up, with hair cut short and dancing invading clubs in an exaltation of both corporality and seduction.

One hundred years after that decade, it is interesting to reconsider that world, as distant as it is intriguing, and put it into perspective within a dynamic triangulation involving art, power and culture comparing the international perspective (first European, then North American) with a Portuguese point of view to crystallise a unique time that extended beyond borders to become an experience whose main imperative was hedonistic. For an elite, the *années folles* were full of *joie de vivre* thanks to a profoundly magical and pressing worldview. Greater freedom in manners gave rise to extravagance, which became a motto that illuminated an impulsive and frivolous authorial worldview. Leisure, fun and revelry were embraced. It was the era of jazz, the Charleston and the Foxtrot, the birth of mass culture, female emancipation and a journey within a designation that brought with it a new modernity, breaking with 19th century positivism and the prevailing canons advocated by the *Belle Époque* at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century.

In its fragility and political inconsistency resulting from the end of the monarchy and the beginning of the Republic, Portugal can be considered an unusual research focus and one requiring a multi-focused approach when seen in the light of a West within an unrivalled period in dialogue with the punishing idiosyncrasies of a changing world.

Today, the first years of the 1920s seem to have crisscrossed some of the paradoxes of that time of change at the same time as offering similarities that make us rethink a history which is permanently being reformulated. Without a shadow of a doubt, the 20th century was a tremendous century and the 1920s of a hundred years ago, crystallised in a contagious and transgressive joy replete with restlessness, have been replicated, albeit on a different scale, in the present time. Just as in the aftermath of the 1920s, in the Spanish flu's post-pandemic phase, a look at the 2020s post-COVID 19 heralds a new stage full of fears, expectations and desires in an experiential crystallisation that is much more than the sum of its parts.

LA BELLE ÉPOQUE.
FORESHADOWING THE END

Belle Époque, Merrie England, Golden Age, names coined in retrospect, which are iconic and symbols of a time both beautiful and terrifying. Indeed, *La Belle Époque* was the title of a radio programme — *Ah la Belle Époque* — which evoked the fifteen years before the First World War. It was presented by André Allehaut on Radio-Paris and first broadcast in October 1940.

For an elite of wealthy and powerful individuals, this would be a time of snobbery, colonial ambition and artistic patronage in a unique confluence that brought together aristocrats and the bourgeois by invoking various rhythms amid an atmosphere of progress and creative stimulation. This political, social, cultural and artistic programme was not formed all at once but resulted from an accumulation of piecemeal interventions over a precise time frame, that of the period of peace between the French defeat[1] and victory.[2] In a growing effervescence, society advanced within a charming picture containing brushstrokes of decadence.

As with any fruitful era, it was a period of neuroses, instability, crisis and scandal, the perfect ingredients with which to become timeless. It was also a triumphant time for French art. In 1872, Claude Monet (1840-1926) painted *Impression, Sunrise*, thereby starting a movement that would trigger others, each more prolific than the one before — Neo-impressionism, Symbolism, Fauvism and Cubism, and the appearance of artists such as Georges Seurat (1859-1891), Paul Gauguin (1848-1903), André Derain (1880-1954) and Paul Cézanne (1839-1906). The first piece of Art Nouveau would be shown at the Great Exhibition of 1876 in an application of art to industry, later giving rise to Art Deco (between 1910 and 1939). These world events formed the epicentre for ideas from outside European culture, such as the fashion for *Japonisme*, a movement in vogue during the second half of the 19th century particularly promoted by the first international exhibitions of the same century. It was marked by a plastic form based on asymmetry and an absence of depth, which would come to influence aspects of Art Deco and Art Nouveau as well as Impressionism. In fact, these world exhibitions would make a unique contribution to the greater visibility of both the progress and importance of the colonial empires. Since the 18th century, progress had been understood as a universal force which governments managed for their national benefit, appearing as authentic places for the creation and dissemination of their representations. As for the empire, those holding the exhibitions sought to convince their public of their overseas importance and legitimacy, so they began to exhibit first products from overseas and then human landscapes reproducing in miniature all the resources of the empire. Organised in different countries from 1851 onwards — mainly England and France — these international events showed visions of a new world to motivate a growing number of visitors as governments soon realised the possibilities of these exhibitions, first of all economically, and then culturally and artistically. Being centres that exalted the triumph of progress and national pride, it was Paris that became the driving force and main centre behind these ventures. First in 1855, then in 1867, 1876, 1878, 1889 and finally in 1900, the City of Lights claimed the role of the mother of civilisation (in a similar manner to that of Ancient Greece) and guardian of western values, proclaiming itself the beacon of the world. This last event of the 19th century — the Exhibition of 1900 — offered a balanced view of the century and, more than any other, brought together a set of icons capable of enduring beyond its closure, such as the inauguration of the Paris metro, the Alexandre III bridge and the Grand Palais, in a celebration of the Paris of the grand *boulevards* of Haussmann (Georges-Èugene Haussmann, 1809-1891) and Baudelaire's formulations of *Modern Man.*[3] The *Rue de l'Avenir* electric moving walkway summarised the image of access to a spectacularly beautiful scene built to give shape to all possible delusions. In the heyday of Art Nouveau — with its iron grids with curved, flexible lines forming knots with each other and hinting at plant organicity and tropical flourishes — the search for the exotic coexisted with a fascination for the civilised world to form two characteristic modern trends of the late 19th century. If during the *Grand Tour*[4] travel destinations were mostly concentrated on the major European cultural capitals (mainly Paris and Rome), these extended to the overseas colonies of the great imperial metropoles as a result of these international events that were shaping the geography of the modern world. It is worth mentioning that at the 1900 Exhibition, the *Mareorama*[5] and the *Tour du Monde*[6] made the experience of travelling without leaving one's own space possible through using a reconstruction of the world that was only possible owing to mechanical progress. All of this created a desire to travel in individuals from the metropoles and the bourgeoisie, emerging from the Industrial Revolution, achieved this with great success. Steamers and trains made travelling easier and the Grand Hotels joined the party. There now seemed to be no limits to seeing the world, subject to time and money of course.

At the same time, the world was going "crazy". At the end of the 19th century, in the famous women's asylum in the Parisian hospital of La Salpêtrière, where the dark beginnings of the psychiatry and misogyny of the time came to an end, the doctor Jean-Martin Charcot (1825-1893), father of neurology and mentor of Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), promoted dances among the inmates. Disguised as columbines, gypsies or any other fantasy,[7] they danced the Waltz or the polka with free and unpretentious movements. Among the group was a young 15-year-old girl who, two years later, would leave for the Moulin Rouge and become one of the fetish cancan dancers. Another entertainment space was inaugurated and with it a new concept — the artistic cabaret. It was called *Le Chat Noir* (1881-1898) and was the catalyst for the emergence of a panoply of night life in bohemian Paris at the end of the century. The Montmartre area had seen the opening of the *Moulin de la Galette* (c. 1830), later the *Lapin Agile* (which had opened in 1860 under the name of *Cabaret des Assassins* and changed its name around 1880), the already mentioned *Moulin Rouge* (1889) and the iconic *Folies Bergère* (1890-1920) immortalised by the posters and paintings of Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec (1864-1901) who, in the meantime, had swapped his austere father's house for the buzz of the nightlife in the French capital. And it was at the *Folies Bergère* that the first classical ballerina stepped onto the stage of a cabaret: Cléo de Mérode (1875-1966). Her image was reproduced on postcards and leaflets, she posed for Toulouse-Lautrec, Alfredo Müller (1869-1939) and Giovanni Boldini (1842-1931), she was Alexandre Falguière's (1831-1900) inspiration for his statue *The Dancer* and she was photographed by Félix Nadar (1820-1910).

There was no way not to succumb to the *douceur de vivre* of the beginning of the century. Constructed retrospectively — and perpetuated in powerful clichés dominated by an indulgence in futile pleasures, in the *frou-frou* of dance halls with their touches of luxury and decadence — this was a time of erotic courtesans in black lacy stockings and with larger than life figures, puppets of a vaudeville of dubious morals and eccentric gifts hiding tragic lives beneath their absinthe-smelling breath. They enshrined the Paris of the revue poster, both gallant and giddy in its pre-decline, often accompanied by *flâneurs*[8] and dandies[9] in the final illusion of a lost world.

The Painter of Modern Life by Charles Baudelaire (1821-1867), published in 1863 and mentioned above, introduced the notion of "modernity" by discoursing on the contemporary mission of art now that humans were travelling by air, sea and land, were experimenting with automobiles, could see the night illuminated by electric lighting, could watch the projection of films by the Lumière brothers [Auguste (1862-1954) and Louis (1864-1948)] and discover the unconscious[10] in a revolution which would only later be fully processed. While Art Nouveau was decorating the City of Lights, Paul Gauguin had left the French metropole and was frenetically painting his exotic and distant Polynesia in vivid colours. The Frenchman, more than any other artist, managed to live the existence he evoked in his work because the journeys he made, the wandering in search of a place less corrupted by western society, the finding of a place not yet contaminated by progress as well as the search for "a new meaning of life" signified a dissatisfaction and disenchantment, a discrediting of the supremacy of European civilisation which was moving in a direction that no longer satisfied his desires. Settled on an island in the South Seas, the painter simplified forms and subject matter, reducing them to almost iconographic representations full of symbolic value; for the French artist, the renewal of art and western civilisation could only come from the primitive. What is significant is that Gauguin's pilgrimage to the South Pacific provided a metaphor for something that had never before been questioned; it symbolised the end of four hundred years of colonial expansion — that is to say, by choosing to exile himself in a French colony, the painter showed that he was exchanging the hegemony of the imperial metropole for a life outside the canons of developed society, choosing a "primitive" life in the colony of Oceania, and it was precisely here that the modernity of his work and the influence it had on subsequent artists lay. This showed the need for a departure from the prevailing culture and a search for a place not yet corrupted by bourgeois, urban Europeans. This was an indication that not everything (or everyone) could be seen within a city society that was an apologist for a socio-economic development that was increasingly elitist and iniquitous. In 1903, the year Gauguin died, Gertrude Stein (1874-1946) settled in Paris where her brother Leo, an art collector and critic, lived. She was 29 years old and would remain in the French capital for the rest of her life. She was a collector and a patron of the arts and letters, especially the Cubists, and her home became one of the most mythical artistic salons of the 20th century. All this meant that from 1900 onwards Paris was a city with a unique driving force. Less than six years had passed since Gauguin's death when, in a strikingly singular year — 1909 — Filippo Tommaso Marinetti (1876-1944) published the "Futurist Manifesto*"* in *Le Figaro* and Serge Diaghilev's (1872-1929) *Ballets Russes* made their debut at the *Théâtre du Châtelet*. However, the glitter surrounding the Russian stars would soon fade. This was the harbinger of the end, the swan song of an engrossing time when Englishmen and Frenchmen married American heiresses to renew their lineage, revive their privileges and increase their bank accounts,[11] an extremely paradoxical time. And it would be within this period with its effervescent dynamics and artistic pioneering that the first European avant-gardes would be encountered.

As for Portugal, the country was light years away from civilised Europe. The Portuguese *Belle Époque* would be lived by a tiny wealthy class of city dwellers made up of *marialvas* [gentlemen Casanovas] and dandies flitting between the *Passeio Público* (the Public Promenade) and the Count of Farrobo's salons. Meanwhile, the secular, illiterate and ragged inhabitants of the provinces drowned their sorrows in taverns and on pilgrimages.

The beginning of the end of the Portuguese "golden" period probably began in 1879 with the demolition of the *Passeio Público* and the end of Romantic Lisbon. In its place, the Avenida da Liberdade was built, a *boulevard* along the lines of Haussmann's Parisian avenues, which would soon become the new place to promenade in the Portuguese capital. The city wanted to be modern and civilised, like its European counterparts, but its economic situation was problematic and the British Ultimatum[12] of 1890 did not help: on the contrary, it provoked a social and political movement of patriotic exaltation and opposition to the monarchy. In 1891, an insurrection associated with the republican movement in Porto would show to anyone who was paying attention that the days of the Portuguese crown were numbered.

Before the turn of the century, Lisbon oscillated between resistant tradition and a desire for the advance of civilisation based on progress. The nerve centre of modernity was to be found in the Lisbon Baixa (city centre) and hardly anywhere else. Chiado became the capital's chic, elegant and whimsical centre where you went to "*chiadar*" (saunter around the Chiado). Although confined to Avenida da Liberdade and Restauradores, Lisbon's electric lights reverberated in the comings and goings of carriages on their way to the São Carlos, Ginásio, Trindade or Dona Amélia theatres to see world stars like Sarah Bernhardt (in 1882). Newspaper vendors would shout out to sell the evening papers. The "high life" gravitated around Grandella, the Art Nouveau department store opened in 1907,[13] and could be found in the Grandes Armazéns do Chiado (1894) and the Armazéns Ramiro Leão (founded in 1888). In the vicinity, the national railway company, the Real Companhia dos Caminhos de Ferro Portugueses, commissioned construction of the Hotel Avenida Palace, built between 1890 and 1892, so that it could serve as a support for the Rossio railway station (inaugurated next door in 1888) where the *Sud Express* arrived from Paris. The Brasileira café (founded in 1905) soon became an obligatory place to visit, right next to the Patisserie Benard (founded in 1868 but which moved quite a few years later to Rua Garrett in 1902) and part of a group of cafés that included the Confeitaria Nacional (1829), Martinho da Arcada (1782) and Café Gelo in Rossio.

At the end of the 19th century, the donkey was the most common means of transport alongside the animal-drawn streetcars known as "americanos"[14] and the funiculars[15] climbing the steep hills of Lisbon. In 1901, the electric traction carriage was inaugurated making it possible to dispense with animals. Lisbon had accepted speed: shortly before this, in 1895, the first automobile had been imported — a Panhard & Levassor. Once sedan chairs, two-wheeled chaises and donkeys had been abandoned, the wealthiest people were transported in calèches, coupés, landaus and hackney carriages before these succumbed to taxis in 1907. A new giant step would be taken in 1909 with the first aviation experiments in Portugal, but it would be years before this means of transport was within the reach of ordinary mortals. Meanwhile, fishwives and Galicians sold door-to-door and from the outskirts of Lisbon came the country folk responsible for supplying the Lisbon markets. On the fringes of the elegant centre, the popular quarters of Alfama, Bairro Alto and Mouraria remained practically unchanged. Misery, poverty and disreputable habits reigned there, with their residents not daring to go beyond their geographical limits. As a whole, this could have been picturesque if the differences had not been so abysmal with a gallery of completely heterogeneous types of resident.

In the last quarter of the 19th century, the artists who graduated from the Academies of Fine Arts in Lisbon and Porto seemed to be in tune with the Paris of the naturalists from the Barbizon School.[16] Due largely to the residential accommodation offered, a group of young people plunged into this effervescent Parisian life and found themselves at the birth of the Portuguese naturalist movement. This was the generation that followed the Portuguese Romantics Tomás da Anunciação (1818-1879) and João Cristino da Silva (1829-1877) and included names such as their mentor Silva Porto (1850-1893) and his colleagues Marques de Oliveira (1853-1927), Artur Loureiro (1853-1932), Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro (1857-1929)[17], António Ramalho Júnior (1858-1916) and Henrique Pousão (1859-1889). Others, even without scholarships, travelled to the same destination after seeing and absorbing the news from Paris. This was the case with Josefa Greno (1850-1902), João José Vaz (1859-1931) and Aurélia de Sousa (1866-1922). The only exception was perhaps José Malhoa (1855-1933), a major name in Portuguese naturalist painting, who was twice passed over for the State Scholarship to Paris but who obtained an honourable mention in the 1901 Salon and a second medal in the 1900 Paris Universal Exhibition. The internationalisation of these Portuguese artists contributed to the naturalist artistic movement centred on Lisbon and Porto, although they often sought their inspiration in the landscapes of rural Portugal. However, it would not be long before the scattered and plundered cultural and patrimonial heritage (largely due to the extinction of the religious orders in 1834 and the consequent abandonment of convents and monasteries) began to be appreciated, especially archaeological heritage. Thanks to the tenacity of Leite Vasconcelos, in 1895 the first regional structures capable of protecting and perpetuating this were created, giving rise to municipal museums.

If certain individuals in the Lisbon of the *Belle Époque* lived as "custom" dictated adopting a modern and elegant manner, such as the characters painted by Columbano in *Serão* (1880) or his *Concerto de Amadores* (1882), there were others who survived in the fatalistic bohemian world of *fado* made up of popular quarters where ruffians played out their destiny and the harshness of their fate. This spirit, condensed in paintings of great impact such as José Malhoa's *O Fado* (1910) or Roque Gameiro's (1906-1935) *Alfama*, had become popular in the taverns, brothels and nightclubs, the heir to a myth anchored in legendary characters such as Maria Severa (1820-1846),[18] inspiring a unique theme in national painting that best portrayed this anachronistic Lisbon.

In any event, the fact that naturalist painting was popular in Portugal from the 1870s to the 1930s explains the large number of works done in the open air by "ethnographic" painters who reflect in their canvases the national reality, that is, the everyday popular life of a country that resisted modernisation. The compositions are extremely rural in nature showing country life and even in those that are more cosmopolitan, this bucolic and rustic Portugal persists. This is why the slow transformation of the naturalist heritage to a modern reality would come about more through reform than revolution. It should be mentioned that those movements that were part of the European avant-garde were not the dominant ones in the society to which they belonged, but only experienced by a relatively limited creative elite.

Another feature of Portuguese culture and art at the end of the century was the fashion for photography, which had taken its first steps a short while before. It was received with curiosity and enthusiasm by 19th century society. One of its notable pioneers was Carlos Relvas (1838-1894), a photographer who started his own studio in 1876. He collaborated on periodicals that reproduced his art in their pages, especially the magazine *O Occidente* (1878-1915), the illustrated society magazine of the time.

At the turn of the century, Lisbon was turned inward on itself and existed between the precarious life of many and the euphoria of the few in a form of melancholic miscegenation. With the fall of the monarchy and the setting up of the Republic in 1910, the country lived through a period of successive governments. This gave the time a feeling of insecurity and prevented the sedimentation and development of a structured fully-fledged State.

In the *fin-de-siècle* cosmopolitanism, the upper classes had telephones installed in their homes, then later they ventured out to enjoy the novelty of the animatograph. The enthusiasm of Lisbon residents for this new form of entertainment meant the number of places dedicated to it multiplied: the first was the Real Coliseu de Lisboa, in Rua da Palma, which was then followed by the Salão Ideal, in Rua do Loreto. Up to the end of 1910, other venues opened their doors, notably: Chiado Terrace (in Rua António Maria Cardoso), the Salão Trindade (in Rua Nova da Trindade) and the Salão Central (in Restauradores), showing how animatographs had become part of the routine habits of a diverse and discerning clientele.

Women and girls continued to be educated within the home: the first high school for girls — Maria Pia — was founded in 1906, but the overwhelming majority of future wives and mothers continued to have lessons at home, play the piano and speak French. This was required by the rules of decorum and guided by the rituals of gallantry, had flirting not been the favourite occupation of *marialva* Lisbon. In the privacy of her own home, the future homemaker wore a variety of different toilettes according to the time of day. Copied from models imported from Paris, S-shaped corset dresses were made in the workshops of famous dressmakers. During the day, they were of light-coloured crepe de chine, chiffon, silk mousseline, voile or tulle, which hung in diaphanous floating waves; at night, dark velvets and damasks, printed, embroidered or decorated with abundant gold and silver lamé, replicated the sparkling lights. Ladies did not go out without gloves, parasols or hats and rules of etiquette, whose codes were widely published in numerous handbooks, presided over both public dances and private parties.

In their leisure time during the summer season, one part of the population went bathing at the beaches stretching from Pedrouços to Cascais whilst the other part were entertained at the amusement fairs in Campo Grande and Belém, as described by Ramalho Ortigão (1836-1915).[19] Theatres were full for every premiere and each theatre had its own specialty: there were recitals by foreign companies at the São Carlos and Dona Amélia, musical theatre at Trindade, and revues and operettas at Dona Maria II, Avenida and Rua dos Condes.

It is interesting to mention one final indicator of Portugal in the *Belle Époque* since it acts as an excellent barometer of the society of the time: the Portuguese travellers who journeyed abroad. The widespread movement of travelling for leisure that occurred during the 19th century came late to Portugal largely as a result of the influence of the geopolitical vicissitudes of the first half of the 19th century, in particular the French invasions and the consequent flight of the Portuguese court to Brazil as well as the Liberal civil war that ensued. In this unpredictable atmosphere, the foreign dimension became for the Portuguese something that was more wished for and sung about than experienced. It was only almost at the end of the century that the conditions were met for some Portuguese to pack their bags and travel abroad. Hence their accounts are precious records not only as to how they saw the Other but also as to how they saw themselves. This phenomenon was transversal to western society and constituted an element of modernity that was the result of a whole new sensibility acquired not only from the technical progress that emerged out of the Industrial Revolution and disseminated by the universal exhibitions (e.g. development of means of transport, accommodation and support infrastructures) but also from the European "age" of imperialism that promoted the exploration of their overseas possessions. Thus, at a time when travelling was still not easy and entailed greater discomfort and more unexpected problems than was deemed desirable, a small group of intrepid Portuguese proposed making foreign travel a cornerstone of their lives.

Each class embodied a certain way of travelling, which is why the journey of those at the top of the hierarchy — the Court — became a catalyst for other classes to follow in their footsteps. This is precisely what happened with the journey the queen, Dona Amélia, made to Egypt in 1903.[20] The monarch was later followed by some of the aristocracy (nobles and military) and then by members of the cultural-artistic world of the intellectual society of writers and artists.[21] In terms of the military, the name of Francisco Afonso Chaves (1857-1926) stands out. He was a naturalist from the Azores who allied scientific curiosity with artistic sensibility; he visited London, Venice, Paris, Morocco, Mozambique, South Africa and Zanzibar. Also worth mentioning is Adolfo Ferreira de Loureiro (1836-1911), another military officer as well as an engineer, writer, poet and politician: in 1883, he was sent on a mission to British India, Ceylon, Singapore, China and Macau, which gave rise to a 2-volume work entitled *No Oriente, de Nápoles à China*, published in the context of the Centenary of India Exhibition in 1898. As for writers, the names that stand out are Ramalho Ortigão with his works *A Hollanda* and *Pela Terra Alheia* in which he recounts not only his travels around Europe but also the transatlantic journey he made to Argentina and Brazil (1887) where his brother was living.[22] Another literary figure and traveller, a friend of Ramalho Ortigão, was Eça de Queirós (1845-1900). His journey to Cairo in 1869, at the time of the inauguration of the Suez Canal, resulted in one of his most interesting, critical and lucid narratives. It dealt with the conflict between cultural heritage and the political, economic and colonial tensions that modern-day Egypt had been presented with. He was Portuguese consul in Cuba, but travelled around the United States and

Canada before being transferred to Paris (although he had previously lived in England). Other names that should be mentioned are Ricardo Guimarães (1830-1889),[23] Jaime de Magalhães Lima (1859-1936)[24] and Joaquim Pedro de Oliveira Martins (1845-1894).[25] There was also a large group of civilians — members of the bourgeoisie, country landowners and others — who wanted to travel for religious reasons and so embarked on pilgrimages that allied culture to devotion as in the case of Pereira Pinto Balsemão.[26] So we can see that the few who left preferred foreign places that were modern and not too far away (Paris, especially) and only a handful ventured to exotic lands (Africa, the Middle East, Asia), a feature of the hegemonic political expansion to legitimate the imperial territories of Europe. For the Portuguese of the late 19th century, the oriental mirage — a type of antidote to the monotony of an increasingly industrialised and uniform society as well as a search for the authenticity and purity (*cf.* the theory of Rousseau's "noble savage") that arises from not being contaminated by the vices of bourgeois, urban, European man — was light years away from the isolation of the nation's reality and the escape to literature restored some of the enthusiasm of actually travelling abroad. Thus, the records that have been left for us are the result of overseas journeys consisting of singular and solitary paths, a practice that was little encouraged and was linked to Portugal's backwardness in keeping up with technological progress and consequently in fostering an open intellect and an open mentality. The call of the outside world was distant and fragmented in a Portugal that resisted the advance of European modernity as if it were suspended in a time outside the enlightened progress that was engaging many of the Old Continent's metropoles.

THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND THE EUROPEAN AVANT-GARDE

The ruin shows so much of loss
as of possibilities and rebirth

The First World War drastically changed how things had been viewed until then. The "good old days" of abundance, technological advance and leisure experienced between 1900 and 1914 ended abruptly in the face of the hecatomb of the European conflict. As everyday life was conditioned, with very strong direct consequences for society as a whole, the Old Continent declined and collapsed. Between 1914 and 1918 the war killed nearly nine million soldiers, 90% of all deaths, with the Spanish flu adding between 20 and 25 million to the death toll. However, during this period of time, Europe witnessed a unique phenomenon, namely the blossoming of the first avant-garde movements. The escape and refuge in art resulted in profoundly innovative creation carried out by a group of daring young people for whom the canons in force and the tradition of the academy were no longer capable of responding to the new anxieties and questions when dealing with a profoundly divided yet interconnected world. This bold creative daring on the part of the artists and the nucleus of intellectuals who gravitated around them quickly spread to a wider public, influencing and reshaping ways of doing, thinking and acting that were not confined to the world of arts and culture but extended to society and to the political power itself.

Cubism (1907), Futurism (1909), Abstractionism (1910), Expressionism (1911), Suprematism and Constructivism (1913), Dadaism (1916) and, in the 1920s, Surrealism (1924) established a certain dynamism, proposing avant-garde approaches, so-called as they were ahead of their time, insofar as this was art not only summoning and invoking but also announcing and denouncing in anticipating the circumstances of its own creation. Producing and revealing new forms of aesthetic and plastic performance, the first avant-garde movements of the 20th century were only fully known, understood and disseminated in the years following the devastation of the 1914-18 war in a phase when domestic economies, after recovering from the ruins, had created the necessary conditions for cultural-artistic creation. The epicentre of these movements was concentrated in Paris, but the figures that gave rise to them came from different countries, such as Italy, Germany, Russia and Switzerland.

Historically, the precursor of Cubism was the Frenchman Paul Cézanne, but it was Georges Braque (1882-1963) and Pablo Picasso (1881-1973) who spread it to the world from Paris. The standout work of this movement — *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* — was created by the Spaniard in 1907 and made an impact among Picasso's inner circle of friends, but it would not be exhibited for the first time until 1916 at the *L'Art Moderne en France* exhibition organised by André Salmon, an art critic. In the pictures of the Cubist painters, forms were reduced to geometric figures, which had the particularity of presenting all their parts on the same frontal plane. In doing so, the Cubists did not subject themselves to any rules of perspective, but rather made a 360º movement around the forms capturing them in order to learn about them: the representation was no longer frontal, but viewed simultaneously from several angles. In other words, the painters revealed in their paintings not only what they saw but their own visual interpretation. This released such works from the mere mimetic representation or reproduction of the real to become a suggested reading of that real based on the creative sensibility of their authors. What is more, by deconstructing the figurative ideology and the notion of the portrait that had come down from the Renaissance — exchanging the face for the mask — artists were able to disseminate signs of identification, keeping them only inside their head, the place from which they recreated them, not necessarily as they were but as they saw them. This shattered compositional order and conventional distance making the background as important as the central object, which was considerably innovative. In other words, Cubist ordering and composition transformed the canonical notions of painting, re-considering it and making it the first avant-garde artistic manifesto of the 20th century and introducing a new phase in western art.

As for Futurism, the new movement owed its name to the Italian Filippo Marinetti whose manifesto, published in *Le Figaro* in 1909, declared his opposition to traditional and academic formulas, advocating an anarchic and free art able to express the dynamism and energy of modern industrial society. It was certainly the most radical of all the avant-garde movements and became widespread while the war was raging, precisely because of its *apologia* for the glorification of machines, movement and speed, the main symbol of the future. Thus, it proposed the destruction of the past (war was central to destroying the past and renewing the existing mentality) and a focus on an advanced technical and scientific society. This meant that war was seen as a means to achieve that goal and herein perhaps lies its notoriety. Extreme patriotism was highly regarded by the futurists, with great emphasis placed on propaganda in a formula that was in keeping with the times: political tension, which would lead to war, and technological development inherited from the industrial revolution. Futurist aggressiveness went beyond stylistic limits and was clearly evident in such paintings: abstraction dominated the forms within them obtained through the superimposition of images in an action demonstrating the speed at which they moved on the canvas in a plastic interpenetration at one and the same time. Persisting in their commitment to the iconography of the modern world, the Futurists saw Cubism as an inspiration (in terms of form, space and the multiplicity of points of view) which they adapted towards the plastic realisation of their own ideological and imaginative interests.

As regards Abstractionism, its founder was Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944) when he composed the *First Abstract Watercolour* in 1910. By prioritising abstract forms over figures, Kandinsky showed his opposition to the Renaissance model by valuing forms, colours, lines and textures. This artistic rupture suppressed any relationship between reality and the painting, lines and planes, dividing itself between lyrical abstractionism and geometric abstractionism, with the former being inspired by the unconscious and intuition (originating from Expressionism and Fauvism) and the latter being directly influenced by Cubism and Futurism by focusing on geometric and chromatic composition involving considerable mathematical rigour. Piet Mondrian (1872-1944) was its greatest representative. Note that this refusal of figuration was grounded in the terrifying images of war printed in newspapers; the artists sought to paint a faceless, abstract reality giving viewers the possibility of distancing themselves from any objective point of reference and thereby interpreting the canvas freely and subjectively. This particularity of abstract art would be considerably developed after the Second World War through praising painting that was worthy in itself and not for what it represented, as shown in the work of pioneering artists such as Jackson Pollock (1912-1956), Mark Rothko (1903-1970), Robert Motherwell (1915-1991) and Barret Newman (1905-1970).

Expressionism initially appeared in Germany and was a heterogeneous movement that brought together different attitudes and different ways of understanding art, unifying artists of various tendencies and backgrounds. Priority was given to the artist's inner vision and expression in contrast to the mere observation — the impression — of reality. Understood in this way, the movement was defined by a strong and aggressive chromatic palette, resorting to the themes of loneliness and misery thereby reflecting the anguish and anxiety that dominated German creative artists. For this reason primacy was given to subjectivity, with a preference for forbidden themes — the exciting, the diabolical, the sexual, the fantastic or the perverse — which took on a metaphysical dimension and opened the senses to an inner world of their own. As a result of the peculiar historical circumstances in which it emerged, Expressionism revealed the pessimistic side of life and the existentialist anguish of the individual who in modern, industrialised society finds him/herself alienated and isolated. In Germany, two dominant groups gave life to this new way of seeing the world: *Die Brücke* ("The Bridge", founded in 1905) and *Der Blaue Reiter* ("The Blue Rider", 1911), the latter being formed by emigrant painters, among whom the Russian Wassily Kandinsky and the German Paul Klee (1879-1940) stand out. Their common points were the lyrical dimension of colour, pure and limpid clarity and luminosity, dynamism of form, above all its capacity to fascinate, and its internal magic and emotion giving value to emotional expression. The group dissolved with the outbreak of the First World War, but its repercussions went far beyond 1914, with the movement captivating German artistic and intellectual circles during the first two decades of the 20th century.

Another historical avant-garde movement, Constructivism, began in Russia in 1913, resulting from the atmosphere of major ideological and artistic vivacity prior to the Revolution. It was generally characterised by the constant use of geometric elements, photomontage and primary colours with its initial exponent being Vladimir Tatlin (1885-1953). The creations linked to the movement were thought of as constructions rather than representations in line with the emerging pre-Bolshevist thinking, namely, the building of a newly reformulated, egalitarian and collective society. As for Suprematism, this is linked to the name of its creator, Kazimir Malevich (1879-1935), although the reflection of his pictorial poetics is surpassed by exponents such as El Lissitzky (1890-1941) and Aleksandr Rodchenko (1891-1956). A pure geometric abstraction centred on basic geometric forms is how one can define the Suprematism founded in Malevich's 1918 canvas *White on White*. Within it, the space is inhabited by minimal elements, which convey the pure sensation of contemplation towards the artistic object without any kind of narrative. From 1915, Malevich's Suprematism and Tatlin's Constructivism were allied with the workers' movement, the driving force behind the Russian Revolution, thereby gaining the status of official art when the Revolution happened in 1917. This alliance of art and politics led to considerable creative dynamism. Committed to the new Soviet power, artists placed themselves at its service, thereby endowing art with a more significant and accessible social role. And this is when the Europe of dictators began, which saw in the arts a privileged vehicle to disseminate the new ideology of the "New Man". In the paradigm shift they sought to build, the Bolshevik government saw that both avant-garde movements were in line with the recent socio-political order, that is, art could be used as an ideological weapon and propaganda vehicle, educating and enlightening the nation while based on the strict criteria and directives issued by the single party within a transformative modernity.

Dadaism,[27] a distinctly different strand, was formed from the lack of meaning to be found given the irrationality and deception of war. Initiated at the Cabaret Voltaire in Zurich during World War I (1916), the leaders of this avant-garde movement were Tristan Tzara (1896-1963) and Hugo Ball (1886-1927). It was a movement denying all the aesthetic and artistic values of the period in clear opposition to the ruling power and in defence of the absurd and incoherent in an anarchy of protest against the civilisation that had failed to prevent war. They thus proposed a provocative art, shocking the society of which they formed part and basing their works on chaos and disorder by deconstructing concepts resulting from psychic automatism. Irreverent, the Dadaists often used materials found on the streets or in rubbish, reacting against traditional forms of artistic production with a mercantilist sense, expressing a creative and nihilistic force which questioned the meaning of human existence. Years later, many of its followers would form part of the rise of Surrealism, which will be discussed below, since it had already appeared in the mid-1920s but within a completely different context.

All these ruptures and "-isms" were intertwined and interrelated of course with their mutual influences and interdependencies. Indeed, each avant-garde movement mirrored within itself an interpretation of reality, summoning and formulating a plurality of views. All this unequal experimentation led to distinct repercussions related to the societies where this was taking place although there was clearly the common thread of war and its consequences.

In short, the emergence of the historical avant-garde movements caused, initially in isolation and then more systematically, an outpouring of the arts that was largely the result of the conditions brought about by the war and a re-thinking of ways of looking at and living through that ongoing reality. And this provided the genesis and justification of what would happen next, at least for the urban elite. In truth, the manifesto of each of the avant-garde movements was disseminated, replicated and surpassed in an accelerated crescendo of aesthetic updates. In essence, art had become a refuge and an evasion, a restlessness and a liberation, inviting a set of differing, though profoundly modern, questions and resonances.

Portugal found itself light years away from this daily experience. The government of Bernardino Machado (1851-1944) entered the war to defend its overseas colonies (since Germany's ambitions in that regard were well known), sending military contingents to Africa in a first phase (1914) and then, in a second phase, joining the Allies and deploying an Expeditionary Corps in Flanders (1917). Amidst growing political and governmental instability and the economic and social difficulties caused by the war (domestically, the cost of living increased, the supply of food was scarce and unemployment was growing), violent popular reactions were triggered with a state of siege in Lisbon being declared following strikes and riots. This panorama meant that between 1916 and 1918 the country suffered hunger and privations, which the succession of governments and their belligerent propaganda only worsened with considerable impact on Portuguese society and culture both during the conflict itself and in subsequent years. Within this framework of privation and unrest, it can be seen that the establishment of these avant-garde movements within Portugal was incipient, with reduced repercussions and almost no effect, showing the country's distraction and backwardness in recognising the importance of these fundamental contemporary cultural movements that were gaining ground throughout the Old Continent.

Thus, the pale reflections of the European avant-garde movements were felt, above all, due to the efforts of a group of artists who had written *Orpheu* and *Portugal Futurista* at a time when the headlines of the national newspapers featured the apparitions at Fátima and soup kitchens, portraying a fragile and anachronistic country. At the end of 1917, this news shared pages side by side with the announcement of the coming of the *Ballets Russes*, who arrived in Lisbon[28] at the same time as the coup of Sidónio Pais (1872-1918) which established a new order within Portuguese republicanism. Alongside these reports, the ripples from the revolution that had erupted in Russia continued as the Bolsheviks consolidated their power on the way to establishing a communist hegemony, already far removed from the aristocratic country that had seen the birth of the *Ballets Russes*. Welcomed eight years after their Paris premiere, Diaghilev's company divided critics and audiences mainly due to their lack of preparation to understand the modernity present within it. The company stayed in Lisbon for three months, uncertain of their survival which was threatened by the lack of signed contracts as this had been made unfeasible due to the war in Europe. One of the few enthusiasts for their visit to Lisbon was the futurist Almada Negreiros (1893-1970), who even wrote (and published) a passionate manifesto for Diaghilev's company in line with the tiny Portuguese modernist group, which included among its members one of the great exponents of the avant-garde in Portugal, namely Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso (1887-1918).

Amadeo's journey, at the time understood by few and belatedly (almost half a century later) recognised by many, began in the early 1900s. In 1906 the Portuguese painter left for the French capital where he studied painting in various free academies. In 1909 he rented a studio adjoining that of the siblings Gertrude and Leo Stein (1872-1947) at rue de Fleurus, 27. It was during that year that he met his namesake Amedeo Modigliani (1884-1920), forming a strong friendship which in 1911 led him to organise a joint exhibition in his studio, now at rue du Colonel Combes, 3. Picasso was one of the guests as were Guillaume Apollinaire (1880-1918), Max Jacob (1876-1944) and André Derain (1880-1954). He moved within a circle which included Juan Gris (1887-1927), Sonia and Robert Delaunay (1885-1979; 1885-1941) and Diego de Rivera (1886-1957), among others. He exhibited at the *Salon des Indépendants* in Paris (1912), the United States and Germany (both in 1913) and London (1914). The outbreak of war caught him in Portugal where, in 1916, he held his first national exhibition in his own name, first in Porto and then in Lisbon. The local people, still unfamiliar with modern art, flocked to praise, criticise, be scandalised and even, they say, *spit* on the works of the Portuguese painter. The modernist streak was seen as an affront to those of a more conservative nature who could not understand this new creative aesthetic which was directly linked to the European avant-garde movements. This fact was in itself symptomatic of the state of art in Portugal and how lightweight it was when the *Ballets Russes*, which Amadeo would certainly have seen in Paris if not in Lisbon, came to the Portuguese capital.

Dying in the same year as Amadeo, his friend Guilherme de Santa-Rita (or Santa-Rita Pintor, 1889-1918) became the mythical figure of the first generation of Portuguese modernist painters. Having never exhibited on national soil, his work remains largely unknown apart from some works by the only one of the three main artists of the first national phase of modernism — Almada, Amadeo and Santa Rita — to have graduated from the Portuguese Royal Academy of Fine Arts. He left for Paris (1910) where he came into contact with avant-garde artistic circles, particularly Marinetti, attending his lectures at the Galerie Berheim-Jeune, and socialising with Modigliani, Picasso, Braque and Francis Picabia (1879-1953) and exhibiting at the *Salon* (1912). Owing to the war, he returned to Portugal in 1914, settling in Lisbon where he began to play an important role as an agitator, agent provocateur and driving force behind various events and publications which were decisive for the introduction of Futurism in Portugal. Santa Rita protested against the apathy of the old generation and helped to launch the magazine *Portugal Futurista*, which was immediately seized on leaving the printer's (November 1917). This was a kind of pamphlet simultaneously announcing and "bidding farewell to what Portuguese Futurism could accomplish, precisely through its own sacrifice".[29] In this manner, such limited Portuguese Futurist activity ended, a blow to the reception of the new artistic movements that proliferated in Europe and against which Portugal resisted. Since this change had not come about, the artist himself acted on his own work and had it destroyed upon his death in an unusual ethical action. In the radicalism of the few paintings that have survived, it can be seen that "Santa Rita Pintor never painted, but rather he painted himself. His death was a torn canvas",[30] just like that of his companion Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso, both of whom disappeared on a trajectory far removed from the honoured position history would later decree for them.

The name of Eduardo Viana (1881-1967) can be added to the first generation of Portuguese modern artists who, along with others of his generation, studied at the Academy of Fine Arts, went to Paris (1905) and also returned because of the war. In 1915 he met Sonia and Robert Delaunay with whom he began to socialise in Vila do Conde and all of them kept in direct contact with Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso (who lived in Manhufe). Viana embarked on the Delaunayian avant-garde adventure and adopted a plasticity that he would absorb not only from what he had seen in Paris, but also from the simultaneist experiments of the Delaunay couple seeking out and experimenting with more abstract concepts involving irregular geometries. This was a visionary phase, long sought through luminous values and solid painting, which led him to be considered at one point as "the most modernist of all painters".[31]

However, towards the end of 1918, the only avant-garde movement within the Portuguese world — the Futurist movement — declined and died out, marking the end of the first phase of Portuguese modernism. This was in fact the year of the death of Amadeo and Santa Rita as well as Almada's departure to Paris. Moreover, in 1918, the end of the war (November) and the assassination of Sidónio Pais (December) caused political and governmental instability in Portugal, which only the election of António José de Almeida (1866-1929) in August 1919 seemed to put an end to. The death toll from the devastating Spanish flu epidemic had slowed and the situation had improved in a climate of apparent peace although by 1920 Lisbon had, in a dozen years, gone through two regimes and the same number of dictatorships, a couple of regicides and four major revolutions, all of which led to Portugal being very slow to get back on its feet.

As is well known, Portugal's participation in the First World War involved the expense of organising an expeditionary corps (to Africa and then France). This led to monetary devaluation due to the depletion of its gold reserves accompanied by inflation and unemployment, thereby establishing a political instability that was ultimately reflected in its financial balance. This situation was soon taken advantage of by some who, through their hoarding and speculation, created a widespread black market. In a rigid society with little social mobility, the "nouveau riche" appeared at the same rapid pace as fortunes were made and unmade while merchants became involved in business and political activities, thereby ensuring their rapid social ascent. There was also the other side of the coin to the ostentation shown by some; the economic situation caused misery and poverty to grow as did economic backwardness due to widespread rurality, illiteracy and poor nutrition. This hindered national development and accentuated such asymmetries.

And it was in this dual, deeply diffuse and disjointed society that, in the aftermath of the post-war period and as a result of its centuries-old tranquillity, Portugal was elected to the League of Nations Commission at the beginning of 1919. With a certain restrained enthusiasm, peaceful Lisbon would see the emergence of small splashes of colour. In 1918, in a foretaste of what was to come in the following decade, someone wrote: "Never have gaming houses, theatres, casinos, bullrings, all the places of pleasure, folly and indulgence enjoyed so much competition".[32] Indeed, Lisbon opened its first nightclub in 1908 when still under the monarchy. This was the *Clube dos Restauradores* (later renamed Maxim's), which remained open during the war. Ten years later, in 1918, an array of new nightspots would catapult the city into the 1920s, a phenomenon that would show the dominance of Paris as a creative centre and spreader of a world culture as will be seen below.

I. THE CURTAIN RISES

The only way to get rid of a
temptation is to yield to it
Oscar Wilde

PARIS: A NEVER-ENDING PARTY

'Parisianitis' is acquired
and no longer diminishes
Diogo de Macedo

“Paris is a moveable feast” wrote Hemingway (1899-1961), even just for a minority, and one that was led by the so-called crazy years. In the tumult of post-war euphoria, ”the Paris of our youth, where we were poor and happy”, as the American wrote, became the effervescent, frenetic and extravagant epicentre for those who wanted to celebrate life. This was indeed the liberated France of *Liberté, égalité, fraternité.*[1] Hemingway's book describes the physical intensity in Paris in those years of rebirth, of grabbing hold of life before it slipped away into a new conflict (as indeed would come to pass). The streets, churches and bistros are mentioned so often in it that they become familiar, providing a vivid portrait of the city including its perfumes and flavours as it presented itself at the time.[2]

In the world of destruction and death that came out of 1918, Paris — the Phoenix of Europe — rose from the ashes after a mournful silence interrupted only by the tolling of the curfew which preceded the bombing by the ghostly zeppelins flying over the Seine. Two days before the Armistice of 11 November 1918, Guillaume Apollinaire — possibly the most important cultural activist of the early 20th century avant-garde movement — died, a victim of pneumonia. His life coincided with the transformation of Paris into a “stimulating and irreverent artistic centre radiating throughout Europe”. After six months of Armistice negotiations, the Treaty of Versailles, the peace agreement that officially ended the Great War, was signed and set a new course for a Europe in ruins.

The urban rebirth following the trail of destruction was crystallised during the turnaround years marked by celebrations of life after all the destruction and death. It was a prodigious decade. Hedonism and the desire for entertainment and libertarian pleasures became uncontrollable. It was the end of the Victorian era and the beginning of a fleeting time lived on the edge. Far from being a reality which cut across society as a whole, the “roaring twenties” were so only for a few, namely a cultured and wealthy elite, contrasting with the deprivation and misery of the poor, ragged and illiterate working classes of the suburbs immersed in their centuries of backwardness that the war had only worsened.

By 1919, the French suffragettes had won the right to vote, and fashion would come to reflect the spirit of liberation and experimentation that hung over everything. No one saw with greater clarity and independence what would come of this than Gabrielle Bonheur Chanel, better known as Coco Chanel (1883-1971). In following Cubism (and her Cubist artistic friends), Coco made the lines of women's clothing simpler, stripping it of the superfluous while not forgetting elegance. What the French called *luxe dans la simplicité* included a short haircut — designated as *La Garçonne* (flapper) — which made it possible to wear *cloche* (bell-shaped) hats or the exotic *bandeau.*[3] This would be one of the dominant fashions of this vintage period, that is, simple lines; the other would be theatrical lavishness with Paul Poiret (1879-1944) best exemplifying this. It was he who made silhouettes less rigid (abandoning corsets and petticoats) with an innovative use of colours, textures and fabrics that he moulded using references from outside Europe such as Asian ones (kimonos) and creating looks inspired by the *Ballets Russes* (such as the orientalist costumes from the ballet *Scheherazade*). He also designed specific outfits for outdoor activities as well as for sport and the beach. In short, women abandoned the corset and adopted a tubular silhouette, lowering the waistline of dresses to the hips, uncovering the arms and highlighting necklines while often leaving the back bare. Silk stockings were worn and perfumes were experimented with while women smoked openly using long ivory cigarette holders or balancing a *mégot* or cigarette between painted fingernails. A heart-shaped mouth was outlined in bright-red lipstick in contrast to their very white skin in a seductive manner that made you want to touch them with caresses, hugs and kisses.

In parallel, the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 had led to an exodus of Russian emigrants and exiles to the French capital. They came mainly from an artistic and intellectual elite who brought to the City of Lights a different cultural baggage that was added to others that were already in place[4] in order to create an unparalleled exoticism.[5]

Emerging from under the spectre of death, Paris would become life-affirming in an eagerness taken to the extreme and for which the presidency of Paul Deschanel (1855-1922) provided a brilliant metaphor. Elected France's Head of State in January 1920, he would see his mandate come to an end after only a few months when he was interned in the Buzenval Sanatorium. His eccentric behaviour led to a worsening of his mental health and to his confinement in a psychiatric asylum.

As happened in many other cases during the decade, in the eagerness to experience and take pleasure in living the present intensely with no notion of tomorrow, excesses were committed that ended in "madness" leading to reclusion and ostracism.

Undoubtedly, during the 1920-1929 period, Paris was a moveable feast that spread to the West, mythifying a culturally and artistically rich period. The city had re-emerged and become the centre of the world, notably for Americans. This was because not only was the exchange rate favourable to the dollar following a drastic devaluation of the franc, but also because the city itself contained a mix of intellectuals and artists that would have been difficult to replicate. The first Americans to arrive were those who had taken part in the war (as was the case of Malcolm Cowley, E.E. Cummings, John Dos Passos and Ernest Hemingway) and who wanted to take advantage of the freedoms that were only possible in liberal France, a kind of obligatory rite of passage. Thus, as early as 1919, on the left bank of the Seine, a group of English-language writers would assemble who would leave their mark on western culture in the following years. From a single bookshop created by a young American who had moved to the city — Sylvia Beach (1887-1962) — Shakespeare and Company would introduce the French to the works of new American writers. In addition to lending English books, the space was also a place where its customers could receive letters, which contributed greatly to its success in establishing loyalty. Soon Shakespeare and Company emerged as a venue for meetings and soirées that continued in the salon-studio of Gertrude Stein, a regular customer, at rue de Fleurus, 27. This was another Parisian meeting place for artists in the heart of Montparnasse, which took the place of Montmartre in the *Belle Époque* where artists and avant-garde bohemians gathered. As the Montmartre district had become too crowded to continue to serve as an inspiration, the artists descended the hill and settled in the new Montparnasse district. Here, among many others, gathered Pablo Picasso, Max Jacob, André Derain, Blaise Cendrars (1887-1961), Jean Cocteau, Erik Satie (1866-1925), Marcel Duchamp and Giorgio de Chirico (1888-1978) as well as Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso and Amedeo Modigliani.

Among those searching for intellectual stimulation and the flood of Americans settling in the City of Lights were Francis Scott Fitzgerald (1896-1940) and Zelda Sayre (1900-1948) who arrived in the city in 1920 in a similar manner to James Joyce (1882-1941), who came for a fortnight and ended up staying twenty years with Sylvia Beach publishing the first edition of *Ulysses* (1922).

On a par with Deschanel's short-lived presidency mentioned above, Francis Picabia (1879-1953) and Tristan Tzara (1896-1963), returning from Zurich where they had founded the Dada movement, settled in the city and spread anarchy within the established forms of French culture. In 1924, they would inspire André Breton's (1896-1966) Surrealist Manifesto. However, the range of eccentric characters did not stop there. Ivanovich Gurdjieff (1866-1949), an enigmatic figure of Armenian origin, had arrived in the outskirts of Paris in 1922 with a view to opening an institution for teaching the great mystical traditions. With a programme that included ritual dances based on an apprenticeship with the religious Sufis he had met in Asia Minor, Gurdjieff brought a model of esoteric knowledge to the West at a time when society was receptive to anything new.

ENTERTAINMENT

One of the novelties of this dazzling twenties conjuncture was the rise of entertainment. Wandering through the chic city of coquettes, dandies and *flâneurs,* one almost always ended up in rooms where operettas and poets took the stage, or in theatres, dancing cabarets and nightclubs. Variety proliferated to suit everyone's taste and there was no venue that did not have its renowned *habitués*. As a result of such enthusiasm, the places on offer increased even more. Paris had become the display window of the world, infecting it with this phenomenon as if it were impossible to resist the *Tu viens?* whispered on the street corners of the night and on the edge of perdition by a professional, seductive, coquettish *fille de joie* or by a euphoric and eloquent artist.

All the city's bohemian nightlife fuelled a growing number of venues which competed with each other. As regards music hall, night clubs and cabarets, names such as the Moulin Rouge, Maxim's and Le Bal Nègre respectively were more than mere cosmopolitan symbols but became models replicated in the larger European capitals. These places were so significant that remnants of that past glamour remain today in houses that opened at that time, such as the nostalgic Cabaret Nikita (6, rue Faustin Hélie, 16th arrondissement), the bohemian Moulin Rouge (opened in 1889) or even its emblematic heirs, the Lido (which opened in the 1940s) and Crazy Horse (established in the 1950s).

Moreover, the enthusiasm of the elite was passed on to the less affluent population, and more modest but no less enthusiastic spaces were created to cater for them given the contagious French post-war *joie de vivre*. The origin of these dark entertainment haunts lay in the taverns of the late 19th century which offered music and dance shows by candlelight to provide a soft and intimate atmosphere. This unique ambience immediately attracted numerous writers, painters, dancers and musicians providing a multifaceted and eclectic audience of artistic individuals.

As expected, these haunts soon became associated with gambling, alcohol, sex and often cocaine, taking pleasure and fun to previously unimaginable levels.

What is undeniable is the way music was the fulcrum of all such entertainment. Published in 1922, *Tales of the Jazz Age*, by Francis Scott Fitzgerald, summarised the background sound heard by most *bons vivants* in 1920. Born in New Orleans at the end of the 19th century, jazz evokes a liberation from traditional musical canons and gives a voice to a hitherto invisible section of society, namely black people and their artistic culture. After New Orleans, Chicago and New York (Harlem) became centres for the dissemination of new music and the African-American artists who played there received invitations to perform in Europe after the end of the First World War. The Charleston (which originated in the city of the same name in the USA) and the Foxtrot joined the party, freeing movement that was now emancipated from the rigidity of ballroom dances. In a musical polyrhythmia where different limbs followed different movements, bodies shook irreverently and frenetically.

In reinventing everyday life, society broke its boundaries and reinvented itself. Cinema and sport joined in, making behavioural and aesthetic standards less rigid and reshaping how people acted in society. As for the Seventh Art during the 1920s, this was characterised by the beginning of the talking movie. Stars such as Charles Chaplin (1889-1977), Rudolph Valentino (1895-1926) and Buster Keaton (1895-1966) appeared. It was common for cinemas to have a pianist playing during the screening, thereby creating a suitable atmosphere to complement the film. Comedians appeared on screen, alongside muses and vamps such as Mary Pickford (1892-1979), Pola Negri (1897-1987) and Greta Garbo (1905-1990). As for sport, this oscillated between practising it and watching it. The growing interest led to an increase in the number of events and diversified the activities, encouraging cultivation of a healthy body and an outdoor life. The construction of sports facilities, the spread of information about the Olympic Games and the convivial pretext this provided all gained importance and radio broadcasts with specific features and live broadcasts of such events became widespread. Sport became a stage for the birth of mass phenomena and began to attract crowds because of its entertainment component. Physical education was extended to women and the ideal of beauty — both male and female — changed. Within this social and physical reformulation, entertainment fans cut across all the social strata of the cosmopolitan culture, establishing an effective democratisation that operated according to each individual's means. Within this collective ebullience of change, the arts followed sport and were transformed in line with the pace of life. And perhaps it was an art linked to the body — the art of Terpsichore — that best summed up the entire artistic culture then in vogue.

FREE DANCE / BALLET SHOES AND TUTUS

As mentioned above, dance saw a prodigious generational change and became an indispensable social practice in the new libertine places, thereby animating and enlivening French recreational culture. In this lavish, agitated ambience, the colour chosen was black and the tone that of jazz. The era of Parisian jazz began with *La Revue Nègre*[6], with its star Josephine Baker (1906-1975), and through its connection with another no less important aspect — the fashion for primitive African art as fostered by the Cubists (above all Picasso), who had gone to absorb it at the Museum of Mankind (which contained a prolific collection of African anthropology and ethnology),[7] and the European colonial heritage shown at the universal, world, international and colonial exhibitions which had been taking place in London and Paris since 1851. As could be seen at the 1889 Exhibition[8] and then at the 1900 Exhibition,[9] the display of traditional dances from non-European nations was very well received by foreign visitors and the Parisian public. What is more, the European public had gradually developed a certain appetite driven by the prolific orientalist literature that was so fashionable at the time. The process of assimilating this new entertainment went through three stages: firstly, audiences from the Old Continent were scandalised; secondly, growing curiosity led to a gradual acceptance which culminated in the appearance of the third stage in which there was a willingness to experience that same eccentric universe.[10] After the exhibitions closed their doors, there were successful performances of new types of dance leading to the appearance of certain dancers in music halls, nightclubs and French cabarets. As Anne Décoret-Ahiha wrote: "These spaces formed a remarkable place in which to receive all kinds of artistic experimentation and particularly those connected to the body and movement based on the absorption of foreign scenic practices and the incessant search for novelty".[11] Consequently, imported music and dance, sometimes from a prosperous America, sometimes from exotic and distant colonies, attracted much of the Parisian public and the Foxtrot, Tango, Charleston, Shimmy, Jazz, Merengue, Bolero, Flamenco and African dances imbued society with the frenzied desire to dance. The introduction of this new kinetic language reshaped the repertoire of ballroom dancing, reformulating the tastes of audiences with a flourish that had never been seen before.[12]

In a similar vein, the music halls, nightclubs and cabarets offered job opportunities to the numerous immigrants — Russian exiles from the 1917 war, Black Americans and the Indochinese who were living in the City of Lights — by allowing them to move between the venues where they did their shows and the dance schools where they taught dancing. Continuing their activity as dance teachers, the foreigners also wrote numerous manuals which they supplemented with private lessons. Alongside this, a conscious and specialised press appeared. Audiences grew and the number of spaces multiplied; dance was gradually adopted as the new expression of a cultural and national belonging which had its foundations in the relationship between the colony and the metropole. As such, this was not only an artistic but also a political act. It is important to point out that the contrast of forms and the confrontation of styles enriched the repertoire of the European artists themselves, leading to a cross-pollination of concepts and choreographies that would no longer stop happening. This singular fact, which emerged in the first two decades of the 20th century, created a new language of corporal freedom, thus helping dance to overcome its entertainment function. Influences establishing these vocabularies of body and movement included the Americans Loïe Fuller (1862-1928), Isadora Duncan (1877-1927) and Ruth Saint Denis (1879-1968), artists who had already paved the way for free dance outside academic virtuosity and moving away from classical ballet, as this was performed barefoot and free of tutus. To these names can be added those of Mata Hari (1876-1917), Adorée Villany (1891-1915?), Cléo de Mérode (1875-1966), Maud Allen (1873-1956), Josephine Baker and Sada Yacco (1871--1946), artists who devoted considerable effort to creating a consistent authorial repertoire capable of legitimising the authenticity of their interpretations.

Alongside this explosion of free dance, classical dance experienced a great boom, much to the credit of a single company, namely the *Ballets Russes* (1909-1929). Cutting across all the early avant-garde movements, this great artistic parade of the first quarter of the 20th century had its debut in Paris in 1909 through the hand of its mentor and director, Serge Diaghilev (1872-1929).[13] In the same vein, in the same year as the Russian troupe's performance at the Théâtre du Châtelet, Wassily Kandinsky had already begun to question art with his first abstract works. He was joined in 1913 by Marcel Duchamp (1887-1968) with his first ready-mades and, in the same year, Kazimir Malevitch (1878--1935) with *Black Square on a White Background*, while Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque exhibited their first Cubist works. In this way, the *Ballets Russes* would become catalysts in strengthening the relationship between dance and the plastic arts through an acceptance that was reproduced worldwide, becoming part of a radically new aesthetic that would emancipate dance and lead to the autonomy of the art of Terpsichore (theatre and opera) endowing it with an identity of its own.[14] Moreover, the company would break with choreographic and dramatic conventions to different degrees, particularly with the adoption of the one-act ballet, with all attention centred on the dancer and enabling a dramatic and formal coherence that led to a new interpretation of the body and movement. This allowed a new poetics to be created with its productions being entrusted to a new generation of artists. Until then, the genesis of a ballet was confined to a rigid model where each section was handed over to a set of creative individuals who did not enter into dialogue with each other: the stage painters did their work, the dressmakers produced the costumes, and so on. It was obviously impossible to achieve plastic coherence with the work and the Russian impresario, in breaking with this tradition, made artistic cohesion a common feature of all his productions; in other words, he made sets, costumes, the narrative, the music and the choreography come together under a single signature, namely his own. Bringing together the best of the Russian ballet academy and reformulating the visual conception of stage presentation, the *Ballets Russes* were a veritable canvas in motion and renewed both arts from which it is possible to draw a double conclusion: what made the *Ballets Russes* such a foundational group was that they set themselves up as the first dance company to achieve worldwide status; then, the group was a laboratory of artistic experimentation and a meeting point, not in the concentric sense of the ambition of the Wagnerian *Gesamtkunstwerk*[15], but rather in the sense of a unifying artistry with this confluence being central to the development of each art *per se*. What is certain is that throughout the 1910s and 1920s, the company became the showcase for all the arts, and in the long run the revolution inspired by the Diaghilevian project would drive an avant-garde movement that would not be confined to dance (choreography, scenography) but would rebalance musical composition and plastic creations, thereby influencing contemporary art itself.[16] In this sense, the 1920s constituted the years of the apogee and nadir of Diaghilev's troupe, bracketed between Vaslav Nijinsky's schizophrenia (in 1919) and his last appearance at the Paris Opera (1929) to be present at the restaging of *Petrushka*: a moment frozen in a disturbing photograph where the absent and forced countenances of those portrayed seem to presage the end of the company a few months later (in that same year of 1929) and after the death of its leader, Diaghilev.

In any event, the *Ballets Russes* deepened the field of exploration in the visual arts, designing and structuring themselves to provide a new plastic and scenic brilliance. For this to be fully realised, Diaghilev surrounded himself with a vast group of artists who, in various fields, worked towards his common goal of forming an alliance between modern ballet and modern art. Numerous other intellectuals, critics and collaborators moved around him, contributing to the creation of librettos, set designs and a complete artistic and literary ensemble transversal to the performance of the art danced by the Russians. If, on the choreographic level, the company discovered a group of choreographers who produced dances according to new principles (such as Fokine, Nijinsky, Massine, Nijinska, Balanchine and Lifar), on a musical level, a list of composers purposely created music for the troupe (as was the case with Stravinsky, Maurice Ravel (1875-1937), Claude Debussy (1862--1918), Eric Satie, Manuel de Falla (1876-1946), Darius Milhaud and Prokofiev) while in terms of scenery, costumes and curtains some names that stand out are Picasso [in *Parade* (1917), *Le Tricorne* (1919), *Pulcinella* (1920), *Cuadro Flamenco* (1921), *Le Train Bleu* (1924) and *Mercure* (1927)], Juan Gris, Georges Henri Rouault (1871-1958), Max Ernst (1891-1976), Joan Miró (1893-1983), Giorgio de Chirico, Robert Delaunay, André Derain, and Henri Matisse (1869-1954), among many others. Looking at the work of the *Ballets Russes* as a whole, it is possible to perceive the extent of their achievement and the fact that they became not only a reference and a model, but also a showcase for the arts that inspired the creation of national, European and American companies as well as independent groups. Moreover, they are indispensable to understanding the artistic transformation of the 1920s. In fact, during their existence, the experimentation and plasticity associated with them enabled a veritable laboratory of modernity to be established, with repercussions at various levels and on different scales, particularly in painting as we shall see below.

PAINTS AND PAINTBRUSHES

> Art is the pulse of a nation
> Gertrude Stein

In 1918, Picasso had married Olga Koklova (1891-1955), a member of the *Ballets Russes*, and quickly made her his muse.[17] Two years later, in 1920, a Cubist retrospective exhibition took place at the *Salon des Indépendants* in which the Spaniard refused to participate, and then in 1924, Picasso sold *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* to Jacques Doucet (1853-1929) for 25,000 francs. These three exact moments can be translated into three sentimental forces to provide a summary of the years in question: passion, affirmation and self--denial to make way for a new passion. Perhaps this is why one of the ways of looking at the plastic arts of the 1920s is through the Cubist eye, that is, through considering various points of view from different angles just as Picasso did with his *Demoiselles*. In this polyphonic and dynamic vision contradicting monolithic views, various possibilities of reading are created that are capable of translating the disparate creations of the avant-garde movements although — in their different spatial realisations, plastic codifications and multiple resonances — these express a creative porosity with an underlying common denominator, namely the emergence of mass consumption. This revolution caused a reformulation of the market and of the prevailing commercial artistic circuits, transforming and orienting plastic creation and how contemporary art was appreciated.

In the intervals between each season's premieres, members of the *Ballets Russes* frequented the salons of the most respected artists and the palaces of their aristocratic patrons. Gramophone records livened up the *vernissages* of respected painters in fashionable salons with open doors while less accredited artists inaugurated exhibitions in fringe art galleries, without pomp or circumstance, but attracting a nonconformist clientele eager to remain modern by continually reinventing themselves.

This artistic, bohemian and cultural stirring that was established around Montparnasse brought together a diverse collection of writers, poets, models, Fine Arts students, critics, publishers, journalists, collectors, fashion designers and gallerists, transforming the Parisian neighbourhood into a place of work and, at the same time, an exhibition hall. From the most popular café-restaurants (such as *La Closerie des Lilas*) to ballrooms (such as the *Bal Bullier*, opposite *La Closerie des Lilas*), Montparnasse's dining and entertainment establishments continued to grow: this was the case with *Le Jockey (*a nightclub that opened in 1923), a place which soon attracted a clientele that produced and acquired the latest Parisian pictorial creations.

In some of the studios, painters became photographers — notably Man Ray (1890-1976) — experimenting with new artistic tools capable of expressing the most worrying premises and innovations of their generation, and where even "the most sordid neighbourhoods seemed picturesque", as Ray would write in *Self Portrait.* The City of Lights had become an essential stage in the career of any artist and Ray did not regret having accepted his friend Marcel Duchamp's invitation to cross the Atlantic in search of an environment more conducive to his artistic concerns, which made his stay highly productive. It is necessary to remember that, during the 1920s, photography was still seeking a place among the so-called noble arts and Ray's contribution was fundamental for this recognition. The variety of magazines then on the newsstands (especially women's magazines, but also sports, leisure and entertainment magazines) broadened the field of action for these new artist-photographers providing them with regular work and a thematic diversity that had never existed before. Around this time, photographs hand-coloured by painters became so popular that specialist companies soon appeared to produce them thus making this offer more readily available. This technique — photopainting —

also made it possible to retouch and embellish portraits giving them a creative aura that brought them closer to painting. Moreover, for those who could not pay an artist to paint their portrait through lack of means, colour photography was the closest way to eternalise a familiar face. This helped it spread among the less well-off classes.

In retrospect, the pictorial transgression brought about by the first avant-garde movements had dethroned canons and tradition while establishing in its place an art filtered by creative subjectivity, be it Expressionism, through colour, Cubism, through the multiplicity of points of view, Futurism, rooted in imagetic movement, Abstractionism, with the liberation of any reference to reality, Dadaism, with the de-sacralisation of art, or Surrealism, with its oneiric dimension. In essence, painters acquired an aura of omnipotence, which enabled them to annihilate any previous artistic convention. However, in parallel with this profoundly diverse pictorial outpouring, which was taking place simultaneously in various European capitals, the authoritarian regimes of the Old Continent were beginning to emerge, such as in Italy (1922), the Soviet Union (1924), Portugal (1926) and, in the following decade, Germany and Spain. Obviously art — and painting — would suffer in this climate of despotism, and so it realigned itself and abandoned modernism in order to embrace a certain classical-type conservatism which functioned as a kind of aesthetic legitimation of the new dictatorial states. This relationship between political power and art would only be widely felt and become reality on a broad scale from 1930 onwards, but there were foreshadowings of this new intent. This was the case with Mario Sironi (1885-1961) who, in the mid-1920s, joined the *Novecento* movement,[18] the formal themes of which emphasised adoption of a classical plasticity laden with historical monumentality and melancholy as a modern allegory, a characteristic that made the Italian State commission several works from him, thus making him a staunch supporter of the fascist regime of Benito Mussolini (1883-1945).[19]

In any event, what the urban public mainly sees is not this preparatory search for an art affiliated to the emerging authoritarian regimes, but rather a painting of conceptual and formal reformulation, able to express and manifest the exuberant (and exotic) experience of a part of society (an elite) in continuous mutation. For this to diversify and evolve, two distinct but complementary formulas would make a major contribution — colonial art and Art Deco.

COLONIAL ART / ART DECO

Alongside the artistic experiments of the avant-garde painters, a new form had emerged within the Parisian intelligentsia — indigenous art.

At the end of the 1920s, the Trocadéro held most of the ethnographic objects present in public collections, but their uniqueness generated heated debates between the defenders of primitive art, who demanded that these be admitted to the Louvre, and those who felt that they were not worthy of being included alongside the great masters of European culture. One exhibition in particular would turn out to be of great importance in this respect: *Les Arts Anciens de l'Amérique,* held at the Museum of Decorative Arts (in the Louvre) in 1928. It was the first French public exhibition devoted to pre-Columbian arts and was a milestone for exhibitions of its kind. Earlier, however, there had already been the *Exhibition of Objects of Indigenous American Art* in London (1920) and the exhibition *L'Art Indigène des Colonies Françaises* (1923), both of which were highly successful and opened hostilities between conservatives and progressives. It should be noted that in 1925 France had begun its ethnographic missions (a total of 112 actions that would last until 1939) organised by the Ethnography Museum, later renamed the Museum of Mankind,[20] which increased the collections and holdings of a hegemonically colonial France.

As is well known, the objects that came from the East, Far East, Oceania, the Americas and Africa had an ambiguous status, and the anthropology of art was far removed from any contemporary debate. The duplicity of these everyday artefacts as to whether or not they could be considered art objects in the western view provoked different aesthetic judgments and perceptions of Beauty. Within this Eurocentric configuration, artistic appreciation of these objects from outside Europe had nothing to do with their intrinsic value but rather with conservative judgments, which did not offer any openness to the material culture in which they were produced. There would certainly have been artists who were receptive to this new world, who drew inspiration from it and even lived within it. Gauguin provided a radical example of this as already mentioned — the painter had abandoned the so-called civilisation of progress and settled in ancestral French Polynesia — as did Modigliani and Picasso, both deeply influenced by primitive art. They had appreciated it at the Trocadéro Museum of Ethnography (founded in 1878), the institutional showcase for art brought from the colonies of the Empire. Bringing together collections such as those of the Trocadéro led to an increase in knowledge and taste that would cause cultural and political agents to mount temporary exhibitions with a considerable colonial scope. It should be noted that the so-called universal, international and world exhibitions had already gradually begun to introduce sections and/or exhibitors of products from overseas provinces with growing and important success. Thus, it is not surprising that this focus was successful among the people of the metropoles who were eager for novelties and distractions. Furthermore, the importance of such showcases, at an institutional level, was also clear: the European imperial powers needed to be legitimated, reiterating their "*mission civilisatrice*" which functioned as a vehicle for moral and ideological indoctrination through their embracing of the overseas domain. Therefore, assessing colonial art in the light of western aesthetic values, regulated by a plastic model alien to other cultures, meant that arts such as those from India, Africa or Cambodia were considered minor without taking into account the context and purpose of their creation. This reductionist position, superimposing an aesthetic taste and a plastic evaluation on the Other, had its paradox: the same European colonial empires helped to promote a certain artistic knowledge of the colonised territories by sponsoring archaeological expeditions and translating documents and so on in a quest which was certainly not altruistic as a large part of the finds and spoils were "diverted" to the great halls of European museums where they remain to this day.

In this way, so-called colonial art was exhibited and often co-existed alongside another art form with a different origin, namely Art Deco. Originally, this style referred to applied arts (furniture, fashion, graphics and design), but it soon included architecture and made its mark on painting. In contrast to the incredible sinuous forms of Art Nouveau, Art Deco, which appeared in the 1910s, reached its apogee in the following two decades. Its name originated from the abbreviation that was used in the 1925 show, *International Exhibition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Arts*, which combined modernist styles with expensive materials at the Esplanade des Invalides. This was a *pastiche* of different (and sometimes contradictory) inspirations, united by the essential desire to be modern. It should be noted that the 1925 exhibition constituted an attempt to revive French industries and was the starting point for a creative and innovative energy.[21]

Without giving up refinement and focusing on geometric decoration, its motifs and general aesthetic derived from avant-garde movements and were taken from disparate sources such as the *Ballets Russes* and *Ballets Suédois.*[22] They also found inspiration in the *Revue Nègre,* in a crossing of influences inherited from French classicism, and in objects that had been discovered in archaeological excavations (e.g. Pompeii and Tutankhamun's tomb). In parallel, they incorporated motifs from distant civilisations (Egypt, Mesopotamia, Africa, China, India, Japan and Oceania) and plastic vocabularies of the "Machine Age" in a mixture allied to reputed French handicraft traditions (cabinet-making, carpentry, lacquerware, metalworking, enamelling, crystalware, glassware, goldsmithery and jewellery, textiles, fashion, tapestry, lighting, *passementerie*, bookbinding, posters and clothing). Art Deco frequently used the elements and patterns of ancient civilisations to inspire the creation of items at the level of industrial design. The resulting style would often result in a markedly elitist and costly decorative profusion where straight lines dominated over arabesque or whiplash lines.

At the Paris exhibition of 1925, the names that appear are those of Robert Mallet Stevens (1846-1945) for interior design, Eileen Gray (1878-1976), André Groult (1884-1976), Jean Dunand (1877-1942), Paul Follot (1877-1941), Paul Iribe (1883-1935) and Pierre Chareau (1883-1950) for furniture and lacquerware, René Lalique (1860--1945), Maurice Marinot (1882-1960) and François-Emile Decorchemont (1880-1971) for crystal and glassware, Jacques Gruber (1870-1936) for stained glass windows, Edgar Brandt (1880--1960) for wrought ironwork, René Buthaud (1886-1986) and Emile Decoeur (1876-1953) for ceramics, Jean Puiforcat (1897-1945) and Gérard Sandoz (1902-1995) for goldsmithery, Georges Fouquet (1862-1957) and Raymond Templier (1891-1968) for jewellery, Raoul Dufy (1877-1953) and Paul Poiret for tapestries and fabrics, Ivan da Silva Bruhns (1881-1980) for carpets, Jean Perzel (1892-1986) for lamps and lighting, Sonia Delaunay for dresses and fashion accessories, A. M. Cassandre (1901-1968) for posters, Pierre Legrain (1889-1929) and François-Louis Schmied (1873-1941) for bookbinding, and the avant-garde painters Robert Delaunay and Fernand Léger for murals. As for Art Deco painting, this was primarily produced by Tamara de Lempicka (1898-1980), René Buthaud, Jean Gabriel Domergue (1889-1962), Raphaël Delorme (1886--1962), André Lhote (1885-1962) and Jean Dupas (1882-1964), while sculptors included Gustave Miklos (1888-1967), Alexander Archipenko (1887-1964), Josef Csaky (1888-1971), Chana Orloff (1888-1968), the brothers Jöel (1896-1966) and Jan Martel (1896--1966), Pierre Le Faguays (1892-1962) and Marcel Bouraine (1886-1948).

The manufactories of Gustave Geffroy (1855-1926), for Gobelins tapestries, and Jean Ajalbert (1863--1947), for Beauvais tapestries, increased their manufacturing activity, the former for fabrics for wall linings, chairs, lampshades etc., working together with decorative artists [René Lalique, Edgar Brandt, Henri Rapin (1873--1939), Eric Bagge (1890-1978), Pierre Bracquemond (1870-1926) and Gaston Le Bourgeois (1880-1946) among others]; the latter, in partnership with architects and decorators for ceramic tiles for exterior and interior application. Equally remarkable was the research carried out by the manufactories in the field of lighting. Using porcelain as a source of indirect light, from wall lamps with white ornaments and light bowls, these unfolded into objects in various shapes (tulips or geometrical figures enhanced by the application of metals to ceramics), ranging from opalescent porcelain to chandeliers, wall lamps and other lamps. Bibelots and trinkets also underwent formal innovation: vases, faience, female statuettes, animal and abstract sculptures, jars and the like freed themselves from the "minor arts" to become objects with their own value.

Associated with luxury and modernity, Art Deco combined expensive materials with elegant artisanal handicrafts, using ivory and silver incrustations and jewels made using diamonds and platinum. First Class salons on transatlantic liners,[23] trains and skyscrapers were often decorated in the style. Auguste Perret (1874-1954) and Henri Sauvage (1873-1932) became the main Art Deco architects of 1920s Paris along with Le Corbusier (1887-1965) who, by writing a series of articles entitled "1925 Expo: Arts Déco" for the exhibition of the same name, baptised the new art that emerged at the time.

A necessary caveat is that Art Deco is a designation that only appeared in the 1960s: until then it was frequently known as "1925 style", appropriating the term used in the great International Exhibition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Arts held in Paris on that date. It should be understood that this was the first global and universal style[24] with which the Western world became acquainted, and which aspired to designate itself as the Wagnerian Total Art (the so-called *Gesamtkunstwerk*, mentioned in note 47) of the 19th century. This art spread to all creative areas and to all aspects of daily life, and in due course it reached Portugal.

PORTUGAL: BETWEEN EUROPE AND AMERICA

In 1920, the first General Assembly of the League of Nations — the predecessor of the United Nations Organisation — was held in Geneva, with the aim of defining strategies to protect peoples and ensure peace. At the same time, this decade would witness an explosion of scientific knowledge in various domains: in Physics [with Einstein (1879-1955)'s Theory of Relativity], Astronomy (with the establishment of the Big Bang theory), Medicine [with the discovery of penicillin by Fleming (1881--1955)] and Human Sciences, such as Psychology (the establishment of Psychoanalysis, founded by Freud) and History (the revelation of new data on the origin of Human Beings).

Portugal had its own set of characteristics during this period. It was understood that the Portuguese *Belle Époque* ended with the assassination of the King, along with the courtly society that had functioned within his orbit. There was only the passing of a single decade between the death of Sidónio Pais (1918) and Oliveira Salazar's (1889-1970) rise to power in 1928. It should be noted that from the establishment of the Republic in 1910 until the military coup of 1926, Portugal had eight Presidents of the Republic, forty-six governments, twenty-one revolutions, two periods of dictatorship (1915 and 1917-18), and hundreds of ministers.[1] Various prominent politicians were assassinated and the cost of living increased twenty-five times; the currency fell to 1/33 of its value, relative to gold; the Catholic Church was persecuted by the Freemasons (the result of radical anticlericalism) and the gap between rich and poor continued to grow. More precisely, it should be noted that between 1920 and 1926 alone, 325 bombs exploded on the streets of Lisbon, eighteen new banks appeared, and twenty-eight others disappeared; the first government of the Republic did not last ten weeks, and the longest ended after little more than a year. Faced with a country continually on the brink of civil war, it is easy to understand why the military uprising of 1926 took place with the support of countless sectors of Portuguese society eager to end the climate of terror and violence which had become commonplace in the country. Although the establishment of the military dictatorship, in that same year of 1926, brought the desired political and social stability, it also showed its other side, namely the gradual end of bohemian city life with the curbing of fun and leisure and of nightly reveries, thereby forcing the most bohemian members of society to remain at home and re-discover their decency and good manners. A fundamental fact which contributed to this reality was that on 27 April 1928, after the election of General Óscar Carmona (1869--1951) and following the failure of his predecessor to obtain a large external loan to balance public accounts, Salazar was once more given the finance position,[2] demanding control over the expenses and revenues of all ministries. Once such an imposition had been met, he established a considerable level of austerity and strict control of accounts, with a huge increase in taxes and other measures, postponing development works and freezing salaries, thereby achieving an immediate surplus, a "miracle" in public finances, in the economic year 1928-29, which would validate his leadership for a broader sector of the population. It should be recalled that most Portuguese were living in virtual poverty, getting by with enormous difficulty, without work or being poorly paid, and unable to acquire essential goods, while limited through widespread illiteracy. With all the political upheaval created by the early years of the Republic, the country had ended up in a state of bankruptcy. Inflation had reached the highest rates ever and social precariousness led to despair. This situation on the edge explains the immediate faith placed in the Fátima apparitions in 1917 and the rapid consolidation of their veneration in the early 1920s as the terrible conditions of life on earth had turned the devout towards the heavenly world to seek the help they could not find in this one.

In 1920, Portugal had just over six million inhabitants and an illiteracy rate of 70.5%; by 1930 it would have 6.8 million, of whom 67.8% could not read. Over the decade, marriages would decrease and divorces would increase. There were few women studying at universities, but domestic activities were boosted by the Oil Company's *Vacuum* heaters and stoves and Siemens' *Protos* vacuum cleaners, which revolutionised the tasks of housewives. The small industry that did exist was centred on textiles and canning, the former for the domestic market, the latter for the Portuguese colonies. Services and commerce involved a network of wholesalers and shopkeepers, mostly spread throughout the main Portuguese cities. Through the idiosyncrasies of the First Republic, most of the population lived in a state of medieval secularity and only the large cities — that is, Lisbon and Porto — had a small elite (the so-called *smart set*) able to welcome new social habits imported from Europe. In a seemingly ungovernable country — which involved a revolving wheel of fortune of sworn-in and outgoing politicians either taking up their posts or on their way out, Republicans and Monarchists, Catholics and lay people, boos and applauses — those who were educated and had the time and money to enjoy culture and art formed a small percentage of its residents, an enthusiastic city fringe element ready to break free from traditional conservatism to embrace Parisian and American avant-garde modernism. In a very short period of time, the elites who had the means — the aristocrats and the urban upper bourgeoisie — let themselves be infected by the new lifestyle and the post-war entertainment *frisson*, and succumb to its earthly pleasures.

In a deeply anachronistic country, with its bucolic, rural, country landscape, dotted with a couple of cities comparable to their European counterparts, the winds of the "Crazy Years" would blow, albeit tempered as a gentle breeze — the same breeze that pushed the ships anchored in the Tagus or which raised anchors from the docks of the empire's capital, bound for the faraway colonies of the Portuguese empire. With an unusual lightness that reflected its national detachment from overseas affairs — the reason for which lay in the country's recent history — the city turned its back on the river seeking, frivolously and without consequence, to be distracted by the news arriving on the *Sud Express*. The empire could wait!

THE OVERSEAS EMPIRE

This detachment from the affairs of the overseas territories had well-defined roots. Since the Berlin Conference (1884-1985) and the British Ultimatum (1890), Portugal had thought much about its empire, particularly since defending it was one of the reasons why it had entered World War I. With the end of the conflict and the Armistice, the world witnessed the beginning of the end of the era of the colonial empires of the Old Continent which, in ruins and with diminished power resources, had dissipated their sense of mission. The ensuing riots and unrest in the British colonies in Egypt and India, as well as in Turkish Anatolia, did not come out of nowhere: they were based on demands which had their roots in the past, but which only in the light of the new, post-war situation were able to gain visibility. Although many of the subversive movements that sought national autonomy and believed the European imperial order had collapsed were silenced, the creation of authoritarian European states in the 1920s and 1930s prolonged the presence of troops in overseas colonies, mostly until the end of World War II with Portugal's presence extending until 1974.

Indeed, in 1920, the Covenant of the League of Nations (L of N) came into force (simultaneously with the Versailles Peace Treaty). Portugal was a founder member, but it was not until late 1926 that the first secretariat of the Portuguese chancellery took office. Meanwhile, the multilateralisation of international relations after World War I and the new balance of power shared between the victors — the Allies of which Portugal formed a part — naturally had the effect of ending the Anglo-German understanding for the division of the Portuguese Empire. This meant that it was not necessary to obtain guarantees concerning the integrity of national overseas possessions, for which there had been diplomatic endeavours, since having participated in the conflict and then in the redefinition of the order laid down at Versailles provided a source of added legitimacy for the survival of the model which had been constructed along with its international recognition.[3] Hence, the commitments undertaken internationally by Portugal, within the framework of the League of Nations, did not translate, in practice, into an internal change in the *status quo*, but rather into an adaptation of domestic legislation concerning the new international rules even if only in a purely semantic sense. It should also be noted that the amendment to the Constitution of 1920 had introduced a "Portuguese Colonial Constitution", that is, a set of rules specially drawn up according to the dependence of the overseas territories on the metropolitan organs of government. In practice, this legislative mechanism facilitated the formalisation, centralisation, and maintenance of Portugal's imperial pretensions overseas, through validating them in the metropole and amongst its peers within its international political agenda.

In any case, the First Republic, although it made some administrative and economic reforms — that is, a rather timid decentralisation — did not have the political and financial capacity to integrate the overseas domains within the metropolitan economy. In the 1920s, public spending on the colonies was around 5%, and trade between the mainland and the colonies did not even amount to 10% of total foreign trade.[4] In the 1920-1929 timeframe, the Portuguese *mare nostrum* would be crossed by a small group of steamships belonging to the Companhia Colonial de Navegação (CCN), created in 1922 and the successor to the ENN.[5] It provided maritime connections between metropolitan and overseas Portugal and had a monopoly on the regular circulation of goods and people. However, for the general population, the Portuguese empire was something remote, a set of territories that were known to belong to the nation, but where a visit to or experience of was reserved for a restricted number of colonial officials or eccentric adventurers financed by the Geographical Society (SGL), which had emerged in the meantime (1875). In fact, if the persistence of an idea of a humanistic and civilising mission constituted the ideological foundations of the Portuguese Afro-Asian empire, it was only with the military dictatorship, which came to power on 28 May 1926, that the true foundations would be laid down of a systematic policy for the Portuguese overseas territories, which were one and indivisible "from Minho to Timor", of which the Colonial Act[6] would be the first reference.

An important element which was defined in 1926 with the establishment of the dictatorship was the Statute of the Indigenous Population (the Political, Social and Criminal Statute of the Indigenous Population of Angola and Mozambique).[7] This implied the non-application of Portuguese law in civil and criminal matters as well as the absence of political rights for the native population in the colonies. In essence, this boiled down to non-recognition of their citizenship thereby forcing their assimilation into western colonial culture, which led to abuses of all kinds. This directive preceded the Colonial Act of 1930 and the Organic Charter of the Portuguese Colonial Empire and Overseas Administrative Reform of 1933, and would only be abolished in 1961 through the reforms carried out by the Minister for Overseas Affairs, Adriano Moreira (1922-2022).

In the stated period, throughout the 1920s the flow of metropolitan individuals bound for Portuguese possessions in Africa and Asia was discontinuous and moderate, showing the resistance of Portuguese rural families to leave for the African agricultural colonies. The 'dark continent' was unattractive in the eyes of potential migrants who saw it as a land of convicts and exiled individuals, inhospitable as well as containing mortal dangers and diseases. As for the territories in Asia, they were even more unattainable, such was the distance and the expense of getting there. In order to mitigate this tendency — along with other objectives — the General Agency for the Colonies (*Agência Geral das Colónias*) was established in 1924, an institution dedicated to colonial empire propaganda and the expansion of civil administration and white colonisation. However, a key element was missing for this political dynamic to be able to fully materialize, namely official trips by heads of state and ministers from the colonies. Only through the example of effective displacement coming from the top of the government could the colonies acquire visibility, and thereby consolidate, enshrine and adhere to the imagetic cohesion of the Portuguese overseas territories.[8] Even so, during these years, the leadership showed a certain commitment to debate issues involving the empire through promoting sporadic actions, such as the 2nd National Colonial Congress, held in 1924 at the SGL in Lisbon.[9] It also focused on publishing specialised collections — many of which lasted beyond the 1920s — on overseas themes as was the case with the *Cadernos Coloniais*, the *Boletim da Agência Geral das Colónias*, the *Boletins do Instituto Vasco da Gama* and the *Anuário da Escola Colonial* (founded in 1906 at SGL), the first issue of which appeared in 1920. In 1926 the school became the Higher Colonial Institute (*Escola Superior Colonial*),[10] thereby denoting the increasing importance given to the empire. In the same year, the "Political, Social and Criminal Statute of the Indigenous People of Angola and Mozambique"[11] was laid down and two years later, in 1928, the "Indigenous Labour Code", which prohibited physical punishment and forced labour.[12] This concern with legislating over extra-European domains would intensify over the following years, showing the commitment of the *Estado Novo* to maintaining a secular empire overseas.

All these political instruments played their role in disseminating a better knowledge of the colonies, but their rhetoric was not preponderant in the sense of bringing about a radical change in the behaviour of the national population in order to make people relocate and travel to the ends of the empire and settle there. Hence, the travelling settlers, bound for these territories, made up a heterogeneous and differentiated segment, mostly consisting of administrative officials who had been strategically placed there. In practice, the reason was the advance and consolidation of the civil administration and the economic system which carried out exploitation based on extensive production on large plantations. The arrival of white settlers, although in reduced numbers, meant the removal of the African petty bourgeoisie from the civil service and from the most attractive jobs, and the creation of obstacles to their social advancement, which did nothing to help the success of the colonial policies emanating from the seat of government in Lisbon.

In a certain sense, the important thing was to preserve a mythical empire (a fact later taken advantage of by the *Estado Novo*), a resource put into practice at the end of the decade, in 1929, at the Iberian-American Exposition in Seville. In an effort to affirm the motherland here and overseas — and already foreshadowing the weight that colonial propaganda would hold under Salazar — the exhibition offered a new paradigm by purposefully integrating a reasonable selection of images and artefacts from the territories of the empire. Consisting of the Portuguese pavilion — where a Colonial Salon gave prominence to the diamonds of Angola and a miniature train of the Benguela Railway Company — and a Macau pavilion, the architecture for which was inspired by the pagodas of the Portuguese colony in the Far East, the national representation in Seville formed a stage with which to rehearse the country's future presences in transnational fairs, such as the International Colonial Exhibition in Paris in 1931, and the First Portuguese Colonial Exhibition in Porto in 1934, to which the following pages will be dedicated.

First, however, it is important to allude to one of the few examples of colonial travel memoirs in the 1920s. It was taken as read that the number of metropolitans travelling to the colonies of the Portuguese empire was limited but even fewer bothered to leave a record of such travels. Hence the case of Genoveva de Lima Mayer Ulrich [known as Veva de Lima (1886-1963)][13] formed a rare and fortunate exception that is worthy of mention, not least because it represents a contribution to the history of mentalities in the first quarter of the 20th century. Owner of one of Lisbon's most famous literary salons, in 1924 Veva, as she was known, travelled to Africa in the company of her husband, Rui Ennes Ulrich (1883-1966), who in the meantime had been appointed to the presidency of the *Companhia de Moçambique*. The writer, poet, novelist and playwright wrote down and photographed what she saw. As her notes developed, it was possible to observe that the "course of her journey would provide her with a better understanding of the importance of the Portuguese colonies, not only economically but geographically and politically".[14] Her position towards such observations led her husband to fear the implications of her observations since Veva intended to publish them in the *Diário de Notícias*, a newspaper for which she was an assiduous contributor. And indeed his fears were confirmed: his wife's testimony was to provoke controversy and hostility among readers, which did not prevent her from later compiling and publishing them under the title *Aquém & D'Além Mar. Chrónicas de Viagem 1923-1924*.[15] These were texts where the author did not shy away from questioning the Portuguese management of the colonies, a delicate subject that led to irritation, contempt, and even enmity on the part of the patriots of the empire, who accused her of discrediting and harming overseas interests and credits.

On a different level, it is worth pointing out the Colonial Literature Competitions, which took place between 1926 and 1931. Promoted by the General Agency for the Colonies, all the prize winners shared a common denominator, namely the consecration of occupation and colonisation in a clear defence of the interests of the empire. There was an emphasis on the most heroic events of Portuguese overseas history, although there were rare dissonant testimonies with personalities such as Veva de Lima, protected by her high social position, who were able to offer a different perspective which, while not dissonant *per se*, was also not fully in harmony with the authorities'.

MODERN LISBON

> *If our grandmothers were present at the dances we now have they would be apoplectic.*
> ABC Magazine

Even after removing any hyperbole from the statement above, one thing remains: Lisbon changed in the 1920s. Social ruptures, cultural changes and the subversion of customs led to the beginning of an absolutely new cycle, one of indignation and applause, of madness, excitement and contradiction.

The mood at that time of this quiet, provincial capital was defined by its homely neighbourhoods, the fishmongers with fish baskets on their heads and the bars where *fado* was sung in streets of ill repute; by the barefooted and ragged paperboys who hawked their newspapers twice a day in the Pombaline downtown area, side by side with the population that got by on their low incomes. The elite gravitated to Chiado, crossing paths with ladies looking for the latest fashion magazines from Paris and the ateliers of dressmakers busy copying the costume designs in an attempt to get their style to match the European cut and shape. In truth, the twenties city by the Tagus was slow to modernise and resisted: the so-called well-mannered society, which was conservative and unenlightened, clung to its secular puritanism so as to conceal its lack of worldly knowledge.

Paris was the microcosm of the avant-garde of European culture and was therefore imitated wherever one wished to be "modern". Lisbon was no exception to this. Slowly, a new way of enjoying life and leisure was established in a successive crescendo of events coinciding with the opening of distinct leisure amenities and with the spread of a previously unknown eagerness for what was new. This reality was accompanied by a real increase in the number of its inhabitants: in 1920, the largest city in the country and Europe's westernmost capital had 486,000 inhabitants; by 1930, its population had risen to about 594,000, a 22% increase.[16]

A set of autonomous and varied

facts, but with a cause-and-effect interrelationship, contributed to the development of urban culture and the reformulation of habits and mentalities. In 1920, the 3rd Exhibition of Humorists took place, and this stimulated the launching of the publication *ABC*; in 1921, António Ferro (1895-1956) published *Leviana*. In 1922, news from abroad was printed in Lisbon's newspapers and the following items stimulated discussions and debate: the creation of the USSR, the repercussions of the discovery of Tutankhamen's tomb by Howard Carter (1874-1939), Mussolini's rise to power in Italy, the Marseille Colonial Exhibition, the São Paulo Week of Modern Art, and the Independence Centenary International Exposition celebrating Brazil's Independence. During this period, Sacadura Cabral (1881-1924) and Gago Coutinho (1869-1959) landed in Brazil (where António Ferro read *The Age of the Jazz-Band*), successfully completing the first crossing of the South Atlantic. In 1923, the headlines highlighted the imposition of the nationalist dictatorship of Primo de Rivera (1870-1930) in Spain and the diatribes between monarchists and republicans; that year also saw the creation of the Society of Wireless Telephony Amateurs, the forerunner of today's radios.

However, some argue that the Portuguese *années folles* really only began in 1924, a date marked by landmark events: at the international level, the death of Lenin (1870-1924) and Stalin's (1878-1953) preparation for assuming power as well as the arrest of Hitler (1889-1945) (for having led an attempted coup d'état in Munich in 1923) made the covers of the Lisbon and Porto dailies. It would, however, be a series of internal multifactorial occurrences that would create the conditions for the door for modern elements to be opened. Among other aspects, that year Brito Pais (1884-1934) and Sarmento Beires (1892-1974) flew their plane the *Pátria* from Lisbon to Macau, proving it was possible to connect the two ends of the colonial empire. This feat was accomplished only two years after the crossing of the South Atlantic by Gago Coutinho and Sacadura Cabral. The first radio broadcasts in the country began on an experimental basis, the first volume of *The Guide to Portugal* by Raúl Proença (1884-1941) was published, and the Tivoli movie theatre was inaugurated. At first glance, it might be thought that these achievements, in isolation, would change little: together, however, they led to a gradual change in behaviour through reformulating practices and habits.

In the second half of the 1920s, the *Avenidas Novas* of Lisbon were completely reformulated. From this emerged neighbourhoods with wide streets, with a landscaped and homogeneous design for the façades, within a concerted and modern urbanistic programme that was further developed in the following years.

In 1925 a posthumous exhibition by Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso was held in Paris; in Portugal, Alves dos Reis (1896--1955) founded the *Banco de Angola e Metrópole* and, at the end of the year, his fraudulent activity was discovered. This had involved the issuing and circulation of counterfeit 500 escudo notes. Between 1925 and 1926, bus routes began to operate and the number of cars and taxes on the streets of the capital increased. The Marconi Company was set up (1926) and in 1927 the Autonomous Roads Board was established in an attempt to provide a solution to the deplorable state of the national highways. In addition, in 1927 Fernando Pessoa created the advertising slogan for Coca-Cola: "*Primeiro estranha--se depois entranha-se*" (First there is confusion then infusion) and the drink began to be sold in Portugal, only to be banned shortly afterwards due to the fact that, it was claimed, its name referred to cocaine, a drug.

In 1928, the first flight to the Portuguese colonies of Guinea, São Tomé, Angola and Mozambique took place, and it became mandatory to drive on the right. In 1929, Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro died. The painter Adriano Sousa Lopes (1879-1944) took over the management of the National Museum of Contemporary Art and Maria Helena Vieira da Silva (1908--1992) left for the French capital.

Meanwhile, on 28 May 1926, a military dictatorship was proclaimed in Portugal with its promise of order that corresponded to the aspirations of a large part of the country. "The country's current lack of culture and illiteracy, together with the social, economic and even cultural continuity of a petit bourgeois fabric with their recent rural memory"[17] as well as the political climate that grew more intense by the day led to the formation of a single dictatorial element (which led to the *Estado Novo*, which was specified and legitimised by the 1933 Constitution) with conservative roots, which relegated modern artists to the margins and their work became less influential. Note that the return to plastic and aesthetic classicism, as promoted by the *Estado Novo's* propaganda, would not erase the entrepreneurial activity of the first half of the 1920s, but disillusioned young artists leading some to emigrate;[18] others reconverted their inspiration to a naturalistic revivalism in harmony with the new institutional order so as to obtain commissions and survive. There remained a handful of these who, resistant, kept to a modernist line, often embracing other professions to be able to ensure their livelihood.

MANIFESTATIONS OF A NATIONAL ART DECO

At the national level, Art Deco was slow to take root, and would only spread in the 1930s. However, the new style had been announced by Raul Lino (1879-1974) according to a grammar of stylisation that extended from architecture to the complete design of interiors and equipment as happened at the Chapelaria Gardénia (1917), in Chiado, certainly the first modern department store in Lisbon. There were other works, such as the Telephone Building (1923) by the builder *René Touzet,* the Havas Agency (1922) by the architect Carlos Ramos (1897--1969), or the Tram Company Building (1927) by Jorge Segurado (1898-1990). Also of note were the Cais do Sodré Station (1928) and the Caixa Geral de Depósitos building in Porto (1929--31), both by Porfírio Pardal Monteiro (1897-1957). In Lisbon, the Art Deco buildings included the Capitólio Cine--Theatre (1925-31) by the architect Luís Cristino da Silva (1896-1976) and the Café Portugal (1938), the latter involving the plastic collaboration of Roberto Araújo (1908-1969), Leopoldo de Almeida (1898-1975), Jorge Barradas (1894-1971) and the stained-glass artist Ricardo Leone (1891-1971).

One of the features of note was the South and Southeast Ferry Terminal (1928-31) by Cottinelli Telmo (1897--1948). Like others of his peers, Cottinelli Telmo visited the 1925 Paris International Exhibition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Arts where he received inspiration that would be reflected in his later work, particularly in a project that was only carried out in 1932, namely the images of the South and Southeast Ferry Terminal. As an architect for the Portuguese Railway Company, in 1929 Cottinelli designed the lines of what would be the point of entry to the capital for those coming from the south of the country, a "European Pier", as he pointed out in his vibrant poster of 1927. The aim of this advertisement was to make the country better known to international tourists using the Lisbon Ferry Terminal on their way to the Ibero--American Exposition in Seville and travelling through Vila Real de Santo António, the railway station of which was still to be built. Such an intention did not materialise — the Lisbon terminal would only be inaugurated in 1932 — but it did not invalidate the fact that the structure became a symbol of the Art Deco style and was considered an outstanding example of openness to international modernism.

It is worth mentioning the architect Cassiano Branco (1897-1970), who designed the Porto Coliseum (1939) and the Theatre [(1930-37), with Art Deco *bas-reliefs* by Leopoldo de Almeida referencing music, dance, cinema and the performing arts, as well as numerous residential buildings in Lisbon with their orthogonal volumes and geometrical designs for metal doors and railings.

It is also worth mentioning the *Bairro das Colónias*, an Art Deco enclave built in the 1930s where the street names refer to the countries that, at the time, were Portuguese imperial possessions. With their geometric outline, circular and straight stylized lines, the buildings in the *Bairro das Colónias* have four floors and are similar to each other although they possess individual decorative details.

Two points should be made: the first concerns the existence of Art Deco buildings throughout Portugal, which will be alluded to in due course, since they deserve to be investigated in their own right, primarily owing to the architectural and decorative importance they have — examples include the Serralves Villa in Porto and the Veva de Lima House in Lisbon; the second refers to the fact that the creation of such work in the 1930s did not invalidate the fact that Portuguese Art Deco took shape earlier with regard to interior furnishings (furniture, shutters, lighting, fabrics, carpets, wallpaper, inlays and stained glass) in a remarkable ornamental profusion.

It should be noted that Portugal was not present at the International Exhibition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Arts in Paris in 1925 although the sculptor Ernesto Canto da Maya — at the time living in the French capital — participated with a set of nine gilded plaster *bas-reliefs* entitled *Children's Games*, which earned him a Gold Medal in Class 1 (Architecture). Along with this award, he received a Diploma of Honour in Class 27 (Garden Art) for his *Pomone* and *Flore* statues, which were displayed in the gardens of the Paris City Pavilion.[19] Common to the sculpted pieces in the period was the formal search for the simplification of geometrical lines, thereby denoting a commitment to align with Art Deco taste.

Finally, as had happened in France, the Portuguese Art Deco style extended to its colonies although this only came about in the following decade at the Angola Exhibition--Fair inaugurated on the occasion of President Carmona's visit to Africa in 1938. This event, one year after the 1937 Parisian International Exposition of Art and Technology in Modern Life and two years before the 1940 Portuguese World Exhibition in Lisbon, showed the adoption of an Art Deco architectural and decorative programme, noteworthy for its experimental eclecticism, more than ten years after the French exhibition of 1925. In a retelling adapted (and appropriated) to the propaganda of the *Estado Novo*, the Art Deco exhibited at the event went into the *Commemorative Album of the 1938 Angola Exhibition--Fair,* published by the Government--General of the Colony, the clichés for which were attributed to C. Duarte. In this unique document, the absence of an apologetic and historical character common to exhibitions of this time is evident, with the complete materialisation of Art Deco lines for the pavilions and interior decorations.

It should be noted that in 2009 an exhibition was held at the FCG called Art Deco 1925, which will be discussed in greater detail at the end of this book. Already in 2012, an exhibition at the MNAC entitled Happy Modernism — Art Deco in Portugal had assembled a collection covering drawing, painting and sculpture. Besides those already mentioned — Abel Manta (1888-1982), Adriano Sousa Lopes, Amadeo Souza--Cardoso, António Soares (1894-1978), Bernardo Marques (1899-1962), Carlos Botelho (1899-1982), Cottinelli Telmo, Cristiano Cruz (1892-1951), Diogo de

Macedo (1889-1959), Dordio Gomes (1890-1976), Eduardo Viana, Canto da Maya, Francisco Franco (1885-1955), Jorge Barradas, José de Almada Negreiros, Leopoldo de Almeida, Lino António (1898-1974), Mário Eloy, Mily Possoz, Roberto Araújo, Ruy Roque Gameiro and Stuart Carvalhais (1887-1961) — there was also Armando Basto (1884-1923), Joaquim Martins Correia (1910-1931), José Tagarro (1902-1931) Joseph Bernard (1866-1931), Maria Adelaide de Lima Cruz (1908-1985), Maria Barreira Gonçalves (1914-2010), Raul Xavier (1894-1964), Pinto de Campos (1908-1975), Roberto Nobre (1903-1969) and Vasco Pereira da Conceição (1914-1992).

Returning to the 1920s, it is important to understand the foundation and structuring of Portuguese Art Deco and for this reason our journey returns from colonial geography to reconsider post-war metropolitan Lisbon.

ART SALONS

Art affirms its own period, and the 1920s were no exception. In these years, the imported instances of foreign culture, and the creation of a set of modern cultural amenities, led to the participation of some of the most promising national artists who were involved in the construction of a legacy that is now largely gone.

After the fruitful phase of Portuguese art (of which only a few were really aware), defined as occurring between 1915 and 1917 and involving Amadeo and Santa-Rita, while the war was raging in Europe "modern Portuguese artists and writers would come to feel condemned to the equivocation of living in a country where not only was there a total lack of public enlightenment through any sensibility on the part of the press, but where the artistic institutions themselves remained attached to the most persistent and often boorish nineteenth-century aesthetics, dazzled (...) with works that contributed nothing towards undertaking an effective cultural transformation that would bring the country closer to that of a more cultured Europe".[20]

Nevertheless, as far as the aesthetics established after this period are concerned, in the year following the death of Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso and Santa-Rita Pintor — 1919 — Eduardo Viana, a friend of both, was considered "the most modernist of all".[21] In the same year, he took part in the 3rd Modernist Exhibition,[22] where the vivacity of his pictorial chromatics evoking Cézanne and being Cubist in inspiration was greatly admired. Along with Viana, António Soares took part in the 1916 and 1919 Exhibitions, as did Jorge Barradas in the 1915 one with the latter exhibiting at the 3rd Humorist Salon in 1920 along with Almada Negreiros, who had returned from Paris in 1919. And it is these names that — along with others to be mentioned in due course — would form the so-called "First Generation of Portuguese Modernists".

For José-Augusto França, "the first modernist manifestation of the 1920s took place in October 1923 with the Exhibition of the Five Independents".[23] The collection included the painters Dordio Gomes and Alfredo Miguéis (1883-1943), and the sculptors Diogo de Macedo, Francisco Franco and his brother, Henrique Franco (1883-1961), all working in Paris at the time. The event took place at the SNBA and Almada Negreiros, Eduardo Viana and Mily Possoz were also invited to exhibit in an "art salon".[24] This would only occur in early 1925 under the name "Autumn Salon" and showed a wish for artistic union. Organised in January of that year, also at the SNBA, it would bring together a whole generation of creative individuals such as Eduardo Viana, Almada Negreiros, António Soares, Jorge Barradas, Emmerico Nunes (1888-1968), Francis Smith, Alberto Cardoso, Mily Possoz, Sarah Afonso (1899-1983), Mário Eloy, and Lino António in addition to architects such as Luís Cristino da Silva, Carlos Ramos, Jorge Segurado, Norberto Correia and José Pacheko (1885-1934). A small group of works by Amadeo, Santa-Rita and Manuel Jardim (1884-1923) referred to the recent past of that generation in a notable tribute. Among the works on display were some that would appear on the walls of the *Brasileira* café in Chiado, which had been a favourite haunt of Lisbon intellectuals for years. The pieces from the Autumn Salon and the *Brasileira* paintings, together with the decoration of the Bristol Club (detailed below), and the importance of the Paris International Exhibition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Arts, already mentioned, made 1925 a year that served as a focal point for national art.[25] Curiously, in the year before remodelling work began on the *Brasileira* (1922), two luxurious, revivalist dining establishments opened almost simultaneously: in Lisbon, the Versailles pâtisserie (25 November) in the best Louis XIV style (1638-1715) while in Porto, the Majestic (2 December), a café in the best *fin de siècle* style. This demonstrates the establishment of a primacy for the *démodé* style, looking to the past for the foundation of an aesthetic far removed from what was being undertaken in the *Brasileira*.

It turns out that the *Brasileira* canvases belonged to a completely different category, making the café the "museum of modern painting that Lisbon did not have".[26] The young José Pacheko was the driving force behind the commission convincing the owner of the establishment, Adriano Teles (1859-1932), to hand over the decoration of the space to his painter friends. This resulted in *Algarve Landscape* and *Sintra Landscape* by Eduardo Viana; *The Bathers* by Almada Negreiros; *Village Scene and Lisbon Scene* by Jorge Barradas; a decorative painting by Bernardo Marques; *Landscape with Windmill* by José Pacheko himself; *Café Scene and Interiors* by António

Soares and *Landscape with Windmill* by Stuart Carvalhais, which constituted the exhibited collection. However, in general, the voices of the public and critics were not favourable to the new canvases on display, and one can understand why. Lisbon at that time was not ready for such artistic daring and modern art had difficulty asserting itself among the more traditionalist mentalities dominant at the time.

The cause of national resistance to the winds of change that swept through Europe as it recovered from the war started with the role of the State which, indifferent to the arts, remained aloof from commissioning works from artists, and even the Museum of Contemporary Art (MNAC) — created in 1911 and directed by Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro from 1914 onwards — resisted the new generation found in the *Brasileira*, preferring to defend a more conservative strand of contemporary art. Such a position was paradoxical since the MNAC had been set up in a space next to the Fine Arts Academy (the Convent of São Francisco da Cidade) and, therefore, in an area frequented by younger artists and Fine Arts students, the dynamics of whom were connected to avant-garde trends making them potential influencers in updating the museum collection, but this did not happen. "Hostility from the 'old', lack of interest from the rulers, ignorance from the public and lack of a market, minimal support from newspapers and non-existent criticism"[27] were the causes of this refusal to keep up with the novelties of the time. However, the supporters of modern art did not let up the pressure. The magazines *Orpheu* (1915) by Fernando Pessoa (1888-1935), Mário de Sá-Carneiro (1890-1916), Alfredo Pedro Guisado (1891-1975), Armando Côrtes-Rodrigues (1891-1971) and Almada Negreiros,[28] *Contemporânea* (1922-26), a title by José Pacheko,[29] *Seara Nova* (1921) by Raúl Proença[30] and *Athena* (1924-25) by Pessoa and Ruy Vaz (1891-1955)[31] all played a significant role in artistic dissemination. In a more mundane way, the magazines *ABC*, (1920-32), *Ilustração Portugueza* (1903-93),[32] *Ilustração* (1926-39)[33] and *O Sempre Fixe* (1926--32)[34] formed a group of publications which had regular contributions from certain national artists, making them cover artists, authors of articles, illustrators and graphic designers.

A cross-cutting influence present in their works was the 1925 Paris International Exhibition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Arts. The event helped to restore a taste for António Soares, Canto da Maya (participant and prize winner at the exhibition), Cottinelli Telmo, Dordio Gomes and Abel Manta — the latter two colleagues in Paris between 1920 and 1926 — and was certainly visited by Francis Smith, Mário Eloy and Mily Possoz as well.

It is important to add to the collective list two names from this generation of artists: Stuart Carvalhais (who also ran the *ABC* magazine and published work in *Ilustração* and *O Sempre Fixe*) and Carlos Botelho, who had worked for the latter publication for over twenty years. In their artistic journey they naturally passed through Paris — as did almost all members of this generation — and that established influences throughout the course of their long creative careers. However, a cycle was about to close for this first generation of modern artists who had so proficiently produced works of great artistic value. At the end of 1925, the scandal around the Alves do Reis fraud broke and in the first half of 1926, the end of the First Republic would bring a setback involving a rise of conservatism to a country that was only then beginning to open up, namely the establishing of a military dictatorship.

After 1929, a name that would cut across areas and become hard to avoid in the following two decades was António Ferro, the future director of the National Propaganda Secretariat (SPN), later the National Secretariat of Information (SNI), but also an active member of the cultural world of 1920s Lisbon. A colleague and friend of Mário de Sá-Carneiro, he became both an influencer and someone who brought groups together. António Ferro was editor of the magazine *Orpheu* (in 1914) and embarked on a career in journalism, working for *O Século* and *Diário de Lisboa*, becoming the editor of *Ilustração Portugueza* and being a contributor to the publications *Contemporânea* (1922-24) and *Ilustração* (1926). As an international reporter for the *Diário de Notícias*, he travelled throughout Europe and the USA, interviewing notable personalities in cinema, literature and politics. In these years — and before embracing a political career at the head of the SPN — Ferro became a man of culture who was close to artistic circles by being included in them in a variety of ways. In the 1920s to 1930s, he published various works that were read and commented on by Lisbon's artistic circle including: *The Theory of Indifference* (1920), *Leviana* (1921), *Gabriel d'Annunzio e Eu* (1922), *A Idade do Jazz-Band* (1923), *Batalha de Flores* (1923), *Viagem à Volta das Ditaduras* (1927) and *Novo Mundo, Mundo Novo* (1930). Connected to the modernist movement from an early age, Ferro was a promoter of avant-garde art and a great promoter of club *soirées*. In 1925 he founded the *Teatro Novo* with José Pacheko, the first Portuguese attempt at an avant-garde theatre for which a room at the Tivoli, nowadays the foyer, was adapted. There, Jules Romains' *Dr. Knock or the Triumph of Medicine* and Luigi Pirandello's *One Truth for Everyone* were performed between applause and polemic. A vast programme was set up, but lack of funds prevented the initiative from continuing. António Ferro did, however, divide his energies among various areas, letting himself be carried away by leisure travel, cinema and jazz, the latter heard in the perfect forum for it in those years, i.e. the nightclub.

Although political and economic instability and social unrest were relentless, the heterogeneous nature of society meant that a fringe of the urban population did not give up their leisure time and entertainment. Among cafés, pâtisseries, restaurants, rooms for parties, variety theatres, movie theatres, casinos and cabarets, dance halls, café concerts and night clubs, the people of Lisbon witnessed the emergence of an endlessly changing new reality. This panoply of socio-cultural amenities attracted its own clients with a hierarchy established according to location, sophistication and the codes of etiquette of each. Often, the boundary for who was acceptable was porous, which did not prevent the *habitués* from being readily recognised and treated with the deference inherent to the category of the establishment.

Benefiting from the centrality of the area, Lisbon's nightclubs, some of which had opened their doors before the First World War, were concentrated in the area of Restauradores, Avenida da Liberdade and Portas de Santo Antão. Places of worldliness and cosmopolitanism *par excellence*, these new spaces often took advantage of old palaces (Alverca, Foz, Regaleira) owing to the ornate appearance of the buildings, which then underwent interior re-decoration in order to adapt to their new function. Other clubs were located in modern buildings (such as the *Olímpia* in the Restauradores district), which were the stage for much *joie de vivre* and licentiousness where the actors fluttered from room to room between the glitter of ambition and a certain snobbish dilettantism. Common to all was the enthusiasm and the display of French-inspired costumes, parading a range of emotions from frivolity to a worldly spirit. Puritanism surrendered, giving way to the spectacle of those who now let themselves be admired in mirages formed by the cigarette smoke coming out of the mouth of their cigarette holders and the cocaine abandoned on the table. However, until this scenario became a tangible reality, Lisbon witnessed the arrival of foreigners and people from the suburbs whose ambition was to become *maîtres,* grooms, croupiers, *papillons*, bouncers, musicians, singers and dancers, extras in a universe that oscillated between a disguised moralism and genuine licentiousness.

Of all of them, Maxim's had become the main purveyor of elegant nightlife in Lisbon. It appeared in 1908, lasted until 1933 and was located in the Foz Palace (from the 18th/19th century), once the residence of the Count of Castelo Melhor. "Its decoration involved the conservation of its 18th century heritage, with many baroque ornaments (...) but with a new element that provided frenetic hints, namely a play of lights with surprising effects".[35] After the entrance, the scenic staircases offered access to the first floor, a place with a gallery from which a succession of rooms opened up to the dancing area where the jazz band set the rhythm. In the main salon — the casino — you could play roulette and baccarat, next to the *fumoir* and the cloakrooms for ladies and gentlemen.

At the Alverca Palace, the Majestic Club (from 1917 to 20), later renamed the Monumental Club (between 1920 and 1928 and today the *Casa do Alentejo*), rivalled the best. There was an interior architecture that was (and still is) "a feathery destination of romantic orientalism or Moorish revivalism",[36] with the decorative aesthetic including stuccoes and arabesques, friezes and cymbals in overlapping triangles, niches, profusely lacy horseshoe or pointed arches, polychrome columns and mural decorations with geometric ornamentation, mosaics and relief tiles. The intention of the architect responsible, António Rodrigues da Silva Júnior (1868-1937), was to build a cinematographic space with an exotic atmosphere, with "decoration made mostly of wood and stucco, rather deceitful, to give the tone and style from the Indies to Granada and Seville".[37] Climbing the stairs, the centre of the neo-Arab courtyard consisted of a circular marble fountain over which the frosted glass and metal ceiling coated the daytime light and projected the night-time light emanating from the fanciful lamps; from the courtyard, the various areas were defined in *pastiches*, in a profusion of balconies, staircases, galleries, courtyards and secret compartments. Of all the rooms, of note were the cloakroom, changing room, barber's shop, ladies' toilets and the manager's office next to the lacy staircase; the first floor was the location for the games and billiards rooms, the *fumoir*, the dining room and dance hall, in a profusion of gold and mirrors in the best neo-Baroque style and fake windows reflecting the real ones. Painted medallions with female figures and allegorical representations showing *putti* aligned the proscenium of the stage, which was shared with the dining room and gambling room. The casino also had private spaces, small cubicles to escape the gaze of others and reserved for private conversations or to consume the illicit substances that were so fashionable at the time.

The requirements to enter depended considerably on the steep subscription to be paid, but that was not the only means of selection, thus forming an exclusivity that, together with the luxury, gambling and the fame of the supposed immoralities permitted there, helped to establish a certain emblematic aura.

Like Maxim's, the Duck Club (1912?-1928) in Chiado included a casino. There was also the International Club (1917-1922) on Rua 1.º de Dezembro, and the Regaleira Club (1920?-1923) in the Regaleira Palace, both near Rossio; the Palace Club (1918-1920) in Rua Eugénio dos Santos (now Rua das Portas de Santo Antão), whose rooms were profusely decorated with stucco in the form of garlands; the Ritz Club (1920-1929) and the Palais Royal (1920-1923), both in Restauradores; the Montanha Club (1920-1934) in the same area, more precisely in Rua da Glória; the Mayer

Club (1918-1920), later the Avenida Palace Club (1921-1927), located at the end of Rua do Salitre next to Avenida da Liberdade and the Alhambra Room (1923-?) a little higher up in Parque Mayer, which opened in 1922.

In Restauradores there was, however, one club that stood out from the rest, namely the Bristol Club in the Regedor Garden. It had been in operation since 1918, but it was in 1925 that its owner — Mário Freitas Ribeiro — decided to embark on his modernist proposal and invited a group of artists to radically renovate the architecture, decoration and lighting of the interiors. Almada Negreiros, Eduardo Viana, António Soares, Jorge Barradas, Lino António, Francis Smith, Ruy Vaz (1891-1955), and Guilherme Filipe (1899-1971) were called on to undertake the renovation along with the sculptors Canto da Maya and Leopoldo de Almeida. Between 1925 and 1927, the businessman focused on a hitherto unprecedented manoeuvre, namely an innovative advertising campaign for the club, which was shown on several covers of the *ABC* magazine with designs by Jorge Barradas. In Barradas' bold, easy-to-read graphics, the round *papillons* in languid poses and with false modesty turn their heads towards the reader while the *sassy* girls challenge bohemians with their effrontery. The Bristol was, as *Contemporânea* magazine put it, "the aesthetic realisation of a bold dream (...) of pure modern art, in rooms which have become veritable exhibitions".[38] It was thus the most audacious of Lisbon's clubs, a showcase for modern art: not only its decoration, but also its assiduous clientele of young artists, full of avant-garde related ideas.

Thomaz de Mello Breyner (1866-1933) mentions in his memoirs having dinner at the Bristol with José de Almada Negreiros. He states: "I went with him to the Coliseum (...) and on the way out I went to have supper at the famous gambling and dancing club called the Bristol. It is beautiful and has good music".[39] The same author also mentions his time at Maxim's. "At 9 o'clock at the Club Maxim there was a large banquet (...) It made me sorry to see the beautiful palace that I knew in my childhood transformed into a gambling house."[40]

The press supported and advertised this new place for socialising, entertainment and consumption, building an image comparable to similar other European places where "the most well-travelled tourist can be taken with confidence, without fear of humiliating comparisons with the best of this type of establishment abroad".[41] There was, however, the other side of the coin: less complimentary magazines, like the *Europa*, went so far as to publish, in shadowy prose, the following:

> In the circle of people with contracted faces, some, closer, eyes cocained in amazement, faces carved by the chisel of forbidden paradises, others, farther away, thrown to the corners, to the walls, in an attitude of painful caryatids (...). Then, the man of contortions, whom everyone stared at greedily with the sick curiosity of speculators of the anonymous tragedies of life, launched another scream into the air (...) as if hyperextended by some subtle aphrodisiac, a kind of masochistic excitement, stemming from that barbaric violation of sound, dividing themselves in pairs, in that false dance step, in the great golden bordello, house, cage and antechamber of death.[42]

The club thus appears sometimes as a laudable and dignifying place, praised as a true expression of the cultural change underway in valuing pleasure and leisure, stimulating the commendable transformation of social habits and urban progress, and sometimes as a den of iniquity to be censured, from a sceptical and condemnatory perspective, as a cursed and immoral place *par excellence*, a destroyer of honest lives and frequented by unaware, bored and futile individuals, thereby revealing the decadence of civilisation. Both positions were accompanied by literature in conformity: on the side of the supporters, there is Almada Negreiros' *O Nome de Guerra*, selecting urbanity as the way to be modern and the clubs as the driving force behind this renewal; on the side of the critics, there is Augusto Navarro's *A Bailarina Loura*, linking the clubs to temptation, sin and damnation.

Regardless of one's position, there was an increase in homages, dinners, balls, birthdays and other types of private celebrations; from their seclusion in the home, gatherings began to take place in ostentatious halls with refined and *démodé* interiors.

Following enforcement of the prohibition of gambling in Lisbon,[43] those establishments with a focus on gambling, with the Lisbon clubs as their flagships, gradually closed down. In 1928 the Bristol, the Monumental and the Duck Club, three of the most renowned gambling dens, closed their doors. It was the beginning of the end for the houses open all night long and the rolling of fortunes to the disgrace of many and the delight of few, with the closure of environments that "give those who pass by, even when they lose, the feeling that they win — as a category".[44]

In any event, limited to a specific period, Lisbon's nightclubs not only marked those years but also became a cult symbol, particularly as a result of the brevity and intensity of their lifespan. Synonymous with luxurious, refined, 19th century decoration (with exceptions such as the Bristol), and serving to discipline the jazz bands in the sense that they would separate out the new rhythms along with the Tango and the Waltz, they were, even so, helpers in breaking down moral and legal barriers as they were islands of cosmopolitanism that promoted new practices involving transgressive entertainment within a logic of consumption and defining the very concept of modernity. Intrinsic to the whole club world, dancing formed one of the pillars of success for these nightclubs through enlivening them in a way that had been unthinkable until then.

DANCE AND THEATRE

Dance me to the end of love
Leonard Cohen

At the start of the 20th century, dance, which until that point had been limited to small scenes in lyric theatre, finally managed to liberate itself. Lisbon gradually began to wake up to the art of Terpsichore as presented initially by individuals and small so-called "free dance groups", such as Loïe Fuller (1893, 1902, 1912). This was later extended to Spanish and Latin American dances and French and Russian ballet troupes. A growing number of artists trod the stages of the São Carlos, the Coliseu and the Dona Amélia, among them Pastora Império (1887-1979) in 1904, 1905 and 1913, Cléo de Mérode in 1906 and La Argentina [Antonia Mercé (1890-1936)] in 1908. However, the major revelation would only take place in 1917-1918, with the visit of the *Ballets Russes*, a reference point in the evolution of dance in Europe, as previously noted.

The conditions were gradually met for this art to achieve greater visibility through the awakening of criticism, the establishing of the public's taste for this, and the setting up of a dance school (1911), which led to foreign artists visiting Portuguese city stages with greater frequency. Great names from the world of international ballet — particularly Russian — took to the stage, such as Anna Pavlova (1881-1931) in 1919, the dancers of the Russian Imperial Theatre (in 1923), the French Opera Company, Eltzoff's Russian Ballets and the Pannonia Rusckov Troupe (all in 1925).

The number of stages increased and the companies and/or solo dancers were distributed among the theatres and stages of the São Luiz, *Éden*, Salão Foz, Apolo, Trindade, Politeama and Maria Vitória. The dance styles became more diversified: Kosika Vrandja, an interpreter of Cambodian and Egyptian dances, performed at the Salão Foz in 1926, as did the German Maud Forest in 1927.

In addition to these ballet shows, night owls also frequented the theatre. Interest in this form of art remained firm throughout the 1920s and the most attended theatres were located in the Baixa and Avenida da Liberdade area where, in 1922, Parque Mayer opened its doors (Maria Vitória in 1922 and the Variedades in 1926). It was there that the Portuguese *revista* — a kind of comic-satirical musical revue — became popular, with its patrons also attending other existing venues such as the Dona Maria II theatre (which in those days was still called the Almeida Garrett), the Tivoli, the Avenida, and the Ginásio. The first Portuguese *revista* production debuted in 1851 at the Ginásio Theatre,[45] but it was the 1920s that witnessed a true metamorphosis, both in terms of how its scenes were staged and in the systematic introduction of dance passages, a path initially set by the Satanela-Amarante Company. According to Luiz Francisco Rebello, in its very first performance, *Salada Russa* (Russian Salad) in 1918, the company introduced the female actor Luísa Satanela (1895-1974) "to interpret two works, an Argentinian *pericon* and a Russian ballet, which were interpreted with great enthusiasm. Historically, these two performances by Satanela are considered the first *revista* dances in Portugal because until then the ensemble had just danced along to the changes in the music without following any formal choreography".[46] Later, Satanela would join with Francis Graça,[47] the dancer that in 1925 António Ferro had presented in his *Teatro Novo* company, and in 1926 they made their debut at the Eden Theatre, with the revue *Cabaz de Morangos* (Strawberry Basket).[48] In the musical show *Água-Pé* (Piquette) of 1927, the Satanela-Francis duo performed *Bonecos Russos* (Russian Dolls),[49] clearly derived from the performances of Diaghilev's company in Lisbon. The success was such that the revue ran for another year, a feat that would never be repeated and which led to the launching of Francis Graça as the main theatrical "choreographer", as shown in the revues *Sete e Meio* (Seven and Half — 1927), *A Rambóia* (Bacchanal — 1928), *Chá da Parreira* (Tea from the Vine — 1929) and *Feira da Luz* (Party at the Luz — 1930), which brought new life to musical theatre.

A side note should be made to point out that it was at this time that artists were brought together (painters, set designers, costume designers, composers and choreographers) to provide an overall coherence to *revista* as a spectacle with the inspiration for this being the *Ballets Russes.* Noteworthy among these individuals were José Barbosa (1900-1977), Jorge Barradas, Stuart de Carvalhais, Maria Adelaide Lima Cruz (1908-1985), Pinto de Campos (1908-1975), Ruy Roque Gameiro and António Soares. Through their plastic evolution they altered the very character of the *revista* through stylising and modernising it in a coherent and consistent manner. As to the contribution of most of the girls, the dancers and the ensemble, this seems to have been mostly ephemeral, leading to individual careers and one-off experiences. The exception to this was Francis Graça, so it is important to focus on this initial and initiatory phase of his training as a dancer.

In the 1920s, Francis was influenced by the American Denishawn dance school[50] and Isadora Duncan's free dance,[51] ubiquitous thanks to certain photographic prints. However, the true influence, on the form and content level, came from the *Ballets Russes.* Francis did not just limit himself to reproducing the poses and costumes of Diaghilev's company, but he also created his own choreography. This was the case in 1928 when he designed *Fauno* (Ballets Russes, 1912), a piece for a recital organised by Luís Reis Santos (1898-1967), as part of a homage to Debussy put on at the Politeama Theatre. In 1930, Francis danced *Le Spectre de la Rose* (The Spectre of the Rose — Ballets Russes, 1911) at the Trindade

Theatre, and as no records were kept it is not known if the dancer tried to recreate Michel Fokine's choreography (1880-1942) or created his own. In any event, the Russian ensemble was — for Francis and for a whole generation of artists — an indispensable reference and a constant source of inspiration.

In the 1930s, the female actor Corina Freire (1897-1957) joined Francis Graça and Ruth Walden[52] in a trio who António Ferro invited to participate in a recital that was promoted by the Casa de Portugal at the Théâtre de la Michodière in Paris. The following year — 1934, they returned to the City of Lights to perform at the Salle Gaveau and, in the following month, at the Théâtre des Ambassadeurs. During that year they left for Brazil, where they danced in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In 1935 they also danced at a recital-lecture entitled *Soirée Portugaise*, presented by António Ferro and his wife, Fernanda de Castro, at the Grand Théâtre in Geneva, Switzerland. In 1937, Francis Graça and Ruth Walden would return to the French capital for the Paris International Exposition and, shortly afterwards, they headed back to Switzerland again where their dance performance was followed by a lecture given by Fernanda de Castro (1900-1994) and António Ferro. The pieces were set to music by maestros such as Frederico de Freitas and Rui Coelho (1889-1986), and the regional costumes were made according to models furnished by Maria Adelaide Lima Cruz and Bernardo Marques. These cultural embassies promoted by António Ferro abroad were widely reported in the Portuguese and international press and were followed by a tour of Brazil and Argentina, where they repeated their success. On this South American tour, Francis Graça together with Ruth Walden would join musical theatre companies formed by entrepreneurial female actors in both countries. Given these requests from overseas, their absence from Portuguese stages would only end in 1939 when the pair returned to perform at the Trindade Theatre in Lisbon.

In the exhibition held in 2022 at MNTD entitled *Francis Graça. Esplendor e Sombras* (Splendour and Shadows), the focus was on the importance of the 1920s for the career of the Portuguese dancer since this was when modernist connections brought him to prominence in the Portuguese artistic world: we see him in poses recalling the idealisation of *Mens sana en corpore sano,* in oriental and exotic costumes, or linked to the figure of Nijinsky and the free dance of Isadora Duncan; we also see him in 1930 in the cast of the first Portuguese talking film — *A Severa* (Maria Severa Onofriana) by Leitão de Barros (1896--1967) — where he dances a fandango. All these inspiring events would have their impact in the following decade, more precisely in 1940, when Francis was invited by António Ferro to form the first company of Portuguese dancers, the *Verde Gaio* (Eurasian Jay), which would mark a new stage in the history of dance in Portugal as well as in Portuguese professional dance.

Returning to the 1920s, it is important to mention the presence of foreign dancers in *revista* shows who were based in Lisbon. These included Luísa Satanela, Ruth Walden and Corina Freire, to which can be added the names of Piero Bénardon, Piero d'Evandauns, Eva Stachino, Mafalda Reiner and Ivette Beller, although some were Portuguese nationals who had adopted foreign stage names such as Ivette Beller (whose real name was Maria Amélia da Fonseca Lebre, as mentioned in the attached news item). The Training Course for Dancers at the National Conservatory, which was established in 1911 (and which would only be offered to male students in the 1950s), made it possible for some female students to join the musical theatre dance numbers as well as the corps de ballet of the operas performed at the Coliseu even if the more ambitious had to look further afield and abroad to supplement their Portuguese learning and technique. With dancers being involved more frequently in revues, the performances of the girls ended up being scored and choreographed by the stage directors. The dance elements became popular and were enthusiastically received by the public and critics. The dance numbers stopped being an extra and became something more vital, an essential part of every new staging. These novel developments led to an increase in the number of spectators and venues along with a diversification of the repertoire.

Furthermore, certain painters decided to depict male and female dancers as portrait subjects in some of their more significant works, such as *Natasha* (1925) by António Soares, along with other names such as Mário Eloy with *Francis* (1931), Almada Negreiros in various paintings, drawings and engravings, Jorge Barradas, Eduardo Malta (1900-1967) and Carlos Botelho.

The world of dance did not end once the curtain had fallen. When the evening at the revue finished around midnight, some of the audience would prolong their entertainment at one of their clubs of choice. Performances continued in the clubs, mainly interpreted by foreigners as shown from the names on the posters: Amparito Medina, Georgina Violeta and Paquita Pagan (at the Bristol Club), Clarita Carbonell (at the Duck Club), Azurea (at Maxim's), Amelia Vasquez, Maria Monterines, Maria Angelines, La Fabrilo and Pepita Iglezias (at the Montanha Club), Nièves Campos and Carmen Cinchilla (at the Avenida Palace Club — Palácio Mayer), Charly and Silva (at the Palace Club). There were also gypsy orchestras (at Maxim's, the Regaleira Club and the Palace Club) as well as Tangos, *fado*, ventriloquists and singers. When the variety show was over, the audience were invited to step onto the dance floor to the sound of the "music of the savages, from which arise the screams of jungle explorers".[53] As soon as the jazz band had struck up the first chords of a Foxtrot, or a Charleston, the patrons would lose their composure and just jump onto the dance floor "in a daring display of unheard-of self--confidence".[54] The dance floors in these clubs were filled with freely moving pairs, unconnected to the next one, inspired in their movements, while the dancers regrouped backstage. Many of these artists stayed in the country for long periods of time. This was the case with Lea Niako (1908-1945), a foreign dancer who specialised in oriental dances and modelling for artists and photographers, who stayed for about a year in Portugal. Between 1927 and 1928, she performed at the Variedades, Coliseu and São Luiz, and also at the São Miguel theatre (in the Azores) starting a trend and "a touch of exotic modernism on the somnolent stages of this rather backward Lisbon".[55]

The commotion caused by this led some *habitués* to take dancing lessons. As the *ABC* magazine would write: "Now (…) it is just as necessary to attend dance schools as it is to go to work every day".[56] Given this, the advertisements in the pages of newspapers multiplied, offering classes in the most varied of styles as announced by the *ABC* magazine: "P. Capelot has just been especially contracted by the Ballroom Dancing Academy (…) to teach Shimmy, Blue, Foxtrot, Tango, One-step, Waltz…".[57] As mentioned, the most original feature of new dances lay in the fact that, once the basic steps had been learnt, each pair had complete freedom to take inspiration from the moment. The rigidity of court and ensemble dancing was therefore left behind with the new rhythms offering freedom and a blank canvas for improvisation. As could be read in the *Notícias Ilustrado*, whenever the jazz band was interrupted by a Tango, it led to "a languidness of the senses".[58]

The press highlighted the role of Spanish dancers, especially with regard to *Sevillanas*.

The Spanish *couplista* is an indispensable item in variety nightclubs, casinos and clubs. The public likes them, and the public applauds. And to like and applaud it is not always necessary that the Spanish woman be an artiste: it suffices that she be Spanish.[59]

In Lisbon, there were the figures of the *cocotte*[60]*,* the *papillon*[61] and the dancers who were frequently viewed as harlots, women who had fallen into disgrace in fatalistic scenarios according to the standards of the time, characters that would often be used in fiction. The press would point to their lack of sophistication, upbringing and poise, the frivolity of foreigners but they would also mention that they imbibed the club with "their originality and are a phenomenon in the cabaret".[62]

Given this profoundly individualistic and engrossing atmosphere, it was no wonder that dance became a *must* for every night out. It should be noted that it was not just the daily availability of this type of club that created the attraction for dance. The proliferation of parties on special occasions substantially increased its availability. Dancing took place not just at night but also during the afternoon, during birthday celebrations and charity events, at political rallies and business events, and at others publicised on posters that were put up around Lisbon. These private parties often served to attract patrons on less busy occasions, or away from the ultra-busy periods such as Carnival and New Year's Eve.

This characteristically urban phenomenon cut across many strands, from the most refined clubs to third-class cabarets. As for codes of conduct and etiquette, they changed according to the level of luxury and exclusiveness, but dancing also spread to the bars and taverns, albeit expressed in more popular forms. Heterogeneous clients, singular figures, rich or poor, almost nobody — if truth be told — could resist the call to step onto the dance floor to dance to the sound of frenetic jazz or to popular songs.

This enthusiastic welcome and appetite for dance resulted from the desire in those years to be sociable as shown by the following:

A dance hall was an essential element of modern life. Every big city had one. Portugal, a tourist country constantly visited by foreigners, more than any other required excellent dance floors (…). This was a way of luring outsiders and represented a considerable inflow of gold for our impoverished public treasury.[63]

VINTAGE PORTO

The second largest city in the country had evolved in a different manner to the capital. One hundred years after the Liberal Revolution in Porto,[64] and far from the seat of government (in Lisbon), the city alongside the Douro river had its own character, which was facilitated by the increase in the Port wine trade and contact with the foreign merchants who flocked and often settled there. In a certain way, the establishment of a foreign mentality — mainly brought by the English — throughout the 18th century, as well as the dividends from the vines grown in the first demarcated wine region (1756), turned Portugal into a large emporium which bore hybrid fruits, with the Palácio da Bolsa (1842) being an *ex-líbris* in this regard.

It should be noted that, in 1920, the second largest city in the country had 204,000 inhabitants and in 1930 its population had increased to approximately 232,000,[65] that is, a moderate rate of growth. In 1920 there were 19 guest houses and taverns serving food, dozens of *tascas*, eight inns and 16 hotels,[66] 20 establishments dedicated to photography (among them Alvão, Medina and Biel), six antiquarian bookshops and bookstores, among them Lello & Irmão (the name adopted in 1919), a *de rigueur* place for a whole generation and the following one, such as Camilo Castelo Branco (1825-1890), Teófilo Braga (1843-1924), Fialho de Almeida (1857-1911) and Sampaio Bruno (1857-1915), and a place of reference down to the present day due to it having been chosen as one of the most beautiful bookshops in the world.

As new foreign residents moved in

either temporarily or permanently, local customs changed, which enabled a broader acceptance of new ideas, with the 1820 Liberal Revolution being a paradigm in this regard. The welcoming climate served the two dominant social strata equally: the emerging bourgeoisie, made up of merchants connected to the wine trade wishing to take their place in the local political and administrative area; and a more traditional nobility that, dwelling in manor houses and estates on the periphery, wished to show their *fin-de-siècle* ascendancy over the Porto elite. This confluence of interests led to the rise of a group of entrepreneurs whose ambition was to establish their social status through their artistic sophistication. Given this, patronage in Porto flourished and was able to commission works from artists that, in the final analysis, would translate the commissioner's taste and their way of being.

PORTO ART AND ARTISTS

"Many of those (the artists) who exhibited in Porto, whether in individual or joint exhibitions, in the first decades of the 20th century, formed part of the first naturalist generation",[67] a movement stemming from their academic training, and they were responsible for the maintenance of a 19th century aesthetic along with the other creative hubs formed within that period. Among them were Artur Loureiro, Marques de Oliveira and Sousa Pinto (1856-1939), painters who worked and regularly exhibited in the city during the first decades of the 20th century. This delayed the introduction of a modern plasticity but did not prevent the rise of possible developments over time, as was the case with the works of Aurélia de Sousa [and António Carneiro (1872-1930)]. "In the work of each we can find various consistent expressions of 'modernity', resulting from their own experiences, interests and respective personalities".[68] We should not forget that Amadeo was the first modernist to exhibit (in December 1916) and that Porto had hosted this foundational exhibition and, that same year, applauded the *Salão dos Fantasistas* (the Fantasy Salon) in January and also witnessed, even before this, the inauguration of the *I Salão dos Humoristas* e Modernistas (1st Salon of Humorists and Modernists) in 1915. On the other hand, the School of Fine Arts and the only public museums in the city [MNSR (1833) and Municipal Museum] removed themselves from the institutional framework to create an alternative set of autonomous spaces which were able to promote the work of artists from Porto. This was the case with the Porto Fine Arts Society (*Sociedade Portuense de Belas--Artes*) established in 1906 that fostered and promoted exhibitions, courses, lectures, art publications, excursions and concerts and set up a library in accordance with its initial statutes.

At the start of 1920, and within the world of plastic arts, the painter Marques de Oliveira — who, along with Silva Porto, was responsible for the introduction of painting *en plein air* and naturalism in Portugal — was teaching at the Porto Academy of Fine Arts (*Academia Portuense de Belas-Artes*) along with António Carneiro, a portrait painter who worked on historical and religious painting. He would become its director in 1929. Diogo de Macedo, a sculptor from Gaia, would move to Lisbon in the second half of this decade while at the same time Dominguez Alvarez (1906-1942) was painting marinas, landscapes of the area surrounding Porto and, later, urban images with an expressionist bent, to which he dedicated himself from 1927 onwards. It should be noted that, at the time, the work of Alvarez was known only to relatively few as he did not form part of the "official circle", so he was only truly recognised posthumously. In fact, as was usually the case, this was one more example of Portuguese art's ignorance of work produced by its best (artists) during their lifetime, whether due to hesitation or a lack of critical awareness, not being able to discern the work as it was produced in "real time" and form an instantaneous history to give it its due place. This observation is clearly true for many of his contemporaries who were dragged down through the amateurism of critics (or even victims of total indifference on their part). This was detrimental to the development of a consistent and referential "Portuguese art".

Be that as may, and given this multi--faceted artistic activity, with many local opportunities to exhibit, the persistent 19th century artistic movements in Porto existed alongside occasional ventures into the avant-garde, which were received without hostility but with insufficient enthusiasm, which was the real reason for the delay in artistic regeneration. Amongst these, in the years in question, the name of Aurélia de Souza stands out. She revealed a pictorial discourse weaving a naturalist influence with occasional affinities to modernism, with the latter expressed as diluted symbolism with a latent sexual ambiguity sometimes underlying her best portraits. Part of the work of her contemporary, António Carneiro, was connected in the same symbolic and subjectively expressionist sense, showing an abstractionism that was sensed rather than expressed, and produced through a "breath of existentialism and philosophy, in certain aspects far ahead of its time"[69] with his portraits being imbued with considerable psychological weight.

In 1923, the year following the death of Aurélia de Souza, Carlos Alberto Cabral (1895-1968) inherited the Quinta do Lordelo (from his father, the 1st Count of Vizela), a property that was enlarged through various purchases and exchanges in the following years to become the most notable example of Art Deco in Portugal — the Serralves Villa (*Casa de Serralves*). However, the building would only be concluded (and inhabited) in 1944 and did not have any direct influence on 1920s life in Porto, so it will be considered at the end of this work. The architect José Marques da Silva (1869-1947) was connected to the overall design of the Serralves Villa. He was the main individual responsible for the construction of the city's monuments and the design of iconic works in Porto, such as the São Bento Railway Station and the São João National Theatre. Indeed, the architect shaped part of the physiognomy of the *urbe* and completed different works including high schools, private residences, warehouses, markets, head offices and monuments.

Further architectural work in the ten years between 1920 and 1930 included the construction of cafés, pâtisseries and tea rooms, a group of establishments whose typology was connected to the various patrons who frequented them and who determined their ambience. An example is the *Café Chave d'Ouro*, which opened its doors in 1920 and which was mainly used by those employed in commerce. That same year, the *Café Excelsior* was opened, a meeting place for many intellectuals including the painter Júlio Reis Pereira (1902-1983) and the philosopher Leonardo Coimbra (1883-1936). In 1922, it was the turn of the *Majestic*, with an Art Nouveau-like façade and luxurious interior decorations recalling the *Belle Époque*, with an abundance of crystal glass mirrors, velvet benches, and crafted and varnished wood which reflected the luminosity of the matching lamps. It quickly became the place of choice for artists and Fine Arts students as well as philosophers and other personalities from Porto's cultural milieu.

Veritable places for social, cultural, economic, political and even religious intervention, the cafés in Porto of the 1920s were frequented by intellectuals, politicians, artists, musicians, actors and businesspeople who used them to relax, have their shoes shined, study, argue, close deals or simply read the newspaper. There were also others, like the *Camanho* café, which were frequented by artists, journalists, individuals from the world of the theatre and writers like Raul Brandão (1867-1930) who, in the 1920s, was at the peak of a brilliant literary career. These were the years of the "cultured Porto the 1920s discovered",[70] of *Renascença Portuguesa* (1912-1926)[71] and the magazine *Águia* (1910-1932),[72] the setting up of the first Portuguese film production company, Invicta Film, Lda., by Aurélio da Paz dos Reis (1862-1931) and the opening of various cinemas where national and foreign films were shown, such as *Invicta Cine* (opened in 1923), *Cine Portugal* and *Cine Jornal* (both from 1926) and *Arte Muda* (from 1928). The first radio broadcast, on Rádio Porto, also dates from 1926.

DILETTANTE DIVERSIONS

The "Roaring Twenties" in Porto did not have the same diversity of clubs, dance floors and casinos as its Lisbon counterpart. The more conservative population of the city did not go out with the frequency of the inhabitants of the capital and, when they did, they preferred cafés and bars as places where its bourgeois inhabitants could socialise. However, it should not be thought that Porto was devoid of such places of entertainment. The oldest was the *Club Rigollot*; then there was the *Club dos Cadouços* and the *Clube da Foz*, the latter containing a café and the *Casino Internacional da Foz* — a place where socialites would gather and which, according to the famous writer from Figueira de Foz, Alberto Pimentel (1849-1925), had burnt down in 1911. In the words of Nunes da Ponte, "during the summer, the *Clube da Foz* had dance events twice a week, alternating with the *Clube de Leça*. They sometimes organised a *Bal de Tetes*, which were very fashionable at the time, at which the ladies appeared with very fanciful hairstyles, almost all of them covered in powder".[73]

One of the most famous entertainment locations was the *Clube Portuense*. In his memoirs, Thomaz de Mello Breyner mentions that he spent time "at the *Clube Portuense,* the elegant old club about to be torn down. It is said that this will be its last dance."[74] Also known as the *Clube da Trindade*,[75] it had been founded in 1857 and was frequently attended by the British. It organised various balls in honour of the Portuguese kings: "The first royal ball was held there, full of brilliance, splendour and magnificence"[76] on the occasion of the monarch's visit to the city, as the records of the institution recall. In 1880, the *Clube Portuense* merged with the Porto Philharmonic Society (*Sociedade Filarmónica Portuense*) to give rise to the *Grémio Portuense* (Guild of Porto) and, in 1924, it moved to its current main location in Rua Cândido dos Reis in an Art Nouveau building. These recreational spaces were intended to provide a "stimulus to national civilisation"[77] through enshrining its musical culture and making the holding of balls a matter of priority. These events were "widely sought after and took place with sheer brilliance" as Nunes da Ponte mentions on the occasion of the first ball at the new *Clube Portuense* building on 23 February 1925.[78]

Meanwhile, in the centre of the city, different spaces for leisure and entertainment were opened in accordance with their chosen public: the *habitués* of the *Clube Fenianos Portuenses* (dating from 1904) were lovers of carnivalesque parties, while the more erudite sought their entertainment at the *Salão Silva Porto*, which was not only a gallery with a space for exhibitions, but also a place for *soirées* and debates and which later included tea dances as well. There was also the *Ateneu Comercial do Porto* (founded in 1869 by merchants and clerks of the city), which was less elitist but no less lively, with the bourgeois club offering entertainment programmes consisting of numerous balls, *soirées* and gatherings attended by both the old and the new local aristocracy.

For society parties there was the São João Theatre (which opened in 1920 on the site of the Royal São João Theatre, which had burnt down in 1908), the *Orfeu Portuense* and even the *Palácio de Cristal* (Crystal Palace), where the *bal costumé* (costume ball) was frequently held as part of secular city life. Certain important families within Porto society also opened up their spacious rooms for balls, such as Manuel Pinto da Fonseca (who lived in a villa in Avenida da Boavista) and Constantino do Vale Coelho Cabral, the Viscounts of São João da Pesqueira, who entertained at their residence on Rua do Triunfo (nowadays Dom Manuel I), and General José Guedes Brandão e Melo (1846-1919), who threw open the doors of his Quinta de Bonjóia near Campanhã.[79]

However, perhaps the most elegant, sophisticated, and modern space was the main party room at the Passos Manuel Gardens (from 1908 onwards) which for three decades provided the stage for bohemian nights in Porto offering a variety of entertainment, such as café-concerts (where a house band and two sextets performed), kiosks, a pavilion-restaurant, a gambling room, a party room, a club, a small theatre (bandstand) and a cinema. Inspired by the Parisian gardens of the time, its open-air space presented major musical hits of the period. Indeed, a large part of Porto's leisure life took place here, a space of culture and a meeting point for various social strata. Responding to the change in habits, it was renovated and expanded in 1911, then remodelled at the end of 1920 to offer spaces for all hours of the day: a morning walk in the garden, at the end of the afternoon opening the doors to the garden terrace, followed by the nine o'clock evening session of music hall in the cinema. The entertainment ended with a musical variety show, which managed to hold the attention of the male patrons, seduced by the dancing of the chorus girls and foreign ladies, till after midnight.

It is important to close this section with two stories that provide an image of these years and which, better than any other, reflect the spirit of the times. In the early 1920s, the dilettantes of Porto had fallen in love with the story of Maria Adelaide Coelho da Cunha (1869-1954), the rich heiress to the *Diário de Notícias* newspaper which her father had founded and who had run off with her chauffeur to Porto after scandalising Lisbon society. They ended up in jail — he in the *Cadeia da Relação* (Municipal Prison), she in the *Hospital de Alienados do Conde de Ferreira* mental hospital — which was how honour could be maintained by the abandoned husband who, out of spite, managed to get a legal injunction preventing his spouse from claiming her fortune and her son. After many misfortunes, both were freed, taking up residence in Porto and living there for thirty years, she working as a dressmaker and he as a taxi driver. They were buried together as befits the end of a true romance, hinting at the revivalist romanticism that Porto was so fond of, and not even Eça de Queirós (1845-1900), the city's neighbour, could have come up with a better plot. If this narrative marks the beginning of the decade in Porto, there is another, equally intense and damming, that closes it. In 1927, an attempted coup (by the military sector aligned with Republicanism) led by General Adalberto Gastão de Sousa Dias (1865-1934) overcame the city, with those in revolt ending up being obliged to surrender. Among them were Jaime Cortesão (1884-1960) and Raul Proença (1884-1941), but it was General Sousa Dias, the leader of this coup, who was deported to the island of São Tomé and Príncipe. The story, however, does not end there: in 1931, the General led another revolt against the dictatorship, once more leading to his defeat, but this time he was removed from office, without any pension, rights or honours, and subsequently deported to Cape Verde. After the hardships of his successive imprisonments and deportations, he died a short time later without any honours or amnesty.

At the end of the 1920-1930 timeframe, Porto — like Lisbon and the rest of the country — would see the *Invicta* city gradually close itself off to novelty and recreation. It was the start of a new set of circumstances, the return to the conservative atmosphere that had existed before the 1920s, which included a step back into the seclusion of the home and the family. However, the people of Porto did not stop frequenting the beaches at Foz and Granja, places that had fallen from grace. A note is required to understand why the leisure infrastructure was concentrated in the Foz area. This is explained by the English colony's connection to the summer bathing season, which led to them establishing permanent residences near the sea early on. The "old" Foz was transformed into the "new" one with the first summer houses being built by these foreigners although an essential element characterising any summer resort, the *Grand Hotel*, found itself without promoters. The established English residents were gradually joined by the Porto commercial bourgeoisie, politicians, aristocrats, Spaniards and senior officials from the public administration. This created such an inflow that paths had to be redesigned, avenues to be opened and public areas needed to benefit from 20th century amenities such as public lighting as well as sports and leisure facilities. Granja beach is located less than twenty kilometres to the south of Porto and, since the end of the 19th century, had become the most aristocratic summer resort in the north of Portugal. Frequented by royalty, the court and other citizens who went there to bathe, particularly Spaniards, many of the old villas originate from those times. The beach resort had a very busy social life and offered all kinds of evening activities ranging from open-air games and recitals to parties with Venetian-styled illuminations, fireworks and salon comedies. In 1920, the Grand Hotel was a meeting point and centre of entertainment, with more than forty years having passed since Ramalho

Ortigão praised Granja's charm in *As Praias de Portugal* written in 1876.

Those who did not go to Granja could choose to bathe in the region's hot springs, places that were being refurbished at that time in order to become dazzling centres of entertainment as was the case of Pedras Salgadas, Vidago and Cúria.

ROYALS AND REPUBLICANS: THE SPA AT PEDRAS SALGADAS/VIDAGO

To the north, a pair of resorts marked two distinct phases of the summer season in Portugal: Pedras Salgadas and Vidago. The hydrological properties of the former were discovered early. After winning a prize at the International Exhibition in Vienna, Austria, in 1873 for the beneficial value of its water, focus was then given to the construction of a thermal spa. In 1880 the spas opened to the public. In 1884 Queen Maria Pia (1847-1911) and the former King Consort Dom Fernando II (1816-1885) decided to visit them; later, in 1906, it was the turn of King Carlos I to base himself there. The fact that the monarchy had decided to stay at Pedras Salgadas ensured the success and affluence of the thermal facilities, but it was in 1907, with the coming of the railway, that the area received a considerable boost. The Spa Casino opened in 1910 with its main room available for parties and socialising in which gambling was a common, albeit illegal, practice. In this way, it complemented the various hotels which, in the meantime, had been built with the most noteworthy being the Grand Hotel. It had a "vast gymnasium, reading, billiard and music rooms, a shooting range, outdoor games (lawn tennis, croquet, etc.) and offered simple and beautiful walks in and around the large park."[80] In 1920, a charter founded the Vidago & Pedras Salgadas Company and Vidago became the new fashionable spa.

Opened on 6 October 1910 — the day after the Republic was established — the Vidago Palace was the last palace to be built during the monarchy. The building was commissioned by King Carlos I and was intended to receive European royalty and the aristocracy but, ironically, it received a Republican blessing instead of the envisaged royal pomp and ceremony. The architect Miguel Ventura Terra (1866-1919) started the project, but it was finished by António Rodrigues da Silva Júnior (1868-1937), who revised and adapted the original design to limit construction costs. The arrival of the railway, coinciding with the opening of the Vidago Palace, was not coincidental and enabled the guests to travel to the resort more rapidly and comfortably as this was the most common means of transport to get there. It was thanks to the political power of the then manager António Teixeira de Sousa (1857-1917) that the railway line to Vidago station was built in a straight line, just 300 metres from the entrance to the Palace and not in the centre of the village as had originally been planned. In the 1920s, formally attired ticket inspectors, carriage attendants, railway personnel, guest receptionists, luggage porters and drivers waited on the arrival platform. The Palace had its own chauffeur service and, as early as 1930, a ten-seat minibus. Outside the daily routine of taking the waters and the cures, leisure time was filled with a range of fashionable activities, such as balls, card and board game tournaments, poetry *soirées* and outings based around a theme. In the 1920s, Vidago Palace was able to maintain its offer of exclusive thermal experiences, helping its guests to enjoy the rejuvenation of an Art Nouveau ambience rather than an Art Deco one, which was then in full force all over Europe. Indeed, this late desire for the *Belle Époque* would be mirrored in the Curia Palace, an entity built from the ground up in the 1920s to show, if not a belated *fin de siècle* taste, at least the absence of a modern Art Deco one, and an *ex-libris* in the building and architectural decoration of the period.

THE CURIA PALACE AND *LES FOLIES*

The thermal properties of Curia's waters have been known since Roman times. Forgotten for centuries, the ancient hydrological site began to be reactivated in the early 1900s when attention was paid to the water's potential and when the area was transformed into a spa and summer resort. In 1922 the Art Nouveau-style Hotel do Parque was opened, and the following year it would be the turn of the Hotel Belavista. In 1926, focus was given to a luxury hotel which resulted in the architectural jewel that was the Curia Palace Hotel.

The project was the realisation of a wish by the hotelier Alexandre de Almeida (1885-1972) and the talent of the architect Norte Júnior (1878-1962), becoming a landmark for Portugal in the 1920s with its positioning on the (inter)national tourist map.

The day after its doors opened, on 25 July 1926, the *Diário de Lisboa* newspaper mentioned the presence of VIPs at the opening banquet, particularly General Óscar Carmona (at the time President of the Portuguese Ministry and, a couple of months later, President of the Republic) and went on to clarify:

> It is one of the best hotels in the Peninsula and offers all modern comforts (...). The party had a political aspect (...). The owner, Sr. Alexandre de Almeida, drew attention to the problem of road access.[81]

The state of the roads was indeed a structural and constraining issue for travelling to the province. However, and perhaps to make up for this, the opening of the Palace coincided with the opening of the Curia railway station where all trains between Lisbon and Porto stopped. This contributed greatly to the widespread knowledge of and influx to the location.

At the time, Alexandre de Almeida's hotel had 400 rooms, making it the largest in Portugal and one of the largest in Europe. It should be noted that its owner had visited the Côte d'Azur, the Italian Riviera and the East Coast of the United States in order to see the best construction practices in fashionable destinations so as to then determine the type of lodging that best suited the Portuguese market. The result was a hotel which had surprisingly large main communal spaces, a social ambience with a "see and be seen" logic, exclusive areas for society gatherings and sporting events reserved for the elite, American-style gala dinners, tea and dance parties, themed balls, performances of plays, poetry *soirées*, ballet evenings, Rose and Grape Harvest Festivals, and even popular dancing and bull running events opposite the hotel for the entertainment of the guests in order to show off the unique features of picturesque and rustic Portugal. There were also competitions and contests to decide the elegance of the cars, which attracted Cadillac, Lincoln, Daimler, Packard and Minerva models there especially after 1929 following the creation of the Curia Palace Sports Club.

The complex was imposing from a distance with its elevated, isolated and distinctive architecture, which started at the entrance with its French-style ornamental and symmetrical garden, underlining the monumental nature of the building's façade. Once past the entrance, the large-scale Art Nouveau atrium prominently displayed the Maschinenfabrik Wiesbaden elevator made of wood and bevelled glass with wrought iron protective elements designed by Norte Júnior. To the sides, there were two areas, one for the reception desk and the other for the telephone exchange, illuminated through stained glass windows and, between them, a Paul Garnier clock from Paris. Overhanging all this was the cut-out mezzanine opposite the set of iron chandeliers suspended over the chequered floor in pink and white marble. The reading room opened out to the right and, to the left, there was an enormous room given over to parties at the end of which was the dining room balcony with an adjoining terrace and an upper balcony. The surrounding area contained offices and little rooms, staircases and long wood-lined corridors with floors covered by stair carpets, which muffled the sound of steps heading for the bedrooms, the final destination of a clientele who had made their fortunes in Brazil and Africa. The interior of each alcove was decorated with Murano glass ceiling lamps, picture frames with photographs of its opening, personal hygiene rooms in marble, many of which were bathed in natural light, in an aesthetic profusion which was in harmony with the Art Nouveau of the *Belle Époque*, so in vogue in those years. It should be noted that the target audience included people who had recently emigrated to Brazil and, having made their fortune there, liked to make an annual return visit to Portugal to show off their success and prosperity; the Curia Palace therefore became the ideal place for such a display.

A meeting place for a city elite ready to sojourn in the countryside air without having to give up on luxury, the Curia Palace Hotel was a lavish location for holidays during the second half of the 1920s which, under the pretext of health and physical well-being, offered (and surrounded itself with) a varied group of additional amenities. These included the *buvete*[82] with its characteristic spring where the waters were located, a thermal park built opposite the huge lake and surrounded by gardens and a large wooded area, the spa hotel, a boarding house for more modest guests, changing rooms, a tea house, a cinema, a casino, tennis courts and a racetrack. In addition, various entertainment events were held, such as concerts, balls, bullfights, automobile races and themed parties as well as those for charitable purposes. The purpose of all these additional services and amenities was to keep the Palace's guests always busy and satisfied. Given this, in the first decades of its operation, it offered complementary services that enabled long stays, such as a post office and telegraph office, a doctor's surgery, a bazaar, a hairdresser's, a barber's and a games room.

The queen of the spas[83] in Portugal for health and well-being tourism set itself up, with its somewhat anachronistic but imposing aesthetic, to rival the already established but no less frequented summer resorts, such as Figueira da Foz.

FIGUEIRA DA FOZ: THE FASHIONABLE PLAYGROUND

From the end of the 19th century, this peaceful (most of the year round) city filled with visitors and was transformed in the summer. While the decadent nobility tried to live off the system in their villas in Figueira da Foz, the industrialised bourgeoisie, emerging from the Industrial Revolution, dressed up in their attempt to follow the cream of society, and thereby transformed the place.

Figueira was a seaside resort where the aristocracy went to bathe as well as a recreational location for an elite. It was adorned with avant-garde Art Nouveau and Art Deco architectural features and filled with amenities inviting coquetry and escape in a society that was still mostly provincial and traditional.
In 1900, the Saraiva de Carvalho Circus-Theatre, which had opened in

1884, was reconverted into the Grand Peninsular Casino. The frenetic spirit of those urgently wishing to enjoy life to the fullest multiplied the recreational spaces and the presence of foreigners, especially Spaniards who came from towns on the border. Recreational establishments diversified and Figueira ended up possessing seven casinos or café-casinos (the Peninsular, the Mondego, the Hespanhol, the Oceano, the Europa, the Atlântico and the Internacional), along with the Coliseu Figueirense, the Circo Majestrick, the Prince Carlos Theatre and the Chalet-Theatre, animatographs and an amusement centre along with billiard rooms, café-concerts, dancing *soirées* and parties in private houses, all of which turned the city into a very worldly place. All this *frisson* contributed to an increase in morally deviant behaviour and in this suspended period of inconsequential bohemian excitement, fatalistic frivolity and idleness, Figueira headed for new waters and a new look by adopting the lifestyle of a true dandy.

Along with this, the hotel industry expanded with the Grande Hotel Universal, the Hotel Aliança (opened in 1918) and the Hotel Reis being joined by a variety of guest houses, boarding houses and restaurants.

Facing the sea, the Bairro Novo area provided the city's response to the growing number of holidaymakers at the turn of the century and the first decades of the 20th century. The Bairro Novo was an elegant centre and the main social hub where mansions, decorated with Art Nouveau and Art Deco elements and becoming emblematic of the city, were built on a regular urban grid layout. The *voilette*[84], the *casquette*[85] and the fascinator[86] that barely let you see a cigarette attached to its holder became fashionable to match the rustling of the silk dresses. The houses reflected the cultural level of their owners, particularly the Sotto Mayor Palace, built in the early 20th century by Joaquim Sotto Mayor (1845-1933) who, having grown rich in Brazil, had the palace built in a very French style with interior decoration by some of the best artists of the period, including Dordio Gomes, Joaquim Lopes (1886-1956), António Ramalho (1859-1916) and António Carneiro. His heir would later lose the property at the roulette table. There was also the Engenheiro Silva Castle (Francisco Maria Pereira da Silva, 1814-1891), built in a revivalist style which was enlarged in the 1920s, and the Casa das Conchas with its Art Nouveau and Art Deco inspired decoration.

The 1920s were immortalised in this opulent and active Figueira in numerous clichés that the passing of time has not erased. "On the most beautiful bathing beach in Portugal",[87] the account by Mesquita de Figueiredo of the daily routine of a bather at Figueira best sums up that daily life:

Seven to eleven is bathing time (...), and also time for flirting. Between two and five in the afternoon, the official concerts take place in the Peninsular and Mondego casinos. Almost always, there is abundant competition from the ladies who, with their light-coloured toilettes, bring life and joy to the *salons* (...). Once the concerts are over, people start to drift away (…). In the evening another meeting, another concert in the cafés, in the Winter Garden of the Peninsular Casino and in the park of the Mondego Casino, with some performances of the *Folies bergère* or Spanish dances and, finally, everyone heads over to the ballrooms, where, at midnight, after some dizzying dances (...) the bathing day comes to a close, a truly exhausting one for many.[88]

In 1918, a guide by the Portuguese Propaganda Society (*Sociedade de Propaganda de Portugal*) stated that the summer months "offered really exciting entertainment" and that "the streets, the avenues along the seaside and the terraces of the cafés and casinos (...)" recalled "French *boulevards* at dusk" and reiterated what Mesquita Machado had written years before, namely that the bathers led an intense life, spending the mornings on the beaches, "the afternoons at concerts and the evenings at the various shows and dances at the casinos".[89] When it came to entertainment, nobody was left out, with a choice between walks in the surrounding area, picnics and donkey rides.

For those who preferred to stay closer to the capital, a new place was about to emerge for holidaymakers to rival the famous Figueira da Foz. Estoril *les-bains* was about to be born.

ESTORIL *LES-BAINS*

Half an hour from Lisbon, by luxury railway, on the banks of the Tagus, *Estoril-les-Bains*, with its large bathing establishment, its casino, its opera and concert halls, its roulette wheels, its enigmatic pavilions, its mysterious 'cottages', form an indispensable complement to the civilisation we happily enjoy.[90]

King Luís I (1838-1889) chose the citadel of Cascais to reside in during the late summer and early autumn. The area had been developing, particularly due to its proximity to Lisbon, the capital. However, in 1914 the municipality joined SPP as a partner to create the conditions for its definitive development through Fausto Cardoso de Figueiredo's (1880-1950) proposal to carry out the "Plan for the New Estoril". This proposal sought to transform the area into a "Portuguese-style" Riviera, thanks to the development of an ambitious tourist project starting with the railway station. From here a wide square was designed, bordered by two buildings to form a semicircle, where luxury retail outlets would operate. Perpendicular to the coastline, two half-kilometre long avenues would be built bordered by palm trees, with a grassy area surrounded by shrubs created between them. The top would be rounded off by a casino and, at a higher elevation, a Palace Hotel. Other hotel units would be built around this to support the hot springs and a Sports Palace would be erected, next to which would be organised areas for tennis, skating, croquet, cricket, football and horse riding as well as a golf course. There would be seaside bathing cabins next to the beach, a café-restaurant and a seafront promenade. This vast urban programme, dreamed up by Figueiredo, was built at a pace dictated by the constraints of World War I and rampant inflation. The spa establishment, built in 1918, became a favourite spot for local society, functioning as the major dynamic hub of the new bathing resort where parties of great splendour were held, the likes of which had never been seen before. The year 1930 would define Estoril as a truly modern resort for in that year the Hotel Palácio opened its doors and the Casino Estoril with its perfectly modernist dimensions followed in 1931 to mark a turning point in national taste. This opening coincided with the closing of what was, during the 1920s, the main place of entertainment and gambling, that is, the Grand International Casino of Monte Estoril, the stage for major orchestras, film premieres, plays and jazz bands. Thus, by the end of 1929, the Portuguese Costa do Sol was opening up to foreigners, and high society had various international level amenities for their rendezvous located right outside the Portuguese capital. According to Raúl Proença: "We are in the region of Estoris, bathing resorts and winter resorts, already with pretensions of being civilised, offering pampering comfort and vegetation, and where its rows of villas, hotels, rustic houses and palaces make up the only cosmopolitan resort we have here."[91]

In 1930, with the opening of the direct train connection to Paris, the Estoril railway station became the terminus for the *Sud Express*, with no need to change trains or have luggage checked in transit. The region then became the stage for important events, such as the 1st Estoril Trade Fair in 1929, an initiative of the Portuguese Industrial Association and a forerunner of the Lisbon International Fair. Its leading role was later extended to include new sports such as sailing, rowing, swimming, tennis, golf, fencing, horse riding, motor racing and football, attracting new enthusiasts and remaining one of the main attractions through diversifying its offer.

Comments such as that of Augusto de Santa-Rita, who wrote: "The Portuguese Blue Coast, superior to the Côte d'Azur of France in terms of its iconographic range, has reached its maximum splendour in the Estoris",[92] made it famous, and certainly enabled the Cascais-Estoril area to establish itself as a unique leisure area, with it substituting, especially after 1930, the old designation of the Portuguese Riviera with that of the *Costa do Sol*, by decree, in 1935.

Thus was born the chic modern Estoril, an attractive and international leisure centre that the SPP had years previously envisaged in a promotional brochure. Bathing, summer holidaying, or simply having fun became synonymous with Estoril, which went from being a pioneering project in Portugal to becoming a leisure and tourist capital.

UNIVERSES

FEMALE

In Europe, when men went to the battlefront, women had to take their places in schools, in hospitals, in the fields, in factories and in commerce. Once peace returned, they had lost their innocence and earned a place as active members of society, a position they were not willing to give up and just return to the seclusion of the home and the role of being mothers, wives and housewives. They wanted to remain in charge of their lives, with a say in their decisions. This circumstance was more evident in societies that were open to change, such as those in France and the USA, but in Portugal the winds of change were also being felt, albeit on a scale limited to the city and much less ostentatiously than in other countries. "Without a shadow of a doubt, the end of the Great War led to new and profound ruptures with the past, and the mobilisation of women catapulted many of them into the forbidden world of masculinity. However, at the end of the conflict, a return to traditional roles was imposed, due to the promotion of domesticity which lay at the basis of the discourse promoted by the authorities themselves."[93] However, reality, transformed by the freedom that the war had brought, caused a dichotomous clash between women who stayed at home and women emancipated from matrimonial guardianship as a defining characteristic and reflection of such rapid transformation and contemporaneous change.

Never, as in this time, did fashion express the pleasure of being alive, in a frenzy of movement and desire for liberation. One of the areas to undergo the greatest transformation was that of the urban, cosmopolitan woman. Androgynous and scandalous, women oscillated between modernity and modernism, influenced by the costumes of Paul Poiret (1879-1944), Chanel, Jean Patou (1887-1936) and Lucien Lelong (1889-1958), couturiers and designers who helped shape the new style. In clothing, the hourglass silhouette was exchanged for the tubular one; straight-line dresses rose above the ankle and waists dropped down to the hip, accompanying necklines showing off the back.

The cream of society was fascinated by the Paris they read about in the magazines that arrived with news on the *Sud Express*; or they bought the new fashion magazines — *Eva, ABC, Ilustração, Voga, Modas & Bordados* at the newsstands in Rossio — which showed how to make the new styles that were made to measure from the costumes that came from the French capital and which were piled up in the fashion designers' studios. *La Garçonne*, a term derived from the novel of the same name published by Victor Margueritte in 1922, told the story of a progressive young woman who leaves her family home in search of an independent life, and this became the defining model for the image of the new woman. In Portugal, *Uma Rapariga Moderna* (A Modern Young Woman) by Augusto Navarro, published in 1926, reinforced this feminine ideal, as did the prolific magazines and periodicals, whether general or more specialist publications, and which extended to the columns of the most humdrum newspapers. Under the incredulous gaze of conservatives from the older generation, aristocrats and bourgeois women crossed paths at the *Grandella* — an establishment built in the image of the Parisian department stores — at the *Casa Africana* or at *Paris* in Lisbon, with foreign chorus girls headlining the new theatres and nightclubs. And what was previously frowned upon became a must as they went to matinee performances at the cinemas, chatted on café terraces, smoked in public, relieved themselves of their thick stockings and wore tights, went bathing at the Estoril beach in their swimsuits and flirted in their charmful manner. They worked on their tans, wore matching tweed clothes (cardigans, blouse and skirt) and masculinised their style of dressing, wearing blazers and trousers. They used perfume, put on make-up, wore very long necklaces and walked around, making their light lamé, brocade or chiffon fabrics flutter, which freed their movements, and were evident living embodiments of the refined geometry of modernist forms. With a mixture of innocence and embarrassment, seamstresses walked hurriedly through Chiado buying rhinestones and sequins to sew on the long evening gowns of their female patrons, gowns with straight and simple lines, without volume, but with fringes, and showing off bare backs and arms so as to make the women appear taller and slimmer. Large hats were excluded, giving rise to the *cloche* hat.[94] In fashionable clubs, they smoked cigarettes in long cigarette holders while, with the other hand, they would make a toast with a glass of champagne.

Urban, cosmopolitan, wearing make-up, with hair cut *à la Ninon*[95] to masculinise their silhouette, they "dance a lot, drink too much, and smoke even more", as described by the more conservative newspapers of the time. They were fans of luxury, fun and transgression. This image was accompanied by an independence and freedom of movement, and of thought, that changed female conduct and its stereotype. Many of the girls were in favour of female emancipation, and those who frequented the nightclubs were called "Charlestones" by humorists: wealthy, independent, and often "dressed like a man" with "Johnny hair", they asserted themselves in an irreverent manner not only when dancing, but also by playing sports, driving cars and taking their clothes off on the beach, freeing themselves from any kind of prejudice or convention. Alongside this, modern men accompanied them and exchanged their tailcoats for suits, lightening their attire: couples celebrated their new freedom during nights that blended into the days.

As part of the varied realities of the period, wealthy city women became enigmatic and provocative, *fatale* and snobbish, while in the rural countryside provincial women dressed as they had done in the Middle Ages. Poverty and limited literacy were widespread being part of a society with old customs, where modesty and religion restricted any form of openness to the norms. Rural women wore black representing widowhood and faith, with fishwives and devout women also smothering themselves in it, whilst at the same time, across borders, in Paris in 1926, Coco Chanel created her immortal little black dress as a symbol of elegance. This was a very evident asymmetry, with two worlds experiencing distinct and distant phases, highlighting Portugal as being out of step with the European rhythm of the period. Amidst the images and mirages of a decade, urban women enshrined the expressive power of plastic and visual signs within a new pattern of behaviour. In the heartland of Portugal, the progress of modernity took place at a very slow pace, revealing the idiosyncrasies and vulnerabilities of a country which was lagging behind the times.

SPORTS

Between 1920 and 1930, a passion for sports developed as it became a mass phenomenon. The availability of tennis, motor racing, horse riding, fencing, gymnastics, golf and regattas would represent the new normal for a certain elite. At a more popular level, the sports chosen were football, swimming, boxing and cycling. This interest was also linked to the rise in popularity of the cinema. Films began to reflect an interest in showing sporting competitions and activities. An example of this were the Olympic Games in Antwerp in 1920, Paris in 1924, and Amsterdam in 1928, which greatly contributed to the spread of this mass cultural phenomenon. Growth in sport as entertainment led to an increase in the merit attributed to competitions, and the obsession for records gave rise to role models and heroes, which changed the concept of what had been considered as beauty until that point. The performances by modern sportspersons took on patriotic and military aspects, which gave rise to new standards of living and tastes.

An important fact was that sport was linked to the idea of health and physical fitness, and its practice complied with the ideals of beauty, dexterity and hygiene, which were in vogue during those years. Sports were organised into sports clubs according to interests and classes, as they became part of daily life, parties, betting and charitable activities.

As the body was stripped and revealed, through the latest clothing trends, this new elegance demanded slender, athletic and muscular bodies. Models came mainly from film and sports, and later would frequently appear in magazines and newspapers. Boys and girls in swimsuits became a constant on magazine covers representing the epitome of refinement and audacity, which caused a stir and a scandal. The clothes of the Frenchman Jean Patou — one of the greatest interpreters of the new sporting wave — were repeatedly copied in their geometric, elegant and simple shapes, and often appeared on the fashion magazine covers which came to Portugal. Young people showed off their bodies, without the modesty of previous times, and industries related to body aesthetics grew during the interwar period. For men, the attraction to sports was a sign of robustness and virility; for women, it was a consequence of the yearning for freedom. The elegant sportswoman practised gymnastics, played tennis and even "the most beautiful among the beautiful"[96] was elected Miss Portugal. This was the case with Margarida Bastos Ferreira, who was the first Miss Portugal and who represented the country in the Miss Universe contest in Galveston (USA) in 1927. There was, therefore, praise given to the young, healthy, elongated and uncovered body, and sport became the secret of eternal youth with its practice being recommended to people of all ages and social strata.

From another perspective, sporting events involving a ball achieved great prominence, particularly football. In Portugal, the first football championship took place in 1921-1922. This started in the cities, then the king of sport went on to invade the provinces and, through its clubs, regions, cities and towns were pitted against each other. In 1921, the first basketball competition was also held between Portuguese military teams stationed in Lisbon and, in the following year, 1922, the first national rugby match took place.

Also of note in a different area was the fact that in 1924, the horse-riding facilities at Campo Grande were opened and going there soon became *de rigueur* for the high society of Lisbon. The following year — 1925 — the 1st Lisbon Auto Show took place at the Coliseu dos Recreios. The Automobile Club of Portugal (founded in 1903) played a preponderant role in promoting automobile racing, both with the publication of its *Road Map* in 1929 and its *Official Club Bulletin*, published for the first time in 1930.

As far as tennis was concerned, in 1925 the Portuguese Lawn Tennis Federation was created and became a major promoter of this sport at the national level. As for cycling, the first holding of the *Volta a Portugal em Bicicleta* took place in 1927, a popular initiative promoted by the *Diário de Notícias* newspaper.

The setting up of the Sport Algés e Dafundo club (in 1915) had a major impact between 1920 and 1930, mainly due to its focus on nautical activities such as sailing, rowing and swimming. Its growth occurred essentially because among its founders was Rodrigo Bessone Basto, winner of all the river competitions between 1916 and 1926. In 1930, the club's swimming pool was opened (the first Olympic-sized swimming pool in Portugal) along with the respective support facilities. In the same year, the Portuguese Federation of Amateur Billiards was created. During the period in focus, the Portuguese Gymnastic Club (*Ginásio Club Português* — founded in 1875) witnessed the internationalisation of its athletes, who participated in the Olympic Games in Antwerp, Paris and Amsterdam in the fencing and shooting events. By then, boxing was also an up-and-coming activity at the club.

Meanwhile, the spaces to practise sports diversified (the Lisbon Gymnasium Club, created in 1918, was an example of this) and outdoor activities became widespread. By 1921, the *Ilustração Portugueza* was able to affirm: "All aspects of sport open new horizons and are great teachers of rhythm. More than the body, they provide the spirit with considerable agility."[97]

Of particular note among the sports newspapers that appeared around this time in Portugal was *Os Sports*, which was first published in 1919. Owned by the newspaper *A Capital*, *Os Sports* contained a fairly extensive international news section, although its main news was domestic in focus. In 1928, the journalist Neves Reis referred to a report from the Physical Education section of the SGL, which indicated a decrease in activity by the Portuguese and the danger that such a change would represent, including for the colonisation of the Overseas Territories, as a race that was not fit would not be able to resist such foreign climes.[98] The author was apprehensive about the apparent lack of concern shown by the Portuguese authorities with regard to the physical education of young people and their sporting spirit, hence the need to establish a physical culture in schools. Such action had already been legislated for in 1924[99] through establishing the teaching of physical education in industrial and commercial elementary schools, but it was with the setting up of the School of Physical Education at SGL in 1930 that the development of the practice of sport would be incorporated within educational ideology.

Along with the change in habits — the emancipation of women, the liberation of clothing and the fashion for sports and physical education — tourism and the leisure industry would also become institutionalised.

In the name of the Nation, the Congress of the Republic hereby decrees (...) that the President of the Republic is permitted to be absent from national territory to visit the Portuguese army corps that is fighting in France. The expenses to be incurred with this visit will be determined by the Council of Ministers, as this is considered as exceptional, involving extraordinary representation.[100]

In this dismantling of the fair, in this slow but sure collapse of a regime that is in opposition to the nature, habits and tastes of the almost unanimous Portuguese nation, in this unravelling of absurdities and ramblings in which the leaders of the regime are engaged, one thing stands out through its impudence and shamelessness above all others: the presidential trip abroad.[101]

These two quotes enable us to perceive the antagonistic positions of the First Republic regarding Bernardino Machado's presidential trip to France in the prelude to the 1920s, but to understand this it is necessary to go back further in time to grasp the adversities of national tourism.

At the start of the 20th century, the railway network stretched over about 367,388 kilometres of track[102] connecting parts of Portugal. However, the Royal Company of Railways (*Companhia Real de Caminhos de Ferro*) extended its expected range and intervened in other complementary areas to encourage leisure travel. In 1888 it established the Railway Gazette (*Gazeta dos Caminhos de Ferro*), a publication that highlighted the tourist destinations reached by the railway network, and published itineraries as well as carrying out campaigns to encourage visits to monuments, beaches and spas. In 1903, the emergence of the Royal Automobile Club of Portugal (*Real Automóvel Clube de Portugal*) provided a new impetus for travel within Portugal and also for publications such as guides and maps. In terms of transportation, this period also included the setting up of the first regular airline, SAP — *Serviços Aéreos Portugueses* (Portuguese Air Services),[103] in 1927. From then on, Portuguese individuals were able to travel by air between Lisbon and Madrid or Seville and, from there, to anywhere in the world. However, during this phase SAP did not have its own aircraft and therefore worked in partnership with the German company *Junkers*, which supplied the aircraft, and the *Unión Aérea Española*, which ensured the air service. SAP were only responsible for services on land within Portuguese territory.

Nevertheless, although the first official Portuguese tourism body only appeared in 1911 after the establishment of the Republic, the foundations for such activities were laid in 1906 with the creation of the *Sociedade Propaganda de Portugal* (Propaganda Society of Portugal — SPP), through the initiative of Leonildo Mendonça e Costa (1849--1923). This provided a precursor for national tourism. A year after its establishment, the Tourism Board was created to promote the First Republic and in 1917, the same year as the controversial presidential trip, a *bureau de renseignements* (information bureau) was set up in Paris, an initiative that was extended to other French cities and other countries. In addition, in 1919 the Portuguese Society for Grand Hotels (*Sociedade dos Grandes Hotéis de Portugal* — SGHP) was set up not only to echo the idea of the Palace Hotels,[104] but also to promote less expensive and more inclusive accommodation. In 1920, local Tourism Initiative Committees were established with their activity being regulated in 1922 and in 1924 the first volume of the *Guide to Portugal* edited by Raul Proença was published. All these services and resources had been inspired by the development of leisure trips abroad, widely promoted at world exhibitions and then disseminated at different rhythms according to the receptivity in the country of origin.

As is well known, the emerging middle class, together with the development of means of transportation and advertising, led to the rise of new tastes and appetites, including imitating the aristocratic elite and leisure travel. This increased the appearance of infrastructure and services, such as travel agencies[105] and tourist guides. There was an inertia that was combated through curiosity and the need to have shared experiences by learning about other geographical areas. More alternatives were being built and validated both internationally and domestically. The Hotel de Santa Luzia, dating from 1921, was a paradigm in this sense. Overlooking Viana do Castelo, its panorama was considered by *National Geographic* as "one of the most beautiful in the world".[106] Spread throughout the country, new bathing and spa tourist resorts appeared (such as the already mentioned Vidago and Curia), while others were reconverted to suit the demands of the new tourists (such as the Buçaco Palace dating from 1907, which was modernised in the 1930s), increasing their offer and opening up to a range of different clienteles.

The habit of "going up in the air" gradually took hold and destinations became more diverse. Foreign travellers began to arrive in Lisbon, either by ship or on the *Sud Express*, to visit the capital and its surroundings with Sintra being an obligatory stop. From there they took the tram to Praia das Maçãs (the tracks having been laid in 1904) and "touristed" by the seaside at the "Estoris" and then returned to their ship for a trip to Funchal (the island of Madeira) or opted for the fast train to Porto (available from 1922), dividing themselves among the intermediary and/or more distant resorts, such as the spas of Vizela, Taipas, Luso, Pedras Salgadas, Gerês and São Pedro do Sul, among others already listed by Ramalho Ortigão in his *Banhos de Caldas e Águas Minerais*, published in 1875. On the beaches, in the countryside or in the city foreigners fraternised with locals in stays that varied according to availability, thereby influencing the habits and routines of the Portuguese, especially in terms of the level of relaxation and entertainment of refined, cultured people who wanted to be modern.

As for colonial tourism in the 1920s, this type of multicontinental travel was barely encouraged, which is why such trips were made by two types of very particular travellers, both having economic interests in the colonies. There were a handful of bourgeois individuals seduced by the new raw materials and there were some high society property owners copying foreign fashions of imperial exoticism. The two groups travelled by ship on a specified route, mostly bound for the territories of the 'Dark Continent'. Let us not forget that the first airplane flight to the African colonies would only occur in 1928.[107] Given this, passengers bound for Africa boarded the ships of the National Navigation Company (*Companhia Nacional de Navegação* — CNN) and, from 1922 onwards, the newly created Colonial Navigation Company (*Companhia Colonial de Navegação* — CCN) along with workers, military personnel and cargo goods, all accommodated on board in distinct classes. Upon arrival, the group of landowners would arrange to lodge with their entourage in the *roças* (plantations) and farms, a stay that could last for months. Take, for example, the Roça do Rio do Ouro (nowadays called the Roça Agostinho Neto) owned by the Marquis of Valle Flôr (1855-1932), the richest property owner in São Tomé thanks to the cocoa he sold to the English. There he welcomed Prince Dom Luís on his visit to the island in 1907,[108] the first visit by a monarch to overseas possessions since the visit of King João VI (1767-1826) to Brazil in 1807. For the bourgeoisie, when they arrived in the various capitals, the area to head for was the European zone where characteristic accommodation had been created for them, such as the Polana Hotel in Lourenço Marques (now Maputo) established in 1922 in the "Palace" style and which, at the time, was considered one of the most modern in all of Southern Africa.

As for India, Macau and Timor, as destinations these territories were even less visited, with this being proportional to their distance, since the further away they were, the more expensive was the trip in terms of time and cost. What is more, in the early 1920s, Goanese sympathy for the Indian nationalist movement strengthened, making Goa, Daman and Diu less attractive destinations for fear of any type of resulting instability. It should also be mentioned that it was only in 1930 that the first flight from Lisbon to Portuguese India took place,[109] although it took many years for regular routes to be established. This helped to keep the tourist traffic at a low volume. Cultural tourism in colonial cities, therefore, was limited to the hotel, a peek at the markets, going on excursions to see a monument, a natural or picturesque beauty spot and, in Africa, hunting. In addition to all this, there were three other aspects that were decisive in dampening the spirits of potential travellers arriving from the metropole: the generally poor local infrastructure, the lack of healthy conditions and the absence of effective overseas propaganda. As a result, Portuguese colonial tourism was not prominent in these years. There was a lack of political will and a clear commitment to enhancing and strengthening ties as can be seen by leafing through the Colonial Gazette (*Gazeta das Colónias*) published between 1924 and 1926.[110] In a multidisciplinary analysis, this absence of overseas tourism can be understood as, on the one hand, the fun and modernity of those years being concentrated in European capitals and, on the other hand, a lack of appeal of the exotic. To take one of the rare examples of travel literature at the time, Eça de Queirós' *O Egito* (Egypt) was posthumously published (in 1926). His journey, made in 1869 on the occasion of the inauguration of the Suez Canal, would only be published more than 50 years after the actual trip. Following in the footsteps of writers such as Gérard de Nerval (1808-1855), Gustave Flaubert (1821-1880) and Théophile Gautier (1811-1872), Eça allowed himself to become "infected" by the fashion for 19th century European orientalism, but even this was not enough for him to publish a work with an exotic flavour, perhaps because he estimated there would be little national reception for such a view.

Regardless of the destinations chosen and the travel literature which had been published, Portuguese society, which had just become open to "the world", would soon see a curtailment of leisure travel as a result of the establishment of the *Estado Novo*.

THE END OF A DECADE

In Portugal, the perpetuation of a 19th century mentality and the transition from Monarchy to Republic, together with the political crises and socio-economic difficulties of the 1920s, delayed a truly modern artistic culture being established. "Backward in time, diluted by distance, mitigated by *fin-de-siècle* Lusitanian provincialism",[111] it was only in the bigger cities that a behavioural change could be seen in the sense of there being greater freedom and euphoria and, even then — as mentioned above — only visible to a limited 'smart set'. In the provinces, a network of local correspondents forwarded to the daily newspapers of Lisbon and Porto the most important news from the region, while the production of film documentaries[112] to be projected in local theatres and at fairs and *festas* (with travelling exhibitors) lessened the isolation in which the extremely rural country lived, but this was not sufficient to change ways of being and living.

With the coup d'état of 28 May 1926, the "Portuguese Wall Street", the modern cosmopolitan breath of fresh air of the first half of the 1920s began to be diluted; the spreading stain of the dictatorship began to be felt and there was a return to a discreet conservatism. According to the government, they were forced to do this in order to help the economy recover, but there were other parallel reasons that that were of no lesser importance: at the very beginning of 1930, the III Colonial Congress was held at the Lisbon Geographical Society (SGL) and the draft of the Colonial Act was debated. Then at the end of the year, in December, the government decreed that the *Partido Republicano Português* [Portuguese Republican Party] was illegal. If the country's chronic problems, the effects of the New York crisis and Salazar's rigid programme to balance the budget are added into the equation, what emerges is the beginning of a political and economic cycle that would condition leisure, culture and the national arts for over forty years.

Before this, however, Portugal at the end of the decade would see the death of two artists who both showed in their work the dichotomous Portugal of the end of the twenties. These were Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro in 1929 and a few months later, but already in 1930, António Carneiro — the modern and the conservative, with the latter prevailing to the detriment of the former. The lack of recognition of António Carneiro's work during his lifetime shows how unprepared the country was to accept Portugal's only painter of symbolism, which announced the end of the current naturalism. Reinforcing an abstract-like dimension not understood by his contemporaries, the "painter bigger than the country"[113] included in his canvases — especially the final ones — forms that were increasingly nebulous and telluric in an amalgam of thick paint, but whose expressiveness the national cultural context was not yet ready to applaud. In a melancholic solitude, his paintings do not manage to acquire a corporeal identity but are like spectres of an unattainable reality, frequently with a hagiographic tone. The themes (portraits and landscape) are shaped by the brushstrokes, impasto and scraping in a "metamorphosis of reality changing into symbol",[114] mirroring the inner reality on a progressive path on the way to abstraction. What Portugal could see and understand were the pictorial compositions of a figuration that imitated visible reality; hence the enshrinement of Columbano as the portrait painter of bourgeois society of the time.

Columbano was a naturalist and romantic painter. He was appointed a teacher at the Escola de Belas-Artes de Lisboa (Lisbon Fine Art School) in 1924 but he resigned his position that same year as he did not understand the emerging modernist movement nor did he accept the avant-garde; the same happened when he was in charge of the National Museum of Contemporary Art (MNAC) where he prevented the acquisition of works by "the new artists". From this one can understand the reasoning behind what the country bought and what the institutions exhibited, and therefore how far removed was the public's taste from that of the European moderns. And one can also understand the concerns of the artists linked to the second moment of Portuguese modernism — Eduardo Viana, Dordio Gomes, Abel Manta, Mário Eloy and Diogo de Macedo — and the founders of the magazine *Presença* (1927) who all expressed the worries of a time that was being speedily reformulated, distant and distinct from the concerns of the first national modernism, of Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso and Fernando Pessoa's *Orpheu*.

In one final artistic coup, the I Salon of the Independents at the SNBA in 1930 showed the panorama of an art that wanted to be modern, but "serenely", according to the manifesto written by António Pedro (1909-1966). And if this statement were not enough, the chronicle penned by Artur Portela (1901-1959) about the event — set next to news about the discussion of the Colonial Act — explained: "This *salon* appears as a declaration of war announcing works of a never-before-seen audacity (…) and it is bad (…). The group of exhibitors (…) have overtaken their time because they are beyond it. Unfortunately, their projects go no further than being projects… of sand and cardboard".[115]

The 1920s in Portugal were years that were not particularly golden — compared to most of western Europe and the USA — as the country was living between an economic, social and political crisis with a dizzying succession of governments and the desire to be modern. In other words, during ten years there was a touch of magic that came (especially for the more wealthy members of society) to counteract the rotation of governments, social upheavals, revolts, strikes, *coups d'état*, bankruptcy, inflation, unemployment, speculation, poverty and emigration.

As a result, the start of the 1930s saw the creation of the single party, the *União Nacional* [National Union], receiving a primacy indisputably attributed to the Finance Ministry where Salazar was Finance Minister. Under his wing the corollary of concerted action between the different sectors of the national economy sought to find an answer to the protectionist and nationalist tendencies in existence since the beginning of the 1920s but also to reduce the effects the 1929 world crisis had had on Portugal. The consequences of the Great Depression were definitely minimised through the financial stabilisation policies devised by António de Oliveira Salazar, who had become Minister of Finance in April 1928.

The policies that particularly stand out are those dealing with balancing the budget and exchange and monetary stabilisation which allowed the long cycle of budgets, always deficit, to be brought to an end and ensured controls on capital being taken abroad. Restructuring both domestic and foreign public debt, the tax reform of 1928-1929, the detailed vigilance of the State's running expenses, the reform of credit regimes and institutions along with financial monitoring were all determining factors so that when the arrival of the international crisis at the beginning of 1931 became inevitable, its effects were not so serious as for other countries. In addition, the proposed economic policy sought to restrain consumption (through taxation) and public consumption (through reducing public spending); to do this, exports were stimulated through a competitive exchange policy and private investment was encouraged (by means of lowering interest rates) as was public investment (especially in the construction of roads and ports). All of this — allied to the creation of special regimes for social welfare and assistance aimed at protecting those who were unemployed and the poorest social groups — meant that the country entered the new decade with renewed hope, applauding the success of Salazar's policies with there being few dissenting or critical voices. Those there were were quickly silenced. The institutionalisation of the *Estado Novo* (with the 1933 Constitution) dictated a new period in which huge transformations in Portuguese society were brought about. The fact is that between 1929 and 1933 the Portuguese economy grew 7%. In the most acute moment of the world crisis, the country saw an increase in average income of 9% in an inverse parallel contrast to the growth values of western European economies and the 31% of the USA, the very same country from where a new order was now emanating that would begin to lead western society.

THE ROARING TWENTIES

Almost six thousand kilometres away from the Old Continent lay a country that was becoming the centre of western power, a rising hegemony. But for this to become a concrete reality what was extremely important was the fact that the USA had been developing in a consolidated fashion since the end of the 19th century. It was from rural America, dominated by such characters as Buffalo Bill (1846-1917), Billy the Kid (1859-1881) and Mark Twain (1835-1910), that the large urban and industrial centres would rise up and become prosperous, validated by a liberal policy that was committed to industrialisation, mechanisation and mass production. This resulted in economic growth that was able to give a boost to a society whose buying power was directed towards consumption. Added to all this was the fact that war-torn Europe was an impoverished market and therefore an ideal place to get rid of the excess production of a developing America. Thus, by the end of the First World War, the USA had consolidated an economy of scale, one of increased consumption and stimulation of the masses towards hedonism. Besides this, a series of elements that could empower a new lifestyle must be considered: the massification of information with the creation of the first international news agency coinciding with the birth of newspapers enjoying wide circulation; technological progress allied to private investment which led to the first assembly line factories and to increased production and cost reduction [Henry Ford's (1863-1947) automobile factory was the precursor]; the capitalisation of families who acquired greater purchasing power and bought goods, reformulating their lifestyle and, ultimately, the liberalisation of mores. Along with widespread consumption, some human activity was replaced by "machines"[1] which improved people's well-being and allowed the middle class more time for rest and leisure.

Meanwhile, New York became the capital of the modern era. The inauguration of the Brooklyn Bridge (1883), the Statue of Liberty (1886), Carnegie Hall (1891) and Grand Central Station (1903) as well as the success of blue jeans (*c.*1880) and Coca-Cola (1891) depicted a North American lifestyle that would be publicised and replicated all over the world. The "Big Apple" became the emblem of the "Land of Opportunity" and the "American Dream".

At the beginning of the Roaring Twenties, at the top end of Central Park in New York, the neighbourhood of Harlem witnessed the birth of the so-called Harlem Renaissance, a social, cultural and artistic African-American movement that defined the golden decade of black culture in the Unites States of America. This talented group covered all artistic areas and had repercussions on everything from society to politics. Through their art the artists dared to fight racism and segregation and fought for their civil rights. A series of important events enabled this to actually happen, later spreading to other continents.

- In January 1920, Zeta Phi Beta was founded at Howard University in Washington DC. This was a black sorority that promised to participate in political and social change in defence of the rights of African Americans and women, and to encourage its members to reach the highest academic standards.
- In February the same year, the Negro National League (NNL) was founded, picking talented young African Americans who could play baseball and compete professionally.
- In August, the 19th Amendment to the United States Constitution was ratified. This gave women the right to vote.
- Also in August, Marcus Garvey (1887-1940) held the first international convention of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in New York, advocating for equal opportunities for black and white people in

education, politics and work and promoting Pan-Africanism.

- In January 1921, Jesse Binga (1856--1950) opened the Binga State Bank in Chicago, the biggest black-owned bank in the United States employing African Americans.
- In March, Harry Pace (1884-1943) set up the Black Swan Phonograph Corporation in Harlem, the first recording company to record African-American musicians and singers.
- Also in March, a Broadway theatre saw the opening of what would be considered the inaugural event of the Harlem Renaissance: a musical comedy — *Shuffle Along* — performed solely by black artists for a white audience. Josephine Baker,[2] Adelaide Hall (1901-1993), Florence Mills (1896-1927), Fredi Washington (1903-1994) and Paul Robeson (1898-1976) gave over five hundred performances with the phenomenon becoming a turning point for New York culture.

In the same year, 1921, the Harmon Foundation's scholarships were established as a major form of patronage and were aimed at African--American artists. The same entity also started the Exhibitions of the Work of Negro Artists, the first of which took place in 1927.

All of this was of huge importance for the inhabitants of Harlem. It is indisputable that the neighbourhood set the pace for Manhattan and later for the country and the whole world, becoming the centre of gravity for an African-American culture in America that believed art had the power to change politics.

If Harlem — less than five square kilometres of the upper urban area of Central Park — was the reference for these years, the tone defining the Roaring Twenties was set at the start of January 1920 when the Prohibition legislation came into effect. This banned the production, importation, transportation and sale of alcoholic beverages. These restrictions would condition the whole of the American 1920s as they were imposed on all places linked to entertainment and leisure. The gangsterism that Prohibition engendered together with the clandestine society that grew out of it led to a time with widespread extortion and corruption, but Prohibition also helped certain places that remain part of the common imagination to thrive. The explosion of contraband gave rise to the *speakeasy*,[3] the lively nightclubs where illicit drinks were served. Gangs and the Mafia dominated places linked to the consumption of alcohol, extorting money and firing bullets which led to a scenario with lifeless bodies covered in blood found dead in dark alleys in the big cities. Chicago, New Orleans and New York became the epicentres of these disputes with their most famous figure being Al Capone (1899-1947). Linked to contraband alcohol and distilleries were the betting shops, gambling dens, loan sharks, prostitution and brothels that dominated North American city life and defined the decade.

At the same time, the first few years of the 1920s saw the explosion of jazz. Besides the speakeasies serving illicit liquor, there were also legal nightclubs to liven up the American nights like the mythic Cotton Club in Harlem inaugurated in 1923. Talented jazz musicians and singers performed there and seduced an audience eager for new sounds, especially Duke Ellington's (1899-1974) Orchestra, Louis Armstrong (1901-1971) and his trumpet and the voice of Bessie Smith (1894-1937), the "Empress of the Blues". It was here that white people came to drink and listen to the new voices of black soul music during Prohibition.

Less than a block away from the Cotton Club was the Harlem Alhambra where Count Basie (1904-1984) performed and later, in the 1930s, Billie Holiday (1915-1959). Jazz's break with the past expressed the new way of being, the liberalisation of social mores and the acceleration of modern times. The Foxtrot, One-Step, Charleston and Shimmy transmitted the idea of being free from worry by means of a choreography using uncontrolled, loose, free gestures symbolising a happiness and gay abandon that was highly subversive, sensual and seductive. Dominated by the "barbaric" saxophone, it represented the spirit of spontaneity against the machine age, a joyful revolt against convention. The success of jazz was a reflection of the edgy clientele who frequented the nightclubs and it was both hated and loved for its marginality and originality. It first appeared in New Orleans but was quickly spread by the African-American community living in Chicago and New York, very much helped by the radio — which started to broadcast the more prestigious bands — and the gramophone, which it was already common to find in middle-class American homes.

Harlem had the largest black population in the city and had grown out of the great migration of African Americans who had fled from segregation in the South and were now mainly working in factories where they were given the heaviest and the worst paid jobs. It is therefore easy to understand why it became the birthplace of the Civil Rights Movement and of most of the artists who made up the Harlem Renaissance. One of the most striking moments of this movement happened in 1921 with the first exhibition of black artists in the New York Public Library, an event that highlighted the work of Henry Ossawa Tanner (1859-1937), the first African American to be recognised and acclaimed internationally.

Among the artists of the Harlem Renaissance, the following names stand out: James Van Der Zee (1886-1983), a photographer famous for his portraits of his neighbours in Harlem, the sculptor Augusta Savage (1892-1962), who had long been discriminated against and rejected by art institutions and who finally saw her work recognised for the quality and intrinsic force of her pieces, and Aaron Douglas (1899--1979), a muralist and illustrator who used his plastic creation to call attention to racial injustice. All of them (and others) were part of a culture that believed in the power of art to be political and to transmit a social message. This is because art has the power to make one think and thus it becomes a political discourse since it reveals a point of view related, more or less directly, to reality. It is a thought, a statement, an idea about the world and, in this respect, it is an instrument and a vehicle with an intentional charge.

The image of these North American years has been inculcated in us by works like *The Roaring Twenties* by Raoul Walsh (1887-1980), *Some Like it Hot by* Billy Wilder (1906-2002) and even in the various versions of F. Scott Fitzgerald's novel *The Great Gatsby* and the films of Woody Allen (1935-) such as *Zelig* (1983), *Midnight in Paris* (2011) or *Café Society* (2016) which give us glimpses of a dazzling decade.

In order for this image to be perpetuated, what weighed heavily were the photographic clichés of the time in an iconography led by the flappers — young uninhibited American girls who lived for pleasure and fun. Their shimmering, short, light, elegant dresses cut straight across the bosom and showing their arms — flapper dresses — their long gloves, headbands sporting feathers, crimson lipstick and heavy makeup with black eye shadow gave birth to a style, a libertine and glittering celebration of female bodies and women's emancipation. One of the flapper icons was Louise Brooks (1906-1885), a young girl who had attended the Denishawn School of Dancing and became famous through the Ziegfeld Follies films.[4] There was even a haircut "à la Louise Brooks" which was very much in vogue due to the fame she acquired in the Seventh Art. In fact, at the beginning of the 1920s, the silent movie reigned and Charlie Chaplin was king; however, in 1927, *The Jazz Singer* by Alan Crosland (1894-1936) brought sound to the cinema. This not only brought American music hall to the fore but also opened the door to a series of actors who until then had been confined to performances on the theatre stage, the heirs to vaudeville. The success was such that it created a genre — the musical, a film whose story develops through songs, dance and music — reaching a wider audience who, in cinemas dotted around the country, could watch this new form of entertainment without needing to go to the stages on Broadway or in the big American cities.

As for American and Anglo-Saxon Art Deco, it grew organically in the 1930s although the source of inspiration had come from the 1925 Paris exhibition. Two facts contributed to enable such a scenario: the first was that Charles Russel Richards (1865-1936), the director of the American Association of Museums, promoted a tour to large American museums of over four hundred objects that had been on show in Paris; the second was that Edgar Brandt had meanwhile set up a firm in New York called Ferrobrandt and it was not long before his metal design pieces were to be found among the atriums of the city skyscrapers. Both influences quickly moved away from their French origin acquiring totally new characteristics (for which read American) that showed the efficiency and power of American industry and machinery. This scenario reached its full expression after 1933 and the Century of Progress exhibitions in Chicago by raising public awareness through the atriums of the Empire State Building (1931) and many other "important buildings displaying all the components of capitalist power: machinery, natural resources, transportation, all symbolised in gold tondos as if they were the arms of Renaissance families".[5] In this Art Deco world in the USA, it should be noted that there are those who consider that a large part of what is labelled American Art Deco should be reclassified simply as "American Modernism" — a question of the formal grammar of evolution in the following decades. The 1939 Great Exhibition in New York (which opened shortly before the start of the Second World War)[6] is considered the last major world event where Art Deco was exhibited. Portugal was represented in a pavilion curated by António Ferro and designed by the architect Jorge Segurado. The following all contributed to the decoration: Fred Kradolfer (1903-1968), Carlos Botelho, Bernardo Marques, Emmerico Nunes and Tom (Thomaz de Mello, 1906-1990), while António Soares, Jorge Barradas, Estrela Faria (1910-1976), Canto da Maya and Leopoldo de Almeida, among others, all exhibited works.

Although the end of the era of abundance was heralded on 24 October 1929 by New York's Black Thursday, fifteen days later, on 7 November, a future world reference was inaugurated: the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA). Located in a rented space on Fifth Avenue, the gallery wanted to foreground modern art, moving away from the classical conservatism of other American museums. The idea was the brainchild of three wealthy women: Lillie Bliss (1864-1931), Mary Quinn Sullivan (1877-1939) and Abby Aldrich (1874-1948), the wife of John Rockefeller (1901-1948), and began with an initial gift of eight engravings and a drawing. In November 1929, a Post-Impressionist exhibition was inaugurated with loaned works by Van Gogh (1853-1890), Paul Gauguin, Paul Cézanne and Georges Seurat (1859-1891). The collection was gradually enriched over the years through donations and acquisitions, becoming a landmark in the musealisation of contemporary art, very much as a result of investing in and exhibiting the work of young contemporary artists from the start.

As a result of all this, the United States in the 1920s was a special place, a land that was far removed from the conflict that had ruined Europe and where the Roaring Twenties created a lifestyle that was of necessity American, predisposed towards consumption and partying. However, it was not just by chance that a wave of misfortune would sweep at first hand through the land of Uncle Sam: the excesses of a time of creativity and pleasure had a price to pay — the Great Depression was coming.

II. THE CURTAIN FALLS

The problem with temptation is that you may not get another chance
Laurence J. Peter

HEADING FOR A NEW CHAOS

There is no favourable wind for the sailor who doesn't know where to go.
Seneca

The winds of change were making themselves felt but the majority of people were too distracted to feel them. The Europe of the dictators appeared on the horizon but, however, few realised where things were heading. In the shadows, in the political backrooms, the single-party authoritarian regimes had begun to awaken and show themselves. In the cosmopolitan, profoundly nihilist[1] society of the time, disparaging any belief that was against valuing pleasure and leisure, the inspirational idea of living the moment had its days numbered. The euphoria of the beginning of the century began to fade, losing some of its sparkle. The Paris of the "Lost Generation"[2] saw some of its most prominent members return to their countries of origin while others passed away. In January 1929 Louise Weber (1866-1929),[3] a symbol of the Parisian night and a friend of artists, died; in the summer of 1929, the great artistic show of the *Ballets Russes* came to an end — on the eve of the major world economic crisis and the prelude to new diasporas, Serge Diaghilev died in his beloved Venice but the company did not survive the impresario's death; in October, the sculptor Antoine Bourdelle (1861-1929), a disciple of Auguste Rodin (1840--1917) and teacher of Giacometti (1901--1966) and Henri Matisse passed away.

Slowly France (and the rest of Europe with London in the lead) was being dragged towards an unprecedented crisis although the reason for it hailed from the other side of the Atlantic.

In the USA, the New York Stock Exchange crash wiped out fortunes, causing bankruptcies, unemployment and hunger. The prosperity of the 1920s had created confidence in the economy. The increase in industry had generated more employment through the diversification and massification of goods sold by the commercial businesses that had proliferated. With the improvement in the standard of living, employees with greater purchasing power kept the economy buoyant. Upward social mobility had created a powerful bourgeoisie with a predisposition to invest. They bought shares banking on making a profit from speculation rather than focusing on producing goods. In 1929 low steel production in America meant that businessmen began to sell their shares. On Black Thursday, 24 October, millions of shares were put up for sale but there were no buyers. The value of the shares fell so much that it brought about the Wall Street Crash. Investors were ruined financially, banks failed, both large and small fortunes disappeared from one day to the next, companies closed, production slowed, unemployment shot up and the economy was paralysed. The crisis was transversal to the whole of society; it was the decline and fall of economic liberalism. Despair and poverty spread from the city population to rural communities: it was the start of the Great Depression, the end of an age of prosperity. The winds of scarcity swept away the abundance of the 1920s and plunged the 1930s into a material recession. It negatively affected the economies dependent on the USA since the loans and credit made available to Europe so that it might rise up again after the war ceased. In addition, in order to reduce expenditure, America followed a protectionist policy and avoided importing goods so as to regularise the domestic economy. This drastically reduced international exchanges and European exports. The result was that the American recession invaded Europe and dragged the West towards a world crisis. At the start of the 1930s, the USA implemented the New Deal[4] while the Old Continent started to shut down under the heavy hand of the dictators.

Mussolini's fascist Italy (from 1922), Spain's dictatorship under Primo de Rivera (1870-1930) and then under Franco (from 1939), Stalin's USSR (1927), Nazi Germany (after 1933) and Portugal under Salazar (officially in 1933 with the new Constitution) did not appear out of nowhere — rather they were the result of an idealised construct that became a reality and was maintained and prolonged in the time arc from 1920 until the outbreak of the Second World War, and in some countries even after the end of the war as in the case of Portugal. The Europe of the authoritarian regimes was a reaction against the discredited liberal democracies that had led to the First World War and was grounded in the centralisation of power in a single political party to ensure the stability that went with the newly established antidemocratic order with its nationalist base. The emergence and consolidation of these totalitarian regimes was primarily a result of the people's confidence in the single party system with one leader at its head, the indoctrination and militarisation of the State, and a society where censorship was implemented and especially where there was a return to conservative values, the pillars of a culture reiterated down the centuries. On this subject, it is important to mention that these political regimes associated themselves with the avant-garde at first but quickly annulled this to focus on a return to the classical past capable of legitimating them as previously mentioned in the chapter *Paints and Paintbrushes.* In this sense, the chosen artistic language of the totalitarian European states, instead of being innovative and young — in a metaphor corresponding to the recently established order — preferred an imagery based on the ancestrality of the nation whose propagandist symbology could be understood by everyone in a kind of educational literacy for the masses. Aspiring to create the "New Man" as a mirror of the established "New Order", the dictatorships sought to do this (and show it) not by means of modern art or the avant-garde (considered "degenerate")[5] but through the maxim *Mens sana in corpore sano* showing off the nation's "youth" in parades and processions in an analogy of the health of the regime itself.

It was art at the service of politics, transforming visual, plastic, musical and performative creation into an instrument of power in a politicisation of art and/or the aestheticisation of politics.

It is important to understand that the European totalitarian regimes arose originally at the beginning of the 1920s independent of their elective acceptance — the USSR and Italy in the first phase; Spain, Portugal and Germany in the second phase. In all of them — to a greater or lesser extent — the official artistic culture was centred on figuration and an easy to understand realism and simple language in a crusade against the abstraction and formal experimentalism of the avant-garde with its subjective readings and therefore susceptible to interpretations that deviated from the ruling power's. The implementation of strict laws on cultural production and state commissions determined the direction taken by artistic creation, forcing those who were non-aligned into exile, prison or death. Knowing that art can either align with the established order or rebel against it, its force and power were not underestimated but weaponised since art announces and/or denounces an idea, a concept, a vision and a certain reality. And it has a recipient; hence the importance of its subordination to the discourse of the established power and its use as a vehicle and instrument of political propaganda.

As a result of everything that has been said above, it can be understood that the Crazy 1920s, the Roaring Twenties, cannot simply be summarised as states of postwar euphoria: they happened amidst aspirations and anxieties, contradictions and emancipations at a time of a unique and creative turning point that changed the course of history and the world. The winds that blew during this period were supported by a style characterised by a strong visual and sound identity, prospering under the reinvention of everyday life and fading quickly in a diaphanous glitter of extravagance.

III. ONE HUNDRED YEARS LATER

A century later, the modernists who had caused so much scandal in the 1920s have become canonical. One of the Cubist muses was Josephine Baker, the first black woman to be buried in the French Pantheon.[1] Entertainment and leisure have become a worldwide phenomenon and a part of people's daily lives; travel and tourism have become global and the world communicates online.

At the geopolitical level, there has been a resurgence of conservative, nationalist and xenophobic parties, very similar to what happened a hundred years ago. This is not a pure coincidence and the topic has dominated the Eurocentric political agenda. This political radicalisation has distinct causes: the growing corruption and unaccountability of the democratic-liberal regimes of the West, the lack of imputability of many members of the governing classes, distrust of the ruling institutions and nepotism have made the desire for an autocratic political alignment reappear. Defenders of this volte-face point to the need for the primacy of national interests, the empowerment of the former values of serialised information (even if restrictions must be imposed on the freedom of the press to achieve this), accreditation of the justice system and the reorientation of the educational system (even demanding that those in charge take back control of educational bodies). The objective is to rebuild a society where the greatness of the nation is foregrounded and where values based on age-old traditions ensure the centrality of the country. Basically, defence of an exclusionary nationalism is the result of a society feeling it is under threat as happened a century ago. Today, this awareness has been triggered by the post-Cold War multipolarity which has helped spread the supremacy of the interests of multinationals as well as favouring transnational businesses over domestic ones.

The refugee problem, the rise of foreign entrepreneurs over national companies, the 2008 financial crisis and the absence of strong protectionist leadership contributed to the resurgence of tangible courses of action of which Brexit is a direct reflection. Look at Poland, Hungary, Italy, Russia, the United Kingdom, Trump's America or Bolsonaro's Brazil, or even Erdogan's Türkiye. Even though the result of different situations with different constraints, all of them seek to provide an answer to problems similar to those that arose in the 1920s. This can be seen in an opinion article by Itay Mor entitled "The 1920s, a 100 years later"[2] in which the author calls attention to an eventual political repetition of what happened in the second decade of the 20th century, while Marlene Cimons in a later text that came out in the Washington Post entitled "Are we heading for a post-pandemic 'Roaring 2020s', with parties and excess?"[3] alerted readers to the fact that one consequence of the lockdown imposed by Covid-19 could be frenetic socialisation and a release of endorphins to celebrate and make up for lost time. Isabel Salema in "The Roaring Twenties taught us to dance as if there were no tomorrow. Will that fever return?"[4] questions this euphoria to seek pleasure, fun and living *today* as if there were no *tomorrow*.

Whatever the reason, a hundred years later, the decade of all (dis)illusions still fascinates us, perhaps because when looking back at a golden past, we project a future we would like to be golden too. Thus a final summative image emerges of the *Roaring Twenties*, *Années Folles* or *Loucos Anos Vinte* — a sepia photograph where the entwined letters of an advertisement are silently deleted, ghosts of an epic that has never been fully revealed, leaving a certain *je ne sais quoi* in the air that goes a long way beyond pure old-fashioned revivalism to be crystallised in a creative and deeply contemporary stimulus.

Thus, a century later, lovers of this period, revivalists or those merely interested in recent history take delight in frequenting places with shabby chic decoration, wearing retro clothes, living in vintage spaces and visiting collections where the ambience restores some of that lost aura. And so institutions and private citizens have opened their doors to show us unique collections and reserves that enable us to learn and to understand, through a gaze directed at the past, the living legacy of the present. Let us now focus on them.

COLLECTIONS IN PORTUGAL

B-MAD, BERARDO ART DECO MUSEUM

Once a summer residence in Alcântara, this small palatial 18th century house was bought in the first decade of the 20th century by the mother of António José Pereira Flores (1883-1957), a doctor and researcher who was also a friend and close collaborator of Egas Moniz (1874-1955). Opened in 2021, it is the only Art Deco museum in Portugal.

Still in the first quarter of the 20th century, António Flores invited the architect Raul Lino, with whom he felt a certain affinity, to enlarge the building. The second and third floors were added to the main body as well as a staircase and a tower with a lookout on top. Twenty years later the owner, who was then working with the architect Carlos Ramos on the project for the Júlio de Matos Hospital, invited him to design some pieces of furniture which are now part of the collection. However, the Berardo-Art Deco Museum (B-MAD) also houses pieces found in various parts of the world and collected in the last thirty years. The museological space was inaugurated in 2021 after restoration and adaptation works had been carried out on the house.

One of the most important collections of Art Deco is to be found among the whole treasure trove of Art Nouveau and Art Deco objects. It integrates all types of decorative art — furniture, ironwork, lamps, glass objects, ceramics, tableware and silverware — which represent the painting, sculpture, drawing, fashion and jewellery that best illustrate Art Deco.

The eclectic collection brings together works by many of the artists included in the 1925 Paris Exhibition of Decorative Arts: Jules Leleu (1883-1961), Louis Süe (1875-1968) and André Mare (1885-1932), Paul Follot, André Vera (1881-1971), Maurice Dufrêne (1876-1955), André Groult, Armand-Albert Rateau (1882-1938), Paul Iribe, Maurice Marinot, Jean Dunand, Edgar Brandt, Paul Kiss (1885-1962), Raymond Subes (1893-1970) and of course Émile-Jacques Ruhlmann. The younger ones — disciples and/or frequently collaborators of the initial creators — would follow their older peers, continuing their work and frequently going beyond it. Alfred Porteneuve (1896-1949), Jean-Michel Frank (1895-1941) and Jacques Adnet (1900-1984) can be counted among the names of the worthy heirs of Émile-Jacques Ruhlmann.

Among the most iconic objects in B-MAD are the following:

- The frieze of azulejo tiles with pelmet dating from the years 1920 to 1930 is a very characteristic example of the Art Deco style from the Sacavém Factory. Spray painted with an airbrush it was produced using stencils or masks of cut out zinc, in this way obtaining original graded and shaded colour effects. We can find this pattern still applied on building façades in Vila Franca de Xira and Estremoz.
- In the spirit of Art Deco as a "Total Art", there is a gate in wrought and gilded iron made by the master ironworker Paul Kiss around 1920. Allied to the functional purpose of the object are the geometric lines that accentuate the gate's architecture with semicircles that contrast with it and impose a rhythm on the whole structure.
- Alexandra Exter (1882-1949), a French-Russian artist, was a superb costume designer and an active member of the Russian Constructivist movement. Her watercolour and pencil drawing on brown paper from around 1925 is a proposal for the costume of *Aelita* (*Queen of Mars*), possibly for an opera adaptation of the film.
- Claire Jeanne Roberte Colinet (1880-1950), commonly known as Jeanne Colinet, a sculptor of Belgian origin, is one of the few female sculptors of the period. Her chryselephantine figures are famous for their representation of odalisques (exotic dancers), cabaret dancers and jugglers. The sculpture entitled *Juggler* dated 1920-1930 presents a gilded bronze female figure with short hair and completely naked standing on a marble pedestal juggling with ivory balls. She is totally concentrated on the act of juggling. Her voluptuous forms and the realism of her face proclaim it is a piece made using a model unlike the stylised forms of other similar artists.
- The small stool by Jean-Michel Frank (1895-1941) is an exceptional and rare piece in the Art Deco style. Jean-Michel Frank was famous for his minimalist interiors and for his pieces executed with mastery and using noble materials. This is reflected in his use of Greek keys in this classically-inspired bench stool in gilded bronze and dyed leather. In 1924 he designed one of the most emblematic collections of furniture for Hermès, considered the precursor of minimalism applied to interior decoration. Jean-Michel Frank was responsible for the decoration of the Rockefeller Center on Fifth Avenue in New York in 1937; he then moved to Buenos Aires in the winter of 1939 fleeing the Second World War. In Argentina, he was the artistic director of COMTE, an interior decoration and furniture company that did an enormous amount of work for the wealthy clientele who were arriving in the city fleeing from Europe. He was one of the great designers who introduced Art Deco into this country.
- *Jeune femme* is an expressive work that despite its small scale bears witness to the full splendour of Canto da Maya's work in its figuration. Dated 1920-1930, it is made of Brazilian rosewood (jacaranda).
- Magazines were very important for disseminating the style. A number of artists and critics were contributors and in this way established the international taste for Art Deco. One of the original examples of the magazine *L'Illustration* refers to the 1925 Exhibition of Decorative Arts in Paris.
- The three paintings by Raphaël Delorme (1885-1962), allegories of the five continents, exemplify the worldwide coverage of Art Deco as well as the multiple appropriations of other ancestral cultures that artists made. These three paintings depict *Europe* in one canvas while *Africa* and *Asia* appear together as do *America* and *Oceania*, almost as if they were

a historical Art Deco document showing how the style originated in Europe and then spread around the world. The small preparatory sketch, watercolour on paper, could indicate that the artist originally intended to paint these elements on one single canvas before opting for the final solution expressed in the larger scale works. The characters' clothing, the scenarios full of local flora and fauna as well as the backgrounds not only contextualise the theme of the five continents portrayed but also reinforce it.

Also part of the collection are the original drawings of Émile-Jacques Ruhlmann for the Serralves Villa in Porto, the Art Deco destination that comes next.

SERRALVES — THE VILLA

Originally designed as a private residence, the Serralves Villa and its surrounding gardens were the result of a project commissioned by the 2nd Count of Vizela, Carlos Alberto Cabral (1895-1968), on the outskirts of Porto on land where his family had had their summer residence. It was designed and built between 1925 and 1944 and the project is attributed, albeit with some controversy, to the French architect Charles Siclis (1889-1944), whose contribution proved decisive in the overall conception, and to José Marques da Silva who developed, altered and executed it. Carlos Alberto Cabral, Émile-Jacques Ruhlmann and later Alfred Porteneuve, his nephew and an architect by profession, also intervened in the project. The interior enjoyed the contribution of some of the most important names in Europe in the area of furniture design, notably Ruhlmann, René Lalique (1880-1945), Edgar Brandt, Ivan Da Silva Bruhns, Jules Leleu, Jean Perzel and Raymond Subes, which led to some adaptations being made to the exterior. The various people involved were supervised by the Count of Vizela himself who, as he had commissioned the work, left his imprint on the building and adaptations to the project as he had the final say. Nevertheless, the initial owners, Carlos Alberto and his wife Blanche Daubin, only lived there for a short time from 1944 to 1955 when the property was sold to Delfim Ferreira (1888-1960), Count of Riba d'Ave, also a textile industrialist. Even though it was sold on condition that the property remained undivided and could not be altered in any way, a large part of the contents were sold at auction and today are scattered. In 1987 the Portuguese State acquired the property from Delfim Ferreira's heirs in order to install a Museum of Modern Art there. The Villa was opened to the public that same year as an exhibition venue for modern and contemporary art and in 1999 the Serralves Museum of Contemporary Art designed by the architect Álvaro Siza Vieira (1933) was inaugurated.

The Villa is today considered one of the most remarkable examples of Art Deco in Portugal and was classified as a Building of Public Interest in 1996. In 2012 the whole complex, including the surrounding natural area of the Serralves Foundation, was awarded the status of National Monument.

In order to understand the building, it is important to mention that the 2nd Count of Vizela had lived in France and visited the 1925 Exhibition of Decorative Arts in Paris. As a result he had very particular ideas about the space to be inhabited both at the structural level and in terms of decoration. Beginning with the former, the Villa unfolds on three levels: a basement that houses the kitchen, the pantry and the service areas; a ground floor public area that includes the dining room, the drawing room, the entrance hall and the library; an upper floor that was the private area reached through an upper gallery that surrounds the atrium. On the ground floor, on the left, a small step leads to the dining room which overlooks the garden; on the opposite side, on the right, is the billiard room. Beyond them, a wrought iron gate by Edgar Brandt separates the library from the ground floor service areas and also from the private areas on the first floor.

The design of the dining room, hall, drawing room, cloakroom and billiard room are all attributed to Émile-Jacques Ruhlmann. Alfred Porteneuve was responsible for choosing to paint the outside of the Villa pink and René Lalique designed the huge skylight above the hall on the first floor.

Of the contents that still remain, worth noting are the dining room furniture (repurchased by the Foundation) and some pieces of the interior architecture equipment such as doors, built-in cupboards, doorknobs and bathroom furniture. Silva Bruhns designed the carpets, Edgar Brandt a number of appliqués (in addition to the wrought iron gate mentioned above) and Jean Perzel the lamps. On the decorative level, the interior architecture also includes huge windows, geometric patterns in stucco, lioz marble and exotic hardwood floors, marble-lined bathrooms with bathtubs carved out of stone and the rare curved form of the library staircase.

Outside the ground floor, the garden is designed longitudinally extending as far as the pool at the other end of the property in a scenic geometry that articulates with the interior, especially with the first floor with its wide panoramic views over the park.

Whoever sees the building from the street thinks it is sober and closed but whoever observes it from inside — that is, from the garden — understands how light the façade is and the rhythm of the open architectural lines given by the extremely large glass windows. It is as if the house has shut itself off from the outside in order to reveal itself only to whoever might find themselves inside, especially inside the park. Jacques Gréber (1882-1962), an urbanist and landscape architect, designed the garden whose original style was restored when the Villa was converted into a museum. Above all, it should be noted how the Villa and park group inter-relate with each other creating a harmonious and integrated space that is highly scenographic.

VEVA DE LIMA HOUSE

In Rua Silva Carvalho, 238-240, in Lisbon, a large palatial pink house hides one of the most emblematic Art Deco interiors in the city. Here lived Veva de Lima, a notable writer, poet, dramatist, chronicler and public speaker. Rented as a family residence in 1920 by her husband Ruy Ulrich (1883-1966), a university professor, ambassador and governor of the Bank of Portugal, it rapidly became home to a literary salon, the stage for some of the most famous and brilliant receptions between the years 1920 and 1940. Through its doors passed António Ferro and his wife Fernanda de Castro, Thomaz de Mello Breyner, the painter Eduardo Viana, the architect Raul Lino, Sarah Afonso, Amália Vaz de Carvalho (1847--1921), Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian (1869-1955), Afonso Lopes Vieira (1878-1946), Reynaldo dos Santos (1880-1970), Alfredo Pimenta (1882--1950), Raquel Roque Gameiro (1889--1970), Amélia Rey Colaço (1898-1990) and Ricardo Espírito Santo e Silva (1900-1955), among many others.

In the pious and old-fashioned Lisbon of the 1920s, the cultural soirées and thematic parties — Veva even erected tents and put camels in the garden for one of them — hosted by the woman who walked around with a cheetah on a leash were deemed scandalous. In her time, Veva broke norms and challenged taboos in a well-behaved Portugal which, stupefied, found itself forced to live with such a singular person.

The Ulrich's former residence is one of the best preserved of its time and is largely the result of the eccentricity of its former mistress, Veva, and her travels throughout Europe, the USA and Africa. It is known that she visited the 1925 Exhibition of Decorative Arts in Paris but she did not really let herself be seduced by Art Deco instead preferring to commission works from foreign European artists. In this way, the interior of the house — totally reformulated by its owner although maintaining the romantic architecture from the time when the Count of Vilar Seco (1847-1917) had the house built in 1894 — possesses a style all of its own. The plan unfolds on three floors, with the biggest modifications being made to the atrium, the staircase and the main floor. The decoration mixes various styles but in the hall is a wrought iron grille with glass appliqués in the Art Deco style. On the bifurcated staircase can be seen leopard, tiger, zebra and antelope skins brought back from Africa after the trip she and her husband made in the 1920s. The main (first) floor is U-shaped and has five salons where most of the decorative art works are to be found.

When Veva de Lima passed away in 1963, the house continued to be lived in by her daughter Maria Ulrich (1908--1988), who preserved everything. She bequeathed the contents to the Lisbon Municipality in 1980 and, in exchange, the Lisbon City Council purchased the building. Today they have preserved intact the whole property, the contents and the house, which functions as a centre for social gatherings aimed at literary and artistic study, thereby maintaining the ambitions of its founder (and her heir). The house can be visited but booking in advance is required.

In the film adaptation of *Os Maias* [The Maias] by Eça de Queirós, Veva's house was used to recreate the atmosphere of Ramalhete, the Lisbon residence of the Maia family. An interesting fact is that Veva de Lima's father [Carlos Lima Mayer (1846--1910)] had belonged to the "Vencidos da Vida" (Life's Vanquished),[1] an intellectual group of which Eça was also part. In fact, Eça was a friend and frequent visitor to her father's house.

Some noteworthy items from the collection in the house are: in painting, two portraits of the Dutch school attributed to Frans Hals (*c.*1580-1666), a genre scene signed David Teniers (1610-1690), a small naturalist painting by Silva Porto, two watercolours by Raquel Roque Gameiro and a pair of engravings by Adriano Sousa Lopes while in sculpture, of note is a full figure, bronze statuette of Eça de Queirós by Francisco da Silva Gouveia (1872-1951). Important items showing an Art Deco influence are a paperweight signed René Lalique, a wrought iron lamp and a stool, both by Lourenço Chaves de Almeida (1876-1952), and two dining tables in the same style.

CALOUSTE GULBENKIAN COLLECTION

It is important to begin by saying that along with 15 million other visitors Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian visited the International Exhibition of Decorative Arts and Modern Industries in Paris in 1925 where 21 countries were represented. He ended up commissioning a large number of wrought iron works for his house in Paris in Avenue d'Iéna,[2] such as *ferronneries* by Edgar Brandt and a bathroom to which René Lalique contributed.

Apart from being a collector au fait with contemporary movements, there was another facet to Gulbenkian which was that he was a friend of some of the artists linked to Art Deco like René Lalique. In fact, both these aspects were highlighted at the exhibition in the Temporary Gallery at the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (FCG) in 2009. In the display entitled *Art Deco 1925* were around 150 pieces, a third of which were in the Paris exhibition of 1925 and of which ten belong to the FCG's own collection. Of these, one of the pieces present in Paris in 1925 is important: *Spring*, a large scale sculpture in polychromed limestone by Alfred-Auguste Janniot, dated 1919-1924, which decorated the façade of the Ruhlmann Pavilion,[3] one of the most prestigious in the 1925 Paris exhibition. It is a tribute to Jean Goujon (*c.*1510-1572), the great Renaissance sculptor, who is evoked by the French artist and in this piece tradition and modernity are combined. The group consists of three young women — Diana, the huntress, and two nymphs — a deer, a typical Art Deco symbol, and various birds. Stylised flowers and ferns complete the composition. The decorative exuberance of the whole is further emphasised by the introduction of colour to the faces and hair of the female figures. Acquired by Gulbenkian in 1939, the sculpture today stands in the principal hall of the museum which houses the founder's collection.

The FCG, however, possesses a much larger collection of Art Deco pieces including the following:

- Two lift doors made of wrought iron, glass and patinated gilded bronze whose decorative motif is the figure of the goddess Diana accompanied by her attributes set against a background of flowers and leaves. The work was done for Gulbenkian's Paris residence around 1925 and is by Edgar Brandt.[4]
- The sculptures *Comedy* (or *Femme au Masque* [Woman with a Mask]) and *Tragedy by* Canto da Maya acquired by the FCG in 1981.[5]
- *The Goodbye* (1920) by Diogo de Macedo, a bronze dated to the year the Portuguese sculptor returned to Paris and which is generally considered by historiography as the most modern example of his work.

From among the almost two hundred works Gulbenkian acquired from René Lalique between 1899 and 1927 (mostly Art Nouveau) are jewellery and ornamental pieces in gold, silver and precious stones as well as decorative and utilitarian objects in silver, glass and ivory. The following pieces made in the 1920s are important: a perfume bottle *Mermaids* (1920), a vase *Female Figures* (1921), a statuette *The Great Nude* (1921), and the *Cluny* vase (1925).

HOTEL BRITANIA

The Hotel Britania is a living memory designed by Cassiano Branco, a modernist Portuguese architect. Although not a work from the 1920s, it was inspired by and heir to late Art Deco. It opened its doors on 13 October 1944 at Rua Rodrigues Sampaio, 17, Lisbon.

When it was inaugurated it was given the name Hotel do Império and on the walls in the bar can be seen the coats of arms of the territories that were part of the Portuguese Empire at the time. There are also painted frescos of *Anjos Protetores de Portugal* (Protecting Angels of Portugal) and *O Adamastor*, a mythical figure who symbolises the dangers faced by the Portuguese navigators at the time of the Maritime Expansion. The furniture and decoration, such as the barber's shop and the objects displayed in the showcases, are mostly original and these together with photographs of the first few years clearly illustrate the elitist and modern atmosphere of the hotel. The stairs, landings and corridors are of the period as are the renovated bedrooms in which the original furniture is maintained. The cork floors made in 1944 by the Mundet Factory repeat the geometric motifs present in the corridors and floors of the bathrooms, all of them in marble.

The hotel's innovative character could be seen in the structure of this 5-story, reinforced concrete building with its double walls and flat roof and in the type of accommodation on offer — small apartments consisting of an anteroom, a small sitting room, a bedroom and private bathroom, an unheard of arrangement in Portugal at the time. For thirty years the hotel remained practically unaltered until the mid-1970s when, with the fall of the regime, it changed its name to Britania. Significant alterations were carried out at the time but it was only in the 1990s that extensive restoration work was begun with a view to recovering flooring, plasterwork and furniture as well as the frescos in the reception area and bar that alluded to the Empire and the 1940 Exhibition of the Portuguese World. Classified as a Building of Important

Historical-Cultural Interest, in 2010 it was considered by the *Guardian* newspaper one of the four best hotels in the Art Deco style in Europe and in 2019 the *Daily Telegraph* included it in its list of "The world's most amazing Art Deco hotels".[6]

The only hotel of its genre to remain intact until today, the Britania is now part of the Lisbon Heritage Hotels Collection, a group of small hotels located in the historic centre of Lisbon in old houses and buildings of architectural interest. A refuge from a past era but with all today's comforts, this boutique hotel also offers a Portuguese Art Deco itinerary.[7]

NATIONAL ART DECO ITINERARY

Other references can be added to those already listed above in order to design a sufficiently rich and diverse Art Deco itinerary that shows how Portuguese artists appropriated this referential style. From among the numerous places to explore from north to south are the following:

1 CASA DE SERRALVES, PORTO.

2 TEATRO RIVOLI, RUA DO BONJARDIM, PORTO.

Inaugurated in 1913, the Teatro Nacional as it was then called was completely modernised in 1932 and changed its name to Teatro Rivoli. It was designed by Júlio de Brito (1896--1965) between 1929 and 1932 and was considered by the local press to be "the last word in modernism, comfort and good taste". The building with its pure lines and rounded corner incorporated some decorative elements and specific features inspired by Art Deco such as the bas-relief by Henrique Moreira (1890-1979) from the 1940s when Júlio de Brito intervened to remodel the façade to raise the parapet in order to put the sculptural panel there. In this phase, the interior also underwent a number of changes with the installation of bas-reliefs by the sculptor Henrique Moreira in the entrance to the stalls (representing an allegory to the Arts), in the main entrance tympanums (symbolising Comedy, Drama and Tragedy) and another above the stage.

3 LELLO BOOKSTORE, PORTO.

If we start in Porto, an Art Deco itinerary could very easily begin in the Livraria Lello which, although not a building inspired by Art Deco, contains some remarkable features of the style. A Monument of Public Interest, the bookshop dates from 1906 and was built by Francisco Xavier Esteves (1864-1944). It is considered one of the most beautiful bookshops in the world and its interior, more precisely the first floor, has decorative traces of Art Deco on the walls and on the columns that rise up from the floor below.

4 COLISEUM OF PORTO, RUA PASSOS MANUEL, PORTO.

In 1941 the Porto Coliseum came to occupy the space formerly taken up by the Passos Manuel Garden Salon, mentioned earlier, the precursor of the large venue that exists today. Designed by a number of people — among whom Cassiano Branco — the space is articulated between the asymmetric design of the façade (with a tower rising above it and a canopy over the entrance) and the horseshoe-shaped interior that reinforces the spatial dynamic. The Art Deco elements are to be found in various objects such as the dressing tables in the dressing rooms. The Coliseum was classified in 2012 as a Building of Public Interest.

5 BUILDING FAÇADES, PORTO.

The outside façades of some buildings in Porto are dominated by an Art Deco grammar at which it is worth taking a longer look.

- Head office of the newspaper *O Comércio do Porto*, Avenida dos Aliados, 1930.
  Designed by Rogério de Azevedo (1898-1983) as was the adjoining garage.

- Caixa Geral de Depósitos Bank, Avenida dos Aliados.
  Designed by the architect Porfírio Pardal Monteiro, the building dates from 1931 and the various Art Deco features on both the outside and inside make this building one of the most emblematic of this style in the city.

- Farmácia Vitália, Avenida da Liberdade.
  Designed by the architects Amoroso Lopes (1913-1995) and Manuel Marques (1890--1956), this pharmacy dates from 1933. Here the symmetry, simplicity and use of glass are remarkable, providing a formal balance that is very representative of the Art Deco trend in Porto.

- Armazéns Frigoríficos de Massarelos (Massarelos Refrigeration Warehouse), also known as the Bolsa do Pescado (Fish Market). Located on Alameda de Basílio Teles in the riverside area, the warehouse dates from 1935 and is the work of the architect Januário Godinho (1910-1990). It is a notable example of modern industrial architecture and was classified as a Building of Public Interest in 1977. Today it is a hotel.

- Armazéns Cunhas in Praça de Gomes Teixeira.
  The department store was inaugurated in 1936 and is also the work of Manuel Marques. It is easily recognisable because of the peacock with its open tail fan on the building's façade. The interior still has the original furniture.

6 HOTEL ASTÓRIA, COIMBRA.

The hotel was inaugurated in 1926 and belongs to the same owner as the Curia Palace — Alexandre Almeida. It retains some decorative Art Deco elements, notably the entrance's revolving door and some interior features. It is now classified as a Building of Public Interest. At the time it was inaugurated, it was considered "the cathedral" of Portuguese hotels for the comforts it offered. These included a telephone exchange, a lift, central heating and elegant furniture. A local newspaper commented: "Both the wall lights and the ceiling lights are made of signed artistic hand-blown crystal, one of the biggest innovations of the Exhibition of Decorative Arts of Paris (1925)".[1]

7 CURIA PALACE AND CIVIL ARCHITECTURE IN FIGUEIRA DA FOZ.

8 HOTEL BRITANIA, LISBON.

The Hotel Britania is an inspirational place for an Art Deco itinerary in Lisbon as it enables you to experience and enjoy the genuine atmosphere of the 1920s and from here you can set out to discover:

9 THE BERARDO ART DECO MUSEUM (B-MAD), LISBON.

10 THE CALOUSTE GULBENKIAN FOUNDATION, LISBON.

11 BUILDING FAÇADES, LISBON.

In a late Art Deco style, but no less decorative for that, are the main façades of the following buildings:

- Hotel Éden Theatre in Restauradores.
  Inaugurated in 1937, this project by Cassiano Branco is classified as a Building of Public Interest. It ceased being used as a theatre in 1989 and now houses a hotel on the upper floors.

- Maritime Station of Alcântara.
  Designed by the architect Porfírio Pardal Monteiro, the Maritime Station of Alcântara was finished in 1943, part of a wider public works project to modernise the port of Lisbon. Inside are mural paintings by Almada Negreiros. The building is classified as a Monument of Public Interest.

- Maritime Station of Rocha do Conde de Óbidos.
  Also designed by Pardal Monteiro and with panels by Almada Negreiros, the station opened at the end of the 1940s and is today a Monument of Public Interest.

- Bairro das Colónias (Colonial Neighbourhood) in Arroios.

12 (SOUTH AND SOUTH-EAST FERRY TERMINAL) LISBON.

To enjoy a truly cinematographic farewell to the Art Deco itinerary in the Portuguese capital, take the ferry from Cottinelli Telmo's Ferry Terminal. This has only recently been restored and is an excellent exit point for a last long look and a final photograph of an iconic and triumphal Lisbon, the dock of Europe open to the world.

IN PERSPECTIVE

One hundred years ago someone penned these words: "The old city could not manage to destroy the lethargic atmosphere of Moorish quietude, of half-closed windows and dark streets (…) and psychologically it could not completely throw off the djellaba and the burnous of its forebears…",[1] in an analysis that covered the whole country. Thus those who experienced the cosmopolitan and ephemeral audacity of the modernity of the 1920s were few — and even they only had contact with it for a brief, inconsequential and fleeting period.

In perspective, the journey back to the 1920s not only closes the diaphanous glitter of that extravaganza but also leaves behind a base that is today — a hundred years later — an unquestionable source of inspiration. Just look at the exhibition "The Roaring Twenties in Lisbon" held at the Museum of Lisbon in 2022, or the most recent publications that enthusiastically oscillate between restraint and daring in revisiting an eclectic, magical and tempting universe.

Time has been careful to illuminate the ten years between 1920 and 1930 like a vibrant and glamorous kaleidoscope, difficult to surpass. Defining a visual culture and an art in which the spirit of an age is condensed and especially in which a way of living and a profoundly modern way of being is crystallised, the 1920s were so full of vitality and splendour that they still resonate today. One hundred years distant, history does not repeat itself but presents obvious similarities: a worldwide pandemic and a European war which have forced us to reformulate our attitudes and behaviours, bringing back a renewed *joie de vivre* and worldview directed at the whole of creation. Let us then follow them!

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AHGCP, Historical Archive of the Portuguese Gymnastics Club
AMF, Municipal Photographic Archive
ANTT, Torre do Tombo National Archive
B-MAD, Berardo Art Deco Museum
BNP, National Library of Portugal
CALLAS, Alberto Lacerda-Luís Amorim de Sousa Collection
CFEQ, Eça de Queiroz Foundation Collection
CGP, Georges Pompidou Centre
CHAM, Centre for the Humanities, NOVA University
CMCM, Carlos Machado Museum Collection
CML, Lisbon Municipal Council
DGPC, Directorate-General for Cultural Heritage
FAQ, António Quadros Foundation
FCG, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation
FEQ, Eça de Queiroz Foundation
FMR, Maria Ulrich Foundation
FCSH, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities
IALPR, Legal Archives Institute Paris-Rome
MET, Metropolitan Museum of Art
MNAC, National Museum of Contemporary Art
MNSR, National Museum Soares dos Reis
MNTD, National Museum of Theatre and Dance
MoMA, Museum of Modern Art
SAP, Portuguese Air Services
SGL, Geographical Society of Lisbon
SNBA, National Society of Fine Arts
SNI, National Secretariat of Information
SPN, Secretariat for National Propaganda
SPP, Propaganda Society of Portugal
SRM, State Russian Museum
UNL, NOVA University of Lisbon

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ENDNOTES

PRELUDE

1 In the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, which marked the fall of Napoleon III (1808-1873), the end of the Second Empire and the French monarchy, and saw the emergence of the Third Republic.

2 In the First World War from 1914-18.

3 Charles Baudelaire, *O Pintor da Vida Moderna*. Lisbon: Vega, 2006.

4 Movement that emerged at the end of the 17th century in which young English aristocrats travelled to Europe (Paris and Italy) in order to complete their education by visiting the most emblematic places of European culture.

5 The visitors were placed on the deck of a ship and given the illusion of a sea voyage from Villefranche to Constantinople. To make the experience realistic, there was plenty of undulating movements, lighting effects and even a salty wind that buffeted the travellers' faces. There were even cases of people getting sick, such was the level of the simulation.

6 Upon entering the pavilion, the visitor was taken on a day trip around the world. The interiors featured a series of exotic-style buildings, evoking and simulating realities as different as a Chinese pagoda or an Indian temple in a panoramic ecstasy providing great visual impact. This journey was made by the so-called "Mobile Panorama" technique in which the circular display was replaced by a moving screen. You could leave from Marseille, visit a variety of countries and then return to your starting point. To enliven and give verisimilitude to the decor, there was a sequence of living paintings, that is, human figures in the flesh. Thus, the visitor would see real Chinese when shown China, and authentic Hindus when "passing through" India. This panorama, to which movement was added to the static picture, achieved the ideal of a trip around the world without leaving Paris with astonishing success.

7 See the novel by Victoria Mas. *Le Bal des Folles*. Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 2019.

8 A person who strolls, wanders aimlessly without a purpose, for mere distraction.

9 A gentleman with good taste and a keen aesthetic sense who chooses to live life intensely. A dilettante who occupies his time in playful and idle activities; an individualistic observer and true appreciator of worldly pleasures.

10 In 1900, Freud published *Die Traumdeutung* (*The Interpretation of Dreams*).

11 Take the case of Prince Edmond de Polignac (1834-1901) and Winnaretta Singer, later the Princess de Polignac (1865-1943) and her Parisian evening salons which would last half a century (from 1888 to 1939) and where the guest list included Richard Wagner (1813-1883), Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971), Sergei Prokofiev (1891-1953), Darius Milhaud (1892-1974), Marcel Proust (1871-1922), Paul Valéry (1871-1945), Jean Cocteau (1889-1973), Serge Diaghilev, Léon Bakst (1866-1924) and so many others.

12 A memorandum demanding the military withdrawal from the territories between Angola and Mozambique, under the threat of breaking off relations between the two European nations. This marked the end of the so-called "pink map" uniting Angola and Mozambique under the sovereignty of Portugal. It should be noted that at the end of the 19th century, European countries were fighting over the African continent, an important source of raw materials and wealth. The 1884 Berlin Conference brought together the main powers with interests in Africa and determined the principle of effective occupation as the criterion for possession of the territories.

13 A building with two façades (accessed from Rua do Ouro and Rua do Carmo), it was considered an example of avant-garde engineering and architecture and of modern commerce.

14 So called because they first began to circulate in the USA. Operated since 1873 by the Companhia de Carris de Ferro railway company, they consisted of open or closed carriages pulled by donkeys.

15 The funiculars were the Ascensor da Glória (1885), Ascensor da Bica (1892), Ascensor do Lavra (1884) and the Elevador de Santa Justa (1902).

16 Artistic movement from 1830 to 1870 consisting of a group of French painters who settled near the village of Barbizon in the vicinity of the Fontainebleau woods and who left Paris with an attitude of hostility towards the prevailing artistic system. The focus was on landscapes of a slightly romantic inflection undertaken through outdoor sketches which were then finished in the studio. They scrupulously analysed nature, which gave the landscapes a dramatic quality that had a major influence on Impressionism.

17 He was funded directly by a grant from the King Consort Dom Fernando II, widower of Queen Maria II of Portugal.

18 Severa was a fado singer born in the Madragoa neighbourhood where her mother had a tavern. She lived in various places in the Portuguese capital until she settled in Mouraria. It is said her voice and presence bewitched not only everyday folk but also the aristocratic elite, which included the Count of Vimioso, Francisco de Castro (1817-1885), her lover. She died young, a victim of tuberculosis, which only increased her legendary status if only because she experienced the ultimate fate of those outcasts so often sung about during her lifetime.

19 Ramalho Ortigão. *As Praias de Portugal*. Porto: Livraria Universal, 1876, pp. 81-82.

20 The album documents the tour undertaken by the Queen Consort Dona Amélia (1865-1951) and her sons, Prince Luís (1887-1908) and the Infante Dom Manuel (1889-1932), from 28 February to 28 April 1903. The tour's final destination was Cairo, but they called in at some of the main Mediterranean ports such as Cadiz, Gibraltar, Algiers, Tunis, Malta and Alexandria. On the return journey the yacht called in at Naples and Capri for a visit to the ruins of Pompeii. The album mainly consists of photographs taken by Prince Luís, the painter Casanova and also the Infante Dom Manuel. Organised chronologically and geographically, the whole document comprises 236 photographs that were carefully mounted and spread over 36 pages, all accompanied by captions handwritten by the Queen which identify the contents and their authors.

21 It is worth mentioning two other royal journeys, one of a military nature and the other colonial, that were taken before and after Dona Amélia's. The earlier one was a trip made by Dom Afonso Henriques de Bragança (1865-1920) to Portuguese India in 1895 and had a military objective, thus a journey of a different nature to the one we are describing here. The other, that of Prince Luís to Africa, was special since it was the only trip made by a future Portuguese monarch to the overseas imperial provinces. The short-lived successor to Dom Carlos I (1863-1908) set sail in 1907 on the liner "África" on a trip to study and get to know the overseas territories. He was the first prince to visit the African colonies and the objective was to legitimate the Portuguese territories in East and West Africa. This means that apart from being a trip to improve the prince's knowledge and understanding of the territories, its purpose was to embrace Portugal's colonising effort and show the future king the importance and the material and moral wealth of the overseas territories as well as the people who lived there.

22 See Jorge Alves, *O Brasil sob o Olhar Europeu de Ramalho Ortigão*, Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 2022. Online at: https://digitalis-dsp.uc.pt/bitstream/10316.2/42766/1/O%20Brasil%20sob%20o%20olhar%20europeu.pdf

23 He published *De Lisboa ao Cairo. Scenas de Viagem*. Also by him are *Impressões de Viagem: Cadiz, Gibraltar, Paris e Londres* (1869), *Vienna e a Exposição* (1873) and *Na Itália* (1876), but it is the text of *De Lisboa ao Cairo* that is the most unusual since there is no mythification of the Orient in it but just a not very idyllic description and an account of the need for civilisational change that is very common in colonialist discourse.

24 He travelled around northern Europe and North Africa recording his wandering travels in *Cidades e Paizagens*, published in 1880. The author reflects on the reasons that can lead an individual to travel and establishes different types of travelling in a foundational classification.

25 Published in 1905, his book *A Inglaterra de Hoje. Cartas de um Viajante* describes his impressions of British landscapes and reflects on civilisational, cultural and political-economic questions in a transversal and profoundly aggregating thematic approach, a rare characteristic in the travel chronicles of the time.

26 In 1904, Balsemão published *Notas de Viagem — Do Porto a Lourdes*, a book in which he recounts his pilgrimage, complemented with some excursions to various cities in Spain such as Salamanca, Valladolid, Burgos, San Sebastián and Biarritz, through descriptions that seek to help travellers on religiously inspired, cultural journeys.

27 *Dada* is a word that has no meaning; the artistic movement of the same name sought the negation of all current aesthetic values, defending the use of deliberately incomprehensible methods in a metaphor that refers back to the lack of any meaning for the World War.

28 See Maria João Castro. *Os Ballets Russes em Lisboa*. Lisbon: INCM, 2017.

29 Fernando Rosa Dias. *Ecos Expressionistas na Pintura Portuguesa Entre-Guerras (1914-1940)*. Lisbon: Campo da Comunicação, 2011, p. 101.

30 António Ferro. *Ficção*. Lisbon: E-Primatur, 2021, p. 192.

31 José-Augusto França. *A Arte em Portugal no Século XX*. Lisbon: Bertrand, 1991, p. 146.

32 Carvalho Araújo. "A Única Salvação", *A Fronteira*, 25.8.1918.

I. THE CURTAIN RISES

PARIS: A NEVER-ENDING PARTY

1 Interestingly, Hemingway would only write this book in the late 1950s after recovering two small trunks he had left in Paris and which contained notebooks with notes on his stay in the capital. He committed suicide shortly after finishing it.

2 Hemingway had arrived in Paris as early as 1921, determined to be a writer. In this work, the author mentions his friendship and time spent with Ezra Pound, James Joyce and Scott Fitzgerald, and the stroll up to the Luxemburg Gardens and 27, rue des Fleurus, where Gertrude Stein had her studio, on a walk that ended at Sylvia Beach's reading room (now the Shakespeare and Company bookshop, which in this period was located at 12, rue de l'Odéon).

3 Bands of fabric or jewellery on the forehead adorned with feathers, crystals or pearls.

4 It was common for foreigners to come and take part in seasons of shows and, after these were over, to settle in Paris and open schools (as was the case with Isadora Duncan).

5 The city elite were attracted to distant and exotic cultures (such as Hinduism and Indian philosophies) as well as pagan religions with a spirituality completely different from that of European Catholicism. This trend led to an increased cultural and artistic awareness of the East and the Far East that had already started prior to this through the fashion of Orientalism and Japonisme.

6 Musical show created in Paris in 1925.

7 See André Delpuech (coord.) (2017). *Les Années Folles de l'Ethnographie. Trocadéro 28-37*. Paris: Musée National d'Histoire Naturelle.

8 The 1889 Exposition Universelle of Paris was the first where groups of natives from the colonies participated, presenting their exotic dances in the "Street of Cairo" where belly dancing was exhibited for the first time.

9 The Exposition Universelle of 1900 would showcase dances from Ceylon, India and Japan (with Sada Yacco) and Khmer dance with the Royal Ballet of Cambodia.

10 Originating in the overseas colonies, there were many shows of Moroccan, Algerian, Egyptian, Sub-Saharan African, Turkish, Indian, Hindu, Javanese, Japanese, Khmer, Caribbean, Inca and other South American dances.

11 Anne Décoret-Ahiha, *Les danses exotiques en France 1880-1940*. Paris: Centre National de la Danse, 2004, p. 111.

12 Jacotot, Sophie (2013). *Danser à Paris dans l'entre-deux-guerres. Lieux, pratiques et imaginaires des danses de société des Amériques (1919-1939)*. Paris Nouveau Monde Éditions.

13 At the beginning of the 20th century, Paris had become the stage where Russia showed off its treasures, including those of Diaghilev. In 1906, he organised an exhibition of over 700 Russian artists; the following year, 1907, he brought together the best of Russian music in a series of concerts, then in 1908 he brought Russian opera to the French capital and, the following year, the best of Russian ballet.

14 Until then, dance had remained within the domain of theatre and opera.

15 Or integral work of art, which was a term used by the German composer Richard Wagner who intended to bring together in a single spectacle — opera — music, theatre, song, dance and plastic arts. According to Wagner's theory of Gesamtkunstwerk, everything should interact harmoniously to produce a unique result, a singularity translating the full potential of art within the eyes of the spectator. Literally meaning "synthesis of the arts", Gesamtkunstwerk was thus a term often used to describe any work involving the integration of multiple different artistic expressions and, in essence, served as a kind of global theory for all the arts.

16 See Maria João Castro. *Dança e Poder. Diálogos e Confrontos no Século XX*. Lisbon: FCSH, 2016.

17 See the Émilia Philippot catalogue. *Olga Picasso*. Paris: Gallimard | Musée National Picasso, 2017.

18 This movement, sponsored by Benito Mussolini's fascist regime, advocated a return to the classicism of the Italian tradition.

19 See Emily Braun. *Mario Sironi. Arte e politica in Italia sotto il fascismo*. Torino: Bollati Boringhieri, 2003.

20 It was so successful that an international colonial exhibition was organised (1931), a kind of colonial cultural and artistic laboratory which became part of the Musée des Colonies at the Palais de la Porte Dorée.

21 Despite the absence of any Portuguese representation, the sculptor Ernesto Canto da Maya (1890-1981), living in the French capital at the time, was selected and presented two works.

22 Created under the direction of Rolf de Maré (1888-1964) between 1920 and 1925, they tried to offer the public an innovatively rich repertoire. Working with librettists such as Paul Claudel (1868-1955), Luigi Pirandello and Jean Cocteau, and composers such as Darius Milhaud (1892-1974) and Erik Satie (1866-1925), with sets and costumes designed by Giorgio De Chirico, Paul Colin (1892-1985), Pierre Bonnard (1867-1947) and, above all, Fernand Léger (1881-1955), the Ballets Suédois helped pave the way for other ways of thinking about dance. Spurred on by the choreographer Jean Börlin (1893-1930), they constituted a veritable showcase for the period; by mixing performance, dance and film, they dared to juxtapose different forms which sometimes produced an avant-garde repertoire. For many, they were the aesthetic extension of the Ballets Russes.

23 Authentic floating Art Deco embassies as Márcio Alves Roiter calls them in "A influência dos navios transatlânticos na difusão mundial do Art Déco" in *Art Déco — Coleção Berardo. What a Wonderful World!*, Madeira: Centro das artes Casa das Mudas, 2011, pp. 11-19. Available online at: https://bmad.pt/

24 A. Duncan, "Modernism: Modernist design 1880-1940", *Archives Collector's Club*. 2000, p. 178.

PORTUGAL: BETWEEN EUROPE AND AMERICA

1 68 for Finance, 47 for Agriculture, 41 for Labour, 22 for Commerce and Communications, among numerous other portfolios. Cf. Report *A pobreza em Portugal durante a I República*. Online at: https://observatorio-lisboa.eapn.pt/ficheiro/A_POBREZA_EM_LISBOA_NA_I_REPUBLICA_VERSAO_FINAL1.pdf

2 He had previously been chosen by members of the armed forces in the revolution of 28 May 1926 as Minister of Finance, a position that lasted two weeks and from which he resigned as he was dissatisfied with not having the conditions that he considered indispensable in order to carry out that brief.

3 As an example, the Portuguese government had obtained full sovereignty over Quionga at the mouth of the Rovuma, which had previously been Portuguese territory occupied by Germany, in 1894, and for this reason viewed by the delegation as the reinstatement of a right rather than compensation. From a strategic point of view, being on the right bank of the river allowed complete control of access to the Indian Ocean.

4 See http://casacomum.org/cc/dossiers/independencias/contexto.html

5 In 1880, the first national shipping company was set up, the Empresa Nacional de Navegação a Vapor para a África Portugueza (ENN), which would be given exclusive rights for West and East Africa transportation.

6 Decree No. 18 570 of 8 July 1930, published in the Official Gazette *Diário do Governo* No. 156, I Series. Online at: https://dre.pt/application/dir/pdfgratis/1930/07/15600.pdf

7 Until the introduction of the Statute, in general the indigenous people had virtually no civil, legal or citizenship rights. The new law established three population groups, i.e. the indigenous, those that were assimilated, and whites. To join one of these groups, it was necessary to satisfy a set of requirements (such as being able to read and write, dress and profess the same religion as the Portuguese, and maintain similar standards of living and customs as the Europeans) that a native individual would have to show in order to obtain the status of "assimilated" and be able to enjoy rights that were forbidden to non-assimilated native individuals.

8 Only with the establishment of the Estado Novo (1933-1974) and the government of Oliveira Salazar would the holders of these portfolios agree to visit the colonies as a form of legitimising the empire, thus giving it political prominence within the prevailing international geostrategy.

9 The first event of this kind had taken place in 1901, still in monarchical times.

10 Decree No. 12.539 of 25 October 1926. Online at: https://www.fd.unl.pt/Anexos/Investigacao/1434.pdf

11 Approved through Decree No. 12 533, of 23 October 1926 (Official Bulletin No. 48), and updated with the "Estatuto Político, Civil e Criminal dos Indígenas das Colonias portuguesas de África", approved by Decree No. 16.473, of 6 February 1929. It should be noted that the inhabitants of Cape Verde, Macau and the State of India, although often referred to as Indigenous Peoples, were never obliged to have indigenous status.

12 Meanwhile colonial authorities continued, at least until the 1960s, to serve as compulsory recruiters for private individuals and accepted corporal punishment as a matter of course, as several reports have acknowledged.

13 See Joana Leitão de Barros. *Veva*. Lisbon: Oficina do Livro, 2022.

14 *Idem*, p. 89.

15 Lisbon: Imp. Libanio da Silva, 1928.

16 Data available at: https://ler.letras.up.pt/uploads/ficheiros/6392.pdf, p. 301.

17 Bernardo Pinto de Almeida. *A Arte Portuguesa no Século XX. Uma História Crítica*. Matosinhos: Cardume Editores, 2016, p. 131.

18 This was the case with, among others, Eduardo Viana, Mário Eloy (1900-1951), Francis Smith (1881-1961), Almada Negreiros, and Mily Possoz (1888-1968).

19 Paulo Henriques. *A Insularidade de Canto da Maya*. Lisbon: FCSH, 1989, p. 51.

20 Bernardo Pinto de Almeida. *A Arte Portuguesa no Século XX*. Uma História Crítica. Matosinhos: Cardume Editores, 2016, p. 93.

21 José-Augusto França. *Os Anos Vinte em Portugal*. Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1992, p. 150.

22 The 1st Exhibition (1915), the 2nd (1916) and the 3rd (1919) were held in Porto. They were important milestones in the emergence of modernism in Portugal and a common feature was their openness to the most contemporary artists and not obeying any defined programme. To a certain extent, they were held as a counterpoint to the more conservative salons of the National Society of Fine Arts (SNBA), as seen in 1921 when the SNBA refused a painting by Eduardo Viana. This caused a heated public debate between the "new" and the "old".

23 José-Augusto França. *A Arte em Portugal no Século XX*. Lisbon: Bertrand, 1991, p. 100.

24 In the field of art, the denomination Salon refers to a set of debates and exhibitions in spaces receptive to new artistic practices in the face of the aesthetics of the academy. This was the case with the salons of Paris, the Salon of the Refused, the Salon of Independents and the Autumn Salon. It could also be synonymous with the exhibition of a set of pieces, without any grouping in terms of affinities relating to themes, stylisms or other aspects.

25 In spite of the fact that the paintings were not hung in the café until 1926. See the interview with Raquel Henriques da Silva from 24.6.2021, "The first paintings of the Brasileira café are in the MNAC and tell the story of an urban revolution". Available online at: https://amensagem.pt/2021/06/24/exposicao-quadros-a-brasileira-lisboa-museu-do-chiado-revolucao-estetica/

26 José-Augusto França. *A Arte em Portugal no Século XX*. Lisbon: Bertrand, 1991, p. 113.

27 *Idem*, p. 98.

28 Available online at: https://modernismo.pt/index.php/orpheu

29 Available online at: https://modernismo.pt/index.php/contemporanea

30 Available online at: https://searanova.publ.pt/espolio-digital/

31 Available online at: https://modernismo.pt/index.php/athena

32 Available online at: http://hemerotecadigital.cm-lisboa.pt/OBRAS/IlustracaoPort/IlustracaoPortuguesa.htm

33 Available online at: http://hemerotecadigital.cm-lisboa.pt/OBRAS/Ilustracao/Ilustracao.htm

34 Available online at: http://hemerotecadigital.cm-lisboa.pt/Periodicos/SempreFixe/SempreFixe.htm

35 Júlia Leitão de Barros. *Os Night Clubs de Lisboa nos Anos 20*. Lisbon: Edições E.I.R.L., 1990, pp. 45-46.

36 Manuel Villaverde Cabral. *A evolução de Lisboa e a Rua das Portas de Santo Antão (1879-1926)*. Lisbon: Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1997, p. 275.

37 *Idem*, pp. 282-283.

38 "O Bristol Club, Manifestação de Arte Moderna", *Contemporânea*, No. 1, 3rd series, May 1926, p. 52.

39 Ramalho, Margarida de Magalhães (2018). *Thomaz de Mello Breyner. Relatos de uma época. Do final da monarquia ao Estado Novo*. Lisbon: INCM, 2018, p. 518.

40 Idem, p. 583.

41 "As agradáveis noites no Maxim's", *Notícias Ilustrado*, 28.12.1939, p. 20.

42 João de Sousa Fonseca, "A loucura do jazz", *Europa*, June 1925, No.3, pp. 7-8.

43 Decree No. 14.643 of 3 December 1927.

44 "Crónicas de Verão…", *Diário de Lisboa*, 13.7.1927, p. 4.

45 See Luiz Francisco Rebello, "O Teatro na transição do Regime", *A República foi ao Teatro*. Lisbon: National Theatre Museum, 2010, p. 91.

46 Luiz Francisco Rebello. *História do Teatro de Revista em Portugal*. II Vol. Lisbon: Dom Quixote, 1985, pp. 77-78.

47 Born Francisco Florêncio Graça (1902-1980), Francis Graça studied music at the National Conservatory, a contemporary of Frederico de Freitas (1902-1980). In various interviews he said he had started dancing by following his intuition and then studied with a Russian teacher before going to Paris. After the Teatro Novo, in 1926 Francis Graça made his debut as a choreographer at the Eden Theatre with the revue Cabaz de Morangos in which he was also part of the cast.

48 He performed under the stage name of Francis, using a mask as a disguise, performing as an "artistic nude", an act that was of course widely commented upon at the time given that a part of Lisbon society was conservative and resistant to modernist winds of change.

49 "Espectáculo Agua-Pé", *ABC*, No. 2, Ano 1, 18.3.1928, p. 12.

50 Dance school formed by the American Ruth Saint Denis and her husband Ted Shawn (1891-1972) in 1915, which developed a type of dance markedly influenced by oriental cultures. It was to dominate a generation of dancers until its closure in 1931.

51 In the photographs by Manuel Alves de San Payo the Duncan influence is noticeable, with Francis barefoot and half-naked, seeming to imitate the bas-reliefs of ancient Greece including the type of position. The influence of the school of Jaques-Dalcroze (1865-1950) is equally clear in the way he positions himself with the body in front and the head in profile.

52 Ruth Walden (1910-1990), the stage name of the German dancer Hildegard Engelmann and the future partner of Francis Graça.

53 "Propagação do Jazz-Band", *Ilustração Portugueza*, 19.1.1925, p. 5.

54 "A compostura feminina segundo a época", *ABC*, 14.3.1929, p. 18.

55 "A aventura da bailarina nua", *ABC*, 5.1.1928, p. 3.

56 "Os Bailarinos de Cera", *ABC*, 9.9.1927, p. 10.

57 *ABC*, 4.7.1926, p. 23.

58 "Madrid, do prazer à noite", *Notícias Ilustrado*, 10.3.1929, p. 1.

59 Mário Domingues, "A odisseia da couplista de 'Cabaret'", *ABC*, 8.12.1927, p. 3.

60 From the French "cocotte", a worldly woman of frivolous manners who frequents nightclubs.

61 From the French "papillons", butterflies, girls hired to attract, entertain and enliven the club's clientele.

62 "Figuras de clubs e cabarets", *ABC*, 7.1.1926, pp. 12-13.

63 Mário Domingues. *O Preto do Charleton*, Lisbon: Livraria Editora Guimarães & C.ª, 1929, p. 45.

64 A Liberal movement that emerged in Porto on 24.8.1820 and led to the return of the Portuguese court from Brazil in 1821 following this country's independence (7.9.1821) and the end of national absolutism, with the ratification and establishment of the first Portuguese constitution (1822).

65 Data available at: https://ler.letras.up.pt/uploads/ficheiros/6392.pdf, p. 301.

66 One of which was the Hotel do Porto, which opened in 1880, and after major refurbishments was rebaptised the Grande Hotel do Porto in 1917.

67 Ana Paula Machado and Elsa Soares, "Porto 1916", Maria João Vasconcelos (coord.) *Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso*. Porto-Lisbon, 2016-1916. Porto: MNSR, 2016, p. 119.

68 *Idem*, p. 120.

69 Bernardo Pinto de Almeida. *A Arte Portuguesa no Século XX. Uma História Crítica*. Matosinhos: Cardume Editores, 2016, p. 51.

70 César Santos Silva. *O Porto em 1920*. Porto: Book Cover Editores, 2020, p. 27.

71 A cultural movement that arose in Porto in 1912 and which remained active during the first quarter of the 20th century. Its overriding idea was nationalist in scope, seeking to provide rejuvenating content to the recently established Republic.

72 The main organ of the Renascença Portuguesa movement.

73 Brigadeiro Nunes da Ponte. *Recordando o Velho Porto*. Vol. I, Porto: Oficinas Gráficas de Manufacturas Modesta, 1963, p. 92.

74 Margarida de Magalhães Ramalho (2018). *Thomaz de Mello Breyner. Relatos de uma época. Do final da monarquia ao Estado Novo*. Lisbon: INCM, 2018, pp. 373-374.

75 Since its second main location was in Largo da Trindade.

76 Brigadeiro Nunes da Ponte. *Recordando o Velho Porto*. Vol. I, Porto: Oficinas Gráficas de Manufacturas Modesta, 1963, p. 26.

77 *Idem*, p. 18.

78 *Ibidem*, p. 69.

79 *Ibidem*, pp. 98-105.

80 Alfredo Luís Lopes. *Aguas minero-medicinaes de Portugal*. Lisbon: Typ. da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1892, p. 334.

81 "O Palace da Curia. O Carácter entusiástico e político do banquete de inauguração", *Diário de Lisboa*, 26.7.1926, p. 5.

82 From the French "buvette", a place where one drinks; in the Portuguese spelling, the word translates as the place where a thermal water ingestion treatment is administered.

83 Title of a leaflet published as early as 1955: *Album Showing Ten Beautiful Views of Curia, Queen of the Portuguese Spas*. Lisbon: Neogravura.

84 Small veil attached to the hair to cover the face partially or fully. It was usually made of a transparent fabric, such as tulle or lace and usually adjusted at the side.

85 A small brimless hat with a rounded shape, worn close to the fringe line and attached to the hair with the help of a clip or a bow. It was worn on one side of the head and could also have feathers, bows, gemstones or other materials attached.

86 A small decorative headpiece consisting of feathers, flowers and gemstones.

87 António Mesquita de Figueiredo, "A Figueira da Foz Estação Balnear" in *Ilustração Portugueza*, 3.9.1906, 2nd Vol., p. 147.

88 Mesquita de Figueiredo. *Correio da Figueira* 23.8.1892.

89 SPP. *As nossas praias: indicações gerais para o uso de banhistas e turistas*. Lisbon: Tip. Universal, 1918, p. 19.

90 Ramalho Ortigão. "Últimos Melhoramentos" in *As Farpas*, vol. VII, Lisbon, 1943, p. 135.

91 A name created to encompass the neighbouring villages of Monte Estoril, Estoril, São João, São Pedro, Parede and Carcavelos. See Raúl Proença. "Aos Estoris e Cascais" in *Guia de Portugal. Lisboa e Arredores*. Lisbon: F.C.G, 1991, p. 613.

92 Augusto de Santa-Rita, "Os Estoris. Estação de Primavera Eterna" in *Ilustração Portugueza*, 8.10.1921, p. 242.

93 Susana Serpa Silva, "Sonhos e ideais de vida. Sonhos privados/sonhos globais" in *História da Vida Privada em Portugal. A Época Contemporânea*. Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 2011, pp. 400-401.

94 Hat worn right down to the eyes with very short hair sticking out. Created by Caroline Reboux, this model was considered at the time a symbol of female emancipation. Its name refers to the word "Cloche", which comes from the French "bell", since its shape resembles this object. It could be accessorised with ornaments, such as bows, clasps or flowers. It was a characteristic winter hat and perfect for wearing on evening outings.

95 Ninon de l'Enclos (1620-1705) was a courtesan, writer and patron of the arts, whose Literary Salons were famous and attended by such individuals as François de La Rochefoucauld (1613-1680), Jean de La Fontaine (1621-1695), Jean Racine (1639-1699), Molière (1622-1673) and Lady Montagu (1689-1762). Ninon inspired the most famous passions during the reigns of Louis XIII (1601-1643) and Louis XIV (1638-1715). Once she decided to cut her hair as proof of love — an act disapproved of by the etiquette of the time, which would require entering a convent. Instead, the courtesan decided to throw a party to show off her new hairstyle — locks of curly hair, carelessly hanging loose and somewhat dishevelled, falling over the nape of her neck — which became an immediate success as a fashionable hairstyle.

96 *Ilustração Portugueza*, n.º 37, 1.7.1927, p. 12. Available online at: http://hemerotecadigital.cm-lisboa.pt/OBRAS/Ilustracao/1927/N37/N37_master/N37.pdf

97 "Em Cascais as corridas de cavalos no Pinhal Moser" in *Ilustração Portugueza*, 8.10.1921, p. 236.

98 Neves Reis, *Os Sports*, 25.1.1928, p. 1.

99 Decree No. 10064 of 3.9.1924. Available online at: https://files.dre.pt/1s/1924/09/19900/12371238.pdf

100 Official Gazette *Diário do Governo*, No. 152, Series I, 6 September 1917.

101 Printed leaflet distributed in Lisbon a few days before Bernardino Machado's departure. In Dr. Ângelo Vaz. *Viagem Presidencial 1917*. Porto: Tipografia Empreza Guedes, 1923, p. 56.

102 Fernando de Sousa. *Caminhos de Ferro: Notas sobre Portugal*. Vol. I. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1908, p. 764.

103 SAP operated 8-seater 3-engine Junkers G-24 passenger aircraft between Lisbon, Madrid and Seville from the so-called Alverca International Landing Field. The existence of this company was, however, short-lived as the rarefied nature of its clientele and the Spanish Civil War led to its demise.

104 The Palace Hotel has a typology which originated in late 18th century France, when the residences of noblemen began to be reused and transformed into luxury hotels. Many of the newly-built Palaces were initially located near railway stations to support an elite clientele. Some stations even had a direct exit to the hotel — this was the case with the Hotel Avenida Palace in Restauradores in Lisbon.

105 The first one in Porto, in 1840, was called the Agência Abreu (Abreu Agency). Available online at: https://contenoscomofoi.abreu.pt/Files/Templates/Designs/ContenosComoFoi/others/AgenciaAbreuUmaViagemDe175Anos.pdf

106 "Santa Luzia affords one of the world's finest views" in *The National Geographic Magazine*. Washington, USA, November 1927, p. 571.

107 Carried out by the officers Celestino Pais Ramos (commander and pilot), Oliveira Viegas (pilot), João Esteves (lieutenant and navigator) and Manuel António (sergeant and mechanic). This involved uniting the three colonies, i.e. Guinea, Angola and Mozambique. The group would take 51 days to complete the trip, stopping in more than 30 locations with a total flight time of 101 hours.

108 "No paiz do cacau. Viagem de H. A. o Príncipe Real" in *Ilustração Portugueza*, No. 74, 22.7.1907, p. 113.

109 Trip made by the pilots Moreira Cardoso (1899-1984) and Francisco Sarmento Pimentel (1895-1988). Available online at: https://www.museudoar.pt/conteudos/galeria/primeiro-voo-amadora-india-1930_2608.pdf

110 See Artur Tamagnini Barbosa "India. Estado da Índia" in *Gazeta das Colonias*, No. 19.6.1924, pp. 19-20. Available online at: http://hemerotecadigital.cm-lisboa.pt/Periodicos/GazetadasColonias/N01/N01_master/N01.pdf

111 Nuno Severiano Teixeira. "Da belle époque à era do Jazz-band" in *Portugal Contemporâneo*, António Reis (dir.), Vol. III, Lisboa: Publicações Alfa, 1990, p. 316.

112 Around 170 from 1920 to 1930. Cf. José-Augusto França. *Os Anos Vinte em Portugal*. Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 1992, p. 267.

113 Bernardo Pinto de Almeida. *A Arte Portuguesa no Século XX. Uma História Crítica*. Matosinhos: Cardume Editores, 2016, p. 51.

114 Bernardo Pinto de Almeida. "António Carneiro. O voo da Águia" in *Caminhos da Arte Portuguesa no Século XX*. Lisboa: Editorial Caminho, 2003, p. 21.

115 Artur Portela "A Exposição que abriu nas Belas Artes com o rótulo de I Salão dos Independentes" in *Diário de Lisboa*, pp. 9, 16.

THE ROARING TWENTIES

1 In the USA the first washing machine went on sale in 1906 and the first home refrigerator in 1913.

2 Josephine Baker came from the vaudeville tradition and began performing on Broadway stages between 1921 and 1924. Only later did she go to Paris where she found worldwide recognition as one of the most influential artists of her time.

3 Establishments that were hidden in basements and buildings but disguised as if they were involved in other activities. These were illicit bars where you had to "speak quietly", hence the name speakeasy.

4 A series of theatrical productions that appeared on Broadway between 1907 and the 1930s. Inspired by the Parisian Folies Bergère, they were true variety shows whose chorus girls' performances were world famous — known as the 'Ziegfeld girls' they wore exotic costumes, danced surrounded by opulent sets and paraded up and down staircases.

5 Tim Benton, "A Art Déco no mundo anglo-saxónico" in *Art Déco 1925*, Lisboa: FCG, 2009, p. 115.

6 The Exhibition opened on 30 April and Germany invaded Poland on 1 September 1939.

II. THE CURTAIN FALLS

HEADING FOR A NEW CHAOS

1 The nihilism of Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900) was assimilated in a linear fashion by the generation of the 1920s as a proposal by which one should take advantage of the moment since life is devoid of objective meaning, purpose or intrinsic value. It proposed the destruction of morality through the negation of God and the assuming of man as a creative being. It is a sceptical and radical view, a critical attitude towards the annihilation of values and established convictions, perfectly understandable in a postwar world.

2 A designation given to the generation of young people who reached maturity immediately after the First World War (born between 1883 and 1900), whose adult life was lived during the 1920s. "Lost" in the sense they found themselves with no direction, breaking rules, with their banner being the generation of American literary and artistic celebrities who went to live in Paris as mentioned above. The expression is attributed to Gertrude Stein, who thus baptised the group of American writers who had settled in Paris after the end of the 1914-18 conflict, such as Sherwood Anderson (1876-1941), Waldo Peirce (1884-1970), T.S. Eliot (1888-1965), John Dos Passos (1896-1970), Ezra Pound, Ernest Hemingway and Scott Fitzgerald, who were all close friends of hers.

3 Known as La Goulue, Weber was one of the most well-known and popular dancers of the Parisian cancan. She danced at the Moulin Rouge and the Paris Olympia, posed for artists and photographers, appeared in Toulouse-Lautrec's posters and was close to Auguste Renoir (1841-1919).

4 Established between 1933 and 1937 by Franklin Roosevelt (1882-1945), the "New Deal" was a series of programmes aimed at reviving the North America economy, especially through control of financial and economic institutions, public construction (so as to create employment and increase purchasing power), granting subsidies and agricultural credit and creating a welfare programme.

5 In 1933, the German National-Socialist government began to withdraw some modern works of art from public collections in museums. In 1935 they organised the first exhibition of "Degenerate Art" in Nuremberg although this one was not as big as the one held in Munich in 1937 which brought the stigma of modern art to a close for the III Reich.

III. ONE HUNDRED YEARS LATER

1 Article written by Inês Nadais in *Público* de 22.8.2021. Available online at https://www.publico.pt/2021/08/22/culturaipsilon/noticia/josephine-baker-sera-primeira-mulher--negra-entrar-panteao-frances-1974883

2 *Público* 9.11.2020. Available online at https://www.publico.pt/2020/11/09/opiniao/noticia/anos-20-100-anos-1938542

3 *Público* 29.3.2021. Available online at https://www.publico.pt/2021/03/29/p3/noticia/estaremos-caminhar-novos-loucos--anos-20-festas-excessos-1956335

4 *Público* 16.8.2021. Available online at https://www.publico.pt/2021/08/16/culturaipsilon/noticia/loucos-anos-20-ensinaramnos-dancar--nao-amanha-febre-vai-voltar-1972927

COLLECTIONS IN PORTUGAL

1 The name by which a group of intellectuals of importance in Portuguese cultural life became known in the last three decades of the 19th century. Belonging to the "Geração de 70" [the 70s Generation], the Grupo Jantante [Dinner Club Group] — as Eça de Queirós called them — assumed the nature of an exclusive society bringing together important figures from literature and politics as well as those who moved in cosmopolitan and aristocratic circles.

2 In 1922, Calouste Gulbenkian, a businessman, diplomat and art collector, decided to settle permanently in Paris. He bought the hôtel particulier at 51, Avenue d›Iéna to live in with his family and to house his art collection. In order to adapt it to accommodate the needs of his works of art, the house was extensively remodelled. The architects responsible for the project were Emmanuel Pontremoli (1865-1956), Mewès & Davis [Charles Mewès (1860-1914), Arthur Davis (1878-1914)] and Achille Duchêne (1866-1947) and two of the artists involved were Edgar Brandt and René Lalique. Up until 1992, the FCG delegation in Paris [inaugurated in 1965 under the name Centre Culturel Portugais (CCP)] was housed in the Armenian's former residence. In 1992, the building adopted the name Centre Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian (CCC Gulbenkian) and in 2011 the delegation moved to its current location at 39, Boulevard de La Tour-Maubourg, Paris.

3 Janniot participated in the event at the invitation of Antoine Bourdelle, but his friendship with the decorator Ruhlmann explains the presence of the group outside the Hotel du Riche Collectionneur. Pierre Patout (1879-1965) was the architect of this pavilion — one of the most prestigious — which also had reliefs by Joseph Bernard both outside and inside.

4 The collector commissioned from Brandt various important pieces such as the wrought iron railings for the main staircase at the foot of which "rested" the sculpture Diana by Jean-Antoine Houdon (1741-1828). Brandt was also responsible for designing the railings of the private staircase which gave access to the rooms of the collector's wife and daughter as well as for making the main door (adapting the initial drawing by René Lalique), the hall door and the outside window railings. Calouste Gulbenkian also commissioned Brandt to design some pieces of furniture, namely a dressing table and some display cases where he exhibited a number of pieces from his collection.

5 The sculptures were ordered for the hall of the Bristol Club in Lisbon and both pieces were exhibited at the Autumn Salon in Paris in 1926. However, the original pair were lost and the examples in the FCG collection are later castings showing slight alterations from the originals. Cf: *Catálogo Art Déco 1925*. Lisboa, FCG, 2009, p. 138.

6 Available online at https://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/hotels/galleries/The-worlds--best-Art-Deco-hotels/; https://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/destinations/europe/portugal/lisbon/hotels/hotel-britania/

7 Available online at https://lisbonheritagehotels.com/pt-pt/art-deco-em-lisboa/

NATIONAL ART DECO ITINERARY

1 *Gazeta de Coimbra* of 30.3.1926.

IN PERSPECTIVE

1 On the subject of the presentation of Lea Niako in the article "A aventura da bailarina nua", *ABC*, 5.1.1928, p. 3.

CAPTIONS

1. Bristol Club Jazz Dancer, António Soares, 1925, MNTD.
2. *Jeanne Hébuterne with Hat, 1917*, Amedeo Modigliani, 1917.
3-5. Universal Exhibition of Paris, 1900.
6. Jane Avril. Toulouse-Lautrec lithograph from photograph by Paul Sescau, 1899.
7. Jane Avril photographed by Paul Sescau.
8. Cléo de Mérode dressed to dance, Reutlinger, 1901.
9. Paul Gauguin, 1891.
10. *Noa Noa* (Fragrant Scent) from *Nave Nave Fenua* (Enchanted Land), Paul Gauguin, 1893-34, MET.
11. Rua do Príncipe (nowadays Rua 1.° de Dezembro). In the background, the South Gate of the *Passeio Público*, Lisbon. Photographer n/i., 1882. AMF/CML
12. Avenida Palace Hotel with its original entrance through *Praça dos Restauradores*, Lisbon, 1908.
13. Avenida Palace Hotel, Lisbon. Advertisement from 1901.
14. *Concert for Amateurs* (detail), Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro, 1882, MNAC.
15. Promenading dress, c.1900.
16. Women's fashion, 1910.
17. Change in the female silhouette, 1910-20.
18. Zanzibar, Francisco Afonso Chaves, 1906, CMCM.
19. Portrait of Eça de Queirós in a Chinese tunic, c. 1893, FEQ.
20. *Untitled*. First abstract watercolour, Wassily Kandinsky, 1910, CGP.
21. *Black square on white background*, Kasimir Malevich, 1918, SRM.
22. Newspaper clippings for the *Ballets Russes* in Lisbon, 1917.
23-24. Postcards autographed by Stanislaw Idzikowsky in Lisbon, 1917, CALLAS.
25. Cover of the *Ballets Russes* programme at the Lisbon Coliseum, December 1917. Illustration by Jorge Barradas, FCG.
26. Lobov Tchernicheva photographed in Lisbon by Pedro Lima, in *Os Bailados Russos*, Manuel de Sousa Pinto. Lisbon: Edição Atlântida, 1918.
27. Jeanne Hébuterne, Modigliani's muse, c. 1918.
28. *Head*, Guilherme de Santa-Rita, c. 1910, MNAC.
29-30. Costume for *Sherazade*, Léon Bakst, c. 1911.
31. Modigliani, Picasso and André Salmon at Montparnasse, Paris, 1916, IALPR.
32. Moulin Rouge poster, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, 1891.
33. Poster for Le Bal Nègre, 1927.
34. Poster by Loïe Fuller for Jules Cheret's Folies Bergère, Paris, 1893.
35. Josephine Baker dancing the Charleston at the Folies Bergère, Paris, 1926.
36. Ruth Saint Denis in *Radha*, c. 1906.
37. Isadora Duncan dancing barefoot photographed by Arnold Genthe, on the 1915-18 American tour.
38. *Ballets Russes*.
39. Olga Koklova in Picasso's studio, 1918.
40. Poster for the International Exhibition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Arts, Paris, 1925.
41-43. Exhibition, Paris, 1925. View of the *Esplanade des Invalides*. Principal Entrance and Alexandre III Bridge. Porte d'Orsay.
44. Cover of *Ilustração Portugueza*, 12.3.1917.
45. Cover of *Ilustração Portugueza*, 15.10.1917.
46-47. Empresa Nacional de Navegação.
48. Portugal Pavilion at the Seville Exhibition, 1929.
49. Cover of the book *D'Aquém & D'Além Mar. Crónicas de Viagem 1923-1924*, Veva de Lima.
50. Cover of the book *África Portentosa*, Gastão de Souza Dias.
51-52. Veva de Lima, Africa. Documentary collection of the Maria Ulrich Foundation.
53. Aerial view of Lisbon, 1922.
54. Illustrated postcard showing António Ferro having dinner with a group of friends, showing a card stating "ABC Reserved": at the Avenida Palace evening party, António Ferro, Sanches de Castro and José Pacheco, seated in front of António Ferro, all ABC contributors. American Photography, J.N. Ribeiro, 192, FAQ.
55. António Ferro at the New Artists' Rally at the "Chiado Terrace", speaking against the official guidelines of the National Society for Fine Arts. It is possible to make out Jose Pacheco (standing, back, right); seated: Almada Negreiros (3rd), Aquilino Ribeiro (4th) and Gualdino Gomes (5th), among others, 1921, FAQ.
56. Tribute to the aviators Gago Coutinho and Sacadura Cabral at the Monumental Club. In the centre, among the aviators, can be seen the Head of the Ministry, António Maria da Silva, and the Ministers of War, Navy and Foreign Affairs, AMF.
57. Junker 1230 moored in the Tagus River, Lisbon. Photograph by Mário Novais, 1927, Mário Novais Studio, 1925-1985, Art and Archives Library, FCG.
58. Cottinelli Telmo at Notre-Dame, Paris, 1925. Mário Novais Studio Col. Luís Cristino da Silva archive, Art and Archives Library, FCG.

59. *Lisbon City of the Sun*, poster by Cottinelli Telmo, 1927.

60. Enclosure, Angola Exhibition-Fair, Luanda, 1938.

61. Night view, Angola Exhibition-Fair, Luanda,1938.

62. Art Deco Furniture, Angola Exhibition-Fair, Luanda,1938.

63. Dinner at a restaurant. Among others: Fernando Pessoa, seated (2nd from left) and, in front of him, Fernanda de Castro; standing, Almada Negreiros and António Ferro, n.d., FAQ.

64. Photograph of António Ferro with João Ameal at the *Ilustração Portugueza* head office in Lisbon, 1922, FAQ.

65. United Artists Studio. Miss Soares, the Portuguese actor Valério, Mary Pickford and Antonio Ferro, Hollywood, 1924, FAQ.

66. Portrait of Benito Mussolini, identified on the back by Fernanda de Castro. Signed photograph, with a handwritten dedication in front of the image: "Al giornalista Ferro con [...] romani Mussolini". Photo A. Petitti. Rome. Eugenio Risi, Roma, 08.11.1923, FAQ.

67. António Ferro aboard the *Leviathan* en route to New York, in Cherbourg, France, March 29, 1927, FAQ.

68. Maxim's

69-70. Majestic Club | Monumental Club, Lisbon. Luís Bayó Veiga Collection.

71-73. Advertisements for dancers at the Bristol, Lisbon.

74. *Untitled*, Lino António, 1926, FCG.

75. Ad for the Palace Club, Lisbon.

76-77. Bristol ad in the Press.

78. *Natasha* (Russian dancer), António Soares, 1928, FCG.

79-82. Dance ads in the press, Lisbon.

83. New Year's Eve party, 1920s. Photograph by Mário Novais, Art and Archives Library, FCG.

84. Francis Graça and Luísa Satanela in *Russian Dolls*, Lisbon, 1927.

85-88. Francis Graça photographed by Manuel Alves de San Payo and Silva Nogueira, MNT 207737, 207737, MNT 6054, MNT 67001, MNTD.

89-90. Francis in Michel Fokine oriental style costume in *Sherezade*, *Ballets Russes*. Photographer: Mário Novais, Approximate date of the original photograph: 1925, Art and Archives Library, FCG.

91-92. Francis in identical pose to Ted Shawn, Dennishawn. *Notícias Ilustrado*, No. 177, of 15.11.1931, p. 13, MNTD.

93-94. Francis in the footsteps of Nijinsky in *L'Après midi d'un faune*, Ballets Russes. MNT 207789 - Photograph of the dancer Francis, MNTD.

95. Eva Stachino on the cover of *Ilustração Portugueza* No. 810 of 27.8.1921.

96. Eva Stachino in *Mundo Gráfico*, 1927.

97. Ivette Beller, *O Domingo Ilustrado*, No. 16, 3.5.1925, p. 10.

98. *Francis*, Mário Eloy, 1930, MNAC.

99. Company and dancers from the *Variedades*, Lisbon, 1929.

100. Staircase, Stock Exchange Palace, Porto.

101. Arab Room, Stock Exchange Palace, Porto.

102. Café Camanho, Praça D. Pedro, Porto.

103. Café A Brazileira, Porto.

104. *Passeio Alegre*: on the left the Foz Casino, Porto.

105-106. Fenianos Club, Porto.

107. Passos Manuel Garden Banqueting Room, Porto.

108. Passos Manuel Garden Outside Stage, Porto.

109-112. Granja Beach, Vila Nova de Gaia.

113. Ball at the Vidago Palace, Júlio Silva Collection.

114-119. Various areas at the Vidago Palace in the 1920s.

120-121. Curia Palace Hotel.

122. 1920s Ball, Curia Palace Hotel.

123-124. Curia Grand Prix, 1927.

125. Casino and Spa facility, Curia.

126. Fountain, Curia.

127. Ballroom, Curia.

128. Ocean Casino, Figueira da Foz.

129. Peninsular Casino, Figueira da Foz.

130. Main Room of the Peninsular Casino, Figueira da Foz.

131. Saraiva de Carvalho Theatre-Circus, Figueira da Foz.

132. Postcard c.1926 showing the Americano tramlines, Figueira da Foz. ??Praia de Banhos??

133. *Ilustração*. *Cliché* by A. Garcez. No. 18, year 1.16.9.1926, p. 11.

134. Monte Estoril, International Grand Casino.

135. Cover of *Ilustração*, No. 17-1.9.1926.

136. International Casino. *Réveillon*, 1927. Photograph by Mário Novais, 1920s, Art and Archives Library, FCG.

137. Advertisement in the magazine *Eva. Jornal da mulher e do lar.* No. 65, Christmas Special, 1932, last page.

140. *Ilustração Portugueza*, No. 943, 15.3.1924.

141. Louise Brooks photographed by Alexander Binder, 1928.

142. Auto Show, Lisbon Coliseum, 1925.

143. 1st Portuguese women's soccer team in the 1920s: Amadora de Cascais.

144. Portuguese fencing team at the 1928 Olympic Games in Amsterdam, Bronze Medal.

145-146. International Equestrian Competition, Palhavã Hippodrome, 1928.

147. GCP Swimming Class 1928, AHGCP.

148. Opening of the Dafundo-Algés swimming pool, 1930.

149. Portuguese Propaganda Society, 1907.

150. SAP Founders in 1929.

151-152. Tourist Posters from the 1920s.

153. Landing of English excursionists in Lisbon, 1922, ANTT.

154. Waiting for American excursionists, 1923, ANTT.

155. Excursionists disembarking in Lisbon, 1923, ANTT.

156. Cart with luggage, Rossio station, 1923, ANTT.

157. Steamboat from Angola to Mozambique, 1925, BNP.

158-160. Polana Hotel and Beach, Lourenço Marques.

161. António Ferro and Fernanda de Castro with two friends, crossing the river in the Cadillac bought by António Ferro from the artist Sanches de Castro for 5,000$00, Vila Franca, 1928, FAQ.

162. António Ferro on his way to Évora, with Almada Negreiros (the photographer), Sarah Affonso, Diogo de Macedo, Jorge and Clotilde Segurado and the chauffeur known as "Half-Beard", "on loan" from Erico Braga, all in the Cadillac, 1934, FAQ.

163. António Ferro with António de Oliveira Salazar in front of the Jerónimos Monastery, during one of his famous interviews, n.d., FAQ.

164-165. *Flappers* in the 1920s, New York.

166. Jazz show, 1924, New York.

167. Shuffle Along, New York.

168. Cotton Club, Harlem, New York.

169-170. Alhambra, Harlem, New York.

171-172. Ziegfeld Follies, photographs by Alfred Cheney Johnston, New York.

173-175. Louise Brooks.

176. Interior of the Portuguese Pavilion in New York showing the statue of Salazar, with Fred Kradolfer's *Faith* panel behind it, 1939.

177-179. New York Stock Exchange Crash, 1929.

180-181. *La Goulue*, by Toulouse-Lautrec, Paris.

182-184. *La Goulue*, Paris.

185. Tile with pelmet, Sacavém Ceramics Factory, c. 1920-1930, B-MAD | Berardo – Art Deco Museum. Diana Silva © Associação de Colecções | Berardo Collections.

186. Wrought and gilded iron gate, B-MAD | Berardo – Art Deco Museum, © Associação de Colecções | Berardo Collection.

187. Costume for *Aelita*, Alexandra Exter, c.1925, B-MAD | Berardo – Art Deco Museum © Associação de Colecções | Berardo Collection.

188. Juggler, Claire-Jeanne-Roberte Colinet, 1920s/30s, B-MAD | Berardo – Art Deco Museum, © Associação de Colecções | Berardo Collection.

189. Stool, Jean-Michel Frank, 1930s, B-MAD | Berardo – Art Deco Museum, © Associação de Colecções | Berardo Collection.

190. *Young lady*, Ernesto Canto da Maya, c.1920/30, B-MAD | Berardo – Art Deco Museum, © Associação de Colecções | Berardo Collections.

191. Europe, Raphaël Delorme, 1920s, B-MAD | Berardo – Art Deco Museum, © Associação de Colecções | Berardo Collection.

192. Africa / Asia, Raphaël Delorme, 1920s, B-MAD | Berardo – Art Deco Museum, © Associação de Colecções | Berardo Collection.

193. America / Oceania Raphaël Delorme, 1920s, B-MAD | Berardo – Art Deco Museum, © Associação de Colecções | Berardo Collection.

194. *L'Illustration* Magazine, Issue dedicated to the Paris Decorative Arts Exhibition, 8 August 1925, 80 Pages, B-MAD | Berardo – Art Deco Museum, © Associação de Colecções | Berardo Collections.

195. Architectural drawing - Serralves Villa, Atelier Ruhlmann, c.1930. B-MAD | Berardo – Art Deco Museum © Associação de Colecções | Berardo Collection.

196-197. Jacques Émille Ruhlmann Serralves Villa: "Vizela" dining room table and chairs (1930) Technical details, table: Burma rosewood knot and bronze Technical details, chairs: varnished satin pear tree and seats covered in short-haired woollen velvet. Serralves Foundation Col. – Museum of Contemporary Art, Porto. Photo © Filipe Braga.

198. Raymond Subes Serralves Villa: dining room console table Technical details: Marble and gilded bronze. Serralves Foundation Col. – Museum of Contemporary Art, Porto. Photo © Filipe Braga.

199. Edgar Brandt Serralves House: interior decorative gate "The Dancers" Technical details: Bronze. Serralves Foundation Col. – Museum of Contemporary Art, Porto. Photo © Filipe Braga.

200. Serralves Villa seen from the garden. Serralves Foundation, Porto. Photos: © Fernando Guerra | FG+SG.

201. Interview with Veva de Lima in *Ilustração Portugueza*, No.828, p. 520.

202. Inside the residence of Veva de Lima.

203. *Spring*, Alfred-Auguste Janniot, 1919-1924. Photo: Carlos Azevedo, FCG.

204. Vase *Female Figures*, René Lalique, 1921, FCG.

207. Sculptured panel under the parapet of the Teatro Rivoli. Author's photo.

208. Sculptured panel inside the Teatro Rivoli. Author's photo.

209. Ground floor, Livraria Lello, Porto.

210. Columns on the upper floor, Livraria Lello, Porto.

211. Former Fish Market building. Today Hotel Vincci, Porto. Author's photo.

214. Eden Theatre, façade.

215. Land view of the ferry terminal, AMF.

216. Interior of the ferry terminal, AMF.

217. River view of the ferry terminal, AMF.

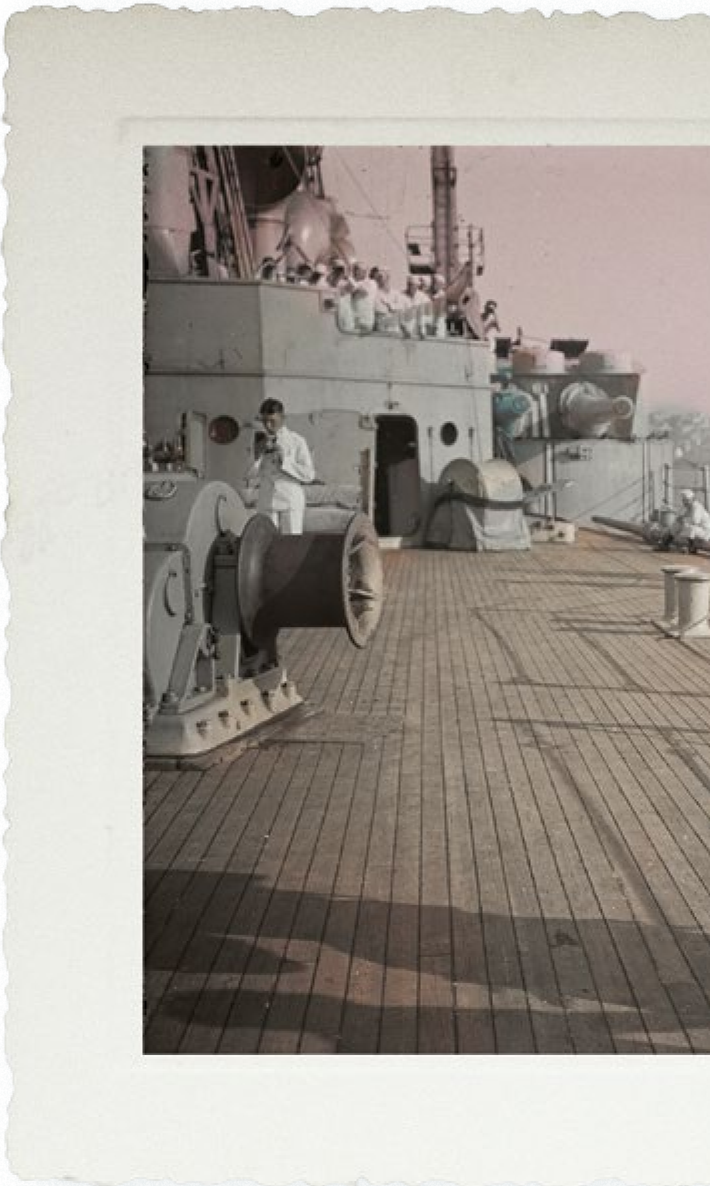
218. Aerial view of the ferry terminal, AMF.

220. Group portrait of Eduardo Malta and Augusto de Santa Rita next to the Junkers airplane. *Ilustração*, February 1928. Photo by Mário Novais. Art and Archives Library. FCG.

A JOURNEY TO THE 1920s

The diaphanous glitter of extravagance

Maria João Castro



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