



Jagiellonian University in Kraków
Faculty of International and Political Studies
Institute of European Studies

Ísis Helena Coutinho Machado

Student ID number: 1189810

Word count: 21 609

Field of study: European Studies

Past, memory and politics of culture.
Colonial heritage in Portugal

Magister (MA) Thesis

Thesis written under the supervision of
Dr Agnieszka Sadecka and Dr hab. Krzysztof Kowalski

June 2023

Krakow, Poland

Table of Contents

Introduction	3
1. Context and relevance of the research.....	4
2. Structure	7
3. Methodology	8
Chapter I: Theoretical framework	10
The field of critical heritage studies.....	10
Colonialism and postcolonial studies.....	15
Colonial heritage in postcolonial Portugal	19
Chapter II: The history of Portuguese colonialism and its representations throughout time	21
The Great Navigations and the first encounters	21
Scrambling the world: ‘the sea is Portuguese’	23
‘Portugal is not a small country’: the New State colonial policy	25
Postcolonial Portugal: the bridge to the new world	30
Chapter III: Colonial heritage in post-colonial Portugal	31
Museum of the Geographical Society of Lisbon.....	31
Monument to the Portuguese Colonial Effort	36
Monument to the Discoveries	39
World of Discoveries	42
Conclusion.....	51
Bibliography.....	55

Abstract

This Master's thesis explores the representations of the colonial past in Portugal's heritage landscape and investigates how this past is portrayed in a postcolonial context. The study focuses on the mainstream narrative of Portuguese history and aims to understand why the history of colonialism in Portugal still privileges the colonizer's efforts and silence the voice of the colonized. By examining cultural institutions such as museums and monuments, which serve as important symbols of national identity and memory, the research maps out the presence and treatment of colonial symbolism in Portugal's cultural and public spaces. Drawing on the theories of postcolonialism and critical heritage studies, the study examines the representations of the colonial past in the official public narrative. It analyzes selected case studies, including the Monument to the Discoveries and the Monument to the Colonial Empire in Porto, as well as the World of Discoveries museum in Porto and the Museum of the Geographical Society of Lisbon. These sites are situated in significant tourist and historical cities, offering insights into how the difficult past of the "Golden Age of Discoveries" and the 19th-century Colonial Empire is explored within the official national narrative.

Key words: colonial heritage; Portuguese colonialism; colonial aphasia

Abstrakt pracy magisterskiej

Praca bada reprezentacje kolonialnej przeszłości w krajobrazie dziedzictwa Portugalii i analizuje, w jaki sposób przeszłość ta jest przedstawiana w kontekście postkolonialnym. Badanie skupia się na omówieniu dominujących narracji portugalskiej historii i ma na celu zrozumienie, dlaczego narracje te nadal przedstawiają kolonializm w dość pozytywnym świetle i nie dają głosu kolonizowanym. Poprzez badanie instytucji kultury, takich jak muzea i pomniki, które pełnią ważną rolę jako symbole tożsamości narodowej i pamięci, badanie mapuje obecność i podejście do symboliki kolonialnej w portugalskiej przestrzeni publicznej i w dyskursie instytucjonalnym. Korzystając z teorii postkolonializmu i krytycznych studiów nad dziedzictwem, badanie to analizuje reprezentacje kolonialnej przeszłości w oficjalnej narracji publicznej. Analizowane są wybrane przykłady, takie jak Pomnik Odkrywców i Pomnik Imperium Kolonialnego w Porto, a także Muzeum Świata Odkryć w Porto i Muzeum Geograficznego w Lizbonie. Te miejsca znajdują się w ważnych miastach turystycznych i historycznych, dając wgląd w to, w jaki sposób trudna przeszłość "Złotego Wieku Odkryć" i kolonialnego imperium XIX wieku figuruje w oficjalnej narodowej narracji.

Słowa kluczowe: dziedzictwo kolonialne; kolonializm portugalski; afazja kolonialna

Introduction

In his inauguration speech as Portuguese president, Marcelo Rebelo de Souza affirmed Portugal's "universal vocation" in which "being European in the starting point and in the firm desire to participate in European unity is enriched by being transatlantic and, more than that, being able to bring people and speeches and the most distinct economies and societies, without xenophobia, intolerance, false superiority or incomprehensible inferiority complexes" (Público, 2016). In 2017, Portugal submitted the 'Places of Globalization' to the Tentative List of the UNESCO World Heritage sites; 'the "places of globalization" represent a unique heritage in the world context as landmarks of the starting point of what was to become a new era for humanity' (UNESCO). Both examples represent the contemporary narrative of the Portuguese national identity, which emphasizes the Portuguese contribution to the globalized world with its 'discoveries' and maritime expansions, in addition to its universalist vocation for cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism. In this narrative, the word colonialism is rarely used, although it appears as rebranded in better sounding terminology. Nevertheless, colonial symbolism is still present in the heritage landscape. The aim of this research is to map out the representations of the colonial past in Portugal's heritage landscape and understand how this past is portrayed in a postcolonial context. The research will also delve into the questions of why the Portuguese colonial history has been told in a specific manner and how it can be understood and interpreted from a critical perspective.

Context and relevance of the research

Filipa Ribeiro (2018) argues that, similarly to many nations, the Portuguese also have a narrative of a glorious past that represented the 'Golden Age' of its history and 'the Greater Portugueseness'. This past is dated to the sixteenth century: the Atlantic enterprise and the discovery of the "New World". It is a general understanding among Portuguese scholars that the 'Age of Discoveries' is the constitutive myth of the Portuguese nation. Anyone who has visited Lisbon, especially after strolling along the banks of the Tagus River, could say the same thing. The monuments in celebration of the discoveries are numerous. The overseas expansion is portrayed as the great contribution of Portugal to Europe – and to the world. The pioneering position in the European maritime expansion is used to reinforce a nationalist narrative in which the nation is depicted as the mediator between Europe and the rest of the world, the nation who gave 'new worlds' to the world (Ribeiro, 2018, p.326). This narrative, however, conceals an essential element of this event: colonialism. As this research will show, the history of the colonial enterprise that began with the discoveries is rarely mentioned in the heritage sites of

Portugal. In some cases, colonialism is mentioned in positive terms, in a persistent colonial discourse.

This research will review the representations of the colonial past in the mainstream narrative of Portuguese history throughout the centuries. There is no unique narrative over national identity and national history, essentially because there is no homogeneity inside a community. However, some narratives prevail in the cultural and social landscape of the country, especially when fostered by the State; these are the ones that will be object of study in this research. To identify how colonialism is portrayed in the social context and understand how the colonial past plays a role in Portuguese contemporary narrative, this research will study different cultural institutions to understand which space is occupied by the difficult past of colonialism in cultural scene and public space. It will go through the question posed by Edwards and Mead: “*which stories are told and how, and which stories are not told and why?*” (2013, p.19), specifically applied to the Portuguese case.

Museums and monuments are important symbols of the nation, the main places where the memory of the historical past is remembered and heritage is constructed, and because of that they will be the main object of analysis of this work. This research will go through some key sites of memory in Portugal, the last colonial empire of Europe. All of these sites of memory are situated in important touristic and historical cities. The research will analyze how the difficult pasts of the “Golden Age of Discoveries” and of the Colonial Empire of the nineteenth century are explored in the official national narrative – if they are present after all. Portugal depicts itself as multicultural lieu in Europe, and there is an urgent need to address what made the multicultural society and what are the consequences of such image.

Benoit de L’Estoile argues that there is a refusal to present colonial legacy in national museums, and this is what the present research aims to address. As argued by L’Estoile, colonial legacy is a matter for the entire Europe, and not only a concern for former Colonial Empires. Following Edward Said’s concept of Orientalism, he highlights that “*there is a strong case to be made that Europe as a whole has been shaped, both objectively and subjectively, by its colonial experience, as it came to define itself from the 15th century on by contrast with other continents. In fact, the colonial setting is one of the contexts where being ‘European’ acquired its meaning.*” (de L’Estoile, 2008, p. 270). The optimistic discourse of multiculturalism has overshadowed the difficult history of colonial heritage that builds modern societies, especially European societies.

Portugal is a special case of this ‘colonial aphasia’ (Stoler, 2011); the first colonial Empire that quickly fell into ostracism. As Feldman-Bianco (Feldman-Bianco, 2001) notes, most of the work produced in English on the topic of colonialism and its legacies is

concentrated on the French and British Empire, and to some extent, on the Belgian, German, and Dutch Empires. The Portuguese and Spanish Empires seem to be located in the past ‘too far away’, or for some, in a less controversial context. There are several Portuguese scholars working on Portuguese colonial heritage, such as Rosa Cabecinhas and Elsa Peralta, for instance; however, the field still misses more well-developed research on why these colonial heritages are portrayed in a particular way or, even, why they keep existing in a postcolonial context. In my work, I will try to fill this gap by combining critical heritage studies with postcolonial theory and propose explanations to the question of why some narratives are still present and why others were forgotten – or replaced by more suitable terms.

The Portuguese professor Boaventura de Souza Santos has already identified a special feature of the Portuguese identity – an identity “between places”, these places being Europe and the Atlantic, portraying Portugal as “the bridge to the new world” for European history. For a very long time, the Portuguese colonial past, and its reminiscences in the contemporary reality of the country remained in the shadow of the discussions over the topic of colonialism, where the history of the French and British Empires received more attention. Boaventura starts to fill this gap by analyzing the relationship between Portugal and its colonies and situating the Portuguese identity within this relationship. Using a metaphor from Shakespeare’s play *The Tempest*, following the studies of colonialism from other authors like Octave Mannoni (1956), Santos affirms that Portuguese colonialism is a very specific case because Portugal – although the pioneer in the discovery of the “New World” – was always a subaltern in its own continent, a feature that made Portugal both ‘Prospero’ and ‘Caliban’: the Duke and the Servant, the white and the black man of Europe – a ‘Calibanized Prospero’. Santos continues presenting the distinctions between Portuguese and Anglo-Saxon colonialism, demonstrating that “the subalternity of Portuguese colonialism resides in the fact that, since the seventeenth century, the history of colonialism has been written in English, not in Portuguese” (2002, p. 11). This subalternity had a crucial influence on the colonizer’s identity, which went back and forth in its representations as Prospero and competing the subaltern identity with its own colonies. According to Santos, the images that were constructed over the colonies were very much alike to the images that were constructed by other Europeans – northern Europeans – of the Portuguese. The miscegenation was the maximum expression of the ambivalence of the Portuguese identity – and it was sometimes acclaimed, sometimes placed as a factor of inferiority, not much different from the evolution of the Portuguese national narrative during the twentieth century. Santos’ work is mainly focused on the hybrid character of the Portuguese identity, constructed under the specificity of Portugal’s colonialism. This subalternity of Portuguese colonialism and its position as a ‘periphery of the center’ (Barreto, 1995) has led to a problem of self-representation, persistent in Portuguese society, especially after the European

integration. This research aims to demonstrate the link between this theory and the national heritage discourse, which could explain the reasons why the history of colonialism is told the way it is.

Before going through the heritage landscape, I briefly analyzed the history of Portuguese colonialism, from the first maritime expeditions until the last days of the Empire. Throughout centuries, the discourse on Portuguese national identity floats around the discoveries of the fifteenth century, and until 1974, these ‘discoveries’ were clearly connected – sometimes more, sometimes less – with the Imperial history of the country. Especially during the New State (1933-1974), the historical ties between the maritime expansion and the modern colonial project were emphasized, and the Portuguese history was an uninterrupted progression (Polanah, 2011, p. 18). During that time, when colonialism was still a reality, there was little avoidance in linking these processes. However, after the formal end of colonialism and the transition to a liberal democracy within the European Economic Community, this link became more problematic. Nevertheless, the public space and the heritage landscape remain intact, emphasizing the great role played by the Portuguese ‘discoveries’ in world history. The case studies selected for this research are good examples of how the national narrative did not exorcize its colonial ghosts, contrary to what some authors such as Rothwell (2008) believe¹, but keeps them under covers, while they still play their roles in the society. The explanation for that, as I will argue in this work, is based on Boaventura’s theory that the insistent necessity of Portugal to reaffirm its position in European history and avoid – at least in the cultural and historical dimension – its semi-peripheral position. The monuments and museums presented in this work are parts of the cultural and educational sphere of the country and some of them, such as the Monument to the Discoveries and the Thematic Park World of Discoveries, are important touristic attractions. The avoidance to recognize the colonial past related to them seems to be a way to avoid the recognition of Portugal’s own place in Europe and an attempt to claim what the country believes is its fair share of the world’s history. The ambition of this work is to tackle the heritage question from a new perspective.

Structure

The first chapter will go through the concepts and theories that are key to this research, such as heritage, postcoloniality and decolonization, presenting the thesis’ theoretical framework. In the second chapter, the history of Portuguese colonialism will be quickly presented, followed by the representations of such history in the official public narrative, from Salazar to Marcelo Rebelo. The intention is to identify what kinds of representations and

¹ “By choosing Europe at the same time as it relinquished its colonies, Portugal has finally set itself on the path of exorcising its imperial ghosts” (Rothwell, 2008, p. 434).

narratives of the colonial past were constructed throughout the years, with special attention paid to the Salazarist regime, and how these narratives changed – or not – after the accession to the European Union in 1986. The third chapter will present the case studies of two monuments in Portugal – the famous Monument to the Discoveries, located in Lisbon, and the Monument to the Colonial Empire in Porto – and two museums – the World of Discoveries, an interactive museum in Porto, and the Museum of Geographical Society of Lisbon, located in Lisbon. In this chapter, the exhibitions of the museums and material aspects of the monuments will be analyzed in the light of postcolonial theory and the critical heritage studies. The last chapter will be dedicated to answering the question that prompted the research and discussing its outcomes, while also highlighting the consequences that these representations of the past might have in current Portuguese society, as well as in the European context.

Methodology

This study adopts the case of post-colonial Portugal as the basis of its research design, using qualitative content analysis as the main research method. The research was done through exploratory research conducted in the cities of Lisbon and Porto in January of 2023, which included observatory visits to the museums and monuments and a review of existing literature on the topic. Data gathering was conducted in two phases. In the first phase, a desk study was conducted by undertaking a literature review of heritage and post-colonialism, mixed with studies on the history of Portuguese colonialism and the evolvement of the discourse on colonialism over time. The result was a series of questions that will be answered through a qualitative content analysis of two monuments and two museums selected by the author. To understand how the colonial past is portrayed and the presence of mentions of colonialism in the museums' exhibitions, deductive qualitative content analysis is conducted so, the samples of the research are (1) all the labels explaining the displays and objects, and (2) all the oral explanations of the museum guides to the visitors which were collected and analyzed. Therefore, purposive sampling was utilized.

The case study of the selected heritage sites was deemed appropriate given their historical value and their touristic and educative appeals, in which the mainstream narratives of the Portuguese history can be more easily identified. The selection of monuments and museums for this research was made based on several reasons; there were many museums and monuments that could also be part of the analysis but due to the length limitation of the Master's thesis, four cases were selected based on the reasons that will be further discussed. First, each of them is inserted in a different period of Portuguese colonialism. On one hand, the Interactive Exhibition World of Discoveries and the Monument to the Discoveries are both concerned with the first phase of the Portuguese Empire, the maritime expansion. On the other hand, the Monument to

the Portuguese Colonial Effort and the Museum of the Geographical Society of Lisbon are sites of heritage related to another period of the Portuguese colonialism, especially focused on the African continent. Other reasons for choosing these specific places are their critical locations – both are located in the two most visited cities in the country; and the fact that they represent different logics and modalities of heritage – digital exposition (World of Discoveries), Ethnographic exhibition (Geographical Society of Lisbon), highly visited monument (Monument to the Discoveries) and a less popular and more contested monument (Monument to the Portuguese Colonial Effort). Finally, each monument and institution were idealized and constructed in distinct periods, throughout the last century, thus representing well the evolution of the heritage narrative throughout the years.

The limitation of this research involves primarily the reduced number of objects researched, which was due to the time and feasibility of a master's thesis project. In addition to that, because qualitative research is based on the researcher's interpretations of the findings, it implicates a certain degree of subjectivity. This research does not necessarily aim to generalize its findings but rather understands that they can be valued for further stories on post-colonial heritage in Portugal and in other former colonial empires in Europe, especially in Spain, a former Empire that shares several similarities with the Portuguese Empire and the post-colonial European Union member state.

Chapter I: Theoretical framework

This chapter will delve into colonialism, postcolonialism, heritage and collective memory as necessary concepts to understand how the colonial past is represented in Portuguese heritage and how Portugal deals with this past today. The study will employ the concept of heritage and the discussions about the uses of heritage as a guide for critically examining how colonial heritage is managed and displayed in Portugal. The theoretical framework of postcolonial studies plays a crucial role in this reflection. Edward Said, in his pioneer work on Orientalism, highlights one compelling question: “How did philology, lexicography, history, biology, political and economic theory, novel-writing, and lyric poetry come to the service of Orientalism’s broadly view of the World?” (2003, p. 37). Translating this question into the terms of the present research: how does public heritage come to the service of orientalist view in European former colonial empires? This work’s aim is to address, with a specific focus on the Portuguese case, the question posed by Edwards and Mead (2013, p. 19) “*which stories are told and how, and which stories are not told and why*”. In virtue of that, critical heritage studies and the postcolonial critique will play a leading role in the analysis.

The field of critical heritage studies

Literature on heritage commonly focuses on the following questions: what heritage is, why people remember and preserve the past, and who defines what should be preserved and commemorated and what is not. All those questions are essential topics in heritage studies, and all of them are bound up to the concept of collective memory. The discussion of heritage, its definitions, origins, and uses, is intrinsically related to the question of why societies remember and how collective memories are produced, preserved, and transmitted. Collective memory transcends the subjectivity of individuals. It does not refer to individual remembrance of events but to a collective self-image (Assmann & Czaplicka, 1995, p. 126). Because it is shared, it cannot exist in a social vacuum. As argued by Zerubavel (1996, p. 287), collective remembrance involves a ‘mnemonic socialization’ which follows rules that define what should be remembered or not, what is ‘history’ (and must be preserved), and what is ‘pre-history’ (and can be forgotten). Preserving particular memories by conserving archeological sites, ruins, and museums is an integral part of what he calls ‘mnemonic transitivity’ which is the transition of these memories over generations. Therefore, oblivion and remembrance are constant elements in discussions about heritage.

For a long time, the field of heritage studies was mainly concerned with technical issues of display, methods of conservation and restoration, attributing inherent value to heritage sites, as well as universality and objectivity to the field. Critical heritage studies emerged intending to give more attention to cultural, political, and social aspects of heritage (Smith & Gentry, 2019;

Waterton & Watson, 2013). Heritage, such as other concepts in humanities, is contested and difficult to define. Critical scholars such as David Harvey (2001), Laurajane Smith (2006), Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996), Graham and Howard (2008) for instance, have questioned the inherent value and meaning attributed to heritage by adopting a constructivist understanding of the concept. This way, heritage is understood as a cultural phenomenon, a social *process* constructed through the reinterpretation of the past within the present context. Despite the greatest importance being given to monuments, buildings, and archeological sites, the word heritage is used to describe anything involved in the “production of the past in the present” (Harrison R. , 2012, p. 5), encompassing oral traditions, rites, beliefs, literature, festive and culinary traditions as well. Everything, from buildings to mere traces of what once existed in their places, can be valuable memories of the past (Lowenthal, 2015). A concise definition of heritage could be, according to Ashworth et al. (2007), “the use of the past as a cultural, political, and economic resource for the present”. In other words, representations of the past are selected, managed, and transmitted according to the current political, socio-economic, and cultural needs of society.

Waterton and Watson (2013) have characterized the ‘first phase’ of heritage studies as ‘*theories in heritage*’, in which the focus was on the objects and sites of heritage themselves, with a more applied and technical approach. It was only in the 1980s that the field moved towards the understanding of heritage as a cultural phenomenon, in which the social and cultural context plays a decisive role in its meaning-making. The authors characterize the theoretical framework resulting from this turn as ‘*theories of heritage*’. Advocating for the idea that heritage is a cultural phenomenon, David Lowenthal’s work in *The Past is a Foreign Country*, first published in 1985, contributed enormously to the emerging field of critical heritage studies. The author emphasizes the ‘hunger for permanence’ behind heritage, and as he affirms, “to possess the tangible (and today the intangible) corpus of heritage is a sine qua non of collective identity and well-being, as vital a nutriment as food and drink” (2015, p. 27). Longing for the ‘good old days’ of the past appears to be a common feature of individuals and societies, and “even horrendous memories can evoke nostalgia” (2015, p. 39). Lowenthal’s arguments coincide with the canonical work of Pierre Nora. In *Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire*, Nora (1989, p. 8) emphasizes that memory is an actual phenomenon that lives in the present because the past no longer exists. Sites of memory are constructed from the fear of the disappearance of the past and the will to remember and preserve time. As pointed out by Lowenthal, “one can return to a place, but never to a past” (2015, p. 50). Brett (1996, p. 15) also recognizes that ‘preoccupation with the past’ exists because of the fear brought by change and discontinuity. However, in opposition to Nora (1989, p. 11) and Lowenthal (1998, p. xiv), who assume the deep valorization of memory sites is a product of the recent outcomes of history,

Brett affirms that it lies in the foundation of modern society. The deep valorization of memory sites and the 'heritage boom' of the last decades of the twentieth century is also a topic of discussion in the work of Kevin Walsh (1992), and, as David Brett, he sees modernity as the foundation of such heritage industry. The author debates how heritage has been managed and transmitted, openly criticizing what he calls 'the heritage industry' (a term also used by Robert Hewison). In his view, museums have been 'numbing' historical sensibilities and promoting 'uncritical patriotisms' (1992, p. 101).

David Harvey criticizes the characterization of heritage as a modern phenomenon. The field of studies has repeatedly understood heritage as a product of modernity, in which the nineteenth century is constantly seen as a mark (See Harrison, 2013; Walsh, 1992; Hewison, 1986; Brett, 1996). By providing examples of the uses of heritage sites in places like Ireland and Rome, Harvey argues that, rather in different ways, the past has been valued and reinterpreted according to the referents of the present even before the emergence of the modern national identities, and "as agenda changes, so too did the referents for heritage representation" (2001, p. 334). What has been accepted among scholars of the field is the intimate relationship of heritage with identity construction, thus involving the contemporary use and reproduction of the past. Heritage is one of the means by which identity is articulated (Graham & Howard, 2008, p.1; MacDonald, 2009).

David Harrison, Laurajane Smith, and David Harvey, among others, have been engaging in the debate not only by reaffirming the fundamental role the present has in these representations of the past but also by highlighting its contemporary uses and the power dynamics behind it. David Harrison stresses that nothing could be automatically considered heritage, which means that heritage does not have innate value. It is selected and given meaning by the group that has the power to impose its view of the past (2004, p. 85). This understanding is similar to that found in Laurajane Smith's work in *Uses of Heritage* (2006). When stating that "there is no such thing as 'heritage'" (2006, p. 13), argues that heritage is "a social and cultural practice of meaning and identity making". Meanwhile, she emphasizes the power relations that affect heritage practices, in which an 'authorized heritage discourse' (AHD) privileges the expert's decisions of what can be considered heritage and what should not, placing the experts in a position of being the official 'stakeholders' of knowledge in the field. This AHD undermines alternative heritage practices and interpretations, silencing those who are not 'qualified' to talk about it. This discourse naturalizes the social effects of remembering and conserving the past and is reinforced by the assumptions of the innate value of heritage. The hegemonic discourse over heritage not only reflects the power relations present in society but also constitutes them (2006, p. 14). As Smith points out, the experience and values of the elite are promoted at the expense of others. By calling attention to that, Smith reinforces the idea that

heritage is not a universal representation of the past and it is open to contestation – an idea that is shared among the critical scholars of the field (Ashworth, Graham, & Tunbridge, 2007; Harrison D., 2004; MacDonald, 2009; Graham & Howard, 2008).

Narratives of heritage, and the domain that heritage covers, are contested because there is nothing intrinsically sacrosanct about any building, any part of nature, or any social practice. As social relations ebb and flow, as one class or pressure group takes ascendancy over another, new perceptions, new views on the past and what was of value in the past, also take over. Previous accounts are challenged. Old statues are removed, and new ones installed; Marx and Engels are replaced by new icons (Harrison D., 2004, p. 287)

David Harvey (2001) calls attention to the control exercised by the Catholic Church over heritage and its interpretations during medieval times. He emphasizes the changes in this mediation of heritage over time, the transition of referents of heritage, that went from the Church to the Nation-State and, more recently, to more diverse actors in society, Lowenthal (1998) also notes the transition of heritage from private to the public domain, which is favored by more the growing cultural diversity. Laurajane Smith, however, gives more emphasis on the control of heritage discourse that emerged alongside the Nation-state in the nineteenth century. The emergence of a new capitalist society and the need to ensure social cohesion and legitimacy to its governors gave impulse to the construction of national identities, resulting in many physical representations of the nation being constructed and publicly exhibited (Smith, 2006, p. 18). The past is a central part of identity construction, especially national identity, which constantly reinforces homogeneity and the common fate of its society. Remembering past events and constructing historical narratives of glories and achievements are effective and recurrent ways of fostering national pride, or in some cases, even victimizations that are central to the national identity. In this context, museums were fundamental to the narrative of progress and modernization that legitimated the nation-state and the values of the capitalist society.

As stated before, heritage has a significant use in identity formation. Identities are constantly challenged and disputed, despite the appeal of homogeneity and uniqueness. Since there are no homogeneous nations, the hegemonic narrative that fakes a cohesive society necessarily excludes many other versions of the past, and it is frequently contested. The same happens with heritage. The reinterpretation of the past often involves disinheritance, when a specific group is excluded from the meaning-making process. (Graham & Howard, 2008). Ashworth and Tunbridge thoroughly discuss the dissonance in heritage. Heritage, as a product of selective use of the past (1996, pp. 6-8), constantly disregards some narratives while privileging others; hence, dissonance in heritage is common. Like Smith, they support the

argument that heritage is used to cover and justify present interests, though they do not go deep into its political uses.

At its simplest, all heritage is someone's heritage and therefore not someone else's: the original meaning of an inheritance implies the existence of disinheritance and by extension any creation of heritage from the past disinherits someone completely or partially, actively, or potentially. (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996, p. 21)

Waterton and Smith underline the material effects that disinheritance has in these excluded groups, such as misrecognition, discrimination, lowered self-esteem, and so on. The notion that heritage represents the community, powered by the heritage 'experts', masks marginality, inequalities, and conflicts within the society (2010, p. 9). Graham and Howard (2008, p. 3) have also called attention to the effects that such exclusion can have on the political arena and social space.

Ashworth and Tunbridge (1996, pp. 28-29) identified a few types of dissonance in the messages transmitted by heritage to the public. The messages could be contradictory, obsolete, and undesired or, even, fail to be passed in the way intended. The contradictory transmission means that different interpretations of such heritage may conflict with each other.; in obsolete transmissions, the messages continue to be passed the same way for changed societies, thus not being received the same way as they might have in the past. Undesirable transmissions consist of hurtful memories such as war, persecution, and discrimination. A failure in transmission is a situation when the interpretations are different from the one that was intended. Colonial heritage could be framed as contradictory, since the memories of colonialism are dissonant between victims and their descendants and former colonial societies, as well as undesired, because of the remembrance of violence that it might bring to part of the audience².

While discussing dissonance in heritage, Sharon MacDonald (2006) argues that heritage is not always that malleable to present interests. The author draws attention to the fact that some heritages are undesirable, and their continuity over time is usually problematic. That is the case of the Nazi heritage, for instance. The values represented by undesirable heritage could no longer be part of the group's identity, or they would want to distance themselves from them. That is also the case of colonial heritage, as discussed in this research. Debates on whether these historical sites and monuments should be destroyed, modified, or reshaped are recurrent in the discussions of dissonant and undesirable heritage.

² For a better understanding of the types of dissonance, I suggest the reader to go through Ashworth and Tunbridge' work in *Dissonant Heritage. The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*. (1996)

Heritage of past oppression and atrocities, such as colonialism, usually is managed through a “deliberate collective amnesia” (Johnson, 2014; Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996). This collective amnesia is a defense strategy that ignores such events in public commemorations and history, considering them ‘too distant’ in time or too complex to be brought into consideration. Other strategies include blaming the victims and labeling them as responsible for their own suffering by not doing anything to avoid it or by bringing the atrocity upon themselves, as well as arguing that at the time, the practice of such atrocity was common – or at least not unique (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996, p. 108). These defensive strategies are largely employed in post-colonial Europe. As an example, some people argue that because African tribes adopted slavery before the international slave trade, thus Europeans were not to be blamed for it³. This research highlights that temporal distancing, as well as arguments that involve abstaining from using the ‘present moral compass’ to judge contradictory events of the past, is not only dangerous but also a way of “accommodating negative emotions” as Lisa Johnson argues (2014, p. 596). Avoidance to analyze problematic features of heritage allows for remembrance of what some have considered in the past as ‘heroic aspects’ and keeps masking its controversies, thus excluding, and delegitimizing marginal narratives. This avoidance is also present in the Portuguese case, and it will be discussed in the following sections.

Colonialism and postcolonial studies

Following the “discoveries” of the 15th century, European powers occupied and established domains over nineteen percent of the world. For almost five centuries, many territories around the globe were subjected, in different periods of time and by different means, to control and exploitation. Colonialism, defined by Ania Loomba as the “conquest and control of other people’s land and goods” (2015, p. 21), did not initiate with European travels and occupations; however, the modern colonialism that followed the European maritime expansion changed the world in a way that nothing had done so far. Colonial relations between Europe and its possessions were more than economic; they involved a complex relationship between societies and resources on a global scale. The history of colonialism comprises slavery, genocide, oppression, and oblivion; this violent history and its still-existing consequences are the central concern and object of discussion in postcolonial studies (Loomba, 2015; Young, 2016).

Postcolonial thought, as stated by Mbembe (2008), criticizes various aspects of Western colonization. This field of studies calls the attention to the symbolic forms and structures of

³ Such argument was recently the object of an article in the Portuguese newspaper *Diário de Notícias*, in which the Portuguese historian João Pedro Marques argues that Africans themselves were the main responsible for capturing slaves. For him, the focus on the transatlantic trade of the colonial period is a way of ‘demonizing the West’. See more here: <https://www.dn.pt/mundo/foram-os-europeus-e-nao-os-africanos-ou-asiaticos-que-aboliram-a-escravatura-12349115.html>

representation that emerged with the colonial project, such as the critique of Orientalism by Edward Said (2003) and the critique of ‘epistemicide’ of non-Western knowledge by Grosfoguel (2016). It also examines the psychic structure of both colonizers and the colonized, and the racially discriminatory social structure to which these peoples are subjected, even after the presumed “end” of this system, which is also one of the main objects of study in the field. As discussed by Fanon (2008), Bhabha (2004), Nandy (1982), Césaire (2001), among others. As Leela Gandhi affirms, postcolonialism is a “theoretical resistance to the mystifying amnesia of the colonial aftermath” (1998, p. 4).

Ania Loomba provides an enlightening work in situating postcolonial studies. First of all, the author points out the importance of recognizing the differences present in European colonial rules and colonial discourses. Colonialism cannot be understood as a uniform category of conquest and exploitation. Colonial Empires were distinct in time and space and even homogeneous within their relations. Portuguese and Spanish colonialism involved more settlements and miscegenation than the English rule in India, but that does not mean that the English – or the Portuguese, for instance – applied the same methods of conquest and rule in all their colonies. The European discourses about the colonized were variable (Loomba, 2015, p. 36) and distinctly located in time and space. A single understanding of colonialism and postcolonialism is, thus, problematic.

Postcolonial studies became a field of interaction among different critical theories and disciplines, for which its scope and content are not an object of consensus (Gandhi, 1998). Scholars of the field also do not all agree on the definition of the term ‘postcolonial’. Postcoloniality, if understood chronologically, means what succeeded the colonial after the dismantling of colonial empires (Loomba, 2015:28; Williams & Chrisman, 2015:3). This historical meaning of the post (-)colonial, usually written with a hyphen, follows the logic of decolonization that took place in the 80s. For Loomba, however, even the chronological meaning of the term can be a subject of criticism. According to her, it fails to indicate a specific period of history, considering that decolonization happened in very different ways and during different periods of time across the globe. In the wide range of discussions of postcolonial studies (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2007; Mbembe, 2017; Young, 2016; Gandhi, 1998), the term goes beyond the chronological sense, highlighting the persistence of neocolonial practices after the end of the remaining colonial empires and “the endeavor to go beyond colonialism in a metaphorical and ideological rather than simply chronological sense” (van Dommelen, 2006, p. 104). To understand this, the distinction between colonization and colonial relations should be made clear – the latter did not become extinct with the end of colonial empires. Identifying the persistence of the colonial power relations in societies that call themselves postcolonial and the social and cultural consequences that colonial practices have until these days is an effort made

by the postcolonial critique (Young, 2016, p. 4). It aims to discuss and bring into light the perpetuation of non-critical practices and discourses about colonialism.

The debates over the meaning and use of the concept “postcolonial” suggest that the field of postcolonial studies is not homogeneous; however, as Robert Young (2016) points out, it is unified around the legacy of Western colonialism. Two major trends can be identified in the field – the studies on ‘colonial discourse analysis’ and the ‘subaltern studies group’ (van Dommelen, 2006, p. 106). Edward Said (2003), Gayatri Spivak (2015), and Homi Bhabha (2004) are considered the precursors of the studies on colonial discourse analysis. In the realm of these studies, one can find the critique of the discursive construction of non-European identities present in colonial discourses. The portrait of Columbus’ arrival in America as an original or inaugural moment and the “New World” denomination of the overseas territories are examples of the primitivist view fed by colonial stereotypes (Loomba, 2015, p. 116). The establishment of racial differences and the inferiority of others in relation to Europe was the tool to justify the civilizing mission that would be a constant in the history of colonialism. Exploitation was frequently justified by the need to bring the development and modernity of Europe to the “exotic”, “primitive”, “uncivilized” and “barbarous” people who lived overseas. These racial differences, as a product of the colonial enterprise and existing until today, are an example of the persistence of colonial practices in contemporary society despite the end of the colonial empires (Memmi, 1974; Loomba, 2015).

It is widely accepted among scholars of the field that Edward Said's study on Orientalism is the seminal work that influenced the postcolonial critique. The Orient, according to Said, is the embodiment of the “most recurring images of the Other” (2003, p. 1) to the European West. Europe was defined in contrast to their (the East) exotic personality. The West exists in its ‘superior’ place in relation to the East.

Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, describing as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient. (Said, 2003, p. 3)

For Said, Western understanding of the Orient was inseparable from the Western domination and colonization of those societies, as well as the West’s conviction of the inherent superiority of its own civilization (Krishna, 2009, p. 73). This discourse became one of the most important instruments of power of the West over the Orient, of the colonizer over the colonized, and it is a central matter of the colonial discourse analysis. The assumption of the superiority of the West, more specifically of Europe, and the representation of the ‘other’ as primitive, barbaric, and

even naive, would be the way to legitimize the exploitation and conquest of these ‘others’, who needed to be civilized (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2007, p. 37).

Following Said, many authors focused on studying the effects of the colonial discourse. The matter of how colonialism affected the way in which colonized populations see themselves is the object of study by the Martinique author Franz Fanon. In his work on *Black Skin, White Masks* (2008), Fanon brings to light the complex construction of colonized identity and the feeling of inferiority they experience. Another important name of postcolonial studies, Homi Bhabha (2004) will also emphasize how colonialism shaped not only the identity of the colonized but also the colonizers. Hybridity is a crucial concept that should be analyzed while addressing postcolonial societies. Colonialism, as stated before, shaped the identities of those involved in it, mixing cultural, ethnic, and other elements of both colonizers and colonized. Hybridity in postcolonial communities means, in Homi Bhabha’s words, “a difference ‘within’, a subject that inhabits the rim of an ‘in-between’ reality” (2004, p. 19). Postcolonial societies, by all means, face the challenge of cultural disputes within their territories. Bhabha’s work poses the meaningful question of how representation is constructed in communities where different values and cultures are antagonists. For Bhabha, hybridity is not a product of an authentic, organic, and traditional identity that faces another; hybridity is the identity of the postcolonial world. In sum, the concept of hybridity refers to the fact that the subjectivities of colonized and colonizer are interdependent and mutually constructed (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2007). The fact that Western colonialism meant not only economic exploitation and trade of capital — which can circulate unchangeable (Young, 2003, p. 70) but also social relations that could not go untouched, advocates for the necessity of careful analysis and critique of its consequences.

While Bhabha criticizes the binary opposition between the identities of the colonized and the colonizers, other scholars such as Achille Mbembe (2008) will point out that identity emerges directly from dichotomy. Identity, in the psychoanalytic sense, only exists when the subject has another subject to contrast with, a gap between the self and the other. This argument does not disregard the multiplicity of colonial identities, although it focuses on how these identities are constructed by colonial discourse. The idea will be brought up many times by authors like Aimé Césaire, who highlights the dependence of the colonizers’ identity on the colonized: the supremacy of the colonizer only exists as long as he can make the colonized inferior; it only configures itself in the zone of being because the colonized lives in the ‘zone of non-being’; in parallel to Said’s arguments, the East is what defines the West as such. The relationship between the colonizer and the colonized is ambivalent because the colonial discourse depends on both to exist.

Within the field of postcolonial studies, the decolonial theory emerged as a critique of Eurocentrism and the European idea of modernity, built upon colonialism. Enrique Dussel (1993), Ramón Grosfoguel (2002; 2016), Anibal Quijano (2007), and Walter Mignolo (2007) are some important names of this theoretical trend, and their critics revolve around the concept of modernity and the coloniality of power and knowledge that persists in the world-system.

Colonial heritage in postcolonial Portugal

As formerly stated, the research aims to understand how the official heritage in Portugal portrays the colonial past. The presence of sites of heritage related to the colonial empire in Portugal is studied by some Portuguese authors, such as Elsa Peralta, Rosa Cabecinhas, and André Caiado. The self-image of Portugal still reflects the imperial⁴ nation, and the official memory narrative of the country still relies on its “Golden Age” – the age of the discoveries, portraying the country as the pioneer of multicultural dialogue and the inventor of the modern world (Peralta, 2022, p. 156). Elsa Peralta argues that the memory of the colonial empire has been reshaped by political and cultural agents in postcolonial times, detaching the maritime discoveries and explorations from the colonial enterprise. Maritime exploration is continuously connected to the cosmopolitan vocation and openness of Portuguese society. As stated by Peralta, the narrative of the Portuguese national identity was reshaped according to new political needs in the context of the new liberal democratic government and the accession to the European Economic Community, which will be discussed more thoroughly in the second chapter.

In research conducted by Rosa Cabecinhas, Marcos Lima, and Antonio Chaves (2006), it was made clear that maritime explorations have a positive and uncritical connotation among the Portuguese youth. The researchers interviewed groups of students from Brazil and Portugal, aiming to understand how national and world history are represented in each country. The results highlighted similarities and differences between the groups. In the first part of the survey, the students were asked to select ten events they considered the most important in the world’s history and point out the emotions associated with these events. In the second part, the students were asked to select five events and five personalities they consider the most noteworthy in their country’s national history and again indicate the emotions they associate with these events and people. In the results collected among a sample of Portuguese students, the “Portuguese Discoveries” figures as the fourth most important event, and the students

⁴ The word ‘imperial’ in this work refers to the Portuguese Empire established in the late 15th century, which ended in the following years after the Carnation Revolution in 1974, and not to imperialism. Imperialism should not be mistaken as synonymous with colonialism. Imperialism is commonly understood, in its modern connotation, as “an economic system of penetration and control of markets [...] but without direct political control” and thus, “imperialism can function without former colonies, but colonialism cannot” (Loomba, 2015:27-28). The most recurrent meaning attributed to imperialism is indirect control, while colonialism involves direct control of territories and populations.

mentioned positive sentiments such as pride, happiness, and fascination. In the second part of the research, which refers to the national history of each country, the discoveries appear in second place, and colonialism in seventh place for the Portuguese. The personalities of Vasco da Gama and Pedro Álvares Cabral also figure in their selections, in fifth and tenth positions, respectively. While the discoveries appealed to highly positive emotions among them, the same cannot be observed when it comes to colonialism (Cabecinhas, Lima, & Chaves, 2006). These results are compelling to give an example of how these events, the discoveries and colonialism, are completely detached from each other in the Portuguese narrative of its own history.

In another study about the representations of the discoveries in Portuguese history, Pedro Cardim goes through the school textbooks in Portugal and shows that colonization, alongside the discoveries, is positively portrayed by Portuguese historiography. In general, the manuals emphasize the efforts of the navigators and their entrepreneurial and pioneering spirit, along with the technological and economic development that came after that. The indigenous people are portrayed in a subaltern position, passive and primitive, without any mention of their previous history. The author also highlights the word choice of the books – instead of Portuguese occupation or domination, the term chosen is Portuguese presence (Cardim, 2004, pp. 341-342).

The positive and uncritical image of the discoveries present in the main narrative of Portuguese history is materialized in the public space. André Caiado's works on commemorations in Portugal note that the presence of colonial iconography in Portuguese public space reflects the remaining colonial imaginary of Portuguese society. He focuses on the materialized memory of the colonial wars, which according to him, are more than 400 hundred across the country. The terminology used in all these monuments replaces the word "colonial" for "Ultramar" (which, in English, means "overseas"), demonstrating an unwillingness of the Portuguese society to deal with the past and have a critical view of the colonial empire. He argues that colonial wars in Portugal are depoliticized in the public space, where those who created and sponsored these heritage sites wanted to avoid any criticism or dissonance over the past (Caiado, 2020). These ideas will be central to the discussions of this research.

Chapter II: The history of Portuguese colonialism and its representations throughout time

The Great Navigations and the first encounters

The Portuguese maritime expansion has the conquest of Ceuta in 1415 as its milestone. Many motives pushed the Portuguese navigators into the seas: the search for a direct route to the East, the economic interests, the adventurous spirit, and the intention to spread Christianity around the world are some of those motives. Regardless of the intentions behind them, the ‘Great Navigations’ changed the world in a meaningful way. The history of Portugal’s colonialism starts with what the Portuguese call the ‘Age of Discoveries’. Although it is not the focus of the research, it should be noted that the idea of ‘discoveries’, promoted by the Portuguese discourse is largely Eurocentric; the lands in America were not uninhabited, which undermines the idea that their history began with the arrival of the Europeans. Moreover, by the time Vasco da Gama reached India, many other merchants, missionaries, and traders have already traveled around China, India, and East and West Africa. (Newitt, 2005, p. 3). The Eurocentric vision that shaped the ‘discoveries of the New World’ had profound consequences in the Native Americans’ lives and placed them in a primitivist position in relation to what Europe regarded as modern and civilized.

By the end of the fourteenth century, the kingdom of Portugal had a relatively stable political shape, something that the rest of Europe did not have at the time. Portugal was then, the first centralized state capable of carrying out a vast expansion and worldwide enterprise (Fausto, 2006; Newitt, 2005, p. 5; Rothwell, 2008, p. 431; Coelho, 2000, p. 61). The overseas expeditions were a true state policy under the reign of the Avis Dynasty (Saraiva, 1997, p. 52). Among the most important figures of the maritime travels is Prince Henry, known as Henry the Navigator, son of King Dom João I. According to the historian Fernandez-Armesto, despite being recognized as the ‘patron of navigators’, Prince Henry never took part in more than three expeditions and did not travel farther than Morocco (Fernández-Armesto, 2007, p. 161).

The fifteenth century saw the arrival of Portuguese colonizers in Madeira (around 1425) and Azores (1439), and the installment of fortresses and trading posts along the entire African coast, where the Portuguese established a commercial monopoly on the African territories. These arrivals were marked by the construction of a ‘*padrão*’ (stone pillar with the Portuguese coat of arms) throughout the coast, to demarcate the Portuguese *discoveries*. In 1490, a ‘civilizing expedition’ reached the region of Congo for the first time (Saraiva, 1997, pp. 52-56). The moment when the native people of the overseas territories and the Portuguese met has received different nominations throughout the years accordingly to who was nominating it.

While the former colonizers used the terms ‘discoveries’, ‘expansion’, and ‘meeting of cultures’ in a positive connotation, for the former colonies such encounters undoubtedly involved violence and destruction (Coelho, 2000).

Throughout its history, Portugal has emphasized the ‘less violent’ and ‘less racist’ character of its colonization process, in opposition to the ones carried by other European powers (Rothwell, 2008, p. 431). However, one of the most famous historical sources of the Great Navigations, the *Chronicles of the Discovery, and Conquest of Guinea*, written by Gomes Eanes de Zurara, disprove this thesis. He describes the voyages to the African coast ordered by Henry the Navigator, and while he narrates the expeditions and explains the motives behind them, he depicts several moments of the encounters between the Portuguese and the natives, narrating persecutions, tortures, captures, and enslavements. In one of the chapters, Zurara recounts the Portuguese arrival in Lagos, where the leader expedition, Lançarote de Freitas, in a slave raid, captured the Moors and handed them to the Infant. While describing the sorrow of the captured, divided and separated from their families and land and offered as merchandise to the Infant, Zurara continues by describing their appearances and categorizing them by their skin color, which can clearly show to be false the idea of the Portuguese as ‘less racist’ colonizers:

On the next day, which was the 8th of the month of August, very early in the morning, by reason of the heat, the seamen began to make ready their boats, and to take out those captives, and *carry* them on shore, as they were commanded. And these, placed all together in that field, were a marvelous sight; for amongst them were some white enough, fair to look upon, and well proportioned; others were less white like mulattoes; others again were as black as Ethiops, and so ugly, both in features and in body, as almost to appear (to those who saw them) the images of a lower hemisphere. (Ibid, p. 81)

Then, he portrays the despair and desperation of the captives and the treatment received by those who resisted:

For as often as they had placed them in one part the sons, seeing their fathers in another, rose with great energy and rushed over to them; the mothers clasped their other children in their arms, and threw themselves flat on the ground with them; receiving blows with little pity for their own flesh, if only they might not be torn from them. (Ibid, p.82)

Despite the words written by Pêro Vaz de Caminha in the first letter sent to the Crown in 1500 about the discovery of new territories in America, in which he depicts the indigenous as ‘docile’, the encounter with the native groups in America was also not always peaceful. Those who were not killed by the diseases brought by the Europeans were either killed in the battles or

slavered and sold to work in the sugar plantations. Those who were not successfully acculturated by the missionaries were also considered 'unfaithful' and, thus, sent to compulsory work. In parallel to that, the Portuguese were exploring the interior of the African continent, capturing, and acquiring slaves to work in the plantations of the Atlantic islands and the Brazilian colonies (Garcia, Kaul, Subtil, & Santos, 2017, pp. 5-6).

Scrambling the world: 'the sea is Portuguese'

It did not take long until Spain could catch up with the Portuguese in the run to colonize territories overseas. In 1492, the Treaty of Tordesillas divided the world into two, which later gave the Portuguese the 'right' to possess every territory in Africa and the eastern part of America. For the next hundred years that followed the capture of Ceuta, the Portuguese established their presence in Africa, America, and Asia. For many historians, the imperial golden age happened during the reign of Manuel I, king of Portugal from 1495 until 1521. During this time, two events that could be considered crucial to the Portuguese expansion happened: the arrival of Vasco da Gama to India, in 1498, and of Pedro Álvares Cabral in Brazil, in the year of 1500. Both events were the result of the royal initiative to navigate further to the South Atlantic, in order to find a direct route to the Indian Ocean and ensure the Portuguese control over these seas. In India, the Portuguese established the Portuguese State of India with the capital in Goa, and in America, they occupied the northeast coast of what today is Brazil, calling it the Island of Vera Cruz. At that moment, the Portuguese interests were directed to the Indian Ocean and the trade of oriental products, which led to a century of battles and occupations in the African and Asian continent, either to establish trading posts or logistical support to the route. By that time, the Portuguese had colonies and trading posts in the Moluccan Islands, Macau, East Timor, and Ormuz, establishing connections with India, China, and Japan (Garcia, Kaul, Subtil, & Santos, 2017, pp. 3-6; Rothwell, 2008, pp. 432-433). In the South Atlantic, the interests were different. Until 1530, the Brazilian territory remained in the margins of the Crown's interests, and its effective occupation just started after the threat of Dutch and French occupation (Fausto, 2006).

In the following centuries, Spain raised and declined as a colonial power, and other European states became interested in the overseas territories and their economic markets, precious metals, and raw materials. With the decline of the lucrative commerce in the Indian Ocean and the discovery of gold and diamonds after 1680, the Portuguese shifted their focus to the Atlantic colony. Portugal remained an important empire for centuries. At the beginning of the nineteenth, Angola was the most important colony in Africa, due to its role as the main exporter of slaves to Brazil. The slave trade between the African colonies and Brazil was one of the most lucrative businesses of the Portuguese empire by that time. After 1822, with Brazil's independence, continental Portugal entered a phase of civil war and political disputes that led to

a decreasing interest in the colonies. It was only in the period of 'modern colonialism', with the increasing interest of other European powers in African territories, that the Portuguese imperial project became vivid again. The center of gravity of the Portuguese Empire, which remained in the South Atlantic from the 1600s onwards, turned to Africa in the nineteenth century. In 1875, a Permanent Central Geographical Commission and a Geographical Society were created, following the tendencies of the other European colonial powers and in response to Portugal's need to reaffirm itself as a colonial power (Nowell, 1947, pp. 1-6). Geographical societies were created in Paris, Berlin, London, Vienna, and Rome, with the purpose to explore, occupy and 'civilize' the interior of the African continent (Aires-Barros, 2015, p. 5).

In 1876, the Belgian King Leopold II created the African International Association. He initiated a project to explore territories in Central Africa, creating 'civilizing stations' between Luanda and Zanzibar. The Portuguese were not invited to any meetings designed to discuss such actions, despite being the only European power to have a continued presence in the continent. These events prompted the creation of the Geographical Society of Lisbon, aiming to effectively occupy the territory and guarantee the Portuguese sovereignty in its African colonies, which was made through several 'scientific expeditions' to the continent (Lisbon Geographical Society, n.d.). Nowell (1947, pp. 6) notes that the Geographic Society of Lisbon has imperial propaganda in its roots, and despite its name, was composed mainly by colonial officials instead of geographers.

The Berlin Conference of 1884 marked a turning point in colonial history, with the 'scramble for Africa' and a new wave of exploration of the territories, inaugurating the period of 'modern colonialism'. Portugal sent the Secretary-General of the Geographical Society of Lisbon, Luciano Cordeiro, among its representatives to the Conference. The Ultimatum Crisis of 1890, a diplomatic crisis between Great Britain and Portugal over territories in Africa, was responsible for the strengthening of the Geographical Society's role and the movement towards the 'effective occupation' of the colonies in Africa. In the ultimatum, the British government demanded the withdrawal of the Portuguese from the areas of Shire and Mashonaland, and so the Portuguese government did. The protests against the Portuguese acquiescence were big and happened all over the country, with the support of the Geographical Society of Lisbon (Nowell, 1947, p. 15). The importance of the Society will grow even more with time, as well as its role as a center of colonial studies. The Institute of Colonial Studies, founded in 1878 to prepare those who would go to be in charge of the colonies' administration, will become the Colonial College (Escola Colonial), with its headquarters located in the Geographic Society in 1906. It will be headed there until 1934 when it acquires its own facilities. (Aires-Barros, 2015, p. 7). It is clear that this institution played a crucial role in the Portuguese imperial project, as well as in its propaganda.

At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, in the age of this ‘modern imperialism’, Portugal – as the other European colonial powers, was inserted in a wave of ‘imperial patriotism’, and with the European expansion ‘regarded as the alpha and omega of world history’ (Garcia, Kaul, Subtil, & Santos, 2017, p. 11), the ‘Age of Discoveries’ and the Portuguese contribution to it became an even stronger narrative, and a large number of the Geographic Society’s publications were studies of the ‘Golden Age’ achievements and figures, such as Prince Henry and Vasco da Gama (Nowell, 1947, p. 6). With the intensification of the colonial run in Africa, the commemoration of the nation’s expansionist past gained new prominence, and generated a real cultural industry, with the construction of monuments and museums and the establishment of centenaries, national festivities, and exhibitions (Polanah, 2011, p. 5). This narrative will acquire different terminologies and perspectives throughout the Portuguese history – but its essence will remain intact.

‘Portugal is not a small country’: the New State colonial policy

Between 1910 and 1930, internal turmoil occupied Portuguese domestic politics. The monarchical regime ended, and the country had its first – although brief and troubled – republican experience. The republic was rapidly replaced by a military dictatorship. The years that followed the military coup of 1926 and the risen of Antonio Salazar in power in 1933 were accompanied by a growing nationalism, based mostly on the image of Portugal as an overseas empire. The authoritarian Salazarist regime, formally known as New State (1933-1974), brought back the colonial enterprise to the realm of the state. It is important to notice that colonial matters did not disappear from domestic politics during the brief years of the first Portuguese republic. The overseas empire remained the ‘national destiny’ in the Portuguese imaginary, and it was from the Republicans that Salazar inherited the idea that Portugal could not be ‘imagined’ without its overseas territories (Garcia, Kaul, Subtil, & Santos, 2017, p. 13). It was also the preoccupation with the African colonies of Angola and Mozambique that prompted the Portuguese participation in the first world war (Oliveira, 2011, p. 301-308; Marques, 2000, p. 293; Saraiva, 1997, p. 121).

One of the most representative acts of the new emphasis given to colonial affairs was the enactment of the Colonial Act of 1930. The act inaugurated, according to Cláudia Castelo (1998, p. 45), a new phase of the Portuguese colonial administration, when the idea of Nation and Empire became necessarily intertwined (Cairo, 2006, p. 371), and the Portuguese government reaffirmed the Portuguese vocation to colonialism, as well as its imperial ‘destiny’. Despite the alleged solidarity among the Empire, the indigenous people remained at the margins of the society, without being considered part of the nation and still objects of the civilizing mission (Castelo, 1998, p. 47; Agência Geral das Colónias, 1934). The *indigenato* policy

established by the Colonial Act – built upon the existing colonial legislation – reinforced the division among the citizens of the colonies between ‘natives’ and ‘assimilated’. Those who were considered ‘natives’ were subject to the paternalist administration of the Portuguese, which meant being coerced into forced labor in the name of the interest of the ‘nation’ (Mendy, 2003, pp. 44-45). The new law was a project of Salazar, while he was temporarily occupying the Ministry of the Colonies.

The first decade of the dictatorship was marked by a commemorative boom, and as Corkill and Almeida note, one could say that Salazar was determined to transform the country into ‘a large museum’ (2009, p. 382). The idea was to mobilize cultural events, conferences, monuments, and commemorations to legitimize its colonial policy and effectively create a ‘colonial consciousness’ among the Portuguese citizens. There were several events with this purpose: the National Colonial Congress in 1930, the Colonial Exhibition of Porto in 1934, the Congress of the Portuguese Expansion in the World in 1937, the Portuguese World Exhibition of 1940, and so on. Between 1931 and 1935, Armindo Monteiro was the Ministry of the Colonies, and during this period he held intensive colonial propaganda. The First Portuguese Colonial Exhibition was organized and sponsored by the government and took place between June and September of 1934 in the city of Porto. Following the pattern of other colonial exhibitions that happened in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries throughout Europe, This exhibition aimed to glorify the Portuguese colonial effort and bring to the knowledge of the metropolitan population the hugeness of the Portuguese Empire (Serra, 2016, p. 47). Under the Salazarist years, the ‘imperial dream’ gained a new impulse, which is easily identifiable in this fragment of the text published by the Under Secretary of the State for the Colonies, Francisco Vieira Machado, in the official catalog of the Colonial Exhibition:

A generation of scholars, which held within itself the richest virtues of Portugal, once again raises the colonial idea, launches itself towards Africa, occupies, pacifies, prays, and establishes the new imperial frontiers. Others followed their heroic effort. And once again, the dream of the Empire – this time the African Empire – takes shape and finds the old Portuguese Ideal. We are once again on the path of the Empire. (Agência Geral das Colónias, 1934, p. 17)

More than a propaganda of colonialism, the Exhibition had an educational character, serving to educate the metropolis about imperial affairs, while displaying representations of the life in the colonies, animal specimens, and important figures of colonial history. The exhibition also intended to highlight the civilizing dimension of Portuguese colonialism. As Marroni (2013) states, the entire exhibition was carefully planned, with scenarios built to simulate the

typical villages – that also counted with the presence of colonial inhabitants brought to Porto. The visitors could take a ‘trip’ to the Portuguese Empire around the world. The Portuguese expansion since 1415 was also an object of the exhibition, linking the imperial project to this alleged vocation that is the realm of the national history (Marroni, 2013, pp. 62-66; Alves, 2021, p. 3). Polanah (2011, p. 2) argues that during the New State, the narrative around the ‘Age of Discoveries’ became ‘an extensive ideological investment’, and as he continues, nationalisms have a relentless dependence on the past, for which the Discoveries served perfectly (2011, p. 7). The myth around the maritime navigations and the ‘discoveries’ of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was not new but gained new prominence with the imperial project of the 1930s and its aim to ensure the survival of the Portuguese colonialism overseas.

The motto ‘Portugal is not a small country’ was conceived for the exhibition, with the maps of Henrique Galvão, and became heavily used by the imperial propaganda in the following years (figure 1). As Cairo (2006, pp. 369-370) points out, maps were widely used to disseminate the geopolitical discourse that was one of the foundations of Portuguese nationalism by that time. As Polanah mentioned, the Portuguese efforts to construct a narrative and a national heritage around the ‘Age of Discoveries’ during the years of the New State served two purposes: to present the historical ties between the metropolis and the colonies to its citizens, as well as defend the Portuguese imperial vocation; but also, to reaffirm its credentials as a legitimate European colonial power, just as powerful as its counterparts and entitled to the disputed territories overseas. This ‘heroic’ past that ‘gave new worlds to the world’ was frequently ‘sanitized’, ignoring the violent past and the poor colonial performance (2011, p. 8-9).

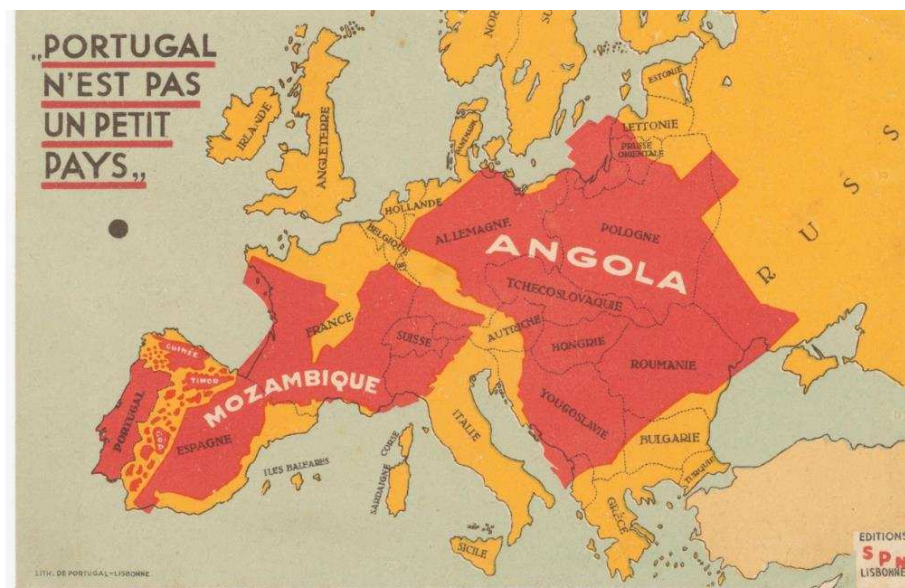


Figure 1. *Portugal n'est pas un petit pays*. Source: Cornell University – PJ Mode Collection of Persuasive Cartography

In 1940, a new colonial exhibition was set, this time in Lisbon. As Corkill and Almeida argue, the Exposition of the Portuguese World (Exposição do Mundo Português) was the zenith of Salazar's 'nationalist-imperialist propaganda' (2009, p. 381). The event was held in commemoration of the nation's foundation in 1140 and its independence from Spanish rule in 1640. In the midst of the Second World War, this exhibition had a more nationalist character, and the only foreign country invited was Brazil, which served well as a depiction of the 'civilizing role' of the Portuguese colonialism (Corkill & Almeida, 2009, p. 397). The Discoveries had, as usual, great importance in the Exposition. The image below (figure 2) is one of the Exhibition's posters, containing one of the famous 'Padrão', the stone pillars with the coat of arms and cross that marked the arrival of the Portuguese in new territories, a caravel in the ocean and the sayings 'if there is more world, it will arrive there' – in reference to what was considered Portugal's imperial destiny and maritime vocation.

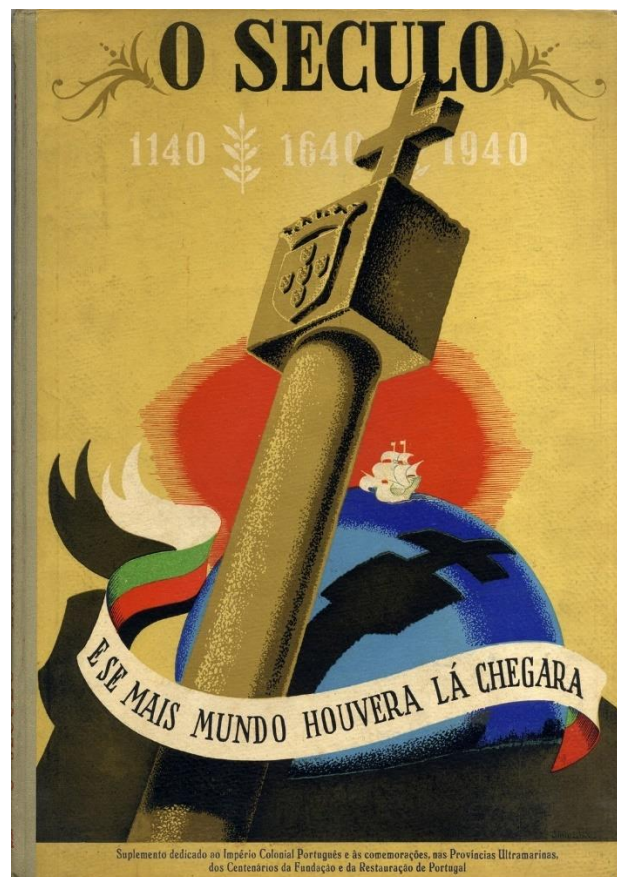


Figure 2. Propaganda of the Exposition of the Portuguese World. Source: Lisbon City Council

The chosen site of the Exhibition was Belém, on the shore of the Tagus River, a place where the Portuguese maritime enterprise initiated. Alongside the Belém Tower, the symbol of the navigations, and the Hieronymites Monastery, where the remains of Vasco da Gama and Camões are located, they constructed the Monument to the Discoveries and the stages with representations of the colonies, tropical gardens, and replicas of the Portuguese boats. The

exhibition took the form of an ‘illustrated history lesson’, which depicted the nation and the Empire as elements that could not be dissociated (Corkill & Almeida, 2009, pp. 392-396).

The appeal of the nationalist doctrines of these years was based on positivists and romantic ideas of national cohesion that were believed to exist since the most remote times (Mattoso, 2000, p. 7). The exhibitions evoked the idea of Portuguese exceptionalism and a universalist vocation, an idea that was actually born with the Brazilian sociologist, Gilberto Freyre. In 1933, Freyre published *Casa Grande & Senzala* (The Masters and the Slaves, in English), which became known as the origin of the ‘Lusotropicalism’. In this book, he argues that the realm of the Brazilian national identity can be found in the miscegenation, while putting in evidence a singular predisposition of the Portuguese colonizer to the hybrid colonization of the tropics, as a result of its past of miscegenation between the people in Europe and Africa (Castelo, 1998, p. 24). The singular predisposition of the Portuguese to the hybrid, slave-exploiting colonization of the tropics is to be explained in large part by the ethnic or, better, the cultural past of a people existing indeterminately between Europe and Africa and belonging uncompromisingly to neither one nor the other of the two continents (Freyre, 1986, p. 4). Because the Portuguese mixed with the indigenous and did not exterminate them once and for all as other European colonizers did, they would be considered ‘good colonizers’, that proceeded with their conquest in less violent ways (Almeida & Pina, 2009, p. 384). Cláudia Castelo (1998) argues that lusotropicalism is based on a mistaken interpretation of the Portuguese maritime expansion, that ignores the racial discrimination that the native populations were subject to, while also ignoring the violent encounters between the Portuguese colonizers and these populations.

The years that followed the end of World War II saw the rise of criticism towards Portuguese colonialism. Especially during these years, the place of Europe in national identity was the place of the other – Europe was a threat to a small Portugal, whose political independence was directly tied to the survival of outdated colonialism (Ribeiro, 2018, p. 337). Castelo (2008, p. 49) notes that even before the end of the war some political figures were already advocating for a change in terminology related to the colonial legislation, in order to ‘adapt’ to the new international reality. After the war, the need to restructure the colonial policy became more evident, and the Colonial Act was revoked. In summary, the changes in the colonial legislation were mostly in terms, not in practices. Portugal was redefined as a ‘pluricontinental nation’, and the colonies were now nominated as ‘overseas provinces’. The colonial policy, per se, was renominated as an ‘overseas policy’ (Castelo, 2008, p.55).

In the 1960s, the struggle for independence in the colonies became an increasingly difficult problem for the continuity of the Portuguese empire. First, in 1961, the colonies in

India were occupied by the Indian Union. In Angola, a violent uprising erupted, followed by Mozambique and Guinea. All accompanied by the increasing criticism of Portuguese colonialism by the international community. The colonial wars were the catalyzing factor of the Carnation Revolution (Rothwell, 2008; Saraiva, 1997). The Salazarist regime, under the control of Marcelo Caetano since 1968, ended as it started – with a military coup. The Carnation Revolution represented a pacific transition, conducted by the unsatisfied military. General Antonio de Spínola, the first president of the new republic, was elected by the military group that came to power in 1974. The transition to liberal democracy did not take long, and in 1986, Portugal became part of the European Economic Community. As Rothwell states, ‘for Portugal, in practical terms, postcolonial means European.’ However, despite what he suggests, the country has not overcome its marginal position and still fights for its place in the European scene.

Postcolonial Portugal: the bridge to the new world

After the Carnation Revolution and the period of democratization, one could expect a shift in these imperial representations. One seems to have happened, in fact, was a shift in terminology. The next section will be dedicated to discussing how the colonial heritage – especially those related to the maritime expansion, remains unequivocally present in the public space, somehow shielded from deeper reflections and problematizations. As Almeida (2004, p. 157) claims, during the fascist regime, “the virtues of the ‘civilizer race’ were commemorated”, while after the end of the regime and the integration of Portugal into the European Community, the colonialist discourse was replaced by one that would shift from ‘colonizers’ to ‘discoverers’, from Empire to “a bridge to the New World”. These changes in the narrative reveal the need for the new national identity to move away from the condemned colonial past to a new democratic and diversity-friendly nation. In 1998, more than twenty years after the end of the Salazarist regime and the installment of democracy, Portugal hosted a new exposition, located in Lisbon, to celebrate the 500th anniversary of Vasco da Gama and the glorious past of the ‘Age of Discoveries’ The Expo 98’s theme was “The Oceans, a Heritage for the Future”, and “recover selective material to express a new, Europeanist, post-colonial, post-imperial identity” (Polanah, 2011, p. 2-19; Sieber, 2001, p. 550).

Chapter III: Colonial heritage in post-colonial Portugal

The construction of monuments and museums is prompted by the need for permanence, as discussed by Nora and Lowenthal. Monumentalizing the past is a way of providing stability to one's identity and performing the social narrative of the national heritage (Rowlands & Tilley, 2006, p. 500). Monuments and memorials, as public heritage, represent the official narrative of a past; the narrative that is most easily accepted and reproduced among the social group. As previously discussed, the official narrative of the Portuguese national identity is strongly based on its colonial history, which is predominantly framed with positive connotations. National identity is materialized in public spaces in commemoration of the adventurous spirit of the Portuguese people, the glory of the former Empire and the discoveries that changed the world, enabling modernity and globalization. To understand how this national narrative of the colonial past is depicted in the heritage landscape and why it hides some aspects of this history while praising others, I conducted a visit to the cities of Porto and Lisbon, in January 2023. On this visit, four different monuments and museums were objects of study: the Interactive Exhibition World of Discoveries, the Monument to the Colonizing Effort, the Museum of the Geographical Society of Lisbon, and the Monument to the Discoveries. All of these heritage sites were designed and constructed – often reconstructed – in different periods of time, and different political and social landscapes; some of them are directly related to the first years of the Portuguese expansion and colonization, while others are focused on the last century of the colonial enterprise. In addition to a detailed description and analysis of the visual, written, and audio elements, as suggested by Tucker (2014, p.343), the visits conducted aimed to identify if there are references to colonialism in these heritage sites, and if so, how they are evaluated (positively or negatively) – if there is any kind of evaluation. It will also be observed if there are mentions to slavery, racism, civilizing mission, and other elements present in the history of Portuguese colonial history. Throughout this chapter, I will present a detailed analysis of these heritage sites and the findings of the visits, discussing how colonialism is constantly present, while overly silenced, in the Portuguese heritage landscape.

Museum of the Geographical Society of Lisbon

The Ethnographic and Historic Museum of the Geographical Society of Lisbon is located in the historical building of the institution in Lisbon, and it contains a big collection of colonial objects, curated by Maria Manuela Cantinho. The Geographical Society of Lisbon is under the presidency of Professor Luís Aires Barros. The current activities of the institution are focused on *'the maintenance and strengthening of cultural and scientific ties with the Portuguese speaking countries through conferences, seminars, the production of books and the systematic publication of the Boletim'*. (Lisbon Geographical Society, n.d.)

The institution was created in 1875 aiming to study the ‘colonial question’ and to find the best way to ‘civilize’, but also to educate the Portuguese society on the importance of the overseas colonies to the nation (Cantinho, 2015, p. 20). The origins of the Geographical Society date back to the expansion of European interests in Africa, which resulted in the Berlin Conference in 1884, and followed the foundation of Geographic Societies in Paris, Berlin, London, Vienna, and Rome. At that time, the increasing interest of the industrial powers of Europe in Africa represented a threat to the Portuguese national interests in its overseas possessions. The activities of the Geographical Society of Lisbon were influenced by the academic imperialism and colonial triumphalism of the time, as happened in the majority of the imperial powers (Barringer, 1998).

Right after its foundation, the Society promoted several scientific expeditions to the African continent, prompted by the necessity to secure the Portuguese sovereignty in the region.

The Society appeared, therefore, both in its origins and early activities as a private institution strongly interested and integrated in a major issue in the political life of Portugal in the second half of the 19th century and closely linked to one of the concerns of successive governments: the possession, governance and development of both African and Asian territories. (Lisbon Geographical Society, n.d.)

Members of the Geographical Society, such as Luciano Cordeiro, Ernesto de Vasconcelos, and Gago Coutinho, were part of the Berlin Conference and active delineators of the still-existent borders of the continent. The importance of the Geographical Society of Lisbon in Portuguese colonial history can also be attributed to its role as an educational center for public servants who were involved in the colonies’ administration. In 1906, the Geographic Society inaugurated within its structure the Colonial School, dedicated to the study of the history and geography of the overseas’ Portuguese territory. The SGL aimed to reduce criticisms of the country’s colonial policies and enhance the production and sharing of knowledge about the colonies and nationalist sentiments (Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, n.d.; Cantinho, 2015; Sampaio, 2015).

The historical building where the Geographical Society is located is dated from 1897, and its inauguration coincided with the 4th centenary of the Discovery of the Maritime Route to India (Geographical Society of Lisbon, 2023). Right after the entrance, there is an informative plaque about the history of the institution and the content of the exhibition, as well as an explanation of each of the six statues located in the entrance hall, where the visitors can see several figures of the Portuguese history: Henry the Navigator, Fernão Lopes, Pedro Álvares Cabral, Azurara, João de Barros and Castanheda. The building has a library and a map room on

the first floor. The exhibition starts on the second floor, where are located the rooms India, Padrões, Portugal, and Algarve.

The exhibition starts in the India room, where there is a collection of furniture and objects that came from India, donated by members of the society who lived in the colonies. Portraits and statues of Vasco da Gama, the first European to arrive in India by sea, are heavily displayed in the room. What calls the attention in the room is a stained glass, fabricated by Ricardo Leone, depicting a flagship, which is a symbol of the Great Discoveries, with the saying “*across seas never sailed before*”. The phrase is also the motto of the Geographical Society of Lisbon.

In the second room, the Padrões room, stone pillars used by the Portuguese explorers to demarcate the control over the new territories are displayed. Almost all stone pillars in the room are original and they used to be located on several trading posts on the African coast. There is a map in the room showing the original locations of these landmarks. In addition to that, there are several fragments of Fernando Pessoa’s book *Message*, in which the navigations and discoveries are praised.

And to the vast and possible ocean

Tell these escutcheons you see

That the bounded sea may be Greek or Roman:

The sea without bounds is Portuguese. (Pessoa, 2022)

It is in the Portugal room, that the ethnographic collection of the museum – the ‘Orient Gallery’ is exhibited. Several objects collected from India, China, Macau, Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea can be found in the room. Many of these objects have ‘*Colonial Museum*’ in their origin description; many others were donated by members of the Society that used to live in these colonies. The museum is still in construction, and at the time of the visit, many objects that came from Africa were not displayed, while some informative labels were incomplete; according to the museum guide, most of these objects were collected during scientific exploratory visits. Luis Aires-Barros, president of the Geographical Society, in his speech for the occasion of the 140 years of the institution held in 2015, affirmed that since its origins, the Society planned the creation of a Historical and Ethnographic Museum in its building. The Colonial Museum of the Navy, created in 1871, came to the administration of the SGL in 1892. It is from this former Colonial Museum that the stone pillars displayed in the Padrões room were inherited, as well as many other objects from the Asian and African colonies. The Portugal room was then chosen to be the center of the exhibition because,

according to him, it is not only the place of historical events of the Society but also the nation (2015, p. 10).

The last room of the exhibition is the Algarve room, which is used for general sessions, conferences, and small meetings (Geographical Society of Lisbon, 2023). In this room, the visitors can see a giant world map, where the routes of the Portuguese navigations and its colonial establishments from 1482 until 1660 are highlighted in golden colors (figures 6 and 7). The room also has statues of Vasco da Gama, Pedro Álvares Cabral, and Henry the Navigator, the latter occupying a central position in the display. Another stained glass of Ricardo Leone depicts the Portuguese expansion history, commemorating the first air cross in the South Atlantic made by Gago Coutinho and Sacadura Cabral in 1922. The artistic work puts together the caravels and the airplane, comparing both events as great realizations of the Portuguese nation.



Figure 3. Grands Voyages Maritimes de Portugais. Source: personal archive



Figure 4. *Grands Voyages Maritimes de Portugais*. Source: personal archive

The activities of the Geographical Society of Lisbon developed alongside the socio-political realities of each historical period. From the beginning, its works were concentrated on the exploration and studies of overseas territories in Africa; during Salazar's dictatorship, its focus followed the political efforts of the time to emphasize and appraise the potential and the value of the colonial territories to the Portuguese nation. Aires-Barros argues that such could not alienate itself from the great sociopolitical discussion of the Nation, and it was during the years of the Salazarist regime that today's Historical and Ethnographic Museum was better developed (2014, p.11). After the decolonization, the production of knowledge shifted to the studies of Portuguese International Relations.

During the visit to this museum, it was possible to note that there is no disconnection between the discoveries and the colonial enterprise. The rooms follow a thematic order, from the discovery of the maritime routes to India to the colonial establishment in Asia and Africa, connected by the demarcation of the territory with the famous stone pillars. The word colonial is mentioned several times, especially in the labels of objects that were inherited from the former colonial museum. Also in this museum, the most famous characters of the Great Navigations – identified as colonizers in most former colonies, such as Cabral, Gama, and Henry, are portrayed as national heroes. The entire collection was either a result of 'civilizing' and exploratory expeditions in the former colonies or inherited from Portuguese settlers. The institution itself is widely recognized as an important actor of the colonial project, which is also not problematized. As Aldrich (2009, p. 138) notes, empire-building and museum-building were intrinsically connected, which is especially true in the case of the Geographical Society of

Lisbon. Naturalists returned from these ‘exploratory’ missions with a collection of exotics, with a passion for the ethnography of the ‘strange cultures’, seen regularly as primitive. The Ethnographic and Historic Museum of the Geographical Society of Lisbon was constructed over time and with imperial purposes, as its history has shown. Manuela Cantinho affirms that because of its colonial content, the Museum hardly operated in the first decade after the Carnation Revolution (2015, p. 28). The years of transition from a colonial Empire to a post-colonial liberal democracy obliged the Geographical Society to reinvent itself, and the colonial collection is now referred to as ‘extra-Western’. Today, the preservation of the heritage of the ‘scientific mission’ of the ‘great Portuguese explorers’ and the ideas of ‘truly visionary men’ figure in the main objectives of the institution (Lisbon Geographical Society, n.d.), while its role in the colonial project remains silenced.

Monument to the Portuguese Colonial Effort

The monument to the Portuguese Colonial Effort is located in Porto, at the Imperial Square, and its origins are related to the Colonial Exhibition held in the city in 1934. By the end of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, colonial exhibitions were organized by several European colonial powers, like the Netherlands in 1883, France in 1907, and Belgium in 1948. The ultimate goal of the Portuguese Colonial exhibitions was to convince those who still were not convinced about the importance of the Imperial project to the nation, as well as educate the society about the colonial matters (Marroni, 2013, p. 61). The political scenario of the 1930s decade in Portugal saw a renewed interest in the overseas territories and the imperial project, and by that time, the commemoration efforts were organized by the Ministry of Colonies, as it was discussed in the second chapter (Marroni, 2013, p. 65). The 1934 exhibition was not the first nor the last attempt to exhibit and praise the Portuguese colonizing effort. These exhibitions stimulated the construction of many heritage sites related to colonial history around the country.

The Monument was located at the entrance of the 1934 Exhibition, and as Luísa Marroni (2013, p. 68) notes, it “symbolizes the Empire as a cornerstone of the national identity”, while also reinforcing the “civilizing and missionary mission of the Portuguese people”. It was designed by Sousa Caldas and Alferes Ponce de Castro. The structure of the monument is very similar to the pillar stone that the Portuguese “discoverers” used to construct as a landmark, with the Portuguese coat of arms in the top, and with six sculptures symbolizing the figures of the colonization: the woman, the soldier, the missionary, the trader, the farmer, and the doctor (Visit Porto, n.d.). As Medina Frías (2017, p.15) notes, the representations of these colonial figures were the representation of the Portuguese people themselves (‘el ser português’). It was first installed at the entrance of the Palace of the Colonies, as part of the Exhibition and in a temporary character, and the initial intent was to later turn it into a stone

monument at the same location. This replication, however, did not happen in the years that followed. It was only in 1984, fifty years after the Colonial Exhibition in Porto and already during the democratic regime that the monument was installed in the Square of the Empire, close to its original spot. The decision to re-erect the monument was taken by the city councilor, Paulo Vallada, as a commemoration to the glory of Portuguese overseas empire (Alves, 2021, p. 8).



Figure 5. Monument to the Colonial Effort. Source: personal archive

The monument has in its inscription the sayings “to *Infant Sir Henrique, pioneer of the Portuguese discoveries, the city of Porto and his patria dedicates [this monument]*” (figure 5). Thus, it is interesting to notice that, in this monument, the link between the Great Discoveries and the colonial enterprise is clear; despite being directly related events, the mainstream narrative of the country seems to disconnect them, or at least, ignore the latter. Regarding the references to colonialism and its evaluation, the name of the monument – Monument to the Portuguese Colonial *Effort* – seems to give a positive connotation to it, praising the ‘efforts’ of those who traveled around the world with the goal of colonizing. Here, as it will be also observed in the exhibitions of the World of the Discoveries, the difficulties faced by the Portuguese colonialists are at the center of the narrative.

The monument is subject to contestation by part of the local society. In 2018, the city press published an article informing that the monument, which “has been part of the city

heritage for 84 years” was vandalized, with insults to the figures represented at the monument. It continues by arguing that “at that time, the monument was raised to praise the effort of the colonizer”, and that “the city council appeals to the respect for the public heritage of the city, left by our ancestors, regardless of the value judgment that each individual might have over the historical context that it happened” (Porto., 2018; Alves, 2021, p.10). Going through Google Reviews of the heritage site, one can find two distinct views concerning the monument. The reviewer Francisco Basto wrote in 2020: “*Monument to the Portuguese Colonization Effort [...] is a work of art summarizing, as the name implies, the Portuguese Colonization for which our ancestors were always oriented and from which they never drew dividends*”. Meanwhile, the user Joel Moreira recently wrote, “*Country that refuses to accept its own condition*” (Google, n.d.).



Figure 6. Monumento to the Colonial Effort. Source: Porto.pt

In 2021, a series of debates were promoted by the VAHA hub, with the theme ‘Monuments and memorials. The first circle of debates was entitled ‘*Post-amnesia: deconstructing colonial manifestations*’ and had the goal to bring the colonial history of the city to public debate. In an article published by the Portuguese press *Público*, Professor Nuno Coelho, a member of one of the hub associates, argued that debates on slavery were absent from the narrative of the colonial history, and the public heritage lacked any mention of the slaveholder past. He continues by emphasizing the problematic character of the monument to the colonizing effort, that “glorify the colonial history and a supposed Eurocentric supremacy” (Salema, 2021). The idea of colonialism as a virtuous task is a central aspect of the colonial discourse, and it comes from the assumptions of the superiority of the colonizers.

Monument to the Discoveries

In 1940, Lisbon was the stage of the Exhibition of the Portuguese World, another colonial exhibit of the Portuguese Empire, as already discussed in the second chapter. The exhibition transformed the Western part of Lisbon, the region of Belem, into a cultural landscape of the Portuguese expansion's memory. A Square of the Empire was constructed, as the epicenter of the exhibition; divided into different sections, this event also promoted an interactive visit to the Portuguese discoveries in an “ethnographic journey through the overseas provinces” (Alves, 2021, p. 15). The Monument to the Discoveries was created to be part of the exhibition, thus in temporary character. After the Portuguese World Exhibition of 1940, the monument was dismantled and reconstructed again in 1960 in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the death of Henry the Navigator. In 1985, the monument went through a renovation, and it was inaugurated the Cultural Center of the Discoveries, located inside the monument, which holds different temporary exhibitions. The Center also has educational services, responsible for conducting activities in partnership with schools and professors (Padrão dos Descobrimentos, n.d.).



Figure 7. Monument to the Discoveries. Source: personal archive

Designed by Cottinelli Telmo and Leopoldo de Almeida, the 56 meters monument represents a caravel surrounded by remarkable characters of the Portuguese overseas expansions. Henry the Navigator – the most important figure in the construction, is right in the prow, followed by the sculptures of Vasco da Gama, Pedro Álvares Cabral, Fernão de

Magalhães, Bartolomeu Dias, and other central characters of the discoveries, including kings, knights, and members of the Catholic church. The ‘padrão’, a stone pillar erected to signal the presence of the Portuguese in the new territories, as well as the cross and the sword of Avis, the symbol of the Portuguese royal family, are sculpted in the monument.



Figure 9. The Padrão in the Monument to the Discoveries. Source: personal archive



Figure 8. The Sword and the Church in the Monument to the Discoveries. Source: personal archive

On the left side of the monument, there is an inscription with the sayings ‘to Infant Henry and the Portuguese that discovered the sea routes’, and on the right side, ‘in the V centenary of Infant Henry 1460-1960’. On the ground of the square where the monument is located, there is a compass rose, given as a present to Portugal by South Africa in the occasion of the anniversary of Prince Henry. It has the inscriptions of dates and locations of the Portuguese expansion.

On the occasion of the 500th anniversary of Henry the Navigator and the reconstruction of the monument, in 1960, a brochure was produced by the regime with photos and information about the monument and the Infant who was being honored. One of the essays of the publication, written by Augusto de Castro – one of the commissioners responsible for the 1940 Exhibition of the Portuguese World, describes Henry as ‘not only the greatest Portuguese of all times, but in reality, the biggest architect of the modern world, the propellant of the most

important event of the Western history of the last five centuries’ (Comissão Administrativa do Plano de Obras da Praça do Império, 1960, p. 6)⁵.

The Monument is one of the most visited sites in Lisbon, and the region of the Belem Tower is perceived as a historical site of the Portuguese most important heritage; the Monastery of the Hieronymites and the Tower of Belém, all of them in a walking distance from the monument, are in the UNESCO list of World Heritage Sites. Both were built to commemorate the memories of the ‘discoveries’ and the ‘discoverers’ like Vasco da Gama and are ‘*a reminder of the great maritime discoveries that laid the foundations of the modern world*’ (UNESCO, n.d.).

During the visit conducted in January of 2023, for the purpose of this research, the Cultural Center of the monument was holding an exhibition named ‘Shadows of the Empire’, that presented several architectural projects designed for the region of Belém, where the actual monument is located, from 1941 until 1972. The construction and architecture of the monument were the main topics of the exhibition. The monument itself is a depiction of the navigation’s greatness, as the period is portrayed in the mainstream narrative. As Bárbara Alves (2021, p. 20) concludes, the heritage site remains silent about the colonization process that undertook the ‘age of discoveries. Most tour guides and exhibitions usually focus on the history of the maritime expansion and the construction of the monument. Nevertheless, the monument is also subject to controversy and debate among the public opinion. In 2021, a message in English with the saying “Blindly sailing for ‘monney’, humanity is drowning in scarlet sea” was painted on the monument (Lusa, 2021). The media outlet ‘Agência Lusa’ posted the information on Twitter, and the replies to the tweet perfectly depict the controversies behind the monument. The user Nuno Matos replied: “*The responsible parties must be identified and severely punished! This is a historical affront to the nation, and don’t come here talking about slavery, unfortunately, it was a “normal business” at that time. We cannot allow them to try to tarnish and diminish the merit of our achievements and discoveries*”⁶ (Matos, 2021).

⁵ My own translation.

⁶ My own translation.



Figure 10. Source: Agência Lusa

In Bárbara Alves' article *Turned into Stone: The Portuguese Colonial Exhibitions Today*, the author problematizes the idealized history of Portugal's colonial past in the public space, criticizing the silence over the violent colonial past that is reinforced by the imperial memory sites in Portugal. She also discusses the critical engagement of artists with the monument, as was the case of the exhibition *Messy Colonialism, Wild Decolonization*, installed by Angela Ferreira, and the photographs of Kiluanji Kia Henda. Both artists engage with the monuments by "making visible contrasts that show hidden layers of history in active ways that unsettle the viewer" (Alves, 2021, p. 26). These artistic interventions represent meaningful ways of contesting dissonant heritages and the difficult and silenced stories behind them.

World of Discoveries

The World of Discoveries – Interactive Digital Exhibition has as its main theme the greatest odyssey of the Portuguese discoveries, the golden page of our history. The discoveries that marked the 1sth and 1⁶h century, that gave 'new worlds to the world' and invented the concept of globalization are, because of that, symbolic heritage of everyone. (Plaque with background information about World of Discoveries Interactive Exhibition)

World of Discoveries is an interactive exhibition located in Porto, one of the most visited cities in Portugal, and it is dedicated to the history of the Great Navigations and the maritime expansion of the Portuguese Empire. The museum is not a public institution, although it is supported by funds from the Portuguese government and the European Union through the National Strategic Reference Framework (Quadro de Referência Estratégico Nacional –

QREN). The entrepreneur Mário Ferreira is behind the creation of the museum, an idea that emerged after a public call made by the Porto administration in 2011 (Carvalho, 2014). Ferreira is the president of the Mystic Invest group, an entrepreneurial group in the tourist business, into which the initiative of the Museum is integrated (Maeso, 2016, p. 31). On the fortieth anniversary of the Carnation Revolution, on April 25th of 2014, the Interactive Museum opened its doors to the public for the first time, in commemoration of the event that completely changed the Portuguese political scenario and ended almost five centuries of colonialism. In May of the same year, the Museum was formally inaugurated, with the presence of the Portuguese prime minister, Pedro Passos Coelho. The museum has a council composed of several individuals and institutions that are involved in the museum's activities to ensure its historical accuracy and legitimacy as a center of cultural and historical value. The Center for Studies of Population, Economy, and Society (CEPESE), Dr. Fernando Sousa, Dr. Luis Adão da Fonseca, and Rui Pereira are responsible for the coordination and production of the historical content of the museum.

Even though the exhibition does not follow the traditional 'recipe' for a museum, with original objects and artifacts, its scientific and cultural value has been recognized by the Portuguese society and government. As soon as the visitors enter the museum, they can see the replica of a stone pillar, called "Padrão" in Portuguese, used by the Navigators to establish the Portuguese control over the new lands. Right next to this replica, is written, in Portuguese, the following words: "*God wants, the man dreams, the work is born – it was solemnly inaugurated this museum, allusive to the epic of the discoveries, by his excellence the Prime Minister of Portugal, Pedro Passos Coelho. Porto, May 6 of 2014*"⁷. It becomes clear that the institution has great value not only for the city but also has official recognition by the national government.

The exhibition receives many students throughout the year, and it has special educational programs for school visits. As Tunbridge & Ashworth emphasize, and it will be constantly observed along the exhibition, "*education is often included among the extrinsic justifications for heritage creation and presentation and thus heritage is expected to have a socialization function in reproducing the dominant or currently favored ideas and mores of the community*" (27:1996). Thus, this interactive museum – designed primarily for younger audiences – even though it receives visitors of all ages, has an essential educational role. The narrative told there reflects the major narrative about the Discoveries – and, consequently, about colonialism – in Portuguese society. The word colonial, however, will appear in the whole exhibition only once, as it will be further discussed.

⁷ "Deus quer, o homem sonha, a obra nasce". Foi solenemente inaugurado este museu aluviso à epopeia dos descobrimentos, por sua excelencia o primeiro-ministro de Portugal, Dr. Pedro Passos Coelho. Porto, 6 de maio de 2014. (Plaque with background information about World of Discoveries Interactive Exhibition). My own translation.

The visit consists of two main parts: the first part is a self-guided visit (that can be taken with an audio guide purchased in the reception), divided thematically; in the second part, visitors are invited to take an interactive ‘boat trip’ to the period of the Great Navigations, which will be described later. The first room is called ‘Intentions and Inventions’, and it presents the scientific contributions made by the Great Discoveries, which were a result of the development of naval engineering and maritime sciences. The audio guide starts the exhibition by inviting the visitors to a “time travel until the epoch of the Portuguese Discoveries”, an invitation that will be recurrent in the exhibition. The room displays small replicas of the instruments used in navigation, such as the astrolabe and the compass, as well as miniatures of the vessels and their improvements over time. In the following room, called “Worlds to the World”, five interactive panels describe how was life on board the vessels, contextualize the developments of art, culture, and sciences of that time, and display the biography of the most important figures of the navigations – Prince Henry (Infante D. Henrique) – known as ‘The Navigator’ – is the first one portrayed. Henry was a member of the Portuguese royal family, born in Porto 1394, and he was the commander of the armada that conquered Ceuta in 1415, an event that marked the foundation of the imperial enterprise. Bartolomeu Dias, Vasco da Gama, Pedro Álvares Cabral, and other important navigators in colonial history are also present on the panels.

The first interactive panel in the room ‘Worlds to the World’ shows the activities of the bombardiers, the pantryman, and the cabin crew in general. In one of the descriptions, there is an allusion to the presence of slaves on board – “he (the scribe) recorded all the elements who went on board, including the crew, the passengers and the slaves”. No further mentions are made to slaves in these informative panels. The following panels provide information on architecture (the Manueline style, with many pictures of buildings constructed at the time around Portugal – including the Belem Tower), travel literature (mentions to *The Lusiads* and the letter from Pêro Vaz de Caminha on the occasion of “discovering” Brazil); paintings (works by Nuno Gonçalves, also positioning them in the Renaissance tradition); and many other important names of the Portuguese history of the time that are still essential to the Portuguese contemporary identity. In the third interactive panel, dedicated to science, the emphasis is given to the development of cartography. The exhibition draws the attention of the visitors to the necessity of demarcating the territory, which will further result in advances and improvements in cartography. One element that deserves attention is the description of the Atlas Miller (figure 3), a collection of Portuguese maps: the panel describes them as having “a great number of pictorial and symbolical elements”, and as “an example of how the cartographic documentation must be analyzed through the lenses of the social and cultural constructions of the time that it was produced” (World of Discoveries, 2023). In some of these pictorial elements, the native

population is portrayed very similarly to the animals, but apart from distancing the lenses of analysis from contemporary moral aspects, the exhibition does not extend the discussion about these maps any further.



Figure 11. Atlas Miller, Source: Facsimile

The third room, entitled ‘The deck of the ship’ proposes, as its name implies, a “sensorial travel within the interior of the ship” (World of Discoveries, 2023), and reinforces the challenges faced by the navigators and the poor conditions to which the crew was submitted inside the ships. The room displays information about the nourishment of the people on board, products carried inside the ship to trade, and objects brought to Portugal from different countries, with many replicas displayed. In one of the interactive panels of this room, the visitors can select the country or region they want more information about, and the panel displays what the Portuguese used to bring from them. In the panel, one could find many products such as sugar from Brazil and Madeira, pepper and cinnamon from India, paintings, and porcelain from China, and, from Africa, the panel shows ‘products’ as cotton, exotic animal skins, diamonds, gold, and slaves. The commercial character attributed to the slaves in the information panel is clear, and no critical observations nor further mention to slavery can be found in this part of the exhibition, revealing what is absent in the entire museum: any kind of postcolonial critique of the violent system created by these expeditions.

In the fourth and final room in the first part of the exhibition, the visitors can get information on how the ships were constructed, reinforcing the role of the Portuguese in developing naval engineering, as well as the economic importance of maritime activities for the Portuguese society at the time. The visitors are also provided with connections between the history of the discoveries and the history of Porto and the importance of the city to the Crown. The audio guide concludes this part of the visit by reaffirming the importance of the Great

Discoveries to Portuguese national identity, while also reinforcing the ‘universal vocation’ of Portuguese people:

“The discoveries were a period of universal history of great importance for cultural and geographical knowledge, challenging myths, and preconceived ideas. It was the period of history that built Portuguese identity, which can still be seen through the Portuguese capacity for innovation and relationship with different people and cultures” (World of Discoveries, 2023)

After that, the visit changes from self-guided visits to a guided tour inside the replica of a boat. The visitors are then invited to enter a small boat and ‘travel in time’ as if they were part of the Great Navigations, going from Porto to Lisbon, North Africa, and Ceuta, crossing the famous and dreaded Cape of Storms – which after the successful navigation of the Portuguese became the Cape of Good Hope, and then discovering the black Africa, the tropical forests, India, Timor, China, Macau, Japan, and, to finish, Brazil. While in the boat, the visitors pass on different scenarios representing the above-mentioned places. The whole journey is followed by sound and other special effects, such as lights and smells.

The trip starts in Lisbon, described as the most majestic city in Europe at the time. The visit thus stops in 1415, where above the walls the visitors can see Ceuta, depicting the arrival of the Portuguese in the city, which became the “control center of the navigations between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic”. After crossing the Cape of Storms, the boat goes to 1488, when Bartolomeu Dias will explore the African coast in its way to the Indian Ocean. In sequence, the visitors enter the tropical forests. Here it is interesting to transcribe the audio that guided this part of the tour before going to some reflections

“We are in the tropical or equatorial forests, our gateway to the unknown. Through their waterways, we organized expeditions that set off from the coast into the interior, intending to *acquire slaves* and find precious metals. Mercenaries, traders, and others also traveled to these rivers. In the early years, the navigators encountered a beast never before seen: as big as a cow, with a snout similar to a horse and teeth like a boar. It had four legs, but as it spent most of its time in the water, it was thought of as a fish, until it was discovered to be a mammal, and was named a hippopotamus. And so, the prodigious fauna of the planet became known: flying animals, zebras, armadillos, sloths, penguins, and rhinoceroses were absolute novelties, joined by reptiles, monkeys, and birds. Humanity gained greater awareness of biodiversity, and many of these animals traveled the world in all directions. Countless new plants were discovered, which in many cases were transplanted to other continents, causing changes in the landscape and ecosystem. The consumption of tobacco quickly spread in Asia and Europe,

while potatoes and beans contributed decisively to the agricultural revolution in England in the 17th century, culminating in the industrial revolution of the 18th century. And when the discoveries began, sugar soon became a major product. From Europe, fruit trees, vegetables, and grains crossed the ocean and *helped to form colonial societies-- it was then a wonderful time to live.* (World of Discoveries, 2023)⁸

The above-extract of the audio guide record emphasizes the great importance that the Portuguese discoveries had to Europe and the world; the agricultural revolution and, in a larger picture, the industrial revolution, are attributed to the discoveries and transplantation of food genres to Europe – a Portuguese contribution. The acknowledgment of the world’s fauna and flora is also attributed to these expeditions. As argued by Pratt (1992) the ‘European knowledge-building’ project promoted by the interior expeditions was responsible for a new means of control and appropriation of resources. The scientific expeditions of the beginning of the eighteenth century created a new ‘Eurocentered planetary consciousness’, in which everything was inserted in “European-based patterns of global unity and order” (Pratt, 1992, p. 31). Alongside the scientific advances prompted by the maritime expeditions, the museum’s narrative also highlights the Portuguese contribution to Europe’s national history knowledge. However, the main point that should be highlighted here is the positive connotation given to colonization and the normalization of the slaveholding economy. Despite the fact that there is no critical evaluation of slavery at any point of the museum, the audio guide ends this section of the visit by inserting the formation of colonial societies in the great achievements of the Portuguese initiative, in a period described as a ‘wonderful time to be alive’. Such wonderfulness is not consensual for every group in this historical period; thus, the question here is: for whom it was a wonderful time? It should be noted that this is the only moment that the word colonial is mentioned in the visit.

In the following scenarios, the visitors go through the arrival of Vasco da Gama in India in 1498, where in Goa the Portuguese left “the first Portuguese city”; Timor and China, where the Portuguese kept the basis of its activities in Asia. As ‘reward’ for the good relations with China, the Portuguese Empire got control of Macau, where they “introduced new elements in China”, and from where the Portuguese brought the tea, introduced in England after that by the Portuguese princess Catherine of Bragança, who married Charles III (World of Discoveries, 2023). Then, to finish the visit in Asia, the boat goes to Japan, where the “cultural exchange” among them is highlighted.

The last scenario is Brazil, where the visitors arrive in the year 1500 when Pedro Álvares Cabral first arrives in the lands of Vera Cruz. Thus, the audio guide reproduces extracts

⁸ All the audiotranscripts were translated from Portuguese to English by me.

from the letter sent by Pêro Vaz de Caminha, a Portuguese scribe, to the King about the “extraordinary moment when two different worlds communicate for the first time”. This letter is considered World Heritage by UNESCO because is rich in detail and shrewd observations that make us feel we are eyewitnesses of the encounter” (UNESCO, 2004). The selected parts of the letter highlight the physical appearance of the indigenous groups encountered by the navigators, described as having “good faces and good noses”, with docile behavior, and as UNESCO (2004, p.4) itself recognizes, the readers can see Caminha “*gazing in wonder at their worthy primitivism, their ingenuity, and their innocence. It is a sort of anticipation of the myth of the noble savage constructed by Rousseau*”. The construction of racialized images and the emphasis on the colonized physical appearance became a crucial aspect of the colonial discourse, and it was part of an effort to dehumanize, control, and justify the colonizer’s conduct (Memmi, 1974).

The scenario depicts the arrival of Cabral’s expedition and the moment of the encounter between the Portuguese and the natives – the latter being hidden in the forest in front of a giant crucifix and the figures of the Jesuit and the soldier. It also depicts the black population playing capoeira (figure 4) – an Afro-Brazilian martial art, popular among the African population brought as slaves to work on sugar cane plantations. The sound effects are also dominated by capoeira songs. Despite the sound effects and the depiction of this population in the scenario, there is no mention to them in the audio guide, which describes the economic exploration of the territory, beginning with the extraction of Brazil’s wood, and then with the sugar cane and the search for gold and precious metals. There is no mention of the type of work used in the economic exploration of the territory either.



Figure 12. *World of Discoveries: Brazil*. Source: personal archive

To conclude, the final sayings of the exhibition

This adventure ends as it began, with a landmark: this stone pillar, planted here by the sandy shore, is a sign to the winds and the skies, and to others who will pass this way, that our part is done. And these five blue shields teach the vast ocean that the endless sea belongs to Portugal (World of Discoveries, 2023)

The exhibition ends with a replica of the Portuguese landmark, the stone pillar called “Padrão dos Descobrimentos” (translated in English to *landmark of discoveries*), the same pillar exhibited at the entrance. This stone pillar is the mark of Portuguese occupation and colonial enterprise, and it will be also seen in other museums and monuments related to the Portuguese colonial history.

The Interactive Museum had been the object of research and discussion by the sociologist Silvia Rodríguez Maeso. According to her, and as one could see in the above description of the museum’s visit, the institutionalization of racism and the violent process in which colonialism was formed is silenced by the national narrative over the discoveries, and consequently, by the museum’s narrative about these events. As she argues, the current narrative of “cult to the discoveries” can only exist while racism and anticolonial struggles are silenced, in a process that she calls “postcolonial loop” (Maeso, 2016). There is a clear ‘depoliticization of the public memory and history of colonialism’ (Maeso, 2016, pp. 28-29), that will be observed in all the material culture discussed in the present research, as well as in many other aspects of the Portuguese national heritage. Another point that deserves attention is the

similarity that the format of the exhibition has with the Colonial Exhibitions of the past centuries. As described by Alves (2021, p.3), in the Colonial Exhibition of 1934 held in Porto, visitors were invited to ‘travel around the world’ by visiting the exhibits about the Portuguese expansion since 1415 and the life in the colonies, very similar to the journey promoted by boat tour in the World of Discoveries.

Kevin Walsh (1992, pp. 101-105) has criticized this type of ‘artificial heritage space’ in which this museum can be included. According to him, such ‘time-capsules’ recreations of historical memories may contribute to historical amnesia because they deny history as a process, promote stereotypes and, because they portray something as real, it might be understood as real even if it is not. In other words, the idea of time travel might mistakenly give the impression that what is portrayed there is exactly what happened in the past, distancing the visitor from a more critical view of the theme. Walsh’s approach reinforces the role of the ‘authorized heritage discourse’ proposed by Smith (2006). The Interactive Museum is a great example of how private and public actors, as well as the academia, in a joint initiative, reproduce the cult of the discoveries and an acritical narrative of Portugal’s colonial history. Such narrative, reproduced in the Portuguese public space throughout the time, regardless of the political scenario of the country, is based on a Eurocentric knowledge-power and framed in the context of the identity formation of both Europe and Portugal. The dominant narrative of the museum is a Eurocentric narrative of modernity (Maeso, 2016, p. 33). By proposing a time-traveling experience through a glorified narrative of the maritime expansion, World of Discoveries reinforces the leading role of Portugal in European modernity while silencing dissonant voices about this past.

Conclusion

The data collected in this research through the observation of the monuments and visits to the museums and analyzed through the lenses of critical heritage studies and postcolonial theory, provided some ground to understand how the history of colonialism has been told in important heritage sites and narratives of Portugal. It also contributed to a better understanding of why some aspects of this history are obliterated and silenced and can provide reflections not only on the Portuguese case but also on further research on other former colonial empires.

The heritage discourse in Portugal has been reinventing itself throughout the centuries, and despite the several profound changes in the social and political landscape, its core remained the same: the most important memory and the most important heritage of the Portuguese nation are the ones related to the ‘Age of Discoveries’. As Harvey (2001) argues, heritage is a process and an instrument of cultural power; the changes in the Portuguese political scene throughout the years – and especially after the Carnation Revolution, changed the referents and the ways of interpreting heritage. The findings of this research reinforce the discussion of who are those defining which memories should be preserved and whose memories should be displayed. The uncritical portrayal of colonialism in Portuguese institutions and public space is contested by political activists and part of the society that feels left out of the memory narrative of the country. The story of the colonizer is still the privileged story of the ‘official’ national narrative, and it is told in the style of the colonial discourse: as a glorifying civilizational mission, responsible for the inauguration and construction of modern Europe. The colonial heritage, as a dissonant heritage, is contested within the Portuguese society; however, the hegemonic discourse is still the one that privileges the European colonizer.

The second chapter of this work briefly summarized the five centuries of Portuguese colonialism, from the arrival in Ceuta in 1415 until the Carnation Revolution of 1974 and the formal end of the Portuguese Empire. The fifteenth century represented a milestone in Portuguese history, praised until today as the moment when Portugal “gave new worlds to the world”. It was marked by the encounter of Europe with the societies and cultures overseas, regarded by the colonial discourse as primitive, savage, and naïve, and because of that, needed to be improved by Europe’s civilizational mission. While establishing trade posts and colonies throughout Africa, Asia, and America, all marked by the construction of the ‘*padrão*’ stone pillar, Portugal expanded its power and became one of the first European empires in the world. However, it would soon lose its position – and colonies to other European colonial powers. In the nineteenth century, when the African continent was being ‘scrambled’ by other colonial nations, Portugal again reinforced its position in Africa. The creation and emergence of the Geographical Society of Lisbon was due to this need of reaffirm Portugal’s position as a

colonial empire in the middle of other more powerful empires in Europe. The Portuguese vocation to colonialism and the greatness of its civilizing mission were still part of the national propaganda in the following century, even when the topic of decolonization gained force in Europe. The ideological investment in the narrative of the discoveries and the reaffirmation of Portugal's imperial destiny became the highlight of the Colonial Exhibitions of 1934 and 1940. Their traces remain in public space until today, as discussed in the third chapter.

After democratization and the ascension to the European Union, the 'imperial' vocation shifted to a 'universalist' vocation in the national narrative. The referents for the interpretation of heritage were translated in more adequate terms for a postcolonial society, but the power dynamics they represent remain the same. Colonialism and the maritime expeditions have remained two distinct events in the Portuguese history, and when they are recognized as part of the same process, the scientific progress prompted by the navigations is dominant in the narrative, while the violence of the colonial project is overlooked. Even in contexts where the imperial project is contested – for instance, through the transition to liberal democracy – the relation among them is weakly explored and, sometimes, not recognized at all. As Elsa Peralta affirms, colonialism was an important source of pride to the European colonial powers, and everything that does not 'fit' the heroic epic of conquest and expansion, is silenced, "in an attempt to purge its embarrassing connotations with colonialism" (2018, p. 15). In the Monument to the Discoveries and the World of Discoveries Interactive Museum, the navigators are portrayed as national heroes and their narratives and symbols evoke the myths of the odyssey through the oceans, highlighting its achievements in the scientific field while also emphasizing the difficulties faced by those considered as 'explorers'. Different from what could be seen in the above-mentioned heritage sites, the Ethnographic and Historic Museum of the Geographical Society and the Monument to the Colonial Effort do not deny or hide the link between the maritime expansion and the colonial project. However, they keep silencing the controversial character of such heritage.

In none of the museums and monuments studied in this work there was a critical evaluation of Portuguese colonialism, and in the heritage sites that openly refer to it, there is still an emphasis on the 'efforts' of colonizers – as it is the case of the Monument in Porto, and the important scientific mission of the 'great Portuguese explorers' – as affirmed by the Lisbon Geographical Society. It should be noticed that, in all of them, the stone pillar used to mark Portuguese possessions overseas are present, indicating the importance attributed by all of them to the so-called conquests – reproducing a colonial mentality. When the colonized people are present in the narrative, which is rare, they are depicted with exotism – as is the case of the Interactive Exhibition of the World of Discoveries.

All monuments and museums studied in this work reflected the vivid discussion of whether commemorations of empire could and should be remembered, as posed by Robert Aldrich (2012), which could be developed more in future work. This dilemma is very much alive in the Portuguese national narrative, where the postcolonial turn posed a threat to the foundation myths of the national identity, and the findings of this research provided a better understanding of the political reasons that lay behind the management of heritage in Portugal. It is understandable that maritime expeditions constitute a crucial part of the nation's identity. The overseas exploration was prompted by a series of scientific findings and developments in naval engineering, cartography, geography, and so on. If one considers the political advances that prompted the expeditions, historians like Boris Fausto (2006) and José Santos (1985) argue that Portuguese pioneering role in the maritime expansion can be attributed to the fact that Portugal was the first modern state – centralized and subordinated to a king, different from the feudalist reality of other European communities at the time. Despite this remarkable aspect, the fact that Portugal ‘gave new worlds to the world’ is still the most important event in the national narrative, and consequently, in the heritage landscape. Giving new worlds to the world necessarily meant giving Europe the resources and lands of overseas territories, thus, the Eurocentric and coloniality of power and knowledge is clearly reflected in the motto constantly repeated in this heritage narrative. The history of colonialism is told in separate instances and with different connotations. When it comes to the history of the Great Navigations and the Portuguese expansion, the history of violence and atrocities, as well as the colonial struggle, are hidden and silenced within a widely and openly positive connotation. Figures like Vasco da Gama, Gomes de Zurara, and mostly, Henry the Navigator, are portrayed as national heroes, while the history of violence, enslavement, and atrocities committed by their expeditions is completely silenced. In many cases, arguments related to time distancing and the ‘moral compass’ are used to avoid the recognition of such difficult elements. Thus, the question remains: why Portuguese official discourse avoids recognizing the existence of a violent process in part of the history, and why this silence is so important? Why the constant reassurance of Portugal's place in Western and European history is so current and appears to be so necessary? The attempts to answer this question with simple justifications of shame or simple avoidance are just not enough.

Portugal is not the only nation to rely on its colonial history to promote the discourse on multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism. The construction of the European community in a general sense after the decolonization process also avoided recognizing the place colonialism had in its own history. The case of Portugal, however, seems to be somehow special. Two aspects present in these heritage sites deserve attention. The first one is the unanimous presence of the Portuguese pillar stone (‘Padrão’); these landmarks were used to signal the Portuguese

presence in a new territory – it was a symbol of power and conquest of the land, targeted also to other European nations. The possession of overseas territories was a matter of power within the European context for many years, and it was also what the Salazarist regime wanted to reaffirm. The sayings ‘the sea is Portuguese’, or ‘Portugal is not a small country’ were somehow similar to the act of erecting a pillar stone to demarcate the Portuguese power. Reflecting on that, being a small country in the margins of the continent was always the reason behind such symbolic self-affirmation. The second aspect, that is present in both museums but not directly in the monuments, is the reaffirmation of Portugal as being the nation responsible for ‘bringing new worlds to the world’, which is also related to this constant reaffirmation of its important place in Europe and its major contribution to the modern World. A good explanation of why oblivion is such a necessary element of the Portuguese narrative over its own colonial past and why the history of the navigations is constantly disconnected from this particular past could be given based on reflections of Portugal’s marginal place in Europe, following Boaventura dos Santos’ theory over the Portuguese national identity. As Barreto (1995, p. 841) argues, the European matters are the most important issue of today’s Portugal. While reaffirming its own heroes as the inventors of modernity and its own territory as the nest of globalization through its material culture, Portugal keeps disguising its position as a Calibanized Prospero in its own continent.

Bibliography

- Agência Geral das Colónias. (1934). *O Império Português na primeira Exposição Colonial Portuguesa : álbum-catálogo oficial*. Retrieved April 22, 2023, from Hemeroteca Digital da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa: https://hemerotecadigital.cm-lisboa.pt/RaridadesBibliograficas/OImperioPortugues/OImperioPortugues_item1/P76.html
- Aires-Barros, L. (2015). Os 140 anos da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa. In S. d. Lisboa, *Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa (1875-2015): 140 anos*. Lisboa: Página Ímpar.
- Aldrich, R. (2009). Colonial museums in a postcolonial Europe. *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal*, 2(2), 137-156. doi:10.1080/17528630902981118
- Aldrich, R. (2012). Commemorating colonialism in a post-colonial world. *E-rea: Revue électronique d'études sur le monde anglophone*, 10(1).
- Almeida, D. C., & Pina, J. C. (2009). Commemoration and Propaganda in Salazar's Portugal: The Mundo Português Exposition of 1940. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 44(3). doi:10.1177/0022009409104115
- Almeida, J. C. (2004). Portugal, o Atlântico e a Europa: a identidade nacional, a (re)imaginação da nação e a construção europeia. *Nação e Defesa*(N.º 107 - 2.ª Série), 147-172.
- Alves, B. N. (2021). Turned into Stone: The Portuguese Colonial Exhibitions Today. *Parse*(13.2), 1-34. Retrieved 03 21, 2023, from <https://parsejournal.com/article/turned-into-stone-the-portuguese-colonial-exhibitions-today/>
- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., & Tiffin, H. (2007). *Postcolonial studies: the key concepts*. New York: Routledge.
- Ashworth, J. G., Graham, B., & Tunbridge, J. E. (2007). *Pluralising pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies*. London: Pluto Press.
- Assmann, J., & Czaplicka, J. (1995). Collective Memory and Cultural Identity. *New German Critique*, 65, 125-133.
- Atlas Miller*. (n.d.). Retrieved 03 22, 2023, from Fascimile Finder: <https://www.facsimilefinder.com/facsimiles/atlas-miller-facsimile>
- Baiôa, M., Fernandes, P. J., & de Meneses, F. R. (2003). The Political History of Twentieth-Century Portugal. *e-Journal of Portuguese History*, 1(2), 1-18.

- Barreto, A. (1995). Portugal na periferia do centro: mudança social, 1960 a 1995. *Análise Social*, 30(134), 841-855.
- Barringer, T. (1998). The South Kensington Museum and the colonial project. In T. Barringer, & T. Flynn, *Colonialism and the object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Bhabha, H. (2004). *The location of culture*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal. (n.d.). *Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*. Acesso em 02 de June de 2023, disponível em Dicionário de Historiadores Portugueses: https://dichp.bnportugal.gov.pt/instituicoes/instituicoes_sociedade_geografia.htm
- Brett, D. (1996). *The Construction of Heritage*. Cork: Cork University Press.
- Butler, B. (2006). Heritage and the Present Past. In C. Tilley, W. Keane, S. Küchler, M. Rowlands, & P. Spyer, *Handbook of Material Culture* (pp. 463-479). London: SAGE Publications.
- Cabecinhas, R., Lima, M. E., & Chaves, A. M. (2006). Identidades nacionais e memória social: hegemonia e polémica nas representações sociais da história. In J. Miranda, & M. I. João, *Identidades Nacionais em Debate* (pp. 67-92). Oeiras: Celta.
- Caiado, A. (2020). A presença de um imaginário imperial na monumentalização da memória da Guerra Colonial portuguesa. *Cabo dos Trabalhos*, 20, 1-16.
- Cairo, H. (2006). "Portugal is not a Small Country": Maps and Propaganda in the Salazar Regime. *Geopolitics*, 11(3), 67-395. doi:10.1080/14650040600767867
- Cantinho, M. (2015). O Espólio Cultural da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa: a Biblioteca, a Cartoteca, a Fototeca e o Museu Etnográfico e Histórico. In SGL, *Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa: 140 anos* (pp. 19-112). Lisbon: SGL.
- Cardim, P. (2004). O ensino da história em tempos pós-coloniais: comentário às análises dos manuais de história portugueses e brasileiros. *Psicologia*, 17(2), 339-348.
- Carvalho, P. (2014, February 15). *Público Pt*. Retrieved from Público: <https://www.publico.pt/2014/02/15/local/noticia/o-rinoceronte-o-adamastor-e-o-infante-d-henrique-recebem-visitantes-no-porto-a-partir-de-abril-1623774>
- Castelo, C. (1998). *O modo português de estar no mundo: o luso-tropicalismo e a ideologia colonial portuguesa (1933-1961)*. Porto: Edições Afrontamento.
- Césaire, A. (2001). *Discourse on Colonialism*. New York: NYU Press.

- Coelho, A. B. (2000). Os argonautas portugueses e o seu velo de ouro (séculos XV e XVI). In J. Tengarrinha, *História de Portugal*. São Paulo: Fundação Editora da UNESP.
- Colonial Difference, Geopolitics of Knowledge, and Global Coloniality in the Modern/Colonial Capitalist World-System. (2002). *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, 25(3), 203–224.
- Comissão Administrativa do Plano de Obras da Praça do Império. (1960). *O Padrão dos Descobrimentos*. Lisbon: Ministério das Obras Públicas.
- Corkill, D., & Almeida, J. P. (2009). Commemoration and Propaganda in Salazar's Portugal: The Mundo Português Exposition of 1940. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 44(3), 381–399.
- de L'Estoile, B. (2008). The past as it lives now: an anthropology of colonial legacies. *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale*, 16(3), 267-279.
- Dussel, E. (1993). *1492: o encobrimento do outro: a origem do mito da modernidade*. Petrópolis: Vozes.
- Edwards, E., & Mead, M. (2013). Absent histories and absent images: photographs, museums and the colonial past. *Museum and Society*, 11(1), 19-38.
- Fanon, F. (2008). *Black Skin, white masks*. London: Pluto Press.
- Fausto, B. (2006). *História do Brasil*. São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo.
- Feldman-Bianco, B. (2001). Colonialism as a continuing project: The Portuguese Experience. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 8(4), 477-482.
- Fernández-Armesto, F. (2007). *Pathfinders: A Global History of Exploration*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Freyre, G. (1986). *The Masters and the Slaves (Casa-Grande & Senzala): A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Gandhi, L. (1998). *Postcolonial theory: a critical introduction*. Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin.
- Garcia, J., Kaul, C., Subtil, F., & Santos, A. (2017). *Media and the Portuguese Empire*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Google. (n.d.). *Monumento ao Esforço Colonizador Portugêses*. Retrieved June 15, 2023, from Google:
https://www.google.com/search?q=monumento+ao+esfor%C3%A7o+colonizador+portugu%C3%AAs&rlz=1C1GCEA_enBR973BR973&ei=XwSLZLWrDIGF0Abkz6ygAQ

&oq=monumento+ao+esfo&gs_lcp=Cgxnd3Mtd2l6LXNlcnAQARgAMgUIABCABDo
ICAAQigUQkQI6DgguEIAEEMcBENEDENQCOgUILhCABDoICC4QgAQQ1AI

- Graham, B., & Howard, P. (2008). Introduction: Heritage and Identity. In B. Graham, & P. (. Howard, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*. Hampshire and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing.
- Grosfoguel, R. (2016). A estrutura do conhecimento nas universidades ocidentalizadas: racismo/sexismo epistêmico e os quatro genocídios/epistemocídios do longo século XVI. *Revista Sociedade e Estado*, 31(1), 25-49.
- Harrison, D. (2004). Introduction: Contested Narratives in the Domain of World Heritage. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 7(4-5), 281-290.
- Harrison, R. (2012). *Heritage: critical approaches*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Harvey, D. (2001). Heritage pasts and heritage presents: temporality, meaning and the scope of heritage studies. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 7(4), 319-338.
- Hughes, L., & Harrison, R. (2010). Heritage, colonialism and postcolonialism. In R. Harrison, *Understanding the politics of heritage* (pp. 234-269). Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Jacobs, J. M. (1996). *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Johnson, L. (2014). Renegotiating dissonant heritage: the statue of J.P. Coen. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 20(6), 583-598.
- Krishna, S. (2009). *Globalization and Postcolonialism: Hegemony and Resistance in the Twenty-First Century*. Lanham: Owman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Lisbon Geographical Society. (n.d.). *History*. Retrieved March 16, 2023, from Lisbon Geographical Society: https://www.socgeografialisboa.pt/?page_id=14&lang=en
- Loomba, A. (2015). *Colonialism/postcolonialism*. Routledge.
- Lowenthal, D. (1998). *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lowenthal, D. (2015). *The past is a foreign country - revisited*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Lusa. (8 de August de 2021). *Padrão dos Descobrimentos, em Lisboa, vandalizado com mensagem em inglês*. Fonte: Lusa: Agência de Notícias de Portugal: https://www.lusa.pt/article/qJRIhpNql4_ZC9CucfDStDMSZM5iuSI1
- Macdonald, S. (2006). Undesirable heritage: fascist material culture and historical consciousness in Nuremberg. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 12(1), 9-28.
- MacDonald, S. (2009). Unsettling memories: Intervention and controversy over difficult public heritage. In M. Anico, & E. (. Peralta, *Heritage and identity: Engagement and Demission in the Contemporary World*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Maeso, S. R. (2016). O turismo e a academia da "Idade dos Descobrimentos" em Portugal: o silenciamento/reprodução do racismo no loop pós-colonial. *Revista de Ciências Sociais*, 44, 27-49.
- Marques, A. d. (2000). Da Monarquia para a República. In J. T. (org.), *História de Portugal*. Bauru: EDUSC.
- Marroni, L. (2013). “Portugal não é um país pequeno”. A lição de colonialismo. *Revista da FLUP*, 3, 59-78.
- Marroni, L. (2013). Portugal não é um país pequeno”: A lição de colonialismo na Exposição Colonial do Porto de 1934. *Revista da FLUP*, 3, 59-78.
- Marschall, S. (2008). The heritage of post-colonial societies. In P. Graham, & P. Howard, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (pp. 347-364). Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Mattoso, J. (2000). A Formação da Nacionalidade. In J. T. (org.), *História de Portugal*. Bauru: EDUSC.
- Mbembe, A. (2008, January 9). *What is Postcolonial Thinking: An Interview with Achille Mbembe*. Retrieved from Eurozine: <https://www.eurozine.com/what-is-postcolonial-thinking/>
- Mbembe, A. (2017). *Critique of Black Reason*. (L. Dubois, Trans.) Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Medeiros, A. (2003). Primeira exposição colonial portuguesa (1934): Representação etnográfica e cultura popular moderna. In S. E.-S. Castelo-Branco, & J. F. Branco, *Vozes do Povo: A folclorização em Portugal*. Lisboa: Etnográfica Press. doi:10.4000/books.etnograficapress.563

- Medina Frías, G. (2017, May). (In)visibilidades coloniales a través de la escultura Ao Esforço Colonizador Português. *OPCA*. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/1992/4915>
- Memmi, A. (1974). *Portrait du Colonisé précédé du Portrait du Colonisateur*. (H. Greenfeld, Trad.) London: Earthscan Publications.
- Mendy, P. K. (2003). Portugal's Civilizing Mission in Colonial Guinea-Bissau: Rhetoric and Reality. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 36(1), 35-58.
- Mignolo, W. D. (2007). El pensamiento decolonial: desprendimiento y apertura. Un manifiesto. In S. C.-G. Grosfoguel (Ed.), *El giro decolonial: reflexiones para una diversidad epistémica más allá del capitalismo global*. Bogotá: Siglo del Hombre Editores.
- Nandy, A. (1982). A Post-Colonial View of the East and the West. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 8(1), 25–48. doi:10.1177/030437548200800102
- Newitt, M. (2005). *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion, 1400-1668*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Nora, P. (1989). Between memory and history: Les Lieux de Mémoire. *Representations*, 26, 7-24.
- Nowell, C. E. (1947). Portugal and the Partition of Africa. *The Journal of Modern History*, 19(1), 1-17.
- Oliveira, P. A. (2011). O factor colonial na política externa da primeira república. In F. R. de Meneses, & P. A. Oliveira, *A 1ª República Portuguesa: diplomacia, guerra e império* (pp. 299-332). Lisbon: Tinta da China.
- Padrão dos Descobrimentos. (n.d.). *The Monument*. Retrieved May 05, 2023, from Monument to the Discoveries: <https://padraodosdescobrimentos.pt/en/monument-to-the-discoveries/>
- Peralta, E. (2018). Retornar ao fim do Império: fazer a memória de uma herança ilegítima. *Museologia e Interdisciplinaridade*, 6(11), 14-36. doi:<https://doi.org/10.26512/museologia.v6i11.17738>
- Peralta, E. (2022). The Memorialization of Empire in Postcolonial Portugal: Identity Politics and the Commodification of History. *Portuguese Literary and Cultural Studies*, 156-179.
- Pessoa, F. (2022). *Message*. (J. Pizarro, Ed., J. Schwartz, & R. N. Schwartz, Trans.) Lisbon: Tinta da China.

- Polanah, P. S. (2011). "The Zenith ou our National History!" National identity, colonial empire, and the promotion of the Portuguese Discoveries: Portugal 1930s. *e-JPH*, 9(1), 1-22.
- Porto. (2018, June 12). *Monumento da Praça do Império construído em 1934 foi vandalizado*. Retrieved June 04, 2023, from Porto.: <https://www.porto.pt/pt/noticia/monumento-da-praca-do-imperio-construido-em-1934-foi-vandalizado>
- Pratt, M. L. (1992). *Imperial eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Público. (2016, March 09). *Discurso de tomada de posse de Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa na íntegra*. Retrieved from Público: <https://www.publico.pt/2016/03/09/politica/noticia/discorso-de-tomada-de-posse-de-marcelo-rebelo-de-sousa-na-integra-1725621>
- Público. (2018, June 22). *Não a um museu contra nós!* Retrieved May 31, 2023, from Público: <https://www.publico.pt/2018/06/22/culturaipsilon/opiniao/nao-a-um-museu-contra-nos-1835227>
- Quijano, A. (2007). Colonialidad del poder y clasificación social. Em S. Castro-Gómez, & R. Grosfoguel (Eds.), *El giro decolonial: refl exiones para una diversidad epistémica más allá del capitalismo global*. Bogotá: Siglo del Hombre Editores.
- Ribeiro, F. P. (2018). The discursive construction of collective narratives on Portuguese national identity: homogeneity or diversity? *Comunicação e sociedade*, 34, 325-342.
- Rothwell, P. (2008). Portugal and its colonies: Introduction. In P. Poddar, R. S. Patke, & L. Jensen, *A Historical Companion to Postcolonial Literatures - Continental Europe and its Empires* (pp. 430-435). Edimburgh: Edimburgh University Press.
- Rowlands, M., & Tilley, C. (2006). Monuments and Memorials. In C. Tilley, W. Keane, S. Küchler, M. Rowlands, & P. Spyer, *Handbook of Material Culture* (pp. 500-515). London: SAGE Publications.
- Rutherford, J. (1990). The Third Space: Interview with Homi Bhabha. In *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference* (pp. 207-221). London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Said, E. (2003). *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books.
- Salema, I. (2021, February 25). *Um ciclo de debates para questionar a amnésia colonial do Porto e do país*. Retrieved 03 22, 2023, from Público: <https://www.publico.pt/2021/02/25/culturaipsilon/noticia/ciclo-debates-questionar-amnesia-colonial-porto-pais-1951979>

- Sampaio, T. H. (2015). Geografia e Colonialismo: A Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa na virada de Oitocentos. *XIII SEMANA DE RELAÇÕES INTERNACIONAIS DA UNESP: CULTURA E DIREITOS HUMANOS NAS RELAÇÕES INTERNACIONAIS* (pp. 1-10). São Paulo: UNESP.
- Santos, B. d. (2002). Between Prospero and Caliban: Colonialism, Postcolonialism and Inter-identity. *Luso-Brazilian Review*, 39(2), 9-43.
- Santos, B. d. (2003). Entre Próspero e Caliban: Colonialismo, Pós-colonialismo e Interidentidade. *Novos Estudos*, 66, 23-52.
- Santos, J. A. (1985). Portugal: from Empire to Nation-State. *The Fletcher Forum*, 9(1), 125–54.
- Saraiva, J. H. (1997). *Portugal: A Companion History* (edited and expanded by Ian Roberston and L. C. Taylor ed.). Manchester: Carcanet.
- Serra, F. (2016). Visões do Império: a 1ª exposição colonial portuguesa de 1934 e alguns de seus álbuns. *Revista Brasileira de História da Mídia*, 5(1), 45-84.
- Shaw, B. J., & Jones, R. (1997). *Contested Urban Heritage: Voices of the Periphery*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Sieber, R. T. (2001). Remembering Vasco da Gama: Contested Histories and the Cultural Politics of Contemporary Nation-Building in Lisbon, Portugal. *Identities Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 8(4), 549-581.
- Smith, L. (2006). *Uses of heritage*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Smith, L., & Gentry, K. (2019). Critical heritage studies and the legacies of the late-twentieth century heritage canon. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 25(11), 1148-1168.
- Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa. (n.d.). *History*. Retrieved 03 24, 2023, from Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa: https://www.socgeografialisboa.pt/?page_id=2&lang=en
- Spivak, G. C. (2015). Can the Subaltern Speak? In P. Willians, & L. Chrisman, *Colonial discourse and post-colonial theory* (pp. 66-111). New York: Columbia University Press.
- Stoler, A. L. (2011). Colonial Aphasia: Race and Disabled Histories in France. *Public Culture*, 121–156.
- Tunbridge, J. E., & Ashworth, G. (1996). *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*. Chichester: John Wiley.

- UNESCO. (n.d.). *Monastery of the Hieronymites and Tower of Belém in Lisbon*. Retrieved May 05, 2023, from UNESCO World Heritage Convention: <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/263>
- van Dommelen, P. (2006). Colonial matters: material culture and postcolonial theory in colonial situations. In C. Tilley, W. Keane, S. Küchler, M. Rowlands, & P. Spyer, *Handbook of material culture* (pp. 104-124). London: SAGE Publications.
- Visit Porto. (n.d.). *Monument to the Portuguese Colonising Effort*. Retrieved 03 22, 2023, from Visit Porto: <https://visitporto.travel/en-GB/poi/5cd04b49f979e0000169b55b#/>
- Walsh, K. (1992). *The Representation of the Past: Museums and heritage in the post-modern world*. London: Routledge.
- Waterton, E., & Smith, L. (2010). The recognition and misrecognition of community heritage. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 16(1-2), 4-15.
- Waterton, E., & Watson, S. (2013). Framing theory: towards a critical imagination in heritage studies. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19(6), 546-561.
- Williams, P., & Chrisman, L. (2015). Colonial discourse and post-colonial theory: an introduction. In P. Williams, & L. Chrisman, *Colonial discourse and post-colonial theory* (pp. 1-20). London and New York: Routledge.
- Young, R. J. (2003). *Postcolonialism: A very short introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Young, R. J. (2016). *Postcolonialism: An historical introduction*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons.
- Zerubavel, E. (1996). Social Memories: Steps to a Sociology of the Past. *Qualitative Sociology*, 19(3), 283-299.
- Zurara, G. E. (2010). *The Chronicle of Discovery and Conquest of Guinea* (Vol. 1). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Table of figures

Figure 1. Portugal n'est pas un petit pays. Source: Cornell University – PJ Mode Collection of Persuasive Cartography.....	27
Figure 2. Propaganda of the Exposition of the Portuguese World. Source: Lisbon City Council	28
Figure 3. Grands Voyages Maritimes de Portugais. Source: personal archive	34
Figure 4. Grands Voyages Maritimes de Portugais. Source: personal archive	35
Figure 5. Monument to the Colonial Effort. Source: personal archive	37
Figure 6. Monumento to the Colonial Effort. Source: Porto.pt.....	38
Figure 7. Monument to the Discoveries. Source: personal archive.....	39
Figure 8. The Padrão in the Monument to the Discoveries. Source: personal archive	40
Figure 9. The Sword and the Church in the Monument to the Discoveries. Source: personal archive.....	40
Figure 10. Source: Agência Lusa	42
Figure 11. Atlas Miller, Source: Facsimile	45
Figure 12. World of Discoveries: Brazil. Source: personal archive.....	49