

*WHAT'S IN LISBON?*  
ART MUSEUMS, ART DEALERS, AND REFUGEES IN PORTUGAL BETWEEN  
1933 AND 1945

by

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on the transactions of works of art that took place in Portugal during the period of the Third Reich (1933-1945), the institutions and individuals involved in these transactions, and the works of art that were the object of those transactions. Drawing on American, Austrian, British, Dutch, French, German, Portuguese, and Swiss primary sources, the thesis sets out to determine the extent of the influence of the refugee flux into the country and of the international circulation of Nazi-looted art on the Portuguese art market. It does so by identifying and studying the actions of specific groups identified as having the higher chances of benefiting from these circumstances: importers and exporters of non-contemporary works of art; national art museums in Lisbon and Porto, cities with international communications and transport networks, which hosted the highest number of refugees; public museums in seaside and spa resorts, where thousands of refugees resided during the war years; and the foreign art dealers who opened businesses in Lisbon. Conceptually, it begins with a large universe of analysis, narrowing its scope as the chapters progress, culminating in the study of the actions of one single figure, and clarifying the provenance of one single painting, in a case study that brings together various areas of research examined previously. While findings confirm the supposition that the Portuguese State and public institutions did not knowingly engage in the acquisition of Nazi-looted art during this period, they reveal that some of their acquisitions require further provenance research, and that the actions of specific individuals in bringing works of art into the country demand further scrutiny.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When, in 2012, I told my grandmother that I was starting a PhD, she warned me not to follow my cousin's example - *he took ten years to finish his thesis*. I seem to have stayed under this deadline, illness and maternity leave considered.

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*Para a minha irmã Maria.*

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ALIU	Art Looting Investigation Unit
DGESBA	<i>Direcção Geral do Ensino Superior e Belas Artes</i> General Directorate of Higher Education and Fine Arts
DGFP	<i>Direcção Geral das Finanças Públicas</i> General Directorate of the Public Treasury
ERR	<i>Eisentzab Reichlauter Rosenberg</i> Rosenberg Special Taskforce
JNE	<i>Junta Nacional de Educação</i> National Education Board
MBCCG	<i>Museu-Biblioteca Condes de Castro Guimarães</i> Counts of Castro Guimarães Museum Library
MJM	<i>Museu de José Malhoa</i> José Malhoa Museum
MNAA	<i>Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga</i> National Art Museum
MNAC	<i>Museu Nacional de Arte Contemporânea</i> National Museum of Contemporary Art
MNSR	<i>Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis</i> Soares dos Reis National Museum
MSR	<i>Museu Santos Rocha</i> Santos Rocha Museum
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration
OSS	Office of Strategic Services
SPN	<i>Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional</i> National Secretariat for Propaganda

## INTRODUCTION – DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH PROJECT

RENAULT : The plane to Lisbon.

You would like to be on it?

RICK : Why? What's in Lisbon?

RENAULT : The clipper to America.

[Casablanca, 1942]

‘I did not know this part of Lisbon; as usual,  
I was chiefly acquainted with the churches and museums—  
not that I was so much in love with God or art,  
but simply because in churches and museums  
no one asks for your papers.  
In the presence of Christ crucified and the great masters,  
you were still a human being—not an individual with dubious papers.’

[Erich Maria Remarque, *Night in Lisbon*.<sup>1</sup>]

Erich Maria Remarque's description of the daily life of Second World War refugees, albeit fictional, accurately reflected the sense of hopelessness that can be read in most refugee accounts of the period.<sup>2</sup> In different sections of his novel, Remarque alludes to the existence of museums as safe environments for refugees, to the redemptive power of art at a time of turmoil, and to the function of works of art as symbols of financial security – ‘I sold the two Ingres drawings. I received less for them than I had expected, but now I had money, more money than I had seen in a long time.’<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Erich Maria Remarque, *The night in Lisbon* (New York, 2014), p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Inês Fialho-Brandão and Nuno Miranda, ‘Refugee profile series’ (2018-2021), Exiles Memorial Centre documentation centre.

<sup>3</sup> Remarque, *The night in Lisbon*, p.13.



Indeed, refugee accounts and academic research on this subject reveal that these refugees often relied on personal property, such as jewellery, gems, furs, cars and works of art to finance their exodus to safety, on journeys taking them from central and Western Europe, through Portugal, to North America, South America, North Africa, British-mandate Palestine, or southern Africa.<sup>4</sup>

Surprisingly, refugee memoirs tend to omit the Lisbon leg of their exodus narrative in their published memoirs and present their stay in Lisbon as a forgettable moment during an unforgettable escape journey: ‘Thus it was that we finally reached Lisbon. By the end of December we had boarded our ship’.<sup>5</sup> In the film *Casablanca*, Lisbon is reduced to merely being the city with the clipper, i.e. the PanAm flying boat service to North America.<sup>6</sup>

The same cloak of invisibility covers the itineraries of art objects that entered and left Portugal, then a dictatorship led by António de Oliveira Salazar, and the actions of those involved in these movements. While early reports on the circulation of artworks between Europe and the Americas during the Nazi period examined superficially the role played by Portugal-based individuals in the trade of looted art, the possible ramifications of this trade were left unexamined.<sup>7</sup> The Art Looting Investigation Unit Reports, drafted by the Office of Strategic Services of the United States Government between 1945 and 1946, did not go beyond providing a list of nine individuals suspected of being involved with receiving looted works of art, or of having dealings with individuals who did.<sup>8</sup> Since 1946, very little progress was made in knowing more

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<sup>4</sup> Cláudia Ninhos and Irene Flunser Pimentel, *Salazar, Portugal e o holocausto* (Lisbon, 2013). See also refugee testimonies held at the archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (Washington DC); Yivo – Leo Baeck Institute (New York); and Mémorial de la Shoah (Paris).

<sup>5</sup> Francine du Plessix Gray, *Them: a memoir of parents* (New York, 2005), p. 224.

<sup>6</sup> *Casablanca* (Warner Bros., 1942), dir. Michael Curtiz.

<sup>7</sup> National Archives and Records Administration, Art Looting Investigation Unit, *Final Report*. (Washington DC, 1946), pp 167-8.

<sup>8</sup> National Archives and Records Administration, Art Looting Investigation Unit, ‘Art Looting Investigation Unit/ Office of Strategic Services. Red Flag Names List and Index’, in *Consolidated Interrogation Reports (CIR)* (Washington DC, 1945).

about this subject. In 1998, Portugal subscribed to the Washington Conference Principles on Nazi-Confiscated Art, thereby committing to researching the circulation of looted Jewish assets within its territory.<sup>9</sup> And in 2014, the World Jewish Restitution Organisation described Portugal as among those countries ‘that do not appear to have made significant progress towards implementing the Washington Conference principles on Nazi-confiscated art’.<sup>10</sup> To this day, this position has not significantly changed. The position of the Portuguese government contrasts with the investigations undertaken by the Swedish and Swiss governments, whose countries were also neutral during the conflict.<sup>11</sup> Within the Iberian context, Spanish academia has displayed moderate interest in the subject. Although research is scarce, the flight of Alois Miedl – a Dutch art dealer involved in the disposal of, among others, the Goudstikker collection – to Spain during the war, has provided an important starting point for an in-depth examination of the circulation of artworks through Spain.<sup>12</sup> Interestingly, the Spanish project *El Museo Reimaginado* (The Re-Imagined Museum) sought specifically to identify Spanish paintings looted throughout the war in Europe.<sup>13</sup> In addition, at least two Spanish institutions, the Reina Sofia Museum and the Thyssen Bornemisza Collection, own

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<sup>9</sup> Washington Conference on Holocaust Era Assets, (1998) *Washington conference principles on Nazi-confiscated art*, <http://www.lootedartcommission.com/Washington-principles> (30 December 2014).

<sup>10</sup> Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany and World Jewish Restitution Organisation, (2014) *Holocaust-Era looted art. A current world-wide overview*, [http://www.lootedart.com/web\\_images/pdf2014/Worldwide-Overview.pdf](http://www.lootedart.com/web_images/pdf2014/Worldwide-Overview.pdf) (12 September 2014).

<sup>11</sup> Commission on Jewish Assets in Sweden at the Time of the Second World War, *Sweden and Jewish assets: final report from the commission on Jewish assets in Sweden at the time of the Second World War* (Stockholm, 1999); [Swiss Confederation] Federal Department of Home Affairs and Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, *Report on the state of work on looted art during the National Socialist era, in particular, on the subject of provenance research*. (Bern, 2010).

<sup>12</sup> Miguel Martorell Linares, ‘España y el expolio nazi de obras de arte’ in *Ayer* 55, 3 (2004), 151-173; M. Martorell Linares, (1998) *España y el expolio de las colecciones artísticas europeas durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial*, <http://www.museoimaginado.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/ESPA%C3%91A-Y-EL-EXPOLIO-DE-LAS-COLECCIONES-ART%C3%8DSTICAS-EUROPEAS-DURANTE-LA-SEGUNDA-GUERRA-MUNDIAL.pdf> (2 February 2022).

<sup>13</sup> Paz Fernández, *Arte desaparecido durante el Holocausto y la Segunda Guerra Mundial*, <http://www.museoimaginado.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/holocausto.pdf> (2 February 2015).

Nazi-looted art, in both cases acquired after the Second World War.<sup>14</sup> Thus, it appears that Portugal stands alone in not engaging with this issue in a significant manner.

### **Research Question**

This thesis focuses on the transactions of works of art which took place in Portugal during the period of the Third Reich (1933-1945), on the institutions and individuals involved in these transactions, and on the works of art that were the object of those transactions. Its aim is to determine the extent of the influence of the refugee movement through Portugal, and of the Nazi practice of systematic art looting and spoliation which began in 1933, in the acquisitions by the Portuguese state between 1933 and 1945. The period chosen for this analysis may appear surprising for historians of the New State and the Second World War, as they tend to focus strictly on the period 1939-45. However, given that the confiscations, spoliations, and forced sales of private collections of Jewish ownership and the purging of public museums of so-called ‘Degenerate Art’ undertaken by the Nazi government, as well as the refugee flow to and through Portugal, began in the immediate aftermath of the appointment of Adolf Hitler as Chancellor in January 1933, a twelve-year period was deemed more appropriate.

It may be argued that the absence of research in this area reflects the absence of anything of substance to research: in other words, that the flow of refugees that passed through the country did not significantly impact either Portuguese society or the volume and importance of the circulation of art works through the country. Granted, Portuguese institutions, whether public or private, are not known, to this day, to have been the object of a Nazi-looted art restitution claim. However, setting aside the fact that

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<sup>14</sup> Linares, ‘España y el expolio nazi de obras de arte’; Bert Dermasin, ‘The third time is not always a charm: the troublesome legacy of a Dutch Art dealer – the limitation and act of state defenses in looted art cases’ in *Cardozo Arts and Entertainment Law Journal* 28 (2010), p. 256-312; Gunnar Schnabel and Monika Tatzkow, *Nazi Looted art – Handbuch Kunstrestitution weltweit*. (Berlin, 2007).

quantitative and qualitative research must be undertaken before such assertions can be confidently put forward, there are important reasons why the art trade in Portugal during the Second World War, and its interaction with the trade in looted art, are worthy areas of research.

The first reason is the sheer number of refugees who came through the country during the period and the fact that artists, art dealers, and art collectors were themselves refugees. To this day, there is significant debate on the number of refugees who came through Portugal during the period. This is partly due to the definition of ‘refugee’ itself and partly to the absence of primary sources that would provide reliable figures. After academic consensus placed this number at 30,000-50,000, recent statements by Irene Pimentel suggest the number could be as high as 60,000-70,000.<sup>15</sup> The refugees and foreign nationals who entered the country between 1940 and 1945 included figures connected to the art trade – artists, dealers, and collectors – some of whom chose to settle in Portugal.<sup>16</sup> Artists such as Naoum Aronson, Lenora Carrington, Marc Chagall and Max Ernst, the last two aided in their escape by Varian Fry’s *Centre Américain de Secours*<sup>17</sup>, as well as Fernand Léger, Jacques Lipchitz, Arpad Szènes and his Portuguese-born wife Maria Helena Vieira da Silva, stayed in Portugal for short periods of time. Others, such as Gretchen Wöhlwill and Max Braumann, settled and pursued their artistic career in the country. Among the art dealers, Paul Graupe, Leopold Blumka, and Pierre Rosenberg chose to make their way across the ocean after a short stay in Lisbon. Jacques Kugel, who married the Portuguese poet Merícia de Lemos, and Erich Popper opted to settle and open a business in Lisbon. Finally, while collectors

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<sup>15</sup> “Diplomatas portuguesas salvaram entre 60 a 80 mil vidas durante a II Guerra” in *Diário de Notícias*, 20 Jan. 2021.

<sup>16</sup> Irene Pimentel, *Judeus em Portugal durante a Segunda Guerra Mundial* (Lisbon, 2006) was the first monograph by a Portuguese academic on the subject. See also Patrick von Zur Mühlen, *Flugtweg Spanien-Portugal. Die deutsche emigration und der Exodus aus Europa 1933-1945* (Bonn, 1992), the first recorded monograph on the subject of refugees.

<sup>17</sup> Peggy Guggenheim, *Out of this century: confessions of an art addict* (London, 1987), pp 236-245. Varian Fry, *Surrender on demand* (London, 1999).

such as Peggy Guggenheim and Marianne de Goldschmidt Rothschild left Portugal as soon as they could, the oil magnate Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian settled in Lisbon permanently.<sup>18</sup>

The second reason to pursue this research is the evidence that Portuguese ports played a role in transferring artworks between continents, as demonstrated by the Fabiani affair. In October 1940, British authorities boarded the S.S. Excalibur in Bermuda and seized a shipment of artworks intended for the United States market.<sup>19</sup> The navicert (i.e. the authorisation by the British authorities for merchandise to travel internationally without threat of seizure) for the ca. five hundred artworks, which featured Impressionist and post-Impressionist masters, was obtained in Lisbon, the port of origin, by Martin Fabiani. The executor of the will of art dealer Ambroise Vollard (1866-1939), the original owner of these works, Fabiani was found guilty, after the war, of collaborating with the Special Taskforce Rosenberg<sup>20</sup> in Paris, recycling artworks from the looted collections of, among others, modern-art dealer and collector Paul Rosenberg.<sup>21</sup>

The third major reason to engage in this research is the fact that the international context, which unexpectedly put Portugal on the path of international art transactions, coincided with an acquisitive drive on behalf of Portuguese public museums and palaces, as part of the cultural policy of the *Estado Novo*. Portuguese private collectors, such as António Anastácio Gonçalves, António Medeiros e Almeida, and Ricardo Espírito Santo were active during the period – Anastácio Gonçalves and Espírito Santo as early as 1933, while Medeiros e Almeida began his purchases during the conflict and

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<sup>18</sup> Jonathan Conlin, *Mr Five Per Cent: the many lives of Calouste Gulbenkian, the world's richest man* (London, 2019).

<sup>19</sup> United Press, 'British Seize Art as German Export' in *New York Times*. 10 Oct. 1940.

<sup>20</sup> See *Cultural plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichlaüter Rosenberg. Database of art objects at the Jeu de Paume*, <https://www.errproject.org/jeudepaume/>.

<sup>21</sup> Art Looting Investigation Unit, *C[onsolidated] I[intelligence] R[eport] n.1*, <http://www.lootedart.com/MVI3RM469661> (1 June 2015).

during the post-war period.<sup>22</sup> Among these, Espírito Santo enjoyed a close relationship with the Portuguese prime-minister, Salazar, who sought his advice in matters that included purchases of works of art by the State.<sup>23</sup>

The flow of refugees, increased activity at key ports, and the acquisitions drive by Portuguese collectors and museums, combined with the information gleaned from Allied reports on the art trade in Lisbon during the conflict, should in themselves warrant close attention to Nazi-era provenance by the Portuguese academic and museum community. The reasons explaining this apparent lack of interest, and even the argument that there is little of substance to research, require further scrutiny.

## **Historiography**

There are multiple areas of historical research that intersect in this thesis: that of the *Estado Novo* and in particular the cultural history and refugee policy of the regime; of the Nazi persecution of individuals, their escape journeys, and experiences as refugees while in Portugal; and of Nazi art looting and subsequent restitution efforts from the post-war period until now.

In terms of the types of approach to these research topics, this thesis is equally located at the intersection between wide-scale institutional and academic research projects aiming to establish the existence of Nazi-looted art in public museums, and individual research projects focused on specific institutions, collections, individuals, or works of art.

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<sup>22</sup> Inês Fialho-Brandão and José Alberto Ribeiro (eds), *Coleccionar para a Res Publica: o legado do Dr. Anastácio Gonçalves, 1888-1965* (Lisbon, 2010); Maria Mayer, 'Casa-Museu Medeiros e Almeida: o projeto de um homem. De coleção privada a acervo público' (M.A. Thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2016).

<sup>23</sup> Fundação Ricardo Espírito Santo, *Ricardo do Espírito Santo Silva: colecionador e mecenas* (Lisbon, 2003).

In a sense, it stands alone in this goal of bringing together these two different strands – large-scale research projects undertaken by multiple individuals, and in-depth research of a much narrower scope undertaken by individuals – as well as disparate research themes – institutions, collections, and individuals – in one single project, authored by an individual researcher.

Indeed, while research on Nazi-era art looting and provenance is abundant, it is also segmented, as it focuses on both ends of the spectrum of countries involved in art looting - whether as source countries (Nazi-controlled territories) or as receiving countries (mostly Allied countries). Hence, roles played by individuals and governments in art looting and trade in the United States, France, the United Kingdom, Germany, Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, the Balkans and Russia are regularly discussed in publications, conference proceedings and brought into the mainstream media, with the role played by ‘in transit’ and/or neutral countries remaining less explored. The international research and publication industry that developed around the issue of Nazi looted art in Europe from the 1990s onwards did not have much to say on what happened in Lisbon. Lisbon and/or Portugal appear in the founding monographs on the subject, such as Lynn Nicholas’s *The Rape of Europa*, Hector Feliciano’s *The Lost Museum*, the Bard Centre’s series *Spoils of War*, or Konstantin Akinsha’s *Beautiful Loot*, as geographic contextualisation for an individual episode or anecdote.<sup>24</sup> German scholars have rarely focused on the transnational character of this phenomenon, opting to mostly to focus on Nazi art looting within the German territorial borders.<sup>25</sup> The same nation-based approach has been followed by most non-Portuguese scholars researching

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<sup>24</sup> Hector Feliciano and Timothy Bent, *The lost museum: the Nazi conspiracy to steal the world’s greatest works of art* (New York, 2007); Elizabeth Simpson (ed.), *Spoils of war* (New York, 1997); Lynn H Nicholas, *The rape of Europa: the fate of Europe’s treasures in the Third Reich and the Second World War* (New York, 1994); Konstantin Akinsha, Grigorii Kozlov and Sylvia Hochfield, *beautiful loot: the soviet plunder of europe’s art treasures* (New York, 1995).

<sup>25</sup> Inka Bertz and Michael Dormann, *Raub und Restitution: Kulturgut aus jüdischem Besitz von 1933 bis heute* (Berlin, 2008).

Nazi art looting. In this, they tend to follow the general patterns of relegating events occurring in the Portuguese territory to a periphery of interests when analysing pan-European patterns.

Interestingly, when foreign researchers focused on Portugal, or Lisbon, during the Second World War, they neglected to look into the issue of looted art. In his *Lisbon: war in the shadows in the city of lights*, Neill Lochery merely mentions the purchase of paintings by Calouste Gulbenkian from Henri de Rothschild, who was at the time also a refugee in Lisbon.<sup>26</sup> While equally silent on the issue, Ronald Webber's *The Lisbon Route* gives greater detail and references, regarding this episode.<sup>27</sup>

An international event, the discovery of the hoard of European paintings hidden in the apartments of Wolfgang Gurlitt, the son of Hildebrandt Gurlitt, a dealer of so-called degenerate art authorised by the Nazis to pursue his trade, did create minor interest in Portugal.<sup>28</sup> Yet the revelation, in late 2013, that Karl Buchholz, who in 1943 founded the well-known *Livraria Buchholz* (Buchholz Bookshop) in Lisbon, was among the restricted number of German dealers allowed to trade in so-called degenerate art by the Third Reich, did not spur international, or indeed Portuguese, academia into action. Jonathan Petropoulos's exhortation for 'Portuguese museums to research their collections' within the context of Nazi art-looting was met by deafening silence by historians and museum professionals.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Neill Lochery, *Lisbon: war in the shadows of the city of light, 1939-1945* (New York, 2012), p. 12.

<sup>27</sup> Ronald Weber, *The Lisbon route: entry and escape in Nazi Europe* (Washington DC, 2011), p. 303.

<sup>28</sup> Carlos Guerreiro's blog, *Aterrem em Portugal!*, which initially focused on aviation in Portugal during the Second World War, has expanded into other areas, disseminating information gathered from primary sources by the author, <http://aterrememportugal.blogspot.pt> (8 September 2014); J. Palminha, 'O misterioso destino da arte que caiu em mãos nazis' in *Observador*, <http://observador.pt/2015/06/06/o-misterioso-destino-da-arte-que-caiu-em-maos-nazis/> (9 June 2015).

<sup>29</sup> Francisco Calope, 'Lisboa na rota da arte roubada pelos Nazis' in *Visão*, 14-20 Nov. 2013.



In Portugal, cultural studies have rarely ventured beyond the activities and policies of the Secretariat for National Propaganda, and of its mentor, António Ferro.<sup>30</sup> Interestingly, an emerging area of study within the cultural policies of Salazar's Estado Novo (New State) pertains to the cultural interactions between Portugal and the Third Reich.<sup>31</sup> Yet none of these studies has focused on the interactions between Portuguese museums and belligerent countries, refugees and expatriates, or on the possible role played by Portugal as a hub for the transfer of looted art from Europe to the Americas. Reflecting the lack of academic interest, Portuguese museums, public and private, have eschewed researching Nazi-era provenance in their collections.

Certainly, the difficulties in accessing and studying Portuguese primary sources should not be underestimated. For international researchers, there is a linguistic challenge that few wish to overcome. For Portuguese-speaking researchers, the physical location of archives, and the restricted freedom to access them, can remain to this day an obstacle to even the most obstinate. In addition, prosaic tools such as archival finding aids are either inexistent or incomplete, slowing progress. Administrative archives of the New State, which cover the period under analysis, were in many cases broken up and are now located under different supervisory authorities. In addition, when it pertains to this time period, one must account for the fact that New State archives started being released and important source material organised only in the 1980s and the 1990s, following the democratic revolution of 25 April 1974. These include the public and private papers of Salazar, ministerial archives, which in the cultural area include the

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<sup>30</sup> Artur Portela, *Salazarismo e artes plásticas* (Lisbon, 1987); Jorge Ramos do Ó, *Os anos de Ferro. O dispositivo cultural durante a política do espírito. 1933-1949*. (Lisbon, 1999); Margarida Acciaiuoli, *António Ferro. A vertigem da palavra*. (Lisbon, 2013).

<sup>31</sup> Cláudia Ninhos and Fernando Clara (eds), *A angústia da influência: política, cultura e ciência nas relações da Alemanha com a Europa do Sul, 1933-1945*. (Frankfurt am Main 2014), especially Ana Menhert Pascoal, 'Circulação teórico-prática entre III Reich e Estado Novo: Hermann Distel e a arquitectura hospitalar'; Ninhos, 'Com luvas de veludo': estratégia cultural alemã em Portugal (1933-1945)', in *R:I*, 35 (2012), pp 103-118; Ninhos, 'O poder da história. escrever a história das relações luso-alemãs na "época do Fascismo"', in Fernando Clara, Manuela Ribeiro Sanches and Mário Matos (eds), *Várias viagens. Estudos oferecidos a Alfred Opatz* (Vila Nova de Famalicão, 2011), pp 389-405.

Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Finance, archives of the political police, which include information pertaining to refugees and foreign residents, and the archives of the Secretariat for National Propaganda. In addition, when researching the cultural sector specifically – especially public and private museum archives, including data pertaining to object acquisition – the location of source material and the retrieval of information presents a serious challenge to this day. Here too the complex web of the different organisations that operated within the cultural and educational sectors of the *Estado Novo*'s bureaucracy resulted in the undocumented break-up of institutional archives within different locations. For example, it has so far been impossible to locate, within the archives of either the Ministry of Finance or the national museums, the records that identify the sellers of artworks to these institutions.<sup>32</sup> Finally, the adoption of digital repositories pertaining to inventories, intended to replace paper-based archiving, failed in its intention to create flexible, interactive work tools, and instead resulted in monolithic databases, where searching for, and obtaining, reliable and comprehensive information is a long and arduous process. Thus, while the primary sources to engage in this research do exist, they do require a level of commitment and perseverance that may lead researchers to place their attention elsewhere.

Research priorities have also hindered the development of academic interest in the specific issue of wartime circulation of works of art. Given the delays originated by the late opening of the archives of the *Estado Novo*, it is hardly surprising that researching the history of the *Estado Novo* as a monolithic period ranging over forty years would take precedence over specialist studies in the economic, social and cultural areas, with the latter emerging once the main academic discussions on the workings and

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<sup>32</sup> These correspond to the payment records of the tenth delegation of the General Directorate of Public Treasury, Ministry of Finance.

nature of the dictatorship were well under way.<sup>33</sup> These specialised studies contextualised the interactions between Portugal and belligerent states and those between the Portuguese and the refugees, although with little focus on the cultural interactions, including any art transactions that may have occurred. As such, a more detailed analysis of the historiography on the flux of refugees, of the economic relations between Portugal and the belligerent nations, especially the wolfram trade and Nazi gold, and of the cultural history of the period, will elicit the biases that have thus far limited Nazi-era provenance research and restitution debates as a whole.

Portugal's official response to the Second World War was researched in greater depth from the 1980s onwards, when historians not only provided a narrative of Portugal's actions during the conflict, but also deconstructed the discourses on which such narratives rested.<sup>34</sup> The commercial transactions between Portugal and Germany, namely the purchase of raw materials, have also been studied in greater depth. The first noteworthy academic enterprise to consider Portugal's actions during the period, António Telo's *Portugal na Segunda Guerra*, rested on what were then limited primary sources, as it predates the opening of the Salazar archives to the academic community.<sup>35</sup> The scarcity of available primary sources explains the lack of visibility of issues that were to gain in popularity as academic topics, such as the refugee flow, the wolfram trade, or the circulation of so-called 'Nazi gold'. Each of these issues would emerge as a strong research theme, explored to this day, and would undergo important paradigm shifts which reveal the importance of bias when examining the absence of Nazi-era provenance research. While initial publications presented the temporary hosting of

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<sup>33</sup> António Costa Pinto (ed.), *Modern Portugal* (Palo Alto, 1998); Tom Gallagher, *Portugal. A twentieth century interpretation*. (Manchester, 1983).

<sup>34</sup> Fernando Rosas, *O Estado Novo nos anos trinta (1928-1938)* (Lisbon, 1986); Rosas, *O salazarismo e a aliança Luso-Britânica* (Lisbon, 1988); Rosas, *Portugal entre a paz e a guerra (1939-1945). Estudo do impacto da II Guerra Mundial na economia e na sociedade portuguesas* (Lisbon, 1990); António José Telo, *Portugal na Segunda Guerra* (Lisbon, 1987); Telo, *Propaganda e guerra secreta em Portugal (1939-1945)* (Lisbon, 1990); Telo, *Portugal na Segunda Guerra (1941-1945)* (Lisbon, 1991).

<sup>35</sup> Telo, *Portugal na Segunda Guerra*.

thousands of refugees in the country under a positive light under an open-arms narrative, later works have focused on the restrictive legislative framework regarding the admission into the country, or on the plight of Jewish communities of Portuguese origin in Greece and in the Netherlands, whose demise, scholars claim, can be attributed to the unwillingness of the Portuguese government to bestow Portuguese nationality on them.<sup>36</sup> The wolfram trade, given the financial values involved, and its use in arms-making, has been the object of detailed academic attention within the study of commercial transactions between Portugal and the various belligerents.<sup>37</sup> Here too, researchers have either emphasised the proximity of Portugal to the Axis when examining the length of the trading period, or its closeness to the Allies when examining the quantities exported to the Allies. Douglas Wheeler sees this active trade as an example of Portugal's 'creative neutrality, with mysterious foundations, participat[ing] in a war without bullets (...) by proxy, as it were, in the case of the thousands of Portuguese who made their livings assisting belligerent nationals and their agents acquire or deny wolfram during a war effort'.<sup>38</sup>

As for the issue of 'Nazi gold' – meaning the gold transactions between Portugal and Germany – the paradigm has shifted from a view of trading within legality to trading outside ethics. Indeed, not all agreed with the conclusions of the Portuguese

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<sup>36</sup> Mühlen, *Flugtweg Spanien-Portugal*; Pimentel, *Judeus em Portugal*; Manuela Franco, 'Diversão Balcânica: os israelitas portugueses de Salónica (parte I)' in *Análise Social*, XXXIX, 170 (2004), pp 119-147; Kristin Ruggiero (ed.), *The Jewish diaspora in Latin America and the Caribbean: fragments of memory*. (Portland, 2005); Frank Caestecker and Bob Moore (eds.), *Refugees from Nazi Germany and the liberal European states* (New York, 2010); Susana Chalante, 'O discurso do estado salazarista perante o "indesejável" (1933-1939)', in *Análise Social*, XLVI, 198, (2011), pp 41-63; Avraham Milgram, *Portugal, Salazar and the Jews* (Jerusalem 2011); Esther Mucznick, *Portugueses no holocausto: histórias das vítimas dos campos de concentração, dos cônsules que salvaram vidas e dos resistentes que lutaram contra o nazismo* (Lisbon, 2015); Margarida de Magalhães Ramalho, *Vilar Formoso: frontier of peace* (Almeida, 2014). Pimentel and Ramalho, *O comboio do Luxemburgo: os refugiados judeus que Portugal não salvou em 1940* (Lisbon, 2016).

<sup>37</sup> Douglas Wheeler, 'The price of neutrality: Portugal, the wolfram question, and World War II (part II)' in *Luso-Brazilian Review*, vol. 23, n.2 (Winter, 1986), 97-111; see also Part I in vol. 23 no.1 (Summer, 1986), pp 107-127; João Paulo Avelãs Nunes, *O Estado Novo e o volfrâmio (1933-1947)* (Coimbra, 2010); António de Almeida Sousa Vilar, *O volfrâmio de Arouca no contexto da Segunda Guerra Mundial, 1939-1945* (Arouca 1998).

<sup>38</sup> Wheeler, 'The price of neutrality: Portugal, the wolfram question, and World War II (part II)'.

Research Commission on Nazi Gold transactions, which determined that the Portuguese state had acted within the terms of existing law in its economic relations with Germany, and thus had no motive to open any restitution or compensation claims in this area.<sup>39</sup> Among his most significant finds, journalist and independent researcher António Louçã identified the existence of assets unrecorded by the Allies, and uncovered a gold-laundering circuit reaching the then Portuguese territory of Macau.<sup>40</sup> The role of the Portuguese state, and Salazar's stance on the issue was, for Louçã, driven by a desire to maximise financial gains, regardless of the purchaser. He writes, 'in this connection, it is baffling that some historical literature actually portrays Portugal's role in World War II in a positive light.'<sup>41</sup>

However, it would be inaccurate to presume that Louçã's assessment related to issues of restitution and reparations of Nazi-spoliated assets. Like many historians involved in the study of the Estado Novo, his research appears to be driven first and foremost by the need to determine whether the personal characteristics attributed to Salazar – which themselves vary in accordance with the observer – are borne out by the facts. His findings regarding Nazi-spoliated assets are important to him only insofar as they make 'a mockery of another myth enveloping the figure of Salazar, a representation repeatedly emphasised in Portugal since the 1980s, and encouraged there by a flurry of historical revisionism: namely, Salazar the financial genius, the only Portuguese politician in this century who succeeded in placing the public finances of the country on a sound footing.'<sup>42</sup> This conclusion, or rather the need by a Portuguese historian to reach such a conclusion within the 'Nazi gold' issue, reflects how the conflation of Salazar

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<sup>39</sup> *Relatório da Comissão de Investigação sobre as transacções de ouro efectuadas entre as autoridades portuguesas e alemãs durante o período compreendido entre 1936 e 1945* (Lisbon, 1999).

<sup>40</sup> António Louçã, *Negócios com os Nazis. Ouro e outras pilhagens. 1933-1945* (Lisbon, 1997).

<sup>41</sup> Louçã and Ansgar Schäfer, 'Portugal and the Nazi Gold: The "Lisbon Connection" in the Sales of Looted Gold by the Third Reich.' in *Yad Vashem studies*, vol. 27 (1999), p. 122.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

and the Estado Novo has influenced, and indeed limited, research. The importance of researching ‘Nazi gold’ lies only, apparently, in debunking the myth of Salazar as a financial wizard; the value of citing the wolfram trade rests, it seems, on the possibility of ascertaining Portugal’s, and Salazar’s, friendliness towards either the Allies, or the Axis; investigating the stance of Salazar, who had final say on refugee visa requests, towards refugees, and proposing a narrative of ‘failed rescue potential’<sup>43</sup>, reveals how these issues are not studied as an end in themselves. In fact, they have a purpose, that of defending a subjective point of view regarding Salazar, and the Estado Novo.

The conflation of Salazar and the Estado Novo has also affected research in the area of cultural and art history, in which the field has been dominated by the analysis of cultural policy as a tool for state propaganda and for the construction of narratives of national identity. Biographies of artists and noteworthy individuals are usually cast as demonstrations of active support or active resistance to the dictatorship.

The actions of museums are mostly discussed as the setting for the cultural creations devised by Ferro’s Secretariat. Sérgio Lira, who has devoted greatest attention to the role played by museums during the New State, focuses on museums as hosts of festivals and large exhibitions within the context of state propaganda, thereby corroborating an inaccurate narrative of the cultural policies and actions of the New State as being directed top-down, highly centralised and exclusively propaganda-led.<sup>44</sup> Art museums and, by extension, their acquisitions policies, have yet to be studied in depth, even though, as far as contemporary art is concerned, the director of the Secretariat was a member of the state’s acquisitions panel.<sup>45</sup> Two studies attempted to

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<sup>43</sup> Marion Kaplan, ‘Review. Portugal, Salazar and the Jews’, in *Shofar*, vol. 23, n.1 (Fall 2004), pp 166-169.

<sup>44</sup> Sérgio Lira, ‘Politics and Propaganda in Portuguese Museums and Temporary Exhibitions during the Estado Novo’ in *Museological review*, issue 7, 2001, pp 42-55; see also Paulo Polanah, “‘The zenith of our national history!’: national identity, colonial empire, and the promotion of the Portuguese Discoveries: Portugal 1930s’ in *E-journal of Portuguese history*, ix, no. 1 (2011), pp 39–62.

<sup>45</sup> One exception is the six-page study by José Carneiro of the acquisitions of the national palaces through which he identifies the state’s aesthetic and artistic priorities. J. Carneiro, ‘Os critérios estético-artísticos

fill this gap: the first one, a PhD thesis by Elsa Pinho, addresses the evolution of the Portuguese state's acquisitions during the democratic period<sup>46</sup>; the second study, an M.A. thesis by Iolanda Pereira, which focuses on Portugal and displaced cultural objects during the Second World War, shows severe deficiencies in the analysis of primary sources and an absence of scientific method in the interpretations it puts forth.<sup>47</sup> For the most part, Portuguese art historians appear not to consider the art market, and the State's involvement in it, whether as regulator or as active purchaser, to be within their areas of research – and as such this subject has not been examined quantitatively or qualitatively. Likewise, the doings of figures who were mainly involved in the area of art trade – and not artistic creation or collecting – have been excluded from research, which has progressed from a chronological outline of aesthetic movements, and individual artist studies, to a wider analysis of artistic circles and their articulation within, or in opposition to, the New State.<sup>48</sup>

Here too, the conflation of the figure of Salazar with the Estado Novo plays a role. As Salazar was manifestly uninterested in culture, and the visual arts, other than to support the work of the SPN, researchers appear to have equally overlooked the areas in the cultural sector towards which Salazar attached little personal value. Granted, the status of Salazar as the core of the regime, his commitment to micromanagement, and

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no poder aquisitivo do Estado Novo. O enriquecimento das colecções nacionais' in José Alberto Ribeiro (ed), *Museus, palácios e mercados de arte* (Lisbon, 2014), pp 62-69.

<sup>46</sup> Elsa Garrett Pinho, 'A evolução das colecções públicas em contexto democrático: políticas de incorporação e vetores de crescimento nos museus de arte da administração central do estado : 1974-2010', (PhD thesis, Universidade de Lisboa, 2014).

<sup>47</sup> Iolanda Pereira, 'Portugal e a questão dos bens culturais deslocados durante a II Guerra Mundial' (M.A. thesis, Universidade de Lisboa, 2015).

<sup>48</sup> Artur Portela, *Salazarismo e artes plásticas* (Lisbon, 1987); Ana Cabrera, *Censura nunca mais! a censura ao teatro e ao cinema no Estado Novo* (Lisbon, 2013); Maria do Carmo Piçarra, *Azuis ultramarinos: propaganda colonial e censura no cinema do Estado Novo* (Lisbon, 2015); Patrícia Vieira, *Cinema no Estado Novo: a encenação do regime* (Lisbon, 2011); Acciaiuoli, *Exposições do Estado Novo, 1934-1940* (1998); Joana Rita da Costa Brites, *O capital da arquitectura: Estado Novo, arquitectos e Caixa Geral de Depósitos, 1929-1970* (Lisbon, 2014); Vera Marques Alves, *Arte popular e nação no Estado Novo: a política folclorista do secretariado da propaganda nacional* (Lisbon, 2013); Helena Cristina Marques da Silva Pedreirinho, 'A defesa do património imóvel histórico-artístico no Estado Novo: a contribuição das legislação para a definição de uma política patrimonial' (PhD Thesis, Universidade Lusíada, 2011); Acciaiuoli, *Exposições do Estado Novo, 1934-1940* (1998).

his mind-boggling productivity, cannot be underestimated.<sup>49</sup> Yet this does not imply that areas of State intervention in which Salazar was uninvolved, or cultural issues that did not exist in active opposition to him, are automatically irrelevant for an understanding of the period. The fact that state museums were staffed and headed by figures who had ties to the First Republic (1910-1926), and who had held their jobs and seamlessly transitioned into the Estado Novo, as indeed did most of the Portuguese civil servants, suggests a grey area that falls outside the prevailing espoused narratives of ‘support vs. opposition’ to the regime.<sup>50</sup>

The approaches to issues of the Estado Novo discussed here, which seem to involve an element of polarisation between two extremes, and not enough grey areas, are endlessly mirrored in historical debates surrounding the regime, which can be explained by the circumstances in which Portuguese historians operate. Senior Portuguese academics have, for the most part, a personal history informing their relationship with the dictatorship.<sup>51</sup> More recently, the emergence of ‘an engaged right-wing historiography that presents, in a seemingly professional, historical manner, an alternative portrayal of the dictatorship, its actions, and what most others regard as its crimes’,<sup>52</sup> has led to ongoing public debate. This political tension between different schools informs the polarisation according to which findings on the economic, social and cultural histories of the regime are presented.

Unlike researchers in the academic world, Portuguese museum professionals have been made aware that provenance research, including Nazi-era provenance

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<sup>49</sup> Filipe Ribeiro de Meneses. *Salazar: a political biography* (New York, 2009).

<sup>50</sup> Primo Levi. *The drowned and the saved* (New York, 1989).

<sup>51</sup> Manuel Baiôa, Paulo Jorge Fernandes, Filipe Ribeiro de Meneses, ‘The political history of twentieth-century Portugal’, in *e-journal of Portuguese History*, 1, 2 (2003), [https://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese\\_Brazilian\\_Studies/ejph/html/issue2/pdf/baioa.pdf](https://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese_Brazilian_Studies/ejph/html/issue2/pdf/baioa.pdf) (30 December 2014).

<sup>52</sup> Meneses, ‘Jaime Nogueira Pinto’s Portrait of Salazar: a new departure’ in Alison Ribeiro de Meneses and Catherine O’Leary (eds.), *Legacies of war and dictatorship in contemporary Portugal and Spain. Iberian and Latin Studies: the arts, literature and identity*, 1 (Oxford 2011) 67-77, p. 73.



research, lies within their ethical conduct as defined by the Code of Ethics of the International Council of Museums.<sup>53</sup> In Portugal, adherence to this Code of Ethics is mandatory for all the museums that are part of the Portuguese Museums Network, which includes all National Museums.<sup>54</sup> This renders the disinterest in engaging in this field particularly baffling. Perhaps this is due to the understanding of the meaning of the word provenance - *proveniência*, in Portuguese – in the museum sector. The term is mostly interpreted as meaning the immediate previous owner and not ownership history and chain of custody. A new term, *procedência*, recently introduced by the Portuguese and Brazilian Portuguese translation of the ICOM Code of Ethics, may become resonant within the museum community in the future but has yet to make inroads into professional practice and debates.<sup>55</sup> The difficult financial situation in which Portuguese museums, the large majority of which is taxpayer-funded, have always operated, can also account for the delay or avoidance of the implementation of research systems and priorities that Northern European and North-American museums may take for granted. In other words, in a sector still struggling with basic operational needs, museum professionals might not consider Nazi-era provenance research to be a priority.

The history of Portuguese public museums and their collections also informs the provenance research priorities in the field. Indeed, at the origins of the major Portuguese public art museums lie the acquisitions of private collections, namely those once held by the Crown, and by the Catholic church and religious orders, whose property was confiscated by the Portuguese state on two occasions: in 1834, in the wake of the Liberal Wars, and following the unveiling of the Republic in 1910. Hence, given that a high percentage of artworks held by Portuguese public museums has either royal or

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<sup>53</sup> International Council of Museums (2013), *Code of ethics*, articles 2.3; 4.5; 5.1; 6.3, [http://icom.museum/fileadmin/user\\_upload/pdf/Codes/code\\_ethics2013\\_eng.pdf](http://icom.museum/fileadmin/user_upload/pdf/Codes/code_ethics2013_eng.pdf) (22 February 2015).

<sup>54</sup> *Framework law for Portuguese museums. Diário da República*, I-A, 195, 19 June 2004.

<sup>55</sup> The Portuguese translation of the *ICOM Code of ethics* is available at *Código deontológico do ICOM* (2009), [https://icom-portugal.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/CodigoICOM\\_PT-2009.pdf](https://icom-portugal.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/CodigoICOM_PT-2009.pdf).

church provenance, the reconstitution of these original holdings has been a greater priority.<sup>56</sup>

Factors lying outside professional museum practice may also explain the absence of provenance and restitution debates. The circulation of ‘hybrid’ fine and decorative arts (e.g. Indo-Portuguese art), as well as ethnographic collections, between the territories that comprise the former Portuguese Empire, may have influenced the choice to avoid engaging in provenance research, deeming all acquisitions by the state as occurring in good faith. In fact, the Portuguese state may be called upon to officially address legitimate ownership of the artworks in its collections in the near future. As its former colonies of Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guiné-Bissau and S. Tomé and Príncipe; East Timor; and the Indian territories that once comprised the ‘Portuguese State of India’ in particular enter the global debate on post-colonial ownership and restitution, it is to be expected their governments come forward and demand the devolution of works of art in Portuguese collections, claiming cultural ownership and/or unethical or unlawful acquisition. If and when that happens, Portuguese museums, and their staff, will find themselves in the position of having to examine issues of legal vs. ethical ownership, as well as the prevailing narrative of Portuguese museums exhibiting the undertakings of the Portuguese during the Great Discoveries, and their role in the politics of constructing and enforcing a particular type of national identity which has been unchallenged since the Estado Novo.<sup>57</sup>

The unpreparedness and unease of Portuguese museum professionals to engage in these debates became evident in 2014, on the occasion of the exhibition ‘Splendours

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<sup>56</sup> João Carlos Pires Brigola, ‘Coleções, gabinetes e museus em Portugal no séc. XVIII’ (PhD Thesis, Universidade de Évora, 2000); Filipa Vicente, *The grand tours of a nineteenth century prince: travelling, writing, classifying* (London, 2000); Hugo Xavier, *Galeria de pintura no Real Paço da Ajuda* (Lisbon, 2013).

<sup>57</sup> These issues have already come to the forefront with the public debates surrounding the establishment of the Discoveries Museum in Lisbon (2016); more recently, the project led by ICOM Portugal regarding the identification of works of art of non-European origin has been beset by obstacles regarding poor methodology and low participation of Portuguese museums (2021).

of the Orient’, at the National Museum of Art, in Lisbon.<sup>58</sup> The exhibition featured, for the first time, Goan gold jewellery which had been held in the vaults of the *Banco Nacional Ultramarino* (BNU) in Goa until a few weeks before the city became part of the Indian Union, in 1961. In advance of the looming Indian invasion, it was evacuated by the bank manager to Portugal. The exhibition and the catalogue traced a brief outline of the chain of custody of these objects, from the BNU to the Caixa Geral de Depósitos (CGD), a State-owned Portuguese bank, until their incorporation in the national collections. It did not, however, provide documental evidence to support the CGD’s assertions that only unclaimed and state-owned jewellery was included in the museum’s holdings, while the remaining jewellery had been sent to the Indian government in 1991, and presumably returned to its rightful owners. Even as the issue of provenance research was raised in a closed-access online forum with the exhibition curator, it was met with assertions of legality of the process, of the good faith of the Portuguese government, and of the professionalism of the Portuguese civil service.<sup>59</sup> The museum was unconcerned with concepts of ownership history and due diligence, even if the legality of the acquisition had been established *post facto*, and it did not see as its mandate, as a museum, to engage in further provenance research regarding each individual item it had come to possess. More recently, in an interview about my research with Lusa, a Portuguese news agency, the journalist’s questions seemed intent on drawing similarities between Nazi-era provenance research and restitution, and the then nascent debates surrounding the restitution of objects acquired within the context of the Portuguese imperial enterprise.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, *Esplendores do Oriente* (Lisbon, 2014).

<sup>59</sup> Post by Dr. Jason Keith Fernandes and subsequent comments on the page ‘Indo-Portuguese History’, <https://www.facebook.com/groups/indoportuguesehistory/search/?query=An%20exhibition%20of%20Goan%20gold%20from%20the%20coffers%20of%20the%20Banco%20Nacional%20Ultramarino> (20 April 2014).

<sup>60</sup> Agência Lusa, ‘É preciso estudar mais a origem de arte existente em Portugal do período nazi’ in *Público/Artes*, 10 Sep. 2017.

Historians' bias, the accessibility of primary sources, research prioritisation, ideological presuppositions, and contemporary politics account for the lack of engagement by the Portuguese academic and museum world with Nazi-era provenance research. Yet to begin tackling the issue, the resources within the realm of New State cultural policy, state-financed acquisitions, and collections currently held by public, and some private, museums do exist. These resources are not limited to national archives. They include museum archives, personal papers, photographic records and media accounts. When studied and cross-referenced they provide a tentative narrative of the main agents involved in the art trade in Portugal during the period – state activity, collector activity, and art dealer activity.

### **Primary sources**

Primary sources for public collections include MatrizNet, the online inventory for the national museums' collections, museum correspondence files, as well as the files of supervisory authorities. In the case of national art museums, they are the Direcção Geral do Ensino Superior e Belas Artes (General Directorate of Higher Education and Fine Arts, henceforth DGESBA) and its advisory panel, the Junta Nacional de Educação (National Education Junta). In the case of regional or local museums, municipal historical archives hold contemporary local media accounts, correspondence files as well as annual reports, and other relevant documentation regarding most of these institutions. As far as private collectors are concerned, only two collections possess primary sources susceptible of providing sustained information – those of Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian, an Armenian businessman who settled in Portugal in 1943, whose purchases were tracked by British intelligence, and who continued to purchase within the international market throughout the conflict, and of António Anastácio Gonçalves,

who purchased almost exclusively in Portugal. The meticulous record-keeping by the latter has revealed that he did purchase from foreign art dealers based in Portugal, including Jacques Kugel and Jean Ostins, both Red Flag Name listees. Tracking dealer activity can be more complex, since there are no extant Portugal-based dealer archives from which significant information can be drawn. However, museum correspondence files, contemporary media accounts, and the requests for import and export permits, a sub-set held within the DGEBSA archives at the Ministry of Education, provide a reliable source of information on the origins and typologies of non-contemporary artworks that were being brought into the country during the period. The death certificates and asset inventories held at the Contemporary Archives of the Ministry of Finance provide valuable biographical information regarding these art dealers, as well as topical information on their business in the country.

Given the goal of this research project, international primary sources serve mostly as a means to confirm, debunk, or complement information located in their Portuguese counterparts. Nevertheless, the breadth of the international primary sources in nature and location gives a sense of the detailed research that a project such as this one requires. In the United States alone, archives were consulted at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Theodore Rousseau papers), the Acquavella Gallery (Pierre Rosenberg Gallery archives), Museum of Modern Art (Curt Valentin and Buchholz Gallery papers), Frick Collection (auction catalogues and *catalogues raisonnés*), Pierpont Morgan Library (Pierre Matisse Gallery archives) in New York; the Archives of American Art (Curt Valentin papers), the Phillips Collection (provenance research), the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, and the National Archives and Records Administration, in Washington DC; and the personal archives of Rosemarie Schenck, daughter of Wilhelm Weinberg, briefly discussed in chapter IV. In France, we consulted the archives

of the Mémorial de la Shoah, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the United Kingdom, we visited the National Archives at Kew. German sources were consulted online and are composed mainly of correspondence files from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Additional international sources, such as museum inventory databases, legal briefs, and contemporary media accounts, were consulted online. The information elicited from the examination of these sources informs the transnational issues connected to looted art, namely the existence of art dealer networks, and the role of neutral countries as ‘grey zones’<sup>61</sup> in the transactions of Nazi-looted cultural property. Yet before an in-depth analysis could be undertaken, it was essential to develop a methodology, from which the structure of the thesis presented here emanated.

### **Thesis organisation**

To fulfil the main goal of this research, five key questions were formulated. The first question pertained to the ‘what’, that is the identification, within the most relevant Portuguese art collections, of works of art acquired between 1933-1945, and of the typologies that were most sought after by these collectors. The second question concerns the ‘who’, that is the determination of the identity of sellers of these objects, whether Portuguese or foreign, whether a resident in Portugal or not, of that of their provenance. The third question concerns the ‘how’, that is the processes through which works of art entered and left the country during the period, and through whose hands they did so. The fourth question requires the ascertainment of the existence of objects whose provenance indicates a confiscation from their owners. The fifth and final question pertains to, on one hand, the reliability of the sources that served as the

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<sup>61</sup> For an application of the concept of ‘grey zone’, originally devised by Primo Levi in *The drowned and the saved*, in relation to Holocaust studies, see Jonathan Petropoulos and John K. Roth (eds.), *Gray zones. Ambiguity in compromise in the Holocaust and its aftermath* (New York, Oxford 2005).

catalyser for this research - the Allies-produced reports from 1945 and 1946 - and, on the other, the potential of Portuguese sources in providing the necessary information to engage in effective Nazi-era provenance research on works of art held by Portuguese collections. They five key questions are at the core of what is presented as an important, even if partial, survey of the documented art transactions and movements that occurred in Portugal during this period. Rather than constituting separate chapters, they guide the research presented in this thesis. We established from the outset that our goal was not to discover stolen cultural goods, or feed in any way into the popular ‘treasure hunter’ narrative that tends to overshadow the research undertaken in this field. Should an object of dubious provenance, or provably looted, be located, we intended to disseminate said information along the appropriate channels.

Once it came to analysing and writing our findings, two different types of approach to the interpretation of the collected data were possible. The first approach was to identify, within the wider theme of the transactions of works of art during the period, a specific sub-theme that was capable of being researched in-depth. While the outcome of such a methodology could result in extraordinary finds, the condition of primary sources in Portugal in particular – with institutional historical archives broken into different funds overseen by different custodians, and, in most cases, lacking an inventory and/or finding aid – drastically reduced the possibilities of encountering significant research findings. In addition, since the major facts, trends and patterns regarding this issue were yet to be defined and/or identified, an in-depth approach into a specific theme pertaining to this issue was akin to drilling a borehole without having conducted a geological survey. The second possible approach to the interpretation of this research was unlikely to produce spectacular findings. It had as a major advantage the opening up various possibilities of future research, and of mapping out the actors

and events that marked this particular area of study. This methodology consisted in casting a wider net in terms of themes to be researched and interpreted, and to present a comprehensive view of how the art trade, the refugee movements and the Second World War intersected during the period, without necessarily offering satisfactory conclusions for each research sub-theme. Throughout the writing period, the second approach won out and resulted in the final structure of the thesis.

Initially, the planned structure developed on five sections, mirroring the five questions that we have already outlined: what objects were bought and sold, who was involved, how did transactions occur, which objects require further study, and how reliable are primary sources. As archival research progressed, it became clear that it would not be possible to present findings according to this structure. Some research avenues widened and others dried up in terms of availability and clarity of primary sources, and another structure, which allowed for a balance between range of available information, and the unevenness of their pertinence to the subject at hand (the current structure) took shape. Hence, the thesis begins by examining large complex contexts and progressively narrows the scope of analysis to a single entity. It begins by looking into transnational phenomena, the import and export of works of art, then follows by examining national and regional phenomena in the acquisitions by public museums and moves on to studying the individual actions of refugees and foreign art dealers. It concludes with the examination of the provenance of one single purchase by the Portuguese state. This structure of interpretation has the benefit of demonstrating the breadth of primary sources and of knowledge that it is necessary to develop before being able to fully contextualise the purchase of one single object.

The issue of private collections was cast aside and does not integrate this thesis. The difficult choice to exclude this sector resulted not only from exterior constraints,



but also from methodological issues regarding its adequateness in this particular thesis. The collection of Anastácio Gonçalves has been the object of detailed studies, which, in the context of this research project, rendered a new study an unnecessary duplication.<sup>62</sup> After a preliminary consultation of the collection of António Medeiros e Almeida, we were able to determine that most of its holdings were purchased in the post-war years, and therefore fell outside the scope of the research undertaken here. In addition, the archives of the collection were still in the process of matching receipts to objects that remained in the collection, a process that is still ongoing.<sup>63</sup> The collection of Ricardo Espírito Santo, whose archives were notoriously difficult to access, became virtually impossible to research since 2014, when the Espírito Santo Bank, the private entity which held those archives, was bailed out and subsequently liquidated by the Portuguese state. Finally, the acquisitions by Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian, arguably the most important art collector in Portugal during the war, occurred outside Portuguese soil, and therefore fall outside the scope of this study. As such, it made sense to interrupt the writing of this projected chapter, and to focus on buyers by examining Portuguese museums operating at the time.

In this thesis, Chapter I presents a brief historical introduction, intended to better situate the reader in relation to the three major themes that intersect in this research – the refugee flux into Portugal between 1933-45, the New State’s foreign and cultural policy, and the practice of Nazi art looting and post-war restitution and contemporary debates. The remaining chapters are dedicated to presenting and interpreting data emanating from the primary sources consulted. Chapter II looks into the import and export of works of art in order to determine whether Portugal served as a revolving door

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<sup>62</sup> Fialho-Brandão and Ribeiro, *Coleccionar para a Res Publica*.

<sup>63</sup> Mayer, ‘Casa-Museu Medeiros e Almeida: o projeto de um homem. De coleção privada a acervo público’.

in wartime international art trade, and if so, to identify the individuals involved in these transactions and the objects they brought with them. This analysis is informed by the study of the import and export tax waiver requests held at the historical archives of the Ministry of Education in Lisbon. To complement this analysis with biographical information regarding the individuals involved, the material presented in this chapter was cross-referenced with other national and international primary sources.

Chapters III and IV were undoubtedly the most arduous chapters to research and analyse in this process. They examine public museums' acquisitions and relevant actions during the period. The findings presented here originate from the location, study and interpretation of the archives, exhibition catalogues and publications, and inventories of each of the museums under discussion. After initially identifying the museums with relevant collections to analyse, information was collected from archives in Guimarães (Alberto de Sampaio Museum), Braga (Biscainhos Museum), Bragança (Abade de Baçal Museum), Porto (Soares dos Reis National Museum), Viseu (Grão-Vasco National Museum), Coimbra (Machado de Castro National Museum), Aveiro (Santa Joana Museum), Figueira da Foz (Santos Rocha Municipal Museum), Caldas da Rainha (José Malhoa Museum), Lisbon (National Museum for Contemporary Art and National Art Museum), and Cascais (Counts of Castro Guimarães Museum Library). This long process culminated in the realisation that it would be impossible to provide a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the raw information that was collected. In addition, preliminary consultation led to the conclusion that a number of these museums did not acquire objects that justified the time and resources invested in an in-depth analysis of their transactions during the period. Hence, the museums in Guimarães, Bragança, Viseu, and Aveiro were dropped from this analysis. In a second cull, Coimbra, even though it stood along the main automobile refugee route into

Lisbon, was also dropped from the final analysis. Given the density of information provided by some national museums, the municipal and regional museums were discussed in a separate chapter. Hence, Chapter III focuses on the acquisitions and relevant actions of national museums in Lisbon and Porto. These museums shared a supervisory authority, enjoyed an acquisitions budget, and operated in cities in which refugees settled in high numbers. Chapter IV analyses the acquisitions of the museums in Figueira da Foz, Caldas da Rainha, and Cascais. These museums reported to different supervisory authorities – in Cascais and Figueira da Foz, they were overseen by the respective city council, while in Caldas da Rainha the museum was overseen by the district of Leiria. And, while Cascais was flooded with refugees during wartime due to its proximity to Lisbon, Caldas da Rainha and Figueira da Foz were long-term mandatory residence areas, where refugees were ordered to live by the Portuguese government. Both chapters discuss, by museum, the trends and patterns regarding object acquisitions, relevant sellers and donors within the framework of this research, as well as relevant occurrences within the period, such as programmes related to cultural diplomacy, refugee support and collection safekeeping.

Chapter V examines three different commercial sellers active in the country – and Lisbon in particular – during the period. As with the previous two chapters, the original intent had been to examine the activity a larger number of individuals. However, the volume of information regarding sellers collected in chapters II through IV, combined with the information available in mostly American, British, French, and German primary sources, led us to choose three specific art dealers - Karl Buchholz, Elfriede Marques Pereira, and Erich Popper, whose interactions with the Portuguese art market varied in terms of the quality and quantity of objects traded, as well as of the duration of their commercial activity between 1933 and 1945.

Finally, Chapter VI brings together the different perspectives presented beforehand – art imports, public purchases, and foreign sellers – to examine the acquisition by the Portuguese state of one single object, a triptych that is held today by the Museum of Religious Art in the island of Madeira. This chapter relies on information provided by the historical archives of the Ministry of Finance in Portugal, and on a significant number of international archives that enable not only the contextualisation of this purchase, but also the identification of the seller and of his complex relationship with the Portuguese government. The result is a revised provenance for this object, and new questions pertaining to its ownership history. As such, this chapter provides a fitting conclusion to the research undertaken as it demonstrates how important it is to define the foundations and boundaries of this field of study before engaging in the provenance research of even an individual object. The Conclusion of this thesis presents and contextualises the main findings and interpretations of this research and lays out the questions that have not been answered yet. In addition, it suggests further avenues of research, in what we see as an emergent field of inquiry in academic environments and in professional museum practice.

Given the originality of the subject matter, the potential for dissemination of the findings of this project is far-reaching. Depending on the type of communication platforms used, ideally a combination of academic journal, website, exhibition, and monograph, this thesis can reach diverse audiences with an interest in the issues discussed here, or in the methodology developed for this study. The most important aspect of this research is undoubtedly the integration of these findings in the international networks and resources on Nazi-era provenance research.

Before concluding this Introduction, it is important to underscore the ethical considerations that guided the work conducted here. Nazi-era provenance research falls

within the scope of a wider theme: that of what constitutes legitimate ownership of a work of art, whether legal, ethical or both. This subject includes wider areas, such as antique objects, colonial collections, archaeological artefacts, obtained through war, colonial expansion, or governmental centralisation. Cases such as the Elgin marbles<sup>64</sup>, the Nefertiti bust<sup>65</sup>, the Benin Bronzes<sup>66</sup>, or the Chessmen of Lewis<sup>67</sup>, debated and without a satisfactory resolution for all involved are well-known examples of this. Portuguese academia and mainstream society have yet to fully and openly engage in this debate. And while it may seem that Nazi loot is different from these issues – after all, the illegality of those seizures is a given – it is only the fact that some of their owners and/or located heirs are still alive that makes it so. In a few decades, Nazi looting will be something as distant in people’s minds as Napoleon’s plunder of Egypt.

Identifying transactions that occurred in Portugal during the period between 1933 and 1945 and establishing the immediate historical context in which they took place will not only advance knowledge of specific art collections, but will also contribute to an environment of transparent discussion, where academics and museum professionals engage in a dialogue regarding their values and outlooks on this subject.

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<sup>64</sup> Christopher Hitchens, Nadine Gordimer, Robert Browning and Charalamabos Bouras, *The Parthenon marbles: the case for reunification* (London, 2008); Mary Beard, *The Parthenon, revised edition* (Harvard, 2010).

<sup>65</sup> Helaine Silverman, *Contested cultural heritage: religion, nationalism, erasure, and exclusion in a global world* (2010); Felicity Bodenstein, Damiana Otoiu and Eva-Maria Troelenberg, *Contested holdings: museum collections in political, epistemic and artistic processes of return* (2022).

<sup>66</sup> Dan Hicks, *The Brutish museums: the Benin bronzes, colonial violence and cultural restitution* (London, 2020); Barnaby Phillips, *Loot: Britain and the Benin bronzes* (2021).

<sup>67</sup> ‘The Lewis Chessmen-Where should they be displayed?’ in *Global heritage*, 2017, <https://thinkglobalheritage.wordpress.com/2017/11/29/the-lewis-chessmen-where-should-they-be-displayed/> (14 Mar. 2022).

## CHAPTER I – HISTORICAL CONTEXTS

This chapter will provide a historical context regarding social and cultural life in Portugal's New State between 1933 and 1945, the international events that influenced the circulation of refugees and works of art through Portugal, and the circumstances surrounding the looting and spoliation of art works by the Third Reich and the contemporary efforts for their restitution. Since the bibliographic review was undertaken in the previous chapter, this brief chapter aims to bring together different historical contexts that pertain to the specific research undertaken subsequently. In other words, it is the aim of this chapter to equip the reader with the necessary knowledge of different contexts to understand the research presented in subsequent chapters.

This chapter is divided into four sections, which revolve around the Portuguese historical context of 1933-1945 and the historical context of Nazi art looting and restitution. The first section discusses the establishment of the New State, its foreign policy and its refugee policy during the decade, concluding with a rapid summary of the refugee experience while in Portugal. The second section examines the cultural policy of the New State and into Portuguese cultural life during the period, focusing on the tension between academic art and modernism, and on the role played by António Ferro and his Secretariat for National Propaganda. It concludes by attempting to identify the limited art market circuit that existed at the time. The third section presents the chronology of Nazi art looting and spoliation, which ran in parallel with the deprivation of citizenship rights of German Jews. These processes were later extended to those of the territories occupied by the Wehrmacht. This section details the legal framework that enabled the looting to be carried out and identifies the main actors in a complex system that operated across a wide geographical scope. Finally, the last section examines the

immediate post-war restitution efforts and the resurgence of restitution debates in the 1990s.

### **The New State 1933-1945, foreign and refugee policy.**

In 1932, Portugal's military dictatorship officially transferred power, which it had held since overthrowing the republican system in 1926, to the *Estado Novo* – the New State. This was a civilian regime, anchored by the figure of Prime-Minister António de Oliveira Salazar. Throughout his almost forty-year tenure, and whenever he saw fit, Salazar accumulated ministerial portfolios; thus, during the Second World War, he served as President of the Council (Prime-Minister), Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Minister of War, and, until August 1940, Minister of Finance. The practical application of the Constitution of 1933 – approved in a national plebiscite – enabled the emergence of an authoritarian, single-party system, and reinforced Salazar's power as the President of the Council. Within the text of the Constitution, Article 8 allowed freedoms of expression and of association, while Article 20 recalled that these would be regulated by specific laws 'in order to preventively or repressively impede the perversion of the public as a social force, and safe-keep the moral integrity of the citizens'<sup>68</sup> A press censorship board had been active since 1927. It continued in place and was soon extended to the book industry, cinema, the performing and visual arts<sup>69</sup>. The apex of the repressive apparatus of the regime was the establishment of the Tarrafal penal colony, a

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<sup>68</sup> *Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, 1933*. Diário do Governo, Decree 22.241, I, 43, pp 227–236.

<sup>69</sup> Isabel Forte, *A censura de Salazar no Jornal de Notícias: da actuação da comissão de censura do Porto no Jornal de Notícias durante o governo de António de Oliveira Salazar* (Coimbra, 2000); Joaquim António Cardoso Fialho Gomes, 'A censura na ditadura militar e no Estado Novo (1926-1939): estrutura e pessoal político' (M.A. Thesis, ISCTE, 1997); António Tavares Proença, 'A censura durante o "Estado Novo" e a sua execução à imprensa periódica na região tradicional, histórica e cultural da "Beira Baixa", segundo os documentos existentes no "Arquivo da Censura"' (M.A. Thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1992).

concentration camp set up in 1936 in the then overseas province of Cape Verde.<sup>70</sup> where at least thirty-four men died of exposure, torture, poor diet and absence of health care.<sup>71</sup>

Salazar was a proponent of isolationism at a political, economic, and cultural level.<sup>72</sup> In a pragmatic manner, this policy, which ultimately achieved its goals in some areas, enabled the Portuguese government to preserve the country from the prevalent international instability. In terms of economic policy, it contained the large-scale effects of the financial crisis engendered by the Great Depression, even if this was achieved at the expense of a comprehensive re-thinking of the country's economic and productive fabric – and the cost of living, maintaining a significant part of the population in a level of poverty unknown across most of Western Europe. In terms of foreign policy, it allowed Portugal to avoid an involvement in the European conflicts of the period, namely the Spanish Civil War and the growing crisis brought by the expansion of Nazi Germany.

Throughout this period, Salazar's foreign policy was focused on maintaining sovereignty over Portugal's overseas territories, despite the real or imagined attempts of encroaching upon these territories by other European powers. In particular, the possibility of transferring Angola to German sovereignty as part of the appeasement strategy by France and Great Britain seemed to be a serious threat during the 1930s. From 1936 onwards, Portuguese foreign policy was heavily shaped by the Spanish Civil

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<sup>70</sup> The Tarrafal concentration camp was established by the Decree 26.359, 23 April 1936.

<sup>71</sup> Museu do Neo-Realismo (ed.), *Tarrafal: memória do campo de concentração* (Vila Franca de Xira, 2010).

<sup>72</sup> Acciaiuoli, *Exposições do Estado Novo, 1934-1940*; Meneses, *Salazar: a political biography* (2010); Jorge Ramos do Ó, *Os anos de ferro: o dispositivo cultural durante a 'política do espírito', 1933-1949 ideologia, instituições, agentes e práticas* (Lisbon, 1999); Ó and Rosas, *O lugar de Salazar: estudo e antologia* (Lisbon, 1990); Rosas, *O Estado Novo nos anos trinta: elementos para o estudo da natureza económica e social do salazarismo (1928-1938)* (Lisbon, 1986); Rosas, *O salazarismo e a Aliança Luso-Britânica: estudos sobre a política externa do Estado Novo nos anos 30 a 40* (Lisbon, 1988); Rosas, *Portugal entre a paz e a guerra: estudo do impacte da II Guerra Mundial na economia e na sociedade portuguesa (1939-1945)* (Lisbon, 1990); Bernardo Futscher Pereira, *A diplomacia de Salazar (1932-1949)* (Lisbon, 2012).



War, culminating in the agreement of non-intervention.<sup>73</sup> The Portuguese government's favourable view of General Franco's forces took the form of logistical and material backing, and of the support for the contingent of Portuguese volunteers, subsequently named *Viriatos*, who fought on the nationalist side. As the relationship between the two dictators was consolidated, Franco's collaboration with the Third Reich, and the latter's geographic expansion forced Salazar to ponder Portugal's role in a European conflict whose emergence was a matter of time.. A significant step was taken with the signing, on 17 March 1939, of the Luso-Spanish Treaty of Friendship and Non-Aggression, also known as the Iberian Pact, by Salazar and Spanish ambassador to Portugal Nicolás Franco, brother of the Spanish dictator.

Portugal's role as a neutral country during the Second World War can be roughly divided into two phases. The first phase, which lasted until 1943, was presented by the *Estado Novo* as being of strict neutrality. During this period, Salazar focused on preventing Spain, a non-belligerent country, from entering the war. He also maximised trading opportunities, namely the sale of wolfram, with both sides of the conflict, while managing, at home, the influx of refugees.<sup>74</sup> In 1943, following long negotiations, and after the British government invoked the Treaty of Windsor, Portugal ceded the Lajes facilities, strategically located in the islands of Terceira, in the Azores, to the Allies, thereby signalling a shift to what it then called a collaborating neutrality. In March 1944, following Allied pressure, the country put an end to its commercial transactions with Germany. It was also envisaged that, should Allied strategy require it, the liberation of Portuguese Timor, occupied by Japan since 1942, would be carried out by

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<sup>73</sup> *Portugal e a Guerra Civil de Espanha. Visão História*, 98, (2012); Rosas (ed.), *Portugal e a Guerra Civil de Espanha: actas* (Lisbon, 1998).

<sup>74</sup> Nunes, *O Estado Novo e o volfrâmio (1933-1947): actividade mineira, 'grande depressão' e Segunda Guerra Mundial* (Coimbra, 2010).

Portuguese forces.<sup>75</sup> Salazar's ambiguity in his foreign policy, and the advent of the Cold War, saw the country rewarded with admission to NATO in 1949 as a founding member.

The policy of the Portuguese government regarding European refugees and immigration from European countries finds its roots in the aggravation of the two European conflicts – the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War. As the number of Spanish republicans, and of those persecuted by the Nazi regime, increased with each passing year, the Portuguese legal framework on immigration, short-stay, and transit visas became increasingly restrictive, mirroring those of other European countries and of the United States.<sup>76</sup> Internally, the visa-granting policy was the object of a tug-of-war between the diplomatic staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who originally had autonomy in visa concession, and PVDE, the political police, under the supervision of the Ministry of the Interior, which advocated its own control of the process. Gradually, diplomatic and consular staff were stripped of their powers, in a process that culminated in Circular 14, dated November 1940, whereby diplomatic staff were forbidden to issue visas, without the previous approval of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to those with an undetermined or disputed nationality, Nansen passport holders, and Russians; ‘to those whose statements or passports confirmed that they were unable of returning freely to their country of origin; to those who, wanting to embark at a Portuguese harbour, did not have in their possession the traveling tickets; and ‘to the Jews expelled from the countries of their nationality or from the countries from where they are coming’<sup>77</sup>. By

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<sup>75</sup> Ernest Chamberlain, *Forgotten men: timorese in special operations during World War II* (Point Lonsdale, 2009); Justin Corfield, *The entrance door to Australia: Australia and East Timor before the Second World War* (2015); António Manuel Monteiro Cardoso and Luísa Tiago de Oliveira, *Timor na 2a guerra mundial: o diário do tenente Pires* (Lisbon, 2007).

<sup>76</sup> Ninhos and Pimentel, *Salazar, Portugal e o holocausto*; Verena Lindemann Lino, *Remembering World War II Refugees in Contemporary Portugal: a transnational perspective on transcultural memory* (2021); Pimentel and Ramalho, *O comboio do Luxemburgo*; Chalante, ‘O discurso do Estado salazarista perante o “indesejável”’.

<sup>77</sup> Diplomatic Archives, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 1939/Luís Teixeira de Sampaio, ‘Circular 14’.

the end of 1940, the process was firmly under the control of the PVDE. For the most part, consular staff followed these orders. The notable exceptions to this case were reprimanded and forcibly retired. The most famous example is provided by the Portuguese consul in Bordeaux, Aristides Sousa Mendes, who, following the invasion of France, issued visas without concern over any exclusionary circumstance of claimant, in June 1940.<sup>78</sup> To this day, it has been impossible to determine with exactitude the number of visas issued by Sousa Mendes. The most recent specific research, by Avraham Milgram, numbers the Sousa Mendes visas at ca. 3,000, with provision for family dependents who may have been on the same passport.<sup>79</sup> For his actions, Sousa Mendes was severely reprimanded, forced to retire early, and eventually died in poverty.

During the conflict, foreign refugees, including those with documentation of dubious legality, could remain in the country and, with some sporadic exceptions, were not expelled. After the fall of France, Salazar allowed Jewish relief agencies and refugee support agencies to transfer their European offices to Lisbon. The burden of financial and logistical care of the refugees in Portugal fell on these agencies. When refugees were unable to do so, they paid for lodging expenses, transportation, living stipends, and the costs for onward travel. Depending on the time of entering the country, and on the nature of their visa, refugees were mostly free to settle where they wished. Most opted to stay in the Lisbon area (Lisbon, Cascais, Sintra) where it was easier to arrange for onward journeys near embassies and cross-Atlantic shipping offices. Other refugees, however, were assigned to areas of fixed residence. These were the self-contained spa and resort towns, accessible by train, – Curia, Caldas da Rainha, and

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<sup>78</sup> Miriam Assor and Luís Guimarães, *Aristides de Sousa Mendes: um justo contra a corrente* (Lisbon, 2009); Rui Afonso and António Pescada, *Um homem bom: Aristides de Sousa Mendes, o 'Wallenberg Português'* (Lisbon, 1995).

<sup>79</sup> Milgram, *Portugal, Salazar e os judeus*.

Figueira da Foz – and the more remote fishing village of Ericeira. These locations held the infrastructure necessary to host large numbers of people for a short period of time, and, in the case of Ericeira and Figueira da Foz, had already served as areas of fixed residence for refugees during the Spanish Civil War. In addition to procuring, and waiting for, their leaving papers – immigration visas, transit visas, exit visas – and their travel documents, refugees, who were forbidden to work, spent their time engaging in hobbies, corresponding with their families and friends scattered throughout the world, sending care packages to family and friends who had stayed behind, and anxiously monitoring the progress of the military fronts.<sup>80</sup> By the end of the war, the vast majority of the European refugees who had fled to Portugal had left the country. Those who remained would, for the most part, acquire Portuguese nationality throughout the 1950s and 1960s.

There is some uncertainty as to the extent to which Salazar was aware both of the persecutions by the Nazi government of Jews and of other groups and of the spoliation of private property of Jews. However, the oft-made affirmation that Salazar, like most Portuguese, was unaware of their treatment is disingenuous since the consultation of the correspondence files between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the different legations in Europe attests that the persecution of Jews was officially communicated to the President of the Council from an early stage.<sup>81</sup> In addition, national and international contemporary media accounts gave notice, from 1933 onwards, of the persecution to which German Jews were being subjected. Another

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<sup>80</sup> Cristina Pacheco, António Carvalho, António Capucho, Ana Clara Justino and António José Telo, *In time of war: Portugal, Cascais, Estoril and the refugees during the Second World War exhibition catalogue* (Cascais, 2004); Fialho-Brandão and Miranda, 'Refugee profiles'; José Santos Caré Júnior and António José Telo, *Ericeira 50 anos depois: os refugiados estrangeiros da 2ª Guerra Mundial* (Ericeira, 1998); Dulce Maria Santa Marta de Soure and Marina Ximenes, *Marcas da II Guerra em Caldas da Rainha: exposição - colóquio* (Caldas da Rainha, 1998); Carolina Henriques Pereira, *Refugiados da segunda guerra mundial nas Caldas da Rainha (1940-1946)* (Lisbon, 2017).

<sup>81</sup> Ninhos and Pimentel, *Salazar, Portugal e o holocausto*, pp 632 – 654.

question pertains to the aryanisation, that is the process of transferring the assets to an “Aryan”, of property owned by Jews, which included home furnishings and art collections. Again, this practice was reported in diplomatic correspondence and in contemporary media accounts. In France, the Portuguese government would be called to intervene on behalf of its citizens from 1942 onwards, when the aryanisation laws enacted by the *Commissariat General aux Questions Juives* were extended to all Jews living in France, regardless of nationality.<sup>82</sup>

Even though the flight of refugees and others to Portugal has been studied since the 1990s, it has not yet been possible to determine with certainty vital demographic data regarding their origin, age, gender, socio-economic status, duration of stay, and, more importantly, their religion. The most recent specific research, conducted by Avraham Milgram by analysing the files of the Jewish aid agencies, suggests an overall number of 8,000 to 15,000 Jewish refugees alone who fled to Portugal during the war.<sup>83</sup> Given the research parameters involved, this figure left out most of those who arrived to Portugal between 1933 and the outbreak of the war, and those who immediately settled in Portuguese society through marriage or economic integration. In addition, Milgram’s research does not take into account the journeys of non-Jewish refugees, or those who did not receive aid from Jewish agencies, whose numbers are yet to be studied with the same degree of precision as Milgram’s.

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<sup>82</sup> Mémorial de la Shoah archives (Paris), *Commissariat General aux Questions Juives* individual files.

<sup>83</sup> Milgram, *Portugal, Salazar e os judeus*, p. 61.

### **The art, the art market, and the cultural policy of the New State**

During the first phase of the *Estado Novo*, state cultural policy and strategy were intrinsically tied to a propaganda and celebratory effort of the regime, at the expense of encouraging the diversity of artistic experimentation that marked the cultural and artistic environment of other European societies, namely Germany until the mid-1930s, France and Great Britain. António Ferro's early interviews with Salazar not only underscored his and Salazar's plans for the support of living artists as workers within the propaganda machine, but they also demonstrated Salazar's general disinterest in cultural matters on their own merits.<sup>84</sup> The value of culture and the arts lay in providing the visual illustration of the values, aims and achievements of the regime, whether real or imagined. These processes were micro-managed by an intricate web of ministries, agencies, commissions and committees, and leaders of cultural institutions often found themselves serving in a multiplicity of these committees and commissions.

The most important cultural initiatives organised by the state occurred within the framework of the *Politica do Espirito* – the Politics of the Spirit – devised by the Secretariat for National Propaganda, headed by António Ferro. Through the Secretariat, Ferro created and implemented the regime's official cultural policy, which rested on a patronage and events-based program with festivals, large-scale events, commemorations, film, performing arts, music and modern and popular art exhibitions taking centre stage. With the proclaimed goal of researching and promoting Portuguese identity, the SPN's action developed along three axes: the exaltation of the state and of its leader; the proposal and streamlining of regional, including colonial, ethnographies as national manifestations of identity; and the simultaneous embrace of modernist aesthetics for promotion of Portuguese values seen as timeless. Hence the *Estado Novo*

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<sup>84</sup> António Ferro and António de Oliveira Salazar, *Entrevistas a Salazar* (Lisbon, 2007).

portrayed itself as the legitimate heir of medieval, newly independent kingdom of Portugal, and its associated narrative of overcoming the odds in its perpetual struggles against the kingdom of Castille; and of the epoch of the Great Discoveries, with its associated narratives of undaunted courage and progress. Modernism entered the state's visual arts lexicon as a means for propaganda, with António Ferro as its main patron, and visual artists such as Almada Negreiros, Mário Eloy, Domingues Alvarez, Júlio, and António Pedro, among the recipients of state patronage.<sup>85</sup>

Among the public events promoted by Ferro, the Centennial Commemorations, a set of events celebrating the double centennial of the 800<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the foundation of Portugal, and of the 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the restoration of independence, stood out. Since their announcement in 1938, these commemorations mobilised cultural institutions and their staff, and required extensive public works to be undertaken. Leading up to it, urologist and art historian Reynaldo dos Santos, head of the National Academy of Fine Arts, led the project of designing the country's artistic inventory.<sup>86</sup>

The commission in charge of organising the public exhibitions and museum events related to these Commemorations featured the most important protagonists in the world of fine arts and museums, namely João Couto and Adriano Sousa Lopes, the directors of the National Art Museum and of the National Museum of Contemporary Art, respectively, as well as architects Raul Lino and Pardal Monteiro, who were deeply involved in the reconstitution of national monuments and design of public events, and the above mentioned Reynaldo dos Santos. These names will appear regularly throughout this thesis.

In the lead-up to the war, Portuguese cultural policy included a steady program of international events, in consonance with Ferro's vision of promoting the country

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<sup>85</sup> José Augusto França, *A arte em Portugal no século XX (1911-1961)* (Venda Nova, 1985).

<sup>86</sup> Academia Nacional de Belas Artes (ed.), *Inventário artístico de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1943).

abroad. In 1939 alone, London hosted the *Portuguese Fortnight* and, in Berlin, the Exhibition of the Portuguese Book was held. On this occasion, a silver box containing a copy of *The Lusiad*, Portugal's great epic poem, was presented to Hitler. At the New York World Fair, Portugal was present with a pavilion, and, in Brussels, the exhibition of Portuguese artistic ceramics was held. Yet the most important public statement and celebration of Portuguese might opened to the public in June 1940.

The Exhibition of the Portuguese World was a mammoth project in the area of Belém, in Lisbon.<sup>87</sup> It occupied 450 square kilometres; three thousand labourers, one thousand stucco workmen, forty-three decorators, seventeen architects and fifteen engineers worked towards its construction. The modernist aesthetics espoused drew controversy. In two conferences, Ressano Garcia (1880-1947), president of the *Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes*, decried modern art as the 'the work of communists, Jews, enemies of Christian civilisation'.<sup>88</sup> His statements did not go unanswered, with António Pedro publishing a rebuke in *Grandeza e Virtudes da Arte Moderna*.<sup>89</sup> This publication would not, however, signal a victory of modernism, at least not an immediate victory. Intended as the calling card for the history and deeds of the Portuguese, the great Exhibition drew far fewer visitors than expected due to the outbreak of war – and, in the context of this research, stands out as the scenery described by those fleeing Europe in the summer of 1940.<sup>90</sup> By the end of the war, Ferro's vision, and especially his espousal of modernist aesthetics above other artistic trends, had become diluted. The conservative character that dictated mainstream artistic

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<sup>87</sup> Mark Ayton and Pedro Tamen, *Mário Novais: Exposição do Mundo Português, 1940* (Lisbon, 1998); *Exposição do Mundo Português*, (ed.), *Guia oficial* (Lisbon, 1940); David Corkill and José Carlos Pina Almeida, 'Commemoration and propaganda in Salazar's Portugal: The "Mundo Português" Exposition of 1940' in *Journal of contemporary history*, xliv, n. 3 (2009), pp 381–399.

<sup>88</sup> Rui Mário Gonçalves, *Pioneiros da modernidade in história de arte e Portugal*, 12 (Lisbon, 1986).

<sup>89</sup> António Pedro, *Grandeza e virtudes da arte moderna: resposta à agressão do sr. Ressano Garcia* (Lisbon 1939).

<sup>90</sup> Erika Mann, *Waiting for the lifeboat*, <https://www.monacensiadigital.de/mann/content/titleinfo/33165> (16 January 2016).



taste since the beginning of the century began to take hold of the propaganda efforts as well.

Indeed, Portuguese art created during the first half of the twentieth century is often presented as derivative and culturally dependent on other European models, with a strong prevalence of French academic models, which arrived late – or not at all and contributing little to the artistic avant-garde movements. There is certainly some truth to these assertions: the National Museum of Modern Art, founded in 1911, held a strong bias in favour of naturalist representations over emerging and established modernist visual styles. The most sought-after artists, even when opting for polemical subjects such as vagrancy, alcoholism, or political caricature used realistic conventions of representation, anchored in scenes easily accessible to the general public and leaving a small margin for a subjective, or personal, interpretation on behalf of the viewer.

Nevertheless, Portuguese artists did have access to the avant-garde and contributed towards it. The most famous example, of course, is that of Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso (1887-1918), who, living in Paris since 1905, was part of the Parisian historic avant-garde and artistic circles of, among others, Modigliani and Brancusi. Souza-Cardoso, Santa-Rita Pintor (1889-1918), Máriode Sá-Carneiro (1890-1916) and Almada Negreiros (1893-1970) were among the visual artists who, with poet Fernando Pessoa (1888-1935) coalesced around the *Orpheu* movement.<sup>91</sup> This, from 1915 onwards, ushered in modernist ideals into Portuguese intellectual life in what is generally known as the first Portuguese modernism. The dissemination, and perhaps acceptance, of the *Orpheu* ideas were hampered by the early death of most of its main

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<sup>91</sup> Fernando Aguiar Branco, Paulo Samuel and Fernando Pessoa, *Orpheu e o modernismo português: memória das exposições apresentação, linhas gerais sobre a estrutura das exposições, catálogo de ilustrações, programa do colóquio e sinopse dos conferencistas, antologia mínima pessoana sobre Orpheu* (Porto, 2015); Paulo Samuel, *Orpheu e o Modernismo Português: livro do colóquio* (Porto, 2016).

actors. The remaining artists benefitted throughout their career, of the patronage, and protection, of the *Orpheu* journal editor, none other than António Ferro. Other artistic movements, such as Surrealism and Neo-Realism, affirmed themselves after the Second World War, yet found their first expressions during the conflict. The first Surrealist exhibition took place in Lisbon in 1940, while the first public experiments in Portuguese neo-realism took place with Manuel Filipe's works, in 1943. How much of this limited artistic experimentation was related to contacts with foreign artists is still a matter for speculation. It is a fact that, from the 1920s onward, some Portuguese artists resumed contact with European artistic centres – mainly Paris and Berlin – either through exchange programs or self-financed stays.<sup>92</sup> In Paris, they included Adriano de Sousa Lopes, Maria Helena Vieira da Silva, and Francis Smith, who adopted French nationality. Mário Eloy settled in Berlin in the early 1930s, while others visited for short stays with artistic bursaries. As war loomed, these artists returned to Portugal. The last to do so was Maria Helena Vieira da Silva who, having married Arpad Szenes, a Hungarian Jew who, by then, was considered stateless, was herself stripped of Portuguese nationality.

Assumptions regarding the Portuguese art market in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century are equally reliant on an idea of periphery and little activity. The Portuguese art market was dominated by conservative tastes, and naturalism was preferred by the art-buying public. Even though some visual artists attempted to move beyond naturalism, commercial demand – and public accolades – firmly contemplated the more conservative modes of representations. Columbano Bordallo Pinheiro and José Malhoa stood out, and those within their artistic circle and/or sphere of influence benefitted greatly from state patronage, exhibitions, and the resulting appreciation in the arts

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<sup>92</sup> Joana Baião, 'Artistas portuguesas em trânsito, 1916-1939: pensionatos e bolsas, num período de mudanças.' in *Ler História*, 75 (2019), pp 205-227.

market. According to João Pinharanda, ‘It was virtually impossible to create a national art market, to establish pricing and trading criteria or to launch international artistic careers’.<sup>93</sup> Private art galleries existed in Lisbon. The non-contemporary art market was served by an array of old-fashioned *bric-à-brac*, antique shops and auction houses.<sup>94</sup> High profile auctions – such as that of the estate of banker Henri Burnay, which took place between 1934 and 1936 – occurred once in a decade.<sup>95</sup> As for the contemporary arts, they suffered from a lack of visibility. Occasionally, a contemporary art gallery would open, only to close soon thereafter. This was the case of Galeria UP, founded in 1933 by António Pedro.<sup>96</sup> Even though it closed in 1936, the gallery stood out for its championing of modernist movements, being the first to exhibit the work of Maria Helena Vieira da Silva, among others. What is considered to have been the first exhibition of Surrealist art occurred in 1940, at the interior design shop *Casa Repe*, in Lisbon. The artists featured were António Pedro, António Dacosta, and Pamela Boden (1905-1981). Boden was a British national who had moved to Portugal in the 1930s with her partner, children’s books author Virginia de Castro (1874-1945).<sup>97</sup> She is best known in Portugal as the illustrator of de Castro’s books.

Contemporary artists supported by the regime – or at least benefitting from Ferro’s approval – also saw their work exhibited at the Secretariat’s arts gallery. Among the foreign artists who stayed in Portugal during the period, a significant number exhibited works in this gallery: Arpad Szenes, Max Braumann, Gretchen Wohlwill, and Moïse Kisling. In addition to holding temporary exhibitions, the gallery also organised, from 1935 onwards, the Annual Exhibition of Modern Art, where invited

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<sup>93</sup> João Pinharanda, ‘Portuguese art in the twentieth century’ in Costa Pinto(ed.), *Modern Portugal* (Palo Alto, 1998), pp 243-269, p. 244.

<sup>94</sup> I am grateful to Ana Anjos Mântua for sharing with me ‘Mercado de Arte/Coleccionismo 1880-1920’, a hitherto unpublished article on the commercial art dealers operating in Lisbon between 1900 and 1920.

<sup>95</sup> Maria Antónia Pinto de Matos, *Henri Burnay: de banqueiro a colecionador* (Lisbon, 2003).

<sup>96</sup> Ilídio Gonçalves Rodrigues, *UP: revista de vulgarização e cultura do bom gosto* (Lisbon, 1933).

<sup>97</sup> Cascais Historical Archives, PVDE visa renewal requests, 1940-1942.

artists exhibited their work. It attributed up to eleven art prizes, in different artistic areas. In 1940, it created the Francisco de Holanda Prize, for foreign artists staying in Portugal at the time. Its last recipient, in 1947, was Gretchen Wohlwill, a German painter. In virtue of her being Jewish and of her embrace of impressionistic and neo-realist aesthetics, she, and her work, were considered degenerate by the Nazi authorities, and her property spoliated by the authorities, in a process similar to that which occurred with millions of Jews throughout occupied Europe.

### **Nazi Art Looting and Spoliation (1933-45)**

Between 1933 and 1945, Germany saw the accession of Hitler to power and the implementation of anti-Semitic legislation that encompassed the confiscation of private property, and incrementally restricted the freedoms of Jews from Germany and occupied territories. This eventually culminated in the mass murder that was the Holocaust.<sup>98</sup> In parallel, the Nazi regime established a system of definition and regulation of the artistic environment, from the making to the exhibition and commercialisation of works of art, and art by living artists.

In March 1933, Joseph Goebbels, the Reich Minister for Propaganda, proposed the creation of the *Reichkulturkammer* – the Reich’s culture chamber. This all-arts encompassing organisation required membership from any artist or artistic agent – whether in the field of fine arts, music, literature, architecture, performing arts and exhibitions – wishing to publicly practice his or her craft. Non-members were barred from holding jobs, publicly presenting their work or drawing an income from their artistic activities. From the moment of its creation, the *Reichkulturkammer* excluded Jews and Communists from membership. Nazi cultural policy implemented aesthetic

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<sup>98</sup> Yehuda Bauer and Nili Keren, *A History of the Holocaust* (New York, 2001); Yehuda Bauer, *Rethinking the Holocaust* (New Haven, 2002).

theories that had been under development since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when Max Nordau proposed that all modern art held a pathological, and thus undesirable, quality.<sup>99</sup> Cultural debate on the merits of modernist movements had intensified during the 1920s. In 1929, when the Nazi party took over the Thuringian provincial cabinet, the first official purge of modernist works took place, from the Weimar collections. In *Myth of the Twentieth Century*, Alfred Rosenberg, one of the main ideologues of Nazi racial policy, heavily criticised modernism, claiming that the aryan nordic race was not only behind the great gothic masterpieces found in central Europe, but also behind the great artistic achievements of the Antiquity and of the Renaissance.<sup>100</sup> Rosenberg would later become Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories and lead the *Einsatzstab Reichslauter Rosenberg*, the main agency responsible for the confiscation of cultural assets that would play a central role in the looting of Jewish art collections from individuals and institutions.

From its very first days, therefore, the Nazi regime enforced the banning, purging and destruction of what it considered to be ‘degenerate’ artistic movements. In the fine arts field, it purged its museums of some 16,000 objects of abstract, modernist art, or artworks created by Jewish artists.<sup>101</sup> These artworks were either destroyed, some in public events, or disposed of in the art market to raise funds for the Reich. Modern art dealers Karl Buchholz, Hildebrand Gurlitt, Ferdinand Moller and Bernhard Boehmer were tasked with the disposal abroad of these works. Switzerland was the stage for a significant number of auctions of purged art. The Fischer auction held in 1939, is arguably the best-known event of this kind, as it was the purchase point for significant acquisitions by American collections and museums.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Max Nordau. *Entartung* (Berlin, 1893).

<sup>100</sup> Alfred Rosenberg, *The Myth of the 20th Century* (2017).

<sup>101</sup> Victoria and Albert Museum archives, Fischer Collection. ‘Entarte Kunst inventory’.

<sup>102</sup> Stephanie Barron and Peter Guenther (eds.) *"Degenerate Art": the fate of the avant-garde in Nazi Germany* (Los Angeles, 1991).

In addition to the purges from public museum collections, which was for the most part confined to so-called degenerate art, millions of objects belonging to private owners entered the market forcibly. These processes of depriving Jews of their property began in 1933 and were part of a wider range of legislative initiatives which gradually reduced the presence, the contribution, and the rights of Jews as human beings to the point of extinction. As early as April 1933, civil servants were required to prove their “purity” of blood; by June 30, mixed marriages between Jews and Christians were forbidden. In universities, the attendance of Jewish students was limited by a *numerus clausus*. Forced sales of personal property and private art collections occurred as early as 1934, with the aryansation of the Flechtheim gallery, and the sale of the Emma Budge collection, among others.<sup>103</sup> The laws of citizenship and of the protection of German blood and honour, known as the Nuremberg Racial Laws, which dated from September 1935, stripped Jews of German citizenship. The aryansation of Jewish businesses legally occurred from 1938 onwards. That same year, German, and then Austrian, Jews were required to provide a detailed inventory of assets totalling over 5,000 marks and forbidden to hold commercial or liberal professions. Gradually, Jews were detained, beginning with Polish Jews who had become stateless, residing in Germany. On November 6, 1938, a member of the German Embassy in Paris was murdered by Herschel Grynspan, a Polish Jew. As reprisals, the Kristallnacht pogrom, which began on the night of 10 November 1938 resulted in burned synagogues, destroyed Jewish businesses and mass arrests of German Jews. Later, the community was requested to pay a fine to compensate the German state for the destruction, even though the state had instigated the violence. By the end of 1938, all businesses were

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<sup>103</sup> ‘Alfred Flechtheim’ (<http://alfredflechtheim.com/en/home/>) (1 Mar. 2019); Paul Graupe, *Die Sammlung Frau Emma Budge Hamburg: Gemälde, Farbstiche, Skulpturen, Statuetten, Kunstgewerbe; Versteigerung am 27., 28. und 29. September 1937* (Berlin, 1937).

legally mandated to be free of Jewish administration.<sup>104</sup> For Jewish-owned businesses, this meant aryanisation. Simultaneously, Jews were encouraged to abandon their country, while leaving behind most of their assets, paying a Reich Flight Tax, which, in 1939, stood at ca. 90% of their assets. To pay for this tax, many sold their property at a significant loss.

In the territories it occupied, the Nazi regime implemented a policy of systematic plunder of cultural objects, whether public or privately owned. To enact this policy, several organisations were tasked with identifying collections and objects of interest. The destinations of objects purged were manifold. The priority was, supposedly, to enrich Hitler's museum – the *Führermuseum* – in Linz; then, high-ranking officials, Goering among them, were allowed to purchase from the looted collections at attractive prices. German museums could also peruse looted art to fill gaps in their collections. Finally, unwanted objects could enter the local, or international art market, through an interaction between German art dealers and local art dealers. The *Sonderauftrag Linz*, headed by art historian Hans Posse, was chiefly concerned with building the collection intended for the *Führermuseum*. In the East, the *Sonderkommando Kuensberg*, which answered to von Ribbentrop, minister of Foreign Affairs, looted artworks from Russia, Yugoslavia, and Greece. Given the specific destination of the high-end looted artworks, most were identified and kept in storage in German and Austrian territories.

The above-mentioned *Einsatzstab Reichslauter Rosenberg* [E.R.R.] set up its Western Division in Paris, at the building of the *Jeu de Paume*. Initially created with the purpose of collecting Jewish materials, for study of a vanished culture, by the end of 1940 it was mandated with confiscating and gathering the art collections and desirable home furnishings owned by Jews in the Netherlands, Belgium and France.<sup>105</sup> While the

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<sup>104</sup> *Order eliminating Jews from economic life*, Decree of 18 October 1936.

<sup>105</sup> *Cultural plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg: database of art objects at the Jeu de Paume*, <https://www.errproject.org/jeudepaume/> (14 Mar. 2022).

E.R.R. dealt with mostly high-quality works of art, the Mobil-Aktion, created in 1942, was meant to take over the furnishings of the apartments left empty by Jews who had fled, or who had been deported to the east. This Western Office collected millions of household items and furnishings, which were then made available to Nazi officials and administrators in the east, and later to German citizens as war reparations. In Paris, these objects were removed by French companies and sent to three large warehouses where they were sorted by typology and repaired before being sent on. Most of the staff working in these three warehouses were prisoners in French internment camps.<sup>106</sup> Unlike the E.R.R. inventories, which were detailed and, in many cases, included photographs of each looted item, the M-Aktion inventories consisted in non-itemised lists featuring a generic terminology that hindered the specific identification of each item. As the E.R.R. database shows, looting and spoliation of works of art continued throughout the conflict, and the percentage of the objects recovered in the post-war period remains unknown.

### **Post-war provenance research and restitution cases.**

The understanding of the process and scale of Nazi art looting and spoliation, the location of looted works of art and the process through which restitution occurred or was held in litigation can be divided into two periods. The first period covers the end of the Second World War, when most works of art which had been held in storage in salt mines, or had been acquired through documented means were restituted to source countries. The second period ranges from the mid-1990s to today, and results from the opening of archives in Eastern Europe, following the fall of the Berlin Wall, from the

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<sup>106</sup> Jean-Marc Dreyfus and Sarah Gensburger, *Nazi labour camps in Paris: Austerlitz, Léviton, Bassano, July 1943-August 1944* (New York, 2013).



dissemination of the information pertaining to dormant Swiss bank accounts, and from renewed interest in the issue of the circulation of Nazi gold.

As early as 1943, President Roosevelt established the ‘American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas’. Also known as the Roberts Commission (after the name of its chairman), its mandate was to identify cultural heritage at risk in the different theatres of war. The Commission lobbied to set up the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Section, a military unit that brought together specialists from various countries, under the Civil Affairs and Government Sections of the Allied armies. Hence, the specialists who staffed the MFAA, while art historians, curators, conservators and museum staff in civil life, were, in their MFAA incarnation, military personnel, and were commonly known as the ‘Monuments Men’. While initially focused on the preservation of built heritage, the discovery of over one thousand locations where looted art objects and evacuated art collections were hidden widened the scope of the Monuments Men’s action. Among the most notorious discoveries were Goering’s painting and sculpture collection, in Berchtesgaden; E.R.R.-stolen artworks at Neuschwanstein Castle, Bavaria; and works of art taken from French, Belgian and Italian collections, housed in the salt mines of Alt Aussee, Austria. The recovered works of art were sent to Central Collecting Points located in the U.S. Occupation Zone of Germany under the Office of Military Government (OMGUS), in Munich and Wiesbaden, with further secondary collecting points located in other German towns. There, artworks were unpacked, photographed, identified, and preserved for future restitution.

In parallel to setting up the MFAA, the United States’ Office of Strategic Services set up the Art Looting Investigation Unit, in 1944. Its mission was to investigate the looting systems set in place by the Nazis with a view to prosecuting

those held responsible, and of returning objects to their owners, or their heirs. The resulting reports and annexes, such as the Red Flag Names List and Index, illustrated the complexity of the looting mechanisms set in place, and created a record that, to this day, serves provenance-research professionals.<sup>107</sup>

In the immediate post-war period, individuals did not have the right to claim restitutions directly to Central Collecting Points. Instead, each artwork was repatriated, that is, it was returned to the territory from which it was believed to have been looted. This process was speedier in the case of easily identifiable artworks, or in the case of well documented spoliations such as the ones undertaken by the E.R.R. More difficult to return to a rightful owner were the thousands of Judaica objects, scrolls and books taken from ordinary households whose origin was virtually impossible to trace, as well as the objects looted under the Möbelaktion. Some artworks could be misidentified and forwarded to the wrong country of origin, which rendered any restitution practically impossible.

Once repatriated, objects were subjected to the restitution process devised by each country. Of course, restitution presupposed that the owner of the artwork, or his or her heirs, had survived the Holocaust, and that they had some measure of proof of ownership. Thus, by the closing of the decade, each country had created a system to manage these ‘orphaned’ artworks. French authorities held an exhibition of looted artworks, and drew up an inventory of artworks for public consultation.<sup>108</sup> Of the 61,233 artworks the French government received from Germany, they selected 2,143 artworks of cultural merit from the sixteen thousand or so it had yet to return. The remaining

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<sup>107</sup> The reports produced by the Office of Strategic Service’s Art Looting Investigation Unit were ‘No1. Activity of The Einsatzstab Rosenberg in France, August 1945’; ‘No. 2, The Goering Collection, September 1945’; ‘No. 4, Linz: Hitler’s Museum and Library, December 1945’; ‘No. 4, Linz: Hitler’s Museum and Library, Supplement, January 1946’. They were followed by the Final Report and the Red Flag Name List and Index. All can be consulted on the website of the National Archives and Records Administration.

<sup>108</sup> ‘Le Répertoire des biens spoliés en France durant la guerre 1939-1945’, <https://www.lootedart.com/P4TXFK848581> (14 Mar. 2022).

fourteen thousand were sold the auction, and the funds raised were directed to a victim's compensation fund. The selected artworks entered the French museums, and the Louvre in particular, receiving an inventory code of MNR – *Musées Nationaux Récupération*.<sup>109</sup> To this day, the French ministry of culture restitutes artworks from the MNR collection to their rightful owners. The Dutch and Belgian restitution model followed the French pattern of restitution-sale-museum, with the inventory codes NK and ORE inscribed in the artworks that entered their museum collections.

In spite of the work by the MFAA and national restitution commissions, there remained a significant number of items at the collecting points whose owners were unknown. These works, which featured for the most part, objects for Jewish religious practice, were redistributed by the Jewish Restitution Successor Organisation, overseen by the Joint Distribution Committee, and designated as the legitimate heir of these objects in 1948. Hence, rather than being sent to almost vanished centres of European Jewry, they were sent to the emerging Jewish communities in the United States, Israel and throughout the world.

Impossible to trace, and therefore to inventory and to return within the framework of the MFAA activities, were the millions of objects that had found their way into the market, or people's private homes. Claimants to those objects were, for the most part compensated financially, as no effort was put in the location of their property at the time. Marc Masurovsky, of the Holocaust Art Restitution Project, and leader of the E.R.R. research project, succinctly explained the Allies' disinterest in investing in the long-term search for possible owners of looted artworks:

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<sup>109</sup> Full catalogue of the MNR searchable online:  
<http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/mnr/MnR-pres.htm>.

The Allied powers' prime directive was the economic, political, social and cultural rehabilitation of Europe (read that part of Europe not occupied or influenced by the Soviet Army and its government) especially as the incipient Cold War became a full-fledged game of geopolitical antipathy between former wartime allies.<sup>110</sup>

It is important to note that, while the Western Allies invested in the location, identification and repatriation of looted assets, the Soviet Union took a different stand. Rather than repatriating artworks found in repositories in the Soviet Union Zone, it took over their ownership, considering them as reparation for its wartime effort and losses. As such, restitution from territories in the former Soviet Union is practically impossible.

By the mid-1960s, all wartime reparation files were closed, and the issue of Nazi-looted art, its location, and its restitution to rightful heirs, disappeared from the political agenda, and from the cultural discourse. In museums, auction houses, and private art sales, the concept of provenance research did not include the establishment of an artwork's whereabouts between 1933 and 1945. Looted works of art that had been forcibly sold or spoliated between 1933 and 1945 continued therefore to be bought and sold in the post-war period without significant challenges.

This situation changed during the 1990s, when international public interest in Nazi art looting as a systematic and organised state enterprise, in the circulation of looted cultural assets in the art market, and in the deficient protocols for restitution to rightful owners resurfaced. This was due to several factors. Firstly, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union combined with the lapse in the fifty-year

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<sup>110</sup> Marc Masurovsky, 'plundered art: Provenance research—now and later (Third Instalment)' in *plundered art*, 2014, [https://plundered-art.blogspot.com/2014/06/provenance-researchnow-and-later-third\\_16.html](https://plundered-art.blogspot.com/2014/06/provenance-researchnow-and-later-third_16.html) (14 March 2022).

archival reserve to bring about opening of document vaults that enabled hitherto stagnated or unsubstantiated claims to be re-launched. What until then had been discreet academic interest could now enter mainstream cultural conversations.<sup>111</sup> Secondly, Swiss banks were discovered to have held in their vaults assets belonging to Holocaust victims without having made the effort to contact their heirs, in what were called dormant accounts which, by 1999, reached 53,886 in number.<sup>112</sup> In fact, the field of Nazi-era provenance research, and the demands for restitution and/or compensation from rightful owners, can be seen as stemming from the inquiries into the actions of Swiss banks between 1933 and 1945. These investigations, which had the double aim of identifying the misappropriation and misuse of accounts and funds of Jewish account owners during the 1930s and 1940s, and of negotiating settlements of compensation for victims and their families, began in the 1990s.

The mostly U.S.-based litigation that emerged from these investigations created the framework for the first investigations into the art looting and spoliation that occurred in the same period, and for an evaluation of each country's restitution efforts since 1946.<sup>113</sup> The first litigation on ownership of a presumably spoliated artwork – *Goldman v Searle* – was launched in 1996, and culminated in an agreement of shared ownership.<sup>114</sup> In 1998, the first seizure of artworks on loan to a US museum – in this case the Museum of Modern Art – from a non-American museum – the Leopold collection in Vienna – occurred. The two paintings seized – *Portrait of Walli* and *Night*

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<sup>111</sup> Feliciano, *The lost museum*; Nicholas, *The rape of Europa*; Petropoulos, *Art as politics in the Third Reich* (1999); Simpson (ed.), *Spoils of war*; Jonathan Petropoulos, *The Faustian bargain: the art world in Nazi Germany* (New York, 2000).

<sup>112</sup> Comité indépendant de personnes éminentes, *Report on Dormant Accounts of Victims of Nazi Persecution in Swiss Banks* (Bern, 1999).

<sup>113</sup> Masurovsky, 'plundered art: Confessions of an art looting "expert" (II)' in *plundered art*, 2011 <https://plundered-art.blogspot.com/2011/11/confessions-of-art-looting-expert-ii.html> (14 Mar. 2022).

<sup>114</sup> Judith H. Dobrzynski, 'Settlement in dispute over a painting looted by Nazis' in *The New York Times*, 14 Aug. 1998, <https://www.nytimes.com/1998/08/14/us/settlement-in-dispute-over-a-painting-looted-by-nazis.html> (14 Mar. 2022).

*City III* – were prevented from leaving the country until the claimants had their day in court.<sup>115</sup> After thirteen years of litigation, *Portrait of Walli* was returned to Ruth Jarai, its rightful owner, while *Night City III* was returned to Austria. While Austrian museums and institutions were by no means alone in retaining and exhibiting artworks of questionable provenance, Austria was soon the recipient of a second high-profile request for restitution. In 1999, Maria Altmann, the rightful owner of *Portrait of Adele Bloch Bower*, by Gustav Klimt, began her claims for restitution in the United States. The claims were eventually settled in Austria, by a restitution settlement, which awarded her three of the five paintings she has claimed, including the portrait of her aunt Adele.<sup>116</sup>

In 1997, the Holocaust Art Restitution Project created the first database of looted art from the documents pertaining to the E.R.R. activities. This database is now fully searchable and information is added to it on a continuous basis.<sup>117</sup> Simultaneously, the World Jewish Congress set up the Commission for Art Recovery, with the purpose of identifying looted art works and advocating for their return to their rightful owners. By the end of 1998, forty-seven countries, including Portugal, had convened in Washington DC to discuss methodologies for identifying looted or spoliated cultural assets, as well as procedures for claims and restitution. The resulting Washington Principles on Nazi-Confiscated Art were signed by forty-four government representatives, including Portugal's. The Washington Principles can be grouped into specific sets of actions: countries should open their archives and simplify research into all aspects of Nazi looting; in each country, Nazi-looted cultural items should be listed, and information

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<sup>115</sup> 'Portrait of Wally – United States and estate of Lea Bondi and Leopold Museum — Centre du droit de l'art', <https://plone.unige.ch/art-adr/cases-affaires/case-portrait-of-wally-2013-united-states-and-estate-of-lea-bondi-and-leopold-museum> (14 Mar. 2022).

<sup>116</sup> Elisabeth Sandmann, *Der gestohlene Klimt: Wie sich Maria Altmann die Goldene Adele zurückholte* (Berlin, 2016).

<sup>117</sup> *Cultural plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichslauter Rosenberg. Database of art objects at the Jeu de Paume.* <https://www.errproject.org/jeuropaume/> (14 Mar. 2022).

should be centralised; the need for documental evidence must take into account the circumstances of the period; once an artwork is known as having been looted, a 'fair and just' solution regarding its ownership must be established in a speedy manner. In Portugal, however, the declaration was never ratified by the national parliament. As such, Portuguese public museums are not legally obligated by law to engage in Nazi-era provenance research. In 2000, the Council of Europe's Vilnius Declaration mirrored the Washington Principles. While it was adopted as the official position of the European Union on the issue, it was not officially binding.

In the follow-up of the Washington Conference, various European countries set up national commissions to research the looting of Jewish assets and their post-war restitution. Between 1998 and 2003, seven commissions were established in Austria (Commission for Provenance Research, 1998), France (Commission for the Indemnisation of Victims of Spoliations, 1998) the United Kingdom (Spoliation Advisory Panel, 2000), Luxembourg (Special Commission for the Study of the Spoliation of Jewish Assets during the War Years 1940-1945), the Netherlands (Dutch Restitution Commission, 2002), Belgium (Jewish Community Indemnification Commission) and Germany (Limbach Commission, 2003). Each country devised its own process and methodologies and criteria for presenting, evaluating and deciding on the outcome of restitution claims. Depending on the country, these commissions can function under governmental supervision or autonomously; their findings can be legally binding or simple recommendations. The national commissions publish their findings on a regular basis. In most of these countries, public museums also engaged in provenance research, and drew lists of objects whose ownership between 1933 and 1945 was unknown, or illegally transferred through looting. European countries which remained neutral during the Second World War fell into a different pattern of

researching both the art market during the period and their own public collections. Sweden and Switzerland researched collections and published reports.<sup>118</sup> Spanish academia has displayed moderate interest in the national context, even though the Spanish government did not engage in Nazi-era provenance research of its collections nor in an official fact-finding effort regarding what occurred during the Second World War.<sup>119</sup> The Portuguese government followed the steps of the Spanish government. To this day, no public report on the matter has been published.

The historical contexts presented here lay the groundwork to understand the specific issues that will be discussed in the remaining chapters of this thesis. While the Portuguese historical context is relevant for Chapters II-VI, the historical context regarding Nazi art looting and restitution debates is particularly important to understand Chapters V and VI.

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<sup>118</sup> Commission on Jewish assets in Sweden at the time of the Second World War, *Sweden and Jewish assets: final report from the Commission on Jewish assets in Sweden at the time of the Second World War* (Stockholm, 1999); [Swiss Confederation] Federal Department of Home Affairs and Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, *Report on the state of work on looted art during the National Socialist era* (Bern, 2010).

<sup>119</sup> Martorell Linares, 'España y el expolio nazi de obras de arte'; Martorell Linares, 'España y el expolio de las colecciones artísticas europeas durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial.'; Dermasin, 'The Third Time Is Not Always a Charm'; Schnabel and Tatzkow, *Nazi Looted Art – Handbuch Kunstrestitution weltweit*.



## CHAPTER II – WORKS IN TRANSIT: IMPORT AND EXPORT RECORDS, 1933-46

In October 1940, British authorities boarded the S.S. *Excalibur* in Bermuda and seized a shipment of artworks intended for the American market.<sup>120</sup> The navicert for the circa five hundred artworks, which featured Impressionist and post-Impressionist masters, had been obtained in Lisbon, the port of origin, by Martin Fabiani. After the war, Fabiani, the executor of the will of art dealer Ambroise Vollard, the original owner of these works, was found guilty of collaborating with the *Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg* in Paris, recycling artworks from the looted collections of, among others, Paul Rosenberg.<sup>121</sup> This incident is generally considered the first important episode illustrating the transatlantic circulation of looted artworks during the Second World War. In the context of this research, however, this incident draws attention to Lisbon – and perhaps Portugal – as a possible hub in this circuit. Surprisingly, however, while Holocaust and provenance researchers allude to the role played by the Portuguese territory in the circulation of looted property in specialised conferences, there has been no published research on this apparently promising subject.<sup>122</sup> Yet it is expectable that different agents – collectors, artists, and art dealers – would see neutral Portugal as a territory through which their holdings could circulate and be kept safe.

In fact, in addition to serving as a gyrating platform for the art trade between Europe and the Americas, Portuguese territory was also sought by individuals wishing to safekeep their holdings for the duration of the conflict. For example, on 29 February 1940, S. Rosenberg, owner the Amsterdam-based art dealers I. Rosenbaum N.V.,

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<sup>120</sup> Nancy Caron Karrels, ‘Reconstructing a wartime journey: the Vollard-Fabiani collection, 1940–1949’ in *International Journal of Cultural Property*, xxii, n 4 (2015), pp 505–526.

<sup>121</sup> NARA/Office of Strategic Services/Art Looting Investigation Unit, *Report No. 1, Activity of the Einsatzstab Rosenberg in France* (1945).

<sup>122</sup> In oral statements presented at conferences, Marc Masurovsky (*Looted art and restitution: a transnational perspective*, Cambridge, 2014) and Patricia Kennedy Grimstead (*Plundered by Whom*, Prague, 2015) have been assertive in the role played by Portugal as a hub for the circulation of looted art, during and immediately after the war.

contacted the *Direcção Geral do Ensino Superior e Belas Artes* [henceforth, DGESBA], the directorate general of the Portuguese Ministry of Education in charge of higher education and fine arts.<sup>123</sup> Rosenberg enquired about the possibility of temporarily housing a collection of drawings and paintings in a Portuguese museum, and about the possibility of waiving an import tax. The experts of the *Junta Nacional de Educação*, the committee tasked with evaluating these requests, viewed them favourably, and on 16 March instructed the customs office to waive import taxes for this collection, should such a waiver be requested.<sup>124</sup> Before the month ended, Rosenberg informed the Portuguese authorities that he hoped to return to the issue promptly.<sup>125</sup> For unknown reasons, this did not occur. By mid-May, Holland had been invaded by Nazi Germany. The holdings of the art dealer firm I. Rosenbaum N.V. were ‘aryanised’ and remain to this day the object of restitution claims from the descendants of the company’s holders.<sup>126</sup>

Other renowned collectors settled in or travelled through Portugal during the period. Their collections either remained undisturbed in their original home or in storage, or were confiscated and entered the looted art circuit. What remains unknown, however, is whether those – or other – collectors were also involved in the international transfer of works of art through Portugal during their stay.

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<sup>123</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3-3061/File 134, letter from I Rosenbaum N.V. to Director General of Fine Arts, 28 February 1940.

<sup>124</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3-3061/File 134, letter from Director General of Higher Education and Fine Arts to Director General of Customs, 16 March 1940.

<sup>125</sup> Ministry of Education contemporary archives, DGESBA/3-3061/File 134, letter from I Rosenbaum N.V. to Director General of Fine Arts, 25 March 1940.

<sup>126</sup> *Rosenbaum* | *Recommendation regarding I. Rosenbaum NV*, Dutch Restitution Commission 2011, <https://www.restitutiecommissie.nl/en/recommendation/rosenbaum/> (15 March 2022); *Rosenbaum (B)* | *Recommendation regarding I. Rosenbaum NV*, Dutch Restitution Commission 2011, <https://www.restitutiecommissie.nl/en/recommendation/rosenbaum-b/> (15 March 2022); *Rosenberg* | *Recommendation regarding Rosenberg*, Dutch Restitution Commission 2010, <https://www.restitutiecommissie.nl/en/recommendation/rosenberg/> (15 March 2022).

The memoirs of the visual artists who sought Portugal as a temporary or permanent refuge indicate that some travelled with their own artwork. Max Ernst is described by Peggy Guggenheim as illegally fleeing Spain with ‘his works rolled up in his luggage’.<sup>127</sup> Painters such as Portugal-born Maria Helena Vieira da Silva and her husband, the stateless Arpad Szenes, who briefly attempted to make Portugal their home before fleeing to Brazil, sought to have their artwork sent from Paris after fleeing in haste.<sup>128</sup> Marc Chagall prolonged his stay in Lisbon while waiting for his paintings to be shipped from France, then from Madrid.<sup>129</sup> Eventually, his daughter, Ida Rapaport, brought her father’s art with her to the United States from Seville, and they thus never entered Portugal.<sup>130</sup>

Art dealers also travelled through or settled in Portugal. They included foreign art dealers listed in the Red Flag Name list who chose to settle in Portugal, and whose activity will be examined in detail in another chapter of this thesis, as well as others who stopped in Portugal on their way to the Americas. The latter included Paul Rosenberg<sup>131</sup>, Paul Graupe<sup>132</sup>, and Pierre Matisse, who travelled through Lisbon on his way to and from France towards the end of the conflict<sup>133</sup>. Which ones, and how, saw Portugal as a transaction platform for artworks is unknown. Of course, Portuguese nationals – whether private citizens or commercial dealers – can also be expected to have imported and exported artworks during the period. This chapter therefore focuses on the issue of import and export of artworks into and from Portugal between 1933 and

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<sup>127</sup> Guggenheim, *Out of this century*.

<sup>128</sup> ‘Correspondence between Maria Helena Vieira da Silva and Fernando Lopes Graça’ (Casa-Museu Verdades de Faria - Museum of Portuguese Music, Fernando Lopes Graça archive, personal correspondence).

<sup>129</sup> Benjamin Harshav, Marc Chagall and Barbara Harshav, *Marc Chagall and his times: a documentary narrative* (Stanford, 2004), p. 500.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 503–4.

<sup>131</sup> The Paul Rosenberg papers, held by Museum of Modern Art (New York), have not revealed pertinent information regarding his stay in Lisbon.

<sup>132</sup> Howard J. Trienens and Scott J. Stone, *Landscape with Smokestacks: the case of the allegedly plundered Degas* (Evanston, 2000), p. 50.

<sup>133</sup> The Pierre Matisse papers, held at the Pierpont Morgan Library, have not revealed pertinent information for the subject of this thesis.

1946. The examination and interpretation of primary sources that, to this day, have not been analysed as a dataset, reveals the identities of the individuals involved in the circulation of works of art into and from Portugal and identifies at least the general the nature of these works of art.

The location and examination of the requests for art import and export permits sheds light on the flow of artworks through Portugal and on the extent of the impact of the Second World War and of the refugee movement on the quality, and quantity, of the artworks imported and exported into and from the country. It identifies many of those involved in the international circulation of artworks. Cross-referencing data makes it possible to determine to what extent Portugal served as a clearing house for artworks on their way from Europe to the Americas; whether Portugal-based Red Flag Name dealers were indeed active in this movement; and whether other foreign art dealers were active in this area. Finally, the identities of the actors involved in these transactions provide the first understanding of the network of art dealers and collectors involved in international art trade, some of whom will be analysed in further chapters of this thesis.

The import and export of artworks through Portugal was regulated by specific legislation, published during the First Republic, on 22 November 1910.<sup>134</sup> This decree, upheld throughout the period under analysis, was complemented by additional legislation, introduced over the subsequent decades, which established the need for expert committees. The decree legislated on the conditions under which artworks were permitted to enter or leave the country – regardless of their public or private ownership. It established the parameters for transactions within and outside national borders and determined that publicly owned items were inalienable. Article 1 defined artworks and archaeological artefacts as ‘all the objects than can constitute a model or may represent,

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<sup>134</sup> *Decree, with force of law, of 19 November, enabling the avoidance of the deterioration and exit abroad of objects of artistic and historical value. Diário do Governo, I, 41, p. 510 (1910).*

for artists, or are worthy of figuring in public museums of art, and all those that, because of their documental value or because of the memories or traditions associated with it, deserve the qualification of historical.’<sup>135</sup> Article 4 determined that private citizens and associations, while free to purchase and sell artworks within the national territory, ‘will not be allowed to export them without authorisation by the Ministry of Interior who will consult the entities mentioned in article 2<sup>136</sup> regarding the requested consent.’<sup>137</sup> Article 10 determined that, as far as imports were concerned, ‘Portuguese artworks, or historical objects, regarded as such by the fine arts academies, are exempt from any import duties.’<sup>138</sup> Foreign artworks evaluated as holding an important artistic value could be equally exempted from import duties. It is important to underline that artworks by living artists, i.e. contemporary art, were not covered by this legislation. Since contemporary art includes what the Nazis classified as ‘Degenerate Art’, it is unlikely that any requests pertaining to such items appear in these archives. As such, the analysis presented in this chapter does not cover contemporary art.

Throughout the 1920s and the 1930s, the Portuguese customs agency established guidelines regarding all imports and exports. This legislation affected the import and export of artworks, since it defined the entities responsible for the examination of the artworks submitted for import and export permits.<sup>139</sup> The permit request circuit for the import and export of artworks created by this legislation thus involved the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Education. Hence, the request for an import tax exemption or export permit was entered by the importer or exporter through the customs office, which forwarded it to the Ministry of Public Instruction which, in 1936, became the

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<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> The decrees that regulated this activity were Law-Decree 24.920, 10 January 1935; Law-Decree 17.823, 13 December 1929; Law-Decree 28.364, 30 December 1937; Law-Decree 28.670, 18 May 1938.

Ministry of National Education. Within the Ministry, the request was forwarded to the DGEBSA. While the DGEBSA executed orders, and signed official correspondence, it did not provide expert opinions. Between 1933 and 1936, requests were forwarded by DGEBSA, to the *Conselho Superior de Belas Artes*, the Fine Arts Council. From 1936 onwards, DGEBSA forwarded requests to the 1<sup>st</sup> sub-section of the 6<sup>th</sup> section of the *Junta Nacional de Educação*<sup>140</sup> [National Education Board, henceforth, JNE]. Created in 1936, the JNE was a consultative entity, under the supervision of the Ministry of Education, whose mission was to engage in ‘the study of the problems related to the formation of character, to the [formal] education, and culture of the Portuguese citizen, as well as to the integral development of his physical ability’<sup>141</sup>.

Its 6<sup>th</sup> section, the Fine Arts section, was presided over by the head of the Academia Nacional de Belas Artes who, for most of the period under study, was Reynaldo dos Santos. Its 1<sup>st</sup> sub-section, dedicated to Visual Arts, Museums and Monuments, was staffed by the Director of the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga [the National Art Museum, henceforth, MNAA], the Director of the Museu Nacional de Arte Contemporânea [the Contemporary Art Museum, henceforth MNAC], the Director of Museums and Monuments, a delegate each of the Inspectorate of Fine Arts, of the Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes, a representative of each type of museum (national, regional), a representative of municipalities with their own museums, the president of the national tourism board, and the director of the National Propaganda Secretariat. During the entire period under analysis, this position was filled by the highly influential António Ferro, who enjoyed unfettered access to Salazar. This sub-section designated the expert among its team, or, alternatively, a third party, such as a museum curator, who would actually examine the artworks at customs and provide an opinion on the import

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<sup>140</sup> Law 1941, *Diário do Governo*, I, (1936) 411–413.

<sup>141</sup> Law-Decree 26.611, *Diário do Governo*, I, (1936), 36–47.

tax exemption or export permit. The expert informed the JNE of its opinion, who in turn informed the Customs agency of the outcome.

### **Primary sources**

The main primary sources for the elaboration of a database of legal import and export activity of artworks throughout Portugal between 1933 and 1946 are the tax exemption requests addressed by the customs agency to the DGESBA. These requests are located within the DGESBA archives held at the Portuguese Ministry of Education.<sup>142</sup> The entire archives are organised chronologically by year and month, and do not benefit from an accurate and comprehensive finding aid. Hence, the only manner of ensuring the highest level of accuracy in the location and identification of each import and export file has been to consult each of the almost eleven thousand individual files contained in the ca. ninety archive boxes which cover the period between 1933 and 1946.

The requests themselves are organised in different manners. For most years, the DGESBA archives feature one request per file, named after the identity of the importer or exporter. However, in some years, a disorganised set of correspondence was gathered within one large file, requiring a page-by-page reconstruction of the requests filed in that particular year. Hence, collecting this material has been a time-consuming and laborious task, especially when compared to archives that benefit from an online, complete and/or searchable finding aid, enabling the consultation of specific files instead of the entirety of materials produced by one administrative body.

It is also important to note that the content and type of information provided in the requests varies throughout the years and depends on the methodology of the expert who examined the item(s) in question. Hence, while the identity of the importer or exporter

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<sup>142</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, Fonds PT/MESG/AAC/DGESBA.

is almost always made available, other elements, such as a detailed description of the artworks, the origin or destination of the artworks, and the manner in which the items entered Portugal (road, sea, rail), are often missing.

The examination of the DGESBA archive was complemented by consulting the correspondence files of national museums, which received the bulk of the requests for art experts. These files are particularly interesting inasmuch as they contain handwritten notes and information jotted down by the expert that was not necessarily forwarded to the DGESBA, and thus provides, on occasion, greater insight into some of the individuals and/or objects discussed in this chapter. Finally, the JNE database, which consists of a condensed index of this agency's files, while mostly concerned with post-1945 requests, provided for a cross-reference for requests, should any have evaded the consultation of the physical archive material.<sup>143</sup>

This analysis cannot be seen as encompassing the entirety of the art objects that entered or left the country during this period. Indeed, not only were objects by living artists exempt from a JNE-approved export permit, importers could also choose not to submit artworks for an import tax exemption and pay the tax on the declared value. This could have possibly occurred with artworks of an obvious lower artistic quality, as they were not covered by the tax exemption; or, more importantly, with artworks whose owners may have wished for the state art experts to be unaware of their existence within the country. However, the import-tax exemption for items of a higher artistic value was undoubtedly a strong incentive, especially for commercial art dealers. Only a thorough examination of the import and export records held at the Portuguese Customs archives, and whose finding constitutes a long-term research project, can determine the extent to which the DGESBA import and export files represent the universe of the circulation of artworks through Portugal during the period.

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<sup>143</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, Fonds PT/MESG/AAC/JNE/G-A.



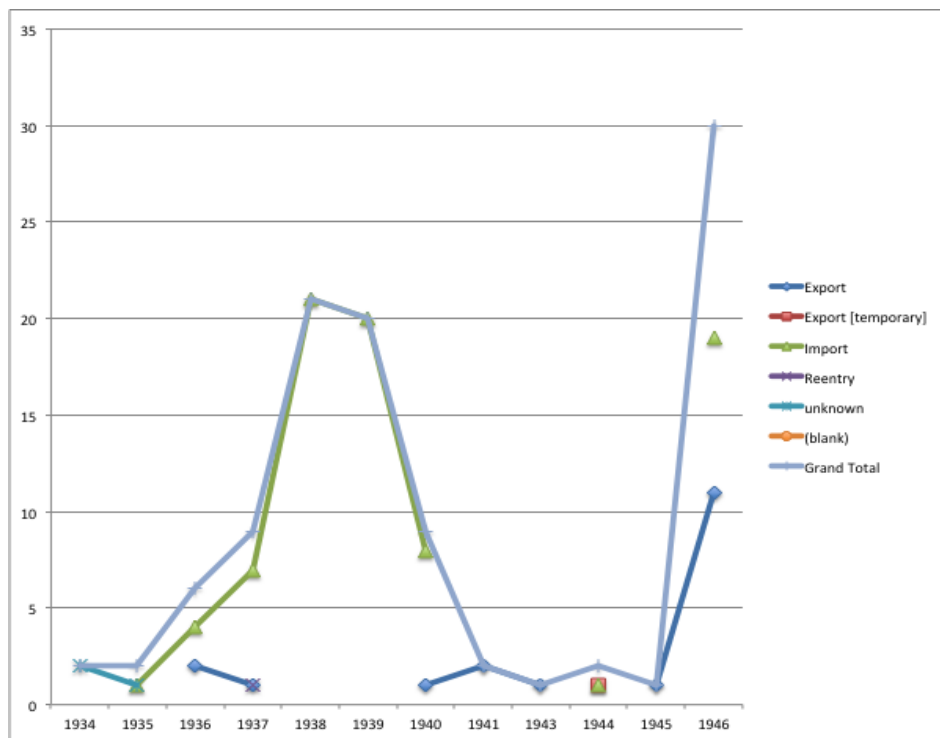
In addition, the nature of the DGESBA archive signifies that the database of artworks entering and leaving the country during this period pertains exclusively to legal movements. In other words, artworks entering the country as undeclared property, such as for example, as rolled up canvases in the suitcase of a refugee, did not leave a paper trail in these archives. Finally, items transported by diplomatic pouch, and thus precluded from any kind of taxation, and therefore of any type of tax exemption request, were also excluded from this database.

The resulting database of import and export requests, rather than presenting each entry as an object, focuses on each request, thereby enabling a more just characterisation of the activity taking place. Hence, a multi-object import request will count as one occurrence, as long as all items were covered by the same request. Chronologically, we have chosen to include the requests submitted in 1946, in order to evaluate whether the end of the conflict had an immediate impact on the international movement of artworks to and from Portugal.

The findings and subsequent analysis are presented in two stages. A general narrative regarding the import tax exemptions and export licence requests will be proposed. This narrative is presented chronologically and examines the typologies of objects imported and exported, as well the number of objects featured in each individual request. In the second stage, two groups of data will be analysed in greater depth. The first group focuses on import tax exemption requests and on the artworks introduced into the country, the identity and typology of importers, and, where possible, their area of origin. The second group pertains to export permit requests and seeks to identify the individuals and the objects mentioned, as well as destinations sought by the requesters.

## **Quantitative analysis**

The period under analysis saw 105 requests for import tax waivers or for export permits submitted to the Portuguese customs, then forwarded to the DGESBA, which in turn forwarded them to the JNE. (Appendix II.1) Figure II.1 identifies in detail the years of greater activity and those of lesser activity, as well as the customs offices with greater movement.



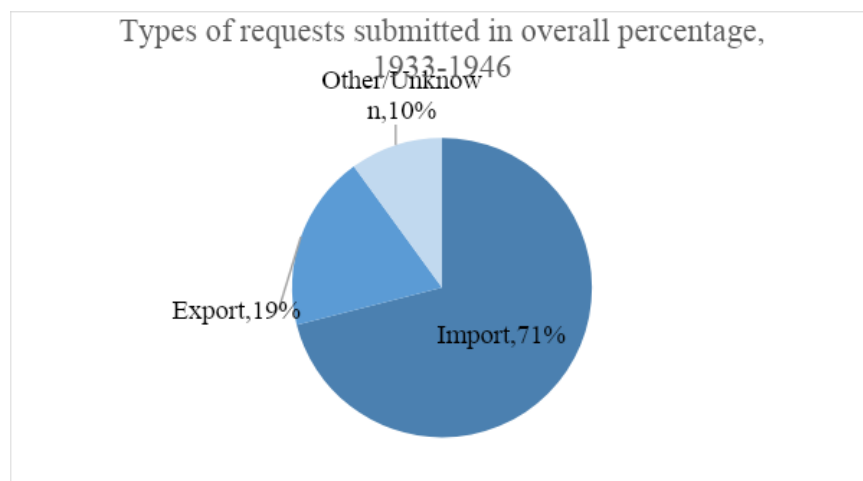
*Figure II.1 – Number of import and export requests, per year, submitted to the JNE between 1933 and 1946. Source: Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA fonds.*

This number of requests per year equals or surpasses twenty instances in three years: in 1938, with 21 requests; in 1939, with 20 requests; and in 1946, with 30 instances, the year that recorded the highest number of requests. A closer inspection reveals a low number of requests submitted during the war years, post-1941, with one to two yearly requests submitted until 1945. In addition, there were no requests submitted in 1942. Finally, the years 1937 and 1940 mirrored each other in terms of numbers of

requests with nine requests per year. Hence, the first important conclusion to draw is that the Second World War period was one of very little activity in terms of legal imports and exports of works of art into or from Portugal.

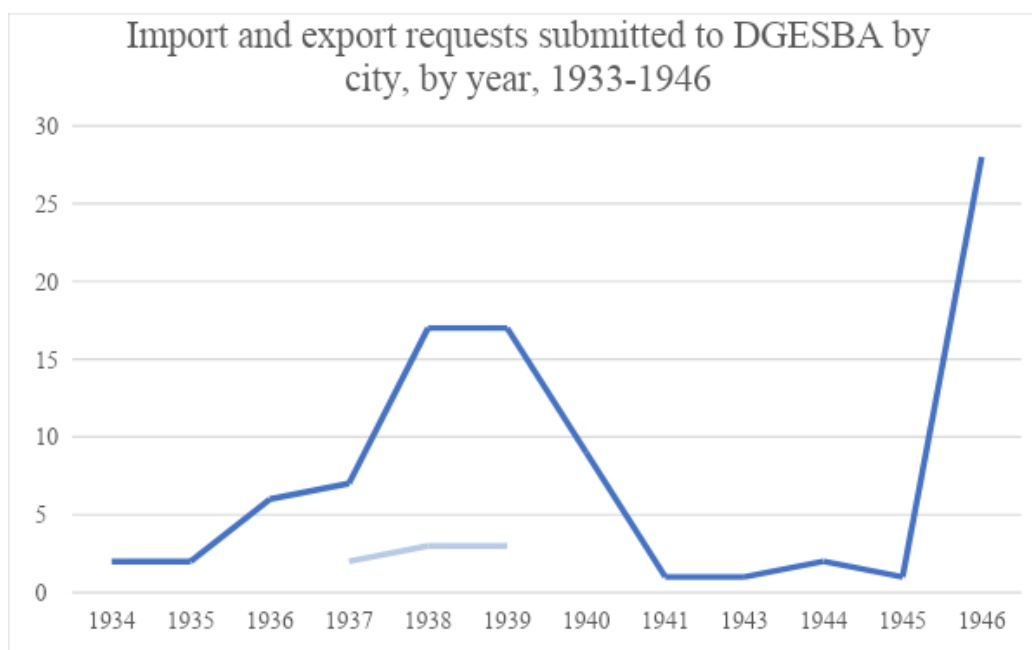
The number of import tax waiver requests, 81 in total, far outweighs those of export permits, 20 in total. This occurrence is noteworthy inasmuch as it indicates that more artworks were legally entering – and remaining – in the country during the period concerned, than leaving it. This observation further underscores the conclusion that the country most likely did not serve as an active hub for international art trade during the period.

While representing almost a fifth of all the requests submitted in total, exports represented an important part of the international movement of works of art through Portugal during the Second World War. The majority of export requests were submitted during the conflict, with six requests, including one temporary export request, and in the post-war period, with eleven requests. (Figure III.2)



*Figure III.2 – Types of requests for evaluation by experts in overall percentage, 1933-1946. Source: Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESEBA fonds.*

As far as locations are concerned, 89% of the requests were handled through Lisbon offices, with 93 instances, followed by Porto with nine per cent of requests, with ten instances, and Funchal with two per cent, relating to two instances. (Figure II.3)



*Figure II.3 – Number of import and export requests submitted to DGESBA by city, by year, 1933-1946. Source: Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA fonds.*

Unlike Porto and Funchal, which appear to deal only with one customs office, Lisbon-based requests originated in its different delegations. Hence, the 67 import requests, eighteen export requests, and eight unknown requests could originate from any of the customs delegations that were connected to different transportation hubs. The railway terminal station of Santa Apolónia processed nineteen requests. The harbour delegations of Alcântara and Santos processed fifteen and fourteen requests each. The remaining delegations – Lisbon airport, Cais dos Soldados (harbour), Rocha do Conde d’Óbidos (harbour), Rossio (railway) saw less than ten requests each. Other delegations and services, which included customs headquarters, the standby service, postal parcels, and a processing warehouse also processed less than ten requests each. Finally, one address given for the evaluation of an export permit, Travessa da Trabuqueta, pertains to the exporter, or the dispatcher’s address.

Most of the ten permits pertaining to the Porto delegations (six imports; two exports; two unknown requests) did not specify a delegation. On one occasion only, the export permit specified the harbour of Leixões. This request pertained to the export of five paintings by British national Elizabeth Venum Cruttwell. This request was the only one which was processed in Porto between 1940 and 1945, and most of the requests were processed in the years before the conflict. The customs of Porto did not see a post-war increase in the submission of import and export permits. In fact, the year of 1946 witnessed a single request submission, pertaining to the export of a painting to Brazil, submitted by Albino António Borges, who lived in Gondomar.

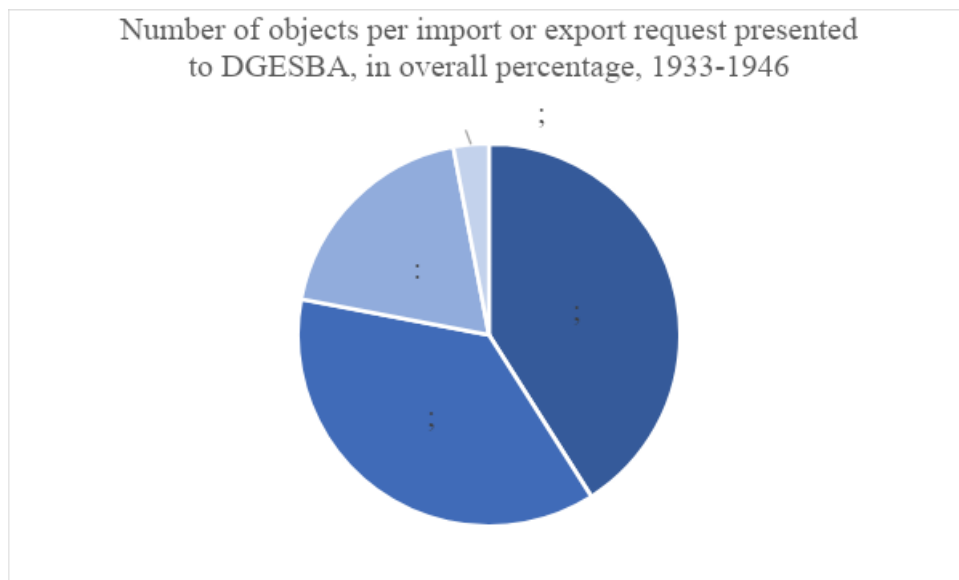
Finally, the two requests pertaining to the city of Funchal (in the Madeira archipelago), pertain to two import requests, one submitted by Vera Cunha Teles, and the other by the firm Jan Wetzler & Silva, dating from 1938 and 1946, respectively. There were no requests whatsoever submitted in Funchal during the war period.

The experts who evaluated the requests worked, for the most part, in museums located geographic proximity to the locations where the request was submitted. As such, the directors of the MNAA – José de Figueiredo (one entry, dated 1937)<sup>144</sup> and João Couto (49 entries, from 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1943, 1944, 1946) – and the MNAC – Adriano Sousa Lopes (one entry) and Diogo de Macedo (four entries, dated 1937, 1938 and 1946) – were particularly active in Lisbon. The director of the Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis, Vasco Valente, was the only expert called upon in Porto (eight entries, dated 1937, 1938, 1939 and 1946). Luis Keil, curator of paintings at the MNAA examined objects on five occasions, in 1937 and 1938, coinciding with the period of transition in the MNAA's directorship. Towards the end of the conflict and immediately following its conclusion, and perhaps because of the spike in requests, other experts

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<sup>144</sup> The files dating between 1934 and 1936 are deficient in material as they only contain the request for an art expert sent by the customs authority. In fact, Figueiredo was most likely the art expert who evaluated all the requests submitted during this period in the Lisbon area.

were called in. All were members of the JNE subsection and included architects Raul Lino (five requests, in 1946), Paulino Montez (one request, in 1946), and Pardal Monteiro (one request, in 1946); painters Luis Varela Aldamira (five requests, in 1944 and 1946), and Armando de Lucena (five requests, in 1946). Playwright Júlio Dantas, the head inspector of the secretariat for libraries and archives, was called upon in 1946 to evaluate two export shipments of books and manuscripts. Curiously, in Funchal, the evaluation request(s) was passed on the representative of the Libraries and Archives as the subsection did not have a representative there.

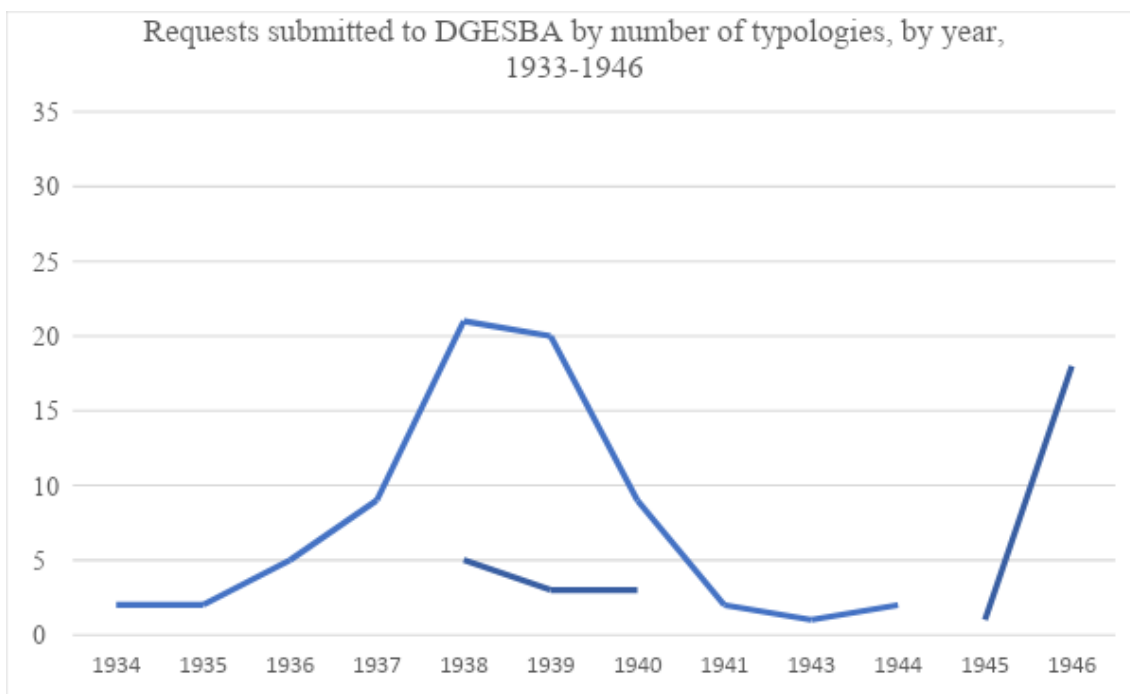


*Figure II.4 – Number of objects per import or export request presented to DGESBA, in overall percentage, 1933-1946. Source: Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA fonds.*

Figure II.4, which looks at the number of objects covered by each import or export tax waiver request, reveals that 58% pertained to multiple objects (81). Two thirds of these pertained to less than ten objects per request (38 entries). Overall, only three requests pertained to more than 100 objects per request. All three pertained to import requests submitted in 1946. Of these, two were submitted by the same person, Elfriede Marques Pereira, an art dealer and Red Flag Name listee. The other request was submitted by

Fernando Espírito Santo Moniz Galvão. Requests pertaining to single objects reached 42% of the requests (44 entries). These figures allow us to conclude that, with a few exceptions, the individuals involved in import and export activity of artworks between 1933 and 1945 were not engaged in recurring high-volume transactions.

Not all multi-object requests pertained to the same type of work of art, such as paintings, ceramics, or furniture. In fact, 31 requests, out of 105, pertained to the import or export of more than one typology of objects. (Figure II.5)



*Figure II.5 – Requests submitted to DGESBA by number of typologies, by year, 1933-1946. Source: Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA fonds.*

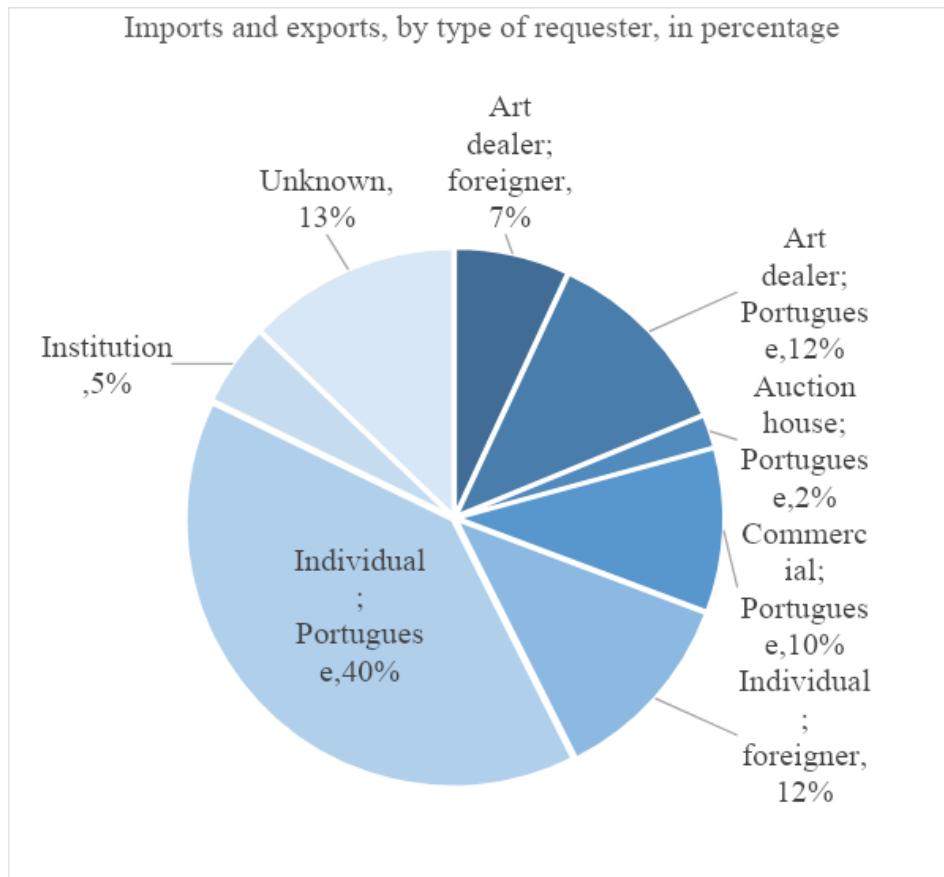
Chronologically, multiple typology requests took place in 1935 (one entry), and between 1938 and 1940 (eleven entries in total). There are no records of these during the years 1941-1944, they resumed in 1945 (one entry), and peaked in 1946 (eighteen requests). Interestingly, multiple typologies of objects constituted almost half of the export requests identified during this period (nine entries). This means that, while

exports were lower than imports overall, a more significant proportion of exports was constituted by multiple typologies of objects, as opposed to imports.

Having analysed the available quantitative data regarding objects, we shall now focus on identifying the individuals submitting the requests, not only by name, but also by intensity of activity, typology, and nationality. In terms of typology, submitters fall under one of three categories: commercial entities, including art dealers, whether with an open business or operating from their home; private citizens, including prominent collectors; and non-commercial collective entities.

As Figure II.6 illustrates, individuals – including art collectors and refugees, Portuguese and foreign – constitute 52% of the requesters. They are followed by commercial entities – including art dealers and auction houses, Portuguese and foreign – which account for thirty per cent of the number of requests. Collective entities are few and far between and their requests usually contemplate institutional activities, such as temporary exhibitions abroad. They account for 5% of requesters.





*Figure II.6 – Import and export requests submitted to DGESBA by type of entity, in overall percentage, 1933-45. Source: Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA fonds.*

A mere ten entities submitted more than one request, of which only one, banker and art collector Ricardo Espírito Santo Silva, submitted requests in the double digits. (Table II.1). None of these were active during the years 1941-1945; and Espírito Santo is the only one to have been active before and after this period. Seven of the most active requesters were connected to the art world, and three were named in Allies intelligence reports as possibly being involved in the illicit circulation of works of art.

The most active requesters submitted imports only. The fact that there was no crossover between the individuals involved in importing artworks, with those involved in exporting them, allows us to conclude that whatever circuits there were for the import and export of artworks through Portugal during the period, if any, they did not intersect at the time.

Classification	Name of Requester	Number; type of requests	Years of activity
COLLECTOR / ALIU OSS	Ricardo do Espírito Santo Silva	10; imports	1937-40; 1946
	Antonio Moreira de Almeida	6; imports	1937-1939
RED FLAG NAME LISTEE / ART DEALER	Elfriede Marques Pereira	4; imports	1946
ART DEALER	Mercador, Lda.	4; imports	1938-40
ALIU OSS / ART DEALER	Salão de Arte Antiga, Lda.	3; imports	1938-40
COLLECTOR	Ernesto Vilhena	2; imports	1937
ART DEALER	J. Guedes	2; imports	1937
ART DEALER	Leiria & Nascimento Lda.	2; imports	1938; 1939
COLLECTOR / FOREIGN RESIDENT	Martin Sain	2; imports	1940
COMMERCIAL FIRM	Abecassis (Irmãos) & Ca	2; imports	1946
	TOTAL	37 requests	

*Figure II.7- Names of the most active importers and exporters by number of requests submitted. Source: Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA fonds.*

The quantitative observations pertaining to requesters, objects and typologies suggest that the artworks entering and leaving the country during the period, and especially between 1941 and 1945, did so at the hands of a large number of people, whether as single items or in small groups per occurrence, rather than in large groups of objects at the hands of a few. Interestingly, a higher proportion of exports than imports left in groups that comprised more than ten objects. There were more requests submitted

by individuals, although businesses, including art dealers, accounted for half of the most active requesters (by number of requests).

Having engaged in quantitative analysis, we will now discuss in greater depth specific requests requiring further attention. For this purpose, requests were organised according to different groups: art dealers - Red Flag name listees; other foreign art dealers; Portuguese art dealers; known art collectors; foreign nationals and businesses; and, finally, other Portuguese nationals and businesses which were active in number of requests submitted.

### **Red Flag Name Listees**

Three dealers listed as active in Portugal in the Red Flag Name list, a document created by the Art Looting Investigation Unit in 1946, appear in the DGESBA records as submitters of import tax waiver requests. They are Elfriede Marques Pereira, Jacques Kugel, and Karl Bucholz.<sup>145</sup> The remaining art dealers and companies listed in this document, do not appear to have engaged in the submission of import tax waiver and export requests during time period under analysis.

Elfriede Marques Pereira was the most active of these dealers. The Red Flag Name list names Leon Josipovicki and Conrad John as her associates, and her business, *Galeria de Arte*, operating at Rua Nova da Trindade, 3-A. None of the partners submitted requests, but *Galeria d'Arte* did. While no records point towards her being active in international art trade during the war, she, or the business, requested import tax waivers in four separate occasions, in April, May October and November 1946. Half of these were inspected at Lisbon airport, which indicates that they arrived by air, from an unknown destination; the other half awaited inspection in Lisbon, at Santa Apolónia and

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<sup>145</sup> NARA/ Office of Strategic Services/ Art Looting Investigation Unit, *Red Flag Names List and Index*, by Office of Strategic Services (1945).

Santos respectively, which indicates an entry into the country by rail or sea. Each request pertained to more than one object. However, while some requests were accompanied by a detailed list of items, others were vague regarding numbers and typologies.

The April 1946 request, examined at the Santos customs office by João Couto, then director of the National Museum of Art (MNAA), pertained to an unknown number of boxes imported from London.<sup>146</sup> The itemised list drawn by Couto featured one hundred and sixty entries, of which some pertained to multi-object sets of more than one hundred objects each. Typologically, the entries were distributed as follows: Chinese porcelain (78 entries); metalwork (sixteen entries), which included mostly silverware, but also bronze; paintings (fifteen entries); furniture (twelve entries), mostly French; ceramics, including European porcelain (eleven entries); works on paper (eight entries); and sculpture (one entry). The remaining entries were described in such a succinct manner so as to render their typology unidentifiable. The entries with the largest number of objects pertained to dinner and coffee sets. East India Company services numbered seven, with components ranging from a 34-piece service in ‘grey, sepia and gold’ to a dinner service ‘with medallion and initials’, with 137 components. The largest dinner service, however, was European, made of Saxe porcelain - Dresden, with 143 pieces.

The lack of rigour in drafting this itemised list renders the identification of most objects virtually impossible, as they were summarily described and did not, for the most part, discuss maker, or any other element susceptible of identifying the object. This is especially frustrating regarding the paintings category, in which only the title of the canvas was provided. The works on paper on this list bore a title and date of engraving.

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<sup>146</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGEBA/3<sup>rd</sup> section/Box 3106/Book 27/n 3. ‘Pedidos feitos pela Alfândega’; ‘Elfriede Marques Pereira’.

However, given their production process of creating multiple copies, and the absence of identifiers in the items contained in this list, it is impossible to track them. It is interesting to note that all the works on paper featured their titles in English – ‘Fox hunting’; ‘The Noble Tips’; ‘The young English foxhunter’; ‘Mrs. Fitzherbert’; ‘Viscountess of Bulkeley’; ‘The Sleeping Nymphs’; ‘Mary Counties Harcourt’ [sic]. The paintings include a portrait of the Duke of Cumberland without authorship or date, and ‘Beautiful Venice Queen of the Earth’.<sup>147</sup>

The items that benefitted from a more detailed description, and are therefore susceptible of being located elsewhere nowadays were a French desk by [Mathieu?] Criard; a George III samovar, by Fogelberg [& Gilbert], dating from 1753-63; and twelve George III silver plates by John Wakelin and William Taylor, from 1777. Couto took the unusual initiative of affirming that ‘it is noteworthy that this import compensates in some way the poor service to the country paid by others when they take the poor initiative of sending abroad so many works from our artistic heritage’. He recommended that the tax exemption be granted.<sup>148</sup>

The request submitted in May 1946 was the only one that included the name of *Galeria de Arte*. Painter Armando de Lucena examined the artworks at the Lisbon airport customs office. The country of origin of this import was not specified. The four items comprised in this request were silver objects, in a ‘good and solid 18<sup>th</sup> century style’.<sup>149</sup> They were a pair of candlesticks, a basket with a moveable setting, an oblong platter and a tureen. The latter two were adorned with unspecified heraldic symbols, presumably coats-of-arms, and mottos – ‘Fideli Tuta Silentio Merces’ and ‘Summum Nec Metuam Diem Nec Optem’.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

<sup>149</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3106/Book 27/n 3, ‘Pedidos feitos pela Alfândega’/‘Galeria de Arte’.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

The October 1946 request, examined at the airport customs office by architect Raul Lino, pertained to two boxes, which contained ‘a small 16<sup>th</sup>-century oil painting, English colour prints with more than one hundred years, China porcelains and several objects in silver sterling’.<sup>151</sup> It did not contain an itemised list, and therefore it is impossible to know more about these objects. The country of origin of these imported items was not specified.

The last request by Marques Pereira, in November 1946, was initially intended to be examined at the Santa Apolónia customs office by architect Pardal Monteiro. However, for an unknown reason, the objects were made available for viewing at Marques Pereira’s business, and perhaps private, Lisbon address, Rua Nova da Trindade, 3A, first floor.<sup>152</sup> More than half of the objects, held in two boxes, were constituted by Chinese porcelain. The detailed list featured 207 entries, with a reduced number of entries pertaining to multi-object sets, none with more than twenty-five components. Typologically, the entries were distributed as follows: Chinese porcelain (120 entries); furniture, mostly French, Louis XV and English clocks (27 entries); metalwork (nineteen entries), which included mostly English silver and silver sterling, as well as French bronzes and silverware; paintings (fifteen entries); (twelve entries), mostly French; Saxe porcelain (fourteen entries) and non-specified European ceramics (two entries); Dutch and English paintings (eleven entries); carpets (three entries); and a surprising entry of a book on the Batalha Monastery. The succinct description of remaining entries rendered their typology unidentifiable. Multi-object entries are few, and their components equally reduced in number, with a Chinese porcelain tea service with twenty-two components as the entry with the highest number of objects.

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<sup>151</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3106/Book 27/n 3, ‘Pedidos feitos pela Alfândega’/‘Elfriede Marques Pereira’.

<sup>152</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3114/Book 27/n 1304, ‘Alfândega de Lisboa pede a comparência de um perito para examinar objectos pertencentes a Elfriede Marques Pereira’.

As occurred with previous lists, the omission of makers and dates and/or places of origin renders the identification of most objects impossible. However, some items benefit from a more detailed description, which may be useful in future attempts to locate them. These include paintings – ‘The Well’ and ‘Shepherdess’ both by George Morland and English Georgian silver, with two sets of twelve plates by Paul Callard, dating from 1773, and a samovar, also by Gilbert, from 1786.

The high quality of the objects imported was apparent to Pardal Monteiro, who determined their ‘incontestable artistic and archaeological value’, adding that, ‘by their character, beauty, and artistic interest [they] enrich national heritage’. As occurred with his predecessors João Couto, Armando de Lucena and Raul Lino, he too recommended an import tax exemption.<sup>153</sup>

Overall, Elfriede Marques Pereira is responsible for bringing into the country more than three hundred and seventy items, some of which were composed of more than one hundred objects. The absence of a detailed list in one of her requests renders an accurate number of imported objects impossible. Typology-wise, she focused on Chinese and Saxe porcelain; French furniture and French and English clocks; English painting; English silver and French bronzes. The only specified country of origin of these imports was the United Kingdom, and it is possible, though impossible to prove, that these items were gathered there from a third location and then sent to Portugal, in an effort to clear their provenance.

Marques Pereira did not request export licenses. While it can be assumed that, for the period under analysis at least, she sold to the national market, it is not possible to conclude with certainty that she did not engage in export activity after 1946. She stands out as one of the few dealers who imported a high number of items within a short period of time after the end of the European conflict. This suggests she may have been

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<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

importing merchandise that was being held in stock elsewhere. This thesis will return to Marques Pereira and her associates in chapter V.

Jacques Kugel, who operated out of *Galeria Calendas*, also known as *Casa Calendas*, also availed himself of the import legislation – although, unlike Marques Pereira, he imported one single object, a silver tureen, in June 1946, from an unknown country of origin.<sup>154</sup> The summary description of this object renders its tracing almost impossible. *Casa Calendas*, and Jacques Kugel are known to have sold artworks to the MNAA, and to collectors António Anastácio Gonçalves and Ricardo Espírito Santo.

The third Red Flag listee, Karl Buchholz, makes a solitary appearance in this database. The earliest document in the file dates from early January 1944 and is the first official document that dates this dealer's imports of works of art into the country.<sup>155</sup> The request by *Livraria Buchholz* may at first appear surprising as Buchholz's area of trade was so-called degenerate art, which was not covered by the import tax exemption legislation. As a reminder, Buchholz, together with Ferdinand Böller, Bernhard Boehmer and Hildebrandt Gurlitt, was authorised by the Nazi government to mediate the sale and disposal of degenerate art in Germany and abroad for the regime.<sup>156</sup> In fact, the single file tied to Buchholz kept at the DGSBA archives pertains to a temporary import tax waiver request by his business, *Livraria Buchholz*, located at 50, Av. da Liberdade, in Lisbon. The business was founded in 1943 with partners Henrique Lehrfeld and Wilhelm Gesseman, Red Flag Name listees, whose names do not appear in this or any other file held at the DGSBA archive. The Buchholz request covered an unspecified number of plaster sculptures held in two boxes, which the dealer wanted to bring to Portugal for an exhibition of modern Swiss sculptures at the bookshop.

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<sup>154</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGSBA/3rd Section/Box 3109/Book 27/n 464 (1946).

<sup>155</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGSBA/3rd Section/Box 3095/Book 25/ n 1398 (1944).

<sup>156</sup> Godula Buchholz, *Karl Buchholz, Buch- und Kunsthändler im 20. Jahrhundert: sein Leben und seine Buchhandlungen und Galerien, Berlin, New York, Bukarest, Lissabon, Madrid, Bogotá* (Köln, 2005).



Buchholz's original request was not included in this file, but was paraphrased by the customs officer, who required an opinion from the Ministry of Education regarding Buchholz's affirmations of cultural merit. The request was forwarded to the Junta Nacional de Educação through DGESBA, as indicated in the side notes of the first letter. The opinion, drawn by Diogo Macedo, who would replace Adriano de Sousa Lopes as director of the National Museum of Contemporary Art in June of that same year, is noteworthy inasmuch as it provides a contemporary evaluation of the dealer's activities by the Portuguese art establishment, and indicates that Buchholz began his art exhibition activities in 1943, with the exhibition of *The Disrobing*, a painting by El Greco, as well as 'drawings, engravings, paintings and sculptures by national and foreign artists'.<sup>157</sup>

In his memorandum, Macedo further stated that the cultural usefulness of the exhibitions of foreign art by the *Livraria Buchholz* is 'recognised and praised' in the 'artistic and intellectual milieus of Lisbon', and maintained that the public benefit of these exhibitions of modern art were only paralleled by those organised by the Secretariat for National Propaganda. As such, he recommended that the gallery's exhibitions receive 'enabling and support' from Portuguese Customs whenever it sought to bring into the country works by foreign artists 'of undisputed merit'.

Macedo also identified Hermann Haller (1880-1950) as the author of the sculptures to be imported. Deemed 'one of the most important modern sculptors of the German world', Haller's career appears to have been unaffected by the rise of Nazism. However, works by him which were a part of the collection of Hugo Simon were

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<sup>157</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3114/Book 27/n 1398, 'Parecer' signed by Diogo de Macedo, 12 December 1946.

spoliated by the Dienststelle Westen in Paris, in 1941, and not restituted in the post-war period.<sup>158</sup>

There is no further information regarding the outcome of this request, which we can assume was granted, given Macedo's endorsement and the fact the exhibition did take place, opening on 3 June 1944. The catalogue features two images of the works displayed: a free-standing sculpture, '4. Woman standing, stucco' and a bust that can be either '2. Portrait of Yella' or '3. Thinker – head of a woman'. The other works by Haller featured in the exhibition and presumably imported into the country were '1. Female torso – stucco'; '5. Bather'; and '6. Woman standing with raised arms'.<sup>159</sup>

Interestingly, in addition to Hermann Haller's sculptures, the exhibition featured seventeen drawings by German sculptor Gerhard Marcks (1889-1981). They are described as 'Studies for works in sculpture'. The exhibition catalogue features one illustration of his drawing, without a caption. With a markedly modern art aesthetic, and a close association to Bauhaus, where he led the pottery workshops, Marcks's career suffered under the Nazis. He was dismissed from his teaching post in 1933, and, in 1937, saw several of his works featured in the 1937 Degenerate Art exhibition in Munich. Interestingly, no records pertaining to the import to Portugal of the Marcks drawings have been located. This may mean either that these were not subjected to a request of an import tax waiver, or that they were brought into the country as undeclared goods, or that they were brought into the country as commercial property. It is impossible to ascertain whether the artworks presented in this exhibition were returned to their unknown country of origin, whether they were sent from Portugal to a third country or whether they were in fact sold within the country.

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<sup>158</sup> *Cultural plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg. Database of art objects at the Jeu de Paume*, [https://www.errproject.org/jeudepaume/card\\_search.php?Query=Hermann+Haller](https://www.errproject.org/jeudepaume/card_search.php?Query=Hermann+Haller) (15 Mar. 2022).

<sup>159</sup> *4a exposição de 3 a 30 de Junho de 1944: Hermann Haller, escultura Gerhard Marcks, desenho* (Lisbon, 1944).

The implications, and revelations, of this single file regarding the activities of Karl Buchholz in Portugal, and how they fit into his network, will be analysed in detail in Chapter VI. For now, it suffices to say that the absence of further DGESBA records regarding Buchholz's activity should not be taken to mean that his imports were undeclared. In fact, as so-called degenerate art was created by living artists, it fell outside the scope of the legislation on import tax exemption.

### **Foreign Art Dealers**

Other Lisbon-based foreign art dealers, whose names were not included in the Red Flag Name list, availed themselves of the import and export tax waiver legislation. The most active among them were Erich Popper, at times discussed as Eurico Popper in Portuguese documentation, a German Jewish refugee who settled in Portugal in the early 1930s, and his business *Salão de Arte Antiga*. The DGESBA files record four import requests before, during and after the war: one in 1938, two in 1940, and one in 1946. There are no recorded export requests for either Erich Popper or *Salão de Arte Antiga*.

Each import request pertained to more than one object. The objects included in the 1938 request were examined at the Alcântara customs office by João Couto, Director of the National Art Museum. The itemised list contained fifteen items for one painting 'representing a massacre', five pieces of furniture and ten items of Chinese and European porcelain held in three boxes. The country of origin of the shipment was not given. The items were described generically and the style, date and/or maker of each item were omitted.

João Couto was also called to examine the two shipments imported by Popper in 1940, both held at the Cais dos Soldados customs office in Lisbon. The first of these

shipments, of which the country of origin was omitted, was examined in April, contained exclusively carpets. The three rolls had arrived from Paris ‘by railway’. Each of the six items was described in detail and, unusually in these requests, assigned an estimated price. As such, the items susceptible of future identification were: an 18<sup>th</sup>-century Persian carpet, medallion motif (L: 4,70m x W: 4,00m), valued at 5,000 francs; a 19<sup>th</sup>-century Persian carpet, (L:4,50m x W:4,00m), valued at 1,000 francs; two 19<sup>th</sup>-century Smyrna carpets (L:8,00m x W:4,00m; L:4,80m x W:3,50m),valued at 2,000 francs and 600 francs, respectively; and two 19<sup>th</sup>-century French Aubusson carpets (L:5,00m x W:4,00m; L:6,20m x W:5,20m) valued at 7,000 francs and 15,000 francs respectively.

The second shipment to take place in 1940, and whose country of origin was omitted, was examined in May. It featured three paintings, nine items of Chinese and European porcelain and three decorative items, namely one frame and two candelabra. In this case, the list, while itemised and providing a value for each entry, did not provide enough detail to render any of the artworks identifiable.

Finally, the shipment which took place in 1946, examined by architect Raul Lino at the Santos customs office, pertained to two rolls of an unspecified number of carpets and one tapestry. Interestingly, Lino claims in his evaluation that he does not possess the correct credentials to assess the age of the objects and thus whether they qualify for tax exemption. However, as discussed in Chapter VI, records show that Lino and Popper entertained commercial relations by 1940, when the former drew a list of desirable purchases to the latter, in the context of the overhaul of the Portuguese national palaces, set in motion in 1939 by the Portuguese government in preparation for the 1940 Commemorations of the Centennials. While the long-standing interaction between both men falls outside the scope of this chapter it is possible that the distance that Lino

establishes in 1946 may be indicative of a wish to distance himself from art dealers with links to the international art market.

In 1946, the firm Jan Wetzler & Silva, located in Funchal, requested an import tax waiver for a shipment originating from the United States of America.<sup>160</sup> This is also the only import tax waiver request by an art dealer that mentioned the United States as the country of departure of this cargo. The fact that this import occurs in the year after the end of the conflict signals, perhaps, a countermovement of works re-entering Europe. However, without detailed provenance research for each item, and a systematic analysis of the decades following the war, this cannot be more than a supposition. Wetzler, who, unlike Popper, was never signalled in the Art Looting Investigation Unit research, was an Austrian Jewish refugee had been involved in the textile industry through his company since 1939, the year of his arrival in Madeira.<sup>161</sup> The only request for an import tax waiver from this firm entered customs in June 1946. Curiously, given the absence of art experts on the island, it fell to the director of the Funchal District Archive to examine the contents of this shipment. This resulted in a list of the objects, ‘selected as having artistic value and therefore covered by the legal dispositions that exempts them from duties’.<sup>162</sup> This turn of phrase most likely means that other contents in the shipment were subjected to import tax.

The list contained sixty entries, in which a few contained more than one object. Apart from one set of six Danish ceramic plates, the descriptions do not allow for the identification of multi-object sets, and, as such, must be counted independently. Hence, the eighty-three artworks imported by Wetzler & Silva in 1946, fall into the following typologies: furniture (twenty-seven items); carpets (thirteen items); porcelain, mostly Chinese (thirteen items); metalwork, mostly utilitarian bronze and brass elements (ten);

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<sup>160</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3106/Book 27/n 127 (1946).

<sup>161</sup> Eberhard Axel, *Estrangeiros na Madeira* (Funchal, 1988).

<sup>162</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3107/Book 27/n 127 (1946).

paintings (seven items); works on paper (three items); sculptures (three items); textiles (three items); ceramics (three items); and glass (one item). While most items are described generally, a few are passable of further recognition, as they include measurements and other pertinent information. They are a seventeenth century Italian sculpture in polychromy, representing the baptism of Christ. The Persian carpets, while identified with measurements and model type, are not dated individually.

The final import request by a foreign art dealer pertains to the firm Calabresi, Lda, whose activities were not investigated by the OSS/ALIU.<sup>163</sup> Submitted in May 1940, this single request pertains to ten paintings, which were examined at the Cais das Colunas customs office by João Couto. Their value is indicated in francs, which indicates a French, Belgian or Swiss shipment origin. While some of titles of the paintings are detailed, others are described generically. In addition, the authorship of the paintings is missing. However, the values indicated for each canvas are low for a first-rate painter, as not one is valued above 750 francs. In comparison, the oriental carpets brought in that same month by Popper were valued, bar for a damaged one, at over 2,000 francs. This firm, headed by Luigi Calabresi, is known to have mediated purchases by art collector António Anastácio Gonçalves and to have sold works of art to the National Museum of Art.

### **Portuguese Art Dealers**

The Portuguese art dealers identified in the DGESBA requests are, for the most part, well-known as suppliers of public and private collections. As we will see below, they

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<sup>163</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3060/Book 21/n 5 (1940).

specialised in various typologies of objects, focusing mostly on Chinese porcelain, French furniture, and paintings. Only one request submitted in the period pertained to an export license, and most requests were submitted before 1940. No Portuguese art dealer was active both before and after the conflict.

Art dealers *Mercador Lda.* submitted four import requests between 1938 and 1940. None of these requests provided information on the origins of the shipments in question. The first request, submitted in November 1938, pertains to six boxes of ‘porcelains and other artworks’.<sup>164</sup> They were examined by João Couto at the Santa Apolónia customs office, and only part-exempt from import-tax duties. The list drawn by Couto only features the items recommended for tax exemption and featured Chinese porcelain (fourteen items); furniture (four items); and a fifteenth century marble sculpture of the Virgin. None of these items were described in detail.

In 1939, *Mercador* submitted two requests, both examined by João Couto. The first request pertained to 70 items of eighteenth-century Chinese porcelain which constituted part of one dinner service.<sup>165</sup> The second request pertained to a screen whose makers were not specified.<sup>166</sup> The final request dated from April 1940 and was examined at Cais dos Soldados by João Couto.<sup>167</sup> The itemised list identified nine objects, of which eight were pieces of furniture and architectonic fragments, and one was an eighteenth-century Aubusson tapestry, bearing the marking ‘M/R’.

Auctioneers Leiria & Nascimento submitted two import requests, in 1938 and 1939. The first request pertained to ten paintings, and unspecified number of prints, submitted in May 1938.<sup>168</sup> João Couto, who examined the works at the Santa Apolónia customs office, did not elaborate on any detail regarding these works, although he

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<sup>164</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/Box 3045/3rd Section/Book 19/n 40 (1938).

<sup>165</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3052/Book 20/n 6 (1939).

<sup>166</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3052/Book 20/n 6 (1939).

<sup>167</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3060/Book 21/n 5 (1940).

<sup>168</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3045/Book 19/n 40 (1938).

recommended them for a tax waiver. However, when Leiria & Nascimento submitted another import license in 1939 to the Santos customs office, this time for an unspecified number of paintings, João Couto recommended that no tax exemption be given, a rare occurrence during the period.<sup>169</sup>

Fausto de Albuquerque was the only Portuguese art dealer active between 1941 and 1945. His export permit request, pertaining to twelve objects, was submitted in December 1943<sup>170</sup>. It was evaluated by MNAA curator Cardoso Pinto, under the supervision of João Couto. Except for three sculptures, the remaining elements were architectural fragments made of wood. The sculptures were a pair of Seraphins and an Italian bust-reliquary, none of which benefitted from a detailed description. The export permit was granted.

João Guedes, through his company J. Guedes submitted two export requests, in October 1946, each pertaining to a single piece of furniture. The first request, examined by Raul Lino in Santa Apolónia, referred to an eighteenth-century English china cabinet.<sup>171</sup> The second, examined by Armando de Lucena in Santa Apolonia, was a small table, maker unknown.<sup>172</sup>

Export requests were submitted by three Portuguese art dealers, *Antiquália* and Henrique Soares, in 1946. In April, *Antiquália* requested an export permit through the Ministry of Economy, for ten items of French porcelain to be shipped to Rio de Janeiro.<sup>173</sup> Having found them to be ‘modern, without artistic interest’, Couto recommended that the permit be granted.<sup>174</sup> That same month, Henrique Soares, requested an import tax waiver for three paintings, one porcelain jar and two

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<sup>169</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3052/Book 20/n 6 (1940).

<sup>170</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3086/Book 25/n 5 (1944).

<sup>171</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3113/Book 27/n 1211(1946).

<sup>172</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3114/Book 27/n 1277(1946).

<sup>173</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3114/Book 27/n 1277(1946).

<sup>174</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3114/Book 27/n 1277(1946).



chasubles.<sup>175</sup> Examined by Luís Varela Aldemira at the Rossio customs office, they were recommended for a tax waiver, as they possessed artistic merit. None of the items were described in detail. Henrique Soares is known to have sold artworks to collector António Anastácio Gonçalves and to the National Art Museum.

### **Portuguese Art Collectors**

Having examined the actions undertaken by Portuguese and foreign individuals and businesses known for their involvement in the trade of works of art, we shall now examine the actions of known individual art collectors active in Portugal during the period. Among the best-known Portuguese collectors of the time, two, Ricardo do Espírito Santo Silva and Ernesto Vilhena, make an appearance in this database.

The banker and art collector Ricardo do Espirito Santo Silva submitted ten import requests overall, representing more than fifteen objects. The first Espirito Santo request dates from December 1937 and was the only one submitted to the customs in Porto, where it was evaluated by Vasco Valente.<sup>176</sup> It pertained to an unspecified number of items of Chinese porcelain and eighteenth-century English ceramic wares. They were imported from London, arriving by ship to Portugal. The following year, he submitted four requests in February, March, and August. The first request, examined in Santos by João Couto, pertained to a sofa and table of unknown maker, date and place of origin.<sup>177</sup> These items of furniture had been shipped from Le Havre. The second and third requests were both evaluated by João Couto. In Santa Apolónia, he examined to a tabletop centrepiece, with twenty components, shipped from Le Havre.<sup>178</sup> Made out of

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<sup>175</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3114/Book 27/n 1277(1946).

<sup>176</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3040/Book 18/no number (1937).

<sup>177</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3045/Book 19/no number (1938).

<sup>178</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3045/Book 19/n 40 (1938).

bronze and crystal, it dated from the eighteenth century. In Alcântara, he examined an unspecified number of Chinese and European porcelain items.<sup>179</sup> The fourth request, submitted in August, pertained to an unspecified number of metal vases, screens, and velvet panels whose maker, date and place of origin was not specified.<sup>180</sup>

The year of 1939 saw three import requests submitted by Espírito Santo. All three were evaluated by João Couto. Examined in Alcântara, Santa Apolónia and Rocha do Conde d'Óbidos, they pertained to a lacquered screen, two Chinese porcelain vases, and a silver tureen with serving dish, respectively. Of these three items, only the tureen and serving dish can be cross-referenced with certainty within the Espírito Santo collection. Its decoration featured the Russian imperial arms, and was signed 'Fait par F.[rançois] T.[homas] Germain, Sculp. du Roy aux Galleries du Louvre, Paris, 1759'.

One year later, Espírito Santo submitted an import request in Alcântara, which was examined by João Couto.<sup>181</sup> This oil on canvas was an eighteenth-century English portrait of a lady, measuring 0,62m by 0,47m. Its declared value, 1,535 dollars, is perhaps an indicator of the North American origin of this shipment. The final import request submitted by Espírito Santo occurred in 1946.<sup>182</sup> Examined at Alcântara by Luis Varela Aldemira, this was a landscape painting, whose maker, date and place of origin were left unspecified.

The collection gathered by Ernesto Jardim de Vilhena (1876 – 1967) focused mostly on Portuguese sculpture. After his death 1,500 of the works he brought together were bequeathed to the MNAA.<sup>183</sup> In 1937, Vilhena submitted two import requests to Portuguese customs. The first request, dating from January 1937, was examined at the

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<sup>179</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGEBSA/3rd Section/Box 3045/Book 19/n 40 (1938).

<sup>180</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGEBSA/3rd Section/Box 3045/Book 19/n 40 (1938).

<sup>181</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGEBSA/3rd Section/Box 3060/Book 21/n 5 (1940).

<sup>182</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGEBSA/3rd Section/ Box 3114/Book 27/n 1277(1946).

<sup>183</sup> Maria João Vilhena de Carvalho, *A constituição de uma coleção nacional: as esculturas de Ernesto Vilhena* (Lisbon, 2017).

headquarters of Lisbon customs by José de Figueiredo, then director of the MNAA.<sup>184</sup> It pertained to a sixteenth century Italian wooden sculpture measuring 0,96m in height, 0,37m in width, and 0,31m in length. While the description of the sculpture was not given, Vilhena included a photograph, taken from Apollo magazine.<sup>185</sup> The second request, submitted in November 1937, was examined at the customs office of Alcântara by an unidentifiable expert.<sup>186</sup> It pertained to four sculptures – three wooden figures and one in alabaster – for which maker, date and place of origin were omitted by the expert.

Another collector, albeit with a lower public profile, was Fernando Espírito Santo Moniz Galvão (1905-1975), half-cousin of Ricardo Espírito Santo, and founder, after the war, of automobile import companies Mocar and Santomar. While submitting a single import request, in October 1946, Moniz Galvão is among the small group of those who imported more than 100 items into the country.<sup>187</sup> Shipped from London, the items included Chinese porcelain, Meissen porcelain, Georgian silver, French furniture, and oil paintings. The itemised list, which contains 76 entries, of which a few pertain to multi-object porcelain sets, adds up to more than 150 items. While the provenance of some of the porcelain appears on the list, with items originating from the Holt, Candam, Mainwaring<sup>188</sup>, Kennedy, Trapnell<sup>189</sup>, Raphael, Walker, Dresden Museum, and Sir William Platt's collections, their generic description does not allow for an undisputable identification of each item.

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<sup>184</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGEBSA/3rd Section/Box3041/Book 18/n 125, fls 1-12 [disorganised file, organised by me in order of individual presenting the request].

<sup>185</sup> Possibly from Thomas W. Bagshawe, 'A group of early European sculpture' in *Apollo: The international magazine of arts*, xxiv, no. 144 (December 1936) (1936), pp 343–347.

<sup>186</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGEBSA/3rd Section/Box 3041/n 125, fls 13-16 [disorganised file, organised by me in order of individual presenting the request].

<sup>187</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGEBSA/3rd Section/Box 3114/Book 27/n 1278.

<sup>188</sup> Possibly referring to the collection of Ireland-born British politician William Massey-Manwaring. See *Catalogues of the Massey-Manwaring collection sales* (London, 1907).

<sup>189</sup> Possibly referring to Chinese porcelain collector Alfred Trapnell. See Stacey Pierson, *Collectors, collections and museums: the field of chinese ceramics in Britain, 1560-1960* (2007).

The objects that can be identified today are paintings, silverware and furniture: a seventeenth-century Dutch landscape by F. Hans; two seventeenth-century Dutch ‘exteriors’ by B. Gael; two English paintings; ‘Flower piece’, by Peter Casteels, dating from ca. 1734; an Italian landscape with huntsmen in background and chateau with sheep in foreground, attributed to Zuccerilli, from ca. 1720; two Italian landscape paintings with a battle scene in the foreground, attributed to Bouguinone, dated ca. 1620; a Spanish portrait of Cornelia Gonzaga de Maffeia, half length, turned to the left in brocaded dress, attributed to Sanchez Coello, dating from ca. 1596; a French, Louis XV floral marqueterie chest of drawers, signed L.N. Marin, dating from ca. 1750; a French, Louis XV chest of drawers, originally in the Stephens collection dating from ca. 1750; a French, Louis XV Kingwood chest of drawers, signed C.M. Marnier, dating from ca. 1750; an English, George III silver-gilt set of four candlesticks, made by J. Green & co., dated ca. 1798-1800, Sheffield hallmark; an English George III silver hot water jug, with the coat of arms and crest of a Talbot, wood handle, made by E. Chammer of London, dated ca. 1791. Examined by João Couto at 211, Av. da Liberdade, first floor, the property of Moniz Galvão, they were all approved for tax exemption.

Having analysed the identities and import and export requests of those most closely associated with transactions of artworks – art dealers and collectors, foreign and Portuguese – we shall now turn towards another group of individuals, namely foreign nationals residing, temporarily or permanently, in Portugal.

### **Foreign Nationals**

Since biographical information is hazy regarding these individuals, this group will be examined chronologically, by year of submission of a request. Additional biographical

information explaining the motives behind their presence in Portugal, where available, will also be presented.

The single import request submitted in 1935 pertains to two items found in the luggage of Dr Franz Vetter von der Lilie [sic], described as an oil painting and a textile.<sup>190</sup> This file only contains the request for an expert at the Rossio delegation, and therefore it is impossible to obtain any further details regarding the identification of these items. However, Vetter von der Lilie's aristocratic profile, which suggests possession of an art collection of great quality, Austrian nationality, and German holdings, raise enough flags to demand that this occurrence be signalled in this chapter.

In 1937, Customs requested an evaluation of a painting submitted for re-entry into the country by 'Madame Tabar'.<sup>191</sup> As the file is incomplete, it is impossible to ascertain both the identity of the importer and the outcome of the request. Given the requester's name, it is most likely a relative of Maurice Tabar, who also went by Maurício Tabar, a French engineer who served as the director of the Sociedade Construções Navais, a shipping construction company.<sup>192</sup>

In June 1938, Fred Wachsmann imported by mail a silver chalice from Denmark.<sup>193</sup> Asked to examine the object at the postal parcels delegation of the Lisbon customs, João Couto approved the exemption because the item was made of silver; however, he stated his disagreement with this exemption as 'the considerations approved in sessions of the 6<sup>th</sup> section of the *Junta Nacional de Educação* tend to exempt from import duties only those objects considered as deserving for the enrichment of the State's artistic heritage, public and private.'<sup>194</sup> Fred, or Alfred,

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<sup>190</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3034/Book 16/n 518 (1935).

<sup>191</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3041/n 125, fls 17-18 [disorganised file, organised by me in order of individual presenting the request].

<sup>192</sup> 'Marinha de guerra. Foram hoje incorporados na esquadra portugeusa o contra-torpedeiro "Dão" e o submarino "Espadarte".' in *Diário de Lisboa*, 5 Jan. 1935, pp 6-7.

<sup>193</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3047/Book 19/n 243 (1938).

<sup>194</sup> Ibid.

Wachsmann was referenced as early as 1936 as having a medical practice in Lisbon, sponsored by two Portuguese doctors, by the German minister in Lisbon Heyningen Huene, in a report on the working conditions of German Jewish immigrants in Portugal addressed to the Auswärtiges Amt.<sup>195</sup> Later, Wachsmann would adopt the Portuguese name of Alfredo Vasques Homem, and gain notoriety as a practitioner of natural medicine, with a vast number of published works.<sup>196</sup>

The co-founder of the first Portuguese oil refinery, Martin Sain, submitted two import tax exemption requests, in May 1940. Both requests were examined at Cais dos Soldados by João Couto. The first request pertained to a marble statue on a pedestal by Italian sculptor Lorenzo Bartolini (1777-1860), shipped in two boxes, and valued at 5,000 francs.<sup>197</sup> The second request pertained to six French armchairs, Louis XVI, in chiselled wood and upholstered in blue silk.<sup>198</sup> This set was valued at 4,000 francs. Given the Sain family's long-term residence in Portugal, and their privileged economic status, it is unlikely that these items entered the art market once in the country and were considered home furnishings. The French residence of Sain, a Romanian Jew, is not recorded as having been looted by the E.R.R. Moldova-born Sain had moved to Lisbon from Paris with his family during the 1930s. The *Sociedade Anónima Concessionária da Refinação de Petróleos*, known as SACOR, which he co-founded with the Portuguese state and with banker and art collector Ricardo Espírito Santo, was established in 1937.<sup>199</sup> Curiously, his import requests occurred one month before the inauguration of the inauguration of the SACOR oil refinery at Cabo Ruivo.

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<sup>195</sup> Mühlen, *Fluchtweg*, p. 123; Pimentel, *Judeus*, p. 85.

<sup>196</sup> Ninhos and Pimentel, *Salazar, Portugal e o holocausto*, p. 466; Alfredo Vasques Homem, *Como curar seus nervos* (Lisbon, 1956); Homem, *Melhores nervos, melhor sono*. (Lisbon, 1963).

<sup>197</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3060/Book 21/n 52-5 (1940).

<sup>198</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3060/Book 21/n 52-6 (1940).

<sup>199</sup> 'Martin Sain (Administrador da Sacor)' (<https://www.arquivo.presidencia.pt/details?id=125631>) (15 Mar. 2022).

There are no records of import tax waiver requests presented by foreign individuals for the years 1941-3. In 1944, one request was presented by Frits W. Meyer, to be examined at the Santa Apolónia customs office.<sup>200</sup> The request pertained to two paintings, summarily described as an eighteenth-century portrait of a sitting lady, possibly by Rigaud, and a seventeenth century Spanish Madonna and Child. The identity of Frits W. Meyer is puzzling. The spelling of his name indicates Dutch origin. However, the only Fritz W. Meyer known as operating in Portugal was associated with the tool and machinery company *Fritz W. Meyer, Lda*. It has been impossible to determine if the company, which remains in operation to this day, was founded by the same man who submitted the import tax waiver request.

The end of the war saw an increase in import tax waiver requests, with three individuals presenting their requests in 1946. In April, ‘Madame A. Colla Cresi’ presented twenty-four paintings and two works on paper for exam, at the Cais dos Soldados customs office. Evaluated by Armando de Lucena, they were recommended for exemption of import duties, as, according to his expert opinion, they all pre-dated the eighteenth century, even though some were unsigned and ‘even some of those who [were] do not offer enough guarantee for their supposed authenticity’.<sup>201</sup> This statement, unusual in most requests, makes sense once the contents of the list become clear. Indeed, the paintings and pastels supposedly represent some of the most notorious French, (eleven artworks), Dutch and Flemish (six artworks), Italian (two artworks) and Spanish (a single artwork) schools and artists. Of these, eight artworks are attributed authorship: an oil on wood landscape featuring a waterfall, trees and a village by Meindert Hobbema (1638-1709); an oil on canvas representing two dogs by Frans Snyders (1579-1657); an oil on canvas portrait of Madame de Sevigni [sic], attributed to

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<sup>200</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3086/ Book 25/n 5 (1944).

<sup>201</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3114/Book 27/n 1277(1946).

Pierre Mignard (1612-1695); *Love sleeping*, attributed to Jean Honoré Fragonard (1732-1806), an entry for which Lucena penciled in a question mark, indicating perhaps his doubts regarding authorship; *The Baptism of Christ*, ‘possibly’ by El Greco (1541-1614); *Virgin with children*, again by Mignard; a large Italian painting by Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione (1609-1664); and, finally, a landscape featuring large trees, a woman and goats by Theodore Rousseau (1812-1867). While the themes and titles of the paintings coincide with existing works by each artist, it is impossible, for each of these cases, to identify the specific painting. For example, Madame de Sevigné was a recurrent model in Mignard’s portraiture – without further specification, it is impossible to ascertain which painting was included in the Colla Cresi import, and to determine whether it was an original. While the collection of Madame Colla Cresi, were it to be authentic, is of excellent quality, it is surprising that the identity of this woman is a mystery. Her title of ‘Madame’ indicates a foreign origin, but it has been impossible to ascertain further information.

In October 1946, Baron François Direztay submitted an import request for four paintings and a textile, evaluated at 242,000 French francs.<sup>202</sup> The works of art were examined at the Santos customs office by João Couto. The authors of the paintings were not specified, but they were described by type and dimension: an oil painting on wood featuring, on one side, a landscape, and, on the other side, a man seated by a table (600 x 500, measure not given); an eighteenth-century French oil on canvas representing a panel, held by four angels, with the portrait of a knight, and on the lower part, featuring architect tools (1,085mm x 935mm); portrait of a lady, oil on canvas, attributed on the back of the painting to Th. Gansborougl[sic] (630mm x 475mm); an eighteenth-century French portrait of a knight with a black servant holding his helmet, oil on canvas (690mm x 510mm). The textile was described an antique, (600 x 500mm).

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<sup>202</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3114/Book 27/n 1256 (1946).



All items were recommended by João Couto for exemption. François Direztay has been impossible to identify. While the first name is French, the surname name indicates a central European – Hungarian or Polish – origin. However, it has been impossible to uncover the existence of this title, or even to identify this figure.

The final import tax waiver request by a foreign national, dating from December 1946, was submitted by France Oulman. Examined at the Santa Apolónia customs office by Diogo de Macedo, it contained more than fifteen objects, considered of ‘domestic use’.<sup>203</sup> Their succinct description by Macedo renders them untraceable: seven oil paintings on canvas and wood, four of which were eighteenth-century French portraits, and three were Flemish genre landscapes; two French bronze clocks, Louis XV and Louis XVI; several Chinese porcelains which included a small vase, two serving dishes, one small tureen, and several plates. France Oulman was most likely France Hidalgo Oulman, born in 1924 in Portugal. Holding French nationality, she was the daughter of Nicole Calmann-Levy and of the Portuguese national Alberto Bensaúde Oulman. Her older brother, José, had died when his plane was shot down while fighting for the Free French.<sup>204</sup> Her younger brother, Alain, would later become the composer contributed to the renewal of the *fado* musical genre in the 1960s.<sup>205</sup>

Of the four export permits requested by foreigners during this period, half dated from 1946, and the other two from 1940 and 1941. The first request, submitted by Giovanni Lauriette, was examined at customs headquarters by João Couto in April 1940.<sup>206</sup> The six boxes contained paintings and sculptures by Lauriette, whom Couto

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<sup>203</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3114/Book 27/n 1398 (1946).

<sup>204</sup> Carlos Guerreiro and Ricardo Silva, ‘Nos céus da II Guerra’ in *Expresso* (<https://expresso.pt/internacional/2015-12-27-Nos-ceus-da-II-Guerra>) (15 Mar. 2022).

<sup>205</sup> ‘Alain Oulman - Museu do Fado’, <https://www.museudofado.pt/fado/personalidade/alain-oulman> (15 Mar. 2022).

<sup>206</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA/3rd Section/Box 3060/Book 21/n 5 (1940).

identified as an artist. The identification of this artist and the motives behind his stay in Portugal have been impossible to ascertain.

Elizabeth Venum Crutwell submitted an export permit in April 1941, which was examined by Vasco Valente at the Leixões harbour delegation, in Porto. She wished to take five paintings in her luggage on the steamer *São Miguel*, which she hoped to board on 3 July 1941 to New York. As this file was incomplete, the title, authorship and date and place of origin of the works under consideration are unknown. However, the correspondence files of the MNSR indicate that one of the paintings was a portrait by (or of) Alfred Kneller (1646-1723), whom we presume refers to the British portrait painter of German origin, Godfrey Kneller, whom Crutwell identified as an ancestor.<sup>207</sup>

In March 1946, Adolf Pokorny submitted an export request, via the Ministry of Economy, for porcelain and glass, addressed to Edgar Gutman & Co. in New York.<sup>208</sup> Examined at the permanent desk of the Lisbon customs by Raul Lino, the latter concluded that these were modern items, of no artistic merit, as they constituted commercial merchandise, ‘the kind sold in abundance’. Interestingly, Pokorny had been originally been included in the Allied proclaimed list.<sup>209</sup>

In July 1946, René Chalon, a mining engineer, employed at Sociedade de Estudos Técnicos, submitted an export request for fifty-one paintings, which he expected to take to Belgium, upon his permanent return to his home country.<sup>210</sup> João Couto, having examined the contents of the export permit request at Chalon’s home, concluded that the artworks, by Belgian and Portuguese artists, were contemporary, secondary artworks, which could be sent abroad. On his part, Chalon sustained that the authors of the paintings were living Portuguese and Belgian artists, and that the

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<sup>207</sup> MNSR/Correspondência/Ofícios enviados/1941.

<sup>208</sup> MNSR/Correspondência/Ofícios enviados/1941, fl 3.

<sup>209</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGEBSA/3rd Section/Box 3106/Book 27/n 113 (1946).

<sup>210</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGEBSA/3rd Section/Box 3114/Book 27/n 1277(1946).

artworks were purchased in Portugal, in exhibitions held between 1940 and 1946. An examination of the artworks submitted does not yield authors relevant for this research.

The examination of the import and export requests submitted by foreign individuals and businesses has yielded fragmented results. While some appear to import or export their home furnishings, others remain an absolute mystery. However, the identification of these individuals, as well as the artworks to which their requests pertained, is a step forward in understanding the circulation of cultural goods in Europe between 1933 and 1934.

### **Other Portuguese businesses or individuals**

A final group of individuals requires attention: this group pertains to those Portuguese individuals and/or businesses who, while active in the number of requests submitted, do not have a direct relation to the art world. As we refer back to table III.1, these are António Moreira d'Almeida, and Abecassis (Irmãos) & Cia.

António Moreira d'Almeida was an active importer before 1940. He submitted six requests, four in Porto and two in Lisbon, between 1937 and 1939. His first request was examined in Alcântara by Luis Keil in 1937. It pertained to eighteenth century French painting.<sup>211</sup> In 1938, Moreira d'Almeida submitted three requests in Porto, all shipped from Le Havre, which were examined by Vasco Valente. In April, two eighteenth century French oil canvases - 'Portrait of a prince from the French Royal Household' and 'Flowers' - valued at 4,000 *escudos* were recommended for a tax waiver<sup>212</sup>, as were the three oil paintings, valued at 7,500 francs, submitted in May.<sup>213</sup> These included a portrait by Largillière, and a landscape by Dupré. An incomplete file

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<sup>211</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGEBSA/3rd Section/Box 3044 /Book 18/n 511 (1937).

<sup>212</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGEBSA/3rd Section/ Box 3044 /Book 18/n 521 (1938).

<sup>213</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGEBSA/3rd Section/ Box 3045/Book 19/n 40 (1938).

states that, in September, an unspecified number of oil paintings, valued at 3,500 *escudos* was imported by Moreira de Almeida.<sup>214</sup> The outcome of this request is not known.

In 1939, Moreira de Almeida submitted two requests, one in Lisbon and the other in Porto. Although he declared them works of little artistic merit, João Couto, at the Alcântara customs office, recommended that the three French paintings - an oil on wood representing a woman reading; an oil on canvas oval bust portrait of Mme de Nanteuil; and an oil on canvas celebration in a park— be exempted from import tax duty.<sup>215</sup> In Porto, two paintings by Jean Pillement, shipped from Le Havre, representing rural scenes with people and animals, were recommended by Vasco Valente for tax waiver. Moreira de Almeida stands out in that, unlike any of the other active importers, he only imported paintings. The identity of Moreira de Almeida, especially given the high calibre of the French painters imported, with names that became sought after in Portugal such as Jean Pillement and Thomas de Largillière, is especially intriguing. He could, however, be a dispatcher – and if so, the identity of the importer(s) of these paintings remain a mystery.

Abecassis (Irmãos) & Cia. submitted two import requests in 1946. The first, submitted in July, was examined by Luis Varela Aldemira at Rocha do Conde d'Óbidos.<sup>216</sup> As the file appears incomplete, there is no further information regarding the typology of the artworks in question, nor on the outcome of the request. The second request, submitted in October, was examined by João Couto at a Lisbon address (Rua das Chagas, n 17, basement).<sup>217</sup> While the file indicates that the request contained an itemised list, said document is missing. As such, it has only been possible to determine

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<sup>214</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGEBSA/3rd Section/ Box 3045/Book 19/n 40 (1938).

<sup>215</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGEBSA/3rd Section/ Box 3106 /Book 27/n 6 (1946).

<sup>216</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGEBSA/3rd Section/Box 3110/Book 27/n 698 (1946).

<sup>217</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGEBSA/3rd Section/Box 3114/Book 27/n 1211 (1946).

that the exemption was recommended for a part, and not the totality of the items submitted. Abecassis (Irmãos) & Cia., also known as Abecassis (Irmãos), Buzaglos e C.<sup>a</sup>, was founded in the nineteenth century by Isaac Conquy Abecassis, an Azores-based businessman with English nationality and Sephardic ancestry. The company specialised in international wholesale distribution.<sup>218</sup>

## **Conclusion**

After analysing the DGESBA files, conclusions pertaining to the role played by Portugal in international art trade in the years 1933-45, and in particular during the Second World War can be drawn. It appears that the belief that Portugal served as an active hub between Europe and the New World for the trade in non-contemporary artworks during the conflict cannot be sustained by the evidence gathered in the DGESBA archives. However, the occurrence of episodes such as the Fabiani affair, regarding which there is no documentation in the DGESBA archives, raises the issue of the representative nature of the DGESBA archives, and does not rule out that undeclared and/or illegal transfers of property occurred at higher numbers, and according to different patterns, during this period. In addition, it is still impossible to identify in large numbers the origins of the items entering the country, or the destination of those leaving.

Given the prevalence of import tax exemption over export license requests, and the lack of correspondence between imported and exported items, the former remained

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<sup>218</sup> ‘Exposição de Abecassis (Irmãos), Buzaglos & C.<sup>a</sup> sobre a exportação de peixe em salmoura para a Grécia - Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo - DigitArq’ (<https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4614032>) (15 Mar. 2022).

in the country, at least for the duration of the conflict. The war years inhibited imports more than exports; however, the low number of occurrences of each type of movement does not allow for the identification of a pattern. Objects mostly entered the country either individually or in groups of under ten items. Groups of more than one hundred objects entered the country occasionally. As far as exports are concerned, they tended to leave the country in small to medium-sized groups.

The data gathered by DGESBA also enables the identification of the individuals most involved in import and export activity: collectors Ricardo Espirito Santo Silva and Ernesto Vilhena; art dealers Elfriede Marques Pereira, *Mercador Lda.*, *Salão de Arte Antiga, Lda.*; and auctioneers *Leiria & Nascimento*. The list of individuals associated with one single request presented during the period is long – and includes Red Flag name listees such as Jacques Kugel, through *Casa Calendas*, and Karl Buchholz, the owner of *Livraria Buchholz*. Based on the DGESBA findings, Marques Pereira and Buchholz appear as the figures whose actions during the period constitute a research priority: the former given the sheer number of objects imported into the country shortly after the war, the latter given the proven import into the country of degenerate art. An interesting occurrence in this study is the presence of members of the historic Jewish community in Lisbon, namely Nicole Oulman, and *Abecassis Irmãos & Cia*. Among those who can be classified as refugees from Nazi persecution, we find Erich Popper and Fred Wachsmann, who were both German Jews.

Among Portuguese individuals and businesses, Ricardo Espírito Santo has confirmed his reputation as an active importer during the period. However, to avoid misunderstandings, is essential to underscore that his imports occur either in 1940 or before, or in 1946. The dealings of António Moreira de Almeida, who specialised in importing French painting from France, require closer attention.

The DGESBA findings suggest research avenues regarding the circulation of artworks in Portugal during the Second World War, and the impact of the refugee and/or foreign communities in this trade. On one hand, individual-based research – of collectors and art dealers – may further complete the narrative first established in this chapter. On the other, the study of the acquisitions made by art museums located in areas of assigned residence, or high refugee population, can establish if any of these objects were directed at them.

Uncovering this information will enable us to determine the importance of acquisitions of imported artworks during the period; the importance of foreign nationals and of Red Flag Name listees as providers of these artworks; the level of engagement of public museums, and by extension, of the Portuguese state, in acquiring these artworks; and, finally, the level of interaction between the foreign and refugee community with the Portuguese art market during the period.

### CHAPTER III – NATIONAL MUSEUMS, THE CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY, AND REFUGEES AND FOREIGNERS

This chapter will focus on the acquisitions of three national art museums during the period covered by this thesis - the *Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga* [henceforth, MNAA] and the *Museu Nacional de Arte Contemporânea* [henceforth, MNAC], both in Lisbon, and the *Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis* [henceforth, MNSR], in Porto. The MNAA's collecting brief covered fine and decorative arts produced until the nineteenth century; the MNAC's mission was to collect modern and contemporary art, as defined in 1911, the year of its creation; and the MNSR's scope of collection encompassed the chronology of both Lisbon-based museums, but with a focus on collecting artworks and objects that reflected the history of the city of Porto. As the two largest Portuguese cities, each boasting international means of transportation (railroad and maritime) and active Jewish and expatriate communities, Lisbon and Porto, which hosted large numbers of refugees during the period, are the most likely sites for interaction between art-purchasing institutions and this transient community.<sup>219</sup>

All three museums were part of a network that incorporated seven national museums and fourteen regional museums. Initially created during the Republic, the network was further developed during the *Estado Novo*. The network was under the immediate supervision of the *Direcção Geral do Ensino Superior e Belas Artes* [henceforth DGESBA], a branch of the education ministry dealing with higher education and the fine arts. The ministry itself held the name *Ministério da Instrução Pública* until 1936 and, from 1936 onwards, became known as *Ministério da Educação Nacional*.<sup>220</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> For a complete list of the museums considered for this analysis see the Introduction.

<sup>220</sup> Law 1941, *Diário do Governo*, I, 84, pp 411-3, 11 April 1936.



Within the network, the MNAA held a particularly important role. In addition to being the State's main art, and, it can be argued, national history, museum, the MNAA served as a training centre for those wishing to work in public museums nationwide; it oversaw the development of national standards of professional museum practice as well as the State's cultural initiatives that took place in other museological institutions and its staff was often called to develop the collections and education plans of other new museums. In addition, its director was required to integrate several advisory bodies. Furthermore, as the oldest of the national museums (it had been founded in 1884), it enjoyed an international reputation for the breadth of its collections and was the natural interlocutor for international art museums.

In addition to the legislation affecting the import and export of art works discussed in Chapter III, further legislation was passed that affected the internal art trade, as well as the collecting aims and programming scope of public museums. On April 3, 1937, perhaps in response to the cultural plunder occurring in nearby Spain as a result of the ongoing civil war, Law-Decree 23.633 voided any transaction in Portugal of objects of a foreign origin which held artistic, archaeological, historical and bibliographical value, when those transactions infringed legislation pertaining to their internal disposal, their alienation or their export.<sup>221</sup>

During the Second World War, and in consonance with other public services, museums were subjected to rationing of coal, potatoes, and office supplies. From 1943 onwards, in anticipation of possible air-raids, national museums received instructions to protect important objects.<sup>222</sup> In addition, museums were asked to participate in large-scale exercises of preparation for conflict, by protecting their buildings from

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<sup>221</sup> Law-Decree 23.633, *Diário do Governo*, I, 77, pp 312-5, 3 April 1937.

<sup>222</sup> Archives of the Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis/Correspondência recebida/Memo addressed to the museum director, 1 January 1943.

bombs and arranging for temporary transportation of their objects to a safe place.<sup>223</sup> In 1945, the museums were instructed to fly the national flag on 15 and 16 June 1945 in commemoration of the end of hostilities.<sup>224</sup> The end of the war, and Allied efforts to locate former enemies, led to efforts by the Portuguese government to list foreigners employed in its service. On December 5, 1945, a memo requested, with great urgency, a list of all foreigners who were, in any capacity, engaged in work, paid or not, by the Portuguese State, or any other activity, in establishments answerable to the Secretary for the Ministry of Education.<sup>225</sup> The replies sent by museums were clear – none had any foreigner in their staffs.

The avoidance of hiring foreigners by museums does not preclude us from examining the extent and nature of the interactions between these institutions and the refugee communities that sought shelter in Portugal's main cities between 1933 and 1945. While our primary focus is to establish whether art objects were purchased from refugees or other foreign entities during the period, and to evaluate their possible dubious ownership history, we also hope to identify the non-Portuguese individuals and institutions with whom museums interacted in those years, in the context of the refugee movements observed.

This chapter will present museum acquisitions by institution. For each institution, the historical context, a chronology of main events, and acquisitive process are presented. This is followed by an analysis of museum acquisitions during the period, identifying the number of documented acquisitions and their segmentation by type of acquisition and by type of object; by the identification and analysis of the individuals

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<sup>223</sup> Archives of the Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis/Correspondência recebida/1945/Memo from DGESBA

<sup>224</sup> Archives of the Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis/Correspondência recebida/1945/Memo from DGESBA

<sup>225</sup> Archives of the Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis/Correspondência recebida/1945/Order from DGESBA, 5 december 1945.

involved in sales, gifts and bequests; and, finally, by the discussion of the nature of the interaction of each museum with the refugee, expatriate, and diplomatic communities in their surroundings. For each museum, separate purchase and gifts and bequests databases have been made available in the Chapter Appendices.

This analysis will in turn elicit trends and patterns per museum throughout this period, and establish the role played by the main Portuguese museums in the art market, and in the refugee-influenced art market, during the period.

The main sources for the acquisitions databases for each museum are the correspondence files for each institution, organised differently according to each museum's internal archival system. Only in the case of the MNAC does the online inventory, *MatrizNet*, represent a significant source of information. It is important to note that, in all three cases, the correspondence files tend to omit an object's provenance – as such, in many cases, it is impossible to determine its seller to the institution. This is particularly true for acquisitions made by the MNAA, where the range of archival material access was limited by institutional decision. The consultation of other resources, such as exhibition catalogues and other printed materials, attempted to minimise the impact of this unforeseen obstacle.

The databases presented here were designed to reflect the number of objects that entered the collection. Some multiple inventory numbers covering an object set were considered single-entry objects. For example, an album of drawings and watercolours from the same origin in which each folio has an independent inventory number counts as one entry in the database. The same applies to tea and coffee sets, porcelain services, or furniture sets. Likewise, when different components of an object are given different inventory numbers – say, a pot with a lid, or a cup and saucer – they are inscribed as a single-entry within the database.

Even though the museum collections analysed here focused on gathering works of art, it can occur that, for reasons of institutional prestige, cultural diplomacy, or the obligations of a public collecting institution, other types of collections entered the museum during this period. Hence, archaeological finds, ethnographic collections, numismatic and medal collections, and personal papers, libraries and archives, have been excluded from the acquisitions database, unless there is supplementary documental evidence that supports their inclusion, such as, for example, being the gift of a refugee.

The category ‘mode of acquisition’ determines the means through which the object entered the museum collection – whether by purchase from an individual, company or institution, gift by a living donor, or bequest by a deceased one. Items that entered the collection temporarily as transfers from other museums and deposits from private or public institutions, in which the latter retain property rights, are excluded from the databases. In the case of deposits made by individuals or institutions who fall within the scope of this research, these will be discussed in a separate section. In addition, unless there is documental support to conclude otherwise, purchases are considered as the only evidence of an acquisitive decision by the museum. Since it was the practice that gifts and bequests should not be refused by a public museum, they cannot be interpreted as evidence of the institution’s acquisitive desire without supplementary documental evidence.

Regarding object typologies, the categories used by Portuguese museums that pertain to materials and techniques are retained. These are: paintings; watercolours, drawings and prints; sculpture; furniture; ceramics; glass; jewellery, goldsmithery and silversmithery; and metalwork. While the first three typologies are considered fine arts, the remaining are considered decorative arts.

## **The National Art Museum, caught between collecting high art and promoting national identity**

The Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga – the National Museum of ‘Early’ Art - was the name given in 1911 to the existent *Museu de Belas Artes*, located in the Alvor Palace, in Rua das Janelas Verdes, Lisbon. Founded in 1884 as the *Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes e Archeologia*, it had as its founding collections the objects of high quality which had been confiscated from the religious orders since 1835, and purchases, gifts and bequests that complemented these essential collections of paintings, sculpture, furniture, liturgical objects, and so on and so forth. During the almost fifty years of collecting for the future museum, the objects were under the care of the *Academia de Bellas-Artes*, the Fine Arts Academy, founded with this specific purpose in mind in 1835.

The museum reform of 1911 removed from the MNAA’s purview the collections of archaeology and of objects then considered as contemporary art. Each of these collections was moved to its own bespoke institution: the aforementioned MNAC, and the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia. The establishment of the Republic also provided the museum with an important number of objects of high artistic quality formerly in the royal and episcopal collections.

The mission of the MNAA was to collect and study the fine and decorative arts from the medieval period until the nineteenth century. Yet even as the 1911 law established nationalist chronological and geographic limits to its collection, the museum still occasionally ventured outside them such as when it received a Greek torso as part of the Calouste Gulbenkian gift for the Portuguese State, in 1953. Nowadays, the MNAA claims that its holdings number more than forty thousand items.<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>226</sup> Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, ‘História’, <http://www.museudearteantiga.pt/sobre-o-museu/historia> (15 January 2022).

During the period under analysis, the museum lived up to its reputation as Portugal's leading museum, and busied itself with major refurbishment projects, temporary exhibitions, object study and conservation, object loans, staff training and public programs. The MNAA's first large-scale refurbishment project occurred between 1935 and 1938, with the transformation of the building neighbouring the Alvor Palace, a convent purchased by the Portuguese government during the post-First World War period, into gallery space. This project, led by architect Gonçalo Rebello de Andrade, was not without controversy, as it presented a number of conservation issues.<sup>227</sup> The second major refurbishment of the museum occurred between 1942 and 1947, during which the museum refurbished the Alvor Palace building, adding modern infrastructures to the museum - namely a library, an auditorium, and a Prints and Drawings gallery and study area. Throughout this period, the museum remained partially open to the public at all times.

In terms of internal management, it is important to note that, between 1935 and 1943, the MNAA also oversaw the *Museu Nacional dos Coches*, the National Coach Museum, founded in 1901 by Queen Amelia.<sup>228</sup> During this period the museum acquired works of art for the National Coach Museum occasionally. In 1938, the MNAA transferred Luis Keil, its paintings curator, to the National Coach Museum. In 1943, Keil became this museum's first director.

The centrality of the MNAA in Portuguese cultural life was not only the result of the State's support for its work. It was also the result of the personality and talents of the two men who directed it during the period under analysis: José de Figueiredo, who headed the museum between 1911 and 1937, and João Couto, who succeeded him in 1938. Each of these men is to this day revered in the field of Portuguese museum

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<sup>227</sup> João Couto, 'Notas', *Boletim dos Museus* (Lisbon, 1939).

<sup>228</sup> Law-Decree 32.267, *Diário do Governo*, I, 256, pp 812-3, 24 November 1943.

studies. Research on Figueiredo underscores his seemingly single-handed establishment of the state's main art museum, enriching its collections through important purchases, modernizing its infrastructures and professional practices, and thereby securing it an international reputation that meant it punched above its weight.<sup>229</sup> João Couto is rightfully recognised for his pursuit of the scientific modernisation of the museum, with the installation of the Conservation Laboratory on its grounds, for his role in raising the standard for the qualifications of museum professionals, for creating the first education department in a Portuguese national museum, for introducing English and American methodologies of museum education in the Portuguese museum sector, and for reaching out to the working population of Lisbon through outreach programmes such as the extension of opening hours and evening programming.<sup>230</sup> This change in management style - which focused as much on the public as it did on the collections - closely mirrored what was happening at the same time in museums such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art, in New York, and the Victoria and Albert Museum, in London, where Couto had briefly interned before the First World War, and placed the MNAA squarely among the world leaders when it came to contemporary museum education practices.

The tenure of both men coincided with the period when the government financed cultural activity in the context of the promotion of Portuguese national identity. Events held at the museum were presented as official State events, often attended by the highest figures of the regime, including Salazar himself. Temporary exhibitions organised by the museum during the period included the 'Exhibition of French Works of Art existing in Portugal' (1934); the 'Exhibition of Gifts given by the Friends of the Museum since

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<sup>229</sup> Baião, 'José de Figueiredo. Ação e contributos no panorama historiográfico, museológico e patrimonialista português' (PhD thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2014).

<sup>230</sup> Madalena Cardoso da Costa, 'João Rodrigues da Silva Couto e a inovação museológica em Portugal no séc. XX (1938-1964)', in *Séries IberoAmericanas de museologia*, 8, pp 137-151 (2014).

1915' (1938)<sup>231</sup>; the 'Exhibition of Indo-Portuguese Furniture' (1938)<sup>232</sup>; the 'Exhibition of Portuguese Clay Sculptors' (1938)<sup>233</sup>; the 'Exhibition of Drawings by Domingos Antonio de Sequeira' (1939)<sup>234</sup>; the 'Commemorative Exhibition of the Bicentennial of the Sèvres Porcelain Manufacture' (co-organised, 1939); the 'Exhibition of Spanish Paintings' (1940)<sup>235</sup>; the 'Exhibition of Old Prints', which had opened at the MNSR(1944)<sup>236</sup>; the 'Exhibition of Embroidered bedspreads from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' (1945); the 'José Lazaro Collection' (1945)<sup>237</sup>. Perhaps because of the refurbishments taking place in the museum, temporary exhibitions in which the museum was involved between 1941 and 1944 were either the result of a commitment by the Portuguese government with foreign institutions or were held in other locations.

In addition to the museum's own productions, the MNAA was called to collaborate heavily in the preparation of the Centennials events and exhibitions held throughout the country. Among these stood the 'Exhibition of Portuguese Primitives', which focused on fifteenth and sixteenth-century Portuguese paintings. and the 'Exhibition of Portuguese Goldsmithery'.<sup>238</sup> It was also during the Centennials commemorations that the MNAA hosted the Duke of Kent, on 26 June 1940. The MNAA was the main location where bilateral cultural initiatives were held. These took the form of temporary exhibitions and public lectures with foreign guest speakers and will be discussed after an analysis of the MNAA acquisitions during the period.

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<sup>231</sup> *Algumas obras de arte oferecidas pelo 'Grupo de Amigos do Museu, 9 de julho a 9 de Julho de 1938.* (Lisbon, 1938).

<sup>232</sup> Museu das Janelas Verdes. *O mobiliário Indo-Português* (Lisbon, 1938).

<sup>233</sup> *Barristas Portugueses* (Lisbon, 1938).

<sup>234</sup> Museu das Janelas Verdes, *Desenhos de Domingos António de Sequeira* (Lisbon, 1939).

<sup>235</sup> Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, *Exposição comemorativa do bi-centenário da Manufatura Nacional de Sèvres, 1738-1938* (Lisbon, 1939).

<sup>236</sup> Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, *Exposição de estampas antigas* (Lisbon, 1944).

<sup>237</sup> Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, *Colchas bordadas do século XVII e XVIII* (Lisbon, 1945) and *Colecção Lázaro de Nova Iorque* (Lisbon, 1945).

<sup>238</sup> Comemorações nacionais de 1940. *Exposição de ourivesaria portuguesa dos séculos XII-XVII* (Lisbon, 1940) and *Exposição dos primitivos portugueses* (Lisbon, 1940).



Interestingly, the MNAA annual visitor numbers do not appear to have been affected by the influx of refugees into the city in 1940 and 1941. (Figure III.1) While visitor numbers for 1941 were not located, it appears that, after reaching a high number of visitors in 1939, annual visitorship declined almost fifty per cent by 1942, increasing slightly in subsequent years.

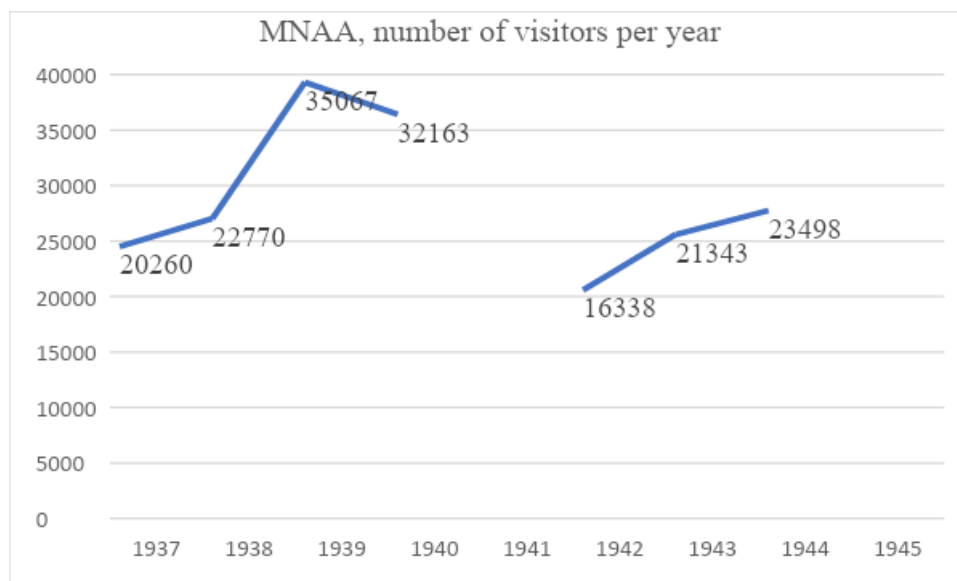


Figure III.1 - MNAA Annual visitors, 1937-45. Source: MNAA Archives, *Boletim do(s) Museu(s) de Arte Antiga*, 1938-45.

Unlike the remaining museums analysed here, the MNAA's archives are composed of different types of documents, which benefit the breadth of information provided in its acquisitions database, especially in what pertains to the identity of the sellers. The most important documents used in this construction were the receipts ledgers, a set of bound volumes organised by year, in which each page copied the details of the original receipts of expenses incurred by the museum.<sup>239</sup> This documentation was organised by month, then year. In each month, expenses were organised sequentially by

<sup>239</sup> Archives of the MNAA/'Livro de facturas', vols. 10-15.

type – hence, all object acquisitions appeared in sequential pages and were easy to track. There were, however, some limitations to this document. The first one pertained to the fact that the documents were not reflective of all of the museum’s funding sources, with some purchases made through special credit lines opened by the government not being recorded. In addition, since each record was a copy of the receipt provided, it reflected the methodology of each seller in recording its sale. This presented a problem for multi-object purchases, as not all salespeople itemised the sale value of each object and provided only the overall amount paid by the MNAA. In addition, this ledger, by nature, did not list gifts and/or bequests to the museum.

The second set of documents were the entry records, three bound volumes organised chronologically, which detailed each museum acquisition, and provided summary details on their description and provenance.<sup>240</sup> These documents were important inasmuch as they listed gifts and bequests and indicated purchase values. However, provenance identification was not habitually included in these ledgers. This document also provided a partial identification of the objects purchased by assigning inventory numbers. However, even this recording was partial. An undated report, very likely written in the 1940s, provided further information. It organised purchases through source of funding, then typology.<sup>241</sup> This was particularly useful in identifying two acquisitions paid for by the Valmor Bequest in 1933 and 1934. The fourth source to be consulted was the general correspondence files of the museum, organised chronologically by year, and within each year, by theme, and sub-theme.<sup>242</sup> These provided confirmation of acquisitions and of the acquisition process. In addition, they provided an overwhelming amount of information regarding the daily life of the

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<sup>240</sup> Archives of the MNAA/ ‘Livro de entradas geral’, vol. I: 1917 to 1938; vol. II: 1937 to 1943; vol. III: ‘Livro do registo de entrada das obras de arte, 1944 – 1980’.

<sup>241</sup> Archives of the MNAA/ ‘Relação dos objetos de arte adquiridos desde o ano de 1914’.

<sup>242</sup> Archives of the MNAA/ ‘Copiador de correspondência recebida’.

museum. This was undoubtedly the densest information to process and from which to extract the relevant occurrences for this specific research project, as providing a detailed narrative of the MNAA's actions during the period would dominate this chapter, and ultimately provide scant information of importance for our purposes. If anything, reading these correspondence files illustrates the level of daily activity of the museum and how it compared more than favourably with that of the other institutions analysed here. The extent of this fonds alone can serve as a visual confirmation of the higher status of the MNAA within the state cultural machinery.

The archives of João Couto held at the museum were useful in documenting his personal relationship with various diplomatic representatives as well as foreign art dealers and refugees. They also documented his actions in many of the institutions in which, by virtue of being the director of the MNAA, he served. It is important to notice that not consulting the archive of José de Figueiredo was a choice – as he was not alive during the war years, this archive appeared as a low priority for research purposes. In addition, as he had been the object of a recent research project, its findings provided the relevant secondary information, since the data that pertained to the museum acquisitions was already provided in the receipts ledger.

A very interesting primary source in the museum's archives was the Friends of the Museum Archive and, in particular, this society's annual reports. They demonstrate a close relationship with the museum, and a strong financial bond. Indeed, not only did the Friends of the Museum support the MNAA in the expected areas of object acquisition, organisation of public programmes, and fundraising activities, they also provided funds and loans to the museum for its daily management, occasionally paying the salary of the night guard, for example. Some of their loans to the museum were even transformed into gifts at a later date. In addition, the Friends of the Museum's annual

reports demonstrates that the Group of Friends was a regular client of the Buchholz bookshop, purchasing not works of art but art books which it gave to the Museum library.<sup>243</sup>

The seventh, and final, primary source consulted here was the press clippings box for part of this period. It indicated important museum events and international occurrences. However, as it is not yet organised in a systematic fashion, it served mostly as a fact-checking aid. For the museum's gifts and bequests database additional sources were used. The first one was the compilation of gifts and bequests to the museum undertaken by museum staff and made available to researchers at the museum library.<sup>244</sup> This data was checked against the information included in the annual reports printed in the MNAA's annual Bulletins.<sup>245</sup>

The use of the online public inventory of MatrizNet in this process was minimal. Occasionally, during the writing process, specific object details were checked on this inventory. However, in the case of the MNAA, given the detailed primary sources encountered and the difficulties in retrieving information from MatrizNet, which for the most part was incomplete, the online inventory revealed itself to be an irrelevant source. In what the reader will see as a regular lamentation throughout this chapter, it is truly regrettable that, twenty years after it was first implemented, a technological tool developed by specialists, aimed at promoting the research of Portuguese public collections as whole, eschewing the limitations of their physical location, should reveal itself to be so unfit-for-purpose.

As with most museums, objects entered the MNAA through different means, whether as purchase, gift, bequest, loan, deposit, or transfer. Of these, the acquisitions

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<sup>243</sup> Archives of the MNAA/GAMNAA/Annual reports 1944-5.

<sup>244</sup> Archives of the MNAA/'Doadores e legados' document created by Celina Bastos with Carlos Pires dos Santos and Fernanda Bento.

<sup>245</sup> *Boletim do Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga*, issues 1939 through 1946.

database reflects only the first three, since loans and deposits do not signify a transfer of property, and transfers signify that the object was already the property of the State.

Nevertheless, more than any other museum studied here, the MNAA received a significant number of transfers throughout the 1930s. This was in continuation of the process of transfer of art held by religious institutions which began in 1911. Throughout the 1930s, the museum regularly received transfers of objects and architectural fragments, often found in churches and other buildings in decay, from local and regional authorities. For example, in 1933, among other institutions, the sacristy of the São José Hospital transferred seven objects to the museum some of which were returned to the Hospital as the chapel resumed its function in 1936.<sup>246</sup> While transfers, though significant, will not be studied here, loans and deposits will be examined as long as they pertain to our research purposes.

One dilemma that had to be resolved during the construction of the purchases database, pertains to the objects purchased from the Burnay auction, an event briefly discussed in Chapter I. In February 1937, the MNAA received hundreds of objects purchased by the State at the auction of the Burnay estate the year before. To finance its purchases, the government opened a credit line of 2,165,000 *escudos*.<sup>247</sup> Based on the receipts ledger in the MNAA archives, the MNAA purchased ca. one hundred and fifty-four objects at the Burnay collection, for a total amount of 1, 626,360 *escudos*.<sup>248</sup> However, it appears that the MNAA served as the triage point for these purchases as, in the following years, and indeed decades, some of these items originally intended for the MNAA collections were directed towards national palaces and Portuguese embassies abroad. In addition, as research has shown, the objects sold at the Burnay auction entered the Burnay collection before the period under analysis and therefore fall outside

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<sup>246</sup> Archives of the MNAA/'Registo de entradas', 135, March 1933.

<sup>247</sup> Law-Decree 26.472, *Diário do Governo*, I, 73, pp 355, 28 March 1936.

<sup>248</sup> Archives of the MNAA/'Livro de facturas', 1936-8.

the scope of the research undertaken here.<sup>249</sup> As such, the entirety of the purchases made at the Burnay auction is excluded from the database, thereby providing a clearer understanding of the works of art that the museum chose to purchase for its own collections.

The purchases made by the MNAA during the period under analysis totalled four hundred and fifty-five. (Appendix III.1) As far as typologies are concerned, the museum was traditional in its preferences – ceramics and paintings were purchased in the largest quantities overall with one-hundred and sixty-five and ninety-two purchases respectively (Table III.1). Ceramics and paintings were also the only two categories of objects that were purchased annually throughout the entire period under analysis. Other popular categories, with almost yearly purchases were furniture, sculpture, works on paper and jewellery. The remaining typologies represent occasional museum interests.

Typology	Number of objects
Ceramics	165
Painting	92
Furniture	43
Drawing	37
Sculpture	37
Textiles	22
Jewellery	20
Silverware	20
Book	5
Prints	8
Misc	4

<sup>249</sup> Matos, *Henri Burnay: de banqueiro a colecionador*.

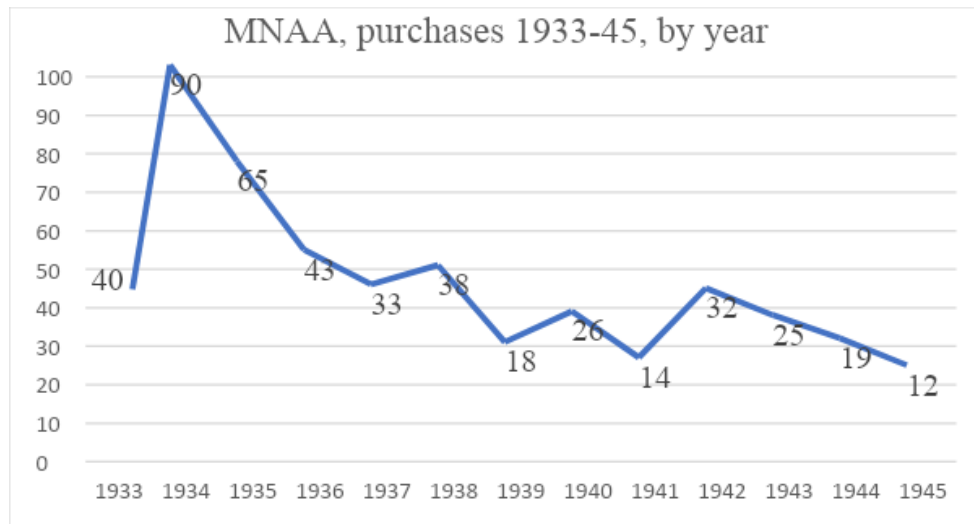
Metalwork	1
unknown	1

*Table III.1 – MNAA purchases, 1933-1945, by typology, in values and percentage.*

*Source: MNAA sales ledgers and correspondence files.*

The museum purchases also reveal the institution’s adherence to and promotion of the New State’s construct of Portuguese sense of identity, as a Christian country founded in the medieval period in reaction against an occupying Muslim enemy, and as a world-wide power which ‘discovered’ faraway lands and built a lasting empire. Sculpture was largely religious and medieval. The vast majority of ceramic purchases pertained to Chinese export porcelain, a visual testament of Portuguese imperial glory. Likewise, paintings by Portuguese artists constituted the greater part of purchases in this category. While purchases representing other geographic and artistic realities did occur, they represented a minority of these transactions.

Chronologically, the highest number of recorded purchases occurred in 1934, with ninety recorded entries, and the lowest number in 1945, with twelve entries (Figure III.2). As a reminder, the Burnay acquisitions entered the museum in 1937, and would therefore make this the year with the highest number of purchases by far, had these not been excluded from the database.



*Figure III.2 –MNAA purchases, 1933-45. Source: MNAA sales ledgers and correspondence files.*

Overall, the number of purchases declined throughout the period under analysis. The number of purchases that took place between 1933 and 1937 – corresponding to the tenure of Jose de Figueiredo – amounts to two-hundred and seventy-one, while those occurring between 1938 and 1945, corresponding to João Couto’s tenure number one hundred and eighty-four. Purchases taking place between 1940 and 1945 – the years of a sustained and important presence of refugees in the country – number one hundred and twenty-eight. It appears evident from the analysis of the number of purchases made by the museum, and from the amount spent throughout the period, that neither the outbreak of the Second World War nor the arrival of refugees in Lisbon can be seen as a relevant influence for the museum’s purchasing behaviour.

Another method of determining the patterns of purchases by the MNAA is examining the amounts disbursed by the museum. In this case, the analysis of the amounts provides greater nuance to these two different phases of purchases by the MNAA. Overall, the museum spent 3,021,311 *escudos* purchasing works of art. This amount included special credit lines that were opened for specific purchases whose



values exceeded the museum’s budget, which totalled 1,626,360 *escudos*. These were, in 1938, 1,322,400 *escudos* for the purchase of two paintings by Flemish painter Quentin Metsys, representing ‘The Presentation to the Temple’ and ‘The Burial of Christ’. The second purchase with special credit, pertained to a painting by Romney, ‘Portrait of Sir John Orde,’ at the Christie’s auction of Sir Berkeley Sheffield’s collection, in 1943, for 245,225 *escudos*.<sup>250</sup> And, finally, in late 1944, 65,000 *escudos* were disbursed through special credit for a silver plate purchased in London.

Once the special credit expenditure is accounted for, the MNAA acquisitions expenditure for the period under analysis amounts to 1,387,686 *escudos*. Of this amount, 683,380 *escudos* were spent during Figueiredo’s tenure, while 704,306 *escudos* were spent during Couto’s tenure. (Table III.2)

<b>DIRECTORS' TENURE</b>	<b>PURCHASES IN VALUE (<i>escudos</i>)</b>	<b>#ITEMS</b>	<b>AVG. #ITEMS/YEAR</b>	<b>AVG. COST PER ITEM (<i>escudos</i>)</b>
<b>Figueiredo: 1933-1937</b>	<b>683 380</b>	<b>271</b>	<b>54</b>	
Museum purchase expenditure	683 380	271	54	2521,70
Special credit purchase expenditure (excludes Burnay auction)	0	0	0	
<b>Couto: 1938-1945</b>	<b>2 337 931</b>	<b>184</b>	<b>23</b>	

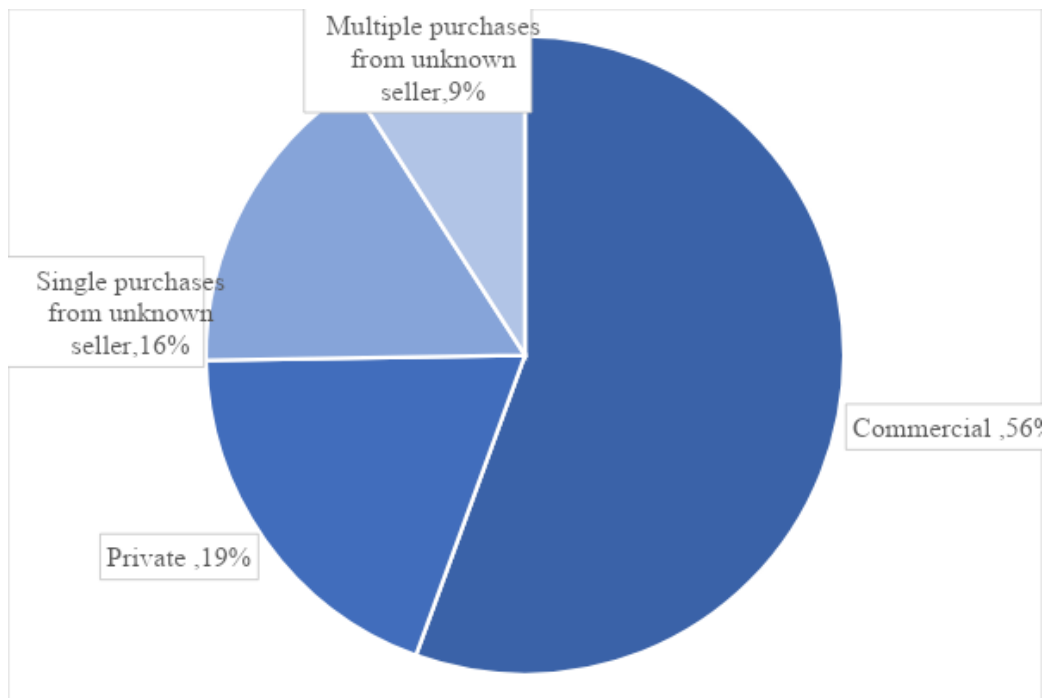
<sup>250</sup> Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archives. DGFP/RP/LIS/BARTS/110, ‘Aquisição em Londres pelo Estado com destino aos Museus Nacionais de Arte Antiga, do quadro “Retrato do Almirante Sir John Orde”, pintado por Romney no século XVII’. I am grateful to Celina Bastos for pointing me in the direction of this document.

Museum purchase expenditure	704 306	181	22,625	3891,19
Special credit purchase expenditure	1 633 625	3		

*Table III.2 – Comparison of number of purchases and purchase expenditure by director’s tenure. Source: MNAA sales ledgers and correspondence files.*

A quick comparison between the number of purchases undertaken by each director, and of the resulting data regarding average purchases per year, and average cost per object, reveals that Figueiredo bought ca. twice as many works of art per year as João Couto, at a lower cost per object. While further calculations are required to ascertain the impact of inflation or deflation in these values, it can nevertheless be argued that this means that, while Figueiredo purchased many works of art at more affordable prices, and perhaps lower overall quality, João Couto opted to purchase fewer works of art, at higher prices, and perhaps correspondingly higher quality. This possibility gains further credibility when coupled with the fact that the point of inflexion for the number of annual purchases was the year of Figueiredo’s death and his replacement by João Couto, who did not see acquisitions, but rather conservation, exhibition, and interpretation as the primary areas of his activity.

The identity of the sellers to the museum further contributes to understanding the nature of a relationship between the institution and foreign art dealers. For the most part, they can be identified either as commercial dealers or private citizens. (Figure III.3)



*Figure III.3 – Sellers to MNAA by type of seller, 1933-45.*

*Source: MNAA sales ledgers and correspondence files.*

An examination of MNAA purchases during the period by type of seller reveals that commercial dealers account for fifty-five per cent of the number of the purchases undertaken by the museum. Nineteen per cent of the objects sold to the MNAA came from private citizens who were not known to operate as art dealers. The occupation of twenty-six per cent of sellers is unknown, and we have been unable to determine if they were private sellers to the museum or if in fact they operated in the art-dealing world. This in itself may indicate that they were private individuals, as commercial entities would have left a paper trail. Among these, nine per cent sold objects to the MNAA on more than one occasion, which belies a working relationship with the museum. Finally, on one occasion, in 1940, the museum purchased three religious sculptures from the Muge local authority.

A minority of sellers engaged in high-volume transactions with the MNAA. (Table III.3) All but three were commercial art dealers, who operated from commercial premises or from their homes. Five sellers – Leiria & Nascimento, Raquel Sabbath, Eliezer Kamenesky, Manuel dos Santos Pinto and Anastácio Fernandes - maintained a commercial relationship with the museum throughout the entire period. The remaining five seem to have had their relationship interrupted around the period of the transition between José de Figueiredo and João Couto. They were João Galvão, whose last sale to the MNAA occurred in 1937; Alfredo Ramos and Maria da Silva Pires, whose last recorded sale was in 1938; Guida Keil, the sister of MNAA paintings curator Luis Keil, whose last recorded sale was in 1940; and Luis d’Arenas de Lima, whose only sale to the museum occurred in 1940.

<b>Position</b>	<b>Seller</b>	<b># objects</b>	<b>Type of seller; pattern of sales.</b>
1	Leiria & Nascimento	31	Commercial; multiple
2	Auction, Antonio Arroio	24	Commercial; single
3	Raquel Sabbath	18	Commercial; multiple
4	Eliezer Kamenesky	14	Commercial; multiple
5	Auction João Luis da Fonseca	11	Commercial; single
6	João Galvão	10	Commercial; multiple
7	Raquel Frazão Silva	9	Commercial; multiple

7	Maria da Silva Pires	9	Private; single
7	Auction, Eduardo John	9	Commercial; single
7	Alfredo Ramos	9	Commercial; single
8	Manuel dos Santos Pinto	8	Private; multiple
9	Guida Keil	7	Commercial; single
9	Anastácio Fernandes	7	Commercial; multiple
10	Luis d'Arenas de Lima	6	Private; single
10	Auction, Ribeiro Valente collection	6	Commercial; single

*Table III.3 - MNAA, Top ten sellers to the museum by number of objects sold, 1933-45.*

*Source: MNAA sales ledgers and correspondence files.*

Auctioneer Leiria & Nascimento, who sold independently to the museum almost every year during the period under analysis, appears at the top of the sellers list. Given that the Burnay auction was overseen by Leiria & Nascimento, this table underscores the importance that the auction house held in the museum's network of purchase sources. Overall, the museum purchased thirty-five objects from Leiria & Nascimento, and four from João Filipe Silva Nascimento, the manager of the auction house. For these purchases, the MNAA disbursed 188.083,10 *escudos*. José de Figueiredo seemed to enjoy auctions as a mode of purchase. He bought twenty-four objects at the auction of the estate of politician and artist António Arroio; eleven items at the auction of the estate of João Luis da Fonseca; nine objects at the auction of the estate of Eduardo John, a partner of Henri Burnay; and six objects at the auction of the Ribeiro Valente

collection, in addition to the purchases of five objects or less at a number of other auctions. As the MNAA receipt books reveal, he was in the habit of engaging in the expense, and then requesting a reimbursement on behalf of the museum's acquisitions budget.

Among the individual dealers with the most sales to the museum, two, Rachel Sabbath and Eliezer Kamenesky, emerge as art dealers with ties to the Portuguese Jewish community. Both Sabbath and Kamenesky, whose names are spelled out in variants throughout the primary sources located for this research, have been mistakenly identified as tied to the group of foreign art dealers who operated in Portugal during the 1930s and 1940s as refugees fleeing from persecution and war.<sup>251</sup> Raquel Sabbath sold actively to the MNAA throughout the period, with transactions occurring yearly between 1933 and 1936, and then again in 1940-41 and 1943-45. The majority of her sales consisted of Chinese ceramics, followed by Portuguese paintings, sculptures, silverware, and one Indo-Portuguese bedspread, which netted her an overall 26,130 *escudos*. The bedspread, sold to the museum in 1945, was valued at 7,000 *escudos* and was the single most expensive object purchased by the museum from this art dealer. The research on art collections undertaken for this project reveals that Sabbath sold objects to the MNAA and the Museum of Counts of Castro Guimarães, in Cascais. Looking into the acquisitions history of art collector António Anastácio Gonçalves, we can determine that she acted as an intermediary on various purchases by the collector throughout the 1950s, with the last recorded transaction occurring in 1960. It has been difficult to ascertain specific biographical information regarding Raquel Sabbath. Her surname indicates Sephardic Jewish ancestry, and she is most likely related to the Jewish families from Morocco and Cape Verde who settled in Portugal from 1835

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<sup>251</sup> Ana Anjos Mântua, 'As aquisições do Dr. Anastácio Gonçalves e o mercado de arte em Portugal de 1925 a 1965' in *Museus palácios e mercados de arte*, pp 70-80, (Lisbon, 2014).

onwards. It is possible that she was part of the Sabat family, of Moroccan Jewish origin, who settled in Horta island, in the Azores, in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, moving to Lisbon at the end of the century.<sup>252</sup> As such, it would be erroneous to integrate her in the group of refugee foreign art dealers that settled in Lisbon during the Second World War, as has been the case so far. Until it is otherwise proven, we assume that she operated as a Portuguese national who was Jewish.

Much more is known about Eliezer Kamenesky, one of the founders of the vegetarian and natural life movements who settled in Lisbon after the First World War.<sup>253</sup> Most Portuguese nationals will know him as a Russian character in classic Portuguese films such as *Pátio das Cantigas* and *O Pai Tirano*, in which he played a light-hearted version of himself. Born in Ukraine in 1888, he settled in Portugal in 1917. In Lisbon, he became known as a naturist and vegetarian activist and opened the bookshop and art gallery *Bliblarte*.<sup>254</sup> He married a Portuguese national, Arnilde Roque Penim, and the couple went on to sell and give works of art to Portuguese museums and art collectors between the 1920s and 1957, the year of his death. During the period under analysis, Kamenesky sold fourteen objects to the MNAA, for a total of 39,480 *escudos*. His sales included paintings, sculptures, jewellery, print, a horse rider outfit, and a Book of Hours. The latter was the most expensive sale to the MNAA, at 11,000 *escudos*. Of the fourteen purchases undertaken by the MNAA from Kamenesky during the period under analysis, the horse-riding outfit was the only made by João Couto, in 1942. Today this item is in the collection of the National Costume Museum.<sup>255</sup>

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<sup>252</sup> Fernando Faria Ribeiro, 'Um contributo para o conhecimento da comunidade hebraica na ilha do Faial' in *Boletim do Núcleo Cultural da Horta*, 20, 253-287 (2011).

<sup>253</sup> Milgram, Portugal, Salazar e os Judeus.

<sup>254</sup> Manuela Parreira da Silva, 'Eliezer Kamenesky' in *Modernismo – arquivo virtual da Geração de Orfeu*, <https://modernismo.pt/index.php/e/552-eliezer-kamenesky/> (15 Jan 2021).

<sup>255</sup> 'Waistcoat/Male (MNTM 4011)', National Costume and Fashion Museum, in MatrizNet, <http://www.matriznet.dgpc.pt/MatrizNet/Objectos/ObjectosConsultar.aspx?IdReg=45160> (15 January 2022).

At this stage, another art dealer who sold to the MNAA, and who has been wrongly identified as belonging to the foreign art dealer community, should be discussed. While he was not among the most active sellers to the MNAA, the identification of Moysés Milne, also known as Moysés de Milne e Carmo, with the refugee art dealer community demands clarification. In fact the Milne e Carmo family has its roots in the *marrano* Jewish community of Alenquer and are part of those who survived the forced conversions and Inquisitorial periods of Portuguese history.<sup>256</sup> Milne e Carmo is recorded as having sold works of art on two occasions to the MNAA. In 1942, he sold a ceramic French plate for 1,000 *escudos* to the MNAA. Two years later, he sold two Portuguese embroideries for 6,500 *escudos*. He is known to have been active until, at least, 1956, when he acted as intermediary for a purchase of a Chinese porcelain teapot for Antonio Anastácio Gonçalves.<sup>257</sup>

Among the refugees who did open an art dealership in Portugal in the 1930s and 1940s, none appears on the most active sellers list. Nevertheless, sporadic transactions with this group, which included Red Flag Name listees, did occur. Jacques Kugel, whose date of arrival in Portugal, while unknown, is likely to have been 1943, opened *Casa Calendas*, or *Galeria Calendas*, with his then wife, the Mozambican-born poet Merícia de Lemos, in early 1944.<sup>258</sup> From this dealer, the MNAA purchased, in April 1945, a Portuguese ceramic gravy boat for 900 *escudos*, and, in September of the same year, an Indo-Portuguese embroidered bedspread, for 4,000 *escudos*. Indo-Portuguese textiles remained an area of transaction throughout the commercial relationship between Kugel/Calendas and the MNAA. Until at least 1961, the museum purchased two other

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<sup>256</sup> I am grateful to my aunt Maria Teresa Milne e Carmo, the widow of Moysés Milne's nephew, for the biographical information provided.

<sup>257</sup> 'Wine pot with lid (CMAG 373)', Dr. Anastácio Gonçalves House Museum, in MatrizNet, <http://www.matriznet.dgpc.pt/MatrizNet/Objectos/ObjectosConsultar.aspx?IdReg=244038> (15 January 2022).

<sup>258</sup> Fialho-Brandão, 'Jacques Kugel' in 'Refugee profile series', Exiles Memorial Centre documentation centre.



Indo-Portuguese textiles from Kugel. Jacques Kugel was also a donor to the museum, with the gift of a serving dish bearing the mark ‘Janelas Verdes F.N.’ in 1944. This was most likely a commemorative plate of some kind.

Karl Buchholz who, as a dealer of modern art, could be expected not to appear in the museum’s purchase ledgers, was a regular seller of books on art and art history to the museum library, selling either to the museum or to the MNAA’s Group of Friends. The museum’s commercial interactions with the Buchholz Bookshop and Gallery began in February 1944, almost one year after the gallery opened its doors. It is important to underscore that the MNAA did not purchase works of art from Buchholz, but rather books, in German, pertaining to art history, in general, and Flemish art in particular.<sup>259</sup>

In 1935, an intriguing sale to the museum took place. It is not the nature of the object sold – a Limoges enamel plaque, one among many – but the identity of the seller, *Salão d’Arte Antiga*, and the year when the sale occurred that are surprising. The previous chapter revealed that, *Salão d’Arte Antiga*, owned and operated by German Jewish refugee Erich Popper, was active since, at least, 1938. The date of the MNAA sale dates the operations of this establishment to three years earlier and raises possibility that Popper was active in Portugal earlier than we assumed. The biography and activities of Popper are further discussed in Chapter V.

*Calabresi Lda.*, another active importer discussed in the previous chapter, sold two works of art to the MNAA: a Portuguese sculpture, in 1934, for 1,300 *escudos*; and, the following year, a Portuguese table, for 1,800 *escudos*. No other purchases appear to have been made from this seller during the period under discussion. Among the foreign and/or refugee art dealers known to have been active in Lisbon during the period who are absent from sales to the museum are Elfriede Marques Pereira and her *Galeria de Arte*. An examination of purchases by value of the item reveals another typology of

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<sup>259</sup> Archives of the MNAA/GAMNAA/Annual reports 1944-5.

non-Portuguese sellers to the museum, namely those based abroad, in Paris and London. (Table III.4) Among the thirty-five high-end single purchases which cost 10,000 *escudos* or more, seven were made abroad. The most expensive one occurred in 1938, and pertained to two paintings by Quentin Metsys. ‘Presentation to the Temple’ and ‘Adoration of Christ’, were purchased for 1,322,400 *escudos* to London-based art dealer Lionel Harris. Originally part of the altarpiece of the Madreus Convent, in Lisbon, the panels had entered the art market supposedly after the death of their last owner, the Countess of Edla.<sup>260</sup> Harris, whose London-based Spanish art gallery opened in 1911, had been active in the Iberian Peninsula as an art dealer since at least 1891, when he opened his first establishment in Madrid. The acquisition of these two panels, in which art historian Reynaldo dos Santos acted as an intermediary, was publicly presented as an important act of patriotism in the rescue of national heritage located abroad.<sup>261</sup>

<b>Value (Escudos)</b>	<b>Type of dealer</b>	<b>Acquired from</b>
1 322 400,00	Commercial dealer	<b>Lionel Harris (London)</b>
246 225,00	Commercial dealer	<b>Sir Berkeley Sheffield (Christies, 16 July 1943)</b>
65 000,00	Commercial dealer	<b>London</b>
56 050,00	Commercial dealer	<b>Paul Cailloux (Paris)</b>
27 550,00	Private	<b>R.A. Newton (London)</b>
14 000,00	Commercial dealer	<b>Paul Cailloux (Paris).</b>
10 700,00	Commercial dealer	<b>Galerie de Moos (Paris)</b>

<sup>260</sup> José Alberto de Carvalho and Miguel Soromenho (eds), *Museu das descobertas* (Lisbon, 2019), p.94.

<sup>261</sup> Archives of the MNAA/Press clippings/’Quentin Metsys’.

*Table III.4 Single purchases by the MNAA to foreign dealers based abroad, 1933-45, costing 10,000 escudos or more. Source: MNAA sales ledgers and correspondence files.*

The second single highest purchase by the MNAA also took place in London, in 1943, through the intermediary of the Portuguese ambassador to London, Armindo Monteiro. Bought at the Christie's auction of Sir Berkeley Sheffield's estate, the portrait of Sir John Orde by George Romney, cost 246,225 *escudos*. The motive behind this particular purchase, at this particular time, has been difficult to ascertain. The sitter, Sir John Orde, was a military figure during the Napoleonic Wars, and active in the Battle of Cadiz.

The third most expensive purchase by the MNAA to a foreign seller, and fourth overall, pertains to a Portuguese silver platter, purchased in London, from an unidentified seller, in 1944. This item, whose description places it within the main collecting purview of the museum – high-quality Portuguese historical decorative arts – cost 65,000 *escudos*. This expense, as well as the two mentioned previously, required the opening of a special credit line by the Portuguese government.

Paris-based dealer Paul Cailloux sold two paintings to the MNAA – a still-life by Chardin, in 1935, for 56,050 *escudos*, and, in 1938, a portrait by Carle Van Loo, for 14,000 *escudos*. The Chardin was the fourth most expensive purchase by the MNAA from a foreign seller, and sixth overall, while the Van Loo was the eighth most expensive purchase from a foreign seller, and twenty-second overall. Interestingly, none of these purchases reflected the museum's interest in national art and history. Rather, they demonstrated Figueiredo's interest in competing in the international art market to secure works by non-Portuguese artists and make the advantageous deals for which he was known.<sup>262</sup> During the war Cailloux is known to have sold ca. sixty-three works of

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<sup>262</sup> Baião, *Museus, arte e património em Portugal: José de Figueiredo (1871-1937)* (Lisbon, 2015).

art to German clients such as Maria Dietrich's, Hitler's art procurer for the Linz Museum. He also served as a consultant for the Reichsbank for valuing the works of art in the vaults of confiscated accounts owned by Jewish individuals, and as the self-appointed administrator of Jewish-owned galleries such as Josse Hessel, Bernheim-Jeune, and Wildenstein.<sup>263</sup> The MNAA negotiations with Cailloux for this purchase began in 1937, with Figueiredo, and thus pre-date the Nazi invasion of France. Nevertheless, given Cailloux's actions during the occupation, and the possibility of accessing the German art market before 1940, these works of art will join the list of those who require an in-depth provenance research.

The fifth most expensive purchase from a foreign seller, and fourteenth overall, occurred in 1938 and pertained to a painting of St. Peter by Portuguese Renaissance painter Nuno Gonçalves. This purchase from London-based lawyer R[eginald] A[rthur] Newton, for 27,550 *escudos*, integrated the important acquisitions undertaken under the motto of rescuing Portuguese heritage abroad. While its full provenance is unknown, it is presumed that this painting was part of the artistic heritage that disappeared from religious institutions upon the extinction of religious orders, in 1834.<sup>264</sup>

A portrait by Spanish artist Sanchez Coello, purchased in 1935 for 10,700 *escudos*, was the seventh most expensive purchase by the museum from a foreign seller, and twenty-eighth overall. Some level of patriotism can be attributed to this purchase, since Sanchez Coello is thought to have found great favour in the Portuguese court during the reign of D. João III.

In addition to these high-end purchases, the MNAA bought two other items from foreign sellers based abroad. In December 1939, the Paris-based Galerie Wildenstein sold a Nativity Scene by Portuguese-painter Vasco Pereira Lusitano, for 6,150 *escudos*.

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<sup>263</sup> Feliciano, *The lost museum*, pp 134-7.

<sup>264</sup> Seabra and Soromenho, *Museu das descobertas*, p. 95.

The date of this purchase is particularly important since Galerie Wildenstein is known to have been looted by the E.R.R. and to have engaged in commercial transactions of looted art during the Second World War.<sup>265</sup> As the transaction occurred before the fall of France and the spoliation of the Wildenstein gallery, it is presumed to have occurred in good faith. Nevertheless, how this painting, presumably made for yet another Portuguese religious institution extinguished during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, came to enter the Wildenstein stock, and whether it could possibly have come to Paris from a forced sale in Germany, Austria, Poland or Czechoslovakia, which were under Nazi rule at the time of the sale to the MNAA, are two important issues that will need to be clarified in the future.

In 1935, Christina Garin des Chauds sold a miniature portrait of Madame Euphrasine to the museum for 600 *escudos*. This sale presumably concludes the list of transactions between the museum and foreign citizens or commercial entities. However, we have not been able to determine the nationality of Garin des Chauds.

The analysis of the purchases made by the MNAA during the period under analysis has revealed that its commercial transactions within the international art market, the Lisbon-based foreign and refugee art dealers, and with foreign citizens was a small percentage of the transactions that occurred. Financially, the eight transactions that occurred within the international art market were responsible for fifty-seven per cent of overall expenditure, excluding the Burnay auction, during the period. However, once the three special credit international purchases are taken out from this calculation, this percentage falls to ca. eight per cent.

Regarding interactions with the foreign art dealer community established in Lisbon, the museum's interactions were focused on Jacques Kugel and the Calendas

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<sup>265</sup> Feliciano, *The lost museum*, chapter 10; Felicia R. Lee, 'Wildensteins sued over looted art' in *New York Times*, 28 Jul. 1999, Section E, p. 12; Doreen Carvajal and Carol Volger, 'Venerable art dealer in enmeshed in lawsuits, in *The New York Times*, 20 Apr. 2011, Section A, p. 1.

Gallery, Eliezer Kamenesky, who was not a refugee fleeing Nazi persecution, the Calabresi gallery and, possibly, Erich Popper's *Salão d'Arte Antiga*. Overall, these dealers sold 49,180 *escudos* worth of merchandise to the MNAA, representing almost three-and-a-half per cent of the museum's overall expenditure adjusted to exclude the Burnay auction and the special credit purchases. As for private citizens who sold works of art to the museum, they were, with the exception of Reginald Arthur Newton, and perhaps Christina Garin des Chauds, Portuguese. While the museum was contacted by foreign citizens offering works of art for sale, it did not pursue these sales.

The examination of the list of gifts and bequests to the museum during the period reveals a reality similar to what occurred with purchases – a low level of interaction with the foreign and/or refugee communities living in Portugal during the period. (Appendix III.2) For the period under analysis, 1,142 items were bequeathed to the museum, while 833 were given to the institution, representing a total of 1,975 works of art. For the most part, donors did not maintain an on-going relationship with the museum, since their gifts, whether of one or more objects, took place in a single event. For example, Leiria & Nascimento, the auction house, gave the highest number of objects to the museum overall - yet these 756 textile samples were all given in 1945.

Donors who gave or bequeathed works of art to the museum on more than one occasion are indeed rare. Among them we find former President of the Republic, Manuel Teixeira Gomes, who in 1935 and 1935, gifted six works of art to the MNAA and, in 1944, left a bequest of four works of art. Filipe da Silva Nascimento, owner of Leiria e Nascimento, also gifted works of art to the museum on separate occasions. The only certifiably foreign donor who gave works of art to the museum on separate occasions was antiques dealer Jacques Kugel, who, as we have seen, also sold items to the museum. In 1942, presumably shortly after his arrival, Kugel gave to the museum an

18<sup>th</sup>-century silver salt and pepper shaker. In 1944, his second gift consisted of a Portuguese ceramic serving dish with the markings ‘Janelas Verdes – F.N.’; and of a ceramics plate by a Lisbon maker, signed Pereira.<sup>266</sup> His final gift during the period under analysis was in 1945. It was a print by Daullé, dating from 1774, depicting the portrait of Fr. Don Emmanuel Pinto da Fonseca.

Among the single-instance donors, a number of foreign nationals gave works of art to the museum. In 1935, the year when he ceased his commission in Lisbon as minister, French diplomat Gaston Jessé-Curély gave to the museum a ceramic serving dish. Another diplomat, Norwegian Finn Koren, who served in Lisbon between 1921 and 1935, also gave a parting gift to the MNAA. In 1936, *Portrait of a judge*, a nineteenth century Portuguese painting, entered the museum’s collection as Koren’s gift.

In 1942, pharmaceutical engineer Louis Solvay gave to the MNAA a 16<sup>th</sup> century Portuguese painting, an oil on wood *Ecce Homo*. For this gift he was made an Officer of the Order of Christ by the Portuguese state.<sup>267</sup> Louis Solvay, who is described as living in Brussels, is likely the nephew of Ernest Solvay, the Belgian chemist and industrialist. It has been impossible to determine whether the painting was purchased in Portugal for the museum, or whether it belonged to the group of works of art scattered in the international art market in the aftermath of the dissolution of the religious orders in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the same year of the Solvay gift, the presumably British citizen Constance Mappin gifted a 19<sup>th</sup> century Portuguese silver toothpick holder to the museum.<sup>268</sup> It has thus far been impossible to identify Ms Mappin and whether her stay in Portugal was related to the European conflict. The following year, E. Reynolds gave two works of art to the museum: a porcelain plate by Portuguese maker Vista Alegre,

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<sup>266</sup> Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, *Boletim* (Lisbon, 1944), p.50.

<sup>267</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives. MESH/AAC/JNE/G-A/04095 ‘Atribuição do grau de oficial da Ordem de Cristo ao cidadão belga *Louis Solvay*, em virtude da oferta do quadro "*Ecce Homo*".

<sup>268</sup> Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, *Boletim* (Lisbon, 1943).

and an oak bas-relief, depicting St. Francis receiving the stigmata. While the surname of the donor indicates an Anglophone origin, it is possible that the donor was in fact part of one of the long-standing luso-english families that lived in Portugal at the time. One Reynolds family was active in Alentejo, where they owned the Quinta do Carmo winery. One of its members, Victor Reynolds, played an active role in the escape route of British pilots and other refugees during the conflict.<sup>269</sup>

Art dealer Eliezer Kamenesky was also an occasional donor to the museum. In 1944, he gifted a porcelain 'shoe with a Chinese man' made by Vista Alegre to the institution.<sup>270</sup> The following year, the MNAA received one of its most important gifts ever – a triptych by 16<sup>th</sup> century Portuguese painter Vasco Fernandes. This oil on wood, representing a Deposition on the central panel, and a representation of St. Anthony and of St. Francis receiving the stigmata on each of the side panels, was part of the important Portuguese works of art that ended in the international art market during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. By 1875, it had made its way to the collection of Sir Francis Cook, the British merchant and art collector. Cook had commissioned one of Sintra's most renowned palaces – Monserrate. In 1945, perhaps in preparation of the sale of the Monserrate palace and of the dispersal of its furnishings at auction, and through the intermediary of the British Council, the Cook family gave this work of art to the MNAA.<sup>271</sup> The last work of art given to the museum by foreigner was a long strip of Louis XVI Alençon-type white lace. It has been impossible to locate further information on the donor, Franz Halpern.

The high number of objects bequeathed to the MNAA – 1,142 in total – reflect a small number of individuals. In fact, only thirteen individuals, all of them Portuguese,

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<sup>269</sup> Alberto Franco, 'Our Man in Estremoz' in *British Historical Society of Portugal report*, 31, p. 13 (2004).

<sup>270</sup> MNAA, *Boletim* (1944), p. 50.

<sup>271</sup> Xavier, '1946. Monserrate em Leilão' in *Monserrate revisitado: a coleção Cook em Portugal* (Lisbon, 2017), pp 206-219.



were responsible for the entirety of bequeathed objects. Among the donors, some names will appear in other sections of this chapter, as well as in other chapters, as active donors to Portuguese museums. They are, by alphabetical order, actor Antonio Chaby Pinheiro, Emilia Bordalo Pinheiro, the widow of painter and MNAC director Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro, art historian and director of the MNAA José de Figueiredo, and former President of the Portuguese Republic, Manuel Teixeira Gomes.

Thus far, we can conclude that, as far as object acquisition is concerned, the MNAA did not engage substantially with the refugee community, foreign private sellers, or foreign art dealers established in Lisbon – with the exception of Jacques Kugel and Eliezer Kamenesky, who both gave and sold objects to the museum during the period. Private gifts by unknown individuals such as Constance Mappin or Franz Halpern require further research. And, surprisingly, the museum seems to have briefly served as the recipient of the generosity of diplomats at the end of their commission in Portugal.

While the MNAA was not active in direct commercial transactions with non-nationals, it increasingly interacted with foreign individuals and institutions as the war broke out. Establishing a pattern that we recognise in other national museums analysed below, the museum engaged in partnerships and collaborations with foreign legations and it served as shelter to a small group of individuals and collections. With the exception of the interactions with Spanish entities and individuals, most of the institutional collaborations with foreign entities occurred through the intermediary of the foreign diplomatic corps in Portugal and in particular of the foreign cultural centres and cultural attachés based in in Lisbon.

At the top of these interactions stood the French Institute, headed by Raymond Warnier until 1942 and, from then onwards, by Pierre Hourcade. In addition to

collaborating in the exhibition of the Sèvres porcelain, which also resulted in a catalogue published in 1940, the French Institute and the MNAA also collaborated in the organisation of the Exhibition of French Art, held in 1942 at the *Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes*. Furthermore, with the direct or indirect cooperation of the Institute, the museum held public lectures by art historians such as Jean Guiffrey (1939); Michel Florissonne (1942); and Marius Mernier (1943). The *Alliance Française* also sponsored a series of talks throughout Portugal held by art historian Myron Malkiel-Jirmounsky in 1941, whose book it published the following year in collaboration with the French Institute.<sup>272</sup>

The British Legation and the British Council also engaged in a sustained cultural partnership with the MNAA, with a series of public lectures held by Lord Harlech (1940); John Steegman, assistant keeper at the National Portrait Gallery, who had been transferred to the British Council to work in Portugal, Spain, Iceland and Palestine during the Second World War<sup>273</sup> (1943); and Eric Maclagen, director of the Victoria and Albert Museum and chairman of the Fine Arts committee of the British Council (1945). The British Council also arranged for visits by professors from the University of Oxford (1941), Naval officer and future art critic John Russell (1943) and Frederick Ogilvie (1943), who had resigned as Chairman of the BBC and began working for the British Council in 1942. That same year, the museum hosted the exhibition of English Portraits in Prints, which had opened at the MNSR, in Porto.

If the number of publicly held events is an indicator of a trusting relationship between the MNAA and diplomatic representatives, it can be said that German institutions did not find an enthusiastic partner in the MNAA. After collaborating in the

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<sup>272</sup> Myron Makiel-Jirmousky, *Problèmes des Primitifs Portugais* (Coimbra, 1941).

<sup>273</sup> Evan David Jones, 'Steegman, John Edward Horatio (1899 - 1966), author of books on art and architecture' in *Dictionary of Welsh biography*. (<https://biography.wales/article/s2-STEE-HOR-1899>) (19 August 2021)

‘Exhibition of the Portuguese Book’, held in Berlin in 1939, the museum hosted three public lectures by German scholars - Islamicist Ernst Kuhnel (1941) and Gertrud Richert (1942; 1944), of the Ibero-American Institute in Berlin, who was a frequent visitor to the country. While in her first talk at the MNAA Gertrud Richert discussed German painter Albrecht Durer, her second lecture focused on a living German sculptor, Georg Kolbe, whose photographed works would be displayed the following year at the Lisbon Buchholz Bookshop (see below, Chapter V).

From the Institute for Italian Culture, the MNAA received publications as gifts for its library, from 1939 onwards. In that same year, the museum hosted an exhibition of Italian books, and, in May of that year, hosted three conferences by art historian Emilio Cecchi and one by art historian Emilio Lavagnino. In 1941, the museum hosted a talk by art historian Armando Vene.

Among non-belligerent countries, Spain emerged as the country with which the museum maintained recurrent academic and scientific exchanges. Between 1937 and 1945, the museum hosted, every year, Spanish colleagues for public lectures, training sessions, or special visits. In 1940, the MNAA contributed to the exhibition ‘Portuguese Memories of Spain’, held in Madrid. In 1942, upon the visit of Colonel Jordana, the minister of Foreign Affairs, to Portugal, the museum hosted the exhibition ‘*Monumenta Chartographica Indiana*’, organised by the section of cultural relations of the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.<sup>274</sup>

Diplomats based in Lisbon also recognised in the MNAA - and in João Couto - a friend in times of need. In what appears as a surprising occurrence during the period, the MNAA served as a safe haven for the collections of two diplomats: the Dutch minister to Lisbon, John Sillem. and the aforementioned Raymond Warnier, director of the French Institute in Lisbon.

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<sup>274</sup> Julio Guillén y Tato, *Monumenta Chartographica Indiana* (Madrid, 1942).

On 6 June 1940, three weeks after the capitulation of the Dutch army, Couto was contacted by Johann Gottlieb Sillem, also known as John Sillem, who asked to leave four paintings of his property in the museum's storage area 'in the eventuality that the international situation requested my sudden departure from Lisbon'.<sup>275</sup> The four paintings were identified as a landscape by Jacob Van Ruysdael, a *kermesse* genre scene by Gerrit Adriaensz Berckheyde, and two landscapes by Patel, presumably Pierre-Antoine Patel. All four works were identified in photographs enclosed by Sillem.<sup>276</sup> Dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the four paintings fell within the scope of the MNAA collections. Seeking DGESBA authorisation to take on such a deposit, Couto forwarded it a copy of the letter, as well as a proposal for a deposit contract. His arguments for acquiescing to Sillem's request were simple – Couto saw 'no inconvenience in accepting'.<sup>277</sup> By the time the request was officially authorised, the collection had already entered Museum storage. In a copy of the deposit agreement, a handwritten note by the museum director states that 'the paintings entered the Museum on 28 June 1940'.<sup>278</sup> The deposit agreement, dated 25 June 1940, listed the paintings and specified the museum's responsibilities towards them. While they were to be kept in the same conditions as museum-owned artworks, they would not be considered as such should the museum be obliged, by war or any other reasons, to move its collections. In addition, the museum specified that it would not incur any responsibilities for extraordinary damage resulting from 'war, revolution, fire, etc.'.

Sillem recovered his four paintings two years later. According to Couto's undated handwritten note, the two smaller paintings went to Colares, near Sintra –

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<sup>275</sup> Archives of the MNAA/Correspondence/1940/'Depósito', letter from Sillem to Couto 6 June 1940.

<sup>276</sup> Sillem enclosed four black-and-white photographs of his paintings, writing summary identification for each on the back.

<sup>277</sup> Archives of the MNAA/Correspondence/1940/'Depósito', memo 1672 from Couto to the DGESBA, 25 June 1940.

<sup>278</sup> Archives of the MNAA/Correspondence/1940/'Depósito', agreement signed by João Couto.

possibly Sillem's residence, as he remained in Portugal throughout the conflict. The two larger paintings were left with the Greek legation in Lisbon, for reasons yet to be understood.<sup>279</sup> A receipt signed by the Greek legation confirmed reception of two paintings on 22 October 1942.<sup>280</sup> Their present-day whereabouts are unknown. Sillem did not survive the war with his reputation unscathed. In 1947, he was the object of a disciplinary hearing, which concluded that he had failed to support the Dutch refugee community in Lisbon. He was thus dishonorably discharged from the diplomatic service.<sup>281</sup>

The correspondence between Raymond Warnier, the director of the French Institute in Lisbon since 1935, and João Couto, began in November 1937, and was maintained at a steady rhythm throughout the war. It reveals a growing friendship between the two men. In 1941, Warnier sought out the help of João Couto to safekeep his collection of Croat modernist works of art. Warnier had put together his collection during his previous post, as director of the French Institute in Zagreb, between 1927 and 1935. Having pursued his education in Slavic Studies, this initial posting abroad suited his interests, and he was very active within the cultural environment of Zagreb, promoting Croat artists and writers in France. In particular, he held a close relationship with members of the *Zemlja* art collective.<sup>282</sup> Upon Warnier's imminent departure from Lisbon to his next posting in Rio de Janeiro, Couto accepted to hold on deposit his modernist Croat art and rare books collection at the MNAA for the duration of the war.<sup>283</sup> Invoking the cordial relations he established with the MNAA, and given the

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<sup>279</sup> Archives of the MNAA/Correspondence/1940/'Depósito', handwritten note by João Couto on the copy of loan agreement.

<sup>280</sup> Archives of the MNAA/Correspondence/1940/'Depósito', receipt by Greek legation, 22 October 1942.

<sup>281</sup> National Dutch Archives/record number 2.05.48. 'Inventaris van het archief van de Commissie van Onderzoek omtrent de gedragingen van mr. J.G. Sillem in zijn hoedanigheid van Buitengewoon Gezant en Gevolmachtigd Minister te Lissabon (1940)' (1947).

<sup>282</sup> Veljko Stanic, 'Les Instituts Français en Yougoslavie à l'époque de l'entre-deux-guerres' in *Etudes Danubiennes*, XXVIII, 1-2 (2012), pp 73-95.

<sup>283</sup> MNAA Correspondence Archives/1941/'Depósito – R. Warnier' (1941).

restrictions of the Spanish and French railway services, Warnier requested that two crates, containing paintings, prints and valuable books, be left in the care of the museum.<sup>284</sup> Interestingly, Couto sought the authorisation of the Ministry of Education for this deposit on the same day he acquiesced to Warnier, indicating perhaps the level of autonomy at which he operated in practice, if not in theory. The two crates included one hundred and twenty-nine items, among which were paintings, prints and print albums, as well as editions of fine books by, among others, Wilde, Daumier, Éluard, Stendhal and Breton. While Warnier volunteered several times that the museum's staff was free to study and/or exhibit the artworks it saw fit, as well as consult his books and use them for research purposes, no one appears to have done so.

In January 1942, Warnier wrote from his residence in the Estoril area, confirming the deposit of the two crates at the museum, stating that he would recover them 'once normal relations [between countries] were re-established'.<sup>285</sup> The date of Warnier's departure from Portugal is unknown given that on one hand his correspondence underlines a certain urgency in settling his affairs before departing, and, on the other, he is recorded as requiring, and obtaining, a six-month residence permit from the *Polícia de Vigilância e Defesa do Estado*, for him and his wife Vera as late as October 1943.<sup>286</sup> The boxes left the museum on 2 January 1948, possibly collected by Raymond Warnier's wife.<sup>287</sup> The whereabouts of his collection of *Zemlja* paintings and prints as a whole is unknown, although his son Serge Warnier donated some of his father's artworks to the Croatian Museum of Naïve Art.<sup>288</sup>

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<sup>284</sup> MNAA Correspondence Archives/1941/'Depósito – R. Warnier', letter from Raymond Warnier to João Couto, 17 October 1940.

<sup>285</sup> MNAA Correspondence Archives/1942//Proc. 22, letter from Raymond Warnier to João Couto, 20 January 1942.

<sup>286</sup> Historical Archives of Cascais City Council, AHMC/B-1 A/00 Cx 60/Ds 46 n.2219, letter n 28638, 20 October 1943, from P.V.D.E. to the vice-mayor of the municipality of Cascais.

<sup>287</sup> MNAA Correspondence Archives/1941/'Depósito – R. Warnier', visiting card of 'Madame Warnier' inscribed, in Couto's hand, 'The items left on 2-1-48'.

<sup>288</sup> Vladimir Crnković, 'Fragmenti za portret Raymonda Warniera', in *Podravski Zbornik*, 09, pp 190-213 (2009).

As we draw to the end of this section, one final occurrence requires mention - the involvement of the MNAA, and of João Couto, in hosting art historians who appear to have been refugees at the time of their lecture at the MNAA. The first of these art historians is Vienna-born Dutch art historian Hedwig (Hedi) Nyhoff-Selldorf, who lectured on the paintings collection at the Rijksmuseum, in 1940. Born into a prominent Austrian Jewish family, as Hedwig Selldorf, she married and quickly divorced publisher Wouter Nijhoff in the 1920s. She is known to have been part of the European Jewish exiles community in the United States during the Second World War, applying for financial aid for Emergency Committee In Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars.<sup>289</sup> In 1947, she became a naturalised US citizen.

The second art historian refugee to have collaborated with the MNAA was the aforementioned Myron Malkiel-Jirmounsky. Born into a Russian family in 1890, Malkiel-Jirmounsky taught in St. Petersburg and then Paris.<sup>290</sup> He initiated his correspondence with the MNAA in the 1930s, while studying the Portuguese primitives. In 1940, he fled to Lisbon, with the assistance of Reynaldo dos Santos, who then presided over the National Academy of Fine Arts, and the section of the fine arts exhibitions for the Centennials Commemorations, as well as the organising committee for the exhibition 'Portuguese Primitives', which invited Malkiel-Jirmounsky to give a lecture on the subject in the Portuguese capital.<sup>291</sup> From then on, Malkiel-Jirmounsky published and lectured assiduously for the MNAA throughout the war. At the end of the conflict, he chose to remain in Portugal, dying in Lisbon in 1974.

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<sup>289</sup> Megan O'Shea, 'Finding aid for emergency committee in aid of displaced foreign scholars records', Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library, p. 71 (2007).

<sup>290</sup> Lee Sorensen (ed.), 'Malkiel-Jirmounsky, Myron' in *Dictionary of art historians*, <https://arthistorians.info/malkieljirmounskym> (16 Jan 2021).

<sup>291</sup> Archives of Reynaldo dos Santos and Irene Quilhó, Cascais Historical Archives. CRSIQS/RS/F/002-362/002, 'Letter from Reynaldo dos Santos to the PVDE regarding his invitation to Malkiel-Jirmounsky to come to Portugal for the Primitives exhibition'.

The analysis of the MNAA acquisitions between 1933 and 1945 reveals that the museum was mostly disinterested in the opportunities that the refugee flow into Portugal between 1933 and 1945 presented. Of the thousands of refugees temporarily residing in Lisbon at the time, only one - Jacques Kugel - who had opened an antiques business in Lisbon - had the opportunity to sell, and give, works of art to the museum during the period. Since we do not know the specific identity of other donors – such as Franz Halpern, or Constance Mappin – we can only speculate as to whether they were refugees living in Lisbon at the time.

It was in the area of cultural diplomacy that the impact of the conflict was more closely felt in the MNAA's activities. While visitorship declined during the war years, its cultural activities increased, and most were held in collaboration with the cultural centres of foreign powers. Finally, the MNAA appears to have taken the opportunity presented by the refugees who were art historians staying in Lisbon at the time, inviting them for lectures and workshops.

While the MNAA was involved in institutional collaborations and was the stage for public events of high quality, the MNAC developed its own unique relationships with foreigners, and refugees, staying in Lisbon at the time. This analysis is the subject of the next section.

### **The National Museum of Contemporary Art, a story of missed opportunities.**

The National Museum of Contemporary Art was founded on 26 May 1911.<sup>292</sup> Its founding collections were items dating from after 1850 then held at the former *Museu Nacional de Belas Artes*, which, by the same decree, became the *Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga*. The founding collection was swiftly complemented by an annual program

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<sup>292</sup> Decree n. 1, *Diário do Governo*, I, 122, 26 May 1911.



of acquisitions, part-financed by bequest left to the Portuguese by Viscount Valmor. The museum formally opened in 1914 in its current location, the former convent of São Francisco, which it shared with other institutions, including the National Academy of Fine Arts, today the Fine Arts Faculty of the University of Lisbon, sowing the seeds for a tense relationship and a decades-long fight for physical space between the institutions. The artistic period covered by the museum, from the 1850s to modernity, encompassed the Romantic, Naturalist and Modernist movements, which would be embraced with varying degrees of enthusiasm by the museum's successive directors. The tension between the academic styles and the rupturing modernists would influence acquisitions policies throughout the period under analysis.

Between 1914 and 1929, the museum was headed by the Naturalist painter and painting professor Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro. An established figure – he had designed the flag of the Portuguese Republic – Bordalo Pinheiro implemented an acquisitions policy that heavily favoured romanticism and especially his Naturalist circle of acquaintances and protégés.<sup>293</sup> Upon reaching mandatory retirement age, he recommended Adriano Sousa Lopes (1879-1944) as his successor.

Sousa Lopes is today best known as the illustrator of life in the trenches during the First World War.<sup>294</sup> As an artist, he trained in Paris between 1904 and 1905 and regularly visited the French capital throughout the following years, finally settling there after the war. Through his marriage with Marguerite Gros Perroux (d. 1938), Sousa Lopes became closely acquainted with Paris-based artists, namely at the studio of her brother-in-law, Moïse Kisling, frequented by Modigliani, Max Jacob and Jean Cocteau

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<sup>293</sup> Helena Barranha, and Maria de Aires Silveira, *Columbano* (Lisbon, 2010).

<sup>294</sup> André Brun, *A malta das trincheiras: migalhas da Grande Guerra 1917-1918*, (Lisbon, 1919); Museu do Chiado, *Adriano de Sousa Lopes 1879-1944: efeitos de luz*, (Lisbon, 2015); Felisa Perez, 'Adriano Sousa Lopes, director do Museu Nacional de Arte Contemporânea: entre a continuidade e a mudança.' (M.A. thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2012).

among others.<sup>295</sup> In Paris, he also ran occasionally into sculptor Diogo de Macedo, who would succeed him as the director of the MNAC. Sousa Lopes was a member of the National Committee for the Centennials Commemorations and became involved in several exhibitions and initiatives as part of the year-long commemorations held in 1940. In 1941, Sousa Lopes was called upon to help furnish Portuguese embassies abroad. Hence, the museum loaned six oil paintings and three drawings by well-known late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Portuguese painters to the Portuguese embassy in the Vatican. As the signatures on the museum correspondence files can attest, Adriano Sousa Lopes was often away, for health reasons. The record of his poor health begins in 1941, as numerous letters signed by the curator, painter Francisco Esteves, demonstrate. In 1942, Sousa Lopes presented a painting in Germany, in April. ‘The Infante D. Henrique examining the portolanos’ was a commission of Hamburg’s Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, which organised an exhibition of Portuguese artists. By all accounts, this painting was destroyed during the war.<sup>296</sup> In addition, he was commissioned to paint a series of frescoes at the Portuguese parliament building in the last years of his life, which also kept him away from his daily duties at the MNAC. After his death, Sousa Lopes was succeeded by Diogo de Macedo (1889-1959), on 1 July 1944. Macedo was also an established artist – a sculptor – by the time of his appointment, an activity which he combined with art criticism for the monthly *Ocidente* magazine, as well as a post in the DEGSBA advisory committee for museums.<sup>297</sup> Macedo held his post until the year of his death, well outside the chronological limit of

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<sup>295</sup> Galerie Daniel Malingue, *Centenaire Kisling*. (Paris, 1991); Perez, ‘Adriano Sousa Lopes’, p. 30.

<sup>296</sup> Manuel Farinha dos Santos, *Sousa Lopes* (Lisbon, 1962).

<sup>297</sup> Isabel Falcão, ‘Diogo de Macedo (1889-1959), director do Museu Nacional de Arte Contemporânea. Pioneirismo e herança na redefinição do conceito de museu de arte’ (PhD thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisbon, 2019).

our research, and was replaced by portrait painter Eduardo Malta and his wife, Dulce Malta.<sup>298</sup>

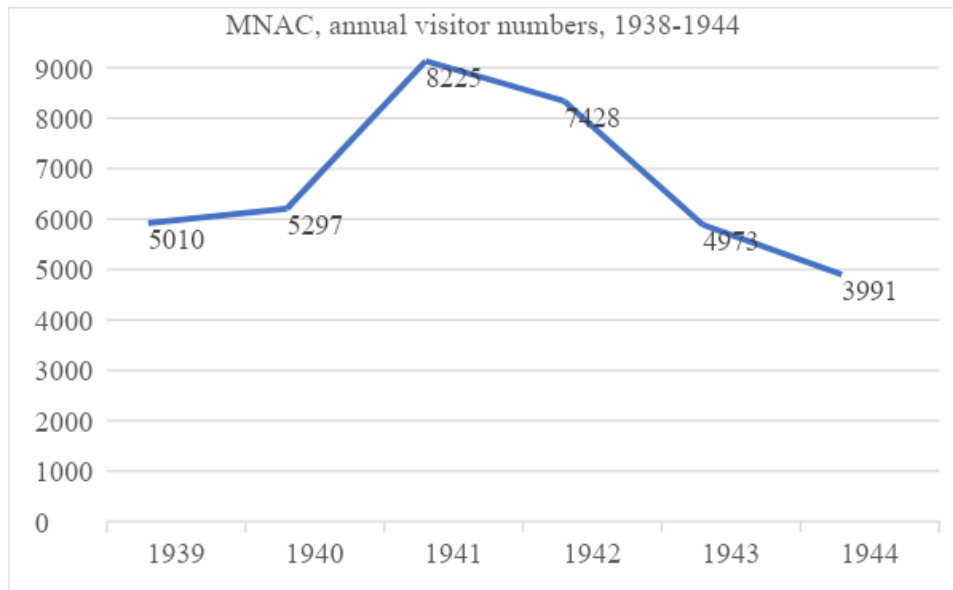
Throughout the years under analysis, the struggle for space and for adequate conservation conditions to house the MNAC collection was a constant. Several plans, including the transfer of the museum to other areas of Lisbon, were examined. In addition, the museum closed for refurbishments or repairs several times during this period. In 1933 and 1934, it closed between July and September for repairs. In 1943, it closed in October and November for reparation of the roof and skylights. Finally, between July 1944 and April 1945, the museum was once again closed to the public, for a substantial intervention overseen by Diogo de Macedo. It reopened with an expanded exhibition space, and an updated presentation of its permanent collection, which included the Sousa Lopes and Emilia Bordalo Pinheiro bequests as well as recent acquisitions, such as the two oil sketches by Amadeo Souza Cardoso, purchased in 1942. Only two foreign painters featured in this reinstallation, none of them living: John Singer Sargent, whose portrait of Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro) was displayed; and Anatole Calmels, thanks to a sculpture on loan from the MNAA.<sup>299</sup>

In terms of visitor numbers, and relying on the annual statistics bulletins published from 1938 onwards, it is possible to conclude the war had a positive effect on visitorship at the MNAC, especially in the years 1941 and 1942. The abrupt decline in numbers in 1944 is explained by the museum's closure for refurbishment. Interestingly, though, the MNAC saw far fewer visitors than any of the other national museums during this period. (Figure III.4)

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<sup>298</sup> Rita Duro, 'O Museu Nacional de Arte Contemporânea sob a direção de Eduardo Malta', in *MIDAS* [Online], 6 (2016), <http://journals.openedition.org/midas/1002> (8 April 2016).

<sup>299</sup> Museu Nacional de Arte Contemporânea, *Catálogo-guia*. (Lisbon, 1945).



*Figure III.4 MNAC, annual visitor number, 1938-1944. Source: MNAC Archives, Ofícios expedidos.*

As far as administrative organisation is concerned, the museum was under the supervision of the DGESBA. The correspondence files found at the MNAC archives feature neither direct correspondence between the MNAC and the SPN, nor between the museum directors and António Ferro. This is surprising since both institutions, and their heads, were heavily invested in the patronage and support of contemporary artists. Not only was the SPN hiring artists for its large exhibition projects in Portugal and abroad, it also opened, in the mid-1930s, an art gallery which featured works by these artists as well as by foreign artists who were staying or visiting Portugal. In addition, the head of the SPN was a member of one of the advisory boards of the Ministry of Education – namely, the 6<sup>th</sup> section of the *Junta Nacional de Educação* – in which the head of the museum also participated. Thus, it may be that areas of agreement, or disagreement, between Ferro and Sousa Lopes, then Macedo, may have been discussed orally and informally at the JNE meetings. The high numbers of purchases made at SPN

exhibitions by the MNAC demonstrates that the museum was at least aware, and interested, in the relevant cultural initiatives of Ferro's Secretariat.

The MNAC received what can be deemed as a generous yearly acquisitions budget, reflecting perhaps the preoccupation expressed by António Ferro that state purchases should not be merely a means to acquire artworks representative of the values of the *Política do Espírito*, but also to provide financial means of survival to living artists in a country with a practically inexistent art market.<sup>300</sup> In 1933, the museum's acquisition budget trebled to 120,000 *escudos* from 40,000 *escudos* for the previous year. This sum remained unchanged until 1939, when the acquisitions budget decreased to 100,000 *escudos* per year. In addition, the government could, occasionally, extend financing for specific purchases, considered too expensive to be financed from the main acquisitions budget. This occurred in 1934, with a fund worth 120,000 *escudos* to purchase sculptures exhibited at the French Art exhibition in Lisbon. From 1938 onwards, however, and while other national museums were allowed to propose and independently acquire artworks, the MNAC's acquisitions proposals were the subject of the analysis of a specific acquisitions committee. It was this committee, and not the director of the MNAC individually, who put forth acquisitions proposals to the DGESBA. The committee members were art historian Reynaldo dos Santos, Sousa Lopes, painter Luis Varela Aldemira, and sculptors Francisco Franco and Diogo de Macedo. The inclusion of Diogo de Macedo in the committee allows for speculation on the extent of his influence in the formation of the MNAC collections in the late 1930s, years before his directorship of the institution. The acquisitions committee meetings were at times acrimonious – in some cases, the director of the MNAC would be sidelined for lack of independence. More importantly, a discussion held in 1940 reveals the existing tensions

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<sup>300</sup> This opinion is laid out in Ferro's interviews of Salazar, published in *Diário de Notícias*, in December 1932.

within the committee regarding purchases from foreign living artists residing in Portugal.<sup>301</sup>

Geographically, the MNAC was close to the gathering areas of artists – the Chiado district, the fine arts school – and of refugees, including refugee artists. Their presence in the capital was reported in the general press, as well as in periodicals such as *Ocidente*.<sup>302</sup> Thus, one could expect – given the mission of the MNAC, the international background of the two directors who served during this period, and the geographical proximity to Lisbon refugee circuits and renowned foreign artists in particular – to witness the museum leadership capitalise on the opportunities presented by the unexpected presence of these figures and interact with them. This could have occurred through the maintenance of correspondence between the museum and these artists; the programming of temporary exhibitions of their work, or of workshops and lectures by these artists; and, most importantly, the acquisition of artworks by them, whether through gift or purchase.

The MNAC acquisitions databases are based on two separate sources: the museum correspondence files, and the online inventory database, MatrizNet. The correspondence files at the MNAC are organised chronologically in two separate bound series – correspondence sent and correspondence received. A mention should be made here to the possibilities offered by the version of MatrizNet used at the museum today. Unlike the other national museums visited for the purposes of this research, the MNAC enabled a search mode through year of acquisition. Hence for the purposes of the MNAC database, the year of acquisition is considered to be the year indicated in Matriz, as it is the official museum inventory. Only in the absence of a Matriz record was the year provided by correspondence archives taken into account. Occasionally, this

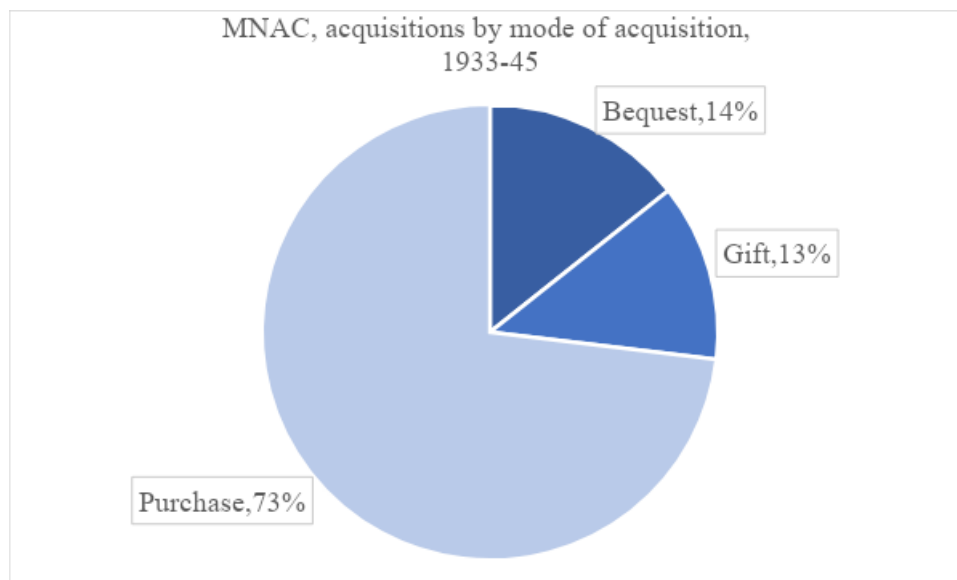
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<sup>301</sup> National Archives at Torre do Tombo/Archives of the *Junta Nacional de Educação*/6th section, Meeting minutes 1939-1946 (PT/TT/JNE/G-A/1/2).

<sup>302</sup> Macedo collaborated with *Ocidente* between 1838 and 1959, the year of his death.

information was cross-referenced with the meeting minutes of the *Junta Nacional de Educação*, and with the DGESBA archives. The cross-referencing of information between MatrizNet and the archives demonstrates that the acquisitions made between 1943 and 1944 went mostly undocumented in the correspondence archives – this may be because this period corresponds to the illness and death of Sousa Lopes, with much of the work being picked up by Estevens. Nevertheless, and as occurred with the information culled from archives held at the MNAA and at the MNSR, information on object provenance is extremely scant, which limits the ability to identify comprehensively the objects requiring an in-depth ‘Nazi-era’ provenance research.

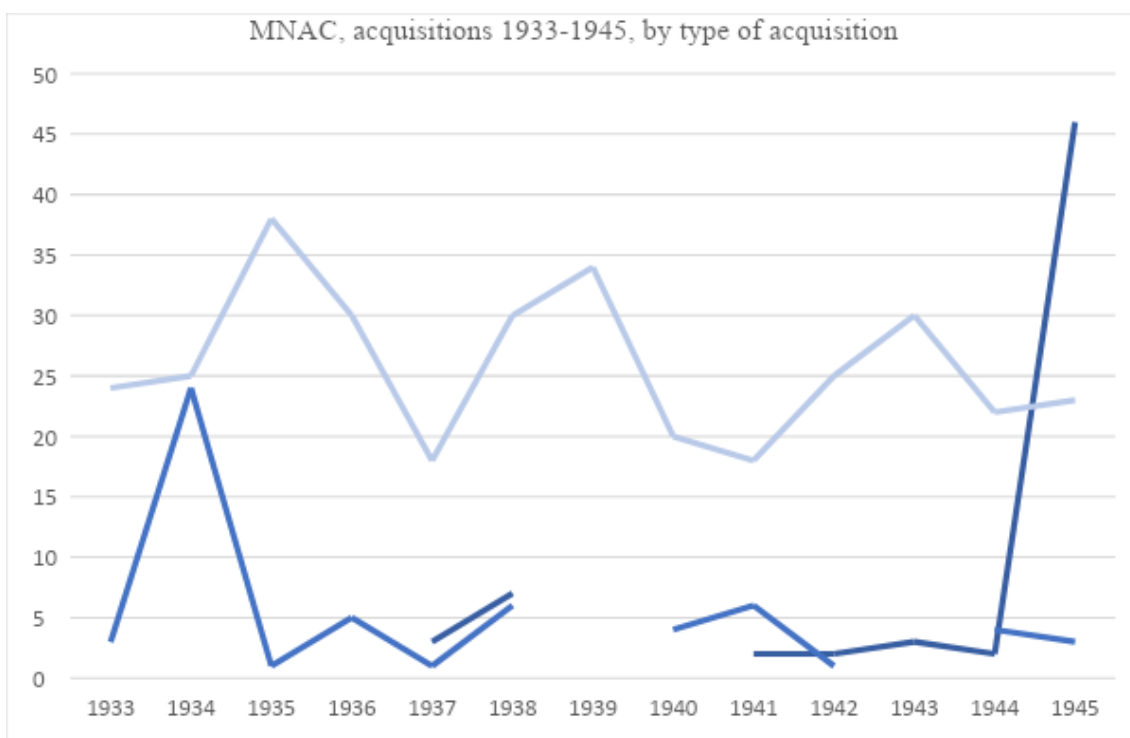
The resulting databases reveals that four hundred and sixty-one relevant acquisitions occurred between 1933 and 1945. (Figure III.3) Of these, circa seventy per cent were purchases (Appendix III.2), the remaining being either gifts or bequests. (Appendix III.3)



*Figure III.5 – MNAC acquisitions by mode of acquisition, 1933-45.*

*Source: MatrizNet, MNAC correspondence files.*

The chronological table reveals that the fluctuation of the annual number of acquisitions was mainly influenced by the fluctuations in purchases, as the number of gifts and bequests was comparatively minimal throughout most of the period. (Figure III.6) The exceptions to this pattern occurred in 1934, with an elevated number of gifts and 1945, with an elevated number of bequests. In each case, however, the high number of occurrences reflects a sizeable gifts or bequests from single sources - in 1934, the gifts from former President Manuel Teixeira Gomes, a donor to other national and local museums; and, in 1945, both the bequest of Emília Bordalo Pinheiro, the widow of arguably the museum's most influential director, Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro, and the gift from the family of the recently deceased Sousa Lopes.



*Figure III.6 – MNAC acquisitions by mode of acquisition, 1933-45.*

*Source: MatrizNet, MNAC correspondence files.*



Overall, bequests did not surpass three objects per year, with the exceptions of the years of 1938 and of the 1945 bequest of Emilia Bordalo Pinheiro. In 1938, José de Figueiredo, the then director of the MNAA, bequeathed six artworks to the museum, of which five were drawings by Auguste Rodin, given to him by the artist himself. There were no recorded bequests from foreign donors recorded during this period.

As far as gifts are concerned, they amounted to seven or less artworks per year. The one singular exception, in 1934, reflected the aforementioned gift of twenty objects by Manuel Teixeira Gomes; two portraits of the recently deceased actor Chaby Pinheiro, painted by Columbano and by Carlos Reis, gifted by his widow; a drawing by Maria Augusta Bordalo Pinheiro, sister of Columbano, gifted by the latter's widow; and a bust of António Dias Guimarães, gifted by a close relative, Alberto Dias Guimarães. Teixeira Gomes's gifts, which complemented an earlier gift, in 1933, of two sculptures, were particularly noteworthy inasmuch as they included non-Portuguese artists, such as Fantin-Latour, Fortuny, or Alfred Stevens, all of whom were deceased and most likely acquired by the former President during his stints living abroad.

Gifts by living Portuguese artists to the museum occurred only once: Abel Salazar's painting of a genre scene, in 1938. This should not come as a surprise as the MNAC was an important client of living artists, who drew their livelihood from the ability to sell their artworks. Giving them away, even to integrate the prestigious national art collections, made little sense. In addition, the museum also understood the need of being a market agent, as it was headed by artists who preferred to fund their colleagues. Two patterns regarding gifts can be identified. One pertains to the gift of portraits of the donor or someone in his/her family, usually deceased. Another pattern pertains to the gift of works by the family of deceased Portuguese artists. The figure that best exemplifies this trend was, of course, Emília Bordalo Pinheiro who, in addition to

her bequest and gifts to the museum before 1933, gave five artworks made by her husband or her husband's family to the MNAC during the period under analysis.

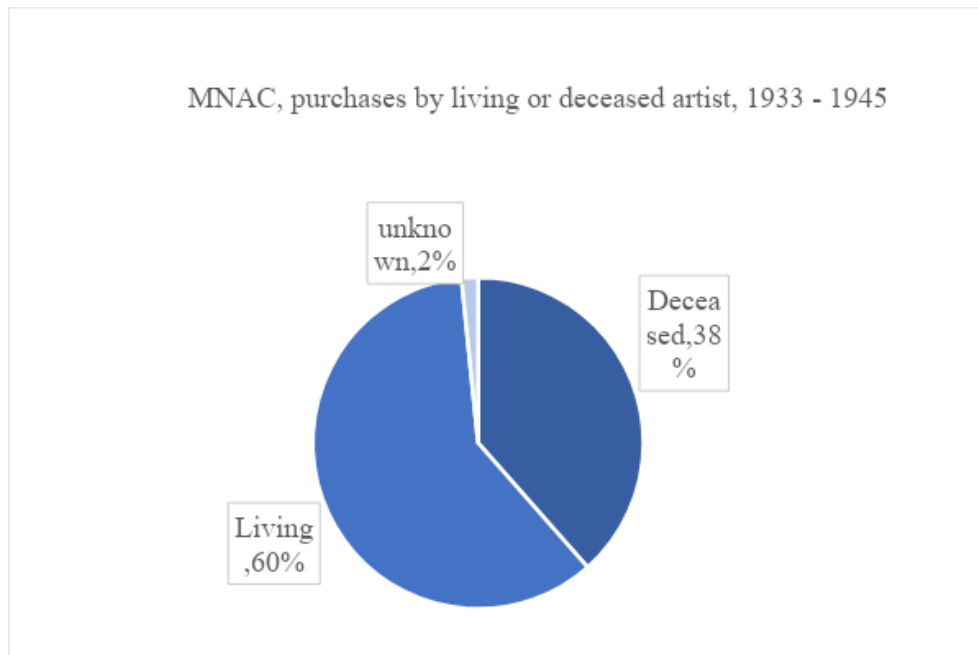
Gifts by foreign donors include, in 1938, the gift by the daughter of painter Frank Craig (1874 – 1918), of two watercolours by her father. In the last two years of his life, Frank Craig had lived in Sintra, where he died at the Palace of Monserrate, and had held an exhibition in Lisbon.<sup>303</sup> Also in 1938, the Friends of Portugal in Belgium gifted a landscape by Flemish painter Albert Savery to the museum; in 1941, Brazilian painter Oswaldo Teixeira gifted a historical painting by António Parreira and one of his own paintings to 'the Portuguese State'.

Purchases thus emerge as the primary means of acquisition by the MNAC during the period. The peak years for purchases were 1935 (forty-one occurrences), 1938 and 1939 (thirty-three occurrences). Although the early war years of 1940 and 1941 saw a decline in purchases, with twenty and eighteen purchases respectively, 1937 was the year when last purchases were undertaken by the museum (sixteen occurrences). This trend was reversed in the two following years, with the number of purchases rising to twenty-six and thirty respectively, and stabilising in 1944 and 1945, at twenty-three and twenty-two respectively.

In terms of typologies, the vast majority of purchases pertain to two-dimensional works - paintings, drawings and prints – with a low number of sculptures completing the purchase panorama. Regardless of the means of acquisitions, the MNAC did not show an active interest in collecting other typologies such as modern and contemporary furniture, ceramics, glass, or any other typology that fell outside the so-called 'fine arts'.

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<sup>303</sup> 'Frank Craig' in Stephen Bury (ed.) *Benezit dictionary of graphic artists*, (New York, NY, 2013) pp 289-90.

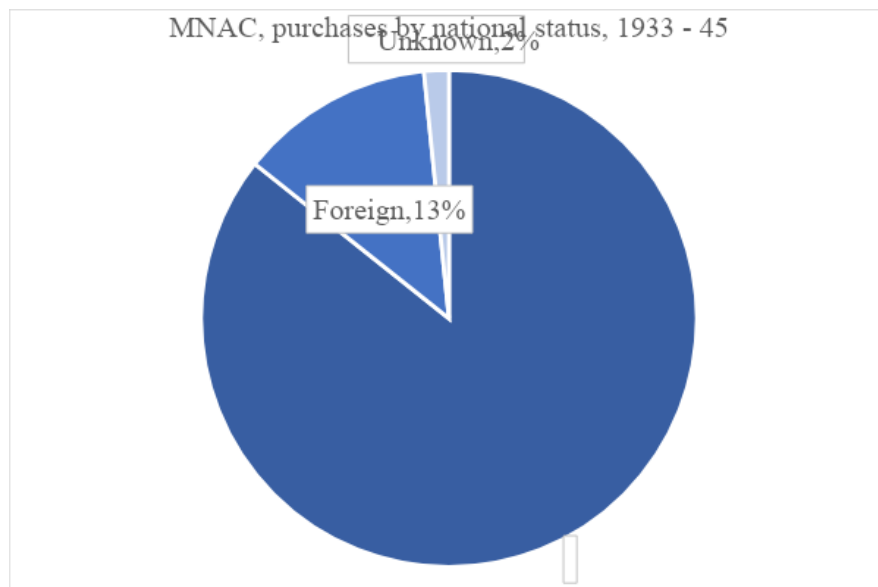


*Figure III.7 – MNAC purchases by living or deceased artist, 1933-45.*

*Source: MatrizNet, MNAC correspondence files.*

Given the collecting nature of the museum it is important to assess the proportion of purchases of artworks (i.e. denoting an intention of acquisition by the museum, as opposed to gifts and bequests) by living artists and by deceased ones. (Figure III.7) This comparison confirms the conservative taste of the museum, not only in the typologies it collected, but also, in the artists sought. In fact, ca. thirty-eight per cent of the artworks purchased represented deceased artists at the time of their purchase, a percentage that rises to over fifty per cent of the works collected if purchases and gifts are considered. In other words, a significant portion of the museum's purchases was from within the established art historical canon and did not represent a significant risk in artistic terms at the time of purchase. Indeed, representations falling within the 'late naturalist' taste were preferred while the modern artists of the vanguard, which included abstract representations, were eschewed. Hence, the presence of artists such as Almada Negreiros or Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso was negligible, when compared to those of

José Malhoa and Columbano, deceased at the time of purchase. In addition, the percentage of purchases of national artists, eighty-six per cent, supports the idea that the MNAC interpreted the term ‘national’ not as not extending beyond its borders in terms of the nationality of the artists collected, but also of not including works of art produced by artists based in the colonies of the then Portuguese Empire. (Figure III.8) This conservative taste may have contributed in part to the reluctance in purchasing works from the artist refugees who came through Lisbon.



*Figure III.8 – MNAC purchases by national status of the artist, 1933-45.*

*Source: MatrizNet, MNAC correspondence files.*

Nevertheless, purchases from foreign artists, and of works by deceased foreign artists, did occur, and it is to these we will turn to now. In 1934, two purchases resulted from an exhibition by the Direction des Musées de France, co-curated by José de Figueiredo, then director of the MNAA, held at that museum. An extra line of government financing enabled the purchase of sculptures by Auguste Rodin, Antoine

Bourdelle and Joseph Bernard.<sup>304</sup> Interestingly, this purchase coincides with the purchase of a work by Bourdelle, undertaken for the Counts of Castro Guimarães Museum Library, in Cascais, under the proposal of José de Figueiredo, who also headed said museum. (see chapter IV)

Purchases of works by living foreign artists began in 1934, when the Dutch couple Ernest and Karin van Leyden, who at the time resided in Sintra, and whose works had been displayed at the modern art exhibition of the SPN, sold one painting each to the museum. In May 1935, following an exhibition held at the SNBA featuring works by Roumanian painter Paul Scortescu and Belgian sculpture and jeweller Nadine Effront, the museum purchased a street scene of Faro by Scortescu from the artist. In early March 1936, following an exhibition curated by José de Figueiredo, held in February at the SNBA, the museum purchased a street scene by Spanish painter Fernando Alvarez de Sotomayor from the artist.<sup>305</sup> Sotomayor enjoyed an established reputation, having been director of the Prado museum until 1931, a position he recovered at the end of the Spanish Civil War, in 1939. It is possible that, at the time, he was living in Portugal in exile from the Spanish Republic. That same year, very likely following the exhibition of illustrations of old European synagogues, curated by José de Figueiredo, the museum purchased four drawings by Georges Lukomski, a Russian émigré then residing in France, from the artist.<sup>306</sup> By 1940, Lukomski had escaped to Great Britain, but, at the time of the MNAC purchases, it is unknown if he was yet in flight. In 1939, Brazilian artist Martin Konopacki sold a painting to the museum. Apart from Sotomayor, who may have been seeking refuge in Portugal from the Spanish

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<sup>304</sup> Archives of the MNAC/Livro de Ofícios /1934/ Ofício 112.

<sup>305</sup> Fernando Alvarez de Sotomayor e José de Figueiredo, *Exposição de pintura de Don Fernando A. de Sotomayor e de suas filhas D. Pilar e D. Maria del Carmen* (Lisbon: Sociedade Nacional de Belas-Artes, 1936).

<sup>306</sup> Georges Lukomski, José de Figueiredo, e Augusto de Esaguy, *Exposição Georges K. Lukomski: sinagogas antigas da Europa (séculos XI a XVIII) sócio correspondente da Academia Nacional de Belas Artes de Lisboa* (Lisbon, 1936).

Republic, and Lukomski, none of the remaining foreign artists were in Portugal as refugees or émigrés at the time of the sale.

In December 1939, Curt Schwerin approached the MNAC, to enquire if there was any interest in the purchase of a painting by Faierabend.<sup>307</sup> While the museum answered negatively to this enquiry, Schwerin's biography is interesting. By 1940, he was serving as the doctor of the Unitarian Service Committee's office in Lisbon, which gave assistance to refugees, and thus was closely acquainted with the refugee movement through the country.<sup>308</sup>

The first purchase from a refugee artist, *Rapaz da Nazaré* ('Boy from Nazaré') by Moïse Kisling, occurred in 1941. Kisling, a French painter of Polish-Jewish origin, fled to Portugal from France in June 1940. As the widower of the sister of Sousa Lopes's by-then deceased wife, his relationship with the MNAC director was close. Between September 1940 and January 1941, when he left for the United States of America, Kisling stayed and travelled in Portugal, mostly with Sousa Lopes.<sup>309</sup> With the latter's support, he held a solo exhibition at the SPN Gallery featuring the works he created during his Portuguese stay, at which the museum purchased its painting for 8,000 *escudos*. Kisling's exhibition and the MNAC purchase were recorded by Diogo de Macedo in *Ocidente* magazine.<sup>310</sup> As a reminder, Macedo also integrated the acquisitions committee which recommended purchases and therefore is presumed to have signed off on this particular purchase. That same year, the museum purchased a drawing from Spanish artist Daniel Vasquez Diez, following his solo exhibition held in January at the SPN Gallery.<sup>311</sup>

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<sup>307</sup> MNAC/Ofícios recebidos/Letter from Curt Schwerin. 9 December 1939.

<sup>308</sup> Archives of the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee/USC annual report, 1940, <https://id.lib.harvard.edu/ead/c/div16114c00004/catalog> (22 August 2015).

<sup>309</sup> See the cache of letters by Kisling put at auction by Artcurial, [http://www.auction.fr/\\_en/lot/moise-kisling-1891-1953-9939157#.WAZ9lVeYcch](http://www.auction.fr/_en/lot/moise-kisling-1891-1953-9939157#.WAZ9lVeYcch) (8 December 2016),

<sup>310</sup> Diogo Macedo, 'Notas de Arte' in *Ocidente*, vol.11 (1941), p. 293.

<sup>311</sup> José Francés, *O poema do descobrimento* (Lisbon, 1941).

The museum's second purchase from a refugee artist occurred in January 1942, when it disbursed 1,000 *escudos* for a watercolour titled *Fortinho* ('Small fort') by Polish refugee Wanda Ostrowska. The painting had been exhibited at the 6<sup>th</sup> SPN Exhibition of Modern Art. Ostrowska herself had held an individual exhibition at the SPN Gallery in 1940.<sup>312</sup> She would hold a second exhibition in June 1942, in Lisbon, at an unknown location.<sup>313</sup> Ostrowska also appears in the next chapter of this thesis as the author of the artwork gifted by the Polish Committee in Lisbon to the Santos Rocha Museum, in Figueira da Foz.

In April 1942, the museum purchased a painting, *La Pensée*, from Yugoslav artist Bogomir Dalma. It is likely, though not certain, that Dalma, who resided in Paris at the time of the Nazi invasion, was in Lisbon as a refugee. During his stay, he appears to have found employment at the Yugoslav legation in Lisbon, having worked there until at least the end of 1941.<sup>314</sup> By August 1942 he was settled in London – the MNAC purchase would thus have occurred towards the end of his stay in Lisbon.

In February 1944, the museum paid 4,000 *escudos* for *Rapariga da Nazaré* (Girl from Nazaré), a sculpture by Barata Feyo. While the artist was Portuguese, the seller was the *Livraria Buchholz Exposições*, the bookshop and art gallery founded in the previous year by German art dealer Karl Buchholz, whose doings in Lisbon are researched in detail in Chapter V.

Three months later, in May 1944, the museum purchased a painting by Juan Cabanas from the artist. *Calle de la Alberca* had been exhibited at the artist's solo exhibition held the previous year at the SPN Gallery.<sup>315</sup> By then, Cabanas was a high-ranking member of the Spanish arts and culture administration, organising, among

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<sup>312</sup> Diogo de Macedo and Eva Botelho Arruda de Macedo, *Exposição Wanda Ostrowska* (Lisbon, 1940).

<sup>313</sup> Wanda Ostrowska, *Exposição de Wanda Ostrowska*. (Lisbon, 1941).

<sup>314</sup> Jorge Santos Carvalho, *As relações Jugoslavo-Portuguesas* (Coimbra, 2012), p. 82.

<sup>315</sup> José Francés, *O poema do descobrimento* (Lisbon, 1941).

others, the ‘Great Exhibition of the Hispanic World’, in Madrid. His passage through Lisbon does not appear to have been related to a flight from conflict.

Finally, in May 1945, the museum purchased two works from Max Braumann, a German Jewish refugee. The drawing, *Máscara de Velha* (‘Mask of an old woman’), cost 350 *escudos*, while the watercolour, *Vista de Palmela* (‘View over Palmela’), cost 750 *escudos*.<sup>316</sup> Max Braumann (1880-1969), a German Jew, settled in Portugal in 1934 after being banned by the Reichskammer Bildenden Kinst from practising as a painter.<sup>317</sup> His family joined him the following year.<sup>318</sup> Unlike most of the artist refugees who came to Portugal, Braumann became a naturalised Portuguese citizen in 1951, and remained in Portugal until the year of his death.<sup>319</sup> While he appears to have been a follower of German Expressionism earlier in his career, he soon adapted to the depiction of sunlit Portuguese urban landscape opting for a realist, yet optimistic, tone. This may explain the popularity of his works among Portuguese public collections. During the war he is known to have held at least two exhibitions sponsored by the SPN.<sup>320</sup> While the MNAC was the only public collection to purchase from him during the Second World War, today he is represented in the collections of the MNSR, the José Malhoa Museum, and the Modern Art Centre of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. In addition, he also collaborated with the painting conservation of at least one work of art in the MNAA collection in the immediate post-war period.<sup>321</sup>

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<sup>316</sup> As these items cannot be located in Matriz Net, the confirmation of the purchase stems from the museum archives correspondence files alone.

<sup>317</sup> Christa Heinrich, ‘Interview of Reinaldo Braumann, 1994’, unpublished. I am grateful to Christa Heinrich and Irene Pimentel for sharing with me this document.

<sup>318</sup> Mühlen, ‘Max Braumann – ein vergessener Maler’, *Neuen Nachrichtenbriefes der Gesellschaft für Exilforschung e.V.*: 2 (1994), pp 19-20.

<sup>319</sup> National archives at Torre do Tombo/Ministry of the Interior/ General Directorate of Public Administration/First desk/Correspondence, ‘Processes of naturalisation’.

<sup>320</sup> *Exposição de Max Braumann no Studio do S.P.N.* (Lisbon, 1941).

<sup>321</sup> Giulia Rossi Vairo, ‘O restauro de 1947 do Santo Agostinho de Piero della Francesca no Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga de Lisboa’, in *Revista de História de Arte*, 10 (2012), pp 278-291.



Acquisitions from foreign contemporary artists seeking refuge in Portugal were thus sporadic, and in no way indicative of a strategy of capitalizing on their unexpected presence in the Portuguese capital, or on the exhibitions of their work at the SPN gallery or at the SNBA. Particularly egregious, or, given what we have concluded from the museum's conservative approach to collecting, not at all surprising, is the absence of works by the couple Maria Helena Vieira da Silva and Arpad Szenes, who had fled to Vieira da Silva's birth country from their residence in Paris after the invasion of France.

The same sense of missed opportunity can be found in the museum's holding of a private collection of extraordinary quality for safekeeping. In early 1940, Sousa Lopes was contacted by Wilhelm Weinberg (1886 -1957), a banker and art collector, of German Jewish origin, who resided in the Netherlands. Weinberg asked the museum to safe-keep part of his collection during the war. While his collection was mostly focused on Impressionists and Post-Impressionists, his first acquisitions were restricted to the Barbizon school, with artists such as Corot and Courbet. A small part of this collection – nine works in total, together with a painting belonging to his friend Marianne Goldschmidt-Rothschild – was held in deposit at the MNAC between April and November 1940. In his correspondence, Weinberg asked that the objects be 'conserved and exhibited to the public', clarified that he took charge of transportation costs, and hoped that the museum insurance would be extended to his collection.<sup>322</sup> In his request for DGESBA permission for the deposit, Sousa Lopes echoed the idea of 'holding an exhibition of 'foreign art', underscoring that Weinberg's request constituted a 'proof of trust in Portugal'.<sup>323</sup> With the authorisation given, the artworks entered the museum in April 1940, having secured an import-tax waiver as they were intended for an exhibition. In total, Wilhelm Weinberg sent ten paintings in two airfreight shipments to

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<sup>322</sup> Archives of the MNAC/Ofícios recebidos/1940, letter from Weinberg, 14 February 1940.

<sup>323</sup> Archives of the MNAC/Ofícios expedidos/1940, memo from Sousa Lopes to DGESBA, 29 February 1940.

Lisbon on KLM flights leaving from Schiphol. The first shipment of three paintings left on 12 April 1940.<sup>324</sup> They were *Les Usines* by Van Gogh, *Femme en Rouge* by Renoir, and *Garçons Bretons* by Gauguin.<sup>325</sup> To these, he added Baroness Goldschmidt-Rothschild's *L'Arlésienne*, by Van Gogh, which was then on loan 'at the museum' in Amsterdam, by which he most likely means the Stadelijk Museum.<sup>326</sup> The second, larger, shipment of five paintings occurred one week later, on 20 April. It included paintings by Courbet (*Le Pont* and *Paysage d'hiver*), Pierre Seurat (*Esquisse de la Grande Jatte*), Camille Pissarro (*Paniers en fleurs*), Camille Corot (*Blanchisserie*), and Toulouse-Lautrec (*Jeanne*).<sup>327</sup> Two and half weeks later, Germany invaded the Netherlands.

The arrival of the first shipment of the collection was publicly noted by Diogo de Macedo, in *Ocidente* magazine: 'Coming from Holland, four paintings by Renoir, Gauguin and Van Gogh arrived to the Museum of Contemporary Art'.<sup>328</sup> While Macedo did not refer to the possibility of exhibiting the collection, his disappointment that no such event was forthcoming was evident by October: 'The months have passed, the expectations have weakened and the paintings have been locked in storage'.<sup>329</sup> In particular, Macedo lamented that Portuguese artists were deprived of the opportunity of coming into close contact with masterpieces, instead of the copies and derivations that they usually accessed. Later that year, he gave notice of the departure of the collection: 'The foreign paintings that were on deposit at the Contemporary Art Museum in Lisbon have left for America (...) with the regret that they were not exhibited'.<sup>330</sup> His lament

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<sup>324</sup> Archives of the MNAC/Oficios recibidos/1940, letter from Weinberg, 12 April 1940.

<sup>325</sup> The titles for the paintings given here are those used by Wilhelm Weinberg in his correspondence.

<sup>326</sup> I am grateful to Margreeth Soeting, curator at the Stadelijk Museum in 2016, who confirmed that a painting owned by Marianne de Godschmidt-Rothschild had been on deposit at the institution during the period.

<sup>327</sup> Archives of the MNAC/Oficios recibidos/1940, letter from Weinberg, 19 April 1940.

<sup>328</sup> Macedo 'Notas de Arte' in *Ocidente*, vol. IX (1940) p. 349.

<sup>329</sup> Macedo, Notas de Arte in *Ocidente*, vol. XI (1940) pp 263-4.

<sup>330</sup> Macedo, Notas de Arte in *Ocidente*, vol. XI (1940) p. 463.

seems justified as, to this day, there has never been a concentration of Impressionist and post-Impressionist paintings of such quality in a Portuguese public museum. Weinberg's paintings remained at the MNAC until 5 November 1940, when he himself collected them.<sup>331</sup> He eventually settled in Scarsdale, New York, where, after the war, he would learn of the murder of his wife and three children at Auschwitz. In their memory he bequeathed Toulouse-Lautrec's *Jeanne*, which was part of Weinberg's second shipment to Portugal, and was 'precisely the painting that I particularly cherish'<sup>332</sup> to the Kröller-Muller Museum in Otterloo, in the Netherlands.<sup>333</sup> In July 1957, the Weinberg collection was sold at auction, part of the first group of blockbuster auctions of the post-war period.<sup>334</sup> Wilhelm Weinberg was survived by a daughter, Julia Schor Ensel, born in 1937 in the Netherlands from his relationship with Rosemarie Schink.<sup>335</sup>

The analysis of the MNAC acquisitions during this period reveals that it purchased thirteen artworks from twelve foreign artists, of whom four were in the country as refugees, namely Bogomir Dalma, Max Braumann, Moise Kisling, and Wanda Ostrowska. In all twelve cases, the artworks were produced in Portugal and their themes appealed to the museum's conservative taste. Overall, they represent ca. three per cent of overall acquisitions, and ca. four per cent of overall purchases. As such, they did not represent a significant proportion of the museum acquisitions. We can also conclude that the museum did not display an acquisitive desire of works by foreign artists as, even as it could access a large pool of refugee artists, including well-established figures, staying in Portugal at the time, it purchased from a reduced

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<sup>331</sup> MNAC/Oficios recibidos/1940, letter from Weinberg, 5 November 1940.

<sup>332</sup> MNAC/Oficios recibidos/1940, letter from Weinberg 19 April 1940.

<sup>333</sup> Sanka Knox, 'Nazi victim gives Renoir to Israel', *New York Times*, 22 May 1957, p. 6.

<sup>334</sup> Sotheby & Co., *Catalogue of the highly important collection of nineteenth century and modern paintings and bronzes, the property of the late Wilhelm Weinberg of Scarsdale* (New York, 1957); Mollie Panter-Downes, 'A brisk morning at Sotheby's', *New Yorker*, Aug. 10, 1957, p.59.

<sup>335</sup> See Julia Schor Ensel papers at the Leo Baeck Institute, New York. Record number AR 25062. While her personal recollections are not relevant for this thesis, I am grateful to her for meeting with me to discuss her memories of her father.

number of individuals, mostly as a result of previously held exhibitions held in other locations. Of the foreign art dealers who established themselves in Lisbon during the period, the museum made a purchase from the Buchholz Bookshop and Gallery – and, even in this case, chose an artwork by a Portuguese author. Spontaneous contacts by refugees hoping to sell their property occurred only once. Undoubtedly, the most exceptional occurrence during this period was the deposit of the Weinberg collection in the museum storage rooms. The overall conclusion regarding the actions of the MNAC during this period, is that the museum actively avoided contact with the refugee population involved in art making, art collecting, or art dealing.

### **The Soares dos Reis National Museum, local identity and national ambition**

The city of Porto, in northern Portugal, was in all appearances a cosmopolitan city, with international means of transport and communication, and familiarised with Jewish life. In terms of interaction with non-national communities, the city had the particularity of having among its residents a long-standing northern European, and in particular British, expatriate community, with ties to international trade. In addition, it stood as the neuralgic centre for the discovery of *marranismo* and the resurgence of Portuguese Jewish life practised by communities in the rural north and centre of the country who had chosen to practice their religion in hiding since the expulsion of Jews.<sup>336</sup> One of the mentors of this resurgence, Artur Barros Basto, founded the Israelite Community of Porto with a mostly Ashkenazim population of immigrants living in the city. With the support of mostly British Jewish organisations and families, the Kadoorie – Mekor Haim synagogue opened in 1938. Once the refugee flow began, Porto was the first large city along the refugee route from Vilar Formoso. According to Cláudia Ninhos and Irene Pimentel, foreign guests staying at hotels and other accommodation had been at an all time-high for the period under analysis of 25,764 and 26,004 for 1940 and 1941, respectively.<sup>337</sup> Hence, with the *Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis* [henceforth, MNSR] standing as the largest museum in the northern region of Portugal, we would expect its most important museum to present some degree of interaction with refugee communities residing in the area.

The origins of the MNSR are complex and tied with the founding of the first Portuguese museums open to the public. In 1833, as the Liberal Wars drew to a close, the prince regent, Pedro, founded the *Museu Portuense* with the dual purposes of gathering the artworks confiscated from the religious orders of the city of Porto, the

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<sup>336</sup> Paulo Mendes Pinto (ed), *Histórias e Vivências Judaicas em Portugal* (Lisbon, 2017).

<sup>337</sup> Ninhos and Pimentel, *Salazar*, p.433.

convents of São Martinho in Tibães and of Santa Cruz in Coimbra, and from prominent *miguelista* families<sup>338</sup>, and of exhibiting them to the public. It was the first publicly-funded museum in Portugal:

The first opening of the Museo Portuense in this Heroic and Faithful City of Porto will forever be a memorable epoch [...] for having given for the first time to the Portuguese a centre of gathering Art, Painting, Prints, Sculpture and Civilian Architecture [...] spreading even in the last classes of the People the taste for beauty, and the love and feeling for the Arts.<sup>339</sup>

The pursuit of this liberal ideal of the museum as ‘a reforming and civilisation institution’<sup>340</sup> produced mixed results throughout the monarchy. By 1840, when it finally opened its doors to the visiting public, it was brought under the management of the *Academia Portuense de Belas Artes*, the Porto fine arts academy, founded in 1836, with which it shared the premises of the convent of Santo António da Cidade, seized from the Franciscan order. Thus the initial collection of the museum, tied to the practice of Catholicism and to monastic life in provenance and in content, was supplemented throughout the nineteenth-century with paintings, works on paper, and sculptures evoking landscapes, genre scenes and portraits, created by students, staff and alumni of the Porto fine arts academy, most of whom originated from Porto and the northern region of Portugal. These included major figures of Portuguese art such as sculptor

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<sup>338</sup> Most property belonging to *miguelista* families is presumed to have been returned to them during the reign of Pedro’s daughter, Maria II.

<sup>339</sup> Law of the 11 April 1833, quoted in António Manuel Passos de Almeida, ‘Contributos ao estudo da museologia portuense no século XIX. O museu do coleccionador João Allen e o Museu Municipal do Porto’ in *Revista da Faculdade de Letras*, Series I, V-VII (2005-7), pp 37-8.

<sup>340</sup> Cristina Pimentel, *O sistema museológico português (1833-1991): em direcção a um novo modelo teórico para o seu estudo*, (Lisbon, 2005), p. 48.

Soares dos Reis (1847-1889), after whom the museum would be named in 1911.<sup>341</sup> The republican museum and heritage sector reform of 1911 altered the name of the museum to *Museu Soares dos Reis*, and released it from the supervision of the fine arts academy, integrating it within the museum network of the First Republic.<sup>342</sup> In addition, following the legislation of the separation of church and state, further holdings of religious provenance were incorporated into the museum's collection.

In 1932, the institution's name was altered to its present formulation – *Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis* – when it was granted the status of national museum by the Estado Novo heritage and museum reform.<sup>343</sup> That same year, Antonio Vasco Rebelo Valente, known as Vasco Valente (1883-1950), was appointed as museum director, a post which he held throughout the period under analysis. Although a Law graduate from Coimbra University, he opted to become an art critic and historian, specializing in glass. Valente, as Figueiredo and Couto at the MNAA and Sousa Lopes and Macedo at the MNAC, combined his duty as director with being a member of the *Conselho Superior de Belas Artes*. With the MNAA and the MNAC, the MNSR was under the supervision of the DGESBA.

By virtue of its national status, the museum became legally entitled to take over the State collections in its immediate territory. One of the first collections to be integrated by the MNSR was the ceramics section of the by then extinct *Museu Industrial e Comercial do Porto*, which focused on industry and trade, and operated between 1883 and 1899. The MNSR director was allowed to select from the collection 'ceramic specimens that, because of their artistic value, are worthy of integrating the

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<sup>341</sup> One exception to the northern origins rule were Henrique Pousão (1859-1884). Born in Alentejo, he trained at the Porto academy. Upon his premature death, his father gifted much of Pousão's estate to the MNSR.

<sup>342</sup> Law-Decree 1, *Diário do Governo*, I., 124 (1911), 29 May 1911.

<sup>343</sup> Law-Decree 21.505, *Diário do Governo*, 1,70 (1932), 24 July 1932.

museum's collections'.<sup>344</sup> The items entered the collection in 1933, and, in 1940, a selection of lace and wrought iron objects with the same provenance was also incorporated into the MNSR holdings.

The late 1930s were marked by negotiations to integrate the collection of the *Museu Municipal do Porto*, the Porto Municipal Museum. The bulk of its collection was formed by the holdings of the first Portuguese museum to welcome the visiting public – the *Museu João Allen*, which opened its doors in 1838. A private museum, it was founded by João Allen (1785-1848), a Port wine merchant of Irish origin. Allen amassed a collection of ca. five hundred and ninety-nine European paintings, with a strong Dutch and Flemish component, an unknown number of decorative arts, numismatics and thousands of geology, malacology and mineral specimens, gathered during his travels through Europe and the United States.<sup>345</sup> After its founder's death the municipality of Porto purchased his collection, creating the *Museu Municipal do Porto*. The Allen collection provided the MNSR, whose holdings were mostly of Portuguese origins, with a collection of greater scope and quality.

The transfer of the municipal collections and the subsequent closure of the municipal museum were formalised in 1937, upon the acquisition by the state of the Carrancas Palace with the specific purpose of housing the two collections.<sup>346</sup> The palace had been bequeathed to the Porto branch of the most important Christian charity in Portugal, the *Misericórdia*, by Manuel II (1889-1932), the last Portuguese monarch, for the purposes of installing a children's hospital within its premises.<sup>347</sup> However, in 1934,

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<sup>344</sup> Carlos Loureiro, 'O Museu Industrial e Comercial do Porto, 1883-1899' in *Coleções de ciências físicas e tecnológicas em museus universitários portugueses* (Porto, 2005), pp 185-202.

<sup>345</sup> Atanazy Raczyński, *Les Arts en Portugal* (Paris, 1846), pp 384-5; Almeida, 'Contributos ao estudo da museologia portuense no século XIX. O museu do colecionador João Allen e o Museu Municipal do Porto'.

<sup>346</sup> Law-Decree 27.878, *Diário do Governo*, I, 168, 21 July 1937.

<sup>347</sup> Isabel Serena e João Santos, 'Palácio dos Carrancas/Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis' in Sistema de Informação para o Património Arquitectónico, [http://www.monumentos.gov.pt/site/app\\_pagesuser/SitePageContents.aspx?id=08a335ea-db85-4fdd-862b-fe6e623e44a8](http://www.monumentos.gov.pt/site/app_pagesuser/SitePageContents.aspx?id=08a335ea-db85-4fdd-862b-fe6e623e44a8) (22 January 2015).



during a visit to the museum by Salazar and Duarte Pacheco, the Minister of Public Works, Valente impressed upon them the exiguity of the museum premises at S. Lázaro, and the adequateness of the Carrancas Palace for the purpose of housing a national museum.<sup>348</sup> In 1936, for the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the National Revolution, Valente re-asserted the need of transferring the collection.<sup>349</sup> The process of transfer of the collections began in 1938, with the drawing up of an inventory lasting two years.

In the early 1940s, there was palpable tension between the museum and the Porto municipality, as Valente requested the transfer of collections left behind, and advocated the integration of areas of the collection that the municipality hoped to keep for itself. The scale of this merger, and its impact both in quantity of items and in the quality of the MNSR holdings, should not be underestimated. In 1933, the MNSR annual visitor and inventory data sheet sent to the DGESEBA identified a total of four hundred and fifty-five two-dimensional works; ‘several’ sculptures; twenty-six Limoges enamels; and an undetermined amount of silver, religious paraments and furniture, and ceramics.<sup>350</sup> In two-dimensional works alone, the collection merger brought in nine hundred and seventy-three paintings; two hundred and thirty-three drawings; one hundred and twenty-four photographs and phototypes. The scope of the typologies was widened from mostly fine arts, to archaeology, numismatics, historical and ethnographic collections, reflecting Allen’s wide interests, intermittently pursued by the Porto municipality in the decades since taking over the museum. Unsurprisingly, the Municipal Museum, in its almost eighty years of operation, had pursued an interest in archival documentation relating to the history and important figures of the city of Porto.

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<sup>348</sup> Archives of the MNSR/Correspondência expedida/1934/Memo signed by Vasco Valente.

<sup>349</sup> Archives of the MNSR/Correspondência expedida/1936/Report on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the National Revolution.

<sup>350</sup> MNSR/Correspondência expedida/1934/Annual visitor and collection statistics.

Thus the incorporation of the collection of the Porto Municipal Museum into the MNSR transformed an essentially fine arts museum, focused on paintings and sculpture, into a universal museum with a strong focus in local history and iconography.<sup>351</sup> The transfer process was completed by early 1942, when the museum opened to the public in the newly refurbished Carrancas palace.

The transfer of collections and the refurbishment of the Carrancas Palace undoubtedly constituted the museum's priorities throughout the 1930s and part of the 1940s. Yet the period was also punctuated by the official commemorations of the tenth anniversary of the 'National Revolution', in 1936; and by the Centennials Commemorations of 1940. For the Centennials Commemorations, the museum lent works and held its own important retrospective of the work of Soares dos Reis. The year of 1941 was taken with the run-up to the inauguration of the museum in the new building. In February, *Círculo José de Figueredo*, the group of friends the museum was founded, and named after the Porto-born art historian and director of the MNAA, who had died in 1937. On the nights of 23 and 24 August the MNSR participated in the exercises of defence against air attacks, following the indications given by the Ministry as well as by the manual published by the *Grémio de Lojistas do Porto*, the Guild of Porto shopkeepers.<sup>352</sup> That same year, the Museum transferred paintings to the recently opened *Museu José Malhoa*, in Caldas da Rainha (see next chapter).

On 30 January, 1942, the museum officially opened. In the first ten days following its opening, the museum hosted 1561 visitors.<sup>353</sup> The first semester of 1943 was a busy one, with several cultural events held at the museum in partnership with the cultural institutes representing various countries involved in the war, which will be

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<sup>351</sup> António Manuel Passos Almeida, *Museu Municipal do Porto: das origens à sua extinção (1836-1940)*, chapter 6.

<sup>352</sup> Grémio de Lojistas do Porto *Instruções a observar em caso de ataques aéreos* (Porto, 1941).

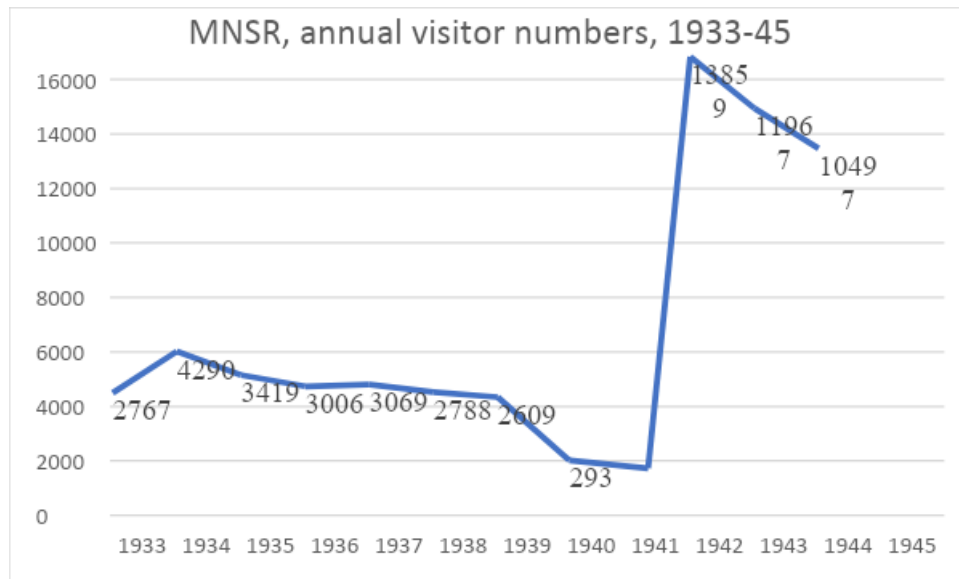
<sup>353</sup> MNSR/Correspondência expedida/1942/Relatório sobre a abertura do museu.

detailed below. In March, as an indication of the rise on prices and scarcity of goods, Vasco Valente asked the *Serviço de Salubridade e Abastecimento* (the Service of Health and Supply) for daily ration tickets for potatoes for nine of his staff who were heads of family.<sup>354</sup> That same year, more works of art were transferred to the José Malhoa Museum. The following year, 1944, was relatively uneventful in terms of museum activity.

In terms of visitor numbers, and relying on the annual information provided by the museum, it is possible to conclude the reopening of the museum had a highly positive effect on visitorship at the MNSR. (Figure III.9) The years 1942-1945 saw more than the double of visitors per year than those of the year with the highest number of visitors in the pre-war years (1934; 4290 visitors). As the information gathered by the museum did not separate Portuguese from foreign visitors, it is impossible to determine the level of impact that the latter would have had in MNSR visitor numbers during the period. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the war years were not an obstacle to increased visitorship.

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<sup>354</sup> MNSR/Correspondência expedida/Memo sent by the museum on 4 March 1943.



*Figure III.9 – MNSR annual visitor numbers, 1933-45.*

*Source: MatrizNet, MNSR correspondence files.*

Given the diverse origins of the MNSR collection presented to the public in 1942, the construction of the object database for acquisitions between 1933-45 faced a series of unique methodological choices. The first issue was whether or not to include the items acquired by the municipal museum of Porto until 1941, when they were physically transferred to the MNSR, in the database. Given the scope of our analysis – object acquisition by national museums during this period – these objects were left out of the database. At the time they took place these acquisitions reflected a municipal – not national – collections policy and therefore fall outside this particular scope of inquiry. Given the hybrid nature of the MNSR collections, a greater number of sub-collections were excluded from the database than in the databases of the MNAA or MNAC, as their typologies fell outside our scope of analysis: numismatics, medals, and archaeological finds. Equally excluded from analysis were transfers of property

originating from religious and/or state institutions as their acquisition by the state preceded the period under consideration.<sup>355</sup>

In this particular database, furniture revealed itself a troublesome typology as many items were purchased not because of their intrinsic aesthetic and/or artistic value as artworks, but rather as décor for the refurbished MNSR at Carrancas Palace. When setting up the museum galleries with seating areas and other functional areas, Valente opted for the installation of period furniture ‘befitting a building of such historic importance’,<sup>356</sup> instead of choosing modern museum furniture. This choice raised some confusion at the time with DGEBSA, which was unsure of which budget to which these purchases should be assigned. While Valente advocated a purchase under ‘Acquisition of office furniture’, given their primary function, the Finance Ministry ultimately requested that they all be placed under ‘Artworks purchase’. As such, and until each particular item in this situation can be identified and confidently excluded from ‘artwork purchase’ these items, who received an inventory number, feature in the MNSR acquisitions database.

The most immediate and accessible source for the elaboration of the database was the MatrizNet inventory. In the case of the MNSR, however, the digital inventory was particularly lacking in the number of object entries, and, if used as the main source of information, would provide partial data that did not reflect the quantity and range of the objects acquired by the museum during the period. The paintings section of the digital inventory is especially incomplete, when compared to the information gathered from paper inventories and correspondence. In advance of the site visit, MNSR staff prepared a report on the decorative arts acquired during the period that formed the

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<sup>355</sup> These included the monastery and the courthouse at Mitra.

<sup>356</sup> MNAC/Correspondência expedida/Memo from MNSR to Ministry of Public Works, 4 January 1941.

starting point of the database. The report did not, however, include painting and sculpture acquisitions.

The analysis of the official correspondence, and especially the correspondence maintained between the MNSR and the DGESBA regarding the disposal of acquisitions funds, as well as the acknowledgement letters for private donations and bequests, formed the main source of information for this database. The correspondence archive format at the MNSR followed the same format as in the MNAC, with one set of bound volumes for correspondence sent, and another set of bound volumes for correspondence received, each organised chronologically by year. The correspondence exchanged with DGESBA was of particular importance regarding purchases and sums requested. MNSR inventories were secondary sources of information – the entries on these books are succinct, often ignoring provenance or method of acquisition; as such, they were used for cross-reference and identification of overlooked items, or items undocumented in the correspondence.

Together with the MNAA and the museums in Cascais and Figueira da Foz (next chapter), the MNSR's collection brief included decorative arts. In its inventory, the MNSR attributed individual numbers to the components of sets of furniture, ceramics, glassware, etc. Therefore, and in accordance with the criteria established at the outset of this chapter, the set as whole is considered as one database entry. Hence, the settee and chairs purchased in 1941 from Francisco Perestrello Alarcão e Silva, for example, count as one entry. Multiple acquisitions from the same source occurring on the same date, such as the Rizzo Terra bequest of fifty-five paintings in 1943, count as individual acquisitions in the database. Where a large bequest or gift may skew initial assessments regarding museum acquisitions patterns, this will be identified, discussed, and

subsequent conclusions duly adjusted. With these caveats in place, it is possible to extract the first set of conclusions regarding MNSR acquisition between 1933 and 1945.

The MNSR acquisitions databases add up to four hundred and thirty-four entries for the period 1933-45. (Figure III.10) Ceramics, paintings and furniture are the most represented typologies. The second tier of typologies is occupied by works on paper –drawings, watercolours and prints (9%, 38 entries) –; sculpture; and other decorative arts. This last typology corresponds to a single bequest of twenty-four snuffboxes given by António Ramos Pinto, which took place in 1945. As such, it does not correspond to a prolonged acquisitive drive by the museum. The last tier of categories is composed of glass, metalwork, textile and jewellery.

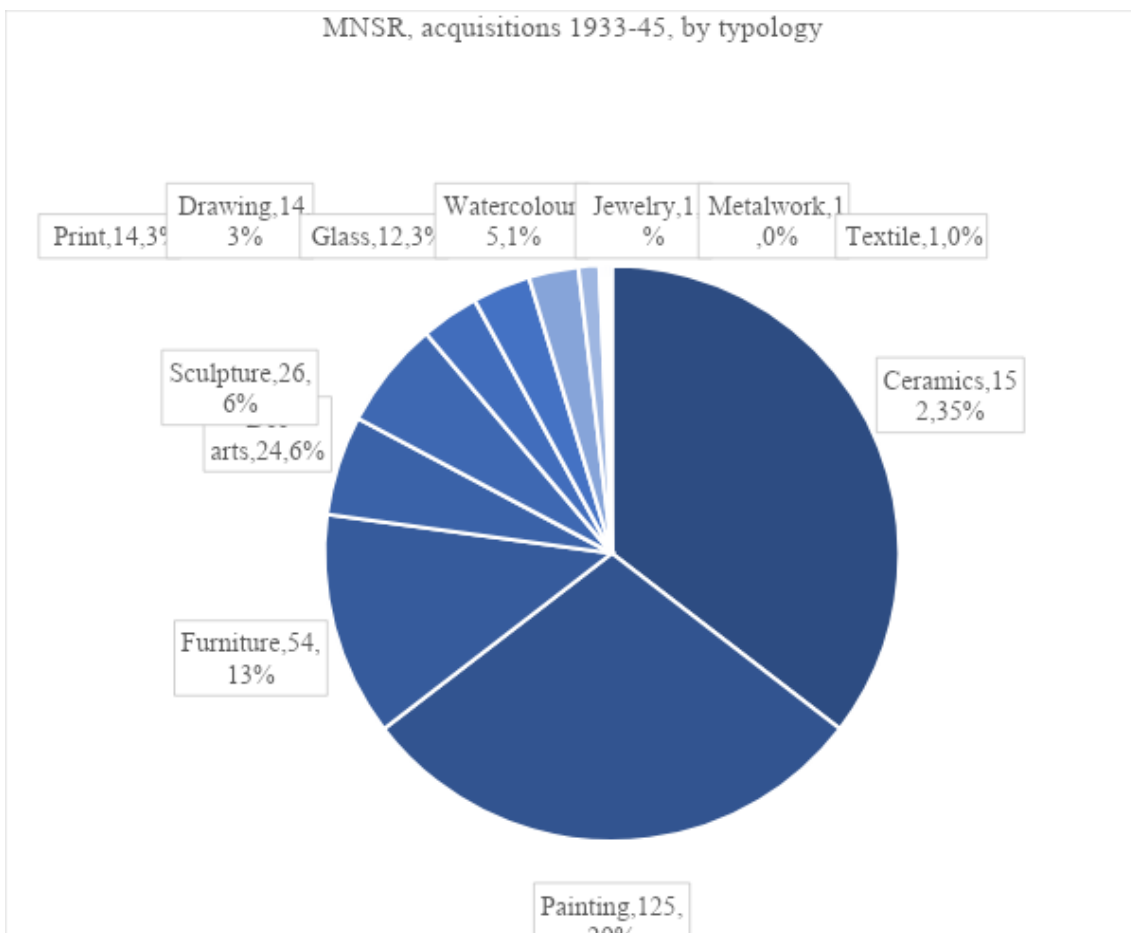


Figure III.10 – MNSR acquisitions by type of object, 1933-45.

*Source: MatrizNet, MNSR correspondence files.*

This distribution of typologies falls within the collecting pattern of the museums with the same collecting brief analysed in this thesis, namely the MNAA and, at a smaller scale, the Counts of Guimarães Museum Library in Cascais, and the Santos Rocha Museum, in Figueira da Foz, discussed in the next chapter. Fine and decorative arts museums valued painting above sculpture, and ceramics and furniture above other materials and techniques. At the MNSR, ceramics appears as the sole typology consistently acquired throughout the period under analysis. Paintings mirrored the increase in acquisitions that started in 1940, peaking in 1942, with forty-two acquisitions, and decreasing abruptly afterwards. Furniture acquisitions, conspicuously absent before 1939, gather speed in the year leading up to, and in the year following, the opening of the Carrancas Palace, 1940 and 1943, respectively. Works on paper (drawings, prints, watercolours), follow a similar path, with the greater portion of entries occurring between 1940 and 1943.

When considering the typologies of objects that the museum chose to buy – as opposed to the overall typologies acquired during the period (one hundred and seventy-five entries) – some divergent trends become visible. Ceramics was the only typology purchased consistently throughout the period even as its purchases peak was in 1937, not in the years surrounding the re-opening of the museum. While ceramics maintains its primacy (eighty-four entries), painting (seventeen entries) was overtaken by furniture (forty-seven entries). This vast difference between quantities purchased is explained by the unusual number of purchases of furniture for purposes of décor (coinciding with the peak purchases of furniture in 1941); and also by the differences in market prices of paintings and items of furniture, as we will see below. Other factors that should be taken into account in explaining the distribution in typologies are the



pre-existing paintings collection of the Porto Academy, and Vasco Valente's personal taste in decorative arts.

Even though the documentation consulted omitted the origins and/or the makers of part of the objects acquired by the museum, it is possible to affirm that most of the museum's acquisitions, in all typologies, expressed a preference for a Portuguese author or maker. Ceramics, whether acquired as gifts or purchases, displayed the museum's particular interest for northern ceramic factories, such as those of Massarelos, Cavaquinho, Miragaia, and, of course, the well-known national porcelain makers, based in Ílhavo, *Vista Alegre*.

In the decorative arts, international makers were more present than in the fine arts, though still a minority in overall acquisitions. All were purchases, with the exception of a Sèvres porcelain urn, gifted to the museum in 1939 by Maria Teresa Chagas, the widow of Portuguese republican politician João Pinheiro Chagas. The urn had been gifted to João Chagas by the French president during Chagas's tenure as the Portuguese minister in France. Chinese porcelain was the most sought-after typology, with twenty-three purchases recorded, followed from afar by other European ceramics of various origins – Dutch (one bowl and ten tiles made in Delft), English (a tankard, a plate, and a coffee pot), French (a pair of vases, and a fountain), German (a Meissen porcelain tea set), Italian (five Savona plates), Spanish (one plate), Swedish (a Marieberg box with lid) and Turkish (three Iznik tankards). Only another typology – furniture – is recorded to have been enriched with acquisitions, all purchases, by foreign makers, albeit in a reduced number of occurrences. The most relevant is the purchase of a Flemish armoire, in 1941, for 15,000 *escudos* from João Rebelo de Andrade, who in all likelihood was a private owner and not a commercial dealer. The other purchases of non-Portuguese furniture were an English dresser, purchased in 1940 for 4,500 *escudos*

from Camilo Bettencourt; an Indo-Portuguese cabinet, purchased in 1942 for 5,000 *escudos*; a Dutch armoire purchased in 1942 for 7,000 *escudos* from Maria Helena Cardoso de Menezes, Viscountess of Pindela; and, finally a French Boule settee, purchased in 1944 for 3,000 *escudos* from Alfredo Ramos.

In the fine arts, four acquisitions of objects made by non-Portuguese authors, all occurring in 1944, were recorded: *Trecho de Florença*, by Italian painter Emilio Montini, purchased; ‘Grapes and Peaches’, by English artist Miss Fletcher, and *Manhã no Tâmega*, by Swiss artist Henri Huguenin, bequeathed by Antonio Forbes de Magalhães; and a bust of Napoleon, by French artist Ernest Meissonier, bequeathed by Manuel Maria Lúcio. The close examination of the purchases of foreign-made objects, indicates that they occurred during the war years, and in particular during the period surrounding the museum’s reopening.

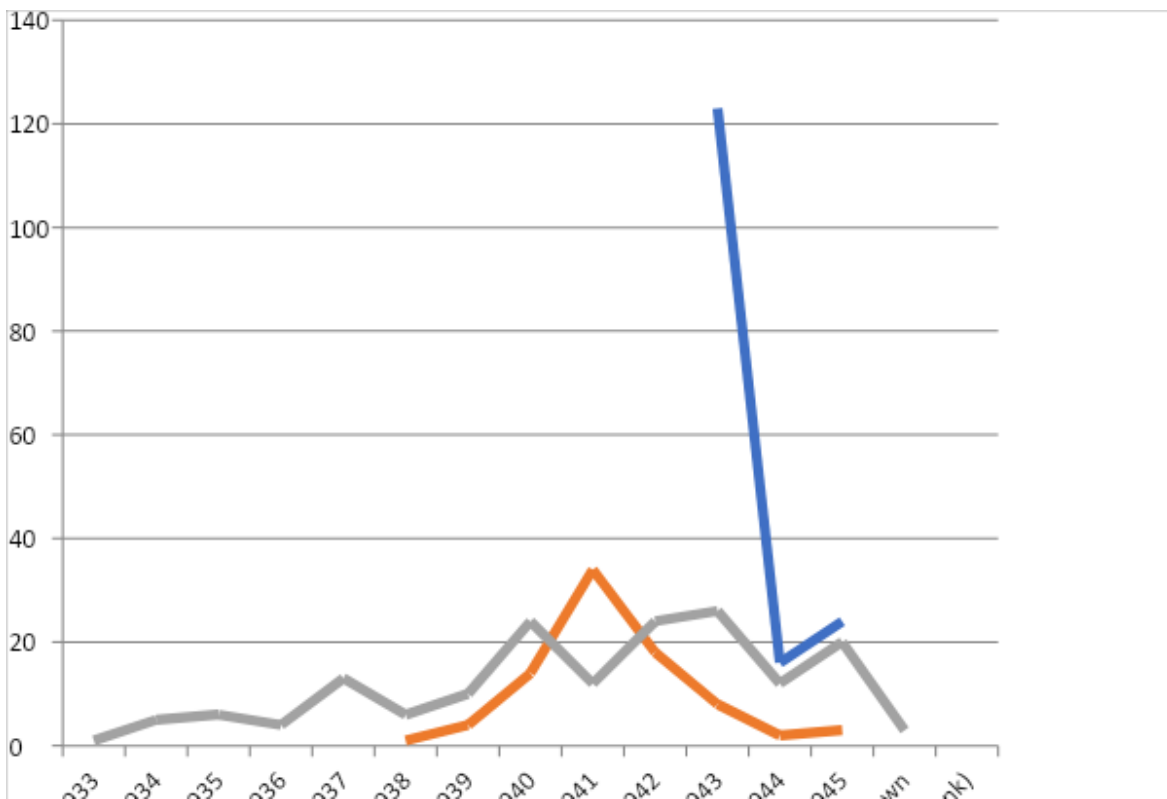


Figure III.11– MNSR acquisitions by mode of acquisition, 1933-45.

*Source: MatrizNet, MNSR correspondence files.*

The chronological overview of acquisitions reveals the impact, if any, of, firstly, the decision to transfer the MNSR collections to the Carrancas Palace, taken in 1936; secondly, the merging of the holdings of the Porto Municipal Museum and of the MNSR, between 1937 and 1941; thirdly, the programme of national and local commemorations promoted by the State in 1940; and, finally, the influx of foreign nationals to the city, in the MNSR acquisitions history. The data uncovered reveals that, above all, the volume of MNSR acquisitions was tied to the preparations and opening of the museum in the Carrancas Palace. (Figure III.11) In the first years of the *Estado Novo*, MNSR acquisitions were few. In 1937, they reached, for the first time, the low double digits. This year coincided with the purchase of the Carrancas Palace by the State, as well as with the initial negotiations for the transfer of the holdings of the Porto Municipal Museum. The year of 1940, when the MNSR participated in the Centennials Commemorations, marked the beginning of a steep increase in acquisitions, with thirty-eight recorded entries. This increase peaked in 1943, with one hundred and fifty-seven entries, and decreased afterwards. This peak, however, must be understood in the context of the bequests of Maria Rizzo Terra, with fifty-six artworks, and Manuel Maria Lúcio, with sixty-eight artworks. The two years following the re-opening of the museum saw an important purchase drive on behalf of the museum.

The findings regarding the chronological progression of acquisitions by the MNSR do point to a correlation between the transfer of the museum to the Carrancas Palace and its opening to the public. Further probing of the information should help us determine the causes behind this correlation and to establish whether these acquisitions were the result of a purchase-led acquisitions programme, which is the strongest indicator of institutional interest in an object or typology, or a gift/bequest-led

programme which does not necessarily reflect institutional interest, given the mandate of national museums to accept donations by the public.

Purchases were consistently made throughout the period, and overall, were the primary method of acquisition by the museum. Occasionally, they appear to have been overtaken by the number of gifts and bequests – in 1933, 1941, and 1943-45. A more detailed examination of the latter reveals that, in 1941 and 1943-45, those gifts and bequests referred to multiple objects given by single donors, thereby mirroring the pattern identified at the MNAA and MNAC. Therefore, if these gifts and bequests are taken into as single occurrences, even 1941 and 1943-45 purchases emerge the primary method of museum acquisitions. This is particularly noteworthy when considering how much Valente struggled to have his purchase requests approved by DGESBA. Reading through the correspondence sent by the museum to DGESBA, Valente seems to have been paying a price for his distance from the central government - throughout the 1930s, many of his requests for funds to finance purchases went unanswered by the DGESBA or by the Ministry of Finance. The disparity between the expenditure of the MNSR and those of the MNAA and the MNAC during the period is further confirmation of the peripheral condition of the museum within the National Museums network. (Table III.5)

The museum disbursed a total of 298,412 *escudos* for fine and decorative arts objects over the period. A detailed analysis reveals that the highest amount was spent on furniture, followed by painting and ceramics. Ceramics was therefore a cost-effective purchase, as it allowed for the acquisitions of a high number of objects for a low cost, with some items being purchased for as little as twenty *escudos*. The transfer of the collections to the Carrancas Palace also marked the museum's entrance into a high-end art market. Indeed, all individual purchases costing 5000 *escudos* or more, fifteen in total, took place from 1940 onwards. All pertained to the acquisition of furniture –

single objects and furniture sets – with the exception of three sculptures and one painting. This painting, *S. João e o Sumo Pontífice* was the most expensive acquisition during the period, and cost 30,000 *escudos*.

The correspondence held at the MNSR reveals that, of the one hundred and thirty-three purchases which took place during the period, only fifty-one detailed the name of the seller, which, reflecting the occurrence of multiple purchases from the same seller, amounted to thirty-nine named individuals or businesses. Of these, nineteen were documented as being based in Porto and/or its neighbouring areas. Perhaps surprisingly, the vast majority of cases of the known sellers were private owners or their heirs. In fact, a total of ten artworks were purchased from six commercial dealers, of whom only three are known as art dealers or auction houses, all based in Porto: *Salão Silva Porto*, an art gallery and auction house; Barjona de Freitas, an antiques dealer; and an unnamed auction house. Of these, the first two were known nationally – *Salão Silva Porto* sold to the MNAC, and Barjona de Freitas sold to, among others, collector António Anastácio Gonçalves.<sup>357</sup> To the MNSR, *Salão Silva Porto* sold three ceramic objects and one painting; Barjona de Freitas sold, in 1936, a Portuguese marble sculpture of a *Virgin with Child*. The remaining commercial entities that sold works of art to the museum were factories and makers such as the Sacavém Ceramics Factory, the Joaquim Meireles Artistic Foundation and *Júlio Fortuna e Cia*.

Interestingly, the museum did not record significant purchases from living artists, let alone from foreign artists living in Portugal at the time. In fact, the museum did not purchase from non-Portuguese nationals at all.

The extraordinary number of objects entered as gifts and bequests, when compared to purchases, must be examined more closely, and the nature of their entry discussed. (Appendix III.6) Bequests totalled one hundred and sixty-seven entries in the

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<sup>357</sup> Fialho-Brandão and Ribeiro (ed.), *Coleccionar para a Res Publica*.

database, edging out purchases with one hundred and sixty-six, as the primary means of acquisitions in absolute terms. All bequests, but one, occurred in 1941 or after. The vast majority of bequeathed objects entered the museum through two donors, in 1943 and 1944 – Maria Rizzo Terra and Manuel Maria Lúcio. Other donors were José de Figueiredo, in 1938, the director of the MNAA and head of the DGEBSA acquisitions committee; Manuel Cândido Dominguez, in 1943, the father of painter Dominguez Alvarez; António Forbes de Magalhães, in 1944, a wealthy landowner; and António Ramos Pinto, in 1945, brother of Adriano Ramos Pinto, the founder of the Ramos Pinto winemakers. All were born or lived in Porto, and even if they were seen as part of the Portuguese elite, as were José de Figueiredo or the Ramos Pinto family, they had strong ties to the city and its institutions.

The bequest of Maria Rizzo Terra, a wealthy landowner residing in Porto, was to alter qualitatively the MNSR paintings holdings. Her bequest was composed of fifty-five paintings, selected by Vasco Valente after her death. The bequest included important Portuguese artists whose work was until then poorly represented in the collection. Manuel Maria Lúcio another wealthy landowner and collector studied painting under Artur Loureiro. His bequest included seventy-six items, of which sixty-five were Portuguese ceramics. In addition, the museum also integrated his library in its own collection. Most of the items were not bequeathed directly by the collector – he had in fact selected a small number of objects for this purpose. Instead, they were selected as payment for inheritance tax due on Lucio's main heir, the Porto dioceses.<sup>358</sup> António Ramos Pinto bequeathed his collection of twenty-four snuffboxes to the museum. The collection had been formed with the intention of bequeathing it to the museum, and, in fact, had been there on deposit since 1942.

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<sup>358</sup> Will of Manuel Maria Lucio, held at the Porto Municipal archives.  
[http://purl.sgmf.pt/167955/1/167955\\_master/167955\\_PDF/167955.pdf](http://purl.sgmf.pt/167955/1/167955_master/167955_PDF/167955.pdf).

In addition to bequests, the transfer of the museum to the Carrancas Palace also affected the number of gifts, with forty-eight institutions and individuals stepping forward with donations in ninety-one instances. Gifts occurred in relatively low-numbers, staying below double digits for the majority of the years recorded. The exceptional year of 1941 in terms of number of gifts – thirty-eight in total – is explained away by the high number of Portuguese paintings and drawings by António Silva Porto given by Elisa de Lima, widow of Porto-based businessman and financier Honório de Lima, to the Municipality of Porto, which, given the merging of its collection with the MNSR, were integrated by the museum into its collections. The second most important donor to the museum was its group of friends, *Círculo José de Figueiredo*, who in 1941 and 1942, gave ten paintings and sculptures to the museum. The third most important donor was Maria Teresa Chagas, the widow of João Chagas, Republican minister and later Portuguese minister in Paris. In 1939, she gave to the museum two portraits of herself and her husband by Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro, one portrait of herself by Sousa Pinto and a porcelain Sèvres urn originally presented to Chagas by Raymond Poincaré, President of the French Republic at the time. In addition, Chagas set up the donation of a building she owned in Monte Estoril, whose title of property was transferred to the museum in 1941 and whose rental income should provide the museum with an acquisitions and refurbishment fund. A quick glance through the museum's post-war inventory shows that this fund was used extensively for acquisitions.

Eight donors gifted two objects to the museum – ten paintings, three drawings, two sculptures, and one print – ; in all instances these gifts occurred in the same year. The remaining donors made one single gift. The connection to the city of Porto and, less frequently, to the north of Portugal is documented in most of the donors' biographies. At least thirty-two –i.e. sixty-six per cent – of the donors and/or institutions who gave

artworks to the MNSR were based in the city. Of these, at least thirteen moved in artistic circles, either as artists, art critics, art historians, or heritage managers. Artworks accepted as gifts often bore a specific connection to the history of the city of Porto and to the biography of its citizens who achieved national notoriety.

The documented identities of the donors do not reveal a connection to the expatriate community living in the region nor to the refugee communities that stayed there temporarily between 1933 and 1945. Yet outside of the purview of this research - examining the acquisitions of fine and decorative arts – the museum did receive one gift from a Portuguese national with a German father. In February 1944, Henrique Delgado Westenfeld, then residing at Praia da Granja, gifted seventy-five German bank notes. Westenfeld, who was born in Portugal in 1898, was by then the widower of Elsa Althausse, a German artist who had settled in Portugal in the 1920s and died in 1936. While the couple is known to have played a central role in the German community based in Linda-a-Velha, by the time of Westenfeld's gift, he was based near Porto.<sup>359</sup> Nevertheless, the Westenfeld gift was an exception to the pattern of non-interaction with refugees or expatriates.

It is possible to conclude that, in spite of the regularity of acquisitions, with a steady flow of purchases and gifts to the museum occurring throughout the period under analysis, the MNSR's geographical range of donors and dealers was mostly limited to Portuguese nationals born and/or living in the city and its neighbouring areas. Contacts with the expatriate and refugee communities were practically non-existent. Significantly, even though the museum overlapped with the collecting areas of the MNAC and the Museu Santos Rocha, both of whom did develop tenuous relations with

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<sup>359</sup> Isabel Lousada and Vânia Pinheiro Chaves (eds), *As mulheres e a imprensa periódica*, II (Lisbon, 2014).



foreign artists living in Portugal at the time, the MNSR did not make the effort to engage with them.

If the communication between the museum and refugees and expatriates was virtually non-existent, its interactions and intent to collaborate with legations and cultural institutions representing belligerent countries was certainly more sustained. While the museum's correspondence files attest to contacts on cultural matters held with American, British, French, and German diplomatic institutions, the first contact with a diplomatic entity was with the Chinese Legation, in 1937. The letter sent by the Chinese was similar to the ones received by other national museums, requesting to know of the museum owned ancient Chinese art objects.<sup>360</sup> As occurred with the other museums, the letter went unanswered.

The first recorded contact with the *Institut Français*, and with Raymond Warnier, the director of its Lisbon office, occurred in 1939, when Valente set up a publications exchange between the two institutions. Later that year, the museum lent items to the exhibition of Sèvres porcelain, co-organised by the *Institut* and the MNAA. In 1941, the *Institut Français* invited the MNSR to participate in the exhibition of French prints. As the core of the exhibition pertained to modern French prints arriving from France, Warnier hoped to complement it with French prints of Portuguese inspiration held by the MNSR or owned by Valente himself. However, Warnier's successor Pierre Hourcade, who had been at the helm of the Porto delegation of the *Institut*, thought that the museum's exhibition space was too small to host the intended exhibition and it was thus postponed.

Two years later, in March 1943, Hourcade requested documentation 'as complete as possible'<sup>361</sup> regarding Portuguese museum activities since the beginning of the

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<sup>360</sup> Archives of the MNSR/Correspondência recebida/1937/Letter from the Chinese legation.

<sup>361</sup> MNSR/Correspondência recebida/1943/Letter by Pierre Hourcade, addressed to Vasco Valente.

hostilities, in response to a request by the *Association Française d'Action Artistique*. Unlike what occurred with the request by the Chinese Embassy, Valente complied and forwarded catalogues and basic statistics to Hourcade. One month later, Hourcade thanked Valente for the welcome afforded to the French Hellenist Mário Meunier, who had been in Porto during his lecture tour of Portugal and Spain, as part of the propaganda efforts.<sup>362</sup> Unlike the MNAA, who hosted several cultural events organised with the *Institut Français*, the MNSR was not seen as a viable hosting partner for other events. In fact, events organised by the *French Institute* in Porto, to which Valente was invited, but in which the MNSR did not play a role included the *Prix de l'Institut Français*, in 1943, and in 1944 a concert with Nicole Ancker Casteron and Esmeralda Alves.

Collaborations with the British Institute were more sporadic than those held with the *Institut Français*, and began only in 1943. This appears somewhat surprising given the important expatriate community residing in Porto for generations, and perhaps a reflection of the self-imposed isolation of these communities, who set-up and enjoyed their own institutions for leisure and education. However, as the British government increased its efforts of propaganda among neutral states, the MNSR became the host of some interesting events. In January 1943, art critic and curator at the National Portrait Gallery John Steegman gave a lecture in Porto as part of his commitments for the British Institute.<sup>363</sup> Portugal was not an unknown country for Steegman. Three years earlier, he had curated the *Sala da Aliança*, which looked into the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, during the Centennials exhibitions, in Lisbon. In February 1943, the MNSR hosted the exhibition of Portuguese landscapes of portraits of Portuguese notables

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<sup>362</sup> Jean Combe, *La vie et l'œuvre de Mário Meunier* (Saint-Etienne, 1967); Claude Latta, *Mário Meunier, un itinéraire intellectuel et politique*, <http://forezhistoire.free.fr/images/mario-meunier-latta.pdf>.

<sup>363</sup> Edward Corse, *A battle for neutral Europe: British cultural propaganda during the Second War* (London, 2013); King's College Archive Centre Cambridge, GBR/0272/PP/STE, John Steegman papers.

photographed by Cecil Beaton, which had opened earlier at in Lisbon.<sup>364</sup> Following this initial burst of activity, interactions between the British Institute and the MNSR were limited to publications exchanges.

The United States embassy made a solitary appearance in the MNSR correspondence archives in May 1945, distributing the first number of its propaganda publication, *Noticiário de Arte e Arqueologia na America do Norte*.

Countries from the axis fared even less well in the regularity and content of their interactions with the MNSR. The single item of correspondence between the MNSR and the *Deutsch-Portuguesische Gesellschaft* delegation in Porto consisted of an invitation for a concert by Ernest Haase and the Munich-based Fredel trio, on 10 February 1943, held at the delegation.<sup>365</sup> Interactions with the Italian legation and cultural institute, recorded in 1939 and 1941, were mostly concerned with the exchange of publications. As far as neutral countries are concerned, the MNSR once again hosted an exhibition that had opened at the MNAA. The *Exposição de Arte Espanhola Contemporânea*, organised by the Spanish Legation, with which the MNSR exchanged publications, opened at the MNSR in December 1943.

On occasion, and similarly to what occurred with his colleagues at the MNAA and MNAC, Vasco Valente was required to advise on art import and/or export requests presented at the Porto customs office and at Leixões harbour. These were few and far between but provide an insight into the artworks entering and leaving the country through its northern regions during the period, as we have seen in the previous chapter. One item of correspondence with the Porto customs office, in 1943, bears mention. The Porto customs office, requested from Valente an opinion regarding a possible auction of

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<sup>364</sup> This exhibition of portraits and landscapes by the celebrated English photographer was organised by the British Institute as part of its propaganda effort. Those portrayed included a cross-section of well-to-do Portuguese society.

<sup>365</sup> Ninhos and Pimentel, *Salazar*, pp 116-123.

unclaimed property of a liturgical nature.<sup>366</sup> In a comically curt reply, Valente suggested they be sent to needy churches and put to use.

Of the three national museums whose interactions with the refugee community were analysed in this chapter, the Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis was clearly the one which displayed least active interest in interacting with the city's refugee communities. Its promising context of a long-standing cosmopolitan environment notwithstanding, the museum, more than any of the other museums examined here, limited itself to a network of Portuguese donors and sellers who were locally based. The international exhibitions it hosted had opened earlier in Lisbon. And rather than being a partner to the diplomatic corps in the city, the museum's director was, for the most part, a guest at the cultural events held elsewhere.

### Conclusion

During the period under analysis, the MNAA, the MNAC and the MNSR acquitted at least 3,155 works of art, of which ca. 30.4% were purchases representing 4.5 million *escudos* in expenditure. (Table III.5)

MUSEUM	ACQUISITIONS	PURCHASES	EXPENDITURE (in <i>escudos</i> )
MNAA	2240	455	3,021,311
MNAC	461	337	1 277 030
MNSR	434	174	298,412
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3135</b>	<b>966</b>	<b>4,596,753</b>

<sup>366</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGEBSA/3rd Section/ (1943).

*Table III.5 Overall number of acquisitions, purchases and expenditure, by museum 1933-45.*

Their taste favoured objects that were either nationally or regionally made or reflected a particularly prestigious period of Portuguese history as defined by the New State's ideology. In this process museum retained its own network of sellers and donors, with very few overlaps, especially among the sellers, between museums.

The thorough and detailed inspection of the purchases, gifts and bequests that formed the bulk of acquisitions by the MNAA, the MNAC and the MNSR undertaken in this chapter thus allows us to conclude that while national museums were actively acquiring works of art, disbursing important sums in this process, they did not view the refugee communities, nor the foreign and expat communities surrounding them, as steady suppliers for their acquisitions.

The low level of interactions with the refugee community appears as a conscientious decision on behalf of the museums since all three readily collaborated with foreign cultural institutions and with cultural diplomacy initiatives held by representatives for the belligerent countries. In addition, the two Lisbon-based museums responded positively when asked to shelter private collections belonging to foreign nationals. And, while the MNAA led in intensity of interactions with the diplomatic corps and foreign institutions, the MNAC led in connection with a refugee artists, through the purchase of their work. As for the MNSR, not only did it isolate itself from the activity related to refugee situation, it also barely engaged with the cultural diplomacy initiatives that were held in Portugal at the time. This is particularly surprising in a cosmopolitan city with long-standing expat communities such as Porto and can perhaps be ascribed to the singular interests of the museum's director, Vasco

Valente. As we will see in the next chapter, the personality of the museum director played an important part in recognising the opportunities for diversifying the collection that the refugee communities presented at the time.

#### CHAPTER IV – MUSEUMS IN SEASIDE AND SPA RESORTS, A DIVERSITY OF EXPERIENCES

This chapter will examine the impact of European refugee communities on the acquisitions of artworks by museums non-affiliated with the central government, located in the towns of Cascais, Figueira da Foz and Caldas da Rainha between 1933 and 1945. During the Second World War, and together with the museum-less localities of Ericeira and Curia, these municipalities hosted large numbers of refugees, which, at specific times, reached into the thousands. The upscale areas surrounding Lisbon were particularly attractive to refugees who enjoyed freedom of movement and had sufficient funds to maintain an expensive lifestyle that allowed them to reside away from, yet within easy reach of, Lisbon. Particularly popular with this group were the *Costa do Sol* resort localities of Estoril, Monte Estoril, and, at a smaller scale, Cascais, as well as the municipality of Sintra. As these areas already hosted a sizeable expatriate community and positioned themselves as international tourism destinations, their familiarity with non-Portuguese populations rendered them particularly apt to welcome the flow of refugees.<sup>367</sup>

The other towns discussed here, Figueira da Foz, a popular seaside resort for Portuguese nationals and particularly Spanish tourists, and Caldas da Rainha, a spa resort, witnessed an unexpected and sudden increase in their population during the Second World War. Both served as assigned areas of residence for refugees at different times. From June 1940 and throughout the summer, the PVDE sent refugees with irregular paperwork to Figueira da Foz. This included many of the Sousa Mendes visa recipients. There they waited for the authorisation to move to Lisbon in order to leave Portugal at the earliest opportunity.

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<sup>367</sup> Cândida Cadavez, *A Bem da Nação. As representações turísticas do Estado Novo, 1933-1940* (Lisbon, 2017).

Once the United States entered the war, in November 1941, Atlantic crossings became rarer and more dangerous. The Portuguese government thus negotiated with the US government and American refugee relief agencies the maintenance of refugees in Portugal until the end of the conflict. Many refugees who had been living in Lisbon and other areas of Portugal were then forcibly sent to Caldas da Rainha to wait for the end of the war.<sup>368</sup>

Both localities had access to international railroad lines, and an established network of hotels and leisure equipment, which included sports facilities and cultural institutions. Refugees in areas of assigned residence were restricted to a limited radius around their city of residence. As visas and onward travel documents were only to be obtained in Lisbon, these refugees were forced to apply for travel permission for visits to Lisbon. Another important restriction for all refugees was the prohibition to work; hence, they were reduced to their private means and the monthly stipends provided by international relief agencies, Jewish and otherwise.

The municipalities of Cascais, Figueira da Foz and Caldas da Rainha had an active network of notable citizens, mostly senior civil servants, politicians, and professionals, who served as patrons of the civic institutions of their respective hometowns. The museums analysed here, while under the public service management, either as municipal or provincial museums, had their founding impetus in the actions of an individual (Cascais), or group of private citizens (Figueira da Foz, Caldas da Rainha). As civic institutions, these museums were independent of central administration and were not bound by the policies of the *Direcção Geral de Ensino Superior e Belas Artes* (DGESBA), or the Ministry of Education.

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<sup>368</sup> Fialho-Brandão, 'Siegfried Rosenthal' in 'Refugee profile series', Exiles Memorial Centre documentation centre.



Given the smaller scale of these cities and, in some cases, the seasonal variations in the number of residents given their primary economic activities, refugee communities had great visibility in the territory. This chapter will determine whether such visibility was mirrored in the acquisitions of the museums in these territories.

The principal indicator to determine significant refugee impact on acquisitions made during the period is the relative importance, within the overall number of museum acquisitions, of acquisitions from refugees or of acquisitions of works created by refugees. Secondary indicators are the fluctuations in visitor numbers during the period, which are indicative of the importance of these museums in the life and habits of the refugee communities residing in the areas concerned; and the nature of interactions, if any, between the museum and refugees and/or their representatives. Finally, a comparative analysis between the objects acquired from refugees and acquisitions should reveal the degree to which the museum was willing to engage with these communities.

In this chapter, each museum will be discussed along a similar structure. After the initial contextualisation of the territory's refugee movement and history, and of the history of the museum in a specific area, the museum acquisitions database is presented and discussed. The number of acquisitions, their typology, their mode of acquisition, and their source are identified and contextualised. Interactions between the museum, refugees and/or their representatives will be identified and discussed. Given the individual history, and the different types of management structure and funding of each institution, sources and methodologies for this research will be discussed within each case study.

### **The Counts of Castro Guimarães Museum-Library, Cascais**

By 1933, the seaside resorts of Estoril, Monte Estoril, and, to a lesser extent, Cascais, all within the municipality of Cascais, had been the object of attention by public and private enterprises for their development as an international tourist seaside destination.<sup>369</sup> Following the choice of the Citadel of Cascais as a royal summer residence by king Luís, and by his son Carlos, the area had long attracted the Portuguese aristocracy and upper classes, who built their summer homes along the coast, between Cascais and São Pedro do Estoril. The areas of Estoril and Monte Estoril were the object of urban planning projects that, as the monarchy turned into the republic, and as the New State emerged, endowed the territories with private villas, casinos, and luxury hotels. By the rise of Nazi Germany, the area had cemented its international reputation: the *Sud Express*, the train linking Paris to Portugal, ended its journey in Estoril; *Hotel Palácio*, one of the few hotels to remain in operation today, had been open for three years; the Estoril Casino, where Ian Fleming drew inspiration for the baccarat table scene in *Casino Royal*, had been operating for two years. It is, therefore, not surprising that the area would be particularly sought by wartime refugees and expatriates from all belligerent countries, from 1933 onwards.

The area was very popular among the wealthier refugees, including the exiles from the Spanish Civil War. Millionaires, governments in exile, and deposed monarchs enjoyed the quality of its hotels, the casino and sports facilities, and contacts to the Portuguese upper classes. Estoril brought together individuals from opposing countries who would meet on a daily basis. Before moving to more cosmopolitan Lisbon, Peggy Guggenheim and Max Ernst stayed at the Grande Hotel Itália in Monte Estoril, as did

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<sup>369</sup> João Miguel Henriques, *Da Riviera portuguesa à Costa do Sol (Cascais 1850-1930)* (Lisbon, 2011).

writer Franz Werfel and his wife Alma Mahler; and, under fake names, Heinrich Mann, his wife Nelly, and his nephew Golo.<sup>370</sup> While the *Hotel Atlântico* in Monte Estoril, was 'Axis-friendly', one of its most prominent guests was British actor Leslie Howard, who was killed upon his return to Great Britain from his visit to Portugal, when his plane was shot down over the Bay of Biscay.<sup>371</sup>

Naturally, with such a concentration of intellect, wealth and power, the area was a hotbed of intelligence and counter-intelligence activities.<sup>372</sup> One known operation by the Axis was the failed plot to abduct the Duke and Duchess of Windsor, who had fled to Portugal from Biarritz in June 1940, from the Cascais home of their host, banker Ricardo Espirito Santo, who is discussed in chapter II.<sup>373</sup>

While the more heroic and picaresque elements of the history of the region during this period have been the object of study and fascination, there is no study on the number of refugees who took residence in this area between 1933-45. However, the indication that, between 1940 and 1945, the hotels and hostels of *Costa do Sol* hosted a total of 45,239 foreigners, not all of whom, of course, were refugees, in addition to the unknown number who stayed in private housing, may give an idea of the scale of the presence of foreign citizens in the territory.<sup>374</sup> Indeed, their number was sufficiently high to cause friction and tension. As early as 18 June 1940, the civil governor of Lisbon addressed the Minister of the Interior at the request of the Delegate of the Government of Cascais regarding the need for further security staff to address an increasingly overcrowded region:

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<sup>370</sup> Fialho-Brandão, 'Alma Mahler-Werfel', 'Franz Werfel', 'Max Ernst' in 'Refugee profile series', Exiles Memorial Centre documentation centre.

<sup>371</sup> Fialho-Brandão and Miranda, 'Leslie Howard' in 'Refugee profile series', Exiles Memorial Centre documentation centre.

<sup>372</sup> Pimentel, *Espiões em Portugal durante a Segunda Guerra Mundial* (Lisbon, 2013).

<sup>373</sup> Michael Bloch, *Operation Willi: the Nazi plot to capture the Duke of Windsor* (London, 1984).

<sup>374</sup> Ninhos and Pimentel, *Salazar*, p.493.

The number of foreigners residing here, especially in Estoril, increases daily, many of them do not go to hotels, they rent houses and spread out through Estoril, Monte Estoril, and especially in the vicinity of the Golf [Club] – several nationalities, different politics, idleness, and nervousness intersect and confront each other, at the casino, the Tamariz [beach], the Deck-bar, etc. A natural state of nervousness generates all the conflicts, today an Englishman and a German fight in their bathing suits in Tamariz, tomorrow two Belgians and two Dutchmen of different politics assault each other because of their countries' politics, a simple telephone connection causes a conflict or aggression [...] Then, as financial resources of some of them are depleted, unease, default payments and even theft occur.<sup>375</sup>

The high number of refugees, many of whom with means and habits of leisure, present themselves to the historian as strong candidates for visible interactions with the museums of Cascais, in art transactions. While the municipality is home to more than ten museums today, only one, the Counts of Castro Guimarães Museum-Library (henceforth MBCCG), was in operation during the period under analysis.

Located in an elevated area of Cascais overlooking the Atlantic Ocean, the museum opened to the public in 1931. The building, known as Tower of St. Sebastian, was commissioned in the late nineteenth century by entrepreneur and collector Jorge O'Neill (1849-1925). In 1910, facing economic difficulties, O'Neill sold the Tower to lawyer and banker Manuel de Castro Guimarães (1858-1927). An amateur musician, he installed a pipe organ in his house for which he composed original scores. In 1909, he was among the last Portuguese citizens elevated to the nobility by the final Portuguese king, Manuel II. Widowed and without direct heirs, he bequeathed 'to the municipality

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<sup>375</sup> National Archives at Torre do Tombo/Ministry of Interior/Minister's Office/Correspondência recebida/MÇ 515 – LIV4-PV/L.N.67.392:6, memo from the Governo Civil de Lisboa addressed to the Chief of Staff of the Minister of the Interior, 18 June 1940.

of Cascais, represented by its City Council, my residence [*propriedade*] (...) along with its furniture, art object, books and silverware it contains, with the following conditions. The house will be destined to serve as a small municipal museum and public library; and the gardens and nearby park for the recreation of the public.<sup>376</sup> The bequest included a sizeable endowment the interest of which would finance ‘the preservation and maintenance of buildings and gardens, the purchase of books for the library, or any necessary object, and the remuneration of the administrators and staff salaries’. The executors were to form an Administration Commission, composed of the Mayor of Cascais, the municipality’s Finance Secretary, and a representative of the Fine Arts Academy in Lisbon.

In the year following his death, his family was allowed to take ownership of works of art of their choice items among the house furnishings. Simultaneously, the Commission engaged in a programme of acquisitions, purchasing its most important holdings between 1930 and 1933. Two figures were pivotal in this effort – José de Figueiredo and João Couto, whose dealings as directors of the National Art Museum in Lisbon are discussed in Chapter III. Most of the purchases by the museum during its early period, and certainly the most valuable to this day, were made under Figueiredo’s advice, who served as the Delegate for Culture on the Commission until his death in 1937. Couto, who had begun his museum career as Head Curator of the museum (1930-1933), succeeded Figueiredo as Delegate for Culture until 1942, when he resigned. Object acquisitions were under the purview of the Commission. The museum curator – first Couto, then Carlos Bonvalot (1933-34), followed by João de Lacerda (1934-1942) – oversaw exhibition planning and design, and of the daily management of the museum.

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<sup>376</sup> Counts of Castro Guimarães Museum-Library archives, will of the Count of Castro Guimarães.

In practical terms, this was a privately managed public museum. This ambivalent status resulted in much wrangling with the municipal authorities, especially as its financial situation became more precarious from the late 1930s onwards. In the 1950s, the museum and its collection were officially incorporated into the municipal holdings. Today, the MBCCG is part of the Cascais Municipal Museums network and of the Portuguese Museum Network.

As the MBCCG is not part of the national museums network, its collections are not searchable on MatrizNet, the national museums digital inventory. However, the records kept at the museum itself and at the Cascais Historical Archives provide ample material to construct an acquisitions database for the period between 1933 and 1945. It has not been possible to ascertain the motive and criteria behind the division of the museum's archives into two discrete institutions, an occurrence which renders the identification of pertinent information more difficult. The museum houses its inventories and the Commission's meetings' minutes for the time between 1930 and 1956, the year of its dissolution and the absorption of the Castro Guimarães Bequest into direct Municipal management and ownership. These documents provide a chronological record of acquisitions and gifts. The minutes recorded the acquisitions process, detailing names of sellers and donors, negotiations, dealer commissions, and financial information. This level of detail, however, is missing in the inventories. In fact, their succinct nature hinders object identification, and cross-referencing efforts with the information gathered from other sources.

The documents held at the Cascais Historical Archives include outgoing correspondence, receipts, and miscellanea pertaining to its daily management, illustrating and completing narrative arcs in the museum's history. They feature correspondence pertaining to the former King Carlos Oceanographic Museum, whose

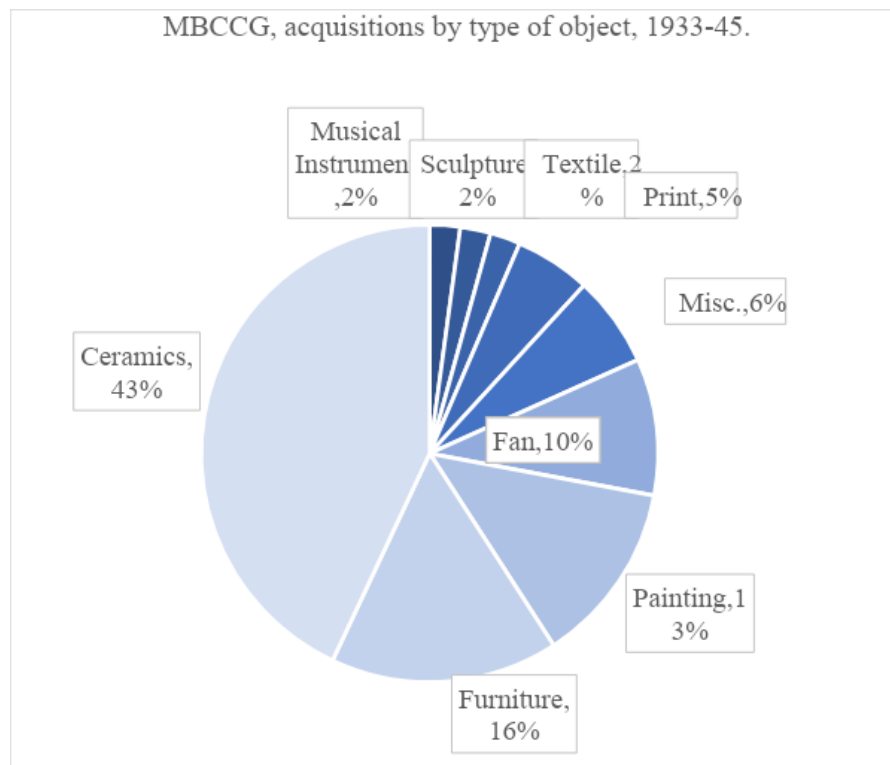
collections were briefly housed at the MBCCG, and later constituted the bulk of the holdings of the Vasco da Gama Aquarium<sup>377</sup>. Given their scientific scope, these are not relevant for this research. Also excluded from analysis are the documents pertaining to prizes won by the Municipality in various competitions held at the museum from 1938 onwards; and the *insigniae* of Maestro Taborda, a bullfighter, given to the museum in 1940. These acquisitions reflect the increasing tensions within the museum regarding its purpose, initially an art museum *strictu senso*, then progressively incorporating items related to the local memory and identity of the communities of Cascais. Finally, books and personal libraries donated to the library section of the museum were not considered in the creation of the database.

The receipts of purchases from private collectors or commercial dealers held at the Cascais Historical Archive formed the initial source for the construction of an object acquisition database, the information of which was complemented with the analysis of the Commission's meetings' minutes and of the correspondence logs of the museum. (Appendix IV. 1) In some instances, more detailed information regarding the nature of the object, its provenance history, and price can be found in the receipts.

The number of acquisitions made during the period reached a total of ninety-three objects, distributed along various typologies (Figure IV.1). Ceramics, furniture, and painting feature as the top three categories in the typologies represented. The predominance of these typologies is coherent with the priorities of a museum of fine and decorative arts. More surprising, perhaps, is the dedicated interest in collecting antique fans, which represent ca. ten per cent of the objects acquired during the period. The fans entered the collection in three separate occasions – 1933 (purchase), 1937 (purchase) and 1940 (gift).

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<sup>377</sup> Law 25.601 (1935), *Cessão da Liga Naval Portuguesa ao Aquário Vasco da Gama*.



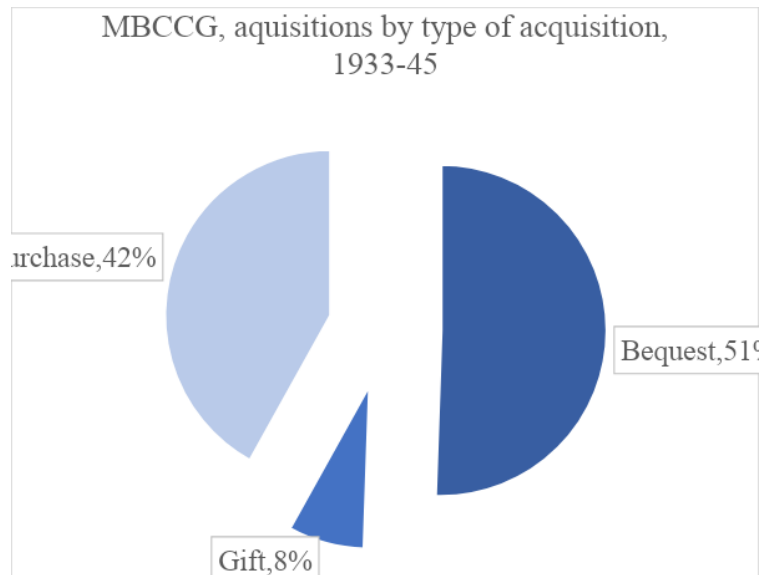
*Figure IV.1 – MBCCG acquisitions, by typology, 1933-45. Source: MBCCG archives and Cascais Historical Archives.*

Most of the works of art entered the collection of the MBCCG through non-financial transactions, either as bequests, with forty-seven entries in the database, or as gifts, with seven entries. As a whole, they represent fifty-eight per cent of the objects that entered the collection. (Figure IV.2) However, the bequests all originated from one single donor, José de Figueiredo, the Fine Arts Delegate to the Museum’s Commission. The bequest pertained to ‘furnishings of the formal sitting room at my home, to which two coloured English prints kept in the guest bedroom should be added. If this bequest is not accepted with these conditions by the Queluz National Palace, then it should be given to the Museum of the Count of Castro Guimarães.’<sup>378</sup> The will also stipulated that the impressive list of objects, which included mostly furniture, porcelain and prints

<sup>378</sup> Counts of Castro Guimarães Museum-Library archives/Extract of the will of José de Figueiredo.



should be exhibited as they were displayed in Figueiredo’s home.<sup>379</sup> This was the only bequest to the museum throughout this period, an indication perhaps of its secondary importance in the Portuguese museum and art collecting landscape.



*Figure IV.2 – MBCCG acquisitions, by means of acquisition, 1933-45. Source: MBCCG archives and Cascais Historical Archives.*

Gifts to the museum, originated from multiple sources. On six occasions between 1933 and 1943, more than seven works of art were given to the Museum. Interestingly, three were given by artists or their relatives. They were a landscape painted by the Viscount of Athougua, given by his son in 1933; a landscape by Albino Cunha, given by the author in 1938; and a stone reproduction mandolin, given by the widow of the maker, Filipe Escrovana, in 1943. Gifts by private citizens were also few and far between. In 1934, the Lisbon-based clarinettist Severo da Silva, gave a hand-written menu by king Carlos from the former royal palace of Cascais to the

<sup>379</sup> The original list of the bequest was not itemised. I am indebted to Cristina Gonçalves for sharing the list of objects belonging to the Figueiredo bequest, which has enabled the identification of some of the ‘36 objects of porcelain’ mentioned in the will.

museum. This gift marked the beginning of one of the museum's collections focusing on local history, namely the presence of royal family in Cascais from the 1870s onwards. Little is known of the two female donors who enriched the museum collections during the 1940s: Alba Pereira Gomes de Mello, who, in 1940, gave a landscape by painter J. Prieto; and Clara da Conceição Costa Almeida who, in that same year, parted with her glass and an undetermined number of her antique fans collection.

If the data regarding the mode of acquisition is adjusted to reflect the single origin of the bequests, the two gifts given by one donor, as well as the purchases of various objects to the same seller, on the same occasion, purchases emerge as the main mode of acquisition by the Museum during the period, representing seventy-nine per cent of object acquisitions during this period. More than half of the purchases were from commercial dealers: auctioneers Leiria e Nascimento and Jayme Silva; and dealers Vera Leroi and João Galvão. Leiria e Nascimento was the main provider of objects purchased at auction, with ten artworks acquired at five different auctions – the Mossâmedes auction, in early 1933; the Sasseti auction, in late 1933; another auction in 1933; two auctions in early 1934; and one auction in 1938, the only auction purchase in the post-Figueiredo period. The objects acquired at these auctions pertained to the pattern identified in the MNAA purchases by Figueiredo, namely Chinese export porcelain and Indo-Portuguese and European art. The second most expensive purchase during the period, the pair of large jars bearing the Sobral coat of arms, was bought for 28,400 *escudos* at the auction of the collection of the count of Mossâmedes, themselves descendants of the Sobral family. Jayme Silva, the other auctioneer to have dealt with the museum during this period, sold a seascape by Portuguese Naturalist painter João Vaz, in 1936.

Galvão sold two moderately priced landscape prints of Lisbon and Cascais and Sintra on the same occasion in 1936. Vera Leroi was the intermediary between the museum and the artist's family in the purchase of a painting by Theodore Baierl (1881-1932), in Rotterdam, for 6,600 *escudos*.<sup>380</sup> Baierl, who began his career seceding from the dominating academic traditions and following neo-medievalist style and content, later embraced a quattrocento-influenced approach to biblical themes, of which *A Lamentação* (The Sorrow) is an example. This purchase is intriguing as, together with the purchase from Bernard detailed below, it was the only recorded transaction where the artwork was imported, at significant cost. The reason behind the choice of this artwork for the museum thus far is unknown. Together with a caricature of José de Figueiredo from artist António Ressano this was Figueiredo's last proposal for acquisitions, in July 1937.<sup>381</sup> This is the only appearance of Vera Leroi in this thesis. This name most likely refers to May Vera Leroi, which at times is also spelled Leroy. She was born in Stuttgart in 1909 to a German father and a Portuguese mother of Sephardic descent. Together with Anne-Marie Jauss, a Swiss artist living in Portugal, she designed the furniture for the Pousada de Elvas, the first of the heritage hotels envisioned by António Ferro to encourage tourism while promoting a certain brand of Portuguese cultural identity.<sup>382</sup> With Jauss, she was in charge of the decoration for the Pousadas of São Tiago and S. Brás de Alportel. Vera, her mother, sister, and brother-in-law were among the passengers who arrived in New York, in July 1941, aboard the *Nyassa*.<sup>383</sup> To the authorities, Vera, who had Portuguese nationality and was described as racially or ethnically Hebrew, listed her occupation as interior decorator.

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<sup>380</sup> Counts of Castro Guimarães Museum-Library archives/Primeiro Livro de Actas/ Acta 36, 9 July 1937.

<sup>381</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>382</sup> Marta Prista, 'From displaying to becoming national heritage: the case of the Pousadas de Portugal', in *National Identities*, 17 3 (2015), pp 311-331.

<sup>383</sup> NARA/ New York. U.S., Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists (including Castle Garden and Ellis Island, 1820-1957/ Year: 1941/ Arrival: New York, New York, USA/ Microfilm Serial: T715, 1897-1957; Line: 26; Page Number: 39 May Vera Leroi.

Curiously, the name of family or relative left in Lisbon, the port of departure, is the firm Abecassis & Irmãos, discussed in Chapter II.

Purchases of works of art from their authors, such as the Ressano caricature, or their immediate family, were surprisingly few, numbering just three in total. Nevertheless, each is noteworthy given its meaning and value. In 1935, the museum purchased one of its most expensive pieces, a bronze sculpture by Joseph Bernard (1886 – 1931) from his widow. This copy of *Femme à l'enfant*, one of Bernard's best-known works, had earlier been exhibited at the *Exposição de Arte Francesa*, the exhibition of French art organised by the French legation in Lisbon in 1934.<sup>384</sup> The exhibition had featured two statues by Bernard, one of which had been purchased, as we have seen, for the National Contemporary Art Museum. Figueiredo suggested that the MBCCG should purchase the second statue. Interestingly, this is the only artwork of a manifestly modernist sensibility, acquired during this period. Bought for 22,500 *escudos*, it stood as the third most expensive purchases by the museum, second only to the Sobral pair of jars, acquired at the Mossâmedes auction. In 1938, Emília Bordalo Pinheiro, whose name we have encountered as donor through gifts and bequests to the three museums analysed in the previous chapter, sold *Luva Branca*, a portrait of the painter's sister made in 1901 by Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro. The sale of *Luva Branca* for 12,000 *escudos* was mediated by Francisco Esteves, curator at the MNAC, himself a disciple of Columbano.

Purchases from private owners, other than artists and artists' families, totalled fourteen objects to the museum. The first, in January 1933, was the last of a series of acquisitions from the Marquis of Lavradio, which began in 1932, and included, among

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<sup>384</sup> *Exposição de arte francesa: tapeçarias, bronzes, moldagens de esculturas, reimpressões de gravuras, e livros ilustrados* (Lisbon, 1934).

others, two portraits by Pellegrini and an important number of decorative arts objects.<sup>385</sup> The 1933 purchase from Lavradio was a miniature by Frederic Dubois, whose process of acquisition began in December 1932.<sup>386</sup>

In terms of quantity, fans were the most important purchases from private collections. In 1933, five were purchased from Guida Keil, sister of MNAA curator and later head of the National Coach Museum Luís Keil, daughter of Naturalist painter and composer Alfredo Keil, whose works were represented in the MNAC and MNSR collections, and mother to Francisco Keil do Amaral, one the most prominent modernist architects of the Estado Novo. Guida Keil also sold works of art to the MNAA and the MNAC. In 1934, two fans were purchased from modernist painter Abel Manta (1888-1982); and two, in 1937, from Martinho da Fonseca. This name probably refers the artist Martinho Gomes da Fonseca, a disciple of Columbano.

Financially, the value paid for the fans paled against the 55,000 *escudos* paid in 1936 by the Museum to the Countess of Mossâmedes, Adelaide de Almeida e Vasconcelos e Mendonça for a 17th century Amati violin. This was the most expensive purchase by the Museum during this period. Another high-end purchase was a Boule clock bought for 13,200 *escudos* to Mário Azevedo Gomes (1885-1965), in 1934. Gomes was the grandson of Elise Hendler (1836-1929), Countess of Edla, the original owner of this piece of furniture. In 1932, Azevedo Gomes had mediated the sale of one of the museum's emblematic objects, a five-panel Chinese screen, part of an original nine-panel screen, also from the former collection of his grandmother. This purchase, announced by Jose de Figueiredo on 2 May 1932 to the Commission, was mirrored by the purchase of the four remaining panels of this screen by the MNAA, headed by

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<sup>385</sup> Counts of Castro Guimarães Museum-Library archives/Primeiro Livro de Actas/Acta 11, 4 January 1932.

<sup>386</sup> Counts of Castro Guimarães Museum-Library archives/Primeiro Livro de Actas/ Acta 17, 19 December 1932.

Figueiredo. Once again, the MCCG benefits not only from Figueiredo's contacts network, but also from his acquisitions strategy for the MNAA. In 1934, another member of the former aristocracy, the Baron of Sabroso, Nuno Infante de La Cerda (1891-1936), sold a nineteenth century manuscript to the museum for a mere 150 *escudos*.

In the case of the last remaining purchases by the MBCCG, the detailed information regarding the seller is unknown: in 1934, Natividade de Sousa sold a bas-relief to the museum; in 1941, the museum's curator added to the 1940 inventory an inlaid table, purchased for 2,850 *escudos* from an unknown seller; the museum's last purchase during the period under consideration, in 1944, was a watercolour of *Boca do Inferno*, a Cascais scenic spot, by C. Stockdael.

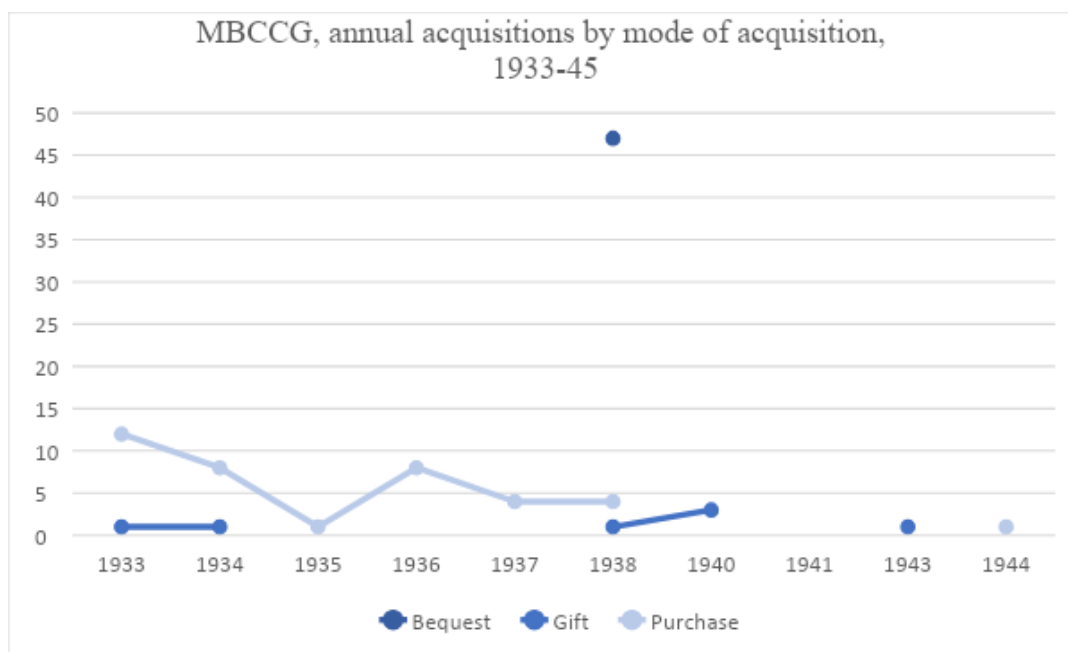
When painter Carlos Bonvalot, Couto's replacement as curator, died unexpectedly, leaving behind a young family, the Commission purchased five paintings from the *Committee of Friends of the Recently Deceased Carlos Bonvalot*.<sup>387</sup> It is noteworthy that, during the period, the Administrative Commission was sensitive to the circumstances of their staff – it was not unusual for the commission to approve payment of funeral expenses, for example.

Chronologically, the year 1938 dominates the period in terms of sheer number of acquisitions, reflecting the importance of the Figueiredo bequest during the period under analysis (Figure IV. 3) The second most active year in acquisitions was 1933, with all but one object entering the collection through purchase. Interestingly, as far as purchases are concerned, the museum's interest in allocating funds to enlarge the collection declined steadily throughout the period. Figueiredo's death, and his succession by Couto, may also have played a role in this decreasing interest. As we

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<sup>387</sup> José António Proença (ed.) *Cascais de Carlos Bonvalot*. (Cascais, 2009).

have seen in the previous chapter, Couto's interest lay more in modernising the museum as an institution than in engaging in a high rhythm of acquisitions.



*Figure IV.3 – MBCCG, annual acquisitions by mode of acquisition, 1933-45. .*

*Source: MBCCG archives and Cascais Historical Archives.*

The nature of acquisitions by the MBCCG enables us to ascribe them to two different collecting pools. Firstly, closely mirroring the collecting strategy of national art museums, the MBCCG focused on established Portuguese decorative arts, mostly furniture; ‘arts of the empire’, namely Indo-Portuguese art and Chinese porcelain; and affordable European art, for which it would disburse significant sums. The MBCCG closely followed the collecting drive of the MNAA, which is not surprising given Figueiredo’s overlapping leadership roles in both institutions. Secondly, it developed smaller, specialist collections, such as the antique fans, and artworks reflecting the more important aspects history of Cascais. While today the museum holds a good collection

of Portuguese naturalists, this was not a focus during the period under analysis. The only modern art acquisition was the Bernard sculpture.

As far as object sources are concerned, and setting aside the Figueiredo bequest, purchases, especially from commercial dealers, predominated. In important purchases, intermediaries in addition to Figueiredo were called in. The museum seemed sensitive to objects with national provenance, from the collections of former aristocrats or known collectors, especially as they were the prime sources for items reflecting ‘the arts of the empire’. It is also noticeable how many people among those involved in the selling of art were part of Figueiredo’s network of friends and acquaintances. Clearly, the MBCCG benefitted from his long career as Director of the MNAA and of his involvement in the purchases of artworks by the state both at home and abroad.

In addition to divergent professional interests of Figueiredo and Couto, other reasons can explain the drop in acquisitions post-Figueiredo. Firstly, the museum’s financial choices caught up with it, and, from 1937 onwards, the museum employed ‘payment authorisation’ slips with the heading of the municipality of Cascais – indicating a more muscled approach by the city council to the management and ownership of the museum and, as is customary with local authorities, a lessening interest in the development of the formerly autonomous cultural institution. Secondly, the death of Figueiredo, and the intensification of Couto’s business in Lisbon, left the museum dependent on the figure of its curators. João de Lacerda, who succeeded Carlos Bonvalot in 1935 as Curator, was dismissed after a disciplinary hearing.<sup>388</sup> Lacerda’s successor, António Branquinho da Fonseca (1905-1987), was a librarian and bibliophile, and opted to develop the book-lending function of the institution, creating a reading room and furnishing the library. Indeed, while the object acquisitions payment

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<sup>388</sup> Counts of Castro Guimarães Museum-Library archives/Segundo Livro de Actas, acta 91, 23 November 1941.



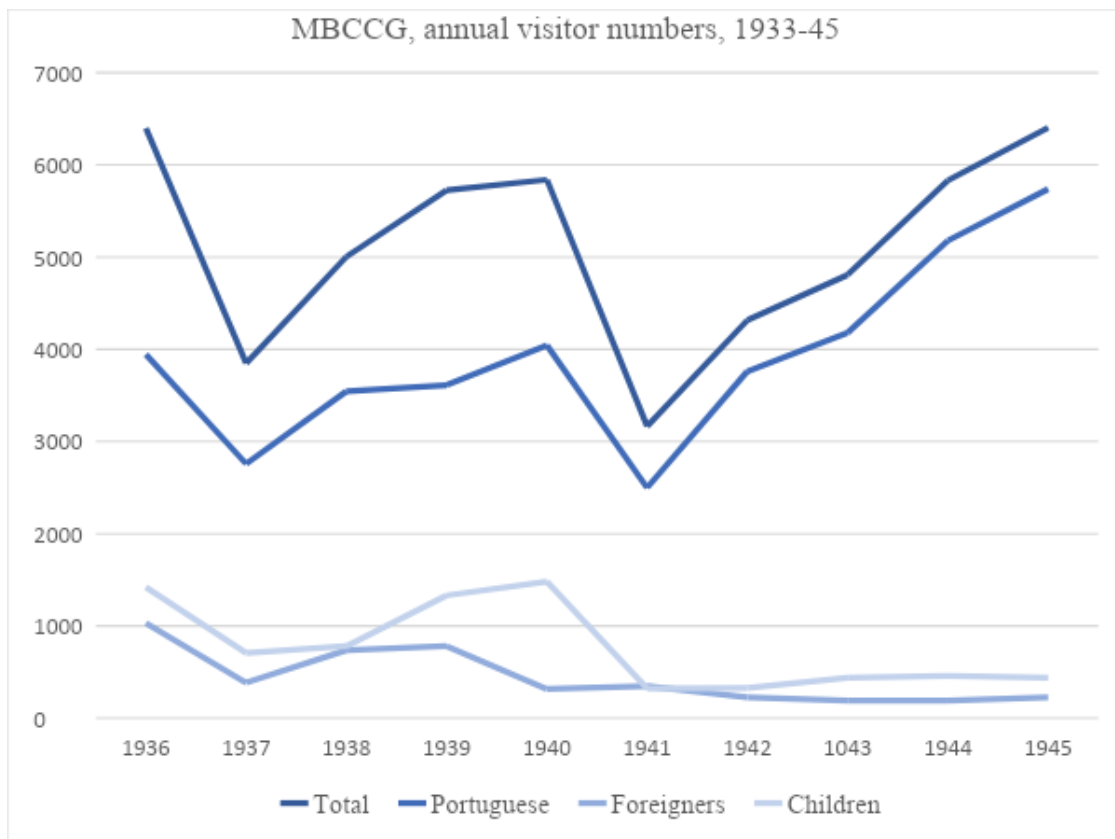
slips almost disappeared from the museum's accounts, the number of purchases from Lisbon bookshops increased dramatically; interestingly, while they included purchases to international booksellers such as *Livraria Inglesa*, the Buchholz Bookshop and Gallery does not make an appearance.

A corollary of the collecting priorities demonstrated by the MBCCG, associated to the post-1937 drop in acquisitions, is the absence of interaction between foreign nationals, whether expatriates or refugees, in object transactions. Between 1933 and 1945, except for the purchase of the Joseph Bernard sculpture, not a single item was sold or given to the MBCCG by a foreign individual; nor was the museum approached by a foreign national for the possibility of a sale or a gift. In fact, correspondence of any kind between the museum and foreign nationals was rare. The most noteworthy letter addressed to the museum by a foreign national during the period was written by Leon Litwinski, Belgian and Polish plenipotentiary minister, residing in Estoril, and requesting borrower's privileges from the library.<sup>389</sup>

By the same token, the high number of foreign nationals residing in the Estoril and Cascais area appears to have ignored the museum's existence, even for a visit. (Figure IV.4) Visitor numbers demonstrate that, between from 1940, onwards, the number of foreign visitors declined markedly, from 781 visitors in 1939 to an all-time low of 189 visitors in 1943. Comparatively, in the years 1939-40, the MBCCG and the MNAC had similar levels of overall visitorship.

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<sup>389</sup> Cascais Historical Municipal Archives/Counts of Castro Guimarães Museum Library, from Léon Litwinski to the Museum, letter 28 July 1940.



*Figure IV.4 – MBCCG, annual visitors by category, 1933-45. . Source: MBCCG archives and Cascais Historical Archives.*

Yet there are indicators that the museum was aware of, and responded to, the ongoing presence of a high number of foreign nationals in the region. In 1944, when asked by the British Institute to provide information regarding the readership of its library for future publication exchanges, Branquinho da Fonseca replied that their general culture was

above average, [and that] they are particularly interested in literature, history, and art, with a large part of these users being constituted by the foreigners that reside in this touristic area.<sup>390</sup>

<sup>390</sup> Cascais Historical Municipal Archives/Counts of Castro Guimarães Museum Library, letter signed by Branquinho da Fonseca, 27 May 1944.

In addition, Branquinho had been purchasing foreign language literature, classic and contemporary, from the British Bookshop, and from the Anglo-American Bookshop, which had opened in Lisbon in 1943, yet another confirmation of the relationship between the institution and the foreign nationals that resided in the area.<sup>391</sup>

Institutional exchanges between the museum and the cultural institutes, legations, and embassies of belligerent countries, were sporadic, and mostly related to exchange of publications. Hence, in 1942, the American Legation in Lisbon sent *Em Guarda*, a propaganda publication<sup>392</sup>; the Italian Service of Cultural Interchange sent several publications<sup>393</sup>; the Iberian American Institute in Berlin acknowledged the reception of the publications concerning the history of Cascais<sup>394</sup>. Following a request from Branquinho da Fonseca, the *Institut Français* sent unspecified publications to the museum in 1944<sup>395</sup>.

Only one occurrence, however, is of interest in the context of German-Portuguese cultural relations. In December 1944, Monte Estoril resident Jorge de Moser introduced A. E. Strasen to Branquinho da Fonseca. According to Moser, Strasen, the Director of the Tourism Section of the German Railway Services in Lisbon, who had published *Oito séculos de história luso-alemã*<sup>396</sup> [‘Eight centuries of Portuguese-German history’] and wished ‘to take some photographs of works held at

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<sup>391</sup> The earliest receipts from both bookshops date from March 1943. Contemporary authors included Shaw, Hemingway, Faulkner; classics included Stevenson’s *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* and Hardy’s *Jude the Obscure*. Cascais Historical Municipal Archive/Counts of Castro Guimarães Museum Library.

<sup>392</sup> Cascais Historical Municipal Archives/ Counts of Castro Guimarães Museum Library, letter, 6 May 1942.

<sup>393</sup> The publications included *Cosa deve l’Italia a Mussolini*; *O primeiro ano da guerra*; *O “Daily Mail” fala...; Bombing Policy; A Inglaterra tal qual é; Meios de Assalto; Mulheres de Itália; Luta contra a tuberculosis* [sic]; *Mussolini*. Cascais Historical Municipal Archives/ Counts of Castro Guimarães Museum Library, letter 16 September 1942.

<sup>394</sup> Cascais Historical Municipal Archives/ Counts of Castro Guimarães Museum Library, letter, 20 October 1942.

<sup>395</sup> Cascais Historical Municipal Archives/ Counts of Castro Guimarães Museum Library, letter, 17 November 1944.

<sup>396</sup> E. A. Strasen and Alfredo Gândara, *Oito séculos de história luso-alemã* (Berlin, 1944).

the museum' for research purposes'.<sup>397</sup> The letter appears to have been left unanswered – although this request to take photographs may indicate an attempt to collect photographic information of objects worthy of interest. E. Moser, who sold four works of art to the MNAA in 1935, is presumably Jorge's brother Eduardo (see Appendix III.1).

The museum did not collaborate with diplomatic missions in Portugal in the co-production and/or hosting of cultural events, whether they were concerts, lectures, or even temporary exhibitions, although it sent out invitations to at least one of its concerts to the British Institute.<sup>398</sup>

The history of the acquisition of artworks by the MBCCG, within the context of the rise of the refugee population in Portugal between 1933 and 1945, is indeed surprising – not only does correspondence with the expatriate and refugee communities living in the area seem inexistent as far as acquisition proposals and object transactions are concerned, but the community itself appears absent from the main indicator of the museum's activity, its visitor numbers. Perhaps the disinterest in visiting the museum resulted from a lack of enthusiasm for such activities among the refugee community.

For those with personal property to sell, the museum may have seemed too small. Had they known of the museum's financial autonomy, especially until the late 1930s, they may have reconsidered. As such, the museum used its financial autonomy purchase an equal mix of 'arts of the empire', eschewing mostly the Portuguese naturalist school and the Portuguese modernists; and European art; and, from 1943 onwards, to strengthen its educating role by reinforcing its library and providing a reading room, which may have well been enjoyed by the refugee communities of the area. Whatever art transactions these refugees engaged in, they were undertaken either

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<sup>397</sup> Cascais Historical Municipal Archives/ Counts of Castro Guimarães Museum Library, letter, 9 November 1944.

<sup>398</sup> Letter, 20 April 1945, Cascais Historical Municipal Archives A-IR-A/002 1930-1947, box 2.

with collecting institutions located outside the *Costa do Sol*; or with private individuals through unrecorded interactions.

### **Dr. Santos Rocha Municipal Museum, Figueira da Foz**

On 22<sup>nd</sup> June 1940, the day when France signed an armistice with Germany, the newspaper *O Figueirense* advertised the ‘Summer Entertainment Programme’ organised by the municipality for the beach season at the seaside resort of Figueira da Foz. Figueira da Foz had long boasted an important fishing industry, with the trawler fleet being based at Buarcos. Since the early 1930s, the urban bourgeoisie residing in central Portugal, and Coimbra in particular, as well as in Spanish cities close to the border such as Salamanca, travelled to Figueira for long holidays over the summer. To accommodate their needs and expectations, the city had developed a network of hotels, summer housing, casino, and sports facilities. The entertainment programme for the Summer of 1940 announced cycling races, regattas, bullfights, religious processions, and ‘brilliant parties at the *Grande Casino Peninsular* and at the Tennis-Club’.<sup>399</sup> Little did the municipality know, that, before the month ended, Figueira would see the arrival of hundreds of refugees fleeing France, with regular arrivals to occur throughout the Summer: ‘It seems that other war refugees will come, among the many that are presently at the Portuguese-Spanish border waiting for their turn to enter Portugal’.<sup>400</sup> The contrast between the relaxed atmosphere of the resort and the circumstances which the refugees had been fleeing, in some cases for years, would later be recalled in detail by a refugee:

I remember feeling an enormous sense of relief when my parents told us that we were no longer on the run, and that we were going to live here until we left for

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<sup>399</sup> ‘Programa das Festas de Verão’ in *O Figueirense*, 22 Jun. 1940, p. 11.

<sup>400</sup> ‘Refugiados da guerra’, in *O Figueirense*, 26 Jun. 1940, p. 9.

America. After such suffering, we had arrived in paradise. A blue sea, the beach filled with people, a joyful mood of vacation that reminded us the beaches of our country.<sup>401</sup>

As the summer went on, local newspapers reported the arrival of trains filled with refugees, and of car convoys entering the town as the summer season began. The very active and erudite local press commented on the habits and characteristics of the refugees, and on their interaction with Portuguese: ‘Figueira is currently a true cosmopolitan city, where the most extravagant and diverse *toilettes*, especially among the women, are noticeable, some of whom wear trousers as any of us men would.’<sup>402</sup>

While the impact of these unexpected residents on the customs of Figueira da Foz appears to have been immediately assessed, quantitative and qualitative research on the issue has been limited.<sup>403</sup> In fact, most of the published research on the subject uses the same sources: contemporary media accounts by local newspapers *O Figueirense* and *Jornal-Reclamo* and interviews conducted during the 1990s by Christa Heinrich, Marete Vargas and Hans Winterberg.<sup>404</sup> More recently, the municipal historical archive has been the object of intermittent study by staff of the Dr. Santos Rocha Municipal Museum, with the purpose of publishing a detailed account of refugee daily life in the region between 1940 and 1945. However, this is an ongoing project, with no date of completion, let alone of publication of results, in sight.

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<sup>401</sup> Recollections of Esther Halpern Dresner, collected in 2004 by Margarida Magalhães Ramalho, quoted in *Lisboa. Uma cidade durante a Guerra*, p. 56.

<sup>402</sup> ‘Refugiados’, in *O Figueirense*, 9 Jul. 1940, p. 1.

<sup>403</sup> Luís Cajão, *As torrentes de memória: histórias e inconfiências do arco da velha* (Lisbon, 1979); Irene Vaquinhas, ‘A Figueira da Foz como “lugar de memória” na rota da fuga da Europa ocupada durante a 2ª Grande Guerra (1943-1945). Proposta de itinerário histórico’ in *Museologia e Património* (2019), 2, pp 10-36.

<sup>404</sup> Christa Heinrich, Merete Vargas and Hans Winterberg, *Fugindo a Hitler e ao Holocausto: refugiados em Portugal entre 1933-1945: fotografias e documentos*. (Lisbon, 1992).

Compared with the Cascais, the number of foreigners hosted in the hotels and hostels at Figueira appears almost insignificant. Between 1940 and 1945, a total of 1.889 foreign individuals, the vast majority of whom left by the end of 1940, stayed in the city's commercial accommodation establishments, while the number of foreigners who stayed in private accommodation is unknown.<sup>405</sup> Another unknown figure is the number of refugees among the foreigners who resided in the city throughout the entire period under discussion.

Refugees were banned from obtaining paid work. However, advertisements for language lessons soon appeared in the press. Those with more artistic backgrounds, such as the couple Hugo and Bibi Haas, married actors who had fled from the Czech Republic to France and from there to Portugal, used their talents to some financial gain. Pianists Colette Gaveau, from Belgium, and Witold Maleuzynski, from Poland, also resided, and performed, in the city. On 17<sup>th</sup> July 1940, the couple held a fundraising concert at the Casino for the benefit of the refugees. Writer Giselle Quitner Allatini stayed for a longer period in the city, giving lectures and writing for the local press.<sup>406</sup> In November 1940, her evening lecture on *Les Poètes et l'amour* in the ballroom of Cafe Nicola, attended mostly by 'foreigner war refugees, who then sang several songs and music that filled them with nostalgia of their distant countries, and that devastated them under the sadness of the cataclysm'.<sup>407</sup> Allatini was at the time a collaborator with the local press, writing laudatory articles on Portuguese hospitality from the perspective of a refugee.<sup>408</sup> Her reminiscences would include a very positive assessment of the actions of Aristides Sousa Mendes. Refugees also participated in sporting competitions, such as chess-player Hochwald, 'a war refugee', who played simultaneously against twenty

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<sup>405</sup> Ninhos and Pimentel, *Salazar*, p. 493.

<sup>406</sup> 'Um Serão de Arte.' in *Jornal-Reclamo*, 16 Nov. 1940, p. 4.

<sup>407</sup> 'Um Serão de Arte.' in *Jornal-Reclamo*, 16 Nov. 1940, p. 4.

<sup>408</sup> Giselle Quitner Allatini, 'Figueira da Foz', in *Jornal-Reclamo*, 25 Jan. 1941, pp 1-4.

different opponents at the *Grande Casino Peninsular*, with a prize for the best opponent.<sup>409</sup>

The possibility that refugees might have property for sale, including works of art, did not escape interested parties. A Lisbon-based art dealer, Costa Guerra, placed an advertisement in August 1940 in the local press, stating ‘Antiques. Bought, pay well’. While the advertisement was in Portuguese and asserted an interest in objects relating to Portuguese history – especially Chinese export porcelain – its single inclusion in the summer of 1940, should be connected to the unusual mix of nationalities found in the resort town.<sup>410</sup>

Socially, refugees gathered in two main locations: the *Café Europa* and *Havaneza*, a bookshop and photographic material shop, owned by José dos Santos Alves, vice-consul of Belgium whose brother was Vice-Consul of Great Britain.<sup>411</sup> These two individuals are credited with having assisted the refugee communities with bureaucratic procedures regarding visa and traveling arrangements, thus easing the limitations placed on the freedom of movement of refugees.

According to the local press, Figueira da Foz boasted a proud and active citizenry, proved by the number of public amenities and the modernity of the municipality. One of the great sources of local pride was the museum, the oldest municipal museum in the country. The Dr. Santos Rocha Municipal Museum (henceforth, MSR) initially focused on the rich archaeological heritage of the region. It was founded in 1894 as the Figueira da Foz Municipal Museum by a group of local intellectuals led by António Santos Rocha (1853-1910). A lawyer and amateur archaeologist, Santos Rocha coordinated the activities *Sociedade Arqueológica da*

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<sup>409</sup> ‘No Casino-Torneio de Xadrez’ in *Jornal-Reclamo*, 5 Oct. 1940.

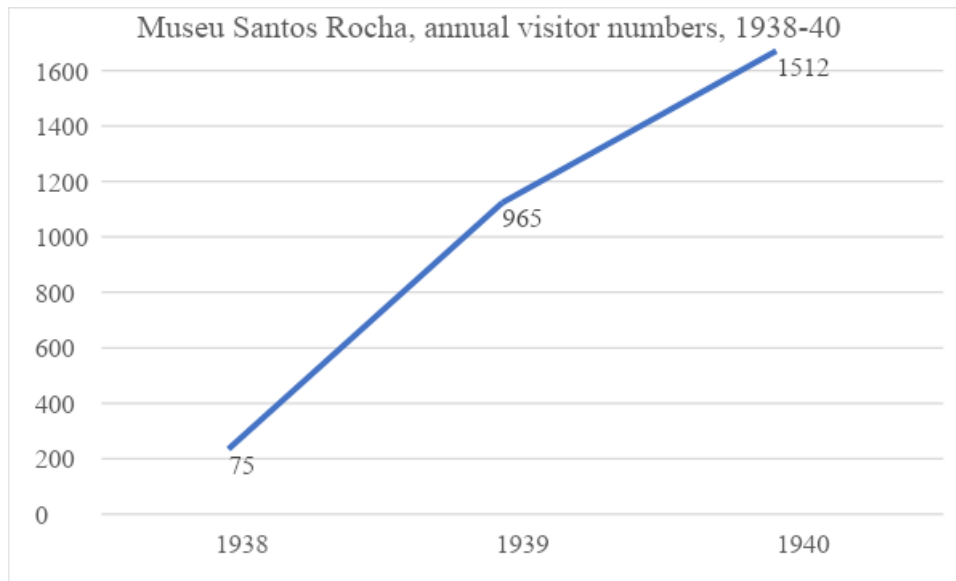
<sup>410</sup> ‘Antiguidades. Compram-se, pagando bem. Louças da Índia, China, faianças e outros (...)’, in *O Figueirense*, 31 Aug. 1940, p. 3.

<sup>411</sup> ‘Bailes nos Cafés “Europa” e “Nicola”’, in *Jornal-Reclamo*, 15 Mar. 1941 p.4.



*Figueira*, the local archaeological society, and became the first director of the museum, an occupation he combined with being mayor of Figueira da Foz later in his life. The museum's collecting impulses mostly revolved around gathering archaeological finds, although the museum set the foundations of its present collections at the time. The death of Santos Rocha in 1910 signalled the beginning of a period of stagnation in the museum's activity, which would end with the appointment of António Victor Guerra in 1937. Nevertheless, the city council, in honour of the museum's founder, changed the museum's name to Dr. Santos Rocha Municipal Museum, which it still carries today. Nowadays, the museum is housed together with the municipal library and auditorium in a purpose-built complex financed by the Gulbenkian Foundation which opened in 1975. In 1943, the museum closed its doors for refurbishment, reopening in 1945, still on City Council premises. The museum's new layout included, for the first time, a space dedicated to painting, the *Sala Mário Augusto*, named after the recently deceased Figueira-born painter. The creation of this gallery reflects Guerra's collecting priority since the beginning of his directorship.

Guerra's focus on developing a fine arts collection may in part explain the rise in annual visitor numbers that the MSR witnessed between 1938 and 1940. (Figure IV.5) Yet the explosion of visitors recorded in 1940 – a 57 per cent increase in comparison with the previous year – can also find an explanation in the number of refugees who were living in Figueira at the time. Unfortunately, data regarding museum visitors before 1938 and after the museum's reopening in 1945 has not been located so this level of interpretation is still very tentative.



*Figure IV.5 – Santos Rocha Museum, annual visitors, 1938-1940.*

*Source: Jornal-Reclamo, 25 Jan 1941, p.7.*

The museum archives provide different sources from which to construct an acquisitions database and determine the quality of its interaction with refugees residing in Figueira. Its digital inventory draws on the information found in correspondence files and local press. However, for the purposes of this research, the museum restricted access to the database, and instead made available a narrow list of works by refugee artists acquired by the museum until 1945. While certainly of interest, this information was insufficient, as it was not possible to determine the importance of these acquisitions within the universe of acquisitions between 1933 and 1945. As such, correspondence files were exhaustively consulted for the construction of the database. The museum's correspondence is organised chronologically by year, in separate volumes reflecting whether it was sent or received. The file containing the first copies of correspondence sent sustained water damage, which has rendered some elements illegible. It must be noted, however, that a systematic record-keeping of correspondence began only in 1937, with the beginning of Guerra's tenure. Hence, information concerning acquisitions

pre-1937 was gathered from indirect references found in correspondence dating from 1937 onwards. The database may therefore present acquisitions gaps regarding the acquisitions by the museum between 1933 and 1937.

The local press of Figueira da Foz proved to be a dense and fruitful source of information regarding refugee life in the resort town and acquisitions by the museum. Both *O Figueirense* and *Jornal-Reclamo* reported regularly on the acquisitions by the museum, detailing names of donors, artists and intermediaries, and titles of artworks. This level of public interest in the doings of the museum reflects the character of the cultured environment of Figueira da Foz, and its close connection with the nearby university city of Coimbra.

The MSR acquisitions database (Appendix IV.2) reveals how much the directorship of António Vitor Guerra was marked by a sustained and directed effort of widening the scope of the museum's collection. Overall, the MSR acquired seventy-seven works of art during the period (Figure IV.6), of which sixty-nine entered the collection in the years of 1940 and 1941. After 1942, no acquisitions were recorded, except for a drawing which, while entering the collection in 1944, was publicly announced as a gift to the museum in 1942. The period post-1942 corresponds to the years when the museum closed for refurbishment which may explain the disinterest of the director in expanding the collection at such a time. It may also, however, reflect a change in record-keeping which translated into no extant written evidence of acquisitions which may have occurred then.

As far as object typologies are concerned, paintings, drawings and prints were the most represented typologies (sixty-one items), followed by decorative arts (ten items, mostly ceramics from Caldas da Rainha), sculpture (five items) and furniture (one item).

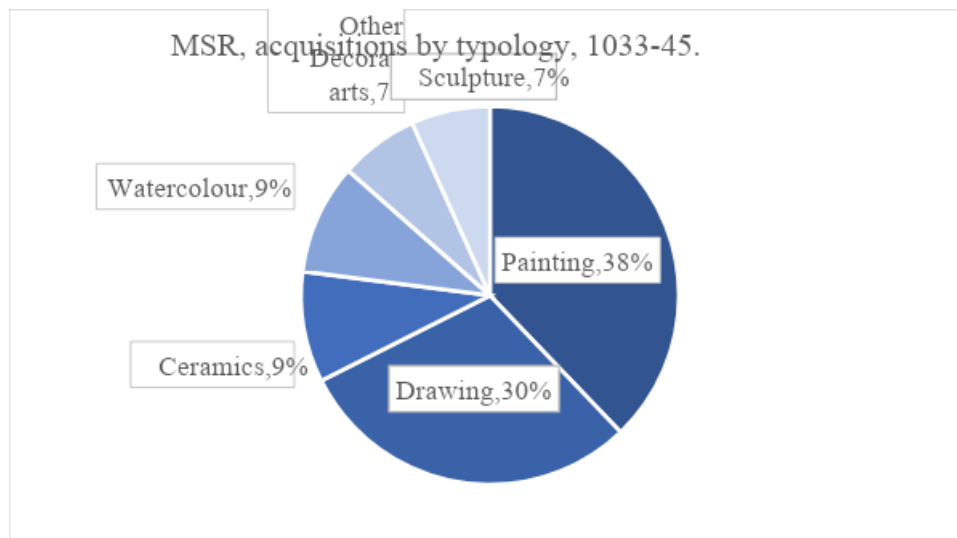
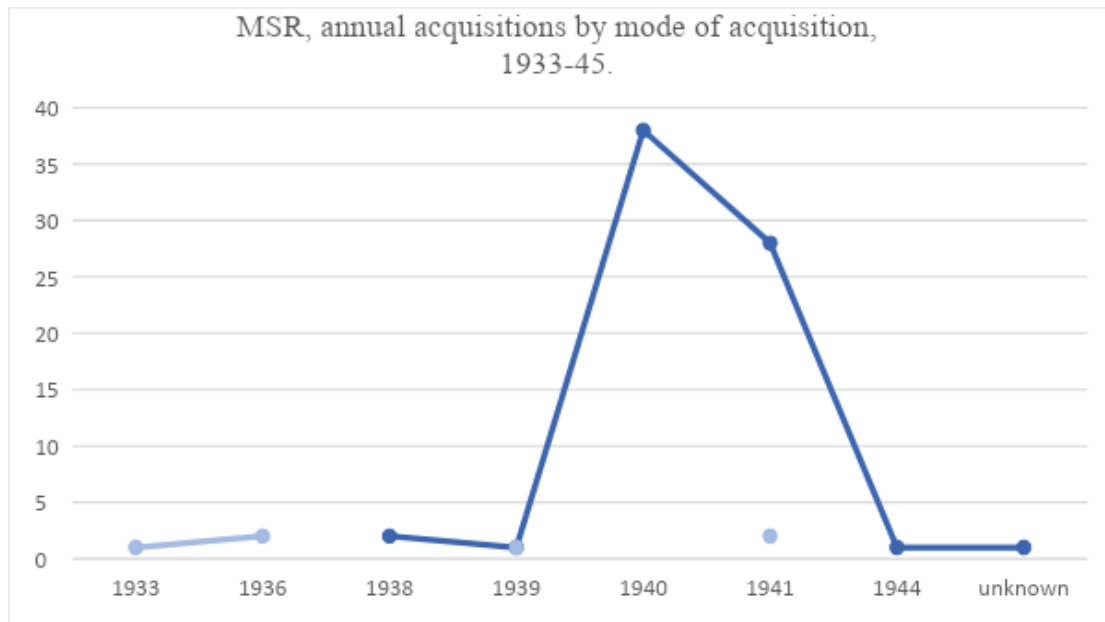


Figure IV.6 – Museu Santos Rocha, acquisitions by typology, 1933-45. Source: Dr. Santos Rocha Museum archive.

Ninety-two per cent of acquisitions during the period were gifts to the museum, with four of the six recorded purchases by the municipality occurring in the 1930s. (Figure IV.7) The defining criterion for the municipality to disburse funds for an acquisition was undoubtedly the closeness of the artist, or of the represented scenes, to Figueira da Foz: a fishing scene by Alberto Sousa, purchased in 1933; a Buarcos seascape by João Reis, purchased in 1930 for 16,000 escudos, the most expensive single purchase by the MSR during this period; a Buarcos scene by Figueira-born António Piedade, purchased in 1941; and *Isaura*, by Figueira-born Mário Augusto, purchased that same year. Noticeably, the municipality did not entertain commercial relations with art dealers during the period under analysis.



*Figure IV.7 – Museu Santos Rocha, annual acquisitions by mode of acquisition, 1933-45. Source: Dr. Santos Rocha Museum archive.*

Over ninety-two percent of acquisitions were gifts to the museum. While the museum did receive spontaneous donations, gifts to MSR were, for the vast majority, solicited by Guerra. As the correspondence sent by the museum demonstrates, the director took it upon himself, to contact artists and notables among the élite of Figueira da Foz, requesting their collaboration in securing gifts and enlarging the museum’s paintings collection in particular, from 1939 onwards.

The vast majority of Guerra’s contact network shared a strong connection to Figueira da Foz and enabled Guerra to reach out to personalities to whom he would not have had the ability to contact directly. For example, upon hearing of the generosity of former President of the Republic Manuel Teixeira Gomes towards Portuguese museums, he contacted well-known pedagogue and poet João de Barros (1881-1950), born in Figueira da Foz, to request an introduction to the former president, and asking him to

suggest the Santos Rocha Museum as another beneficiary of his generosity.<sup>412</sup> In his direct correspondence with Teixeira Gomes, who lived then in Bougie, Algeria, Guerra stated:

I know that your Excellency has generously distributed his artistic holdings to some museums in the country, and I would like to recall to Your Excellency the existence of the Dr. Santos Rocha Museum, with the goal of enlarging the Arts Section.<sup>413</sup>

His appeal earned the MSR two paintings: *Judith with the head of Holofernes* (originally identified as a *Salomé*) by seventeenth-century Italian painter Pietro Liberi; and *Veronica*, by an anonymous seventeenth-century artist.

Guerra's mass mailings to Portuguese living artists, mostly painters, produced significant results.<sup>414</sup> When unable to contact artists directly, Guerra engaged the efforts of a far-reaching network of friends and acquaintances, who provided introductory letters to artists and mediated acquisitions. They included Figueira-born Manuel Cardoso Marta (1882-1958) who worked at the SPN; Mário Reis, sub-director at *O Século* newspaper; and Figueira-born António Medina Júnior (1898-1983), owner of newspaper *Jornal de Sintra*.

Overall, Guerra's requests were met with a positive and sometimes enthusiastic response from artists. In 1940, sculptor Diogo de Macedo, following his gift of a drawing to the MSR, informed Guerra of his wish to 'spontaneously, considering the

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<sup>412</sup> Archives of the Museu Santos Rocha/Copiador 1, fl. 53. Letter from António Guerra do João de Barros, [illegible] February 1939.

<sup>413</sup> Archives of the Museu Santos Rocha/Copiador, 1, fl.149. Letter from António Guerra to Manuel Teixeira Gomes, 2 February 1940

<sup>414</sup> Archives of the Museu Santos Rocha/Copiador 1, fl. 129. Letter from António Guerra to Abel Manta, 17 December 1939.

great sympathy that [your] initiative inspires in me, give two small oil paintings' by Joaquim Lopes and António Carneiro, noting that he wished his gift to be anonymous.<sup>415</sup> The occasional refusal by artists to donate to the museum pointed at their discomfort at depriving themselves of their livelihood by handing over works without compensation, as in the case of painter Maria de Lourdes Mello e Castro: 'I do not agree with the rising fashion of creating museums at the expense of artists'.<sup>416</sup>

Objects of canvassing were first and foremost contemporary artists and their families, followed by private owners, and, distantly, institutions. Forty-three acquisitions, including five of the six purchases, came to the museum from the hands of their authors or, in two cases, of the artist's family. Twenty-six objects, including one purchase, came from private owners. Four gifts came from institutions: the Group of Friends of the Museum gave three artworks to the museum; the Polish Committee in Lisbon gave one artwork, the drawing which, while gifted in 1942, entered the collection in 1944.

As correspondence attests, Guerra was particularly up to date with the contemporary art exhibitions held in Lisbon and was quick to contact the artists represented in these initiatives, in particular at the SPN temporary exhibitions gallery where his friend Manuel Cardoso Marta worked. Consequently, he corresponded with foreign artists who exhibited their works in Lisbon, in person or in writing, directly or through an intermediary. Foreign artists residing in Figueira da Foz also entered the collection of the museum during this period, although no correspondence between them and Guerra exists. Overall, seven foreign artists were represented in the collection with ten artworks, which represent ca. thirteen per cent of acquisitions recorded for the

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<sup>415</sup> Archives of the Museu Santos Rocha/Correspondência recebida/1940/Letter from Diogo de Macedo, [unknown date].

<sup>416</sup> Archives of the Museu Santos Rocha/Correspondência recebida/1940/Letter from Mello e Castro to the museum, 19 August 1940.

period 1933-45. This is the highest percentage recorded for all the museums analysed in this thesis.

The most significant foreign artist represented in the MSR collection was Arpad Szenes (1897-1985), who gave a print to the museum in June 1940. A Hungarian Jew, Szenes had met and married Portuguese-born painter Maria Helena Vieira da Silva in Paris, where both lived. Fearing for their safety, they settled in Lisbon, where each continued to exhibit.<sup>417</sup> Following Szenes's exhibition at SPN temporary exhibitions gallery in early 1940, Guerra contacted the artist through Manuel Cardoso Marta and Guilherme Pereira de Carvalho, who also worked at the SPN.<sup>418</sup> Szenes acquiesced to Guerra's request, apologizing for the delay but explaining that 'the war has made me forget everything else'.<sup>419</sup> By virtue of her marriage to a stateless citizen, Portuguese law considered Vieira da Silva equally stateless and refused to grant the couple Portuguese nationality. The letter to Guerra is especially poignant, as Szenes and Vieira da Silva would leave the country for Brazil before the month ended, not to return to Europe until 1947.

Also in 1940, Guerra approached two foreign female artists, following their joint exhibition in Lisbon, in May of that year, at the temporary exhibitions gallery of the SPN.<sup>420</sup> Maria de Carmen Maura y Herrera (1906-1946) was better known in Estoril, where she and her husband had settled upon the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, as the Duchess of Medina Sidonia. She and Italian aristocrat Elvina de Reimundis maintained a correspondence with the museum following their exhibition in Lisbon, and offered works of art which had been on display. Each gave one painting to the museum.

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<sup>417</sup> *Arpad Szenes. Exposição.* (Lisbon, 1940).

<sup>418</sup> Archives of the Museu Santos Rocha/Copiador/1/fl. 214, letter from Guerra addressed to Cardoso Marta.

<sup>419</sup> Archives of the Museu Santos Rocha/Correspondência recebida/1940/Letter from Arpad Szenes to the museum, 22 June 1940.

<sup>420</sup> Macedo 'Notas de Arte', in *Ocidente*, vol. 9 (1940), p. 349.



Guerra also secured, via third parties, works by two Jewish refugee artists who, at the time, were in Figueira da Foz: Slovak illustrator Ivan Sors (1895-1950) and Russian sculptor Naoum Aronson (1872-1943). Both artists were clearly held in high esteem in Figueira da Foz as they were among the few refugees who merited a profile in the local press.<sup>421</sup> Interestingly, none of the artworks by these artists was obtained directly from them, but the acquisitions were the result of gifts by third parties, who had purchased them from the artists themselves.

Shortly after his arrival, Sors promoted a ‘much lauded exhibition of his caricatures in Figueira’ in 1940.<sup>422</sup> His works entered the MSR in November 1940, perhaps in response to criticism in the local press – ‘it would be a pity if [...] his production did not stay in our city, as they reproduce with complete fidelity and notable artistic making, very characteristic regional types.’<sup>423</sup> The Group of Friends of the Museum took it upon itself to purchase three watercolours from the artist, subsequently giving them to the MSR. While Sors was better known as a caricaturist, and indeed caricatures formed the exhibition he held in the Casino in Figueira da Foz, the MSR acquisitions featured ethnographic themes, reproducing fishing life of the region: *Buarcos fisherman*, *Buarcos woman*, *Buarcos seawolf*. A fictional version of Sors was the main character in *O Pintor debaixo do Lava-loiças* (‘The painter beneath the sink’), written by Afonso Cruz, the grandson of the couple who hosted Sors in Figueira da Foz until November 1940, when he left for the United States, where he died ten years later.

The work of Russian-born Jewish sculptor Naoum Aronson was represented by a bust of Figueira notable Alberto Henrique Bastos, who was the donor of the artwork to the museum. Aronson’s work had earned great acclaim in France, where he had settled early in his career. The MSR acquisition reflected Aronson’s interest in

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<sup>421</sup> ‘A Figueira da Foz e o primoroso escultor Naoum Aronson’, in *Jornal-Reclamo*, 16 Mar. 1941, p. 4.

<sup>422</sup> ‘Refugiados’, *O Figueirense*.

<sup>423</sup> Fausto de Almeida, ‘Ivan Sors’, in *Jornal-Reclamo*, 12 Oct. 1940, p. 5.

representing notables – he was particularly known for his bust of Rasputin. Aronson left Portugal for the United States in 1941. Upon his arrival, he stated ‘I left my life in Paris’.<sup>424</sup> His studio, home, bank vault was looted by the E.R.R.; in addition, the sculptures under the care of the Louvre Museum for a planned exhibition were only re-discovered recently, in the gardens of a children’s home in France.<sup>425</sup>

The work of Prague-born Adolf Hubner was represented in the museum with two artworks: the watercolour *Rainbow*, which entered the collection in 1941, and an untitled drawing, which entered the collection at an unknown date. *Rainbow* was given to the museum by Hubner, through the intermediary of Figueira-born Augusto Coimbra, who at the time served as registrar in Caldas da Rainha. The second artwork was given to the museum by its owner, Carlos Faria de Aguiar Loureiro. Hubner’s career had been well-established in Portugal before Guerra began his acquisitions drive, with temporary exhibitions held throughout the 1930s in Lisbon and Porto.<sup>426</sup> Yet, until the particulars of Hubner’s life in Portugal are identified, the nature of his residence in the country remains unclear.

Finally, one gift in particular brings together a contemporary artist, the acquisitive drive of the MSR, and the particularities of the refugee presence in Figueira da Foz, symbolising the unique historical circumstances in which the city found itself at the outbreak of the war. In 1942, the Polish Committee in Lisbon informed the museum of its intention to give an artwork by Polish artist Wanda Ostrowska to the municipality ‘in remembrance of the hospitality given to the Poles by Figueira da Foz’.<sup>427</sup> The title of the drawing, which eventually entered the collection in 1944, was *Fragment of the*

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<sup>424</sup> ‘Obituary. Naoum Aronson, Russian sculptor’, in *New York Times*, 1 Oct. 1943.

<sup>425</sup> ‘The exhibition that never happened. The Naoum Aronson case.’, Petach Tikva Museum of Art. Exhibition, 6 april 2017 to 5 august 2017.

<sup>426</sup> *Adolfo M. Hübner. Exposição de aguarelas.* (Lisbon, 1932).

<sup>427</sup> Archives of the Museu Santos Rocha /Correspondência recebida/1941 e 1942/Letter from the Polish Committee in Lisbon to the Museum, received 5 October 1942.

*Sintra Royal Palace*. Lisbon-based Ostrowska had already exhibited her work, in 1940, at the temporary exhibitions gallery of the SPN<sup>428</sup> She eventually relocated to England where she illustrated, in 1945, *London's Glory. Twenty Paintings of the City in Ruins*.<sup>429</sup>

Not all of Guerra's endeavours with foreign artists were successful. In 1941, Guerra reached out to German-born Max Braumann, mentioned in the previous chapter. Braumann had settled in Portugal in 1934, exhibiting regularly in Lisbon. He had just held an exhibition at the SPN temporary exhibitions gallery.<sup>430</sup> Through another SPN staff member, Rogério Gomes Veloso, Guerra approached Braumann hoping to obtain a gift. Braumann preferred to visit Figueira da Foz and draw something that would 'refer the locality, its customs, and its people.'<sup>431</sup> Guerra and Braumann discussed the possibility of a short stay in Figueira da Foz, financed by the municipality, in exchange for one drawing. However, due to 'higher motives', the partnership did not materialise.<sup>432</sup> Unlike later waves of refugees, Braumann benefitted from the welcoming conditions afforded to foreigners who settled in Portugal before 1938. As such, his career was already established, supported by the Portuguese State and in particular by the SPN. Braumann remained in Portugal, where he died in 1969.

In Figueira da Foz, Guerra's efforts did not go unnoticed by the local press: 'Ever since the current curator took charge, and in great part thanks to his dedicated efforts, the Museum entered a notable phase of development [...] Gifts are coming in in large numbers and feature objects of great intrinsic and artistic value'.<sup>433</sup> Likewise, attendance likely benefitted from both the increase in acquisitions, the reports in the local press, and the rise in population which took place in 1940. The total of

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<sup>428</sup> Macedo 'Notas de Arte, in *Ocidente*, (1940) vol. 10, p. 61.

<sup>429</sup> Wanda Ostrowska. *London's glory. Twenty paintings of the city in ruins* (London, 1945).

<sup>430</sup> Max Braumann. *Exposição de desenhos de animais do Jardim Zoológico de Lisboa* (Lisbon, 1942).

<sup>431</sup> Archives of the Museu Santos Rocha /Correspondência recebida/1941 e 1942/Letter from Max Braumann to the museum, 11 April 1941.

<sup>432</sup> Archives of the Museu Santos Rocha /Copiador 1/fl. 362, letter from Guerra to Braumann, 16 September 1941.

<sup>433</sup> Fausto de Almeida, 'Museu Municipal', *Jornal-Reclamo*, 8 May 1941, p. 2.

seventy-five annual visitors recorded in 1938 increased to a total of 1,512 visitors in 1940.<sup>434</sup>

As far as institutional relations are concerned, Guerra punched well above his weight, inviting international giants such as the British Museum and the Petit Palais to exchange publications. The MSR also maintained some correspondence with the *Institut Français*, starting in 1939, with the MSR's collaboration on the exhibition of Sèvres porcelain, held in Lisbon at the MNAA.<sup>435</sup> Guerra and Raymond Warnier, the director of the *Institut*, also held discussions regarding the establishment of a 'petit centre intellectual français' in Figueira.<sup>436</sup> While the centre appears not to have been founded, the *Institut Français* maintained a commitment to the city. In March 1941, Warnier delivered a lecture on French religious art in the city.<sup>437</sup> In August 1943, his successor, Pierre Hourcade, brought to the city an exhibition of French books which had opened earlier in Lisbon.<sup>438</sup> Cultural institutes from other belligerent countries did not maintain sustained correspondence with the MSR.

In the period between 1933 and 1945, the *Costa do Sol* region and Figueira da Foz shared similar circumstances. Both regions were resorts popular among elites, and with the capacity of attracting international tourism, even though Figueira's geographical reach was slightly more regional. The outbreak of the war and the fall of France resulted in an influx of refugees to each of these territories, by choice in the case of the *Costa do Sol*, by decision of the PVDE in the case of Figueira. While it could be expected that the museums in both territories should share similar acquisition trends and patterns, the two in fact differed quite markedly. The MBCCG, through the actions of

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<sup>434</sup> Fausto de Almeida, 'Museu Municipal', in *Jornal-Reclamo*, 25 Jan. 1941, p.7.

<sup>435</sup> Archives of the Museu Santos Rocha/Copiador 1, fl. 59. Letter from António Guerra to Raymond Warnier, 15 March 1939.

<sup>436</sup> Archives of the Museu Santos Rocha/Copiador 1, fl. 74. Letter from António Guerra to Raymond Warnier, 5 July 1939.

<sup>437</sup> 'A Conferência do Professor Warnier', in *Jornal-Reclamo*, 15 Mar. 1941, p.3.

<sup>438</sup> Museu Municipal Santos Rocha/Correspondência recebida/1943/invitation, 20 August 1943 signed by Pierre Hourcade.

one individual in particular, José de Figueiredo, focused on acquiring a collection of fine and decorative arts that mirrored the diversity, and quality, of the MNAA collection, staying largely inactive during the period of greater refugee affluence, immune to their presence and possible contributions to the museum's collection or activities. The MSR, however, integrated the arrival of refugees to Portugal with its existing strategy of securing gifts that either reflected the cultural and natural environment of Figueira da Foz or constituted a qualitative improvement of the collection. Among the museum directors and curators in areas with a high refugee population, António Guerra alone appears to have grasped the opportunities presented by the historical context in which he found himself. While he did not single out foreign artists exclusively in his acquisition efforts, he certainly did not let the possibility of acquiring artworks by reputable artists pass by.

### **José Malhoa Museum, Caldas da Rainha**

Caldas da Rainha, located north of Lisbon, was a spa resort chosen by the Portuguese government to house refugees, first in 1940 for a short period, and then from 1941 onwards as an area of assigned residence. The city was founded in 1486 by Queen Leonor as a thermal hospital. During the First World War it had notoriously housed an internment camp for German nationals of military age.

From 1942 onwards, together with Ericeira, Caldas da Rainha was designated by the Portuguese government an area of assigned residence for refugees who had little expectation of resolving their situation in a near future. Finally, as the war concluded, Caldas da Rainha became an area of assigned residence for individuals blacklisted by the Allies, and, for a short period of time, friends of the Axis cohabited with those who had tried to escape its crimes. The fact that refugees stayed in Caldas da Rainha for

longer periods than in Cascais, and indeed Figueira da Foz, suggests that they had more opportunity to develop ties binding them to local institutions of the area.

The single in-depth quantitative and qualitative study regarding the refugee population in Caldas da Rainha informs us about the general conditions refugees encountered during their stay in the area and attempts to draft a list of the individuals and families involved.<sup>439</sup> Between 1940 and 1945, hotels and hostels hosted 1,523 foreigners, though not all of them were refugees; the number of those staying in private housing is unknown.<sup>440</sup> Primary sources, namely reports written by relief agencies, number refugees at ca. five hundred in 1944.<sup>441</sup>

The journey of Erich Brodheim, today known as the founder of Grupo Brodheim, which represents several fashion brands in Portugal, mirrors that of most of the refugees who were billeted in Caldas da Rainha by the PVDE. Arriving in Portugal with his wife in 1938, he was transferred to Caldas da Rainha in 1942 and stayed there until the end of the war. To supplement the income provided by Jewish relief agencies, he taught tennis and horse-riding and founded a retail business. In 1946, he founded a textile business in Portugal, which later became the successful fashion import business Grupo Brodheim. Brodheim's testimony does not list cultural undertakings as part of the leisure activities in which the refugee community was involved. 'We couldn't do anything, and, throughout the year, we would sit at cafés and play cards, while the women knitted', related Siegfried Rosenthal, who, having entered Portugal in 1938, was assigned fixed residence in 1942 in Caldas da Rainha.<sup>442</sup> Additional leisure activities included swimming at nearby beach of Foz do Arelho or playing tennis in Caldas da

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<sup>439</sup> Carolina Henriques Pereira, '«Isto é o meu país[...] as Caldas a minha terra». Refugiados da Segunda Guerra Mundial nas Caldas da Rainha (1940-1946).' (M.A. thesis, Universidade de Coimbra, 2017).

<sup>440</sup> Ninhos and Pimentel, *Portugal*, p. 493.

<sup>441</sup> Joint Distribution Committee Archives/Portugal:896/ Letter from AJDC Lisbon to AJDC NY, Lisbon Accounting Letter No. 732, "Portugal budget", 18 May 1944.

<sup>442</sup> Pimentel, *Judeus*, p. 242.

Rainha. Anecdotally, the refugee presence in Caldas, with some refugees illegally earning money by giving tennis lessons, is credited with the growth in popularity of tennis in the spa town.<sup>443</sup>

In the main park of the city, next to the tennis courts and the thermal hospital, stood the José Malhoa Museum (henceforth MJM), the first museum in Portugal built for the specific purpose of displaying and storing art collections. This was due to the mission of the museum – to focus on the life and work of Portuguese Naturalist painter José Malhoa (1855-1933), born in Caldas, and on the achievements of his artistic circle of Portuguese Naturalists. The brainchild of António Montês, a friend and admirer of Malhoa, the idea for the museum developed from Malhoa's gift, at the behest of Montês, of his portrait of Queen Leonor to the people of Caldas, in 1926. In 1927, Montês founded the League of Friends of the José Malhoa Museum to raise awareness, artworks, and funds, for a project that would simultaneously pay tribute to one of Portugal's most important painters and raise the municipality's profile nationally.

Malhoa himself contributed artworks to the efforts of the League in 1932 and encouraged his circle of friends, acquaintances, colleagues, and disciples to follow his example. In 1933, a few months before Malhoa's death, the museum gained legal status after a positive assessment by the *Conselho Superior de Belas Artes*, the fine arts advisory body of the Ministry of Education. The museum opened temporarily in an annex provided by the thermal hospital between 1934 and 1937, the year when the museum building was finally completed. The new building, and most of its collection, opened to the public in 1940, coinciding with the commemorations of the double centennials celebrated throughout Portugal. It was supervised by the *Junta de Província da Estremadura*, the Estremadura province junta, and as such received the name of *Museu Provincial de José Malhoa*. Throughout its existence, the MJM underwent

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<sup>443</sup> Mário Tavares, *Caldas da Rainha no tempo da Segunda Guerra Mundial* (Caldas da Rainha, 2009).

several changes in supervising authorities. For some years it was part of the museums overseen by the central authority and, as such, it entered the MatrizNet digital inventory system. Today, it is overseen by the *Direcção de Cultura da Região Centro*, the Directorate for Culture of the Centre Region.

MatrizNet served as an important primary source in the construction of the MJM acquisitions database. The museum also recorded entries into the collection in a chronological manner, on paper, providing further information into the mode of acquisition, a type of information which does not feature in MatrizNet in a systematic manner.<sup>444</sup> The record book reveals that the vast majority of acquisitions by the MJM were gifts, not purchases, from the authors or first owners of the artworks. Given that the focus of collecting was the Portuguese Naturalist School, it is to be expected that transactions with refugees, or even interactions with refugees, will be rare or non-existing. (Appendix IV.3)

Between 1933 and 1945, a total of two hundred and seventy-seven artworks, of which forty-three per cent were paintings, thirty-one per cent were works on paper, and sixteen per cent were sculptures, were acquired by the museum. (Figure IV.8) These were complemented by works of art placed there on deposit by the National Museum of Contemporary Art, which fall outside our scope of analysis. The absence of decorative arts and of historical collections underscores the narrow scope of collecting by the MJM during its first decades of existence. Clearly, the aim was to focus on two-dimensional works, on José Malhoa and on his circle of colleagues, disciples, friends, and acquaintances. As such, other areas of the arts and/or of local memory were side-lined.

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<sup>444</sup> Archives of the José Malhoa Museum/Livro de Registo 1.



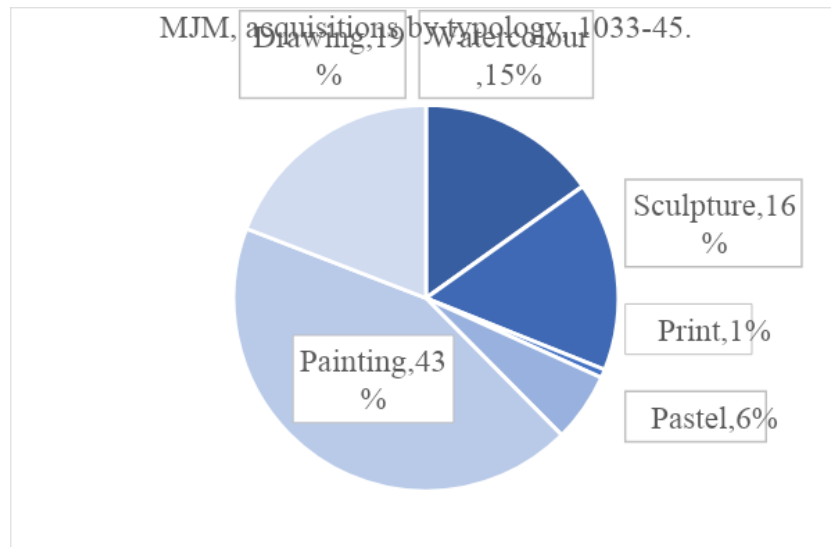


Figure IV.8 – Museu de José Malhoa, acquisitions by type of object, 1933-45. Source: José Malhoa Museum correspondece files.

Most of the artworks entered the collection during this period as gifts rather than purchases. (Figure IV. 9) As occurred with MSR, over ninety per cent of acquisitions occurred through gifts. Bequests represent a mere one per cent of the objects entering the museum in this fashion.

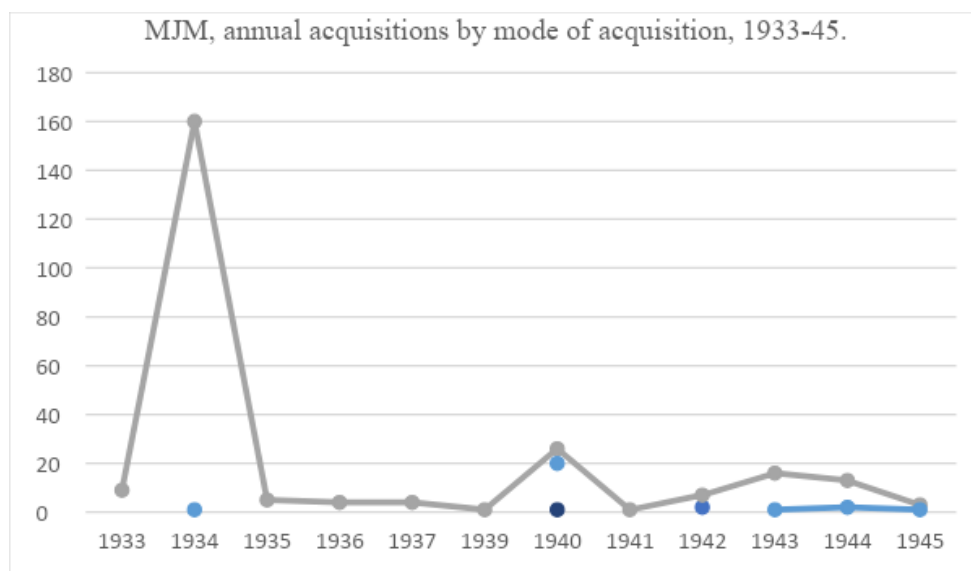


Figure IV.9 – Museu de José Malhoa, acquisitions by mode of acquisition, 1933-45. .

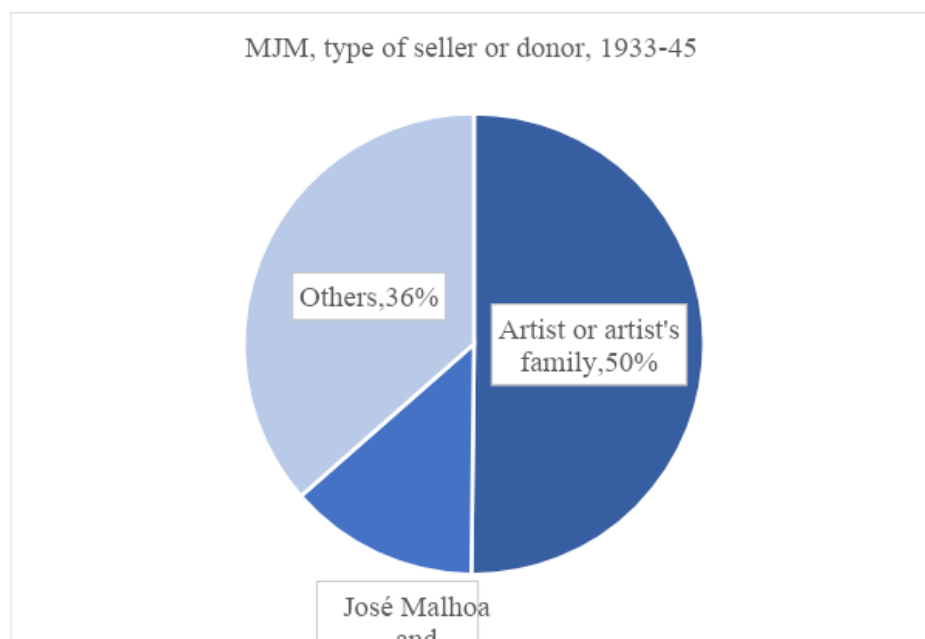
Source: José Malhoa Museum correspondece files.

The vast majority of the artworks entered the museum in two specific years. The first, 1934, with one hundred and fifty-nine acquisitions, well over half of the total number, coincides with the first year of operations of the museum after the death of José Malhoa in October 1933; it was also the year that followed the legal birth of the museum. The second peak year, 1940, reflects the impact of the opening of the new building to the public.

In 1940, the museum made its largest number of purchases, twenty in total. Of these, all but one was watercolours with regionalist ethnographic subjects by Alberto Sousa, whose work was also acquired by the MSR and the MNAC during the period, purchased from the painter himself. Alberto Sousa specialised in this particular type of representation and followed a peculiar *modus operandi*. After first giving works of art to selected museums, he later approached them offering thematic sets of representations for sale. Between 1933 and 1945, records of his contacts and sales were located in the archives of the Abade de Baçal Museum in Bragança; the Machado de Castro National Museum in Coimbra; and the National Museum of Contemporary Art. The themes appealed to the idealised rural representations of Portugal that formed one of the pillars of António Ferro's construction of Portuguese cultural identity, and mirrored the Portuguese Village model that was part of the Exhibition of the Portuguese World in 1940.

The second purchase by the MJM pertained to a sculpture by artist Martins Correia whose seller is unknown. In 1943, the MJM purchased a bust of Oliveira Salazar from its author, Francisco Franco. That same year, Franco gave the museum a

series of gessoes reproducing his designs for the Monument to Gonçalves Zarco, a Portuguese explorer from the so-called Age of Discoveries. Two purchases occurred in 1944 – one, from an unknown seller, pertained to a painting by naturalist Joaquim Lopes; the other, from Manuel Cassio Tovar, pertained to a watercolour by Ricardo Hogan, for 2,000 *escudos*. Finally, in 1945, the artist António Duarte sold a nude drawing to the MJM for 1,200 *escudos*. Most acquisitions came from artists and their families; and from José Malhoa himself and his family. The remaining came from private individuals who were supporters of José Malhoa, or António Montês, or the museum project itself. (Figure IV.10)



*Figure IV.10 – Museu de José Malhoa, sellers and donors, 1933-45. . Source: José Malhoa Museum archives.*

Malhoa’s inner circle is especially present, with Maria José and Maria, his sister and niece, and José Filipe Rodrigues and Agostinho Fernandes, two close friends and

his will executors. Malhoa himself donated two paintings in 1933, the year of his death, in addition to his foundational portrait of Queen Leonor. Other artists donated works by artists other than themselves: these included Simões de Almeida (nephew), Fernando Mardel, Conceição Silva, and José de Sousa (another of the museum's founders). Only one bequest was recorded throughout the period under consideration. In 1942, Maria Adelaide Joaquina Guedes de Faria Tierno bequeathed her portrait, and a watercolour titled *Agriculture*, both by Portuguese painter António Ramalho.

There would be much to discuss concerning the numerous acquisitions of naturalist Portuguese art acquired by the MJM during this period, especially as they reveal the workings of a close network of artists, their families, and their advocates, closely connected to the Portuguese Naturalist school.<sup>445</sup> However, the database reveals that, while the Portuguese artistic community was committed to the creation of the MJM, the refugee community was absent from this project. At Caldas da Rainha, refugees did not contribute to the enlargement of the collection, whether as artists, donors, or sellers. In addition, refugees, whether as individuals or their institutional representatives, did not maintain some correspondence with the museum. It remains to be determined if visitor numbers reflected this lack of connection or if foreigners were an important part of the museum visitorship during the period under analysis.

The acquisitions by the MJM reveal that, not only did the forming of one of the most important collections of Portuguese Naturalism not play a role in the Portuguese art market, as most acquisitions occurred through gifts, it did not reflect in any way the social context of the museum at the time of its formation and first years of operation. Foreign donors and foreign artists are absent from the museum's history between 1933 and 1945.

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<sup>445</sup> Dóris Santos, 'Como se faz um museu de arte: imagem e discursos' (M.A. thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2009).

The work of one artist refugee would eventually find its way to the museum. In 1961, sixteen years after the end of the Second World War, Max Braumann gave to the MJM an oil on canvas representing the Estrela Basilica in Lisbon, made in 1952. A follower of German Expressionism earlier in his career, he settled into what were then perceived as more pleasant depictions of sunlit Portuguese urban landscapes, opting for realist, yet optimistic tones. Nevertheless, Braumann's gift remains the exception confirming the rule of the absence of interaction between the José Malhoa Museum and the refugees that lived next to its building during the Second World War.

## **Conclusion**

The three institutions analysed in this chapter do share some common features. They were actively acquiring during the period, albeit with different motivations; all three were independent of a central authority and thus more apt to acquire outside the prerogatives of the New State ideology; there was a greater impact of the refugee community among the population given their greater visibility in these smaller areas. However, this chapter has revealed that the similarities between them do not extend further than these general considerations.

During the period under analysis, the MBCCG, the MSR and the MJM acquired at least 377 works of art, of which ca. 30.4% were purchases. (Table IV.1) While the MSR and the MJM relied heavily on gifts, and at a smaller scale, bequests, as a collection gathering methodology, with purchases representing six per cent of acquisitions for the former and seven per cent for the latter, the MBCCG purchased at least thirty per cent of the works of art it acquired during the period under analysis.

This ability to be active in the art market also explains the difference between each museum's expenditure. Between 1933 and 1945, the MBCCG and the MSR spent

ca. 226,870 *escudos* overall. Due to the absence of information in the primary sources, it has been impossible to determine the expenditure of the MJM. The purchases of MBCCG, led almost exclusively by José de Figueiredo, account for 90% of the expenditure of these two museums.

<b>MUSEUM</b>	<b>ACQUISITIONS</b>	<b>PURCHASES</b>	<b>EXPENDITURE (in <i>escudos</i>)</b>
<b>MBCCG</b>	93	40	204,920
<b>MSR</b>	77	6	21,950
<b>MJM</b>	277	25	Information not located
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>377</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>226,870</b>

*Table IV.1 –Overall acquisitions, purchases and expenditure of the MBCCG, MSR, and MJM, 1933-45.*

Research findings also disprove the assumption of a shared acquisition policy during the period. Hence, if the MBCCG was the most active in acquisitions since 1933, this was in great part due to the action of José de Figueiredo, whose death in 1937 marked the steep decline in acquisitions by the museum.

The great waves of refugees did not at all influence acquisitions by the MBCCG and the MJM. The lack of interest of the José Malhoa Museum in the potential contributions of the refugee community is mostly explained by its single focus on the works and circle of José Malhoa, to which the refugee community could admittedly offer little to no contribution. The disinterest of the MBCCG stands as a greatest surprise: in the territory with the highest number of refugees, the interactions between

museum and refugees appear inexistent, with the odd exception of book borrowing in the library.

Foreign art dealers do not make an appearance in this chapter – this is not a surprise in Figueira da Foz and Caldas da Rainha, as these museums operated almost exclusively on a donation-only basis. As for the foreign artists encountered in this chapter they had, for the most part, adapted their repertoire to the perceived needs of the MSR – with Portuguese landscapes and ethnographic settings – in this mirroring the patterns identified at the MNAC in the previous chapter. Victor Guerra's action netted ten works of art by seven foreign artists, of whom five, including the Duchess of Medina Sidonia, were verifiably refugees. Of these, five were Jewish. Hence, among the museums analysed in the previous chapter and in this chapter, the MSR has the highest percentage of works of art by refugee artists in its permanent collection, acquired while they were in Portugal.

In conclusion, it can be said that the impact of the refugee community in the museum acquisitions of small towns between 1933 and 1945 depended heavily on the profile and collecting agenda of each museum, and on the personality and vision of its director. As such, it is important to examine transaction records from the point of view of sellers. In the next chapter, three foreign art dealers, Karl Buchholz, Elfriede Marques Pereira, and Erich Popper, who have emerged in the last chapters as figures of great interest, will be discussed.

## CHAPTER V – FOREIGN ART DEALERS: *LIVRARIA BUCHHOLZ, GALERIA DE ARTE AND ARTE ANTIGA*

The previous chapters focused on the purchasing side of documented art transactions in Portugal between 1933 and 1945. The actions and acquisitions of public museums were examined in an effort to assess whether these institutions were important players in the international art trade during the period and to establish the nature and extent of their commercial relationships with refugees and relevant foreign nationals, whether the latter were in the country as commercial art dealers, private art collectors and/or contemporary artists. The conclusions point to a limited interaction between these institutions and refugees, even as some museums were able to enrich their collections with works of art acquired from artist refugees.

This chapter examines the actions of sellers, namely foreign nationals, who settled in Portugal and founded commercial establishments in Lisbon between 1933 and 1945. These individuals included, but were not limited to, the figures appearing on the Red Flag Name List.<sup>446</sup> In fact, several foreign nationals, including refugees from the Spanish Civil War, successfully operated in the Lisbon area. Among these were individuals such as the Russian-born Jewish writer Eliezer Kamenesky and his Portuguese wife Arnilde, described in Chapter III; and Spanish-born Elena Hortege, a prominent seller of porcelain in particular to various Portuguese museums and private collections.<sup>447</sup>

The businesses and individuals operating in Portugal listed in the Red Flag Name list are only part of those investigated and mentioned in Allied intelligence sources. The cross-reference between the three national commissions on looted art – the Roberts Commission (USA), the MacMillan Commission (UK) and the Vaucher

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<sup>446</sup> NARA M1944. Records of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Historic Monuments in War Areas, 1943-6/ 'Final Report', Art Looting Investigation Unit (1946).

<sup>447</sup> Mântua, 'O Dr. Anastácio Gonçalves', pp 73-4.



Commission (France) – and the Safehaven Commission, results in a larger number of entities which caught the attention of the Allies. These include both Portuguese and foreign nationals. (Appendix V.1)

The Red Flag Name list itself features nine individuals distributed in four businesses and one independent art dealer. Karl Buchholz, his Portuguese business partner Henrique Lehrfeld, and Wilhelm Gessemann, described as an ‘international spy’, were attached to the *Livraria Buchholz Exposições, Lda*, located at Av. da Liberdade, 50. Buchholz was ‘suspected of having worked for von Ribbentrop and Goebbels and of possible traffic in loot’. Elfriede Marques Pereira and Conrad John were presented as the partners of the *Galeria de Arte*, located at Rue Nova da Trindade, 3A, and closely associated with Leon Josipovicci. All three were suspected of ‘possibly’ handling looted works of art. Jacques Kugel, whose sons still manage the *J. Kugel* art dealership in Paris, was listed as the founder of the ‘Calendas Gallery’, known in Lisbon as *Casa Calendas* or *Galeria Calendas*, located at Rua das Chagas and Rua Marechal Saldanha, 2, and of ‘possibly handling looted art’. Alfredo Leal was presented as the owner of *Antiquarium, Lda.*, Av. António Augusto de Aguiar, 2, and ‘may have been involved in the disposal of looted property’. Finally, Jean Rolland Ostins, the sole individual not attached to commercial establishment, was listed due to his supposed relationship with Bruno Lohse and the ERR, and to his numerous trips to Argentina during the war.

### **The ever-changing reports: Gretchen Wohlwill and Margarida Cifka Duarte**

It must be noted that, even within the Red Flag Name list itself, none of the individuals appear in the Red Flag Name list in the subheadings for other countries. Karl Buchholz, for example, whose recycling of so-called degenerate art on behalf of the Nazi regime

has resulted in recent restitutions to the legitimate owners, was not featured in the Red Flag Name list for Germany, Spain or Romania, countries where he opened bookshops and galleries. Such an occurrence underscores the limited reliability of the Red Flag Name List. While held as a compass in Nazi-era research provenance, the document serves as a starting point among many possible others in this type of research.

The case-study of Margarida Cifka Duarte is a notable example of the dynamic nature of intelligence work and of the limited scrutiny given to intelligence data before names and other information were shared internationally. On 15<sup>th</sup> January 1945, the British Ministry of Economic Warfare, alerted by American intelligence, informed the Trading with the Enemy Department, as well as the Macmillan committee, as the British Commission on the Preservation and Restitution of Works of Art was known, that a painting by Titian had been smuggled to the United Kingdom by Margarida, also known as Margarethe, Eisen Cifka Duarte.<sup>448</sup> According to this information, the German-born ex-wife of Portuguese aviator Salvador Cifka Duarte, had sent *Salomé* to London during the war, holding it at the Foreign Branch of the Westminster Bank in Lothbury. Some two weeks later, on 3 February, this information was altered, when the Westminster Bank confirmed that all they had been holding was ‘a cash balance and one large flat box deposited before the war’.<sup>449</sup> R. C. Fenton, at the Ministry of Economic Warfare, felt that it had been chasing a ‘red herring’ and that he was ‘taking steps to impress the need for accuracy upon the originator of the report’. The Roberts Commission took due notice in their card file index. Even though Cifka Duarte’s name featured in the Commission’s revised report of August 1945, it was expunged from the

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<sup>448</sup> The National Archives, Kew, T 209/7/2, Memo addressed to e. Clay signed by R. C. Fenton, 15 January 1945.

<sup>449</sup> The National Archives, Kew, T 209/7/2, Memo addressed to E. Clay signed by R.C. Fenton, 3 February 1945.

Red Flag Name list.<sup>450</sup> Nevertheless, Cifka Duarte's has appeared in recent research as the wartime smuggler a painting by Titian to the United Kingdom.<sup>451</sup>

Another surprising name featured in the Allied intelligence data was that of painter Gretchen Wohlwill (1878-1962). Primary sources reported her as trafficking in visas and works of art out of her Estrada de Benfica address.<sup>452</sup> Soon it was established that 'positive evidence against this individual is lacking', and Wohlwill's name was excluded from the Red Flag Name list.<sup>453</sup> An established artist in Germany, part of the Hamburg Secessionist movement, Wohlwill integrated the restricted number of German, Jewish, and so-called degenerate artist refugees who made Portugal their home during and after the conflict. In 1940, at the age of sixty-two, Wohlwill fled to Portugal, where she joined her brother Friedrich, who had settled in the country in 1934 as a pathologist. During the war, she developed a close relationship with German refugee Ilse Losa, who would distinguish herself in the post-war period as a writer of children's books.<sup>454</sup> In 1947, after the war, she was awarded the second Francisco de Holanda Prize, handed out by the SPN to foreign artists exhibiting their work at the SPN gallery, for 'Flowers'.<sup>455</sup>

As these two case-studies demonstrate, Allied sources alone are not reliable enough to establish a detailed account of the actions of foreign art dealers in the Portuguese territory during the period 1933-45. It is necessary to consult Portuguese

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<sup>450</sup> NARA M1944. Records of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Historic Monuments in War Areas, 1943-6/'Card File on Art Looting Suspects, compiled 1943-46'.

<sup>451</sup> Pereira, 'Portugal e a questão dos bens culturais deslocados', p. 89; Carlos Guerreiro, 'Lisboa, Arte e Guerra: negócios e boatos pelas ruas de Lisboa', published on 26 February 2014, <http://aterremempportugal.blogspot.pt/2014/02/lisboa-arte-e-guerra-negocios-e-boatos.html> (15 January 2015).

<sup>452</sup> NARA M1944. Records of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Historic Monuments in War Areas, 1943-6/Subject Files, compiled 1944 - 1946, documenting the period 1940 - 1946/Memo from the Office of Strategic Services addressed to Mrs. Helen Crooks, 20 August 1945.

<sup>453</sup> NARA/M1944, records of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Historic Monuments in War Areas, 1943-6/'Card File on Art Looting Suspects, compiled 1943-46'.

<sup>454</sup> Gretchen Wohlwill, *Lebenserinnerungen einer Hamburger Malerin* (Hambourg, 1984); Maria Teresa Oliveira, 'Gretchen Wohlwill', *Ulyssei@s*, <https://ulyssseias.ilcml.com/pt/termo/wohlwill-gretchen/> (14 May 2016).

<sup>455</sup> Acciaiuoli, 'Os anos 40', II, p. 20.

primary sources and to attempt to fill in the wide gaps in knowledge as much as possible from a diverse array of sources.

Tracking dealer activity within Portuguese itself is complex, since there are no extant Portugal-based dealer archives from which significant information can be drawn. Nevertheless, the primary sources analysed and discussed in Chapters II, III, and IV have resulted in a greater understanding on the network of dealers whose activities during the Second World War require further study. In addition, two important primary sources were used in this chapter. The first pertains to the death certificates and asset inventories held at the Contemporary Archives of the Ministry of Finance. These are a valuable source of biographical and business information regarding the art dealers who died in Portugal. The second source, the photographic archive of *Estúdio Mário Novais* held at the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation's Art Library, contains photographs of various galleries and art dealers. The Mário Novais photographic studio specialised in capturing architecture and works of art and recorded the great cultural projects of the New State. For this chapter, the archive was consulted in order to determine the visual aspect of the commercial art galleries in Lisbon, and to cull visual information from these images regarding the nature, and possibly the specific identity, of the works displayed for sale there.

For reasons of space and time constraints, given that abundant information was gathered from the various sources consulted, this chapter will focus solely on three businesses – the Buchholz bookshop and gallery, *Galeria de Arte*, and *(Salão de) Arte Antiga* – as well as on the individuals associated with each of them, namely Karl Buchholz, Henrique Lehrfeld, Willhem Gessemann, Leon Josipovicci, John Conrad, Elfriede Marques Pereira, and Erich Popper. All three businesses appear in important Portuguese primary sources such as the DGESBA import and export permit records and

the Mário Novais Studio archive. The death duty records of Karl Buchholz, Erich Popper, and Elfriede Marques Pereira, while not fully accessible to researchers, were located and summarily analysed. Both Marques Pereira and Popper appear on MatrizNet as sellers to both public institutions and private collections, and Chapter IV revealed that Buchholz sold one work of art to the MNAC during the period under analysis.

As far as their work as art dealers is concerned, Buchholz was intimately involved in the trade of so-called degenerate art, at times on behalf of the Nazi regime. Marques Pereira emerged from Chapter III as heavily involved in the import of works of art, both in occurrences, four, and in number of works imported, more than 360 works of art, in the immediate aftermath of the war. The study of Erich Popper's activities undertaken in Chapters III and IV demonstrates how art dealers who did not make it to the Red Flag Name list could in fact have been involved in the international transfer of works of art, and in dealings with Portuguese state institutions during this period.

This chapter will examine the actions of each business, focusing especially on the actions of the individuals who ran it. After contextualising their arrival in Portugal and their lives in Lisbon, it identifies their documented interactions with active buyers in Lisbon, and, where possible, the works of art involved in these transactions. The research findings presented here reflect the extent and quality of the information uncovered, especially as it pertains to existing Portuguese primary sources. Hence, while it may be possible to visually identify some works of art imported or sold by foreign art dealers in Lisbon, in other cases, only a very schematic rendering of dealer activity will be possible.

## **Karl Buchholz and the *Livraria Buchholz Exposições***

From the 1960s onwards, the international range and quality of the books on offer at the *Livraria Buchholz*, the Buchholz Bookshop, in the centre of Lisbon, earned it the reputation among students and intellectual oppositionists to the regime of being a space of intellectual freedom and access to publications that, if not forbidden by the New State, were little known in Portugal.<sup>456</sup> However, the actions of Buchholz in Germany, the circumstances surrounding the establishment of his bookshop in Lisbon, and the cultural programme of the bookshop in its early years of operation somewhat dilute this idealised narrative.

Buchholz, Hildebrand Gurlitt (1895–1956), Ferdinand Möller (1882–1956), and Bernard A. Böhmer (1892–1945) composed the small group of dealers allowed to trade in purged art for the benefit of the regime.<sup>457</sup> It was only after the discovery of the Gurlitt hoard in Germany and Austria, that Buchholz and his actions received some attention in Portugal. This interest began with a magazine article by Francisco Galope, which relied heavily on an interview of Professor Jonathan Petropoulos. In it Galope suggested that Buchholz traded in degenerate art while in Portugal, though refraining from identifying possible buyers, artists represented and the artworks that made it to Lisbon, and those which would hypothetically would have been exported from there.<sup>458</sup> Since then, two academic articles, resulting from the research presented here, have been published by this author.<sup>459</sup>

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<sup>456</sup> Baião and Filipa Coimbra, ‘O que quer que se diga sobre Rui Mário Gonçalves não é tudo...’ (2016) in *MIDAS*, p. 7.

<sup>457</sup> Jonathan Petropoulos, *The Faustian bargain: the art world in Nazi Germany* (New York, 2000), pp 63-110.

<sup>458</sup> Francisco Galope, ‘Lisboa na rota da arte roubada pelos Nazis’ in *Visão*, 14 Nov. 2013.

<sup>459</sup> Fialho-Brandão, ‘What’s in Lisbon?’ Portuguese sources in Nazi-era provenance research’ in Bianca Gaudenzi, Astrid Swenson and Mary-Ann Middelkoop (eds.), *Journal of contemporary history. Special section: the restitution of looted art in the twentieth century – transnational and global perspectives*, (2017), pp 491-518; Fialho-Brandão, ‘The mysterious El Greco at the Buchholz Bookshop in Lisbon, Andrea M. Gáldy, Ronit Sorek, Netta Assaf and Gal Ventura (eds.), *Collecting and display* (2020), pp 54-66.

In addition to being an international dealer in works of art for the benefit of the Nazi regime, Buchholz also maintained a close partnership with Curt Valentin in New York during the war years. Valentin had worked in the Berlin branch of Jewish art dealer Alfred Flechtheim's gallery. Flechtheim's business, after struggling financially in the early 1930s, was given the *coup de grâce* in 1933, when Flechtheim was refused membership of the *Reichskammer des Bildenden Kunste*, and thus forbidden from buying and selling art.<sup>460</sup> By 1934 Flechtheim had fled to London and his business was aryanised, and Valentin had begun working with Buchholz in the latter's bookshop and gallery in Berlin.

In 1937, with the goal of selling artworks by German artists abroad and raising funds for the Nazi regime, Valentin left Germany and set up shop in New York. For Valentin, who was Jewish, this move probably saved his life. The fact that he was allowed to leave Germany taking with him such valuable stock without incurring a fine or persecution from the German authorities can be explained by the specific authorisation he received from the Third Reich.<sup>461</sup> To this day, the ownership of the works of art brought by Valentin to the United States – and whether they were the property of Buchholz, Valentin, or both – has been the object of much discussion within the context of restitution requests from lawful heirs.<sup>462</sup> The fact that Valentin named his gallery the Buchholz Gallery contributes to this lack of clarity. The shipments of works of art from Buchholz to Valentin, which, according to Anja Tiedemann, lasted until 1941, add further opacity to this issue.<sup>463</sup> It was only in 1951, well after the war ended, that Valentin renamed the gallery as the Curt Valentin Gallery. In its both incarnations,

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<sup>460</sup> See the *Alfred Flechtheim research project*, which traces the network and influence of Flechtheim in the trade and collecting of modern art in Germany, and presents issues of loot and restitution of the artworks involved (<http://alfredflechtheim.com/en/artists/>).

<sup>461</sup> Smithsonian Institution/Archives of American Art/ Jane Wade Papers/Biographical documents, Letter from the *Reichskammer der Bildenden Kunste* addressed to Curt Valentin, 22 September 1936.

<sup>462</sup> Nicholas, *The Rape of Europa*, pp 29-30.

<sup>463</sup> Tiedemann, *Karl Buchholz*, pp 378-380.

the New York store sold European and American artists to the most important American art museums.

The Curt Valentin papers, held at the Museum of Modern Art, in New York, while featuring correspondence with Buchholz, do not hold any correspondence between the men for the years covering the war. As they were clearly corresponding, the conclusion that this correspondence has been lost or deliberately destroyed is inescapable. The papers of Jane Wade, a long-term collaborator of Valentin, held at the Archives of American Art in Washington DC, are equally mute regarding Buchholz and Valentin's wartime relationship, and thus do not answer any questions pertaining to the role played by the Lisbon store in this transatlantic trade. However, they do reveal that Curt Valentin maintained regular correspondence with some of the artists whose work Buchholz brought to Lisbon, namely Gerhard Marcks and Georg Kolbe.<sup>464</sup>

From 1940 onwards, Karl Buchholz set up a network of bookshops and galleries throughout Europe, opening stores in Bucharest, in 1940, Lisbon, in 1943, and Madrid, in 1945. After the war, he settled in Colombia, where he eventually died, in 1992. Buchholz founded the Lisbon establishment, located at 50, Avenida da Liberdade, in 1943. (Image VI.1) Later, the bookshop moved to another central location, where it remains to this day. At the time of Buchholz's death, he and Katharina Braun, who had opened the shop with him, were its sole owners.<sup>465</sup>

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<sup>464</sup> Smithsonian Institution/Archives of American Art/ Jane Wade Papers/Correspondence.

<sup>465</sup> Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archives. DCGI/LIS/LIS9A/IS/03373, 'Karl Moritz Buchholz Roper'.





*Image VI.1. Livraria Buchholz Exposições. Date unknown. Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Art Library, Mário Novais Studio archives.*



*Image VI.2. Interior of the Buchholz bookshop. In the background, sitting at the desk, Katharina Braun. Date unknown. Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Art Library, Mário Novais Studio archives.*

Commonly known as *Livraria Buchholz Exposições*, the store was founded by Buchholz and two partners, Henrique Lehrfeld and Wilhelm Gessemann.<sup>466</sup> The details regarding Buchholz's partners are scarce, and it is yet to determine how he made their acquaintance. Lehrfeld, a Portuguese national, was known in the Portuguese car-racing world, and may well have had his businesses tied to the automobile industry.<sup>467</sup> This perhaps explains why the bookshop was founded formally as *Livraria Buchholz-Auto-Mecânica, Lda* (Buchholz Bookshop Auto Mechanics, Ltd.). In Allies sources, Lehrfeld is identified as having 'arranged for the shop and invested 200,000 *escudos* into the business'.<sup>468</sup> Interestingly, the Safehaven project identified him as a German for repatriation, for collaborating with German intelligence services, and for being a commercially undesirable German.<sup>469</sup> As Lehrfeld was a Portuguese national, and the Portuguese government was unlikely to repatriate its own nationals elsewhere, this did not happen. Gessemann's activities as a spy and double agent have received some attention, none of which explains his association with Buchholz. Anja Tiedemann has found no evidence of Buchholz's involvement in espionage activities. She hypothesises, however, that Buchholz may have provided Gessemann with fake employment at the gallery as a cover.<sup>470</sup>

Buchholz's privileged commercial relations with the Third Reich, and his establishment of commercial outposts in different European cities during the war, warranted the scrutiny by Allied intelligence into his activities. The records of the

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<sup>466</sup> NARA M1944. Records of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Historic Monuments in War Areas, 1943-6/'Final Report', Art Looting Investigation Unit (1946).

<sup>467</sup> José Barros Rodrigues *Henrique Lehrfeld e o Bugatti 3B* (Lisbon, 2017).

<sup>468</sup> NARA M1944. Records of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Historic Monuments in War Areas, 1943-6/'Card File on Art Looting Suspects, compiled 1943-46'.

<sup>469</sup> NARA M1933. Safehaven Reports of the War Crimes Branch 1944-45. 'Enclosure no. 2 to despatch No 23,863 of June 23,1945 from the Embassy at London, England, p. 26.

<sup>470</sup> Tiedemann, "Insel im braunen Meer". Die Galerie Buchholz in Berlin". Werte und Werke. Über das Handeln und Sammeln von Kunst im Nationalsozialismus', M. Steinkamp and U. Haug (eds), *Schriften der Forschungsstelle "Entartete Kunst"*, 5. (2010), 97; Pimentel, *Espiões em Portugal durante a Segunda Guerra Mundial* (Lisbon, 2012), p. 243.

Office of Strategic Services, including Project Safehaven, as well as the Roberts, Vaucher and Macmillan commissions, establish an at times conflicting narrative regarding the activities of Buchholz in Lisbon. The concurrent elements in this narrative pertain to the identification of Buchholz as a Berlin-based art dealer, specialised in modern art, who purchased purged artworks from German museums and sold them abroad, going on to open two European outposts in Bucharest, then Lisbon.<sup>471</sup> They also coincide in identifying his commercial partners in the Lisbon gallery, and in underlining the suspicious nature of his commercial relationship with Curt Valentin.

Primary sources emanating from the Safehaven project confirm that Buchholz maintained financial transactions with his German establishment at least during the year of 1945.<sup>472</sup> As the Banco de Portugal reported to the American Embassy in Lisbon, Buchholz was among those individuals and companies whose transfers to Germany were retained by the bank, following the legal dispositions undertaken by the Ministry of Finance.<sup>473</sup> Between 14 May 1945 and 30 January 1946, the Buchholz bookshop in Lisbon, deposited 17,231.40 escudos at the Bank of Portugal, in nine instances, intended for an account under the name Karl Buchholz at the Berlin branch of the *Reichs-Kredit-Gesellschaft*, a state-owned bank. While the purpose of these transactions, whether payment for merchandise or family support payments, cannot be determined from these summary indications, the fact that Buchholz was sending money back to Germany undermines the narrative defended by his family of a man who, while having initially sought to pursue his business of dealing in modern art within the

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<sup>471</sup> NARA M1944. Records of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas 1943-46. Geographical Card Files on Possible Art-looting Subjects, compiled 1943-46.

<sup>472</sup> NARA M1934. Records created for Project Safehaven. 1940-1946, to restrict German financial networks and prevent the country from funding another war. OSS Washington Secret Intelligence/Special Funds Records, 1942-46.

<sup>473</sup> Law-Decree 30.434, *Diário do Governo*, I, 11, pp 588-9, 14 May 1940; 'Declaration', *Diário do Governo*, I, 101, pp 365-6, 10 May 1945,

parameters of the Nazi regime, eventually fell foul of the regime and left Germany as a refugee.<sup>474</sup>

The most important contentious elements to emerge from Allied intelligence records pertain to his relationship with Ribbentrop and Goebbels. American intelligence sources repeatedly refer to Buchholz maintaining commercial relations with Ribbentrop and Goebbels, namely as a seller of artworks in their name and acting as an ‘outlet for their wealth’.<sup>475</sup> His Lisbon secretary, presumably Katharina Braun, is depicted as reporting to Ribbentrop and Goebbels ‘on sales possibilities’.<sup>476</sup> However, this line of enquiry appears to have been abandoned in the post-war period.

A second contentious reference pertains to the possible existence of a brother residing in the United States, either in New York or Washington, also the owner of an art and bookshop, with whom he would have been working ‘getting books and objects d’art to the United States, articles that have been confiscated or plundered, and “immoral Art” by Jewish painters and therefore no longer wanted in Germany’.<sup>477</sup> This supposed brother, whose existence has never been verified, may well have been Curt Valentin, and intelligence sources may have been confused by Valentin’s naming of his gallery as the Buchholz gallery.

A final issue of contention is the identification of works of art that Buchholz held for sale in Switzerland, whose photographs were on display at the Buchholz Gallery in Lisbon.<sup>478</sup> Surprisingly, none of the paintings these sources listed as being for sale in Switzerland – *La Dame de Petrarque* (Italian school, 16<sup>th</sup> century),

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<sup>474</sup> Godula Buchholz, *Buch- und Kunsthändler im 20. Jahrhundert* (Cologne, 2005).

<sup>475</sup> NARA M1944. Records of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Historic Monuments in War Areas, 1943-6/ ‘Final Report’, Art Looting Investigation Unit (1946).

<sup>476</sup> NARA M1944. Records of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Historic Monuments in War Areas, 1943-6/ ‘Card File on Art Looting Suspects, compiled 1943-46’.

<sup>477</sup> NARA M1944. Records of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic Monuments in War Areas, 1943-46. Geographical Card Files on Possible Art-Looting Subjects, compiled 1943-46. Portugal. ‘Buchholz’ (unknown date).

<sup>478</sup> *Ibidem*.

*Portrait of Charles V* by Antonio Moro and a still life by Frans Snyders – represented the twentieth-century *avant-garde* artistic movements in which Buchholz specialised. It should also be noted that, while primary sources devote efforts into the identification of non-contemporary artworks offered for sale by Buchholz in Switzerland, nowhere did they identify the identity of the German artists, namely those deemed degenerate, whose work was exhibited in Lisbon during the war, and whose identity is revealed in this chapter. As such information was readily available in Lisbon media and the gallery's brochures, this deficiency in Allied intelligence does call into question the quality and accuracy of the information gathered, and the reliability of its informant network in the Portuguese capital.

Finally, the Vaucher Commission, making echo of the initial interrogation reports produced by the ALIU<sup>479</sup>, identified Buchholz as an art dealer who protected so-called degenerate artists, thereby incurring sanctions from the Propaganda Ministry that culminated in a fine of 5,000 *Reichmarks*.<sup>480</sup> While stating that information regarding Buchholz was contradictory, and making ample echo of the aforementioned contentious claims, the Commission further indicated that Buchholz held 'anti-Nazi views', and that Buchholz's exhibitions of so-called degenerate artists were attacked by the press.

The intelligence gathered on Buchholz appears to have had little bearing on his post-war status. He was initially incorporated into a list of German individuals whom the Allies wished to see repatriated from Portugal to Germany, deemed as a 'commercially undesirable German'.<sup>481</sup> Yet it appears that Buchholz was not repatriated

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<sup>479</sup> NARA M1946. Administrative records, correspondence, denazification orders, custody receipts, property cards, Jewish restitution claim records, property declarations, and other records from the Munich CCP. Restitution Research records/Interrogations: Reichskammer Der Bildenden Kunste. Report on Reichskammer Der Bildenden Kunste, 30 January 1945.

<sup>480</sup> NARA M1946. 'Art Dealers: Lists'.

<sup>481</sup> NARA M1933. Reports, letters, cables, and military attaché reports referring to specific Project Safehaven reports or Safehaven related topics. 'Economic Warfare (safehaven) series', n. 245, 23 June 1945.

from Portugal, as there is no record of his name appearing in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His name would make it onto the Red Flag Name list, which underlined his Lisbon activity and his connection to Valentin, overlooking his Bucharest establishment. By 1951, however, he seemed free of suspicion as he corresponded freely with the Central Collecting Point in Wiesbaden, which housed Nazi-looted art whose rightful owners had not yet come forward, regarding inventory and personal property that he claimed had disappeared from his Berlin and Bucharest galleries and from his Berlin home between February 1945 and the Summer of 1949, when he returned to Berlin.<sup>482</sup> The reasons behind the disinterest of Allied intelligence – especially in view of the initial reports that placed Buchholz as intrinsically connected to the trade in *Entartete Kunst*, are difficult to understand.

It is possible to conclude that, as far as Allied primary sources are concerned, while they create a coherent general narrative regarding Buchholz and his activities in Germany and in Lisbon, they do demonstrate gaps in information regarding his Lisbon activities which require further validation from other sources. In addition, the conflicting nature of the information gathered, as well as the varying degree of reliability of Allied intelligence, underscored by surprising inaccuracies such as the occasional misspelling of Buchholz's name, do call into question the quality of the informants and sources, and undermine the solidity of the narrative espoused by the Art Looting Investigation Unit in its final report.

Secondary sources, which result from the opening of archives and renewed interest in this subject from the late 1990s onwards, have focused on Buchholz's activities in Berlin, as well as on his interactions with his former employee, Curt

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<sup>482</sup> NARA M1947. Textual records created at Wiesbaden central Collecting Point. Restitution claim Records. Claim: [Germany]-Buchholz, Karl. Letter from Karl Buchholz to Thomas C. Howe, Munich CCP, 11 April 1951.

Valentin.<sup>483</sup> Godula Buchholz's monograph on the life of her father, while providing some factual material regarding dates and events, as well as valuable photographs of the bookshop during its first years of operation, presents few primary sources other than the letters exchanged between Buchholz, his wife and the manager of the Buchholz gallery in Berlin.<sup>484</sup> That the full extent of this family and business archive is unknown, and not accessible to researchers, has long hampered the research into the extent, complexity and degree of complicity of Buchholz's dealings with the Third Reich. Nevertheless, the book includes important information regarding the circulation of works, the content of the Buchholz exhibitions, and the collaboration between Buchholz and the Portuguese state.

However, it is necessary to look towards the German Foreign Ministry Archives to uncover more specifically the circumstances of Buchholz's establishment in Lisbon. On 8 May 1942, more than a year before opening his Lisbon store, Karl Buchholz addressed a certain Mr. Flatau at the Information Department of the Ministry, asking for its support in setting up his bookshop in Lisbon.<sup>485</sup> The following day, Flatau, contacted the German Minister in Lisbon, Baron von Heyningen-Huene, informing him of this request, and contextualising Buchholz's commercial endeavours, mentioning his stores in Berlin, New York (i.e. Curt Valentin's gallery), and Bucharest. He judges Buchholz an idealist, wanting to turn his bookshops into a meeting point of German cultural interests abroad, and asks for the Minister's opinion on whether the project is worth

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<sup>483</sup> Tiedemann. „Insel im braunen Meer“; A. Tiedemann, *Die 'entartete' Moderne und ihr amerikanischer Markt : Karl Buchholz und Curt Valentin als Händler verfemter Kunst* (Berlin, 2013); Petropoulos 'Bridges from the Reich. The importance of emigré art dealers as reflected in the case studies of Curt Valentin and Otto Kallir-Nirenstein' in *Kunstgeschichte. Open peer reviewed journal*, 2011, <http://www.kunstgeschichte-ejournal.net/305/> (31 May 2015).

<sup>484</sup> Buchholz, *Karl Buchholz*.

<sup>485</sup> Auswärtiges Amt PAAA, Lissabon 227. Letter from Buchholz addressed to Flatau (Ministry of Foreign Affairs), 8 May 1942.

pursuing.<sup>486</sup> While the Minister's reply is unknown, Buchholz, as we will see, had a friend in the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The *Livraria Buchholz Exposições* eventually opened for business, on 22 July 1943 (Image VI.2.a).<sup>487</sup>

On avenida da Liberdade, in the former Opel stand, the new Livraria Técnica Buchholtz [sic] opened yesterday, in which a great variety of species of all the branches of science can be found. The new establishment has as a particularity a room for art exhibitions. For the opening, there is an exhibition with oil paintings by Carlos Botelho.



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<sup>486</sup> Auswärtiges Amt PAAA, Lissabon 227. Memo signed by Flatau addressed to the Minister of the German Legation, 9 May 1942.

<sup>487</sup> 'Nova Livraria', *Diário de Lisboa*, 23 July 1943, p. 2.



DE LUTO

Abel Montinho
Consistiu uma grande e solene manifestação de pesar o funeral, que hoje se realizou...

Hoje, pelas 10 horas, procedeu-se à solenidade do diaz e a uma hora depois o rev. padre...

Na presença do governador e numerosa presença de todos os membros da família...

Abel Montinho, filho do falecido, fez um discurso emocionante...

Depois do funeral, o corpo foi trasladado para o cemitério de São João...

Objectos perdidos
Foi perdido um portafólio com duas chaves e alguns dinheiros...

Festa dos «Charlots» loureiros
Um belo programa de arte e comédia...

LUSO
Palácio de S. Roque
Hoje, extraordinário e solene enterroamento de fadados...

O «Diário de Lisboa» vende-se na Covilhã na casa Barreira & Patrão Ito.

PEQUENAS NOTÍCIAS

Carteiristas
O serviço de carteiristas da Direcção de Registo e Conservação...

Quilho na Lourinhã
Para a Lourinhã, o quilho da doença da videira...

Vida Múndana
Fazem amanhã anos as seguintes: D. Maria Carolina...

Foi salva uma criança
Avança, 23 - Na estação da C. P. de Santa Estrella...

Legião Portuguesa
Brigada Nazaré
A Brigada Nazaré da Legião Portuguesa...

As abobas de prata
Comemora amanhã as suas abobas de prata a firma Nogueira...

Vapor «Lidador»
Foi posta em funcionamento a folha oficial...

A «Festa das Costureiras»

Na festa de hoje, que se deu no salão da Feira Popular...

Além do espectáculo musical, houve um concurso de costureiras...

Exames
Completou-se hoje a classificação a ser feita...

Embaixador do Brasil
A Ordem dos Advogados leva a efeito...

Nová Livraria
Na avenida de Lisboa, na antiga estação, inaugurou-se ontem...

IX «Salón» do Estoril
Para os interessados expõem amanhã...

VIDA DESPORTIVA

Uma regata oceânica a Setúbal
Foi marcado para o dia 14 de agosto...

Na Escola de Casias
Continua a funcionar, com grande concorrencia...

Um menor caiu a uma via e fracturou as pernas e um braço
SANTARÉM, 23 (tese telegráfica) - Quando hoje...

O Grupo «Os Carlos» atingiu o seu objecto
Resolvido o problema dos «Carlos», estando presente...

Revistas literárias
A Águia do Marão
de ANTONIO CABRAL

Elestra e os Fantasmas
por Eugenio O'Neill

No mundo da Anhora
de Henrique Travenca Valdez

Quadros e lugares da minha terra
de Edmundo Tavares

Revista de Santa Catarina
de Brígida Silva

MIMO
O seu encanto seduz
FABRICA MIMO - 108 - R. C. S. - LA CHAUX-DE-FRANCOIS - SUICA

Image VI.2a Article in Diário de Lisboa announcing the opening of the Buchholz shop. (23 July 1943, p. 2)

According to Godula Buchholz, her father was happy with the opening, telegramming his wife: 'Opening ceremony today, large audience! Satisfied, think coming home next weekend.' 488 The images of the opening held by the Buchholz family archive do indicate that space was tight on opening day - and that it was attended by one high-ranking military official. (Images VI.3 and VI.4)

488 Telegram from Karl Buchholz to Marie Louise Buchholz, 23 July. Quoted in Buchholz, p. 124.



*Image VI.3 Opening of the Livraria Buchholz Exposições. 22 July 1943, unknown photographer. Karl Buchholz is the third figure from the left, in the foreground. Source: G. Buchholz, p. 125.*



*Image VI.4 - Opening of the Livraria Buchholz Exposições. 22 July 1943, unknown photographer. Katharina Braun stands on the far right. On the walls, paintings by Carlos Botelho, who stands in a light suit and eyeglasses. Source: Godula Buchholz, p. 129.*

The correspondence between Buchholz's family and his employee at the Berlin gallery reveals that while Buchholz was busy with the opening of his Lisbon store, the Buchholz Berlin branch inaugurated, on 26 July 1943, an exhibition of Portuguese artist Carlos Carneiro, in collaboration with the *Ibero-Amerikanische Institut*, the Iberian American Institute, an institution discussed in Chapters III and IV.<sup>489</sup> Gertrud Richert, who, as described in Chapter III, lectured at the MNAA, delivered the opening lecture for the exhibition. Interestingly, Godula Buchholz's recounting of the opening of this exhibition confirms the narrative of the Vaucher commission regarding the climate of suspicion by the Nazi authorities that hovered over Buchholz by then:

The Ibero-American Institute has worked hard [...] and won [over] the Propaganda Ministry, who had rejected an exhibition with us. [...] invitations are sent by the Ibero-American Institute, [calling] attention to the exhibition Leipziger Strasse 119/120 on the first floor, entrance through the bookstore, without mentioning the name of Buchholz.<sup>490</sup>

In this letter, Buchholz's partner also expressed relief that 'the Portuguese', not speaking German, had remained unaware of the 'internal issues', and recounted that, at the Portuguese consulate in Berlin, they had raised a glass to the success of 'the new shop', presumably the one about to open in Lisbon. Regardless, in spite of the tensions between the Buchholz Gallery and the Reich Propaganda Ministry, the latter featured the exhibition in the Portuguese version of *Signal*, its propaganda publication.<sup>491</sup> (Image VI.5)

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<sup>489</sup> Letter 17 July 1943 from Georg von Hülsen (Galerie Buchholz Berlin) to Marie Louise Buchholz, Überlingen, in Buchholz, p. 125.

<sup>490</sup> Letter 17 July 1943 from Georg von Hülsen (Galerie Buchholz Berlin) to Marie Louise Buchholz, Überlingen, in Buchholz, p. 125.

<sup>491</sup> 'Um pintor português em Berlim', *Signal*, (Unknown date, 1943).



Exposição de Carlos Carneiro em Berlim (Alemanha), em Jul./Ago. - 1943.  
Prof. Jorge Dias, Dr. Mário Duarte (Consul de Portugal em Berlim), Conde Tovar (Ministro de Portugal em Berlim) Carlos Carneiro.

*Image VI.5 - Exhibition of Carlos Carneiro illustrated in Signal (German propaganda publication). From left to right, Jorge Dias<sup>492</sup> [lecturer in Portuguese language at various German universities], Mário Duarte [the Portuguese Consul in Berlin and a close friend of Carneiro], the Count of Tovar [the Portuguese Minister in Berlin], and Carneiro. The exhibition was held at the Buchholz Gallery in Berlin.*

This information suggests that the exhibition held in Berlin was part of a public relations initiative by Buchholz perhaps with the intention of ingratiating himself with the Portuguese authorities, and the Portuguese art world. Upon his return, Carneiro exhibited the watercolours of his visit to Germany, not at the Buchholz bookshop, but at the Secretariat for National Propaganda.<sup>493</sup> Gusmão, in his review of the exhibition, contextualised it as the result of a ‘long and recent pilgrimage by the artist [that] enriches the variety of these images, made in Madrid, Paris, Berlin, Salzburg and Vienna’. For friends and family, Carneiro also drew an illustrated album, where he sought to humorously describe his experience in Germany, which included a visit to the

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<sup>492</sup> Ana Cristina Martins, ‘António Jorge Dias (1907 -1973) e a Arqueologia em Portugal’, in *O Arqueólogo Português*, V, 1, 2011, pp 329-57.

<sup>493</sup> Gusmão ‘Artes Plásticas – No SPN, Aquarelas de Carlos Carneiro’, in *Seara Nova*, 854, 25 december 1943, p. 296.

workshop of Georg Kolbe, the same artist who had been the object of a lecture by Gertrud Richert at the MNAA, and whose work, as we will see below, Buchholz would promote in his sixth exhibition.<sup>494</sup>

The correspondence quoted by Godula Buchholz also reveals that, between 1943 and 1945, Buchholz travelled regularly between Berlin, Bucharest and Lisbon, therefore corroborating the perception that Buchholz operated within an international circuit, and that the works may have circulated in the same manner. According to the correspondence quoted by Godula Buchholz, her father flew into Lisbon on three occasions in 1943 and returned regularly to Berlin. In March, he flew in from Berlin, left for Madrid in late April, and was in Bucharest by early June, returning to Lisbon before the end of the month.<sup>495</sup> After opening the Lisbon store, he left for Berlin in early August. In October he visited Switzerland, returning to Berlin by the end of the month.<sup>496</sup> In late November 1943, Buchholz landed in Lisbon from Berlin, apparently staying there until January 1944, leaving for Berlin, and from there, in April, to Bucharest, returning to Berlin, arriving back in Lisbon by May 1944.<sup>497</sup> He appears to have spent the Fall of 1944 in Germany. Godula Buchholz does not specify her father's whereabouts during 1945, other than to date the opening of the Madrid branch of the Buchholz network to the 21 November 1945. A French intelligence report stated that, some time before 5 May 1945, Buchholz had landed in Spain from Berlin.<sup>498</sup> As a reminder, after D-Day, in June 1944, traveling between Berlin and Madrid, or Lisbon, had become much more difficult for civilians. The fact that Buchholz seemed to find ease of travel either shortly before, or during, the Battle of Berlin, when the city was

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<sup>494</sup> Carlos Carneiro, 'A minha ida à Alemanha', unpublished. I am grateful to Cláudia Ninhos, who shared with me a digitisation of this artist's sketchbook.

<sup>495</sup> Buchholz, *Karl Buchholz*, pp 120-1.

<sup>496</sup> *ibidem*, pp 132-2.

<sup>497</sup> *ibidem*, pp 136-9.

<sup>498</sup> NARA M1947. Ardelia Hall collection, Wiesbaden CCP, 1945-1952. Administrative records. Information supplied by the Direction Générale d'Études et Recherches, 5 May 1945.

under heavy shelling, either indicates that Buchholz maintained a powerful contact network until the end of the war, that Buchholz flew into Spain from a location other than the Berlin, or that the report's informant, Lt.-Col. Manuel, was misinformed himself.

Buchholz's daughter also indicates that the work of so-called degenerate artists – Karl Hofer, Renée Sintenis and Gerhard Marcks – was exhibited at the gallery for the first time in Portugal. She did not, however, explain the specific mechanics through which these and other artworks were brought into the country, other than to quote from her father's correspondence regarding occasional difficulties with customs. Her biography of Buchholz also omits a comprehensive list of the artists – and works – exhibited in Lisbon. Nevertheless, the information emanating from Portuguese contemporary media, import tax exemption requests, death duty records, and photographic records enables us to reconstruct a chronology of the gallery's activity, identify specific artworks, and understand how some artworks entered the country.

Contemporary media accounts and the existing Buchholz exhibition brochures provide a detailed chronology of the exhibitions held between 1943 and 1945. Buchholz numbered each exhibition sequentially, until the 6<sup>th</sup> exhibition, and alternated between established Portuguese second-generation modernists (1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> exhibition) and foreign artists, mostly German, half of whom were considered degenerate by the Third Reich (2<sup>nd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup> exhibition).

The opening of the Buchholz gallery was noted by one art critic, who went on to develop a business relationship with Buchholz. In his column 'Notas de Arte', in the cultural monthly magazine *Ocidente*, Diogo de Macedo, the artist, art critic, and future director of the National Museum for Contemporary Art, identified Portuguese painter

Carlos Botelho as the artist to whom the first exhibition was dedicated.<sup>499</sup> Botelho was an established Portuguese painter of the second generation of Portuguese modernists, who combined his activity with work for the Secretariat for National Propaganda. The images of the gallery opening reproduced by Godula Buchholz display some of his works in the background.

The second exhibition, ‘of prints and drawings by the German sculptors René [sic] Sintenis and Gerhard Marcks, as well as by painter Karl Hoffer [sic]’ took place in November 1943.<sup>500</sup> These three artists were considered degenerate by the Third Reich, seeing their works expunged from state collections, and, in the case of Hofer and Marcks, featuring in the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition. Karl Hofer (1878-1955) was dismissed from his teaching post in 1934, and expelled from the Prussian Academy of Arts in 1937. Over three hundred paintings, watercolours and prints by him were purged from German public collections, of which Buchholz purchased eight oil paintings and works on paper.<sup>501</sup> Buchholz also purchased twenty-three purged works by Marcks, which he sold to Curt Valentin, in December 1940.<sup>502</sup> As for Renée Sintenis (1888-1965), who was expelled from the Academy in 1934 due to her Jewish ancestry, eight of her works were purged from public collections, none of which were purchased by Buchholz.

Buchholz’s interest in these artists in particular should not be seen in a light of purely commercial interest in readily available art. In fact, Buchholz had long-established relations with all three artists, dating from the opening of his Berlin

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<sup>499</sup> Raquel Henriques da Silva and Manuel Botelho, *Carlos Botelho*, (Lisbon, 1995), 355. The brochure for this exhibition, if it ever was printed, has not been located.

<sup>500</sup> Macedo, ‘Noticiário’, in *Ocidente*, XXI, 67, p. 306.

<sup>501</sup> This data results from the consultation of the two volumes of the ‘Entartete Kunst’ inventory made available online by the Victoria and Albert Museum, <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/e/entartete-kunst/> (13 June 2015).

<sup>502</sup> The accuracy of the number of works by Marcks that was purged is compromised by the appearance of the spelling ‘Marks’ in some entries – which may or may not refer to the author.

Leipziger Str. store, in late 1934.<sup>503</sup> Indeed the store's opening exhibition, in November 1934, featured works by Hofer, Sintenis and Kolbe, with Gerhard Marcks making his first appearance at the Buchholz Berlin store in January 1935. In addition, both Marcks and Sintenis, as well as two other German artists that Buchholz would bring to Lisbon, namely Georg Kolbe and Richard Scheibe, featured in Valentin's opening exhibition of the New York Buchholz gallery, in March 1937.<sup>504</sup> Both Marcks and Sintenis featured regularly in Valentin's exhibitions until the end of the war. Marcks in particular enjoyed a close relationship, and prolific correspondence, with both Valentin and Buchholz.<sup>505</sup> Their relationship would survive the vicissitudes of the Second World War, with Marcks visiting Buchholz in Madrid in 1949 for an extended trip in his company.<sup>506</sup>

The absence of a catalogue for this exhibition hinders the identification of the works displayed in Lisbon – however, the arts pages of cultural magazines enable the identification of some of the items exhibited in Lisbon, as do the photographic archives of the Mário Novais studio, who provide a veritable wealth of visual information for the Buchholz gallery.

Adriano de Gusmão, art critic for *Seara Nova*, paid close attention to this exhibition, as he was particularly interested by two elements pertaining to the artworks on display – being modern, and, in the case of Sintenis and Marcks, being made by sculptors.<sup>507</sup> While recognizing the limited number of artworks on display, less than twenty, he praised the exhibition for enabling the viewing of drawings by 'modern artists, even though they are not vanguard [artists] – who, as we know, do not currently reside in Germany'. With this statement, Gusmão demonstrated his awareness of the

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<sup>503</sup> Buchholz pp 42-43.

<sup>504</sup> Smithsonian Institution. Archives of American Art. Jane Wade papers. Lists, 'Some important Curt Valentin Exhibitions'. See also Howard Devree, 'Comment on Newly Opened Exhibitions' in *New York Times*, 16 May 1937, p. 174

<sup>505</sup> For the correspondence between Valentin and Marcks see the Jane Wade papers; for correspondence with Buchholz see Godula Buchholz.

<sup>506</sup> Buchholz, *Karl Buchholz*, p. 177.

<sup>507</sup> Gusmão, 'Artes Plásticas - desenhos na Galeria Buchholz' in *Seara Nova*, (1943) pp 143-4.

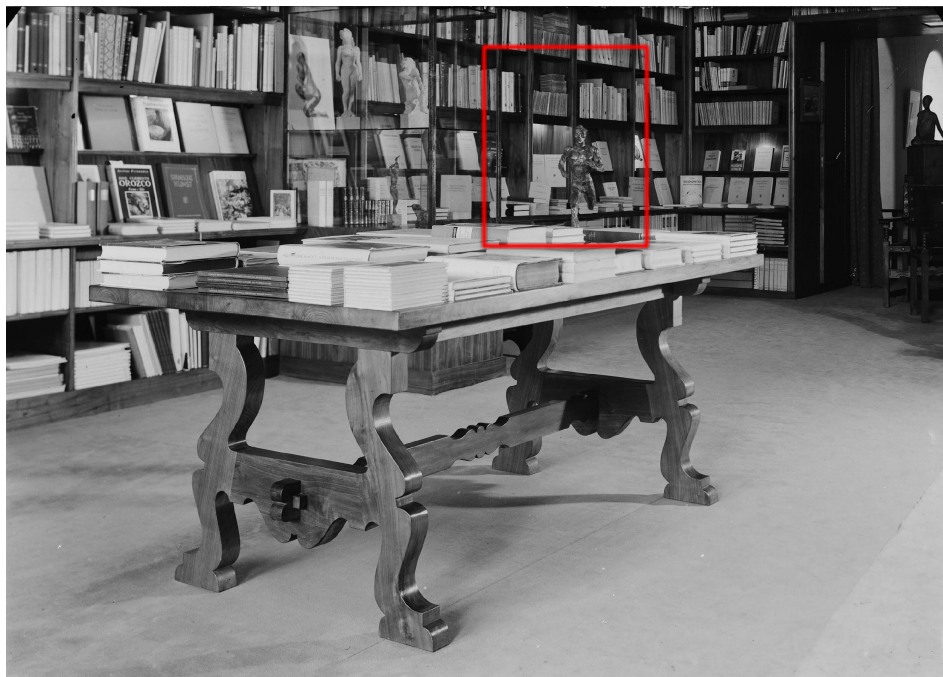


treatment of modern artists at the hands of the Nazis was known in Portuguese artistic circles.

Gusmão defined Sintenis's work as versing especially on 'animals and sports champions'. One of Sintenis's sculptures was described in detail:

a small bronze representing a runner, modelled with an expressive personality, and an accurate outline of the movement and rhythm of his step, even though the body suffers from a stylisation that is no way related to true *style*.

Although the sculpture was not illustrated, this description matches a sculpture on a table photographed by Mário Novais at an unknown date. (Image VI.6)



*Image VI.6 – Livraria Buchholz Exposições. Undated photograph. On the table, The Runner Nurmi by Renée Sintenis. Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Art Library, Mário Novais Studio archives.*

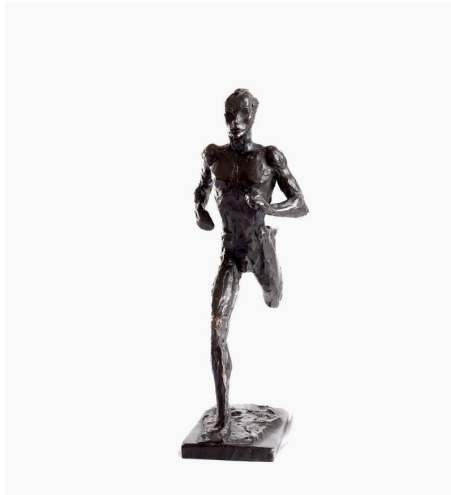
A detailed inspection of the Lisbon sculpture – and a comparison with other known sculptures of runners by Sintenis – strongly suggests that the Lisbon sculpture may be a cast of the 1926 bronze *Der Läufer Nurmi*, 'The Runner Nurmi'. This

sculpture represents Finnish middle- and long-distance runner Paavo Nurmi, also known as the 'Flying Finn'. The earliest known cast of this sculpture dates from 1924 (Leicester City Museums, unknown inventory number; Museum for Kunst und Kunstgeschichte, Dortmund, Inv. N. A 92/57). Other casts date from 1926 (Museum der bildenden Künste, Leipzig, Inv. N. P174; Nationalgalerie, Berlin, Inv. N. B I 463).

A side-by-side comparison between the Lisbon cast and the one owned by the Leicester German Expressionism collection, which enables a 360° observation online, confirms that, while there are discrepancies in certain areas, namely the slenderer build and less prominent genitalia in the Leicester cast, the composition, facial arrangement, hairstyle, musculature, are cast in an almost exact manner. (Images VI.7 and VI.8) The fact that there were at least two different years where this sculpture was cast may account for the discrepancies between the two sculptures found here.



*Image VI.7 Runner, sculpture by Renée Sintenis (detail)*

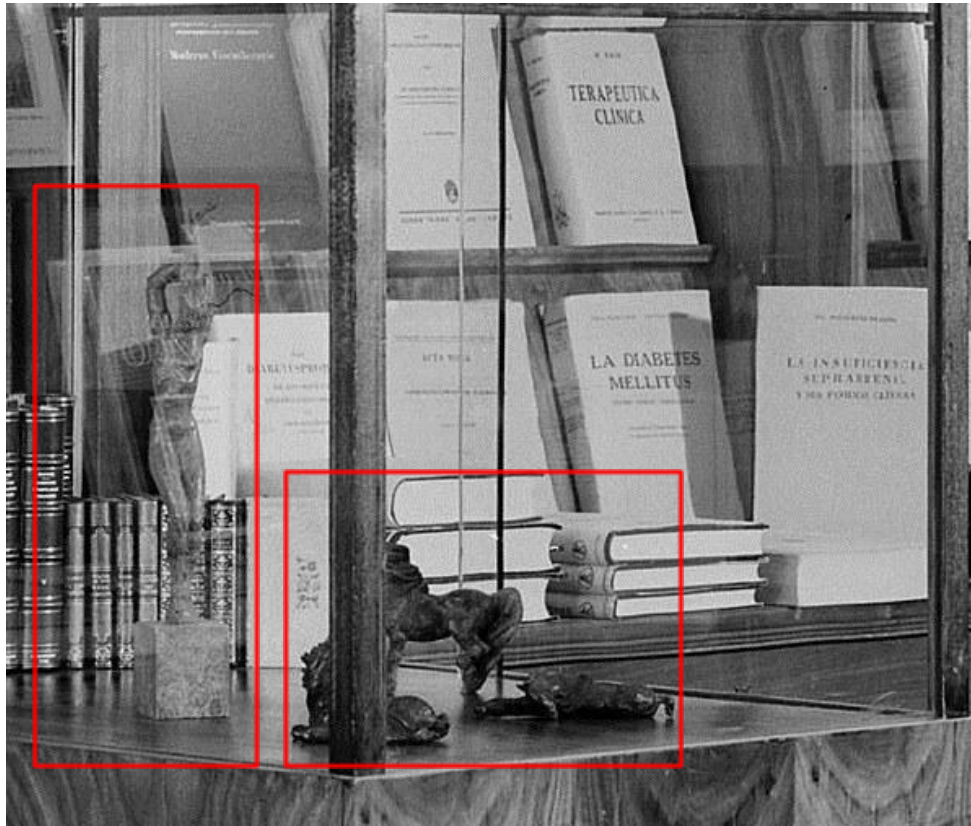


*Image VI.8 The Athlete. (1924) Bronze sculpture by Renée Sintenis. Source: Leicester City Arts and Museums Service © DACS 2013.*

Another photograph in the Novais archive, that of a vertical display case, enables us to identify further works by Sintenis. (Image VI.9) On the bottom shelf of the display case stands *Kleine Daphne*, ‘Small Daphne’.



*Image VI.9 Detail of display case at Livraria Buchholz Exposições featuring works by Hermann Haller and Renée Sintenis. Unknown date. Source: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Art Library, Mário Novais Studio archives.*



*Image VI.10 Livraria Buchholz. Bottom shelf, image of Kleine Daphne by Renée Sintenis. Smaller sculptures, presumably of animals, also by Sintenis. (detail)*



*Image VI.11 - A cast of Kleine Daphne in the collection of the Ludwig Museum, Cologne, Germany.*

The statue can be identified through comparisons with the casts held at the Ludwig Museum in Cologne (Inv. N. ML76/SK0067). (Images VI.10 and VI.11) *These* casts, of which the Sintenis *catalogue raisonné* lists nine versions in total, were produced in preparation of a large-scale version, known as *Daphne*, which can be viewed at the Museum of Modern Art, in New York (Inv. N. 337.1939) and at Harvard Art Museums (Inv. N. BR59.49), among others. While it is impossible the specific cast at the Buchholz Lisbon gallery from the Novais photograph alone, the similarities between the different casts discussed here render this identification certain.

The vertical display case photographed by Novais displayed three small sculptures next to *Kleine Daphne*. Given their material and shape, they are most likely casts of Sintenis's small sculptures of horses, foals and ponies, in which she was widely prolific. The sculpture on the right cannot be identified with precision. The middle sculpture appears to be an exact match, albeit without a pedestal, for Sintenis's *Shetlandpony im Wind*, 'Shetland pony in the wind'. (Image VI.13), while the figure on the left, although partially obscured, resembles *Liegendes Shetlandpony*, 'Lying Shetland pony'. (Figure VI.14)



*Figure VI.12 Livraria Buchholz Exposições. Bottom shelf. Three small sculptures of Shetland ponies, presumably by Sintenis. (detail)*



*Figure VI.13 Renée Sintenis, Shetland pony in the wind. Source: Lemmpertz auction house, image has been cropped and inverted horizontally. Source: Artnet.*



*Figure VI.14 - Renée Sintenis, Lying Shetland pony. Source: Lemmpertz auction house, image has been cropped and inverted horizontally. Source: Artnet.*

We have not located images pertaining to Sintenis's drawings, described by Gusmão as 'prints, representing horses, foals, and young athletes, combined in simple and almost mythological compositions. Animals and men, absolutely naked. No clothes, nor harnesses'.

Gusmão also identified a small number of drawings by Karl Hofer: *Woman sitting*, which he chose to illustrate in his article (Image VI.15); *Woman with a parrot*, a study for a painting; *Woman at a window*, a drawing in Indian ink on paper; *Die Freundinnen*, described as the drawing of two female figures, who give the drawing its title. Regarding Gerhard Marcks, Gusmão described him as a draughtsman and a printer. His drawings represented 'character-full heads and female figures drawn in a pencil trait of fine softness.'<sup>508</sup> 'Standing woman' was singled out by Gusmão as a particularly beautiful drawing. Curiously, Gusmão leaves unmentioned any sculptures by Marcks featuring in this exhibition. As the Novais archive will demonstrate, Marcks was indeed represented at the Buchholz Lisbon gallery by at least one sculpture.

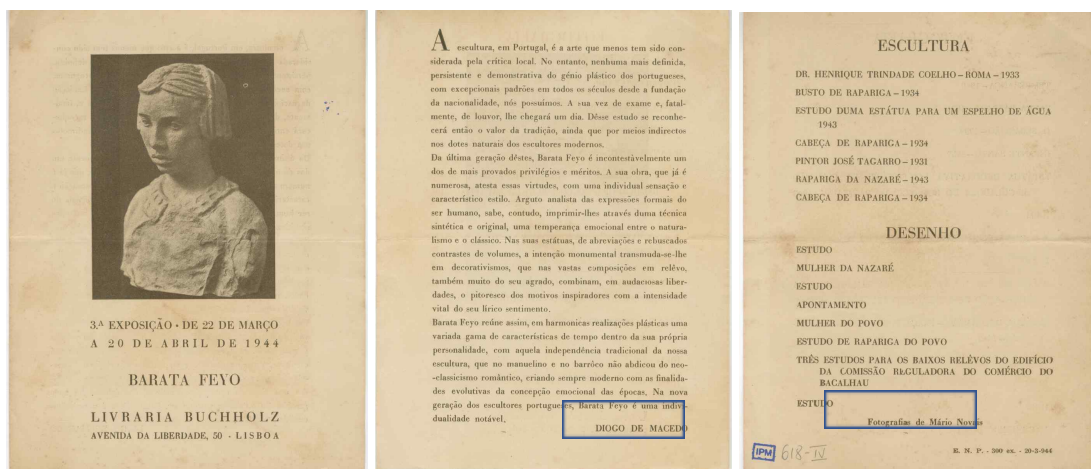


*Image VI.15 Karl Hofer, Woman sitting. Source: Seara Nova (author's photograph)*

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<sup>508</sup> Gusmão, 'Desenhos na Galeria Bucholz', in *Seara Nova*, 845, 23 Oct. 1943, pp 143.

The third Buchholz exhibition, held between 22 March and 20 April 1944, featured sculptures and photographs of public sculptures authored by established Portuguese sculptor Salvador Barata Feyo, whose work was heavily patronised by the *New State*.<sup>509</sup> The exhibition brochure signals the first dated collaboration between the gallery and the aforementioned Diogo de Macedo, who wrote a short text, and *Estúdio Mário Novais*.<sup>510</sup> (Images VI.16, VI.17 and IV.18)



Images VI.16, VI.17, VI.18 Catalogue of the third Buchholz exhibition – front cover, text by Diogo Macedo, and back cover photographs by Mário Novais. Source: Fundação Mário Soares, Manuel Mendes papers.

Gusmão praised the gallery's choice to host an exhibition devoted to an individual sculptor. As for Diogo de Macedo, while he did not publish a review of this exhibition, he chose this moment to positively appraise the establishment of new art galleries in *Ocidente*. While not identifying the galleries in question, the date indicates that *Livraria Buchholz Exposições* and *Casa Calendas*, owned by Jacques Kugel, discussed in Chapters II and III, are the most likely objects of his statements:

<sup>509</sup> Macedo 'Noticiário', in *Ocidente*, XXII, 72, April 1944 p. 446.

<sup>510</sup> Mário Soares Foundation. Manuel Mendes papers. *3a Exposição. De 22 de Março a 20 de Abril de 1944. Barata Feyo*. (Lisbon 1944),



Hopefully they will not be brought down by the lack of encouragement of native collectors, and their organisers, [and will] renew the exhibitions and reveal to us the works of national and foreign artists, thus enabling the artistic culture for which we fight, in the hope that, with persistence of sacrifice, Lisbon enters Europe.<sup>511</sup>

The fourth Buchholz Lisbon gallery exhibition, held between 3 and 30 June 1944, featured drawings by Gerhard Marcks, as well as sculptures by Swiss artist Hermann Haller.<sup>512</sup> The four-page exhibition booklet, with an unsigned text, includes three images of the works displayed. Haller's photographed works were a free-standing female nude, possibly *Woman standing*, described as a stucco item in the catalogue (Image VI.20), and a female bust that can be identified as either *Portrait of Yella* or *Thinker – head of a woman*.<sup>513</sup> (Image VI.19) This bust stood on the top shelf of the vertical display case photographed by Mário Novais (Image VI.9). The other works by Haller featured in the exhibition were, according to the catalogue, *Female torso – stucco*; *Bather*; and *Woman standing with raised arms*.

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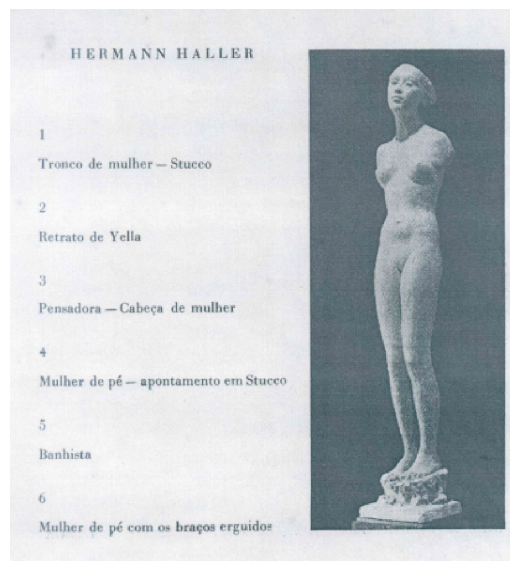
<sup>511</sup> Macedo, 'Notas de Arte. Galerias de Arte', XXII, 72, April 1944, pp 445-6.

<sup>512</sup> Macedo 'Noticiário', in *Ocidente*, XXIII, 75, July 1944, p. 329.

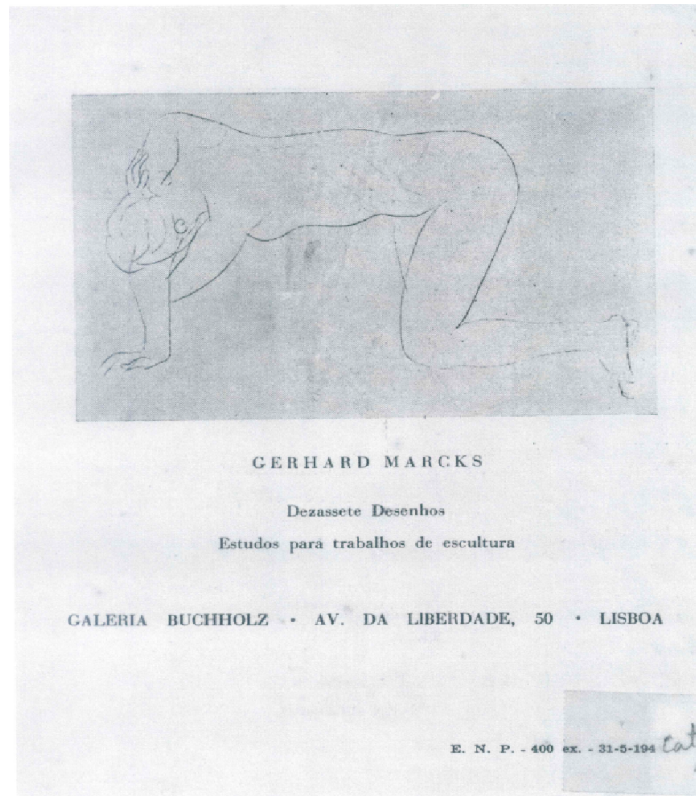
<sup>513</sup> Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Art Library. Selles Paes Collection. *4a Exposição. De 3 a 30 de Junho de 1944. Hermann Haller. Escultura. Gerhard Marcks. Desenho* (Lisbon 1944).



*Image VI.19 Cover of the catalogue for the fourth Buchholz Lisbon exhibition. Sculpture by Hermann Haller. Source: Centro de Documentação e Pesquisa, Biblioteca de Arte, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. (Author's photograph.)*



*Image VI.20 Third page of the catalogue for the fourth Buchholz Lisbon exhibition. Sculpture by Hermann Haller. Source: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Art Library. (Author's photograph.)*



*Image VI.21 Back cover of the catalogue of the fourth exhibition of the Buchholz Lisbon gallery, with illustrations of a drawing by Gerhard Marcks. Source: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Art Library. (Author's photograph.)*

Marcks's drawings were described in the exhibition catalogue as 'Studies for works in sculpture', and one drawing was reproduced, without a caption. (Image VI.21) It has been impossible to ascertain thus far if the seventeen drawings by Marcks featured in the fourth exhibition were the same as those featured in the gallery's second exhibition, or if they constituted a new group of artworks altogether.

The Novais photograph of the vertical display case (Image VI.9) featured, on the middle shelf, two sculptures and a drawing. (Image VI.23) The texture and rugosity of the sculptures suggest that they are made of a softer material such as terracotta or stucco. The sculpture on the left is a standing female nude, with a peculiar headdress or hairstyle. The figure is identical to *Stehender Frauenakt*. 'Standing Nude', a cement

sculpture by Hermann Haller recorded as sold at auction.<sup>514</sup> (Image VI.24) In the Buchholz exhibition catalogue, the description closest matching this sculpture is ‘Woman standing, stucco’.

The sculpture on the right of the shelf appears to be sitting with a raised knee. While partially obscured by the display case, it closely matches ‘Sitting young woman, nude’, a signed stucco sculpture sold at auction in Zurich.<sup>515</sup> (Image VI.25) In the Buchholz exhibition catalogue, this sculpture matches item number 5, ‘Bather’. While it is not possible to ascertain – and indeed it is unlikely – that these sculptures are the same object, these comparisons allow us to determine with certainty the authorship, if not the exact title, of some of the sculptures brought by Buchholz to Lisbon.

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<sup>514</sup> Artnet. Hermann Haller. *Stehender Frauenakt*, <http://www.artnet.de/k%C3%BCnstler/hermann-haller/stehender-frauenakt-8RqToRDanmEG44nMy6lkRw2> (15 June 2019).

<sup>515</sup> Koller Auction House, Zurich. *Swiss Art auction*, 26 June, 2016, Lot 3118.



*Image VI.23 Vertical display case at Livraria Buchholz Exposições featuring two sculptures by Hermann Haller (detail)*



*Image VI.24 (left) Stehender Fruenakt, cement, 52 cm. Source: Artnet*



*Image VI.25 – Hermann Haller, Seated female nude. Source: Koller Auction House, Zurich. Swiss Art auction, Lot 3118.*

The fifth exhibition displayed drawings by Portuguese painter Júlio and opened in October 1944.<sup>516</sup> The text in the exhibition brochure was written by the artist's brother, José Régio, a major figure among Portuguese realist writers. Both brothers combined their literary activities with the civil service, the former working for the National Buildings and Monuments Directorate, and the latter a high-school teacher.

The sixth exhibition, and the last to be described in this chapter, opened in February 1945 and featured seventeen drawings by Richard Scheibe (1879-1964), and photographs of sculptures by Georg Kolbe (1877-1947).<sup>517</sup> The exhibition brochure included two reproductions of Scheibe's drawings – both female nudes, one standing, one sitting – and a translation of a section of Bruno A. Werner's *Die deutsche Plastik der Gegenwart*, which expanded on the biography and artistic interaction between both artists.<sup>518</sup> (Images VI.26 and IV.27) Both Scheibe and Kolbe, after facing difficulties during the first years of the Third Reich, eventually found some sort of cohabitation with the regime, integrating the group of sculptors 'with modernist roots who conformed to Nazi aesthetics.'<sup>519</sup> Both artists had their work exhibited at the *Grosse Deutsche Kunst Ausstellung*, the exhibition of officially sanctioned German art held concurrently with the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition in Munich, in 1937.<sup>520</sup>

In his review of the exhibition, Adriano de Gusmão noted that Kolbe had been the object of a lecture by Gertrud Richert, of the *Ibero-Amerikanische Institut*, at the MNAA, the previous year. This lecture had occurred in the context of the Exhibition of

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<sup>516</sup> Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Art Library. *Júlio. 5a Exposição. De 24 de Outubro a 24 de Novembro* (Lisbon 1944).

<sup>517</sup> Macedo 'Noticiário', in *Ocidente*, XXV, 83, p. 218.

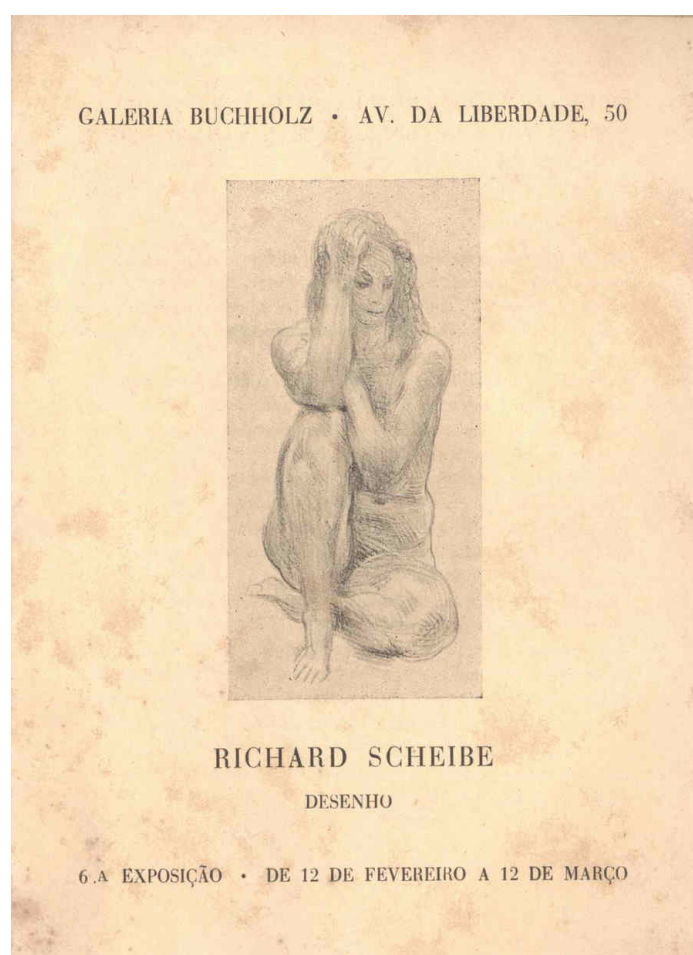
<sup>518</sup> Mário Soares Foundation, Mário and Alice Chicó papers. *Richard. Scheibe. Desenhos. 6a Exposição. De 12 de Fevereiro a 12 de Março*. (Lisbon 1945).

<sup>519</sup> Petropoulos, *Artists Under Hitler: Collaboration and Survival in Nazi Germany* (New Haven, 2014), p. 312.

<sup>520</sup> Ines Schlenker 'Defining National Socialist Art', in O. Peters (ed.), *Degenerate art: the attack on modern art in Nazi Germany, 1937* (Munich, London and New York 2014), p. 96.



German Art, which had featured works by Georg Kolbe.<sup>521</sup> This coincidence, of the *Ibero-Amerikanische Institut* having a role in promoting, in Portugal, an artist whose work would later be exhibited at *Livraria Buchholz Exposições*, is worth bearing in mind, suggesting that the partnership established for the Berlin exhibition of Carlos Carneiro's works was continued in Lisbon with the promotion of Kolbe's work. Regarding Scheibe's works, Gusmão described them as 'mostly focused on the human form' but did not detain himself on any specific artwork. The drawing identified in his article was the same used for the cover of the exhibition brochure, that of a nude crouching woman.<sup>522</sup>

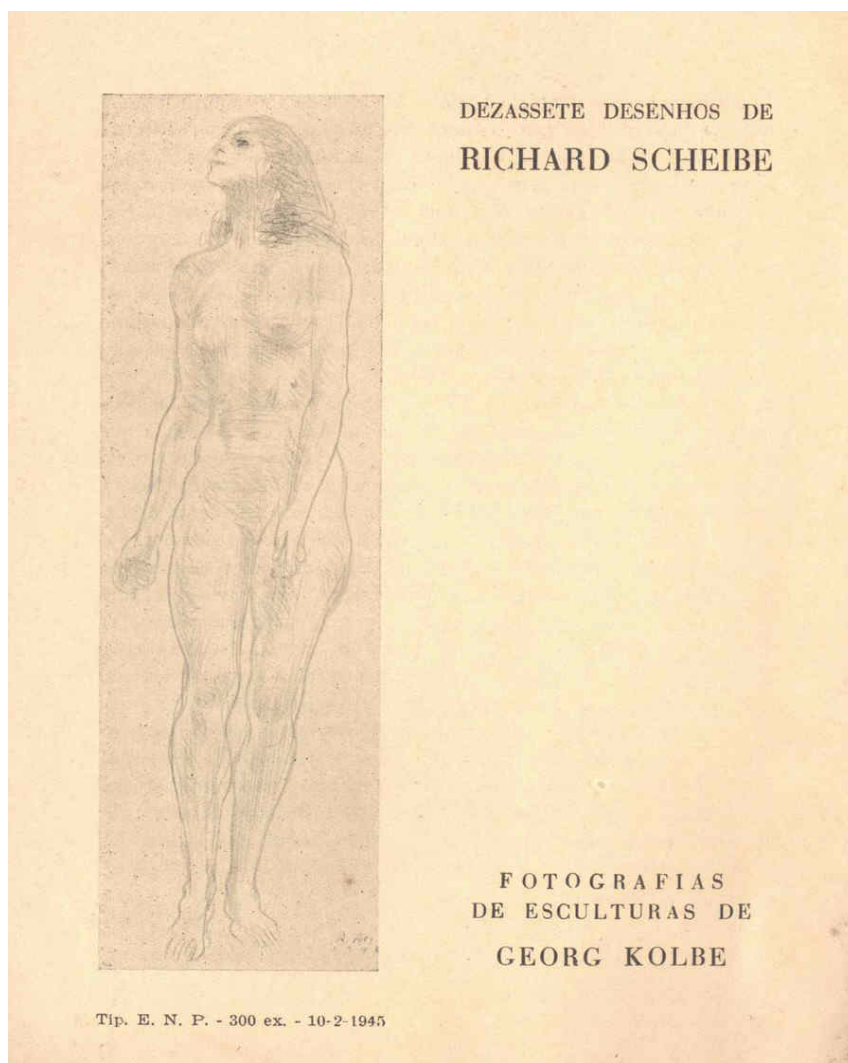


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<sup>521</sup> Gusmão, 'Uma conferência sobre o escultor Kolbe pela Dra Gertrud Richert', in *Seara Nova*, 864, 4 March 1944, p. 124.

<sup>522</sup> Gusmão, 'Artes plásticas. Desenhos de Richard Scheibe', *Seara Nova*.

*Image VI.26. Catalogue of the sixth Buchholz exhibition – front cover with a drawing by Richard Scheibe. Source: Fundação Mário Soares, Manuel Mendes papers*



*Images VI.27. Catalogue of the sixth Buchholz exhibition – back cover with a drawing by Richard Scheibe. Source: Fundação Mário Soares, Manuel Mendes papers*

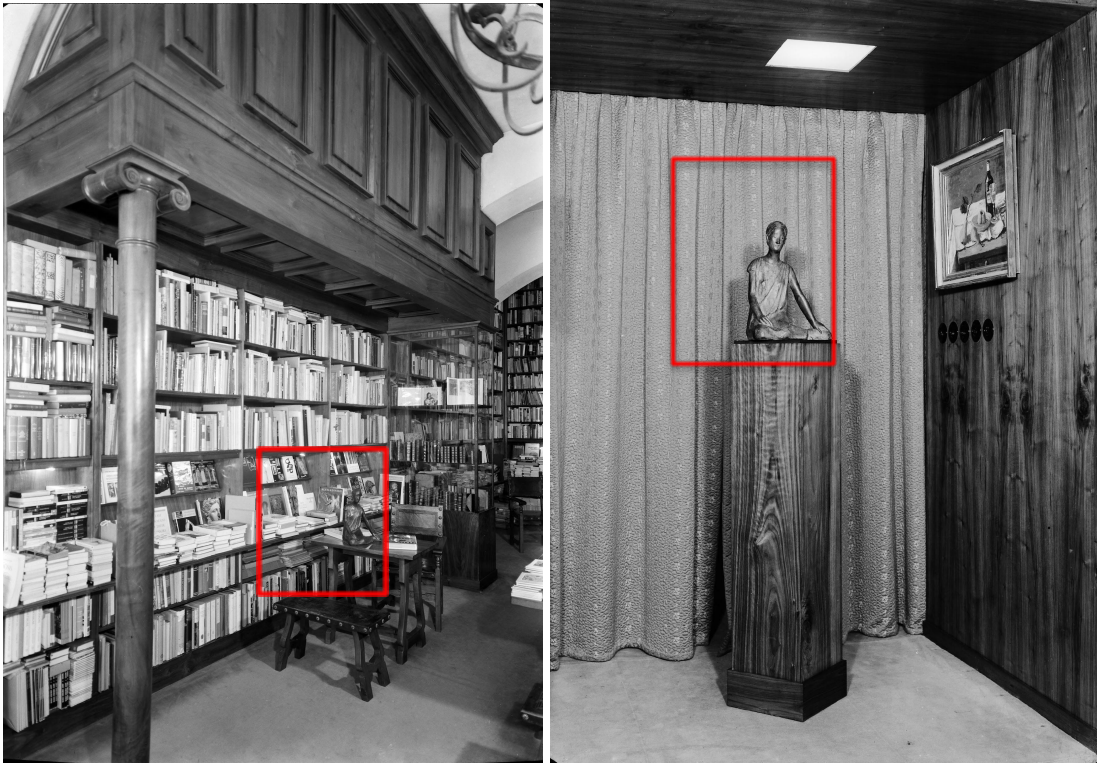
The sixth Buchholz Lisbon exhibition marks the end of the road for the data culled from printed source materials – contemporary media accounts and exhibition brochures. There are no further records of exhibitions held at the Buchholz Lisbon exhibition for the year of 1945. From 1946 onwards, the gallery began its better-known work of promoting Portuguese contemporary artists, and, at a lesser extent, South American artists, thus reflecting Karl Buchholz’s changing residence.

However, the Novais photographic archive provides additional information which, when cross-referenced with other sources, enables the identification of further artworks. One bronze statue represents a female figure, fully clothed, sitting with knees bent to the side, eyes shut, one hand resting on her thigh, the other on her bare foot. (Image. VI.30) The sculpture appears in three different locations in Novais's photographs: on the main table (Image VI.2); on a small table (Image VI.28); and on the pedestal separating the bookshop from the exhibition area. (Image VI.29). An extensive consultation of the Gerhard Marcks Haus database, the largest online repository of artworks made by Marcks, reveals similarities between the Buchholz sculpture and a cast, probably from 1941, named *Cenerentola*, the Italian name for the character of Cinderella (Inv. N. 352/95).<sup>523</sup> (Image VI.31) Also known in Germany as *Aschenbrödel*, the story of a young woman overcoming her abusive stepmother to find true love had been the object of artistic interpretations since the mid-nineteenth century. Nowadays, the collection of the Bayer pharmaceutical company in Berlin is known to have a copy of this sculpture. More recently, a copy of *Cenerentola* was sold at auction in Berlin, for 20,000 euros.<sup>524</sup>

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<sup>523</sup> I am grateful to Lin Barton for suggesting Gerhard Marcks as the possible author of this sculpture, thereby narrowing the sources for research.

<sup>524</sup> Grisebach auction house, Berlin, 9 June 2007, Lot 260.



*Images VI.28 and 29 Livraria Buchholz Exposições. Interiors. The statue featuring on the right image stands on the table on the left image. Source: Estúdio Mário Novais*



*Image VI.30 Cenerentola, by Gerhard Marcks, on display at the Buchholz Gallery in Lisbon. Source: Estúdio Mário Novais. (detail)*



*Image VI.31 - Cenerentola, by Gerhard Marcks (1941). Gerhard Marcks Haus, Inv. N. 352/95. Source: Gerhard Marcks Haus online repository*

There are further artworks featured in the Novais photographic archive whose authorship is thus far impossible to determine. On the vertical shelf (Image VI.9), behind the sculptures, Buchholz placed a drawing of a female nude with one knee raised and one arm across her chest. This was very likely a preparatory drawing for a sculpture, given the manner in which the three-dimensionality was worked and the details regarding facial features were eschewed. (Image VI.32) Given Gusmão's descriptions of the exhibitions, this drawing may have been authored by Marcks, Hofer or Scheibe.



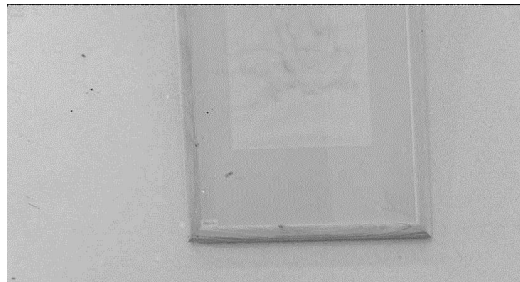
*Image VI.32 Buchholz bookshop. Unidentified drawing, middle shelf, vertical display case. (detail)*

The final image in the Novais archive to contain illustrations of artworks exhibited early on by the Buchholz gallery features partial images of drawings. (Image VI.33) Each drawing depicts a female nude. Although the drawings are barely perceptible, the position of the legs in Images VI.35 and VI.36, the slouchy position of

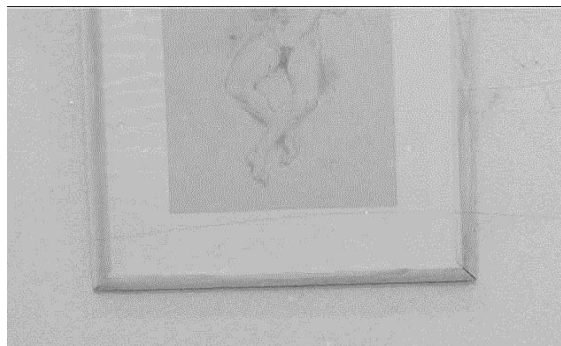
the torso in Image VI.34, combined with the modelling of the bodies recall nudes drawn by Gerhard Marcks, although drawings by Hofer and Scheibe were also recorded as having been exhibited at the Lisbon gallery.



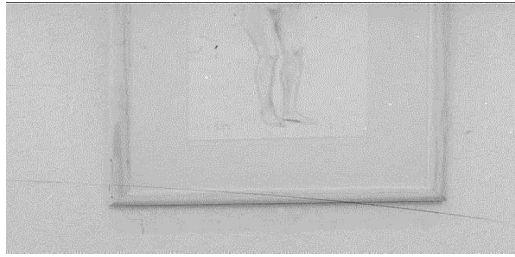
*Image VI.33 Livraria Buchholz exposições. In the background, three partially reproduced drawings. Source: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Art Library, Mário Novais Studio archives*



*Image VI.34 Livraria Buchholz exposições. Drawing 1, partially reproduced. Source: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Art Library, Mário Novais Studio archives*



*Image VI.35 Livraria Buchholz exposições. Drawing 2, partially reproduced. Source: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Art Library, Mário Novais Studio archives*



*Image VI.36 Livraria Buchholz exposições. Drawing 3, partially reproduced. Source: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Art Library, Mário Novais Studio archives*

Having ascertained the chronology of the Buchholz Lisbon exhibitions and identified the artists as well as a significant part of the artworks featured in these exhibitions, we shall now examine how these artworks were brought into the country. Godula Buchholz stated, and this seems confirmed by a consultation of the collections of modern art in Portugal at the time, that these artists were being exhibited in Portugal for the first time. It is therefore likely that these works were brought into the country from abroad by Buchholz himself. Unfortunately, the Portuguese Customs historical archives have not been able to ascertain the location of its archives for the period. This significantly hinders research, as artworks by living artists, unlike non-contemporary artworks and antiquities, were not exempt from import tax.<sup>525</sup> As the tax exemption was dependent on expert opinions emitted by the *Junta Nacional de Educação*, an organism of the Ministry of Education, it would be highly unlikely that these archives would have records pertaining to the activities of Karl Buchholz.

Nevertheless, one single file – among the eleven thousand files produced by the agency between 1933 and 1946 – has been located. Dating from early January 1944, it is the only official document that dates the dealer's imports into the country.<sup>526</sup> Submitted by *Livraria Buchholz Exposições*, not by the owner as an individual, it pertains to a temporary import tax waiver request for the Hermann Haller sculptures.

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<sup>525</sup> Law-Decree [without number], *Diário do Governo*, I, 41, p. 510, 22 November 1910.

<sup>526</sup> Ministry of Education/Archive of the *Direcção Geral do Ensino Superior de Belas Artes*/Box 3112. File 3086.



Arguing that his was a non-commercial purpose, as he wished to set up an exhibition of modern Swiss sculptures, Buchholz requested that the two crates should be tax exempt. The file does not contain Buchholz's original request. This request was paraphrased by the Customs Office, who required an opinion from the Ministry of Education regarding Buchholz's affirmations of cultural merit.<sup>527</sup> The expert opinion, drawn by none other than Diogo Macedo, who would write the preface to the Barata Feyo exhibition in April 1944, and become the director of the National Museum of Contemporary Art in June of that same year, is noteworthy inasmuch as it provides a contemporary evaluation of the dealer's activities by the Portuguese art establishment.<sup>528</sup> In Macedo's opinion, the cultural usefulness of the exhibitions of foreign art by the *Livraria Buchholz Exposições* was 'recognised and praised' in the 'artistic and intellectual milieus of Lisbon'. For Macedo, the public benefit of these exhibitions found their only parallel in those organised by the Secretariat for National Propaganda. As such, he recommended that the gallery's exhibitions should receive 'enabling and support' from Portuguese Customs whenever the *Livraria Buchholz Exposições* sought to bring into the country works by foreign artists 'of undisputed merit'. While the outcome of the tax exemption request is unknown, the exhibition opening on 3 June 1944, points towards it being granted.

Interestingly, this import tax waiver request did not encompass the Marcks drawings that were part of the same exhibition – giving support to the possibility that these were the same works featured in the second Buchholz exhibition in Lisbon. How those works, and those of Hofer, Sintenis and Scheibe (Kolbe was represented by photographs of his works), entered the country is still a matter of speculation. The content of the Buchholz request suggests that import taxes were paid for artworks

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<sup>527</sup> Memo from Portuguese Customs to the Ministry of Education, [?] January 1944, received on 17 January 1944, *ibid.*, fl. 1.

<sup>528</sup> Memo handwritten by Diogo de Macedo, 20 January 1944, *ibid.*, fl. 2.

entering the country before then, which in turn implies that they entered the country legally, as commercial property, perhaps in the company of the initial stock of books brought into the country by Buchholz in early 1943. This stock's worth was evaluated by the Allies at half a million dollars.<sup>529</sup>

The possibility that Buchholz would have shipped artworks to Portugal via diplomatic channels cannot be set aside, his trouble with the Propaganda Ministry notwithstanding. In one letter to his wife, written on his way to Zürich from Berlin on 6 October 1943 (i.e. more than a month before the opening of the Hofer-Sintenis-Marcks exhibition), Buchholz, possibly alluding to the shipping of the Sintenis sculptures, states: 'Yesterday I was able to give 23 boxes full of good books and some bronzes on the Foreign Office to Lisbon and 5 with art books to Bucharest.'<sup>530</sup>

These statements confirm that Buchholz was nothing if not resourceful. Even as he was fined by the Ministry for Propaganda, and his gallery prevented from exhibiting so-called 'degenerate art', he was able to use his relationship with the regime to export artworks with maximum speed, and presumably minimum taxes. It remains to be determined if these artworks were exported under the understanding that Buchholz was to pay a commission to the state, as he was expected to do when disposing of purged art abroad for the benefit of the regime, or if Buchholz was merely using his connections to engage in his business autonomously.

Another unanswered question for the time being, is whether Buchholz did sell the so-called degenerate artworks in Lisbon, or whether they were sent on elsewhere. Godula Buchholz's monograph features an image of the Madrid store, which opened in

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<sup>529</sup> NARA M1944. Records of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic Monuments in War Areas, 1943-46. Geographical Card Files on Possible Art-Looting Subjects, compiled 1943-46. Portugal. 'Buchholz' (unknown date).

<sup>530</sup> Letter from Karl Buchholz, addressed to his wife, 6 October 1943, quoted in Buchholz, *Karl Buchholz*, p. 133.

November 1945 representing the interior of the store, which shared the same type of décor with the Portuguese store. On a table stood the unmistakable cast of Paavo Nurmi by Renée Sintenis. (Image VI.37) We cannot affirm with certainty that the Madrid cast was the same exhibited in Lisbon – for all we know, Buchholz could have owned various casts of the same sculpture, given his proximity with Sintenis – but the possibility that he may have taken his art stock with him to Madrid cannot be dismissed entirely.



*Image VI.37: Madrid store. On the table, Renée Sintenis's The Runner Nurmi.*

The exhibition reviews by Diogo de Macedo and Adriano de Gusmão also provided rich commentary regarding the gallery and the artworks on display. Macedo's writing informed one of the issues that had been raised in Allied intelligence – Buchholz's action as an intermediary in the sale of artworks through his Lisbon gallery:

The property of a foreigner, and with an intent of sale, a painting was exhibited some time ago at the new Buchholz Gallery, by el Greco, representing *El Expólio*. While a replica of many that the genial artist painted of that theme it, was however, an art happening in this city, which does not own in its museums the smallest work of such extraordinary Master<sup>531</sup>

In his correspondence with Portuguese Customs discussed in Chapter II, Macedo stated that Buchholz had begun his activities in Lisbon with the exhibition of the El Greco painting. Allied sources also confirmed that, in at least in one case, Buchholz went beyond holding photographs of paintings intended for sale elsewhere, but indeed displayed one of these paintings as an intermediary for a sale. Almost a year after Macedo's statement, the Art Looting Investigation Unit would repeat Macedo's information, and further expand on the painting's dimensions – 0,80m x 0,47m – and translate its certificate of authenticity, apparently signed by German art historian August Mayer<sup>532</sup>, dated 26 July 1928.<sup>533</sup> In Mayer's words, El Greco would have executed the painting after painting the better-known version owned by at the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, where Mayer served as curator. Mayer also indicated that this painting would

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<sup>531</sup> Macedo overlooked the painting by El Greco held at the Ajuda National palace, which was then closed to the public (Inv n 4573). D. Macedo 'Noticiário', in *Ocidente*, XXI, 67, p, 306.

<sup>532</sup> Fleeing to France in 1940, Mayer was deported from there to Auschwitz in 1943, where he was murdered at an unknown date.

<sup>533</sup> NARA M1944. Records of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Historic Monuments in War Areas, 1943-6/ Art Unit report, July 1944.

feature in his then forthcoming *catalogue raisonné* of El Greco's work as item 77. While there is no known publication by Mayer bearing this title, the closest matching monograph by the author is *El Greco*, published in 1931. This publication, however, does not include any information on dimensions of the works of art, thereby rendering the identification of the painting impossible.

Of the various versions identified with measurements from a variety of sources, most can be excluded from being the Lisbon El Greco given their dimensions and/or provenance history which places them in other locations in 1943. Two versions of the painting present strong arguments for having been exhibited in Lisbon – one by its provenance history, which places it squarely in Buchholz's professional orbit and contact network; the other by exact matching of the paintings dimensions and its presumed current location.

The first measures 72,1cm by 44,2cm, and was sold in 2006 at Christie's.<sup>534</sup> Christie's description of the painting's authorship – a late version, by multiple hands – matches the opinion of Diogo de Macedo, who saw the painting, and differs from Mayer's. The variation in measurements, with the Lisbon version being 7,9cm taller and 2,8 cm wider could account for a framed painting. The whereabouts of this painting during the Second World War are unknown. Christie's states its owner circa 1930 was German art historian Ludwig Justi, who headed Berlin's National Gallery between 1909 and 1933. Having embraced vanguard artistic movements and German Expressionism in particular, he was dismissed from his posts by the Nazis as soon as they came to power. Most of his museum acquisitions were disposed of 1937 as 'degenerate art', and he was reinstated after the war. The painting's subsequent known owner was Mrs. Hugo Moser, by 1962, the date of her or her husband's purchase of the artwork being unknown. While many Hugo Mosers may qualify as the owner of the painting, one in particular

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<sup>534</sup> Christie's, London. *Important Old Masters pictures*, Sale 7253, 6 July 2006, lot 47.

stands out – Hugo L. Moser (1882?-1972), art dealer and collector, originally from Berlin, who left Germany for New York in 1933.<sup>535</sup> Moser is also known for being the art dealer who helped to dispose of the collection of Kaiser Wilhelm II and the royal family well into the post-war period.<sup>536</sup> Moser left Germany for the Netherlands in 1933, and moved to the United States in 1939. As a collector, his interests lay with post-impressionists and German modern artists. In 1939, the Mosers sent their collection from the Netherlands to the Baltimore Museum of Art. The collection entered at the museum on May 1, 1939.<sup>537</sup> If the el Greco was included in this group of works, then it is unlikely that the version exhibited in Lisbon four years later was Moser's.

The fact that Justi's, Moser's and Buchholz's social and professional networks overlapped, as well as the identity of the post-war owner of the painting, gives consistency to the identification of the Lisbon El Greco as the one auctioned by Christie's in 2006. Nevertheless, the discrepancy in measurements and the possibility that the El Greco was shipped to the United States before the fall of France give pause to such conclusion.

Of the other possibility for the identification of the El Greco exhibited by Buchholz in Lisbon, that of a private Swiss collection, very little is known. Its identification, measurements and ownership were first published in a press release for an exhibition in Toledo.<sup>538</sup> Dating from 2014 it stated that this was a 'reduced version (80 x 47 cm), from El Greco's studio, kept in a private collection in Switzerland, and that had never before been exhibited in Spain'. This information is complemented by a statement from the Spanish Ministry for Education on the occasion of the same

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<sup>535</sup> 'Hugo Moser, Art collector and dealer, is dead at 90', in *New York Times*, 3 Jan. 1972, p. 58.

<sup>536</sup> See correspondence between Duveen and Moser at Getty research Institute.

<sup>537</sup> See the provenance history of 'Restaurant Rispal at Asnieres', at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, <https://art.nelson-atkins.org/objects/47412/restaurant-rispal-at-asnieres> (14 January 2019).

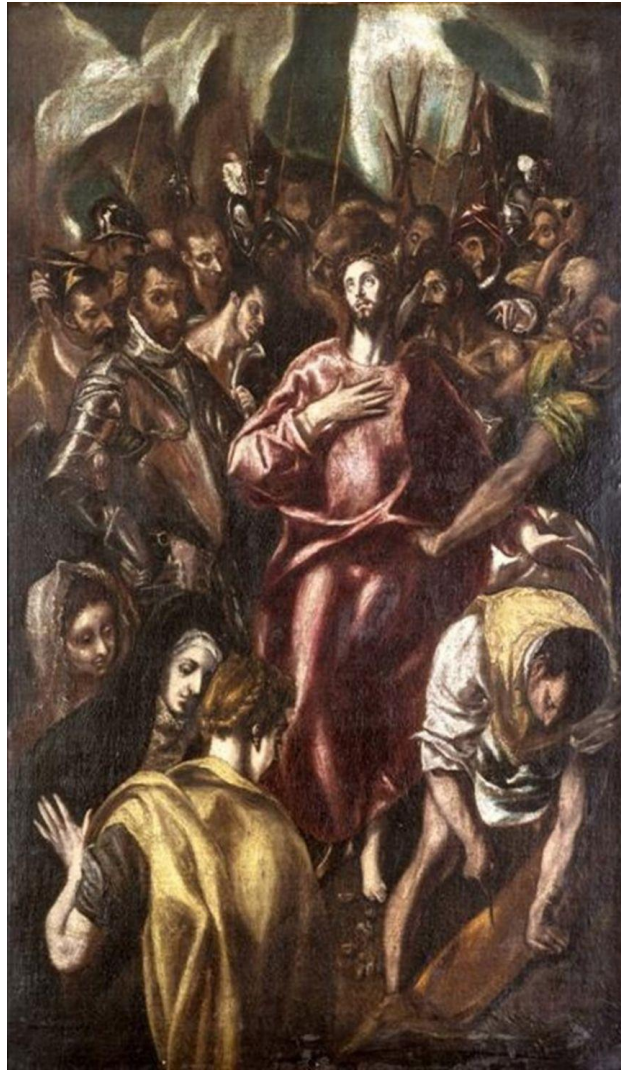
<sup>538</sup> 'Una versión reducida de 'El Expolio', en el Museo del Greco, en Toledo', *Europapress*, 6 October 2014, <https://www.europapress.es/castilla-lamancha/noticia-version-reducida-expolio-nunca-expuesto-estara-museo-greco-toledo-diciembre-20141006084510.html> (14 January 2019).

exhibition specifying that this version had been ‘in a private collection in Switzerland since the early twentieth century’.<sup>539</sup> The fact that the dimensions of the painting are an exact match of those provided by Allied intelligence sources in 1943; that this painting appears to have been located in Switzerland throughout the twentieth-century, coinciding with the location of the three Old Masters paintings whose sale Buchholz hoped to mediate in Lisbon, strongly support that this little known painting is in fact the version of *El Expolio* that was exhibited in Lisbon.

Regardless of the precise identification of the Lisbon El Greco, one particularity stands out. Given the early date of Macedo’s publication, November 1943, and his statement regarding the beginning of Buchholz’s activity in Lisbon, we can safely state that the El Greco arrived in Portugal sometime between the opening of the bookshop and gallery and November 1943. It is thus particularly telling that its import tax waiver request, or the exit permit request, have not been located in the DGESBA archives. As such, the channels through which *The Disrobing of Christ* moved through the country, either from Europe to North America or between Switzerland and Portugal. whether as undeclared property or with the assistance of Buchholz’s diplomatic network, suggest a desire to keep its international movements under wraps.

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<sup>539</sup> ‘Pieza invitada. El Expolio’, *Museu del Greco*, <http://www.culturaydeporte.gob.es/mgreco/actividades/exposiciones-temporales/2014/expolio.html> (14 January 2019).



*Image VI.38 – El Expolio, El Greco and his studio, presumably owned by a private Swiss collection. Possibly exhibited in Lisbon in 1943 at the Buchholz bookshop.*

*Source: Spanish Ministry of Education*

The sources consulted for this section, and in particular the Mário Novais photographic archive, have enabled, for the first time, the identification of the non-Portuguese artists exhibited by the Buchholz gallery in Lisbon during the war period. The exhaustive examination of the various primary and secondary sources discussed here have enabled the construction of a small database of works of art brought into the country by Buchholz. (Appendix IV.2) Overall, between 1943 and 1945, Buchholz brought into the country more than sixty works of art, in which works on



paper (drawings and prints) predominated, followed by sculpture and one painting. The most represented artists were Gerhard Marcks, with at least eighteen drawings and one sculpture, and Richard Scheibe with seventeen drawings. Karl Hofer and Renée Sintenis had each at least six artworks – Hofer's were exclusively works on paper, while Sintenis's works included at least five sculptures and an undetermined number of works on paper. The Hermann Haller, a Swiss, had six sculptures featured in a Buchholz Lisbon exhibition. The El Greco, which Buchholz brought to Lisbon as an intermediary for a possible sale, stands out for being a non-modern art piece, and also for being the only painting identified so far.

In addition, the comparison between the works exhibited with Lisbon, with the corpus produced by each artist, has resulted in the identification of a significant number of objects, in particular those by sculptors Renée Sintenis and Hermann Haller. While it has been possible to determine that none of the works identified here came originally from the purges of so-called degenerate art in German museums, it has not been possible to determine the exact provenance of these items, and therefore exclude them from a dubious transfer of ownership between 1933 and 1945. The nature of the artworks displayed in Lisbon, works on paper and sculptures, has hindered their identification. In the case of the drawings, the lack of detail in the images presented ruled out a specific match. In the case of sculptures, the existence of multiple casts voided any photo-based identification.

Likewise, it has been impossible, thus far, to determine the destination of these artworks. If they were sold in Portugal, they did not enter a public collection, according to the national inventory database and to museum correspondence files. They might have left the country, headed to the Buchholz gallery in New York, as had happened in the past; or perhaps headed to another of the Buchholz outposts, in Bucharest or in

Berlin, both of which, as we have seen, were seriously damaged by the end of the war. It is, however, possible to affirm that, in a roundabout way, Buchholz's Lisbon stock of so-called degenerate art owed much to Valentin. Indeed, of the six artists whose work was exhibited in Lisbon, only two – Gerhard Marcks and Richard Scheibe – had never exhibited their works with Flechtheim during the 1920s. Whether individually or collectively the others exhibited there with regularity until the closing of the gallery: Haller between 1913 and 1932; Hofer between 1919 and 1933; Sintenis between 1920 and 1933; and Kolbe between 1929 and 1933. Furthermore, Flechtheim also represented Sintenis and Hofer until 1933.

The information uncovered here situates Buchholz's international activities post-1941 for the first time. For those who study the activity of German art dealers during the war, it illuminates the network with which Buchholz worked to open his Lisbon outpost – the *Ibero-amerikanische Institut*; the Portuguese artists sanctioned by the *Estado Novo*; and the German Foreign Office. It presents the first chronology of Buchholz's Lisbon wartime exhibitions; it partially documents the geographical circuit followed by the dealer, with items being sent from Berlin to Lisbon directly, either by commercial transport or by diplomatic channels; and it identifies the artists and artworks exhibited in Lisbon as part of the core artists, which were represented and/or exhibited by Buchholz, and by his former partner Curt Valentin both in Berlin and in New York.

For those studying Portuguese art history, the information uncovered here reveals that Portuguese artists were exposed to so-called degenerate art in Lisbon during the war; that Buchholz established connections with Portuguese modern artists from the moment of his gallery opening, yet that he eschewed collaborations with German modernists who had settled in Lisbon; likewise, that he was soon to call upon established Portuguese writers and critics, such as Diogo de Macedo and José Régio,

and upon the *Estúdio Mário Novais*, to create his exhibition catalogues and a photographic record of his activities; and especially that his exhibitions were positively welcomed by the Lisbon intellectual circles, some of whom openly acknowledged that the works on display were considered less acceptable by the Nazi regime.

Public commentary was restricted to the works of art themselves. At no point did the banished condition of Renee Sintenis and Karl Hofer, or the difficult situation of Gerhard Marcks, deserve a reference, or seem to cause disquiet in the Portuguese circles. Likewise, the reviewers did not engage in interrogations regarding the provenance of the artworks, or the conditions in which they had arrived in Portugal. It is possible that Buchholz presented himself as a rescuer of these artists and of their art, as he did with the Allied troops, and as his daughter later defended. Perhaps the seeds for what would become Buchholz's status as a supporter of Portuguese intellectual resistance against the dictatorship during the 1960s, by selling banished books and exhibiting modern Portuguese artists, were already being sown at the time.

**The *Galeria de Arte*: Elfriede Marques Pereira, Conrad John and Leon Josipovicci.**

Together with *Livraria Buchholz*, the *Galeria de Arte* is the art dealing business with the most individuals involved in its activities, according to the Red Flag list. They are Elfriede Marques Pereira, whose name appears misspelled on the list, Leon Josipovicci, and Conrad John. Unlike Karl Buchholz, none of these individuals are widely known for their activities as art dealers between 1933 and 1945. It is therefore necessary to dive deep into primary sources to attempt to outline the circumstances under which these three individuals caught the attention of the Allies.

The Art Looting Investigation Unit reports and the American Joint Jewish Distribution Committee (henceforth, JDC) records provide some information regarding

Leon Josipovicci. Thanks to this information, it is possible to reconstruct a partial chronology of his whereabouts between 1942 and 1945. According to JDC records, Leon Josipovici [sic] was recorded on 29 October 1942 as staying in Barcelona as a Jewish displaced person.<sup>540</sup> By February 1944, the JDC sources place him on a list of refugees who were given financial support in Portugal in 1943.<sup>541</sup> This list provides additional details regarding Josipovicci. Born on 5 May 1908 in Berlin, he was an auto-mechanic, and resided in Ericeira, an area of assigned residence. The circumstances of his encounters with Marques Pereira and John are detailed in a memo drafted in March 1945 for the Roberts Commission.<sup>542</sup> Titled 'Josipovicci, Leon', it gave extensive information regarding his actions in Portugal. According to this report, Josipovicci tried to sell a painting to an American national in Lisbon, provided to him by Conrad John and the *Galeria de Arte*. The same memo indicated that Josipovicci also had in his possession other works of art from the *Galeria de Arte*, as well as a number of rugs and textiles provided to him by Erich Popper. This memo confirms that Leon Josipovicci is the same man who received support from the JDC, and that he entered Portugal on 13 December 1942. According to the information provided, Josipovicci, John, and Popper were friends, and the two 'being friends of the subject, allowed him to sell various of their articles on a commission basis. Source does not believe that any of the articles being sold by subject were supplied by Germans for the purpose of raising cash assets in Portugal.' It thus appears that Leon Josipovicci was not a partner of Marques Pereira in Galeria de Arte, but rather a friend of Conrad John, who sold on

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<sup>540</sup> Joint Distribution Committee archives. Jewish Displaced Persons and Refugee Cards, 1943-1959. Record 493, 'Josipovici, Leon'.

<sup>541</sup> Joint Distribution Committee archives. Refugees in Portugal Assisted by JDC, 1943. Record 319, 'Josipovici'.

<sup>542</sup> NARA M1944. Roberts Commission Archives/Reports, compiled 1944 – 1946. Art Project cases, pp 55-6.

commission. He does not appear to have sold works of art to private collectors nor to the public museums researched in this chapter.

As for Conrad John, sources are even more limited with specific information regarding his presence in Portugal. He is described in the Red Flag Name List as running the *Galeria de Arte* with Elfriede Marques Pereira. The revised ALIU report from August 1945 also sustains that there is no positive evidence of Conrad John handling looted art. The memo describing the activities of Leon Josipovicci quoted above also included an interesting reference to John, by naming him ‘Konrad (or Edward) John’. Searches for individuals under this name have yielded several possibilities of identification. The most likely appears to be that of an individual named Eduward [sic] John, born in Germany, who appears on a list of passengers who boarded the *Cap Arcona* in Southampton, on 9 March 1935.<sup>543</sup> According to this document, he and Mathilde John, presumably his wife were German nationals who resided in Lisbon, and had been staying at the Strand hotel in London. He is described as a forty-three-year-old merchant, which means he would have been born in 1892 or 1893. A search for the name of his wife yielded the records of what appears to be the date of their migration to Portugal.<sup>544</sup> This list of passengers aboard the *General Osorio*, sailing from Hamburg to Buenos Aires on 2 November 1934, lists the couple, whose nationality, age, and occupation matches the information found in the 1935 records, as Hamburg residents traveling to Lisbon. Under religion, the couple appears as *evangelisch*, i.e. Lutheran. The nature of John’s business as thus far been impossible to determine. His name does not appear in the lists of German nationals to be repatriated to Germany in the post-war period. John’s only known business thus far is precisely the *Galeria de Arte*.

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<sup>543</sup> The National Archives (Kew). BT27 Board of Trade: Commercial and Statistical Department and Successors: Outwards Passenger Lists/Reference Number: *Series BT27* (via Ancestry.com).

<sup>544</sup> Hamburg State Archives. Hamburg passenger lists 1850-1934. November 1935 (via Ancestry.com).

The card file record for Marques Pereira lists her as being of Polish origin, married to a Portuguese national, residing in Lisbon for several years, and the mother of a university-age son. She is listed as part owner of the *Galeria de Arte*, with Conrad John as a partner. She is described as traveling regularly to Spain to buy works of art. This record also states that her involvement in the trade of looted art is ‘very improbable’.<sup>545</sup> A revised ALIU report, dating from August 1945 states that ‘Positive evidence against individual is lacking and it is reported here only as a suggestion that operations of individual may bear watching’.<sup>546</sup> Regardless of these notes and reports, her name, that of Conrad, and Josipovicci’s remained on the Red Flag Name list. However, even as Marques Pereira began importing high numbers of works of art from 1946 onwards, it appears that her activities were not tracked any further by the Allies.

From the research undertaken in Chapter II, Marques Pereira appears to be the leader of the *Galeria de Arte*. It was she who submitted the import tax waiver requests discussed in Chapter II; it was she who as recorded by collector Anastácio Gonçalves as the seller of his porcelain acquisitions to *Galeria de Arte*.

Marques Pereira’s death duty file, held at the Archives of the Ministry of Finance, is not currently accessible to researchers due to data protection laws.<sup>547</sup> However, certain information was made available by the Ministry of Finance archivists. It confirms that she was born in Antwerp as Elfriede Jeannette Lewin, and that she married Portuguese national Francisco Marques Pereira at an unknown date. Her single heir was her son. The death duty file also specifies that, while she left privately owned paintings and prints to her son as inheritance, as well as her bank accounts, she was no longer involved with *Galeria de Arte*, or with any other established art dealership.

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<sup>545</sup> NARA M1944. ‘Geographical Card Files on Possible Art-Looting Subjects, compiled 1943 – 1946. ‘Perreira, Elfriede Marques’.

<sup>546</sup> NARA M144. Roberts Commission Archives/Card File on Art-Looting Suspects, compiled 1943 – 1946/, ‘John, Conrad’.

<sup>547</sup> Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archives. DGCI/LIS/LIS8/IS/01272, ‘Elfriede Marques Pereira’.

Unlike the files of other foreign-born residents held at archives of the Ministry of Finance, Marques Pereira's file is strangely silent regarding the date and place of her marriage – which should coincide with her acquisition of Portuguese nationality – or regarding her entry into Portugal. However, the fact that her son was born in Lisbon in 1923 suggests that her marriage, acquisition of nationality, and even perhaps her move to Portugal occurred at least ten years before the rise of the Nazi regime. At the time of her death, her residence was listed as 4, Rua D. Dinis, in Lisbon. While her birth date is also missing from the death duty file, her age at time of death, seventy-three, indicates that she would have been born in 1897 or 1896.

Marques Pereira's activities have been partially studied by Ana Anjos Mântua, in the context of the formation of collection of António Anastácio Gonçalves.<sup>548</sup> Described as a specialist in Chinese ceramics, and in particular Chinese porcelain, Marques Pereira was identified as the seller of nine of these objects to Anastácio Gonçalves between 1948 and 1955. His earliest purchase, in 1948, pertained to a Chinese porcelain jar with lid, for 7,000 *escudos*. This object may well have been part of the hundreds of Chinese porcelain objects imported into the country by Marques Pereira, and summarily described in Chapter II. Unfortunately, given the lack of detail provided in the descriptions, and the inexistence of a photographic record,

The Mário Novais Studio archives have three images labelled '*Galeria de Arte*'. Given the generic nature of this expression, it is impossible to ascertain that these images correspond to Marques Pereira's establishment, rather than to any art gallery. Nevertheless, they are reproduced here. Two of the three images are general views of the store display and appear to have been taken on the same occasion. The works of art represented there include Chinese export porcelain, furniture, mirrors and paintings. (Figures VI.39-41) The tabletop appears to have inlaid decorations. (Figure VI.41). The

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<sup>548</sup> Mântua, 'As aquisições do Dr. Anastácio Gonçalves'.

fourth image filed under ‘Galeria de Arte’, represents a Chinese porcelain service, composed of sixteen items, featuring a coat of arms. This arrangement, designed to show off the extent of the types of objects included in the service, most likely included many more examples of plates, soup plates, dessert plates, and salt cellars, among others. While certain descriptors in the import tax waiver requests submitted by Marques Pereira could loosely describe this porcelain set, it is impossible to determine with certainty if these items were brought into the country by her.



*Figures VI.39 to VI.41 – Photographs labelled ‘Galeria de Arte’ in the Mário Novais Studio archive. Source: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Art Library.*

The analysis of the information contained in surviving Portuguese and international primary sources has resulted in the better understanding of the biographies and actions of the three individuals involved with Galeria de Arte. Leon Josipovicci



appears to be a contact of opportunity, and not someone heavily involved, and knowledgeable, of the art world. Conrad, or Edward, John, is more difficult to identify, although it seems clear that he was a partner, though perhaps a silent one, in Galeria de Arte. Elfriede Marques Pereira, whose arrival in Portugal continues to be difficult to date, emerges as the person most involved in Galeria de Arte's activities and, therefore, the one most requiring further research.

As far as objects are concerned, it has not been possible to establish a connection between the works of art possibly displayed at the Galeria de Arte, as photographed by the Mário Novais Studio, and the itemised lists included in the import tax waiver permits. In terms of documented sales in the Portuguese art market, only those reflected in the archives of António Anastácio Gonçalves have been identified. Here too, however, it has been impossible to identify these works as having been imported.

### **Erich Popper, supplier of the national palaces' refurbishment project<sup>549</sup>**

David Erich Popper, mostly known as Erich Popper<sup>550</sup> contrasts with the foreign art dealers active in Portugal during the Second World War in several ways. Firstly, unlike the other dealers studied here, his name did not appear on the Red Flag Name list. Secondly, among the foreign art dealers discussed by Allied intelligence, he alone appears to have been active at the beginning of the war. Finally, unlike the other dealers discussed previously, whose immigration to Portugal appears directly related to the fall of France and to the application of anti-Semitic laws in France, Popper settled in Portugal before 1940, and, as we will see, enjoyed a somewhat established position

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<sup>549</sup> I am grateful to art dealers João José and José Mário Andrade who shared with me their recollections of Erich David Popper's establishment in Lisbon.

<sup>550</sup> His name has known several variations which include the Portuguese version of his first name into Eurico; as well as Eric, and E. Popper.

within the expatriate Jewish community in Lisbon by the time the likes of Buchholz and Marques Pereira opened their business.

His activities were flagged by Allies in different types of documents. The earliest mention pertains to the Vaucher Commission report, dating from July 1945. The report includes a physical description of the dealer - a fat, short man in his fifties, with reddish hair. The Vaucher report presented him as claiming that his works of art were acquired in Porto, before 1939, and keen to reach out to refugees, and presumably their property: 'He has been described as prominent in the antique trade of Lisbon and anxious to keep in touch "with refugees and foreign dealers"'.<sup>551</sup> Interestingly, the Vaucher report indicated that Popper and Jacques Kugel did business together, through the Calendas antique shop.<sup>552</sup>

Another set of documents, the card file on art looting subjects, lists him as residing in Lisbon, at 29, Rua de S. Sebastião da Pedreira.<sup>553</sup> The file provides additional biographical information, namely pertaining to the existence of a son living in the United States, and drafted into the US Army, and of a first wife also living there. Should this be accurate, and should Popper have maintained contact with them, they could have provided a point of contact in the United States throughout the war. Regarding the art objects with which he could be associated, the card file specified: 'Has some good objects including series of small silver panels of the Passion from designs by Dürer which he claims turned up in Oporto, Portugal, before 1939'. This set of small silver panels may correspond to a set photographed by Mário Novais, which will be discussed below.

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<sup>551</sup> NARA M1946. Ardelia Hall papers. Munich Centre Collecting Point, 1945-1951. 'A list of German and Austrian Art Dealers' in Commission for the Protection and Restitution of Cultural Material [Vaucher Commission]. Report, 16 July 1945.

<sup>552</sup> NARA M1946. Ardelia Hall papers. Munich Centre Collecting Point, 1945-1951. 'A list of art dealers of enemy nationality/collaborationist' in Commission for the Protection and Restitution of Cultural Material [Vaucher Commission]. Report, 16 July 1945.

<sup>553</sup> NARA M1944. Records of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Historic Monuments in War Areas, 1943-6/'Card File on Art Looting Suspects, compiled 1943-46'.

Other Allied sources discuss Popper and his activities. In early 1945, he appears as a supplier of ‘several rugs’ to Red Flag Name listee Leon Josipovicci who would then sell on a commission basis.<sup>554</sup> The informant further specified that Popper was on a friendly basis with Josipovicci and Conrad/Edward John, and thus presumably with the *Galeria de Arte*. The same memo states that Popper’s stock was presumed to have no great value by the informant, although the intelligence officer deemed this information to require further investigation. This information was left out of the final reports by the ALIU, and, while Josipovicci and Conrad were included in the Red Flag Name list, Popper was not mentioned.

Further information regarding Popper, namely the context of his establishment in Portugal, and any documented transactions of artworks in the territory, can only be gleaned from Portuguese sources. He appears as a peripheral figure in the refugee account of Erich Brodheim, who, as described in Chapter V, was living in Caldas da Rainha. Brodheim described him as the man from whom he rented a vacuum cleaner to earn his living.<sup>555</sup>

Furthermore, as the data analysed in Chapter II has revealed, Popper has at least one documented import request, dating from 1946. Chapter III revealed that his store, *Salão d’Arte Antiga*, sold at least one object to the MNAA. In addition, in 1960, he sold a Dresden porcelain lidded cup and plate to private collector Anastácio Gonçalves.<sup>556</sup>

Various files held at the Finance Ministry reveal vital biographical information regarding Popper.<sup>557</sup> While his death duty file, dating from 1975, cannot be accessed for data protection reasons, that of his second wife, Hilda, who died of cancer in 1955, aged

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<sup>554</sup> NARA M1944. Records of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas, 1943-1946. V/48/O Art Project Cases, A-L

<sup>555</sup> Pimentel, *Judeus*, p.240.

<sup>556</sup> MatrizNet, Casa Museu Dr. Anastácio Gonçalves. CMAG 573 and CMAG 574.

<sup>557</sup> Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archive. DGCI/LIS/LIS10/IS/36866 ‘David Eric Popper / David Erich Popper / David Popper / David Eurico Popper / David E. Popper / Erich Popper’.

forty-eight is available to researchers.<sup>558</sup> The documents in the file – death certificate, property inventory, marriage certificate – reveal that Erich Popper was born David Erich Popper in Hanover, Germany, in 1892. The couple married in Lisbon, in April 1937. They had been sharing the same address in the city, Rua Pinheiro Chagas, 22, 3<sup>rd</sup> floor-right.<sup>559</sup> Having researched other art dealers in the Red Flag List, one detail provided in the marriage certificate surprises us. One of the two witnesses present at their wedding was Eduardo John, described as a married merchant who also shared the Poppers' address. Given what has been determined in this chapter regarding the identity of Conrad John, what the certificate reveals is that the friendship between the two men was long-standing, and extremely close. This may account for the fact that both helped Leon Josipovicci and raises the issue of whether they shared additional commercial interests.

At some time during the Second World War, the couple moved to Rua de São Sebastião da Pedreira, 29, 1<sup>st</sup> floor, and maintained this address until the death of both. Hilda's death duty file also reveals that this was Popper's second marriage, as he had been awarded a divorce from Helga Schmidt, in 1921, in Germany. At this moment, it is impossible to ascertain whether he met his second wife in Portugal or whether they left Germany together.

Both Popper and his second wife received Portuguese identity cards in 1937 – he in January, she in April, six days before their wedding. These were identity cards for foreign residents, not a concession of nationality. The couple went on to have one daughter, Irene Rosita Popper, who was fourteen at the time of her mother's death. In 1951, Popper was awarded Portuguese citizenship, and adapted his name to David Eurico Popper. Hilda's biographical information is interesting inasmuch as it reveals

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<sup>558</sup> Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archive. DGCI/LIS/LIS10/IS/11882 'Hilda Joseph Popper'.

<sup>559</sup> Ibid., marriage certificate.

that, while she was born in Koblenz, her father, also a tradesman, was living in the United States by 1937. As both Erich and Hilda had family connections in the United States who could possibly have vouched for the couple should they have wanted to emigrate for the United States, it appears that their decision to reside in Portugal was a conscientious one.

The individuals named as executors of Hilda's will reveal the extent to which the couple was well integrated within the Lisbon Jewish community, especially those of German origin. The trustees in charge of protecting the assets of Irene Rosita, then a minor, included refugees who had settled in Portugal during the late 1920s and early 1930s. Professor Kurt Jacobsohn (1904-1991) stood among the precursors of German *emigrés*, as he had settled in the country in 1929, when he first received a contract to work as a biochemical researcher for the *Instituto de Investigação Científica Bento da Rocha Cabral*; his neighbour in the town of Oeiras, Charlotte Arons, who had settled in Portugal with her husband Alfred and daughters Ruth and Ellen in 1936, and Elsa Kahn, the wife of Henrique Kahn (born Heinrich), also named as an executor along with his brother Benjamin, served as Irene Rosita's caretaker. This range of established figures attests to the Popper's standing within the Lisbon German Jewish community, and, together with Hilda's burial at the Israelite Cemetery of Lisbon, is further corroboration of the Poppers' Jewish confession. Popper's death duty file indicates that he died in 1975, in Lisbon.

While Hilda's death duty file does not specify her, or her husband's, date of arrival to Portugal, shipping records place this sometime between 1926 and late 1936. In April 1936, Popper travelled with his brother from Hamburg to New York, returning to Europe in June of that same year.<sup>560</sup> Popper's first recorded travel to Portugal occurred in September 1936, when he was listed as a second-class passenger aboard the *Asturias*,

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<sup>560</sup> Hamburg State Archives. Hamburg passenger lists 1850-1934. (via Ancestry.com).

leaving from Southampton to Buenos Aires.<sup>561</sup> Listing his nationality as German and his occupation as merchant, he was traveling alone, headed to Portugal. After the war, Popper soon resumed his intercontinental traveling, landing at New York-La Guardia on 2 September 1946, accompanied by his wife and daughter. This was presumably the date when he left his daughter, Irene Rosita, in the care of relatives, as passenger records of travels to New York from 1947 and 1950 list him as visiting his daughter.<sup>562</sup> With one exception, Popper listed his occupation as a merchant visiting on business in each of his entries to the United States. However, in 1946, he listed his occupation as ‘Dealer in antiques’, and the purpose of his visit being the ‘Purchase of Persian carpets’. This occurrence is particularly noteworthy as Popper is recorded as having requested an import tax exemption for an undetermined number of textiles and carpets, as uncovered in Chapter II.



*Image VI.42 – Erich David Popper, in 1948. Source: "Rio de Janeiro Brazil, Immigration Cards, 1900-1965", Ancestry.com*

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<sup>561</sup> Ellis Island Passenger Records database, <https://heritage.statueofliberty.org/> (15 June 2021).

<sup>562</sup> Ibidem.

The death duty files also reveal that Popper and Hungarian national Zoltan Hauser set up an import-export company, *Eco-Trading Lda.*, in Lisbon. This would have occurred sometime after 1939, the year of Hauser's taking up residence in Portugal.<sup>563</sup> Hauser's Portuguese nationality request file reveals that he was born in 1904 in Budapest.<sup>564</sup> He enjoyed a close connection with the Portuguese military through his Portuguese wife Gabriela, whom he married in December 1943. The daughter and sister of military men, her father was Daniel Simões Soares, former Governor of Madeira, and her brother was Joaquim Manuel da Costa Junior, major at the *Corpo do Estado Maior*, an elite army corps that was extinguished in 1974. The network of military contacts served him well when it came to look for references for his Portuguese nationality, in 1949. After the war, *Eco-Trading* was renamed *Eco Mercantil Lda.*, and had offices in Porto and Lisbon. Its area of business from 1948 onwards was declared to be 'machines and tools'.<sup>565</sup>

In February 1943, the activities of Eco-Trading came to the attention of the general Directorate of Public Finance [DGFP] at the Ministry of Finance. Acting on information provided by an unknown source, the DGFP alerted the customs office to the need of inspecting the export of artworks promoted by Popper, Hauser and Eco Trading:

According to information I judge reliable, these are tradesmen exporters of artworks, whose doings must be inspected in order to ensure the exact abiding of the current legal dispositions.<sup>566</sup>

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<sup>563</sup> National Archives at Torre do Tombo. PIDE/DGS. Report on Zoltan Hauser, by the Policia Internacional de Defesa do Estado, 23 October 1949, addressed to the Ministry of Interior.

<sup>564</sup> National Archives at Torre do Tombo. MI-DGAPC/D/762. Naturalisation process for Zoltan Hauser. Correspondência recebida do Distrito de Lisboa. Certificate issued by Hungarian Legation in Lisbon, 19 November 1943.

<sup>565</sup> MI-DGAPC/D/762. Memo from Eco Mercantil, Lda, 28 July 1948.

<sup>566</sup> Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archive. DGFP/BARTS/001 'Providências sobre exportação de obras de arte', signed by Antonio Luiz Gomes, 9 February 1943.

By August, Allied intelligence had been made aware of the suspicions regarding *Eco-Trading's* activities, as indicated the Safehaven Commission's master reference list.<sup>567</sup> This undated document refers to Hauser the owner of *Eco Trading*, listing him as a German research expert. Curiously, at no point did Allied intelligence appear to connect Popper with Eco Trading – this only occurred in Portuguese sources. These sources raise the possibility that Popper might have been engaging in the illegal export of artworks, since, by law, all requests for the export of works of art had to be examined by an expert, and, as Chapter II revealed, while Popper submitted one import tax exemption in 1946, never did he or Eco Trading ever submit an export request. The investigation suggested by the DGFP does not appear to have been followed up as there is no recorded answer to the original memo, and the file was archived in December of that same year. Whether this lack of interest by the Portuguese state may be related to Hauser's marriage into an established military family can only remain within the field of speculation. However, the coincidence of the two events occurring on the same month of December 1943 should be noted at this time.

Popper's name did not integrate the Proclaimed list. It did however appear in an OSS memo, dated 23 August 1945, which listed the residents of German origin allowed by the Portuguese state to resume normal business activity.<sup>568</sup> Perhaps this information explains why, in spite of Popper's dealings being identified as problematic both by the Portuguese government and by the Allies, his name did not appear on the Red Flag Name list as published by the OSS.

Portuguese primary sources confirm that Popper operated as an art dealer from

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<sup>567</sup> NARA M1934. Records created for Project Safehaven, 1942-1946, to restrict German financial networks and prevent the country from funding another war. WASH-SPDF-INT-1: Document 9409, p. 287.

<sup>568</sup> NARA M1934. Washington Office, Special Funds Division Finance, Intelligence (WASH-SPDF-INT). Office of Strategic Services, 'Firms authorised to resume normal business activity. Portugal', 23 August 1945.



at least 1939 onwards.<sup>569</sup> Business letterhead reveals that by 1940, his business was located in the central Lisbon area at 7, Rua D. Pedro V. From the first semester 1940 onwards, he moved his business to the vicinity of the Alfredo da Costa maternity, and of the house of collector Anastácio Gonçalves, at the ground floor of 11, Av. 5 de Outubro. At some stage during the war, he moved to the address at Rua S. Sebastião da Pedreira, his final private and commercial address.

As the consultation of on-site and online databases and archives reveal, Popper, while not a seller to Portuguese museums, was indeed an active seller to the Portuguese State, namely to the national palaces between 1939 and 1942. *MatrizNet* reveals that items sold by Popper are currently in the collections of the National Palaces of Sintra, Queluz, the Ducal Palace in Guimarães. It also reveals one sale to António Anastácio Gonçalves.

Unlike Buchholz and Marques Pereira, Popper, who had opened his business before the beginning of the war, was in the unique position of benefitting from the acquisitions drive by national museums and palaces that began in 1939 as part of the refurbishment program of the Centennials celebrations. With the exception of the Ajuda National Palace, the remaining palaces owned by the State – Pena, Sintra, Queluz, Mafra, Belém – were, for the most part, without their furnishings, whose ownership lay with the deposed royal family. In 1939, architect Raul Lino, described in Chapter II as one of the art experts called upon to evaluate import tax waiver requests, was appointed the artistic superintendent for national palaces. In this capacity, he decided on the purchases for each institution.

In order to determine in detail the number, content, and value of the purchases from Popper made by the national palaces, and to establish their current location, it has

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<sup>569</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives. DGESBA/1939. ‘Palacios Nacionais’/ Memo from the Director of the Public Treasury addressed to the President of the National Education Board, 27 June 1939.

been necessary to consult a variety of sources, which, given the changes in the supervisory agencies for the national palaces throughout time, has been a time consuming task. At the time of the Popper sales, the national palaces were under the supervision of the Ministry of Finance, and any art object acquisitions were to originate from the budget of the *Direcção Geral da Fazenda Pública* [DGFP], rather than that of the Ministry of Education, as was the case for museum purchases. However, each purchase had to be evaluated by the Junta Nacional de Educação [JNE], the consultation organism of the Ministry of Education that was also in charge of examining art import tax waiver and export requests. Interestingly Raul Lino, who worked for the Ministry of Finance as the Superintendent for the National Palaces, also served as an expert for the JNE, and therefore played an important role in both stages of a purchase circuit – the proposal for acquisition, and the expert recommendation on the proposal. In the early 2000s, some national palaces were brought under the supervision of the Ministry of Culture’s museum agency and integrated their collections into MatrizNet. Today, the buildings and their collections – with the exception of the Palace of Belém, which serves as the seat of the Presidency of the Republic – are under the supervision of the DGPC. Hence, only the consultation and cross-referencing of the contemporary archives of the Ministry of Finance, the historical archives of the Ministry of Education and MatrizNet results in the most representative database of Popper’s sales to the Portuguese state.

The database of Popper’s documented sales between 1933 and 1946 attributes a code number to each item. (Appendix V.4) Unlike fine arts objects, often described with a title and authorship, carpets, the typology that Popper most traded with the Portuguese state, can be extremely difficult to identify based on description alone. Terms such as ‘Oriental carpet’, or ‘Turkish carpet’ do not identify specific designs, but a general

attribution of origin and technique. Matching the items purchased from Popper in the 1940s with the currently held items at the national palace was detail-oriented and time-consuming task, based on cross-referencing item descriptions and measurements listed on the receipts given by Popper to the Ministry of Finance and on the correspondence held at the Junta Nacional de Educação, with the information available on MatrizNet. As far as measurements are concerned, most did not match exactly, as Popper seems to have rounded off these numbers. Thus, correspondences between items sold in the 1940s by Popper to the Portuguese state and the current items located in the national palaces as purchased from Popper, are educated guesses, based on description, closest matching measurements, and a game of elimination. (Appendix VI.5)

Popper's first attempted sale on record dates from June 1939 and pertains to an oriental carpet, measuring 3,05m by 2,26m, with a blue band and an off-white background, offered for 3,000 escudos. In this letter, Popper is described as residing at Rua D. Pedro V and, for presumably for the month of June, at Chalet *Búzio*, in São João do Estoril.<sup>570</sup> This purchase appears to have been unsuccessful, as no matching carpet has been located in the national collections, nor has a receipt been hitherto located. However, the minutes of the meetings of the JNE reveal that the purchase of an oriental carpet for the national palaces for 3,000 escudos was authorised in July 1939.<sup>571</sup>

Overall, Popper sold a total of thirty-four artworks to the national palaces, only one of which was not a textile-based object (EP32, Queluz National Palace PNQ1326). The declared sums disbursed by the Portuguese state amount to 78 800 *escudos*. Of the thirty carpets sold by Popper, twenty-three were Oriental carpets, and seven were Portuguese *Arraiolos* carpets. The remaining three textile-based objects featured one

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<sup>570</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives. DGESBA/1939. 'Palacios Nacionais' / Memo from the Director of the Public Treasury addressed to the President of the National Education Board, 27 June 1939.

<sup>571</sup> National Archives at Torre do Tombo. National Education Board. Second volume of meeting minutes, 34<sup>th</sup> session, 13 July 1939.

Kashmiri shawl (EP13, present location unknown) and two seventeenth-century Flemish tapestries (EP33 and EP34, Ducal Palace PD0162 and PD0163).

As far as dates of purchase are concerned, twenty-nine items – carpets and the shawl – were purchased during the first semester of 1940. In four separate transactions, the items, which were selected and proposed for acquisition by Raul Lino, were ostensibly for the furnishing of the Sintra National Palace. However, of the 1940 purchase, only thirteen, less than half, have been located within the collections of the Sintra National Palace. While it is possible that the remaining carpets are still at the Sintra National Palace, yet to be introduced in the MatrizNet, their transfer to another institution within Portuguese public administration is also a possibility. Only an in-depth examination of the paper archives of the Sintra National Palace can further enlighten us on this matter. Interestingly, none of the Arraiolos carpets purchased for Sintra has been located.

Three items were purchased in December 1942 for the Queluz National Palace. They were two Arraiolos carpets (EP30 and EP 31, current location unknown), for 2000 *escudos* and the aforementioned Portuguese ceramics box (EP32), for 200 *escudos*.<sup>572</sup> (Figure IV.43) Further details regarding this purchase can be found in the archives of the Ministry of Finance.<sup>573</sup>

As occurred with the Sintra purchases, Raul Lino recommended these acquisitions to the Portuguese State firstly as superintendent of the national palaces, and, a few weeks later, as the art expert of the JNE. In his second memo, Lino advocated the purchase of the carpets as ‘their measurements make them suitable to be placed in front of the canapés or sofas that the palace has in abundance. As for the

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<sup>572</sup> National Archives at Torre do Tombo. National Education Board. Second volume of meeting minutes, 68<sup>th</sup> Meeting, 10 December 1942.

<sup>573</sup> Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archive. DGFP1/LIS/SIN/BARTS/003, ‘Proposta de aquisição de dois tapetes de Arraiolos e um caneco de faiança portuguesa, para o Palácio Nacional de Queluz’.

ceramic pot, its interest resides in the fact that it comes with the lid, but also not only because of its artistic aspect, but also for representing a motif that enjoyed great popularity during the eighteenth and early nineteenth-century – that of the head of a black woman’.<sup>574</sup>



*Figure VI.43 – Ceramic pot with lid. Portugal, 1801-1825, 21 x 12 cm.  
Queluz National Palace, PNQ1326. Source: MatrizNet*

The succinct object description on MatrizNet does not include provenance, date of purchase, or price for the two Flemish tapestries purchased for the Guimarães National Palace. (Figures VI.44 and VI.45) No record of this purchase has been located at the archives of the Ministry of Finance, nor in the meeting minutes of the JNE. This may indicate a post-1946 purchase.

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<sup>574</sup> Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archive. DGFP1/LIS/SIN/BARTS/003, Memo signed by Raul Lino addressed to the National Education Board, undated, marked ‘approved at the session of 10/12/1942’.



*Image VI.44 - Fox hunt. Tapestry, Flanders, seventeenth century, 262 x 301 cm. Guimarães Ducal Palace, PD0163. Purchased from Erich Popper. Source. MatrizNet.*



*Image VI.45 - Boar hunt. Tapestry, Flanders, seventeenth century, 258 x 330 cm. Guimarães Ducal Palace, PD0162. Purchased from Erich Popper. Source. MatrizNet.*

The provenance of the works of art sold by Popper to the Portuguese State does not feature in MatrizNet. Presumably, objects of Portuguese origin – the Arraiolos carpets and the ceramics box – were sourced within the territory, confirming to some extent the narrative of the astute refugee who purchased carpets from the owners to whom he rented vacuum cleaners. As for the Oriental rugs, their origin is a mystery – they might have very well been sourced in Portugal, where Oriental carpets have been part of home and institutional furnishings since the sixteenth century. If they did enter

the country with Popper at any stage before 1940, they very likely did so without his submitting an import tax waiving request, and thus as commercial property.

As we have seen in Chapter II, the import tax waiver requests for Popper indicate one single import in 1946. Examined by architect Raul Lino at the Santos customs office, this import pertained to two rolls of an unspecified number of carpets and one tapestry. While the source country for this import was not detailed on the import file, the United States passenger arrival record examined in this chapter does give credibility to the possibility that these items arrived in Portugal from the United States.

In the case of this request, the statements of Raul Lino, the expert summoned to the customs office to examine these items, are surprising. In his report, Lino claimed that he did not possess the correct credentials to assess the age of the objects and thus whether they qualified for tax exemption. And indeed, Lino was an architect, not a textiles expert. However, as we have seen, Lino and Popper had maintained strong commercial relations since 1940, with Lino advocating for the purchase of several carpets from Popper. That he would suddenly appear insecure in evaluating items imported by his most important carpet supplier six years before is difficult to contextualise, especially as this was the only request in which Lino made clear his lack of expertise. It is possible that Lino's attitude regarding the only import tax waiver request by Popper indicates of a wish to distance himself from art dealers with links to the international art market, especially if he was made aware of the investigations regarding the export activities of *Eco Trading*. For the time being, however, understanding Lino's attitude is pure conjecture.

While Portuguese public primary sources have revealed with greater consistency the documented sales of Erich Popper, another primary source also contributes to greater knowledge of Popper's doings in Portugal during the Second World War. As

occurred with the previous two dealers, the *Estúdio Mário Novais* photographic archive provides visual references that complement written primary sources. Undated, the Novais images confirm that Popper also dealt in non-textile art. Two works of art, described as ‘Erich Popper, antiques dealer’ by the photographer, were located in this archive. While we may interpret them as meaning that they were in the possession of Popper when the photograph was taken, this does not guarantee that they were sold by him or even ownership by him.

The first work of art was a painting, likely an oil on wood, as proven by the vertical grooves of the different panels that constituted the painting’s surface (Figure VI.46). Its representation conforms to fifteenth to sixteenth century Italian representations of the Virgin with Child. The child can be identified as Jesus because of the attribute it wears on his left hand – a glass orb. The absence of a halo behind either figure, and the anatomic treatment of both, as well as the underlining of the connection between them point towards a renaissance-style representation, or a later copy. It is impossible to determine the size of this piece, as there is no element for scale comparison. The round shape of the top of the picture indicates that it was removed from its original frame.

Surprisingly, this same image is used to illustrate an article, published in the MNAA bulletin, regarding a Virgin and Child attributed to Jan van Scorel by Luis Reis Santos.<sup>575</sup> In this article, Reis Santos states that this artwork was purchased by the MNAA in May 1940 from collector Jose Raul da Cruz Cerqueira, for 50,000 escudos. (Figure IV.47). The article makes no mention of Erich Popper having handled the artwork. In fact, it states that this painting was in the hands of Cruz Cerqueira as early as 1934, when he presented it at a study session of the Institute of Archaeology, History

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<sup>575</sup> Luis Reis-Santos, ‘Painel representando a Virgem e o Menino, in *Boletim do Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga*, I, 1, 1944, pp 24-9.



and Archaeology [sic].<sup>576</sup> While it is possible that Popper acted as an intermediary, this is by no means certain, and none of the primary sources consulted at the MNAA point towards this possibility. Why Popper was identified in this work of art's photograph by the Novais studio, remains to be understood.<sup>577</sup>



*Figure VI.46 – 'Erich Popper'. Source: Calouste Gulbenkian Art Library. Mário Novais Photographic Studio.*

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<sup>576</sup> Reis-Santos, p. 26.

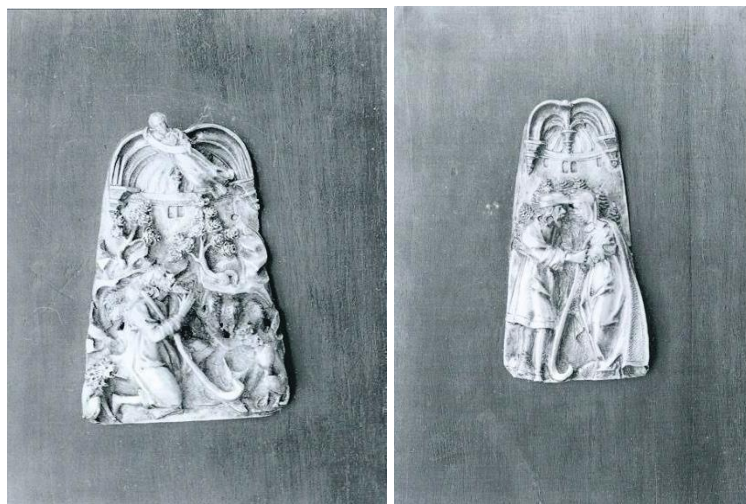
<sup>577</sup> MatrizNet. MNAA 1844 Pint.



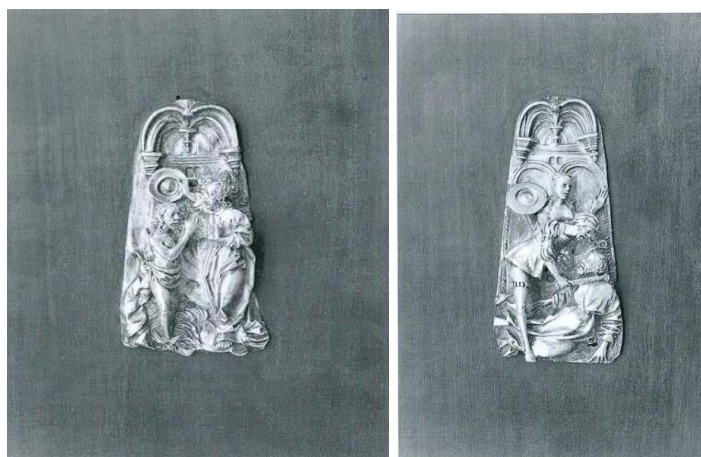
*Figure VI.47 - The same painting, reproduced in the Boletim do Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga as a Virgin and Child by Jan van Scorel, in the Museum Collection. Source: Boletim do Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, 1944, pp 24-9.*

The second work of art represented in the Novais photographic archives is a set of plaques, which may coincide with the set identified by Allied intelligence. (Figures VI.48-51) From the photograph, it is not possible to determine their material with certainty from this photograph alone. The lack of damage to the smooth surface that these photographs reveal exclude ivory, or other soft materials, which would likely evidence greater degradation, namely fractures in protruding elements and hairline fractures throughout the surfaces. The observable areas with material missing, i.e., the black holes in the photographs) do not affect its surrounding areas, a behaviour which occurs more regularly with metalwork.

The set of four plaques represents Christian scenes, of which two can be identified with great certainty: the baptism of Christ by St. John the Baptist (Figure VI.48), the Beheading of St. John the Baptist (Figure VI.49). The other two represent a praying man with an angel (Figure VI.50), and an encounter between possibly the same man – with beard and a staff - and a woman (Figure VI.51). Should these plaques integrate a cycle of St. John the Baptist, it is likely that the former represents Zachariah and the Archangel, and the latter the meeting between Zachariah and Isabel.<sup>578</sup>



Figures VI.48 and VI.49 – ‘Erich Popper’. Photograph, unknown date. Source: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation/Mário Novais Photographic Studio.



Figures VI.50 and VI.51 – ‘Erich Popper’. Photograph, unknown date. Source: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation/Mário Novais Photographic Studio.

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<sup>578</sup> I am grateful to Pedro Flor for discussing with me the possible iconographic interpretations of this plaque series.

Stylistically, the depiction of these figures, which includes northern European clothing, such as the hat worn by Zachariah in his meeting with Isabel, suggests a northern European renaissance style, and probably a fifteenth to sixteenth century German authorship. The coinciding style and material of these plaques raises the question of whether these could be the set of plaques identified by Allied sources as the ‘small silver Dürer panels representing the Passion’. If they are indeed the same, the author of the report was either ignorant of Christian iconography, or did not actually see the items, relying on hearsay for his intelligence. Regardless, the unknown whereabouts of these works of art renders their further identification impossible.

In the post-war period Popper continued to trade in art, and his letters and receipts can be found in different private collections of the period. To Antonio Anastácio Gonçalves, he sold the aforementioned Saxe porcelain cup and saucer in 1960; to Calouste Gulbenkian, he attempted to sell a rare book – *L’Art du dix-huitième siècle*, by Jules and Edmond de Goncourt (published in 1875, by E. Dentu) - with the assistance of Count de Hoyos<sup>579</sup>

The research undertaken here has revealed that German-born David Erich Popper was known in refugee circles as vacuum cleaner renter, and in art market circuit as the owner of *E. Popper, Arte Antiga Lda*. While his dealings were followed and documented by the Portuguese State as well as by the ALIU and other organisms representing Allied interests, his name was dropped from the final Red Flag Name list. Interestingly, of the three art dealers examined here Popper sold the most to the Portuguese State. His documented sales can be found in the collections of the Sintra National Palace, the Queluz National Palace and in the Ducal Palace in Guimarães. He

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<sup>579</sup> Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation archives MCG 02297. Letter from E. Popper to Calouste Gulbenkian 1 February 1947.

also maintained business relationships with collectors Anastácio Gonçalves, and Calouste Gulbenkian, although the latter never finalised any purchases. With Zoltan Hauser, he founded another company, *Eco-Trading Lda.*, which caught the attention of the Portuguese authorities during the war, and of the Safehaven committee towards the end of the war. However, not one specific transaction was flagged by intelligence sources for scrutiny. While Allied sources indicate that he kept personal and commercial relations with other foreign art dealers, this information has not been corroborated by any other source. However, he did, in the post-war period, rely on Count de Hoyos in at least one attempted transaction.

## **Conclusion**

The research and analysis undertaken in this chapter pertain to the actions of three art dealer houses which operated their business in Lisbon after the rise of the Third Reich. While the individuals involved share some characteristics, each group had its own journey to and within Portugal. Therefore, establishing encompassing trends and patterns regarding the foreign art dealer experience in Lisbon during the Second World War is not possible. Two of the art dealers studied in depth here – Popper and Marques Pereira – were Jewish, as was Leon Josipovicci. Two of them – Popper and Buchholz – were German, as were Wilhelm Gessemann, Conrad John and Leon Josipovicci. At least two, Popper and John, and very likely Marques Pereira, moved to Portugal before the war. It is reasonable to infer that their Jewish faith makes Popper, Marques Pereira, and Josipovicci if not refugees, at least fearful of persecution. Buchholz himself struggled with an increasingly restrictive legislative framework regarding the exhibition in Berlin of the so-called degenerate artists that he championed. However, he also availed himself of the institutional support of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs in setting up his

business and exporting at least part of his stock into Portugal.

Both *Galeria de Arte* and *Arte Antiga* specialised in European decorative arts, while Buchholz dealt with modern art. At the end of the war, Popper and Marques Pereira opted to remain in Portugal, where they eventually died, while Buchholz chose to leave Europe and settle in South America, while maintaining his ownership of the Buchholz bookshop until his death.

In terms of value of the information hitherto uncovered, the doings of Karl Buchholz are particularly noteworthy. For the first time, it is possible to confirm that not only did Buchholz import artworks into the country, but he also included works by so-called degenerate artists in this lot. While the subsequent transactions of these artworks have not been determined, there is a possibility that they may have left Portugal for the Madrid store. The current whereabouts of these works is unknown. This research also reveals that, while Buchholz stopped exhibiting imported works of art, his well-known policy of exhibiting Portuguese modernists began with the opening of his Lisbon shop and was not the result of a post-war decision. The activities of Erich Popper appear to have been more complex than his non-inclusion in the Red Flag name list indicates at first glance. In particular, Popper was an active seller to the Portuguese State during the war. While these sales precede the suspicions raised over *Eco-Trading, Lda.*, his export business, he remained an active seller in the Portuguese art market until his death, with documented acquisitions from private collections. Finally, the information regarding Elfriede Marques Pereira, the most prolific importer of works of art in terms of quantity among those identified in Chapter II, is scant. Likewise, her commercial activity during the war itself appears to have been null, picking up vertiginously in 1946. While it has been impossible to determine the origins and whereabouts of her stock, she stands out as a dealer of the decorative arts that held

particular appeal to the Portuguese art market.

One question that remains very much open is the existence of national and/or international networks. As we have seen, Buchholz did resort to his connections in the German State to support him with the setup of his Lisbon shop and the export of part of his stock. In Lisbon, his network included contemporary artists and art critics, but not other art dealers, or public authorities. Popper's interactions with other dealers – suggested by Allied intelligence and confirmed partially by his wedding certificate – place him in contact with Elfriede Marques Pereira's partners at the *Galeria de Arte*, but not the Marques Pereira herself.

Before concluding this chapter, it is essential to underscore, again, the need to cross reference Allies intelligence information with other archival sources. If anything, the research undertaken in this chapter demonstrates that, when it came to the Lisbon art market between 1933 and 1945, the intelligence gathered was taken at face value, critically unchallenged, and undeveloped in further investigations. Perhaps this is due to the low priority that Portugal represented. Nevertheless, given the information uncovered, it seems particularly surprising that Erich Popper was dropped from the Red Flag Name list. This inclusion should have been warranted by the extent of his transactions with the Portuguese state, as well as with his association with Eco Trading. Likewise, it is surprising that the origins of Elfriede Marques Pereira's 1946 imports were unexamined by the Allies, even though her name and that of her business partners at *Galeria de Arte* were included in the Red Flag Name List. Finally, that the Lisbon Buchholz exhibitions, featuring at least three artists considered at some point degenerate by the authorities, was never mentioned in the Allied reports on Buchholz, underscores the superficial nature of the intelligence effort regarding his dealings in Lisbon.

Nevertheless, the cross referencing of Allied and Portuguese primary sources, as well as contemporary documentation such as museum and collection inventories, indicates that other dealer's activities should be researched in the same manner as these three. Of the dealers listed in the Red Flag Name list left to examine, Jean Ostins and Jacques Kugel, as foreign nationals, emerge as requiring the most immediate scrutiny. As for Jacques Kugel, already discussed in Chapters III and IV, the archives of *J. Kugel*, the antiques store he opened in Paris currently operated by his children may have an archive detailing his transactions in Portugal.

Ostins's personal and business archive was uncovered in the storage of the Dr. Anastacio Gonçalves House Museum. In addition, his correspondence was heavily monitored by the Allies. However, the reading of this material revealed information that, while certainly of merit for those researching the establishment of ghost businesses in neutral countries and the interactions between Europe and Latin America during the period, contains little regarding the transaction of artworks specifically.

Another research priority pertains to the post-war activities of the art dealers initially signalled as active during the war. The Portuguese sources consulted – namely museum and private collections archives – indicate that most pursued their commercial activity after the conflict. These transactions also require identification and study in order to determine their ownership history in greater detail, and, if possible, their Nazi-era provenance.

One individual reported as an art dealer in intense contact with the Portuguese state, but who was not included in the Red Flag Name list, was Austrian national Adolf Weiss. The next chapter, and final research chapter, will focus on his protracted, yet successful sale of a triptych attributed to Flemish painter Gérard David to the Portuguese state, and study its ownership history and chain of custody during the



critical period between 1933 and 1945.

## CHAPTER VI - NAZI-ERA PROVENANCE RESEARCH AND THE 'DEPOSITION' TRIPTYCH

The previous chapters in this thesis have attempted to reveal the major trends and patterns in the transactions of artworks in Portugal between 1933 and 1945. The possibility of Portugal having served as a major platform in the transfer of artworks between Europe and the Americas during the Second World War is challenged by the surviving Portuguese documentation. Instead, Portugal appears to have been the end destination of the artworks that entered the country, and the original departure country for those leaving it. As far as museum acquisitions are concerned, while some did develop relationships with the refugee community, national and regional museums did not engage in a sustained coherent program of acquisition of artwork brought into the country. The examination of the foreign art dealers identified in primary sources and revealed by the research undertaken, indicates that they were not part of a network, and that public institutions did not constitute the bulk of their client base. As the chapters in this thesis have progressed, we have steadily narrowed the scope of our analysis, from a large field, import-export, to the narrower fields of institutional, then individual transactions. This chapter will research the provenance of one single object held in a Portuguese museum. The 'Deposition' triptych was purchased from Adolf Weiss in 1953.<sup>580</sup> In a negotiation that began in 1941, this oil on oak eventually entered the Portuguese public collections in 1953 and was sent to the same island for where it had been originally commissioned.

Adolf Weiss is atypical inasmuch as, while initially appearing to be the an art dealer with at least one documented transaction with the Portuguese state, primary sources reveal him to be a complex figure, with many areas of activity, of which none

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<sup>580</sup> Throughout the sources consulted, several variations of the spelling of his first name were encountered - Adolf, Adolph, Adolpho and Adolphe. For simplicity, his name has been standardised into the single spelling Adolf.

indicates his business as dealing in art. Attention to this name was first drawn in Safehaven reports identifying him and Karl Buchholz as the two cases most needing scrutiny, in a country where ‘there is no actual proof of looted art having entered.’<sup>581</sup> The commission identified Weiss having offered a set of Gobelin tapestries for sale to the Portuguese government in July 1944. As we will see below, this sale, which did not go through, was also documented in Portuguese sources. Allied intelligence referenced him as active in Portugal during the war, as the Monte Estoril-based owner of a set of Aubusson tapestries depicting *The Life of Esther*.<sup>582</sup> Weiss’s name was omitted from the final Red Flag List, although no particular reason for this has been unveiled. Weiss also came to the attention of the Allies as he sought to recover a painting looted by the Nazis.<sup>583</sup> The portrait of a man attributed to Raphael was seemingly removed from Weiss’s vault in the Parisian *Banque Franco-Portugaise*.<sup>584</sup> Portuguese sources reveal not only that Weiss had been in contact with the Portuguese government since 1942 regarding the sale of tapestries, but also as the successful seller of a triptych by sixteenth-century Flemish master Gérard David.

Drawing on additional Portuguese and international primary sources, which include Allies intelligence primary sources, Austrian, Swiss, and French archives and databases, as well as university and museum libraries and online databases, this chapter will identify the gaps in the provenance of the triptych. Initially, the painting is contextualised, and its public provenance history is discussed. Hitherto unused primary sources are examined to shine a light on unknown moments of transfer of ownership

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<sup>581</sup> National Archives, Kew. FO 837-1154-2. Ministry of Economic warfare, ‘Looted art in neutral countries and Latin America’, 1 February 1944 – 30 September 1945.

<sup>582</sup> NARA M1944. Records of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas, 1943-1946 [Story of Ester Tapestries].

<sup>583</sup> NARA A3389. Records Concerning the Central Collecting Points ("Ardelia Hall Collection"): Selected Microfilm Reproductions And Related Records, 1945-1949. [Folder 190, Claims–France].

<sup>584</sup> Cultural plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg. Database of art objects at the Jeu de Paume, ‘Portrait eines bärtigen Mannes in Dreiviertelansicht vor dunkel-olivgrünem Hintergrund’, [http://www.errproject.org/jeudepaume/card\\_view.php?CardId=126](http://www.errproject.org/jeudepaume/card_view.php?CardId=126) (15 January 2015).

which can be problematic in establishing the painting's clean provenance. Likewise, the biography of Adolf Weiss, and his long-standing relationship with Portugal, will be outlined, from the moment he became honorary consul to his flight to Portugal. The chapter will conclude by proposing a new, more detailed, provenance history for the triptych.

### **The Deposition triptych provenance**

Adolf Weiss is known in Portuguese art historical and museum circles as the seller of an altarpiece with shutters attributed to Gérard David (1450-1523). (Figure VI.1) The 'Triptych of the Descent of the Cross', or 'Deposition' triptych, hangs at the Museum of Sacred Art, in Funchal, Madeira, with the inventory number MASF 20. The first observation and study of the triptych, by José de Figueiredo, identified its author as Ambrosius Benson.<sup>585</sup> The attribution to Gérard David by art historian Max Friedlander in the 1930s has been questioned more recently, with Hans Miegroot indicating that it was most likely made by an imitator of David. The Museum of Sacred Art, however, has opted to describe it as 'attributed to Gerard David'.<sup>586</sup>

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<sup>585</sup> Report by Figueiredo quoted in João Couto, 'O tríptico da Deposição da Cruz proveniente da ilha da Madeira adquirido pelo Estado' in *Boletim do Museu Nacional de Arte antiga* (1953), III, 1, p. 1.

<sup>586</sup> Max Friedlander, *Early Netherlandish painting: Hans Memlinc and Gerard David*, VI, Part 2, (Leyden, 1971), p.112, Supp. 253 [originally listed in Vol XIV, Supp. 253 (Pl. 251)]; Hans Van Miegroot, *Gerard David* (Antwerp, 1989), p. 322, it. 72.

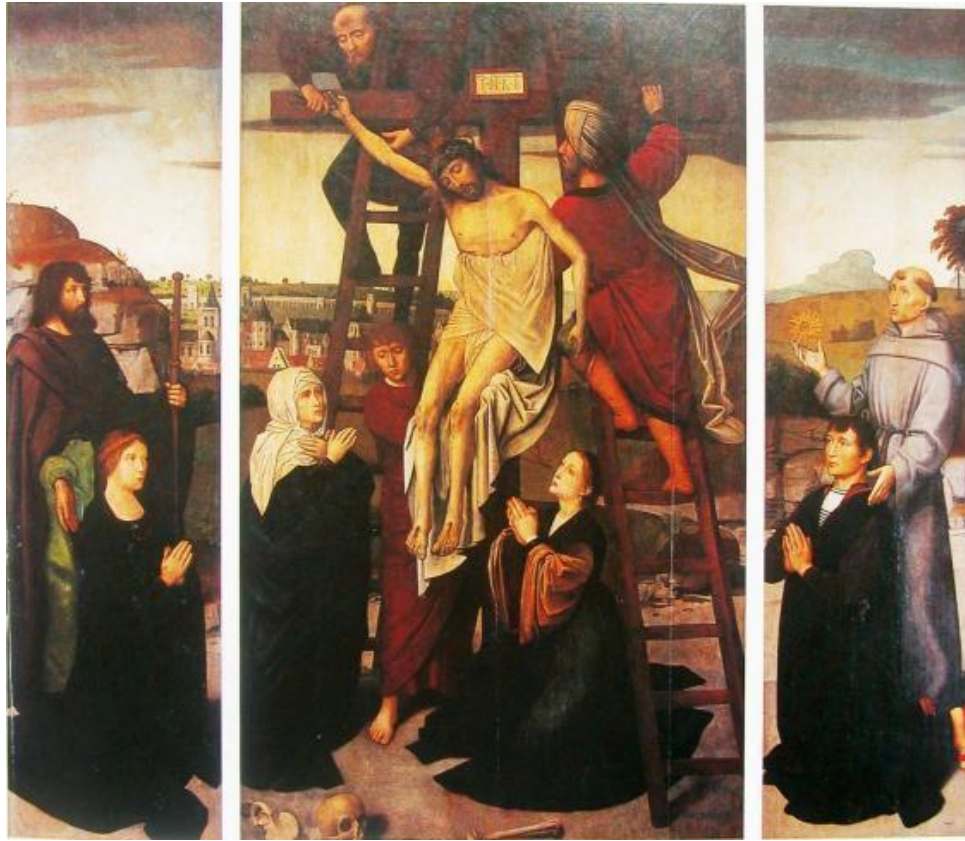


Figure VI. 1 - *The Descent from the Cross* altarpiece. Attributed to Gérard David. Oil on wood. Museum of Sacred Art, Funchal, Portugal. Inv. N. MASF 20. Source: [http://www.museuartesacrafunchal.org/arteflamenga/flamenga\\_pintura\\_img2.html](http://www.museuartesacrafunchal.org/arteflamenga/flamenga_pintura_img2.html)

The central panel of this triptych represents a descent of Christ from the cross, the surrounding figures identifiable by their attributes. The Virgin Mary stands in prayer, while Mary Magdalene kneels at Christ's feet. St. John the Evangelist, recognizable by his youthful facial expression, holds the dead body at the knees, while Nicodemus, wearing a turban stands at the top of a ladder, his back against the viewer. At the top of another ladder, facing the viewer, Joseph of Arimathea removes the final nail holding the body of Christ to the cross. The right shutter represents St. Bernardino of Siena and the male patron while the left shutter features St. James the Great and the patron's wife. When shut, the panels reveal, on the right, St. Lucia and on the left St. James the Just, both in *grisaille*. The donors were initially thought to represent Simão Acciaiuoli, sugar merchants of Florentine origin, and his Portuguese wife Isabel Ferreira

Drummond. Living in Madeira, they were the patrons of the convent of St Francis, in Funchal. By 1955, however, the patrons were identified as the Lomelino, a notable family in Madeira of Genovese origins who are thought to have commissioned the painting for the convent of Nossa Senhora da Piedade, in Santa Cruz, Madeira.<sup>587</sup>

The triptych's provenance is explained succinctly in the museum's website. Upon the extinction of the religious orders in 1834, it was transferred to the Convent of St. Francis, which explains its initial association with Simão Acciaiuoli, and then to the church of Santo da Serra.<sup>588</sup> It was subsequently purchased by Américo Olavo (1881-1927), born in Funchal, the capital of Madeira.<sup>589</sup> He combined an illustrious military career – participating in the Republican Revolution of 1910 and serving in the First World War – with political office, as a member of parliament and, for a short period, Minister of War. Olavo presumably brought the triptych to mainland Portugal, selling it to Weiss, who eventually sold it to the Portuguese State. (Appendix VI.1)

The absence of detail regarding the circumstances of the transfers and sales of the triptych raises questions the painting's provenance. While the moment of its acquisition by Olavo has been described in some detail by Fernando Antonio Baptista Pereira<sup>590</sup>, the circumstances regarding its acquisition by Weiss, namely the place and date of this transaction, have not been published in detail. Likewise, published research on the circumstances of the sale of the 'Deposition' to the Portuguese state is equally imprecise. Factors such the time period in which Weiss owned this artwork, in the 1930s and 1940s; the unsubstantiated references to Weiss as an 'antiquarian' or as 'Viennese art market', suggesting that he was primarily employed as such, in Vienna; his residence

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<sup>587</sup> Manuel Cayolla Zagallo, *Pinturas dos séculos XV e XVI da Ilha da Madeira (depois do seu restauro)* (Lisbon, 1955), pp 12-3.

<sup>588</sup> Museu de Arte Sacra do Funchal, 'Tríptico da Descida da Cruz atribuído a Gérard David'. [http://www.museuartesacrafunchal.org/arteflamenga/flamenga\\_pintura\\_img2.html](http://www.museuartesacrafunchal.org/arteflamenga/flamenga_pintura_img2.html) (15 January 2015)

<sup>589</sup> A.H. Oliveira Marques (coordinator) et al, *Parlamentares e Ministros da 1ª República (1910-1926)* (Lisbon, 2000), p. 100.

<sup>590</sup> Fernando António Baptista Pereira, *As ilhas do ouro branco: encomenda artística na madeira, sécs. XV-XVI* (Lisbon, 2017) and *Museu da Arte Sacra do Funchal: arte flamenga* (Funchal, 1997).

in Portugal during and after the Second World War; and the attention paid by Allied intelligence to his activities, require that the identification of Weiss's and the 'Deposition' triptych's whereabouts between 1933 and 1953 needs further clarification. In other words, it is necessary to establish the Nazi-era provenance of the 'Deposition' triptych.

It was presumably during the 1920s or early 1930s that Weiss acquired the 'Deposition' triptych. In his correspondence, Weiss was always vague about the year, often using the expression 'years before'. Later, as negotiations dragged, Weiss specified that he had purchased the triptych from Américo Olavo, in Portugal, via an intermediary, a Spanish national named Pedro Sarasota.<sup>591</sup> This narrative is corroborated to an extent by João Couto, the Director of the MNAA, who stated that Weiss purchased the triptych from Olavo's widow, Ernestina Soares de Albergaria Nunes de Carvalho.<sup>592</sup> Couto also states that he was aware of approaches by third parties to Weiss to purchase the triptych dating from 2 April 1930 and again in 1937. Hence, Weiss's purchase must have occurred between 1927 and 1930. This likelihood is confirmed by the fact that Américo Olavo died in 1927, shot by military forces close to the regime while searching his home in the aftermath of the failed republican military coup of February 1927.<sup>593</sup> Throughout his correspondence, Weiss stayed silent regarding the circumstances of the export of the painting. As per the law of 1910, it should have been the object of an export permit request. However, no such request has been found in the DGESBA archives for the period between 1933 and 1945. Couto's expert report, however, alluded to the dubious legal circumstances under which the triptych left the country, qualifying

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<sup>591</sup> Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archives. DGFP-Pt. 4279. Copy of letter addressed to the Ministry of National Education by Adolf Weiss, 1 September 1952.

<sup>592</sup> Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archives. DGFP-Pt. 4279. Copy of undated memo addressed to General Directorate of Public Treasury signed by João Couto.

<sup>593</sup> 'Revestiu notável imponência o funeral, ontem realizado, do Major Américo Olavo' in *Diário de Notícias*, 14 February 1927, p.1.

Weiss's ownership as 'illicit'.<sup>594</sup> According to the information provided in this report, the triptych was exported in 1935 from Porto, falsely declared at customs as a 'painted screen with panels of little value'. The painting's export caught the eye, and ire, of José de Figueiredo, then the Director of the MNAA, and the general inspector of museums, who requested that DGESBA engage in the necessary diligences to ensure the painting's return to Portugal, 'from where it had left clandestinely' in February 1935.<sup>595</sup> The issue appears not to have raised further concerns – but, as we will see, it was not forgotten.

The 'Deposition' was with all certainty in Vienna in 1936, when it was exhibited at the Museum of the Cathedral and Dioceses of Vienna. This exhibition is often mentioned in Weiss's correspondence with the Portuguese government, and by Portuguese experts. However, no contemporary accounts of the exhibition have yet been located.

The 'Deposition' triptych found its way to Switzerland between 1936 and 1938. In what appears to be most puzzling moment of the painting's ownership history, it appeared lot 1654 on 3 September 1938, at an auction held by Galerie Fischer, in Lucern.<sup>596</sup> For Nazi-era provenance researchers, any auction held at the Galerie Fischer from 1933 onwards raises alarm. This is because this auction house held several sales of purged works of art from German state collections, as well as of spoliated works of art from Jewish families. The best known of these auctions, commonly known as the Degenerate Art auction, took place on 20 June 1939. Its lots included works by Picasso, Matisse, Beckmann, Gauguin, and Chagall. Bidders included Belgian, Swiss and American museums and collectors.<sup>597</sup> Curt Valentin, the New York partner of Karl

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<sup>594</sup> Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archives. DGFP-Pt. 4279. Copy of undated memo addressed to General Directorate of Public Treasury signed by João Couto.

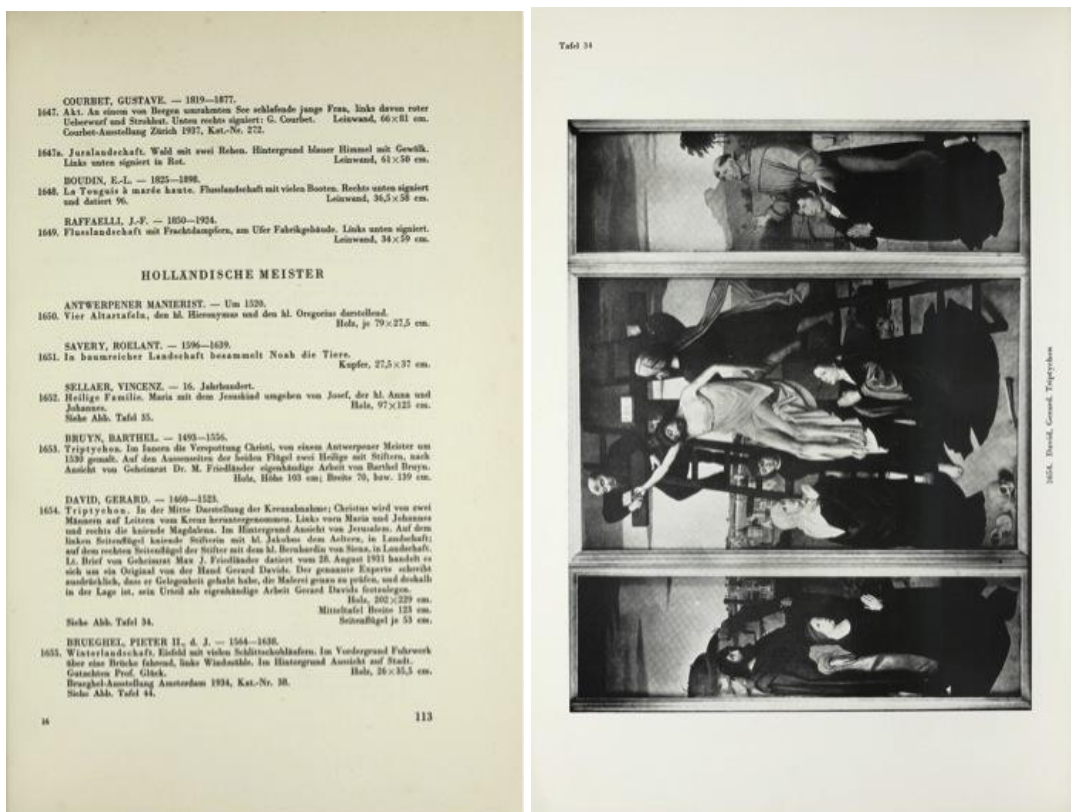
<sup>595</sup> Memo by José de Figueiredo, 20 February 1935 addressed to DGESBA, quoted Couto, *ibid.*

<sup>596</sup> Galerie Fischer, *Mobilier der Mme Charles Rubner, Paris; Waffen, Rüstungen, Schwerter, Feuerwaffen; Zinnsammlung L., Wien: bedeutende Zunftzeichen und -gefässe des 16., 17., 18. Jahrhunderts, Kannen, Platten, Teller; Gemälde eines Zürcher Sammlers.* (Luzern, 1938).

<sup>597</sup> Barron, 'The Gallery Fischer auction' in *Degenerate art': the fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany*, pp 135-169.



Buchholz discussed in the previous Chapter, travelled to Switzerland to bid at this auction on behalf of the Museum of Modern Art. We ignore if the auction of the ‘Deposition’ triptych included purged or looted works of art. However, the involvement of the Fischer gallery in this process must be acknowledged. The auction catalogue is not clear on the provenance of the painting, indicating, for the paintings section, that they originate from ‘the collection of the estate of a Zurich collector and from miscellaneous owners.’ (Figures VI.2 and VI.3)



Figures VI.2 and VI.3 – The ‘Deposition’ triptych on the Fischer auction catalogue, lot 1654, 3 September 1938. Source: Frick reference Library, Frick Collection, New York.

The photograph, and the attribution of authorship – by Max Friedlander – that the gallery included in the item’s description allows us to conclude that this is the same painting as the one owned by Weiss:

Handwritten Letter from Councillor Max Jakob Friedländer dated August 28, 1931 it is an original by the hand of Gerard David. Said expert expressly states that he had an opportunity to examine the painting and that is why he is able to determine his sentence as an autograph work by Gerard David.

The sale of the painting at auction is particularly puzzling as, in his correspondence with the Portuguese State from 1941 onwards, Weiss always let it be understood that he had owned the painting since his purchase from Olavo's widow. Yet the conclusion that he was both seller and buyer of the same artwork at the Fischer auction is perplexing. There are four scenarios that can explain the presence of the triptych in the Fischer auction catalogue.

The first most obvious explanation for this occurrence is that the sale did not in fact take place, the painting having been removed from sale between the printing of the catalogue and the sale itself. In this scenario, Weiss, who was already living abroad, would have put the triptych for sale but removed it before the sale took place. This scenario would be plausible if, for example, Weiss wanted a public evaluation of this work of art, or if auction itself was used as a pretext to legally transfer the painting physically from Austria to Switzerland with the agreement of the Nazi Austrian authorities. At a time when Weiss owed 75,000 RM in flight tax, Weiss could have presented the sale to the Nazi regime as a means to collect the money it felt it was owed due to Weiss's Jewishness.

The second scenario sees Weiss as selling the painting to another buyer, possibly repurchasing it at a later date. This interpretation is supported by the Max Friedlander papers, which include a number of images of the painting with annotations written on the back. The first one, dated from 1940, stated 'at a Swiss art dealer. 1940'; another,

dating from 1947, states 'Engel ?', a possibly indicating of the name of a dealer or a collection; the third photograph has a typed note from 1947 on its back stating 'in 1947 in part, coll. U.S.A.'.<sup>598</sup> This seems to be an indication that, throughout the 1940s, the painting travelled between locations, and possibly changed ownership. Yet throughout the 1940s, and as early as 1941, Weiss always presented himself as the owner of the painting, often stating that the painting was in storage in Switzerland, and negotiated its sale as its owner. If Weiss sold the painting and did not buy it back, and even if he acted in representation of the painting's actual owner, his conduct towards the Portuguese State, the most recent buyer of this painting, was deceitful. Hence, if this scenario is proven true, the sale of the 'Deposition' to the Portuguese State presents ethical, though not necessarily legal, challenges.

The third scenario Weiss as the buyer of the painting at the Fischer auction, having sold the painting in an undocumented transaction after its arrival in Vienna around 1936. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that Weiss is known to have maintained correspondence regarding a possible sale of the painting as early as 1930.<sup>599</sup> The fact that the painting remained in Portugal until 1935, at least five years after its purchase, and only then was brought to Vienna, indicated perhaps that Weiss had found a buyer there. However, this hypothesis is contradicted by the fact that, in 1937, before the auction, Weiss was corresponding with American museums regarding the sale of the triptych.<sup>600</sup>

Finally, we return to the fourth scenario, that Weiss was both the seller and the buyer of the 'Deposition' triptych at the Fischer auction. This could have occurred for a

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<sup>598</sup> RKD Explore/49383/'Follower of Gerard David', Max Friedlander papers, <https://rkd.nl/en/explore/images/record?query=49383&start=3> (17 November 2020).

<sup>599</sup> Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archives. DGFP-Pt. 4279. Copy of undated memo addressed to General Directorate of Public Treasury signed by João Couto.

<sup>600</sup> Couto report cites correspondence, in 1937, for the sale of the artwork in the USA for 70,000 dollars. Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archives. DGFP-Pt. 4279. Copy of undated memo addressed to General Directorate of Public Treasury signed by João Couto.

number of reasons. Firstly, art collectors are known to engage in this practice as a means to manipulate the value of the type of art they collect. If, for example, Weiss collected other Flemish paintings, or other works by Gérard David, he could be willing to pay a high price for his own work of art, as that meant that his remaining collection would see a corresponding rise in value. Another reason for being both seller and buyer of the 'Deposition' triptych could be Weiss's attempt to clean the painting's provenance history. Given the obscure conditions under which the painting left Portugal, Weiss could have recognised that, in order to sell this masterwork, he may have to show evidence of due title, in particular to American buyers during wartime. The purchase at the Fischer auction would provide such evidence.

The impossibility of locating an annotated sales catalogue, identifying the buyer and the value for which the triptych was sold, hinders the verification of any of these scenarios. However, in order to determine the legitimacy of the transaction between Weiss and the Portuguese State in 1953, it is essential to establishing what occurred at the Fischer auction. In any case, the assumption that the triptych remained safe in Switzerland until its sale in 1953, is now under question.

### **Adolf Weiss's long-standing relationship with Portugal**

The research undertaken in Portuguese, French, Swiss, Austrian and American archives reveals that Weiss was a complex character. The Vienna-born and -based owner of an import/export business, he was also a Portuguese diplomat between 1913 and 1936, and an art collector. His documented sales of artworks appear to have been limited, motivated perhaps by economic need. Born in 1874 in Nitra, in present day Slovakia,

into a Jewish family, Weiss married Ellen Wurmser in 1876. Ellen died in Switzerland in 1944, Weiss died in Lisbon in 1956.<sup>601</sup>

Portuguese diplomatic archives reveal that Weiss was appointed consul in early February 1913.<sup>602</sup> This appointment would have given him access to Portuguese nationality, and to a Portuguese diplomatic passport. (Figure VI.4) Described by the Portuguese minister to Austro-Hungary as ‘the owner of a large establishment of import and export’, it was Weiss who sought the Portuguese minister to propose his appointment.<sup>603</sup> His entry into the Portuguese diplomacy, albeit as *consul de quarta classe*, an honorary consul, appears to reflect the concerns of the Portuguese First Republic in securing staff that would provide economic benefits to the struggling regime.<sup>604</sup> The minister viewed this suggestion favourably, stating:

Mr. Weiss, in addition to French, speaks and writes Portuguese quite well. He is still a young man, appears full of initiative, and thinks he may, under my direction, contribute to a great development of commercial transactions between Portugal and Austria, especially in what pertains to our tinned fish, table wines, fruit, coffee, cocoa, etc.

After verification of the referees provided by Weiss – who, in Portugal, were banker José Henriques Totta, and the Porto-based commercial firm *Souza, Moraes &*

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<sup>601</sup> Claims Resolution Tribunal (Zurich)/Holocaust Victims Assets Litigation/Case No CV96-4849/ ‘Certified Award in re: accounts of Adolf Weiss, Ellen Weiss and Paul Weiss’.

<sup>602</sup> Instituto Histórico Diplomático/Correspondence with legations/Vienna/Memo156-12, ‘Appointment of Adolpho [sic] Weiss for general consul’.

<sup>603</sup> Letter addressed to the Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign affairs, signed by Calheiros, 2 December 1912, *ibid*.

<sup>604</sup> Manuela Franco, ‘“ Oriental Jews of Portuguese origin”. The 20th Century Portuguese Jews From Salonica’ in Judith Frishman, David J. Wertheim, Ido de Haan and Joël Cahen (eds), in *Borders and boundaries in an around Dutch Jewish history* (Amsterdam, 2011), pp 111-124.

*Sucessores* – the request was deferred. Weiss’s son Paul joined him as vice-consul in the 1920s.



Image VI.4 – Adolf Weiss diplomatic passport (front), 1932-5. Source: Weiss-Frohsinn Family Collection, Leo Baeck Institute.

Weiss featured as the Portuguese honorary consul in Vienna in every issue of annual diplomatic staff lists. In 1936, however, he either resigned or was dismissed, after

his name was, together with that of other honorary consuls, involved in a scandal of illegal attribution of Portuguese visas and passport in several European consulates, as demand for third-country passports and entry visas increased in Germany after the establishment of the Nuremberg laws in 1935.<sup>605</sup> Weiss was found to have awarded consular inscription, equivalent to the recognition of Portuguese nationality, to seventy-one individuals of whom only fourteen were indeed Portuguese nationals. Defending his actions, Weiss claimed that some of these foreign nationals descended for the most part from Portuguese Jews, presumably alluding to families of Sephardic ancestry who fled the Inquisition from the sixteenth century onwards, and that others had given important intelligence information regarding subversive activities in the Portuguese territory, thereby deserving this protection.<sup>606</sup> Regardless, by July 1936, the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs voided forty-two of Weiss's consular registrations.<sup>607</sup>

Weiss's case was aggravated by the inspector's dim view regarding his retaining 400,000 *escudos* in consular taxes for himself. Weiss considered this amount as payment for his loans to previous Portuguese ministers to the legation, and of payments awarded to his network of informants on subversive activities. This intelligence service had been, according to Weiss, requested before 1930 by the Minister of Interior, Coronel Lopes Mateus, and, as no suspension request had ever been received by Weiss, had continued until 1936, when the Minister of Interior requested it be stopped.<sup>608</sup> The Portuguese State, arguing that this information was offered by Weiss of his own volition

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<sup>605</sup> Schaeffer, *Portugal e os refugiados judeus provenientes do território alemão* (Coimbra, 2013) pp 50-63.

<sup>606</sup> National Archives at Torre do Tombo/António de Oliveira Salazar archive/Ministry of Foreign Affairs/NE-2G1, box. 437, file 8. 'Demissão do cônsul de Portugal em Viena, Adolf Weiss.', memo addressed to the Minister signed by L. de S.

<sup>607</sup> Ibid.

<sup>608</sup> National Archives at Torre do Tombo/António de Oliveira Salazar archive/Ministry of the Interior, Minister's Office, bundle 480, [file 7/31] 'Informação sobre as despesas efectuadas pelo Cônsul de Portugal em Viena, Adolfo Weiss'.

and that he had never been formally requested by the state to engage in such activities, considered his appropriation of the consular taxes as undue: ‘Legally, his procedure is indefensible and constitutes the most dangerous precedent’.<sup>609</sup> While correspondence addressed to Weiss informing him of his dismissal, and Weiss’s possible reaction, is yet to be located, he most likely left the diplomatic service in 1936.

It is noteworthy that Portuguese diplomatic sources do not comment on Weiss’s activities as an art collector, or as a possible art dealer. Likewise, the issue of his Jewishness is not discussed at any point. For the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Weiss went from being an ideal intermediary in furthering commercial relations between Portugal and Austria, to becoming an unpredictable and strong-headed consul, who was disciplined accordingly.

As the affair of the consular inscriptions of Portuguese Jews seem to indicate, Weiss was aware of the effects of the Nuremberg laws. It should come as no surprise that two years later, Weiss’s actions would demonstrate his preparedness for the implications of the *Anschluss*, announced by Hitler on 12 March 1938, on the life and property of Jewish Austrians. From 26 April 1938 onwards, all Jews residing within the Reich – which by then included Austria – were required by law to register their assets as of the following day, and for those wishing to leave the country, a flight tax of twenty-five percent be levied.<sup>610</sup> Weiss’s and his wife’s assets were valued at 300,000 Reichmarks, which would amount to ca. 2.4 million dollars today, of which the flight tax amounted 75,000 Reichmarks, or 600,000 dollars.<sup>611</sup> It is unclear whether this evaluation included Weiss’s works of art.

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<sup>609</sup> National Archives at Torre do Tombo/António de Oliveira Salazar archive/Ministry of Foreign Affairs/NE-2G1, box. 437, file 8. ‘Demissão do cônsul de Portugal em Viena, Adolf Weiss.’, memo addressed to the Minister signed by L. de S.

<sup>610</sup> *Decree for the reporting of Jewish owned property*, 26 April 1938.

<sup>611</sup> Austrian State Archives/Archive of the Republic/Compensation and Restitution Matters/Property declarations, record 63109. The calculation has been done using the coefficient agreed upon by the Wartime Reparations Committee in 1998 regarding Swiss Bank Accounts.



Meanwhile, in Portugal, on 24 May 1938, João Couto, freshly appointed Director of the MNAA, took advantage of Portuguese heritage protection legislation, and had the triptych recorded in the national heritage inventory.<sup>612</sup> Practically speaking, this had few implications for the ownership, and location, of the artwork, as the triptych was already outside Portugal. However, this occurrence can indicate that Couto had become aware of Weiss's recent troubles with the Portuguese state. His dismissal or resignation from his diplomatic post enabled a more openly aggressive pursuit of the triptych. It can also indicate that Couto, aware of the implications that the 1938 census could have on the property of Austrian Jews, may have seen this record as a manner of safekeeping a work of art that he believed had left Portugal unduly. Without additional documental support, it is impossible to pursue these lines of enquiry at the present time.

Shortly after the 1938 census, Weiss appears to have left Austria, and taken his property with him. In early October 1938, the *Wiener Zeitung* published a statement by the tax office declaring that Weiss illegally left the country without paying the flight tax of 75,000 Reichmarks, giving Paris as his residence at 2, Rue Scribe.<sup>613</sup> (Figure VI.2) This Parisian address was most likely that of a hotel, as today this is where the Intercontinental Hotel stands. The second paragraph of the article encouraged anyone who would know of his whereabouts in Austria to detain him and take him to the nearest magistrate. Clearly, Weiss was no longer living in Austria, was actively sought by the Nazi regime, and appeared to have kept safe some, if not most, of his property, as he had avoided paying the flight tax. He may have used his Portuguese nationality in his flight, therefore leaving the country unnoticed by the authorities. He may, however, not have needed this subterfuge as the policy of affixing a 'J' on the passport of Jewish

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<sup>612</sup> Invoking the national heritage protection and registry Law-Decree 26.611, Couto had this record published in *Diário do Governo*, 118, I, 24 May 1938.

<sup>613</sup> The address provided in the article coincides with the address with the address given by Weiss's granddaughter in restitution claims. The same records identify him as the former Portuguese consul. This link of information proves that it is the same man.

citizens was only implemented five days after the information published in the *Wiener Zeitung*, when Weiss had already fled to France.<sup>614</sup>

### **Steuersteckbrief**

Gegen nachstehende Person ist ein Steuersteckbrief erlassen worden:

Adolf We i ß, zuletzt wohnhaft in Wien, 6. Bez., Linke Wienzelle 8, zur Zeit in Paris, 2, Rue Scitbe 2. Geschuldete Reichsfluchtsteuer 75.000 Reichsmark, fällig gewesen 15. Mai 1938, nebst Zuschlag. Steuersteckbrief des Finanzamtes für den 1. Bezirk Wien in Wien I. vom 14. September 1938.

Es ergeht hiemit die Aufforderung, den obengenannten Steuerpflichtigen, falls er im Inland betroffen wird, vorläufig festzunehmen und ihn unverzüglich dem Amtsrichter des Bezirks, in dem die Festnahme erfolgt, vorzuführen.

*Figure VI.2 : The announcement by the German tax office of the escape of Adolf Weiss without paying the Flight Tax. Source: Wiener Zeitung, 5 October 1938, p.9.*

The restitution claims submitted by his granddaughter, and sole heir, to the Claims Restitution Tribunal regarding the Swiss bank accounts of Weiss, his wife Ellen, his sister Frederike, and his son Paul provide summary information regarding Weiss's whereabouts between the Anschluss and his settling in Portugal – but not his property. The first claims file, which pertains to the accounts of Frederike Weiss, sister of Adolf Weiss, whom, according to the latter's granddaughter, he supported financially.<sup>615</sup> The second claims file, dating from 2007, pertains to the Swiss bank accounts of Adolf Weiss, his wife and their son Paul.<sup>616</sup>

The most important individual document in these files is a handwritten note stating that as of 21 March 1938 nothing was to be sent from the Swiss account to Vienna – further confirmation that Weiss was cognizant of the implications of the *Anschluss* for his property. An undated power of attorney provided another Paris

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<sup>614</sup> I am grateful to Maria de Lourdes Riobom for the translation of the announcement in the *Wiener Zeitung*.

<sup>615</sup> Claims Resolution Tribunal (Zurich)/Holocaust Victim Assets Litigation Case number CV96-4849/Accounts of Friederike Weiss. (2008).

<sup>616</sup> Claims Resolution Tribunal (Zurich)/Holocaust Victim Assets Litigation Case number CV96-4849/Accounts of Adolf Weiss, Ellen Weiss and Paul Weiss. (2007).

address for Weiss at the Grand Hotel, Place de l'Opéra, 12, Boulevard des Capucines, in Paris.

The narrative that emerges from Weiss's granddaughter's claims is that Adolf had fled Austria before the *Anschluss*, settling in Lisbon for the duration of the war, 'because he feared being arrested because he was Jewish and the Nazis had issued a warrant for his arrest.'<sup>617</sup> His sisters joined him in Portugal in 1941 or 1942, where they eventually died, Frederike at an unknown date, her unnamed sister in 1960. His wife Ellen settled in Baden, Switzerland, before February 1940, when she received a Swiss residence pass for foreigners. She died there in 1944. The motives behind this family separation, whether personal or financial, appear unclear. Two of their sons, Paul and an unnamed one, were arrested in Austria 'in an effort to compel the Claimant's grandfather to return to Vienna'.<sup>618</sup> While the granddaughter states that they would eventually flee to Switzerland, Weiss's service as honorary consul, and his Portuguese nationality, may have had a role in their escape. By law, Weiss's sons, if they were minors when Weiss obtained Portuguese nationality, would also be entitled to the same nationality. In addition, Paul Weiss, as vice-consul, also received Portuguese nationality. It is thus possible that the brothers, rather than escaping, made use of their nationality, and possible diplomatic immunity, to leave Austria unbothered by the Nazi authorities.

While unclear, it is possible to date Weiss's entry in Portugal to the period between the Summer of 1940 and that of 1941. Indeed, the hotel lodging bulletins held at the Cascais Historical Archives reveal that he checked in at the Grande Hotel in Monte Estoril on 25 July 1941, with a Czech passport issued in Marseille on 30 August

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<sup>617</sup> Claims Resolution Tribunal (Zurich)/Holocaust Victim Assets Litigation Case number CV96-4849/Accounts of Friederike Weiss. (2008), fl 1.

<sup>618</sup> Claims Resolution Tribunal (Zurich)/Holocaust Victim Assets Litigation Case number CV96-4849/Accounts of Adolf Weiss, Ellen Weiss and Paul Weiss. (2007), fl. 2.

1940.<sup>619</sup> (Figure VI.6) In this document, he listed his primary residence in Nice, south of France. The bulletins do not include a checkout date. This very likely indicates that Weiss stayed at the hotel for an extended period since, throughout his years-long correspondence with the Ministry of Finance regarding the sale of the triptych, he often wrote in *Grande Hotel* letterhead paper. The existence of these records also demonstrates that, at least in the process of securing accommodation, he did not avail himself of Portuguese nationality.

**BOLETIM INDIVIDUAL**

*Para os efeitos do art.º 1.º do Decreto N.º 16.386 de 18 de Janeiro de 1929*  
(Aprovado pelo Decreto lei N.º 28.327)

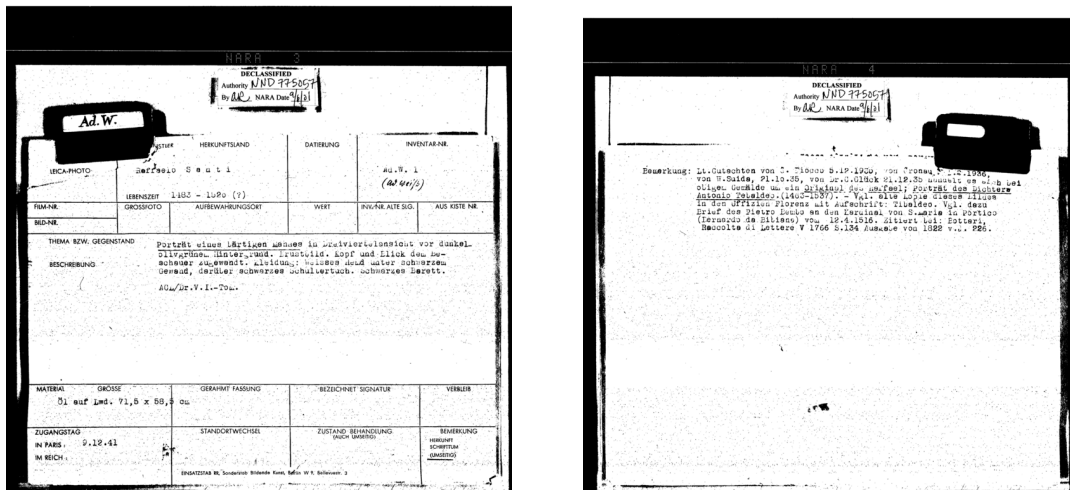
Nome completo Nom et prénom		Adolf Weiss	
Nacionalidade Nationalité		checoslovaca	
Nascimento Naissance	local lieu	Nice	
	data date	24 de Junho de 1873	
Profissão Profession			
Domicilio habitual Domicile habituel		Nice	
Documents de voyage Documents de voyage	Passaporte Passeport	(a) N.º	659
	Expedido em Delivré à	Lisboa	
	Data Date	30 de Agosto de 1940	
Auto.		N.º	
(a) Data - Date		25 / 7 / 19 41	
		Assinatura - Signature	

Figure VI.6 – Foreigner accommodation bulletin filled out and signed by Adolf Weiss.  
Source: Cascais Municipal Historical Archives.

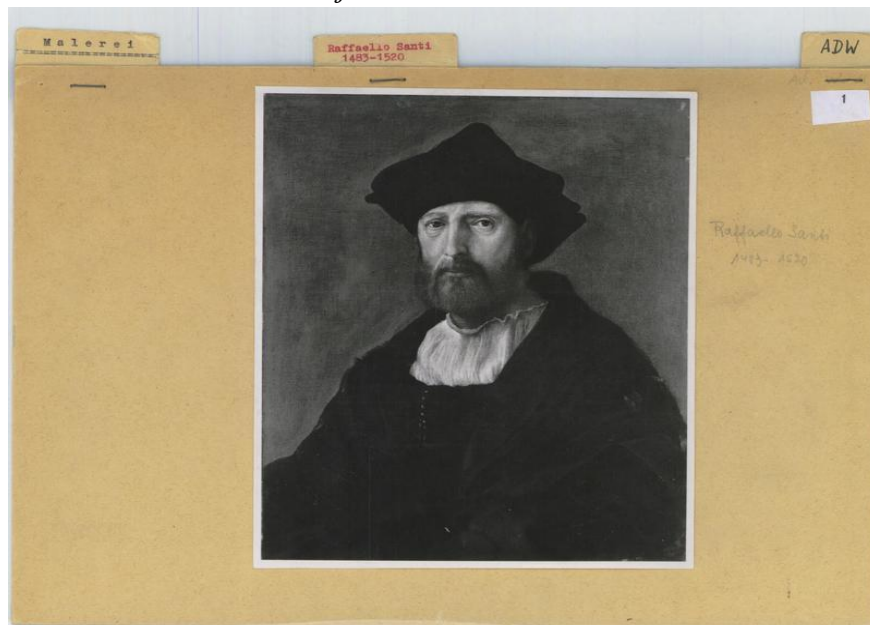
Not all of Weiss’s assets were kept safe in Switzerland. One of his paintings, which he kept in a vault in his name at the *Banque Franco-Portugaise*, the French Portuguese Bank, in Paris, would be the object of a documented Nazi seizure. (Figure

<sup>619</sup> Cascais Municipal Historical archives/Foreigners’ accommodation records/Grande hotel/1941/Czechoslovakia/fls 1-2, ‘Adolf Weiss’

VI.8) Identified as a portrait, possibly of Antonio Tabaldeo, and attributed to Raffaello Santi, i.e. Renaissance painter Raphael, (Figures VI.7a and VI.7b), the property seizure card, produced by the *Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg*, indicates that the painting was removed from the bank vault and taken to its warehouse at the *Jeu de Paume* on 9 November 1941.<sup>620</sup>



Figures VI.7a and b – Property seizure card drafted by the ERR. Source: *Cultural Plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg. Database of art objects at the Jeu de Paume.*



<sup>620</sup> *Cultural plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg. Database of art objects at the Jeu de Paume*, ‘Porträt eines bärtigen Mannes in Dreiviertelansicht vor dunkel-olivgrünem Hintergrund’, [http://www.errproject.org/jeudefaume/card\\_view.php?CardId=126](http://www.errproject.org/jeudefaume/card_view.php?CardId=126) (15 January 2015).

*Figure VI.8 – Portrait of Antonio Tabaldeo (?) by Raffaello Santi (Raphael). Current location unknown. Source: Cultural Plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichslauter Rosenberg. Database of art objects at the Jeu de Paume.*

On 21 December 1943, according to the information on the ERR database, the painting was transferred to Nikolsburg, present-day Mikulov, in the Czech Republic. Between 1943 and 1945, the castle served as a deposit for art looted by the ERR in France, Holland and Belgium. While part of the loot stored there was evacuated by the Nazis to Altaussee, in Austria, another part was cleared locally as the Soviet army drew close. It is not known whether the Raphael was transferred to Altaussee or remained behind at Nikolsburg, and its current location is unknown.<sup>621</sup>

While his property in Paris was being looted, Weiss was living in Monte Estoril, at the Grande Hotel, as indicated by the letterhead in some of his correspondence, preparing to approach the Portuguese state regarding the sale of his Swiss-held artworks.

### **Weiss in Portugal, a persistent seller**

In the years 1941 and 1942, Adolf Weiss attempted to sell two works of art to the Portuguese State. The first approach, in 1941, pertained to the successful, if long-winded, sale of the ‘Deposition’ triptych. The second one, ultimately unsuccessful, pertained to the sale of the ‘Esther’ tapestries. This attempted sale is the one that, some years later, was investigated by the Safehaven commission. In this section, we will discuss first the sale of the *Esther* tapestries, followed by that of the ‘Deposition’ triptych in the hope of uncovering further information pertaining to the context of its acquisition, export, and sale to the Portuguese state.

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<sup>621</sup> Masurovsky, ‘The fate of the Nikolsburg hoard’, *Plundered Art*, <http://plundered-art.blogspot.pt/2011/04/fate-of-nikolsburg-hoard.html> (15 January 2015).

Portuguese sources date the first offer of the tapestries to the first semester of 1942.<sup>622</sup> Weiss offered the set of tapestries to the MNAA for 21.000 *contos*, which the museum saw as an astronomical sum. Weiss forwarded images of works of art, which were returned to him, as well as a copy of a curatorial report on the tapestries, signed by Guillaume Janneau, general administrator of the *Mobilier National des Gobelins et de Beauvais*, a department within the French administration.<sup>623</sup> In his report, Janneau, identified each of the seven tapestries thematically – *The Judgement of Haman; The meal of Esther; The fainting of Esther; The coronation of Esther; The disdain of Mordecai; The triumph of Mordecai; The toilette of Esther* – and, after discussing the technical elements of the two Gobelins studios prevalent in the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, concluded that this set was authentic. For Janneau, the tapestries constituted ‘for the history of French tapestry, a true and undeniable interest, especially given its almost perfect condition’.

Janneau also established the early provenance of the set of tapestries as being the gift of Marie Antoinette to her sister Marie Christine, *gouvernante* of the Lower Countries, as a souvenir of their visit to the Gobelins manufacture, proven by a royal order dated 20 August 1786. According to Janneau, the tapestries were inherited by her sister Marie Caroline, queen of Two Sicilies.

Given the ‘very high amount’ requested by Weiss, the Portuguese Ministry of Finance, through the *Direcção Geral da Fazenda Pública* [henceforth DGFP], opted out of the purchase by August 1942.<sup>624</sup> One year later, Raul Lino, as the artistic overseer of the National Palaces, addressed a letter to the Minister of Finance, João Lumbrales,

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<sup>622</sup> Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archives. DGFP-Z-18, ‘Tapeçarias de Gobelins’, Memo to the director general of Public Expenditure signed by João Couto, 30 July 1942.

<sup>623</sup> Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archives. DGFP-Z-18, ‘Tapeçarias de Gobelins’, copy of expert opinion signed by Guillaume Janneau, in Paris, 31 July 1931.

<sup>624</sup> Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archives. DGFP-Z-18, ‘Tapeçarias de Gobelins’, memo addressed to the Director of the MNAA, signed by A. Luiz Gomes, director general of the Public Treasury, 20 August 1942

reaffirming the interest to the State in acquiring the tapestries ‘at an exceptional price’.<sup>625</sup> Again, the response was negative, given the amount requested.<sup>626</sup>

While Janneau did not explain how the tapestries came to rest in Weiss’s hands, Allied sources were able to determine it. The Safehaven commission, alerted to the interactions that had been taking place between Antonio Pacetti, a Switzerland-based individual, and Weiss, regarding the former’s attempts to sell the tapestries, identified Weiss as someone to follow in Portugal.<sup>627</sup> Meanwhile, after establishing that both were involved in selling the same set of tapestries, and that Pacetti was acting on behalf of Weiss, the British Legation, perhaps aware of Lino’s wish to purchase the tapestries met with Weiss in August 1943. Weiss informed his interlocutor that the tapestries had been inherited by Archduke Frederik of Austria, who gave them to Weiss as debt payment.<sup>628</sup> The file for the purchase of the tapestries by the Portuguese authorities was eventually closed in 1945 without a purchase taking place.<sup>629</sup>

Weiss’s first contact with the Portuguese State regarding the sale of the ‘Deposition’ triptych dates from December 1941. While this original contact has yet to be located, it is referred to in subsequent correspondence. As the process did not move forward, Weiss renewed his contacts in September 1944.<sup>630</sup> In a letter addressed to the Minister of Education, he introduced himself as the former consul of Portugal in Vienna, ‘where [he] stayed for almost 23 years’, and stated he was ‘accidentally’ living

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<sup>625</sup> Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archives. DGFP-Z-18, ‘Tapeçarias de Gobelins’, memo addressed to the Minister of Finance, signed by Raul Lino, 31 July 1943.

<sup>626</sup> Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archives. DGFP-Z-18, ‘Tapeçarias de Gobelins’, memo addressed to the Artistic Superintendent of the National Palaces, signed by A. Luiz Gomes, director general of the Public Treasury, 20 August 1943.

<sup>627</sup> NARA M1944. Records of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas, 1943-1945. ‘Esther Tapestries, Story Of’.

<sup>628</sup> NARA M1944. Records of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas, 1943-1945. ‘Esther Tapestries, Story Of’. Safehaven report 234, 14 July, 1945.

<sup>629</sup> Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archives. DGFP-Z-18, internal memo, 20 February 1945 [signatures not legible].

<sup>630</sup> Ministry of Education Historical Archives/DGESBA/Box3092/n 976, ‘Adolfo Weiss: Venda ao Estado de um tríptico do Mestre Gerard David’.



in at the Monte Estoril Grande Hotel.<sup>631</sup> Having received several offers for the triptych, he asserted his wish to sell it to Portugal, given his great friendship for the country. He recalled that two years previously, the General Director of the Ministry of Finance had verbally confirmed that the State would purchase this artwork. As he had received offers of 1,740 *contos*, or 1,740,000 *escudos*, presumably from abroad, he was willing to settle with the Portuguese government for 750 *contos*, or 750,000 *escudos*. Expertly, Weiss had handed the photographs of the triptych to Reynaldo dos Santos, discussed in Chapters I and III, who had forwarded them to the Minister of Education. Within the fine arts world, he was, undoubtedly, the best placed to advocate for this purchase to Salazar or to any of the two Ministries involved in such a transaction – Education, who oversaw the state museums, and Finance, who oversaw acquisitions and payments.

On 2 October 1944, Luis Varela Aldamira, expert for the *Junta Nacional de Educação*, emitted a favourable opinion regarding this purchase, specifying that he had been given access to an offer from abroad of 300,000 Swiss francs.<sup>632</sup> This recommendation was seconded in another report, a month later, by the director of the MNAA.<sup>633</sup> This report bears great interest as Couto reveals that Weiss had sought him in person the previous day, stating that, having received an offer from Buenos Aires, he now wished to sell the painting for 1,500 *contos*. Couto recommended the purchase, given the importance of the artwork itself, and the fact that it was recorded as national heritage, subtly recalling the conditions in which the painting left the country. Perhaps because of the value of the transaction, or because the State was wary of the seller, negotiations stalled.

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<sup>631</sup> *ibid.*, letter from Adolfo Weiss, addressed to the Minister of Education, 24 September 1944.

<sup>632</sup> *ibid.*, memo signed by Luis Varela Aldamira, 2 October 1944.

<sup>633</sup> Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archives. DGFP-Pt. 4279, memo signed by Joao Couto addressed to the DGESBA, 9 November 1944.

The third recorded contact occurred in 1948, when Weiss, addressed the Direcção-Geral do Património Nacional [henceforth, DGPN], the section of the Ministry of Finance charged with managing the state's property. Still residing at the Grande Hotel in Monte Estoril, introducing himself as 'former banker and general consul', Weiss recalled the pending matter of the sale of the 'Deposition' triptych, and his initial contact in 1943.<sup>634</sup> Again, he stated that he had several offers for the painting, but that he wished to see the painting, 'almost a historical piece for Portugal, as it was painted by the great master Gérard David in Madeira where it stayed for four centuries', return to Portugal.

In February 1950, Weiss chose to address Salazar himself, introducing himself as the former consul in Austria.<sup>635</sup> For the first time, Weiss indicated Switzerland as the location of triptych. Again, he underscored the historical importance of the painting for the Portuguese State, as well as the offers from other museums. To further indicate his desire to sell the triptych in Portugal, he detailed that 'he has lived in Portugal, his country of adoption, for many long years', concluding with 'Such is the gratitude of the *foragido* [escapee] to the Country that so generously took him in'. His letter appears to have been left unanswered as, in June, Weiss again contacted Salazar, requesting that, should the purchase not be of interest, the photograph of the triptych he had sent be returned. This second request appears to have created some commotion in the administrative services of the regime – in August, the Ministry of Education contacted the DGFP, recalling that the process had lain with this Directorate since 1944 when DGESBA had forwarded it a favourable view of its purchase signed by Luis Aldemira. A handwritten note stated that the process was lost, as was the photograph Weiss

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<sup>634</sup> Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archives. DGFP-Pt. 4279, letter from Adolf Weiss to the Director General of the National Patrimony (Ministry of Finance), 12 July 1948.

<sup>635</sup> Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archives. DGFP-Pt. 4279, copy of the exposition addressed to the President of the Council of Ministers, signed by Adolf Weiss, 22 February 1950.

alluded to.<sup>636</sup> Thus, some time between 1944 and 1950, this purchase process went missing at the Ministry of Finance, in spite of the direct contact between Weiss and the DGFP. After several months of attempting to locate it, the DGPN instructed that Weiss should submit a new formal offer, and that the process should start anew.<sup>637</sup> This would only occur two years later. In the meantime, Weiss looked into alternate means of selling the triptych in Portugal.

In 1951, Weiss contacted Reynaldo dos Santos requesting his intercession regarding the purchase of the David.<sup>638</sup> His letter alluded to the possibility of Calouste Gulbenkian, who lived in Lisbon, purchasing the triptych in order to gift it to the MNAA. Gulbenkian, who had been living in Lisbon since 1942, had indeed been involved in important donations of his own art works to the MNAA. However, a consultation of the Gulbenkian Foundation archives on this matter did not yield any correspondence relating to this issue, which indicates that, while this may have been considered in passing, it was not given a serious thought by the collector. Reynaldo dos Santos's response to Weiss was to write to the Minister of Education, supporting the purchase with the argument of the Portuguese origin of the painting's commission, and of its donors.<sup>639</sup>

In his letter, Reynaldo dos Santos gave a detailed account of the painting's provenance until its purchase by Weiss. In his words, Américo Olavo purchased it, and had it restored in Lisbon in the workshop of Luciano Freire, where Reynaldo dos Santos viewed it with José de Figueiredo. According to Reynaldo dos Santos, the painting was sold abroad, and only later entered the collection of Weiss. In other words, while Weiss

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<sup>636</sup> Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archives. DGFP-Pt. 4279, handwritten notes, 8 September 1950 and 22 September 1950.

<sup>637</sup> Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archives. DGFP-Pt. 4279, handwritten note, 10 May 1951, addressee unknown.

<sup>638</sup> Cascais Municipal Historical Archives/Reynaldo dos Santos House papers/ File 2412/Adolphe Weiss/ Letter from Adolf Weiss addressed to Prof. Reinaldo dos Santos, 7 September 1951.

<sup>639</sup> Cascais Municipal Historical Archives/Reynaldo dos Santos House papers/Escritos vários/Box 2-073, Letter (undated) sent by Reinaldo dos Santos do the Minister of National Education.

claimed to have purchased the triptych in Lisbon, Reynaldo dos Santos stated the person who purchased the painting and took it abroad was someone other than Weiss. Reynaldo dos Santos's account is the only one to support this ownership history.

Regardless, the efforts of Reynaldo dos Santos appear to have had some effect, as, on 1 September 1952, Weiss made a new offer of sale of the triptych to the Portuguese state. The whole process took almost a year, and involved another well-known Portuguese collector, Ricardo Espírito Santo, discussed in Chapters II and III. This time, Weiss provided greater detail on the circumstances of his purchase of the triptych, stating that it was purchased in Portugal, through the intermediary of a Spanish individual named Pablo Sagaseta. The offers of American museums for the purchase of the Gérard David had vanished from his offer, replaced by 'group of Swiss capitalists' who hoped to purchase 'my aforementioned lot of preciousities'. Out of gratitude to Portugal, and given the historical importance of the triptych, he wished, however, to sell the painting to the State. In February 1953, Weiss hoped to sell it for the original price of 750 *contos*, with the Portuguese State covering expenses of storage and insurance, as well as interest for the previous twelve years which amounted to 530 *contos*.<sup>640</sup>

The Minister's Office at the Ministry of Finance gave instructions that, before the transaction went ahead, the State was to obtain the opinion of two individuals who were familiar with the international art market – Ricardo Espírito Santo Silva and Calouste Gulbenkian. While the State opted to hear the former, it replaced the latter with the opinion of João Couto.

Couto, who, since 1938 had followed the triptych's whereabouts, again recommended the purchase for the price of up to 700 *contos*, and forwarded the long report he had written previously, presumably in 1949, following Weiss's third attempt to

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<sup>640</sup> Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archives. DGFP-Pt. 4279, letter from Adolf Weiss to the Public Treasury, 7 February 1953.

sell the triptych, and which was part of the lost file. This report indicated the context of the purchase by Weiss in Portugal, and the ‘condemnable manner’ in which it left the country. While Couto’s wish was that ‘all those who defrauded and deceived us’ should have their property apprehended, he recognised that, in this case, the location of the artwork meant that such a recourse was not viable: ‘Thus we must, unfortunately, negotiate’.<sup>641</sup>

The opinion of Ricardo Espírito Santo on the condition of the triptych and on the price requested – 750 *contos* – was sought in April.<sup>642</sup> Two days later, the banker and collector replied on bank letterhead that on his penultimate stay in Switzerland, he had visited, at the behest of the State, the triptych at the *Banque Cantonale* vault in Vevey.<sup>643</sup> In his opinion, the work had been perfectly restored and he judged it ‘of special interest to our Country, as it was painted for it and that the identity of the Portuguese donors is known’. Espírito Santo further declared that the value for which the painting was being sold was well below its market value. Attached to his letter was his business card with a handwritten note marked ‘confidential’ by the collector. In it, the banker and collector stated that, were the state not to acquire the triptych, he himself would attempt to purchase it for the same price.

Espírito Santo’s opinion seems to have been the catalyser for the transaction to take place. On the same date that his opinion was sent to the Ministry of Finance, the DGFP requested the opening of a special credit line to the *Direcção Geral de Contabilidade Pública* [DGCP], and asked Adolf Weiss to transfer the triptych to the Portuguese Legation in Bern. Weiss took this to mean that the transaction was to occur,

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<sup>641</sup> Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archives. DGFP-Pt. 4279, Copy of undated memo addressed to General Directorate of Public Treasury signed by João Couto.

<sup>642</sup> Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archives. DGFP-Pt. 4279, letter from the General Directorate of Public Treasury addressed to Ricardo Espírito Santo Silva, 20 April 1953.

<sup>643</sup> Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archives. DGFP-Pt. 4279, letter from Ricardo Espírito Santo Silva addressed to the General Directorate of Public Treasury, 22 April 1953.

and soon requested the deposit of 750 *contos* in his bank account – at the *Banco Espírito Santo e Comercial de Lisboa*.<sup>644</sup> The Minister's response was to recall Weiss that the State was aware of the export history of the painting, indicating his eagerness to 'recover for the Patrimony of the Nation, works such as this one of real value [that] unfortunately left the country, in prejudice of this Patrimony and with despise of the generous devotion of the donors of this triptych'. He continued by stating that payment could only occur once the painting was on Portuguese soil, and its authenticity and condition were assessed by an expert.

As the Portuguese legation in Bern struggled with transporting the large triptych through diplomatic pouch, and as the bureaucratic machine was slow in identifying which entry to ascribe the elevated amount for the acquisition, the transaction took months to be completed. Meanwhile, Weiss insisted on a resolution, enlisting the services of his bank, the Espírito Santo bank, in pressuring the authorities.<sup>645</sup> The triptych eventually entered the Portuguese customs in October 1953, was granted an import tax exemption. By mid-November, the triptych had entered the MNAA.<sup>646</sup> The absence of records pertaining to this process regarding the date of payment means that it is impossible to date the payment to Weiss.

In May 1955, the triptych was exhibited at the MNAA. In the exhibition catalogue, Manuel Cayolla Zagallo, curator at Ajuda National Palace, who had extensively researched fifteenth and sixteenth century Flemish painting in the island of Madeira,<sup>647</sup> established the official discourse regarding this acquisition:

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<sup>644</sup> Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archives. DGFP-Pt. 4279, letters from Adolf Weiss addressed to the General Directorate of Public Treasury, 4 May 1953; and to the Minister of Finance, 12 May 1953.

<sup>645</sup> Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archives. DGFP-Pt. 4279, letter from Banco Espírito Santo & Comercial de Lisboa, addressed to General Directorate of Public Treasury, signed by 'Direcção', 18 August 1953.

<sup>646</sup> Ministry of Finance Contemporary Archives. DGFP-Pt. 4279, memo from DGESBA addressed to DGFP 2 December 1953.

<sup>647</sup> Zagallo, *A Pintura dos séculos XV e XVI da Ilha da Madeira* (Lisbon, 1943); Zagallo, 'Algumas palavras sobre o património artístico da Ilha da Madeira', in *Arquivo histórico da Madeira*, vol. IV, fase I, 1934-35.

[The triptych] has just been happily rejoined National Artistic Heritage, thanks to the efforts of Dr. Artur Águedo de Oliveira, who combines his high functions as Minister of Finance, with artistic culture and sensitivity always ready to become apparent in initiatives which for Portugal result in a rise of its cultural level and artistic wealth.<sup>648</sup>

On this occasion, Cayola Zagallo revised the painting's commission history and early provenance, suggesting that the original patrons of the painting were not the Acciaiuoli, but the Lomelino, family. This attribution remains to this day. By June, the 'Deposition' was transferred to Madeira, where it took residence at the newly opened Museum of Sacred Art, in Funchal, where it can still be viewed today.

The detailed analysis and cross-reference of sources that had not been brought together until now has resulted in the clarification of the ownership history of the 'Deposition' triptych, while simultaneously revealing glaring gaps, hitherto unknown, in its provenance. (Appendix VI.2) While the narrative of purchase by Weiss from Olavo, and by Portugal from Weiss, still stands, several moments need clarification: the circumstances surrounding the transfer of the triptych from the Church of the Convent of S. Francisco to the Church of Santo da Serra, which, admittedly, falls outside our scope of analysis; whether the painting was indeed sold at the Fischer auction in 1938, and the identity of its buyer, and seller; and the ownership and whereabouts of the painting between 1940 and 1947, as the Friedlander papers contradict Weiss's statements.

The painting's post-1938 ownership is, as of the discovery of the Fischer auction and of the Friedlander papers, in need of a profound clarification, which can only begin

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<sup>648</sup> Zagallo, *Pinturas dos séculos XV e XVI da Ilha da Madeira*, pp 12-3.

once the details of the auction are confirmed. Perhaps this obscure provenance explains Weiss's desire to sell the painting back to the country where, for historical reasons, he knew there was a genuine interest in purchasing it. Indeed, it does seem odd that Weiss, having received several offers of purchase, of greater value than the value for which he was willing to sell it to the Portuguese State, insisted on selling the triptych to Portugal – his statements of gratitude notwithstanding. The possibility that an inconvenient ownership history would not be uncovered in Portugal should be considered.

### **Conclusion**

For those researching the fate of cultural property during the Nazi years, and of their owners, the information presented here is an important case study. Indeed, Weiss, while not well-known as an art collector, belongs to the group of art owners who, while persecuted by the Nazi regime, managed to save themselves, their families, and their property. Weiss emerges as someone with an impressive network, the owner of works of art of high value – a Flemish triptych, a set of Gobelins tapestries, an Italian renaissance painting – and a network of residences, agents and bank accounts scattered throughout Europe in Austria, Switzerland, France, and Portugal. Weiss can be presented as a suspicious character, who distributed illegal visas, took charge of a dubious spy network, and later sold a painting back to the country from where he had illegally exported it. From another perspective Weiss can be presented as a man with great foresight, who rescued the first victims of Nuremberg laws by awarding them Portuguese nationality, while methodically removing his property from Austria, and supporting his family, scattered throughout the world. Or he can be presented as a complex man with conflicting motivations and an unquestionable resourcefulness,



whose life was marked by the grey areas, and the grey choices, that were common to so many lives of those who escaped Nazi persecution.

This exercise has also resulted in an understanding how the Portuguese state engaged in the purchase of important works of art. As the previous chapters have demonstrated, museums held a significant degree of autonomy in deciding their purchases. They did not rely on external advisors, but rather on the museum expert. However, purchases of the magnitude of the 'Deposition' triptych were the object of protracted negotiations, with advisors sought by different government branches, and the ownership of the artwork, rather than being ascribed to a museum, being ascribed to the Nation. Of particular interest is the role played by Ricardo Espírito Santo, whose role as the informal state advisor for art acquisitions is revealed in detail in the sources presented here. At his expenses, it was he who went abroad, inspected and evaluated a painting, and shared his opinion with the State. That it was his bank who was to receive the State's payment for the triptych raised no objections.

Finally, as far as methodology is concerned, the research undertaken here has demonstrated how object provenance research and biographic research go hand in hand. It is impossible to determine a painting's whereabouts and ownership without determining the life circumstances of its presumed owners. Opting for a transnational nature of research, by identifying and seeking information in repositories throughout various countries, instead of limiting this research to the sources available in one exclusive country – such as the purchase file held at the Ministry of Finance – has a significant impact on the accuracy of provenance-related information. Each source provided limited information, at times contradicting. However, the gathering of these different strands transformed what was initially a succinct and clean object provenance, into a more complex and incomplete provenance history. The multiplicity of sources has

enabled the deconstruction of each part of information, and its subsequent reassembling, with greater understanding of the nature of the missing information, and of the impact that such gaps have on the idea of ownership of the painting. For the 'Deposition' triptych, provenance research is momentarily suspended between a legitimate transmission of ownership, and the possibility of a more convoluted transfer of property having taken place. At some stage in the future, the Nazi-era provenance of the 'Deposition' triptych will be clarified - as this chapter demonstrates, object provenance is one document away from being re-written, and reassigned.

## CONCLUSION

The various chapters in this thesis attempted to answer the questions set out in its Introduction. It is important now to summarise the most significant findings of the research undertaken and point towards new avenues of research. In addition, this research needs to be located within the evolving nature of the public debates on provenance research and on the legality and legitimacy of public ownership of unprovenanced art objects held both in the art market and in the museum spheres. Within the last decade, these debates have resurfaced in the context of colonial-era acquisitions in most European countries, including Portugal.

The thesis set out to determine the extent of the influence of the refugee flux into the country, and of the circulation of Nazi-looted art throughout Europe, on the Portuguese art market between 1933 and 1945. It attempted to do so by identifying and studying the actions of specific groups that were identified as having the higher chances of benefiting from these circumstances: importers and exporters of non-contemporary works of art (Chapter II); national art museums in Lisbon and Porto, cities with international communications and transport networks, which hosted the highest number of refugees (Chapter III); public museums in seaside and spa resorts, which also hosted thousands of refugees during the war years (Chapter IV); and the foreign art dealers who opened businesses in Lisbon (Chapter V). Conceptually, it aimed to begin with a large universe of analysis, narrowing its scope as the chapters progressed, culminating in the study of the actions of one single figure, and clarifying the provenance of one single painting, in a chapter that brings together various areas of study examined previously (Chapter VI). Each chapter both presented the findings regarding its research question and also discussed events, people and objects of secondary importance whose

value lay in corroborating the complexity of the simultaneous realities coexisting in the Portuguese cultural world during the period under analysis.

Methodologically, chapters II to V followed the same process of inquiry. After identifying the primary sources from which the relevant information was retrieved, a database was built in order to systematise that information and create the basis for a quantitative analysis. The results from the quantitative analysis in turn provided the necessary comparative information that enabled us to determine the extent of the influence of the refugee community and/or of the circulation of Nazi-looted art throughout Europe in the Portuguese art circuit between 1933 and 1945. In each chapter, findings were preceded by a historical contextualisation of the institutions and/or people under examination and were followed by an in-depth discussion of the trends and patterns identified, as well as of the actors, events, objects and collections that surfaced in the discussion.

As already noted, the construction of the databases, apparently an objective endeavour, required in fact a number of subjective decisions regarding content selection and organisation. This was mostly due to the fact that the type and range of primary sources varied between holding institutions. Even when institutions, such as the national museums discussed in Chapter III, operated within the same administrative system, their surviving archives demonstrate different methods of record-keeping and organisation. In addition, primary sources that seem comparable, such as museum inventories, were collated using different methodologies of record-taking at the time they were produced. Hence the quality of the data collected from different sources throughout Chapters II through VI was variable. As such, when creating comparable databases, decisions had to be taken regarding the organisation of the collected data. For example, in the case of museum inventories, a decision had to be taken on whether four purchases from the

same seller made on the same occasion for a lump sum should be counted as one entry, or as four distinct entries with the lump sum divided in four equal parts. An effort was made to reorganise the collected data into categories that were common to all of the institutions being assessed, and also to exclude information that, while interesting from the point of view of obtaining as much information as possible, was not relevant for the discussion taking place. In this manner, a choice was made in favour of a clearer, tighter narrative of the trends and patterns regarding the import of art objects, as well as their export, acquisitions by public museums, and sale by foreign art dealers or collectors, in Portugal between 1933 and 1945.

Chapter II set out to determine the extent to which Portugal served as a platform for the transatlantic transfer of works of art during the Nazi period, and in particular during the Second World War. This idea, put forward in monographs on the subject of looted art, namely due to the ‘Fabiani affair’, seemed to be in greatest need of verification. The chapter set out to list which objects were imported into and exported from the country during the period, by whom, and whether the refugee community was involved in these movements, whether in a private or in a commercial capacity. The primary sources consulted provided a partial answer to these queries. Firstly, we were able to determine that legal imports and exports of work of art whose authors or makers were no longer living did occur at a modest rate during the period under analysis – with one hundred and five requests documented. Of these, only a small part, fifteen in total, occurred between 1940 and 1945. Notably, this activity rose sharply in 1946, with thirty requests presented. Secondly, we were able to verify that that the works of art that entered the country did not appear to leave it within the period under analysis. More than the low number of requests of import and export permits recorded, this mismatch directly challenges the idea that Portugal worked as a clearing house in the legal

transatlantic movement of artworks during the Second World War, as what was leaving the country did not correspond to what had entered. These conclusions, however, only hold water for artworks whose authors or makers were no longer living. Contemporary works of art were considered commercial property at the time – and the primary sources holding information regarding their import and export have yet to be located in the holdings of the Ministry of Finance and of the Portuguese customs. Nevertheless, the conclusions reached in this chapter demonstrate that a small number of art collectors and dealers did bring a significant number of objects into the country, while a residual number exported a small number of objects. From the analysis undertaken, we were able to determine the identities of the most active importers and exporters, and to establish the typologies of objects that travelled the most. The majority of art dealers and/or businesses identified in intelligence reports did import artworks into the country. They were, by order of importance in terms of number of requests submitted, Elfriede Marques Pereira (*Galeria de Arte*), Erich Popper (*Salão de Arte Antiga*), Karl Buchholz (*Livraria Buchholz Exposições*) and Jacques Kugel (*Casa Calendas*). With the exception of Popper, whose first import occurred in 1938, shortly after his arrival in Portugal, all others imported objects into the country took place in 1946.

Marques Pereira imported hundreds of objects, some of which from the United Kingdom, on four occasions in 1946. Given their mix, quality and quantity, they seem to constitute inventory for her business, *Galeria de Arte*. As far as typologies are concerned, there was a marked preference for the decorative arts – Chinese and Saxe porcelain, English silver, French bronzes, French furniture – over the fine arts, namely English paintings and works on paper. This pattern of preference of typologies is also verified in the chapters pertaining to museum acquisitions, which leads us to the conclusion that Marques Pereira was catering to Portuguese preferences. The same

conclusion can be drawn regarding Erich Popper's imports, which included Persian carpets and Chinese and European porcelain, and Jacques Kugel's, which consisted of a single silver tureen. As for Karl Buchholz, the research undertaken in Chapter II proved that he did import so-called degenerate art into the country and confirms that his was a course of action worth researching in greater depth. Of the collectors active in importing works of art, three stand out. The first, Ricardo Espírito Santo Silva, presented ten import requests in total, the highest number presented by one single individual – representing over fifteen works of art which entered the country in 1937, 1939, 1940 and 1946. The second, Ernesto Vilhena, imported a total of five hitherto unidentified sculptures in 1937, presumably to complement his own and well-known sculpture collection. The third, Fernando Espírito Santo Moniz Galvão, stands out for the high number of works of art imported in one single occasion, in 1946 – over one hundred and fifty objects. Thus, even if, at this stage, the documentation analysed in Chapter II does not support the idea that Portugal served as a clearing house for the transatlantic trade of non-contemporary works of art during the period, the research undertaken has revealed the names of individuals, and the description of specific objects, whose actions at this time constitute further avenues of research.

In Chapter III, attention was focused on analysing the acquisitions of national museums during the period. Given the cultural context at the time, and the Portuguese government's understanding of the role that its museums played in the state propaganda machine, as discussed in Chapter I, there was an expectation that the analysis of these acquisitions, and in particular of its purchases, would reveal the level of interest of the Portuguese State in interacting with the refugee communities, including artists and art dealers, and in taking advantage of high-profile refugees to enrich national collections. Three national art museums were selected from the universe of public art museums

operating at the time. They were based in the cities with the most important presence of refugees – the *Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga* (MNAA) and the *Museu Nacional de Arte Contemporânea* (MNAC), in Lisbon, and the *Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis* (MNSR), in Porto. The examination of these three institutions had a greater chance of revealing the areas of intersection between museum activity and refugee life. The primary sources consulted were mainly those located in each institution, and varied in breadth, depth, and typology. While we expected the online state inventory of works of art – *MatrizNet* – to provide us with the bulk of the raw data that would constitute the various databases produced, this source proved to be unreliable for most of this research project. As such, this chapter was without any doubt, the most difficult to conclude, in terms of the length of time required to collect data, to construct the databases, and to analyse them.

The first conclusions regarding acquisitions by these three museums pertain to the disparity of their collecting policies and acquisitions budgets. The MNAA was undoubtedly the most important public institution operating in the art market as a buyer, spending over three million *escudos* during the period, three times the spending of the MNAC. The comparatively paltry sum spent by the MNSR in acquisitions also indicates that, for the ministry, Porto was very much a second city. All three museums' acquisitions were guided by patriotic considerations, and in particular their purchases, with most falling under historical periods and aesthetic schools that replicated the values and high moments of Portuguese history as propagated by the state. These were the foundation of the country through the Christian *Reconquista*, the high achievements of the Portuguese colonial expansion, and the contemporaneity of the *Estado Novo*, in which modernist aesthetics, when present, promoted conservative values anchored in the past. For the most part, the objects purchased were medieval religious items such as



sculptures, altarpieces, religious vestments, liturgical objects; objects representative of the so-called Portuguese Discoveries, such as Chinese export porcelain, Indo-Portuguese textiles and furniture; and, in the particular case of the MNAC, contemporary paintings, works on paper and sculptures by artists associated with the naturalist and late-naturalist schools. Purchases made abroad were the most expensive single items acquired during the period, and were tied, for the most part, to Portuguese history through their provenance history.

Gifts and bequests to national museums also revealed an overall disengagement with the refugee community. Noticeably, art dealers such as Jacques Kugel and Karl Buchholz approached national museums at the beginning of their commercial activities in Lisbon with gifts of works of art and books.

The impact of the war does not appear to have been an influencing factor in the number of purchases made by the national museums. In fact, these seemed to be tied to internal events, such as refurbishments, and to state programs of public events and commemorations. The appointment of João Couto as director of the MNAA marked a clear break with the buying spree of the previous years when José de Figueiredo headed the museum. At the MNAC and the MNSR, the Centennials exhibition, and the resulting refurbishment of these institutions, appear to be the point of inflexion of the annual rate of acquisitions.

The involvement of national museums with the art market varied in intensity over time. Surprisingly, private individuals, including living artists, rather than commercial entities such as auction houses and antique stores, emerge as a strong source of objects purchased by national museums. This is certainly true in the case of the MNAC and the MNSR purchases, although less marked in the case of the MNAA purchases. This information is extremely valuable since it provides with a reasonable

degree of certainty the identity of the item's previous owner and thus directs further provenance research to the biography and archives, should they exist, of these sellers.

The MNAA is the only national museum that can legitimately be considered as a significant player when it came to transactions with the commercial sector. The MNAC purchased mostly from living artists, and/or their families, as there were few contemporary art galleries operating in Portugal at the time. Conclusions pertaining to the MNSR commercial interactions are provisional, as the information on seller was missing for the majority of objects. Nevertheless, whenever such information was made available, it the MNSR appeared to purchase from a geographically narrow network of private citizens.

One of the benefits from the research undertaken in this chapter is the establishment of a list of reputed sellers from which museums purchased regularly. This can form the basis for a future mapping of the Portuguese art market during the first half of the twentieth century, which included auction houses, gallery spaces and dealers who sold from their home. Our findings widened the scope of foreign art dealers from those identified in the previous chapter to include Eliezer Kamenesky, as well as introducing names connected to the various strands of the history of Portuguese Jews, such as Raquel Sabbath, whose family settled in Portugal in the nineteenth century, and Moysés Milne e Carmo, whose family converted to Christianity and survived the inquisition. The chapter also identified lesser-known artists who had sought refuge in Portugal and from whom MNAC purchased artworks – they included Bogomir Dalma, Max Braumann, Moise Kisling, and Wanda Ostrowska. Finally, it noted that in all purchases from refugee artists the museum was careful to purchase artworks that were created in Portugal, and that catered to the prevailing Portuguese taste.

National museums did not engage in a significant program of acquisitions in order to benefit from either the refugee flow into the country, or from the looting and commercialisation of looted art by the Nazis. If anything, these museums seem to have consciously chosen to abstain purposefully from such opportunities to enrich their collection, refusing the rare acquisition offers that were addressed to them. Of the more than three thousand works of art acquired by national museums, only a handful came from people such as Elfriede Marques Pereira, Jacques Kugel, Erich Popper or Karl Buchholz, who were identified at the time as possibly dealing in looted art, or from Paris-based art dealers who did engage in the trade of looted works of art such as the Paul Cailloux and Wildenstein galleries. In terms of further provenance research, those would be the objects most immediately requiring further examination.

These conclusions do not imply that national museums, in particular the Lisbon-based MNAA and MNAC, were immune to the events connected to the conflict. Our findings reveal that, in addition to the works of art gifted to the MNAA by refugees, both institutions accepted art collections on deposit for the duration of the conflict. In addition, all three museums partnered with the legations and cultural institutes of foreign powers to host a variety of cultural events designed by the belligerent countries to promote support for their war effort.

Chapter IV examined the acquisitions by museums in seaside resorts and spa towns where refugees congregated in large numbers, and for long periods of time. While two of these, Caldas da Rainha and Figueira da Foz, were areas of mandatory residence, the proximity of Cascais to Lisbon, and the municipality's tourist-oriented infrastructures, made it popular among the refugees who had freedom of movement and could afford to stay there. In each of these localities a public museum actively collected and courted visitors. Given the length of stay of refugee communities in Caldas da

Rainha, it could be expected that its recently opened museum, the José Malhoa Museum, would bear evidence of their presence. However, the scope of its collection, intrinsically tied to painter José Malhoa and Portuguese naturalism, meant that the refugee community did not have much to offer to the museum in terms of acquisitions. The only possible indicator of the impact of the presence of refugees was the increase in its visitorship from 1943 onwards.

The Santos Rocha Museum and the Counts of Castro Guimarães Museum Library, located in Figueira da Foz and Cascais respectively, followed different acquisition narratives. The acquisitions of the Santos Rocha Museum were, for the most part, gifts, obtained in large part thanks to the tenacity of its director, who contacted contemporary artists and asked them for a gift to the nascent fine arts collection of the museum. Among these we find a small number of gifts of artworks made by, or on behalf of, refugee artists who were assigned residence in Figueira da Foz, namely Ivan Sors and Naoum Aronson, and Lisbon-based refugee artists such as Arpad Szenes and Wanda Ostrowska.

The Counts of Castro Guimarães Museum Library represents the most important surprise of the entire group of museums analysed in Chapters III and IV, as it does not reveal one single interaction with the refugee community or foreign art dealer network. This is astonishing, given the high number of refugees who were staying the municipality. Its acquisitions do reveal a strong mimicry of the patterns revealed by the MNAA. Both museums shared a roster of preferred dealers, and their records reveal a sharp break in purchases from 1938 onwards. This parallelism is easily explained by the fact that the MBCCG was overseen by the successive directors of the MNAA, José de Figueiredo and João Couto.

In spite of the promise of revealing important interactions with the refugee communities, including art dealers and artists, who settled in Portugal between 1933 and 1945, both Chapters III and IV reveal that museums in areas with a large refugee population, chose, for the most part, to ignore it. Indeed, if purchases by public museums from refugee communities, whether commercial dealers, artists or other individuals, indicate a will to engage with these communities, then such interest was close to none. The art market in which museums operated was Portuguese in terms of the network of sellers, and of Portuguese interest in terms of the objects traded. Even the type of works of art purchased from foreign art dealers, or artists, residing in Portugal demonstrate this nationalistic view of the institutions' purpose in acquisitions. Living artists sold paintings and drawings depicting Portuguese scenes, represented in the late naturalist style preferred by the State; dealers sold Chinese export porcelain, Indo-Portuguese objects and textiles, or works by Portuguese authors. The war seems to have had little influence in the types of objects collected. If anything, the Centennial Exhibitions were the determining factor in acquisitions.

The importance of the research undertaken for Chapters III and IV lies more in the methodology developed to analyse different types of sources in order to elicit comparable data rather than the in the amount of positive information uncovered. In addition, and for the first time, the acquisitions in the museums discussed in these chapters were examined individually, in some way fulfilling the commitment of the Portuguese government to the application of the Washington Principles.

Three Lisbon-based foreign art dealers, whose doings were noted in Allied sources, form the basis for discussion in Chapter V. While part of a wider universe of foreign, or foreign-born, art dealers active at the time, they constituted, as a result of the research undertaken in chapters II through IV, the most immediate priorities in terms of

determining the actions of commercial art dealers during the period. Erich Popper, a German Jewish refugee, was the only one to have been flagged during the war by Portuguese authorities for possible involvement in the traffic of looted art. Popper, the owner of *Salão de Arte Antiga* and partner in *Eco-Trading, Lda.*, who emerged as an active importer of works of art in Chapter III, was found to be an important seller of decorative arts, mostly carpets, to the Portuguese state, thanks to the latter's program of refurbishment of national palaces led by Raul Lino during the war years. His documented sales to private collections occurred after 1945. Popper's long-established contact network in the United States may have been the source of his extensive imports.

Elfriede Marques Pereira, co-owner of *Galeria de Arte* alongside two partners about whom little was discovered, emerged as the largest importer of works of art in terms of quantity, albeit after 1945. During the period under analysis, her sales to Portuguese museums, and private collections were inexistent, and she is known to have sold Chinese export porcelain to private collectors after the war. The primary sources identified in this chapter allowed us to conclude that, even though Chinese export porcelain items was indeed the main type of objects she traded, other fine and decorative arts were also part of her stock.

Of the three dealers discussed in Chapter VI, Karl Buchholz was the most urgent to research, given how much was already known of his work as an international seller of so-called degenerate artworks purged from German museums. The research undertaken for this chapter presented, for the first time, a chronology of Buchholz's wartime exhibitions at his Lisbon gallery. Our research also identified the names of so-called degenerate artists exhibited at the Buchholz Lisbon bookshop, namely Karl Hofer, Gerhard Marcks and Renée Sintenis. The chapter presented a database of works of art imported by Buchholz and determined some of the methods through which objects were

brought by him into the country, confirming his use of the diplomatic pouch. This verification proved to be essential to disprove the long-held belief that Buchholz settled in Lisbon to escape Nazi persecution, since he was benefitting from the support of the *Auswärtiges Amt* and traveling regularly between Portugal and the various countries in which he had commercial interests, Germany included. While Buchholz's sales during the war years to Portuguese museums were limited to a sculpture of Barata Feyo, he became a regular supplier of art books to the MNAA library shortly after opening his doors. We were also able to determine that Buchholz worked as an intermediary for the sale of works of art belonging to Switzerland-based third parties. While one of these artworks, El Greco's *Expolio*, was exhibited in Lisbon, none of these sales mediated by Buchholz seem to have come to fruition in Portugal.

The fact that all three businesses survived the war – and, at least in the case of Popper and Buchholz, remained open and in their possession at least until their death – demonstrates that they did have a roster of clients who purchased from them. Until 1945, at least, the Portuguese State was not among their primary clients. In addition to the vital historical information uncovered by this chapter, the value of the work undertaken lies also in questioning the reliability of the Allies' documentation and in alerting researchers to the need to verify the information provided, if possible, through the consultation of other primary sources.

The final research chapter of this thesis, Chapter VI, re-examined the provenance history of one of the most important post-war art purchases by the Portuguese state. Adolf Weiss, the former honorary consul for Portugal in Vienna, initially offered the 'Deposition' Triptych, by Flemish painter Gérard David, for purchase to the Portuguese State in late 1941. Starting with the painting's current published provenance, which did name Weiss as one of its owners, we were able to

determine that it had been Weiss himself who had illegally exported the painting from Portugal to Austria in the 1930s; and that the painting had been put up for sale in 1938 at a Galerie Fischer auction in Switzerland, with Weiss appearing to be both seller and buyer of the triptych.

In addition, the longwinded process of this acquisition revealed the important role played by figures that, while not central to the acquisition process by public institutions, had a privileged relationship and access to Salazar. In the case of the Weiss sale, this figure was Ricardo Espírito Santo Silva, who we first met in Chapter II. The Nazi-era provenance research for the ‘Deposition’ Triptych also shed light on the lesser-known complexities of the research process itself, such as the need to engage in biographical research of the individuals associated with a work of art in parallel with the determination of the object’s whereabouts. In addition, it underscored that only the consultation of a wide range of primary sources, Portuguese and foreign, can uncover the vital details that contribute to clarify the twentieth-century provenance for a widely circulated work of art. Finally, it demonstrated that, while findings do not always fully resolve the provenance of an object, they can, and do, identify the specific moments in its ownership history and chain of custody that require further in-depth research.

Individuals such as Espírito Santo, Weiss, Buchholz, and others discussed throughout these chapters are evidence that the people involved in the international movement of works of art during the period defy any perceived notions of a clear-cut, coherent narrative of heroes and villains put forth by constructs such as those of the ‘Monuments Men’, and other cultural products for public consumption. Instead, for the most part, they fall into the grey areas of people whose decisions and actions taken throughout their lives appear incoherent, often contradictory, and that can be the subject



of equally contradictory interpretations, depending on the premises on which the latter rest.

In the Introduction, it was stated that, because this thesis was the first attempt to examine a complex subject – the art market – during an intense period in Portuguese and European history, findings were likely to cover a wide range of issues with varying degrees of complexity and depth. It was understood that, rather than providing definitive answers and a satisfying conclusion to the questions surrounding Portugal's role in the international trade of art objects during the Nazi era, it would instead provide partial answers, and result in further questions in need of clarification.

The most urgent of these questions, pertains to the purchases and art dealer network of private collectors active during the period. These include, but are not limited to, António Anastácio Gonçalves, whose acquisitions have been partially researched; António Medeiros e Almeida, whose acquisitions occurred for the most part after 1945; Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian, who, settling in Lisbon in 1942, is known to have purchased artworks located outside Portugal from other refugees; and especially Ricardo Espírito Santo, who has made an appearance in all but one of the chapters of this thesis, either as an importer, a donor to a museum collection, a client of an art dealer or as an intermediary of the Portuguese state in international purchases. The conditions for the consultation of the former Banco Espírito Santo archives are to this day problematic, as researchers have no guarantee of a full access to the documentation preserved there.

The second priority of research is determining the Nazi-era provenance of those objects formerly in the hands of importers identified in chapter II and art dealers discussed in chapters III through V that entered public collections. At the top of such lists are acquisitions to Portugal-based Elfriede Marques Pereira, Erich Popper, Jacques

Kugel and the Madeira-based art dealer Jan Wetzler, as well as acquisitions to the Paul Cailloux and Wildenstein galleries, based in Paris.

The acquisitions by other public museums that were not examined in Chapter III should be verified. While we do not expect them to show significant variations from the pattern of low levels of commercial and social interactions with the refugee community identified at the MNAA, MNAC and MNSR, some are known to have engaged in the actions of cultural propaganda and collaboration with the cultural institutes of belligerent countries. The Machado de Castro Museum in Coimbra, with its close collaboration with Gertrud Richert and the *Ibero-Amerikanische Institut*, is one of these institutions. In the area of public purchases of works of art, the programme of refurbishment of National Palaces, which was summarily discussed in Chapter V in the context of the sales to the State by Erich Popper, also deserves a greater level of scrutiny.

While the sales of contemporary art to public museums was examined in a satisfactory manner, further research into its transfer from Europe to North America through Portugal should be looked into. As we have seen, the Portuguese sources on this issue cannot be located. As such, this transfer can be studied through the examination of U.S. Customs records in particular.

Finally, the post-war period should be the object of an analysis replicating the model and methodologies followed here. As Chapter III has revealed, 1946 saw a significant uptick in import activity. In addition, a summary examination of the records held at the Ministry of National Education, as well as of museum inventories and unpublished third-party research, leads us to the conclusion that this period is rich with information to be processed and analysed using the same combination of database

construction and interpretation with cross-referencing with international primary sources.

These paths for further research proposed here all fall under the umbrella of Nazi-era provenance research. It must, however, be taken into account that this particular type of research, undertaken here for the first time, falls into a wider mandate of provenance research expected from art historians and museum professionals who work within the ICOM ethical guidelines framework.

The Introduction of this thesis posited the view that the refusal by art historians and museum professionals to engage in Nazi-era provenance research was partly due to their perception that this type of research was the beginning of a sliding slope at the bottom of which lay the restitution of works of art acquired in former Portuguese colonial territories. Unsurprisingly, in the years during which this thesis was researched and written, object provenance came to the forefront of museological and public debates. Following the writer's publication in 2017 of a peer-reviewed article, press interest in the subject was raised.<sup>649</sup> Predictably, while Nazi-era provenance was a centre of interest, the colonial context of Portuguese museum acquisitions was also discussed. The public debates surrounding the ownership of the so-called colonial collections culminated, in February 2020, in the proposal by a political party with a small parliamentary representation for a committee of specialists to analyse the circumstances surrounding acquisition of these objects, held in various public museums. That this proposal was not approved in parliament and was unfavourably viewed by established Portuguese museum professionals was equally predictable, and a reflection of the discomfort caused by the confrontation of national institutions with their past, and the

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<sup>649</sup> Agência Lusa, 'É preciso estudar mais a origem da arte existente em Portugal do período Nazi', in *Público: Ípsilon* (10 September 2017), <https://www.publico.pt/2017/09/10/culturaipsilon/noticia/e-preciso-estudar-mais-a-origem-de-arte-existente-em-portugal-do-periodo-nazi-1784964>.

retroactive application of current ethical guidelines to the examination of past acquisitions.<sup>650</sup>

When re-examining the questions set out at the Introduction, it is possible to determine that this thesis answered specific historical questions satisfactorily. It raised new questions to be pursued by others. It proposed a methodology of approaching large, daunting, and unexplored primary sources. It mapped out the main thoroughfares of an entire field of enquiry. And, while it did confirm the long-held supposition that the Portuguese State and public institutions did not engage in the acquisition of looted art during this period, it did so through a scientific method of analysis rather than by relying on perception and belief. The author now looks forward to seeing the findings presented here challenged, completed, and contradicted, by further research projects with other primary sources and alternative methodologies.

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<sup>650</sup> Luís Raposo, ‘Devolver património, sim, não, talvez... Mas devolver o quê e a quem?’ in *Público: Ípsilon*. (29 January 2020); Maria Isabel Roque, ‘Descolonizar não é (só) devolver’ in *a.muse.arte*, <https://amusearte.hypotheses.org/5515> (2 Feb. 2020),

## Appendix II.1 – Database of import and export tax waiver requests.

Source: Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA fonds.

City	Year	Type	Delegation	Request submitted by	Type of owner nationality	n items	Number of Typologies	Expert
LISBON	1934	unknown	Santos	unknown	unknown	1+	Single	unknown
LISBON	1934	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	1	Single	unknown
LISBON	1935	Import	Rossio	Franz Vetter von der Lillie	Individual; foreigner	2	Multiple	unknown
LISBON	1935	unknown	Postal Parcels	Evaristo Sano Sagasetta	unknown	1	Single	unknown
LISBON	1936	Export	HQ?	Caixas Registradoras National	Commercial firm; Portuguese	1+	unknown	unknown
LISBON	1936	Import	Santos	unknown	unknown	2	Single	unknown
LISBON	1936	Export	HQ?	Manuel B. Vivas Lda.	Commercial firm; Portuguese	1	Single	unknown
LISBON	1936	Import	Santos	unknown	unknown	1+	Single	unknown
LISBON	1936	Import	Santa Apolónia	unknown	unknown	1+	Single	unknown
LISBON	1936	Import	Santos	Sociedade Francisco Pinto Balsemão	Commercial firm; Portuguese	1+	Single	unknown
PORTO	1937	Import	unknown	Ricardo do Espírito Santo Silva	Individual; Portuguese	1+	Single	Vasco Valente [?]
PORTO	1937	Import	unknown	Manoel José de Barros [deceased]	Individual; Portuguese	8	Single	Vasco Valente

LISBON	1937	Import	Alcântara	Ernesto Vilhena	Individual; Portuguese	4	Single	unknown
LISBON	1937	Import	Alcântara	Bensaúde e Ca Lda.	Commercial firm; Portuguese	1	Single	Diogo de Macedo
LISBON	1937	Import	Santa Apolónia	J M G [Guedes?]	unknown	1	Single	Luis Keil
LISBON	1937	Import	Alcântara	Antonio Moreira de Almeida	Individual; Portuguese	1	Single	Luis Keil
LISBON	1937	Reentry	Reentry warehouse	Madame Tabar	Individual; foreigner	1	Single	unknown
LISBON	1937	Import	Headquarters	Ernesto Vilhena	Individual; Portuguese	1	Single	José de Figueiredo
LISBON	1937	Export	Piquete	Missões Franciscanas	Institution	1+	Single	unknown
LISBON	1938	Import	Rocha do Conde d'Óbidos	Gastão Polónia	unknown	1	Single	João Couto
LISBON	1938	Import	Santa Apolónia	Mercador, Lda.	Art dealer; Portuguese	2+	Multiple	João Couto
LISBON	1938	Import	Santa Apolónia	Ricardo do Espírito Santo Silva	Individual; Portuguese	3+	Multiple	João Couto
LISBON	1938	Import	Alcântara	Salão de Arte Antiga, Lda.	Art dealer; foreigner	15	Multiple	João Couto

LISBON	1938	Import	Alcântara	V. Leitão Vieira dos Santos	Individual; Portuguese	1+	Single	João Couto
LISBON	1938	Import	Alcântara	J. Freire Themudo	Individual; Portuguese	1+	Single	João Couto
LISBON	1938	Import	Postal Parcels	Fred Waschsmann	Individual; foreigner	1	Single	João Couto
PORTO	1938	Import	unknown	António Moreira de Almeida	Individual; Portuguese	3	Single	Vasco Valente
LISBON	1938	Import	Santa Apolónia	Leiria & Nascimento Lda.	Auction house; Portuguese	10+	Multiple	João Couto
PORTO	1938	Import	unknown	António Moreira de Almeida	Individual; Portuguese	2	Single	Vasco Valente
LISBON	1938	Import	unknown	unknown	unknown	6	Single	Luis Keil
LISBON	1938	Import	Santa Apolónia	Ricardo do Espírito Santo Silva	Individual; Portuguese	1	Single	João Couto
LISBON	1938	Import	Alcântara	unknown	unknown	2	Single	Diogo de Macedo
LISBON	1938	Import	Santos	Ricardo do Espírito Santo Silva	Individual; Portuguese	2	Single	João Couto
LISBON	1939	Import	Alcântara	João F. da Silva Nascimento	Individual; Portuguese	1	Single	João Couto

LISBON	1939	Import	Santa Apolónia	Mercador, Lda.	Art dealer; Portuguese	1	Single	João Couto
LISBON	1939	Import	Rocha do Conde d'Óbidos	David Michael Benoliel	Individual; Portuguese	2	Single	João Couto
LISBON	1939	Import	Santos	Amândio Patricio	Individual; Portuguese	3	Multiple	João Couto
LISBON	1939	Import	Rocha do Conde d'Óbidos	João da Mota Gomes Júnior	Individual; Portuguese	1	Single	João Couto
LISBON	1939	Import	Alcântara	Antonio Moreira de Almeida	Individual; Portuguese	3	Single	João Couto
LISBON	1939	Import	Santa Apolónia	Instituto de Coimbra	Institution	1	Single	Adriano de Sousa Lopes
PORTO	1939	Import	unknown	Alberto da Fonseca Figueiredo	Individual; Portuguese	2	Multiple	Vasco Valente
LISBON	1939	Import	Piquete?	Direcção da União Nacional	Institution	1	Single	João Couto
LISBON	1939	Import	Alcântara	M dos Santos Pinto	unknown	1	Single	João Couto
LISBON	1939	Import	Santa Apolónia	E. Pinto Basto & Cia. Lda.	Commercial firm; Portuguese	10+	Single	João Couto
PORTO	1939	Import	Import	António d'Almeida	Individual; Portuguese	2+	Single	Vasco Valente
LISBON	1939	Import	Santos	Leiria & Nascimento Lda.	Auction house; Portuguese	1+	Single	João Couto
LISBON	1939	Import	Santos	Mercador, Lda.	Art dealer; Portuguese	1	Single	João Couto
LISBON	1939	Import	Alcântara	Ricardo do Espírito Santo Silva	Individual; Portuguese	1	Single	João Couto
LISBON	1939	Import	Santa Apolónia	Ricardo do Espírito Santo Silva	Individual; Portuguese	2	Single	João Couto



LISBON	1939	Import	Rocha do Conde d'Óbidos	Luis Marques	Individual; Portuguese	1	Single	João Couto
PORTO	1939	Import	unknown	Antonio Moreira de Almeida	Individual; Portuguese	2	Single	unknown
LISBON	1939	Import	Rocha do Conde d'Óbidos	Ricardo do Espírito Santo Silva	Individual; Portuguese	1	Single	João Couto
LISBON	1939	Import	Santa Apolónia	Monsenhor Pais Figueiredo	Individual; Portuguese	2+	Multiple	João Couto
LISBON	1940	Export	unknown	Giovanni Lauriette	Individual; foreigner	2+	Multiple	João Couto
LISBON	1940	Import	Cais dos Soldados	Mercador, Lda.	Art dealer; Portuguese	6+	Multiple	João Couto
LISBON	1940	Import	Cais dos Soldados	Salão de Arte Antiga, Lda.	Art dealer; foreigner	6	Single	João Couto
LISBON	1940	Import	Cais dos Soldados	Martin Sain	Individual; foreigner	1	Single	João Couto
LISBON	1940	Import	Cais dos Soldados	Martin Sain	Individual; foreigner	6	Single	João Couto
LISBON	1940	Import	Cais dos Soldados	Salão de Arte Antiga, Lda.	Art dealer; foreigner	12	Multiple	João Couto
LISBON	1940	Import	Cais dos Soldados	Calabresi	Art dealer; foreigner	10	Single	João Couto
LISBON	1940	Import	Santa Apolónia	Camilo Infante	Individual; Portuguese	3	Single	João Couto
LISBON	1940	Import	Alcântara	Ricardo do Espírito Santo Silva	Individual; Portuguese	1	Single	João Couto
LISBON	1941	Export	Cais dos Soldados	Instituto para a Alta Cultura	Institution	1	Single	João Couto

PORTO	1941	Export	Leixões	Elizabeth Venum Cruttwell	Individual; foreigner	5	Single	Vasco Valente
LISBON	1943	Export	unknown	Fausto de Albuquerque	Art dealer; Portuguese	12	Single	João Couto
LISBON	1944	Import	Santa Apolónia	Fritz W. Meyer	Individual; foreigner	2	Single	Luis Varela Aldamira
LISBON	1944	Export [temporary]	Rossio	Pedro Leitão	Individual; Portuguese	10	Single	João Couto
LISBON	1945	Export	unknown	Manuel Pereira Junior	Individual; Portuguese	41	Multiple	unknown
LISBON	1946	Import	Santa Apolónia	Jaime de Almeida e Sousa	Individual; Portuguese	10+	Multiple	Diogo de Macedo
LISBON	1946	Import	Santa Apolónia	France Oulman	Individual; foreigner	15+	Multiple	Diogo de Macedo
LISBON	1946	Import	Santos	Arte Antiga - E. Popper	Art dealer; foreigner	2+	Single	Raul Lino
LISBON	1946	Import	Santos	Guilherme Silva Pereira	Individual; Portuguese	2+	Multiple	Raul Lino
LISBON	1946	Import	Santa Apolónia	Elfriede Marques Pereira	Art dealer; foreigner	200+	Multiple	Pardal Monteiro
LISBON	1946	Import	Santa Apolónia	Fernando Espírito Santo Moniz Galvão	Individual; Portuguese	150+	Multiple	João Couto

LISBON	1946	Import	Santa Apolónia	J. Guedes	Individual; Portuguese	1	Single	Armando de Lucena
LISBON	1946	Import	Rocha do Conde d'Óbidos	Abecassis (Irmaos) & Ca	Commercial firm; Portuguese	1+	unknown	Luis Varela Aldamira
LISBON	1946	Import	Alcântara	Casa Calendas	Art dealer; foreigner	1	Single	Armando de Lucena
FUNCHAL	1946	Import	unknown	Jan Wetzler & Silva	Art dealer; foreigner	60	Multiple	Director of the Funchal District Archive
LISBON	1946	Export	unknown	René Chalon	Individual; foreigner	51	Multiple	João Couto
LISBON	1946	Import	Alcântara	Ricardo do Espírito Santo Silva	Individual; Portuguese	1	Single	Luis Varela Aldamira
LISBON	1946	Export	Trav. Da Traбуqueta	Volcear, SARL	Commercial firm; Portuguese	2+	Multiple	João Couto
LISBON	1946	Import	Cais dos Soldados	A. Colla Cresi	Individual; foreigner	26	Single	Armando de Lucena
LISBON	1946	Import	Airport	Elfriede Marques Pereira	Art dealer; foreigner	15+	Multiple	Raul Lino
LISBON	1946	Import	Airport	Elfriede Marques Pereira	Art dealer; foreigner	4	Single	Armando de Lucena
LISBON	1946	Import	Santos	Elfriede Marques Pereira	Art dealer; foreigner	160	Multiple	João Couto

LISBON	1946	Import	Rossio	Henrique Soares	Art dealer; Portuguese	5	Multiple	Luis Varela Aldamira
LISBON	1946	Export	Cais dos Soldados	Institut Pasteur	Institution	3+	Multiple	Paulino Montez
PORTO	1946	Export	unknown	Albino António Borges	Individual; Portuguese	62	Single	Vasco Valente
LISBON	1946	Export	unknown	Adolf Pokorny	Individual; foreigner	54	Multiple	Raul Lino
LISBON	1946	Export	unknown	Alberto Ferreira do Nascimento	Individual; Portuguese	2+	Multiple	Julio Dantas, Head Inspector, Secretaria da Inspeção Superior das Bibliotecas e Arquivos
LISBON	1946	Export	unknown	Salvador dos Santos Romana	Commercial firm; Portuguese	26	Multiple	Julio Dantas, Head Inspector, Secretaria da Inspeção Superior das Bibliotecas e Arquivos
LISBON	1946	Export	unknown	Antonio José Martins, Lda.	Commercial firm; Portuguese	1	Single	Armando de Lucena
LISBON	1946	Export	unknown	Antiquália, Lda.	Art dealer; Portuguese	10	Single	João Couto
LISBON	1946	Export	unknown	A. C. Rolim e Cia, Lda.	Commercial firm; Portuguese	3	Single	João Couto

LISBON	1946	Import	Santos	Baron Francois Direztay	Individual; foreigner	5	Multiple	João Couto
LISBON	1946	Export	Rocha do Conde d'Óbidos	João Ildefonso Bordalo	Individual; Portuguese	1	Single	Luis Varela Aldamira
LISBON	1946	Import	unknown	Abecassis (Irmaos) e & Ca	Commercial firm; Portuguese	10+	Multiple	João Couto
LISBON	1946	Import	Santa Apolónia	J. Guedes	Individual; Portuguese	1	Single	Raul Lino
LISBON	1938	Import	Santos	unknown	unknown	6	Single	Luis Keil
LISBON	1938	Import	Alcântara	Ricardo do Espirito Santo Silva	Individual; Portuguese	2+	Single	João Couto
LISBON	1938	Import	Rocha do Conde d'Óbidos	António Antunes Borges	Individual; Portuguese	1	Single	João Couto
PORTO	1938	Import	unknown	Antonio Moreira de Almeida	Individual; Portuguese	4	Single	unknown
LISBON	1938	Import	Postal Parcels	unknown	unknown	1	Single	João Couto
FUNCHAL	1938	Import	unknown	Vera da Cunha Teles	Individual; Portuguese	10+	Multiple	Director of the Funchal District Archive
LISBON	1938	Import	Santos	unknown	unknown	6	Single	Luis Keil

### Appendix III.1 – MNAA, purchases database, 1933-45.

Sources: MNAA correspondence and expenditure ledgers archives, and inventories.

Year	Value (Escudos)	Acquired from	Typology	Description / Title	Maker / Author
1933	5 000	Alberto Carneiro Mesquita	Sculpture	Ivory diptych featuring <i>Calvary</i> and <i>Virgin with Child</i>	
1933	10 000	António Pedro da Silva	Silverware	Chalice	
1933	660	Auction Sassetti	Ceramics	Plate	
1933	495	Auction, Felisberto Maior, Calçada da Estrela	Ceramics	Vase	
1933	440	Auction, Felisberto Maior, Calçada da Estrela	Ceramics	Pair of vases	
1933	175	Auction, Felisberto Maior, Calçada da Estrela	Ceramics	Two bowls	
1933	1 750	Auction. Quinta do Portal Novo, Estrada de Benfica	Furniture	Altar set, with candle stick, crucifix, three boxes featuring the arms of the bishop of Porto, D. José da Fonseca e Evora	
1933	800	Conceição Emília Leite Ribeiro	Drawing	Rogolino	Domingos António de Sequeira
1933	10 000	Count of Foz	Painting	<i>Interior of a church</i>	Cloevisé (?)
1933	3 000	Eduardo de Romero	Painting	Still-life	
1933	800	Eduardo de Romero	Painting	Miniature, portrait of a lady	
1933	4 000	Francisca Carlos Pedroso	Painting	<i>Old man killing lice</i>	Morgado de Setubal
1933	2 500	Francisco Raposo de Souza d'Alter	Ceramics	Limoges object	Limoges

1933	1 500	Gabriela Frazão	Painting	Miniature, portrait of a man	
1933	1 000	Gabriela Frazão	Painting	Miniature, portrait of a man	
1933	500	Gonçalo de Mello Breyner	Painting	Miniature, portrait of a man	
1933	3 000	Guilhermina da Conceição Pinto	Painting	Miniature, portrait of a man	Delacluze
1933	400	Guilhermina Elisa da Silva Marques	Ceramics	Tea set: teapot, milk jug and sugar bowl	
1933	4 000	João de Castro Osório e Oliveira	Painting	Portrait of a man	Morgado de Setubal
1933	2 000	João de Castro Osório e Oliveira	Painting	<i>Negro type</i>	Morgado de Setubal
1933	336	João Filipe da Silva Nascimento	Ceramics	Mustard dish with coat of arms	
1933	150	João Filipe da Silva Nascimento	Ceramics	Plate	
1933	5 665	João Filipe Silva Nascimento	Painting	<i>New Woman</i>	
1933	1 500	João Galvão	Painting	Still-life	Delavive(?)
1933	1 300	João Galvão	Sculpture	Two small sculptures in wood	
1933	500	João Galvão	Silverware	Silver teapot	
1933	2 800	Joséfa Dias	Drawing	Two drawings	
1933	900	Leitão & Irmão	Silverware	Sugar bowl	
1933	1 500	Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho Ayres de Magalhães	Sculpture	<i>Jesus as a Child</i>	
1933	10 000	Maria Emília Ferreira da Silva	Painting	Four miniatures	
1933	1 000	Martha Cabral	Ceramics	Porcelain teapot	
1933	150	R. Rodrigues (Agente de leilões)	Ceramics	Two vases	

1933	452	Raquel (?) Frazão Silva	Furniture	Credenza	
1933	310	Raquel (?) Frazão Silva	Ceramics	Sauce holder	
1933	115	Raquel (?) Frazão Silva	Ceramics	Plate with crown	
1933	75	Raquel (?) Frazão Silva	Furniture	Wooden frame	
1933	3 150	Raquel Sabbath	Ceramics	One small serving dish and two plates with coat of arms	
1933	950	Raquel Sabbath	Ceramics	Bowl with coat of arms	
1933	900	Raquel Sabbath	Ceramics	Porcelain serving dish with coat of arms	
1933	750	Raquel Sabbath	Silverware	Silver tobacco box	
1934	2 000	Alfredo Ramos	Painting	Enamel representing Christ	Limoges
1934	1 200	Alfredo Ramos	Ceramics	Large plate	Delft
1934	500	Alfredo Ramos	Ceramics	Tureen, sauce cup, mustard holder	
1934	200	Alfredo Ramos	Ceramics	Plate with coat of arms	
1934	500	Alfredo Ramos (Porto)	Painting	Two enamelled miniatures	
1934	2 585	Auction João Luís da Fonseca	Ceramics	Small bowl, Ming	
1934		Auction João Luís da Fonseca	Ceramics	Sauce cup	Rato factory
1934		Auction João Luís da Fonseca	Ceramics	Spittoon	Delft
1934		Auction João Luís da Fonseca	Ceramics	Box with lid	Rato factory
1934		Auction João Luís da Fonseca	Ceramics	Spittoon	Rouen
1934		Auction João Luís da Fonseca	Ceramics	Vase	Delft
1934		Auction João Luís da Fonseca	Ceramics	Colander	Porto



1934		Auction João Luís da Fonseca	Ceramics	Hookah	
1934		Auction João Luís da Fonseca	Ceramics	Jar	
1934		Auction João Luís da Fonseca	Ceramics	Pot with royal coat of arms	
1934		Auction João Luís da Fonseca	Ceramics	Plate with figures	
1934	3 318	Auction, António Arroio	Ceramics	Large plate	
1934		Auction, António Arroio	Ceramics	Plate	
1934		Auction, António Arroio	Ceramics	Two pots	
1934		Auction, António Arroio	Ceramics	Vase	
1934		Auction, António Arroio	Ceramics	Jar with lid	
1934		Auction, António Arroio	Ceramics	Plate	
1934		Auction, António Arroio	Ceramics	Plate	
1934		Auction, António Arroio	Ceramics	Ink well	
1934		Auction, António Arroio	Ceramics	Two jars	
1934		Auction, António Arroio	Ceramics	Plate	
1934		Auction, António Arroio	Ceramics	Plate	
1934		Auction, António Arroio	Ceramics	Plate with bowl	
1934		Auction, António Arroio	Ceramics	Two plates	
1934		Auction, António Arroio	Ceramics	Two plates	
1934		Auction, António Arroio	Ceramics	Plate	
1934		Auction, António Arroio	Ceramics	Plate	
1934		Auction, António Arroio	Ceramics	Object	
1934		Auction, António Arroio	Ceramics	Plate	
1934		Auction, António Arroio	Ceramics	Basin	
1934		Auction, António Arroio	Ceramics	illegible	

1934		Auction, António Arroio	Ceramics	Three objects	
1934		Auction, António Arroio	Ceramics	Mug	
1934		Auction, António Arroio	Ceramics	Plate	
1934		Auction, António Arroio	Ceramics	Salad bowl	
1934	2 156	Auction, António Augusto de Aguiar, 66	Painting	Miniature, portrait of a man	Rezende
1934	2 090	Auction, António Augusto de Aguiar, 66	Painting	Painting on copper of George III and his family	
1934	2 035	Auction, António Augusto de Aguiar, 66	Textiles	Bedsread in silk	Louis XV
1934	216	Auction, António Augusto de Aguiar, 66	Misc	Enamelled binoculars	
1934	50	Auction, António Augusto de Aguiar, 66	Ceramics	Cup and saucer	
1934	803	Auction, Bruto da Costa	Furniture	Table	
1934	694	Auction, Bruto da Costa	Silverware	Pair of candlesticks	
1934	374	Auction, Bruto da Costa	Furniture	Camphor box	
1934	1 700	Auction, Eduardo John	Jewellery	Insignia, <i>Cruz de Cristo</i> , with red and white precious stone	
1934	700	Auction, Eduardo John	Furniture	Chieselled ark	
1934	250	Auction, Eduardo John	Book	<i>Sua Magestade Filipe III</i>	Lavanha
1934	200	Auction, Eduardo John	Furniture	Two chairs	
1934	180	Auction, Eduardo John	Painting	Illuminure	
1934	150	Auction, Eduardo John	Painting	Miniature, portrait of a lady	
1934	150	Auction, Eduardo John	Painting	Illuminure'	
1934	60	Auction, Eduardo John	Book	<i>Les Arts</i>	Lacroix
1934	60	Auction, Eduardo John	Furniture	Lacquered pen holder	

1934	300	Auction, Ennes	Drawing	One drawing	
1934	96	Auction, Ennes	Ceramics	Two jars	
1934	198	Auction, Praça Afonso d'Albuquerque, 13	Ceramics	Serving dish	
1934		Auction, Praça Afonso d'Albuquerque, 13	Ceramics	Tureen	
1934	1 300	Calabresi Lda.	Sculpture	no description given	
1934	700	Dr. (?) Lopes	Book	Old missal	
1934	4 500	Eliezer Kamenesky	Painting	Miniature, portrait of an ecclesiastic man	
1934	2 000	Eliezer Kamenesky	Sculpture	Bas relief in ivory, <i>Nativity</i>	
1934	880	Eliezer Kamenesky	Painting	Miniature, ivory, portrait of a man	
1934	2 000	Guida Keil	Ceramics	Tureen with lid, coat of arms	
1934	1 200	Guida Keil	Painting	Miniature, portrait of the Emperess of Brazil, Maria Leopoldina	
1934	800	Guida Keil	Painting	<i>Reclining woman</i>	
1934	3 500	Hipólito Raposo	Sculpture	Tabernacle in silver, afro-portuguese	
1934	400	Jaime Seguro	Silverware	Tray	
1934	3 500	João Galvão	Book	Old book with 18th ccentury bookbinding	
1934	150	João Galvão	Ceramics	Small vase with coat of arms of the Marquis of Foz	
1934	5 000	José Monteiro de Sousa	Drawing	Two drawings, a self-portrait and <i>An official in Napoleon's army</i>	Domingos António de Sequeira
1934	3 000	José Monteiro de Sousa	Drawing	Portrait of the Count of Farrobo	Domingos António de Sequeira

1934		Manuel de Sousa Freitas	Painting	Portrait of King John VI	
1934	5 000	Manuel de Sousa Freitas	Furniture	Enamelled box in rocaille	
1934	1 200	Maria Augusta Santos	Painting	Miniature, portrait of a lady	
1934	2 600	Maria d'Almeida Ferreira Viana	Sculpture	<i>Virgin with Child</i> in ivory	
1934	2 000	Maria do Carmo G. Mascarenhas		Ivory relief, <i>Vision of St. Anthony</i>	
1934	700	Marta Ayres De Carvalho	Ceramics	Two cups	Vista Alegre
1934	1 000	Paulo Ennes	Jewellery	Small watch in gold with diamonds and enamels	
1934	400	Raquel (?) Frazão Silva	Painting	Miniature, portrait of a lady	
1934	1 250	Raquel Sabbath	Ceramics	Bowl with the coat of arms of the Almeida e Vasconcelos	
1934	1 050	Raquel Sabbath	Painting	Miniature, portrait of commander of the Order of Christ	
1934	800	Raquel Sabbath	Ceramics	Small plate with coat of arms	
1934	400	Raquel Sabbath	Ceramics	Plate with coat of arms	
1934	350	Raquel Sabbath	Ceramics	Plate with coat of arms	
1934	300	Raquel Sabbath	Painting	Miniature, portrait of a man	
1934	300	Raquel Sabbath	Porcelain	Plate with coat of arms	
1935	36 000	Alberto de Lima Figueiredo (Porto)	Painting	<i>The earthquake of 1755</i>	João Glama
1935	6 000	Alfredo Ramos	Furniture	Cabinet with coat of arms	
1935	8 000	Alfredo Ramos (Porto)	Furniture	Table	
1935	50	António Nolasco	Ceramics	Box with lid	

1935	600	António Pedro da Silva	Painting	Miniature, <i>Annunciation of the Virgin</i>	
1935	2 599	António Vasconcelos Neves	Sculpture	<i>Coronation of the Virgin</i>	Nottingham
1935	2 500	António Vasconcelos Neves	Sculpture	Alabaster, <i>Holy Trinity</i>	Nottingham
1935	2 000	António Vasconcelos Neves	Sculpture	Alabasters, <i>Holy Face and Christ standing</i>	
1935	446	Auction	Painting	<i>Crying</i>	Domingos António de Sequeira
1935	232	Auction	Ceramics	Plate with coat of arms	
1935		Auction	Ceramics	Plate	
1935	880	Auction, Gonçalves Teixeira	Furniture	Camphor ark	
1935	561	Auction, Gonçalves Teixeira	Furniture	Clock	
1935	5 000	Aurora de Macedo	Painting	Enamel, <i>Calvary</i>	Limoges
1935	600	Chritina Garin des Chauds (?)	Painting	Miniature, <i>Portrait of Madame Euphrasine</i>	
1935	5 000	E. Moser	Painting	<i>Interior of a church</i>	James Holland
1935	1 000	E. Moser	Drawing	<i>The return from the fair</i>	David Teniers
1935	500	E. Moser	Painting	<i>Adoration of the Magi</i>	
1935	500	E. Moser	Painting	Icon	
1935	64 886	Eduardo Pimentel Maldonado de Pellen	Painting	<i>Family in open air</i>	Peter Grobler
1935	5 000	Eliezer Kamenesky	Prints	Four prints	
1935	4 000	Eliezer Kamenesky	Sculpture	<i>Adoration of the Magi Nottingham alabaster</i>	
1935	1 500	Eliezer Kamenesky	Painting	Enamel, <i>St. Anthony</i>	Limoges
1935	800	Eliezer Kamenesky	Jewellery	Watch, enamelled	Roy
1935	400	Elisa Maria Delgado Ribeiro	Ceramics	A tankard and a cruet set	Rocha Soares
1935	3 000	Elisa Posser	Drawing	Album with drawings	Nicolau Delavive
1935	1 200	Ferreira Couto	Drawing	<i>Archer</i>	

1935	10 700	Galerie de Moos	Painting	Portrait	Sanchez Coello
1935	800	Guida Keil	Ceramics	Serving dish with coat of arms	
1935	500	Guida Keil	Ceramics	Plate with coat of arms	
1935	60	H. Coimbra	Prints	<i>Princess Saint Joana</i>	
1935	4 000	Jaime Seguro	Jewellery	Silver plaque of the Order of Christ	
1935	2 328	Jaime Seguro e Afonso Pinho	Silverware	Fruit basket	
1935	1 000	Joana Torrado Fernandes	Drawing	<i>St. Anthony</i>	
1935	140	João do Nascimento	Metalwork	Pestle and mortar	
1935	70 000	João Filipe da Silva Nascimento	Painting	<i>Holy family</i>	Saint Lang master
1935	300	João Galvão	Textiles	Altar table cover	
1935	230	João Galvão	Painting	Painting on parchment	
1935	600	José C. da Silva	Drawing	Allegory	
1935	132	José dos Santos	Prints	Portrait	
1935		José dos Santos	Prints	<i>Alfons dei gratia</i>	
1935	700	Leiria & Nascimento	Furniture	Table	
1935	56	Leiria & Nascimento	Ceramics	Three objects	
1935	34	Leiria & Nascimento	Ceramics	Large planter	
1935	700	Lúcia ? Cardoso	Ceramics	Plate	Rato factory
1935	620	Manuel dos Santos Pinto	Painting	Miniature	
1935	150	Manuel dos Santos Pinto	Ceramics	Plate	
1935	1 000	Manuel Farmhouse	Drawing	<i>Scene in open air</i>	Wolkmann Machado
1935	600	Manuel Farmhouse	Drawing	<i>Interior of a tavern</i>	
1935	5 000	Manuel Silva Correia (Porto)	Silverware	Fruit basket	
1935	300	Maria da Silva Pires	Ceramics	Plate with coat of arms	
1935	300	Maria da Silva Pires	Jewellery	Cross, insignia	

1935	800	Maria S. Pires	Ceramics	Large plate with coat of arms	
1935	600	Maria S. Pires	Painting	Miniature, portrait of a lady	Parent
1935	500	Maria Silva Pires	Painting	Miniature, portrait of a lady	
1935	300	Maria Silva Pires	Ceramics	Plate	Delft
1935	500	not stated	Drawing	<i>A market</i>	
1935	56 050	Pauli Caillouz (Paris)	Painting	Still-life	Chardin
1935	350	Raquel (?) Frazão Silva	Ceramics	Plate with coat of arms	
1935	350	Raquel (?) Frazão Silva	Prints	Portrait of Francisco Vieira Lusitano	John Watts
1935	500	Raquel Sabbath	Ceramics	Vase	
1935	330	Raquel Sabbath	Painting	Miniature, portrait of a lady	
1935	900	Romão e Cia.	Jewellery	Oval reliquary	
1935	1 700	Salão d'Arte Antiga	Painting	Enamel, <i>St. Mary Magdalene</i>	Limoges
1935	400	Simão Luís Flores	Silverware	<i>Calvary</i> , silver plaque	
1936	205	(Colecção Ribeiro Valente)	Drawing	One drawing	Domingos António Sequeira
1936	155	(Colecção Ribeiro Valente)	Drawing	<i>Fauns</i>	Domingos António de Sequeira
1936	155	(Colecção Ribeiro Valente)	Drawing	One drawing	Domingos António de Sequeira
1936	900	Abel Martins	Furniture	Cabinet	
1936	600	Alberto Silva	Drawing	Two drawings	
1936	160	Alberto Silva (Salão Silva Porto)	Ceramics	Plate	
1936	9 000	Albino Cunha	Painting	<i>Rustic life</i>	Jean Pillement
1936	4 312	Anastácio Fernandes	Furniture	Cabinet	
1936	1 000	Anastácio Fernandes	Furniture	Table	
1936	712	Anastácio Fernandes	Ceramics	Coffee pot	
1936	513	Anastácio Fernandes	Ceramics	Coffee pot	Porto

1936	3 900	António Vasconcelos Neves	Painting	Two paintings on copper	
1936	2 400	Barreto e Gonçalves, Lda.	Jewellery	Bow-shaped brooch and earrings	
1936	1 000	Boaventura Miguel de Noronha	Painting	<i>Ascent of the Lord</i>	Joaquim Rafael
1936	3 500	Dr. Pacheco de Carvalho	Painting	<i>Scene on the Tagus</i>	
1936	11 000	Eliezer Kamenesky	Book	Book of hours with twelve miniatures	
1936	3 000	Eliezer Kamenesky	Painting	<i>Hermit praying</i>	
1936	2 500	Eliezer Kamenesky	Jewellery	Reliquary in gold and enamel	
1936	36	Ferreira Tomé	Silverware	Shell-shaped spoon	
1936	46	G. Daupias	Ceramics	Plate	
1936	700	Helena Cruz	Ceramics	Bowl	
1936	110	Jaime Silva	Drawing	<i>King Pedro III</i>	
1936	55	Jaime Silva	Ceramics	Two jars with coat of arms	
1936	1 200	João do Nascimento Coimbra	Sculpture	<i>Virgin</i>	
1936	700	João Galvão	Textiles	Chasuble and maniple	
1936	100	João Galvão	Ceramics	Plate with coat of arms 'Moniz	
1936	30 500	Júlia da Cruz Guimarães	Painting	Virgin with Child	
1936	1 925	Leiria & Nascimento	Silverware	Tray with coat of arms	
1936	550	Leiria & Nascimento	Ceramics	Plate with coat of arms	
1936		Leiria & Nascimento	Ceramics	Plate with coat of arms	
1936		Leiria & Nascimento	Ceramics	Plate with figures	
1936		Leiria & Nascimento	Ceramics	Two large plates	Delft
1936		110	Leiria & Nascimento	Ceramics	Jar
1936	33	Leiria & Nascimento	Furniture	Two shelves	



1936	800	Maria Augusta Santos	Ceramics	Large plate with coat of arms	
1936	500	Maria da Silva Pires	Ceramics	Pot with lid	
1936	1 000	Mário da Silva Reis	Painting	<i>Death of St Theresa</i>	Joaquim Rafael
1936	2 000	Raquel Sabbath	Sculpture	Alabaster, <i>Holy Face of Christ</i>	Nottingham
1936	1 300	Raquel Sabbath	Painting	Miniature, portrait of a man	
1936	520	Salão Silva Porto	Ceramics	no description given	
1936	200	Salão Silva Porto	Ceramics	no description given	
1936	100	Salão Silva Porto	Ceramics	no description given	
1936	100		Ceramics	Tankard	
1937	1 500	(Colecção Ribeiro Valente)	Drawing	Drawing in white pencil	Domingos António de Sequeira
1937	810	(Colecção Ribeiro Valente)	Drawing	Drawing	Domingos António de Sequeira
1937	250	(Colecção Ribeiro Valente)	Drawing	Drawing, charcoal	Domingos António de Sequeira
1937	1 700	Alfredo Ramos (Porto)	Furniture	Round table with stone	
1937	1 871	Auction, estate of Ana Margarida Ascensão Marciano	Prints	Five prints	
1937	1 706	Auction, estate of Ana Margarida Ascensão Marciano	Furniture	Silverware box	
1937	723	Auction, estate of Ana Margarida Ascensão Marciano	Ceramics	Plate	
1937	3 500	Belmiro (Porto)	Jewellery	Insignia, Order of Christ	
1937	1 800	Calabresi, Lda.	Furniture	Table	

1937	20 000	Carlos Quintela (Farrobo)	Painting	Portrait of the Count of Farrobo	Domingos António de Sequeira
1937	16 000	Casimiro Martins	Silverware	Lamp	
1937	400	Casimiro Martins	Jewellery	Insignia, Order of Christ	
1937	233	Eduardo d'Elvas Portugal	Drawing	Portrait of Catherine of Portugal	
1937	400	Eliezer Kamenesky	Sculpture	<i>Christ</i>	
1937	300	Eliezer Kamenesky	Sculpture	Miniature, portrait of a lady	
1937	150	Helena Osório	Ceramics	Plate	Porto
1937	440	Jacinto Freire Themudo	Prints	<i>Terreiro do Paço</i>	
1937	400	Jacinto Freire Themudo	Drawing	Drawing	
1937	200	João do Nascimento	Textiles	Small carpet silk	
1937	2 000	João do Nascimento Coimbra	Textiles	Linen bedspread	
1937	100	João Galvão	Drawing	<i>St. Mary Magdalene</i>	
1937	1 800	José Dias Sanches	Painting	<i>Virgin with Child</i>	Joséfa d'Obidos
1937	850	Júlio Inácio Xavier	Painting	<i>Temptation of St. Anthony</i>	David Teniers
1937	6 000	Lidia Cutileiro	Painting	<i>Deposition of Christ</i>	
1937	5 000	Manuel Casimiro Martins	Misc	Umbrella in silk	
1937	800	Maria da Silva Pires	Sculpture	Miniature, portrait of a lady	Francisco de Almeida Furtado
1937	200	Maria da Silva Pires	Painting	Miniature, portrait of King João VI	
1937	3 000	Pedro Mascarenhas	Furniture	Regency table	
1937	400	Raquel (?) Frazão Silva	Ceramics	Elephant	
1937	400	Raquel (?) Frazão Silva	Ceramics	Bowl with lid	
1937	40 000	Sebastião Daun e Lorena and his wife Maria	Sculpture	Nativity scene	Machado de Castro

1937	7 000	Sebastião Daun e Lorena and his wife Maria	Painting	<i>Our Lady of Guadalupe</i>	
1937	5 500	Serafím Sousa Nunes	Textiles	Persian altar cover	
1938	4 000	A Comercial	Furniture	Chest of drawers	
1938	2 000	Albertina Ayres de Gouveia Pinto Basto	Painting	Miniature	Primavera
1938	100	Alfredo Ramos	Drawing	<i>Outskirts of Lisbon</i>	
1938	1 100	Anastácio Fernandes	Furniture	Small desk	
1938	100	Ângelo Pereira	Drawing	Bucolic scene	Cavaleiro de Faria
1938	1 000	António Pedro Nolasco	Ceramics	Jar	
1938	550	Carvalho & Aguiar	Misc	Tortoise box for tobacco	
1938	1 500	Casimiro Martins	Painting	Two portraits	
1938	600	Eliezer Kamenesky	Jewellery	Medallion with two miniatures	
1938	1 500	Jaime Seguro e Afonso Portas	Jewellery	Ring	
1938	2 200	João Hortega	Painting	Two gouaches	Simon Mathurin Leantare
1938	2 000	Joaquim Trigueiros Osório de Aragão	Ceramics	Aquarium	Rato factory
1938	500	Joaquim Trigueiros Osório de Aragão	Ceramics	Hookah	
1938	4 500	Joaquina Amália Correa da Silva	Furniture	Sideboard	
1938	3 500	José Luís da Cunha	Furniture	Cabinet	
1938	500	José Manuel d'Orey	Furniture	Three frames	
1938	5 000	Júlio Pinto Basto	Painting	Saint	Limoges
1938	2 000	Leiria & Nascimento	Furniture	Ark	
1938	508	Leiria & Nascimento	Ceramics	Basin	Rocha Soares
1938	165	Leiria & Nascimento	Ceramics	Ewer	
1938	3 960	Leiria & Nascimento	Ceramics	Pair of vases	
1938	1 452	Leiria & Nascimento	Ceramics	Pair of ornaments	
1938	869	Leiria & Nascimento	Ceramics	Pair of statuettes	
1938	770	Leiria & Nascimento	Ceramics	Pair of vases	Vista Alegre

1938	1 322 400	Lionel Harris	Painting	<i>Presentation to the temple and Burial of Christ</i>	Quentin Metsys
1938	3 300	Luís Sangreman Proença	Textiles	Carpet	Arraiolos
1938	660	Manuel dos Santos Pinto	Furniture	Prayer cupboard	
1938	1 000	Maria Amélia de Morais Ferreira	Ceramics	Bowl	
1938	2 000	Maria Augusta Santos		Cup	Vista Alegre
1938	500	Maria da Silva Pires	Ceramics	Bowl	
1938	1 000	Maria Eugénia Ressano Garcia	Ceramics	Flower pots	Vista Alegre
1938	6 500	Olinda Teles Baptista	Painting	<i>A jew</i>	Viseu School
1938	14 000	Paul Cailloux	Painting	<i>Portrait of a gentilhomme</i>	Carlo van Loo
1938	1 188	R. Rodrigues, pawnshop	Furniture	Pair of stools	
1938	27 550	R.A.Newton	Painting	<i>St. Peter</i>	
1938	5 000	Raimundo Paulo	Furniture	Cabinet	
1938	300	Raimundo Paulo	Furniture	Table	
1938	350	Romão & Cia	Ceramics	Jar	
1939	800	Aurora Lívia Pessoa de Sant'Anna	Ceramics	Cameo	Wedgwood
1939	230	Aurora Lívia Pessoa de Sant'Anna	Ceramics	Plaque	Bartolomeu da Costa
1939	20	Aurora Lívia Pessoa de Sant'Anna	Ceramics	Cameo	Wedgwood
1939	500	Barreto & Gonçalves, Lda	Jewellery	Pair of buckles	
1939	9 000	Carlos da Silva Costa	Painting	<i>Tryptich, with Calvary, Ecce Homo and Christ tied to the column</i>	
1939	2 500	Domingos de Gusmão Correia Arouca	Furniture	Cabinet	
1939	1 000	Guida Keil	Jewellery	Gold earrings	

1939	22 500	Henrique Ferreira Lima Soares Andréa	Painting	Thre paintings: <i>St Catherine, Martyrdom of St. Catherine and St Catherine taken by the angels</i>	
1939	2 500	Joaquim Borges Marvão	Painting	<i>Head of Christ</i>	
1939	1 500	Joaquim Trigueiros Osório de Aragão	Ceramics	Vase	
1939	8 900	José Pinto Leite (Conde dos Olivais e da Penha Longa)	Sculpture	<i>Marine monster</i>	
1939	1 500	Júlio Inacio Xavier	Painting	Portrait of a nun	Vieira Portuense
1939	1 500	Leonel António Cerdeira	Sculpture	Miniature, portrait of a man	
1939	6 000	Maria Adelaide Diogo de Freitas Gonçalves	Painting	<i>Calvary</i>	
1939	2 000	Maria Adelaide Diogo de Freitas Gonçalves	Drawing	<i>Final Judgement</i>	Domingos António de Sequeira
1939	1 000	Pedro Luís Bleck de Lencastre Bastos Anahory	Painting	Portrait of a knight of Christ	
1939	35 000	Ricardo Anjos Jardim (Conde de Valenças)	Painting	Family portrait	Hughes Barron
1939	6 150	Wildenstein & Cie	Painting	<i>Nativity scene</i>	Vasco Pereira Lusitano
1940	300	A. Pacheco de Carvalho	Furniture	Two frames	
1940	450	Ângelo Pereira	Drawing	Two drawings	Cavaleiro de Faria
1940	60	Ângelo Pereira	Misc	Historical documents pertaining to art history	
1940	80	Augusto Cardoso Pinto	Ceramics	Spoon	Rocha Soares
1940	3 000	Barreto & Gonçalves, Lda	Silverware	Box	Paris
1940	750	Carvalho & Aguiar	Furniture	Clock	Bento José Miranda
1940	81	Ferreira Tomé	Silverware	Plaque with Christ	

1940	1 500	Guida Keil	Painting	Miniature	
1940	1 500	João Filipe da Silva Nascimento	Drawing	Two drawings	Domingos António de Sequeira
1940	25 000	Joaquim da Costa Tavares	Jewellery	Christ in gold and enamel, formerly in the Convent of Tomar	
1940	50 000	José Raul da Cruz Cerqueira	Painting	<i>Virgin with Child</i>	
1940	1 500	L. d'Arenas de Lima	Furniture	Cabinet	
1940	1 200	L. d'Arenas de Lima	Ceramics	Jar	
1940	600	L. d'Arenas de Lima	Ceramics	Jar with lid	
1940	500	L. d'Arenas de Lima	Ceramics	Fruit basket	
1940	500	L. d'Arenas de Lima	Ceramics	Two bottles	
1940	400	L. d'Arenas de Lima	Ceramics	Two figures	A. Anunciação
1940	1 800	Leiria & Nascimento	Drawing	Two drawings	Domingos António de Sequeira
1940	1 320	Leiria & Nascimento	Textiles	Textile	
1940	660	Leiria & Nascimento	Textiles	Bedspread	
1940	3 050	Luís Sangreman Proença	Textiles	Carpet	Arraiolos
1940	4 500	Maria Emília Campos Ferreira da Silva	Sculpture	Altarpiece	Coimbra
1940	1 500	Maria Emília Campos Ferreira da Silva	Ceramics	Tile panel	
1940	920	Maria Emília Campos Ferreira da Silva	Ceramics	Tile panel	
1940	4 000	Muge Local Council	Sculpture	Three statues	
1940	1 000	Raquel Sabbath	Textiles	Two bedspreads	

1941	400	Anibal Rodrigues da Silva	Furniture	Chest	
1941	500	António de Figueiredo Tavares Festas	Drawing	Architectural project by José Costa da Silva	
1941	500	António de Figueiredo Tavares Festas	Drawing	Allegory formerly in Bustelli collection	
1941	25 000	Arnaldo Neves	Sculpture	Alabaster sculpture	
1941	858	Guilherme Jacome Daupias	Ceramics	Tureen	Rato factory
1941	2 000	Irene Zulmira Goulart da Costa e Brito	Furniture	Chest of drawers	
1941	9 500	Jorge Lobo d'Ávila Graça	Painting	<i>S. Francisco receiving the stigmata</i>	
1941	1 000	Jorge Lobo d'Ávila Graça	Painting	<i>The Virgin and an Angel</i>	Catarina Vieira
1941	500	Jorge Lobo d'Ávila Graça	Painting	<i>Hermit</i>	
1941	2 000	José Gaspar Chimões	Painting	<i>St. Joseph and Child</i>	Joséfa d'Obidos
1941	29 250	Leiria & Nascimento	Painting	<i>Venus, Adonis and Cupid</i>	Pellegrini
1941	550	Leiria & Nascimento	Sculpture	Group in clay	
1941	500	Maria Augusta Santos	Ceramics	Drinking fountain and metal scissors	
1941	500	Parceria António Maria Pereira	Painting	Miniature	Santa Barbara
1942	2 000	Alberto de Albuquerque Domingos	Textiles	Religious textile	
1942	2 000	Alberto de Albuquerque Domingos	Textiles	Religious textile	
1942	1 000	Alberto de Albuquerque Domingos	Textiles	Religious textile	
1942	1 000	Almeida & Sousa, Lda	Ceramics	Vase	Vista Alegre
1942	500	Anastácio Fernandes	Ceramics	Bowl	
1942	500	Anastácio Fernandes	Ceramics	Cup	

1942	2 500	António d'Azevedo Coutinho (?) Alves	Sculpture	Statuette	Rato factory
1942	1 500	António d'Azevedo Coutinho (?) Alves	Ceramics	Flower pot	Savona
1942	1 100	António d'Azevedo Coutinho (?) Alves	Ceramics	Bowl	
1942	200	António d'Azevedo Coutinho (?) Alves	Ceramics	Plate	Juncal
1942	250	António de Figueiredo Tavares Festas	Sculpture	Two religious sculptures	
1942	3 000	António Ricardo Domingues	Sculpture	<i>St Michael</i>	Aveiro
1942	5 000	Carlos Sassetti	Ceramics	Tureen	
1942	500	Carvalho & Aguiar	Ceramics	Object	Cavaquinho
1942	400	Carvalho & Aguiar	Ceramics	Lamp	Rato factory
1942	400	Carvalho & Aguiar	Ceramics	Plate	Rocha Soares
1942	3 000	Eliezer Kamenesky	Textiles	Horseshoe clothes	
1942	1 000	Gertrudes da Piedade Santos	Sculpture	<i>Holy Trinity</i> , alabaster	Nottingham
1942	3 500	João Adelino Dias Pina	Jewellery	Gold cross with enamel	
1942	1 500	João Raposo Pinheiro	Sculpture	Two sculptures, <i>Virgin</i> and <i>St. Joseph</i>	
1942	685	José Ferreira Tomé	Silverware	Tray	
1942	2 000	José Gomes da Costa	Ceramics	Plate with coat of arms	
1942	11 500	Manuel da Silva Correia	Furniture	Desk	
1942	10 000	Manuel dos Santos Pinto	Painting	<i>St. Francis receiving the stigmata</i>	
1942	350	Manuel dos Santos Pinto	Silverware	Monstrance	
1942	50	Manuel dos Santos Pinto	Ceramics	Toothpick holder	Vista Alegre
1942	50	Manuel dos Santos Pinto	Ceramics	Bowl	Vista Alegre
1942	3 000	Maria Emília Miranda	Ceramics	Saucer	
1942	1 000	Maria Lermila(?) Pinheiro	Prints	Tow prints	Walterholme
1942	1 000	Moysés de Milne e Carmo	Ceramics	Plate	Rouen
1942	400	Raquel do Amaral Frazão	Ceramics	Cup and saucer	Vista Alegre
1942	12 000	Susana Bonvalot	Painting	<i>Calvary</i>	Viseu



1943	4 000	António Pedro da Silva	Ceramics	Basin	
1943	190	António Ricardo Domingues	Sculpture	José Ferreira Pinto Basto	Vista Alegre
1943	2 000	Artur Leite da Costa	Textiles	Religious textile	
1943	5 000	Carvalho & Irmão	Textiles	Velvet piece	
1943	200	Ferreira Tomé	Jewellery	Cross	
1943	450	Henrique Soares	Ceramics	Plate	Delft
1943	1 000	Ilda de Figueiredo Gomes	Painting	Miniatures	
1943	1 300	J. P. Rofrigues de Lemos	Ceramics	Tureen, lid and serving dish	Vista Alegre
1943	1 100	José Nobre de Carvalho	Textiles	Shawl	
1943	5 500	Leiria & Nascimento	Ceramics	Plate	
1943	4 840	Leiria & Nascimento	Furniture	Armchair	
1943	4 200	Leiria & Nascimento	Ceramics	Basin	
1943	3 960	Leiria & Nascimento	Ceramics	Plate	
1943	2 600	Leiria & Nascimento	Ceramics	Bowl	
1943	1 760	Leiria & Nascimento	Ceramics	Plate	
1943	495	Leiria & Nascimento	Ceramics	Plate	
1943	1 200	Luís Sangreman Proença	Sculpture	<i>Head of Christ</i>	
1943	500	Luís Sangreman Proença	Ceramics	Cup and saucer	Vista Alegre
1943	10 000	Maria Antonia de Mello Breyner (Countess of Mafra)	Sculpture	<i>St. Francis receiving the stigmata</i>	
1943	2 000	Maria Joaquina de Campos	Drawing	Drawing, crayon	
1943	460	Nobre e Cia., Lda.	Ceramics	Two vases	Vista Alegre
1943	3 800	Raquel Sabbath	Sculpture	Ivory plaque, portrait of a lady	
1943	20 000	Raul Ângelo de Pinho e Costa	Furniture	Table	
1943	1 400	Sara Leitão Teles Maldonado	Silverware	Pair of buckles	
1943	246 225	Sir Berkeley Sheffield (Christies, 16 July 1943)	Painting	<i>Portrait Sir John Orde</i>	Romney

1944	250	A. Pacheco de Carvalho	Ceramics	Cameo	Pereira Manso
1944	200	A. Pacheco de Carvalho	Jewellery	Order of Christ Insignia	
1944	8 000	Artur da Silva Paula	Ceramics	Ceramic pot, oriental decoration	
1944	8 000	Edgard Campos e Sousa	Painting	Various heads	Joaquim Manuel da Rocha
1944	12 000	Goncalo Manuel Vieira Peixoto de Vila Boes?	Sculpture	Nottingham alabaster	Nottingham
1944	650	Henrique Soares	Ceramics	Serving dish with bird and flower motif	
1944	600	Henrique Soares	Drawing	<i>Martyrdom of a Saint</i>	
1944	8 000	Ismael Adelino de Oliveira Júnior	Silverware	Teapot	
1944	3 000	J. Beleza de Miranda	Drawing	Portrait of <i>Patriarca D. Tomás de Almeida</i>	Vieira Lusitano
1944	2 000	José Ferreira de Almeida	Drawing	Portraits of artist's children and wife	Domingos António de Sequeira
1944	1 500	José Ferreira Tomé	Jewellery	Gold watch, pear-shaped	
1944	770	Leiria & Nascimento	Ceramics	Shell-shaped basin	Rato factory
1944	495	Leiria & Nascimento	Ceramics	Jar with the cross	
1944	65 000	London	Jewellery	Silver plate	
1944	10 000	Luís Reis Santos	Sculpture	<i>Angel</i>	Alcobaça school
1944	7 000	Maria Augusta Santos	Textiles	Valenciennes lace	
1944	6 500	Moysés Milne	Textiles	Two embroideries	
1944	12 000	Padre António Dias Lopes	Sculpture	Four stone sculptures: <i>Holy Trinity (2), Saint, Virgin with Child</i>	
1944	10 000	Pedro Alexandrino	Sculpture	Tabernacle	Coimbra
1945	20 000	Alberto de Sousa	Painting	Portrait of Manuel Pinto da Fonseca	

1945	1 300	António Figueiredo Festãs	Drawing	Fountain, floor maps	José da Costa e Silva
1945	4 000	Calendas Lda.	Textiles	Embroidered bedspread	
1945	900	Calendas Lda.	Ceramics	Sauce plate	
1945	1 100	Gonçalo Paiva Cardoso	Ceramics	Woven basket	
1945	28 000	Leiria & Nascimento	Furniture	Ark	
1945	8 000	Leiria & Nascimento	Furniture	Sitting bench	
1945	3 000	Leiria & Nascimento	Sculpture	Portrait of a lady in ivory and copper	
1945	900	Maia e Pinheiro Lda	Silverware	Statuette	
1945	2 600	Manuel dos Santos Pinto	Ceramics	Woman with cornucopia	Rato factory factory
1945	150	Olímpia Nascimento	Silverware	Gold medal	
1945	7 000	Raquel Sabbath	Textiles	Embroidered bedspread	

### Appendix III.2 – MNAA, gifts and bequests, 1933-45.

Sources: MNAA correspondence files and inventories.

Note: all gifts and bequests and presumed to have occurred in a single year, unless otherwise specified.

<b>Name of Donor (names in bold refer to bequests, remaining refer to gifts)</b>	<b>Number of objects</b>
Leiria e Nascimento	756
Tília Dulce Machado Nogueira	532
Augusto Rosa	497
Antônio Chaby Pinheiro	61
Henrique de Campos Ferreira Lima	17
Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro	16
Augusto da Silva Carvalho Osório	12
José de Figueiredo	12
Manuel Teixeira Gomes	10
1935/Gift	5
1936/Gift	1
1944/Bequest	4
National Academy of Fine Arts	8
Clara da Conceição Costa Almeida	3
Jacques Kugel	3
1942/Gift	1
1944/Gift	1
1945/Gift	1
João Filipe da Silva Nascimento	3
Augusto Cardoso Pinto	2
Conde de Burnay	2
E. Reynolds	2
Franz Halpern	2
Henrique José Lino Rodrigues	2
J.M. da Silva Nascimento	2
1934/Gift	1
1945/Gift	1
José dos Santos Neto	2
Silvério Cardoso Pinto de Queiróz	2
Sir Francis Cook (estate)	2
Afonso Araújo Sommer	1
Antônio Velges	1
Berta Osório da Gama Castro	1
Cândido Xavier da Costa	1

Executive Committee of the Commemorations of the Centennials	1
Constance Mappin	1
Duque de Palmela	1
Eduardo Augusto Dias	1
Eliezer Kamenesky	1
Finn Koren	1
Group of Friends of the MNAA	1
Gaston Jessé-Curély	1
João Ramalho Ortigão	1
José Augusto de Magalhães	1
José Maria Coelho Falcão	1
José Pinto Leite - Conde dos Olivais e da Penha Longa	1
Louis Solvay	1
Luis Teixeira de Sampaio	1
Madalena de Sotto-Mayor Pinto Basto	1
Manuel da Costa Carneiro	1
Manuel Gorjão Neves	1
Margarida Victória Larcher	1
Maria do Anjo Barahona	1
Ministério da Marinha	1
Olívia de Andrade Lima	1
Pedro Felner	1
Sara Neves da Cruz Caria Afra Nozes	1
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>1975</b>

### Appendix III.3 – MNAC, purchases database, 1933-45.

Sources: MatrizNet and MNAC correspondence files.

Year	Value (Escudos)	Acquired from	Typology	Description / Title	Maker / Author	Artist origin and life status
1933		Artist	Painting	<i>Flowers in open air</i>	Eduarda Lapa	Portugal, living
1933		Artist	Painting	Portrait of a woman	Eduardo Malta	Portugal, living
1933	7000	Artist	Painting	Tropical landscape in São Tomé	Jorge Barradas	Portugal, living
1933	6500	Artist	Sculpture	Bust of the author's mother	António da Costa	Portugal, living
1933	6250	Artist	Sculpture	<i>The Piper</i>	António Costa Mota	Portugal, living
1933	6000	Artist	Painting	<i>Fishermen</i>	Carlos Bonvalot	Portugal, living
1933	4500	Artist	Painting	<i>At the Fountain</i>	Lino António	Portugal, living
1933	3000	Artist	Painting	Landscape	Maria Clementina C. de Moura	Portugal, living
1933	2500	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Afternoon stones, Nazaré</i>	Raquel Roque Gameiro	Portugal, living
1933	2500	Artist	Painting	Painting	Júlio Santos	Portugal, living
1933	10000	Counts of Farrobo	Painting	<i>Holy Family</i>	António Manuel da Fonseca	Portugal, deceased
1933		SNBA Exhibition 1932	Painting	<i>Village in Summer</i>	Abel Cardoso	Portugal, living
1933	4000	Winter Salon	Sculpture	Bust of José Tagarro	Barata Feyo	Portugal, living
1933	4000		Drawing	<i>Motherhood</i>	Martinho da Fonseca	Portugal, living
1933	2000		Painting	<i>Flowers</i>	Jorge Barradas	Portugal, living

1933	2000		Sculpture	Bust of Professor Lacerda de Almeida	António Duarte	Portugal, living
1933	1000		Painting	<i>The transformer</i>	Abel Manta	Portugal, living
1933	800		Painting	<i>Lisbon small shops</i>	Carlos Botelho	Portugal, living
1933	200		Painting	<i>Parque Mayer</i>	Bernardo Marques	Portugal, living
1933			Painting	<i>The kitchen</i>	José Rodrigues	Portugal, living
1933				<i>A street in Covilhã</i>	Álvaro Canelas	Portugal, living
1933			Sculpture	<i>Dead Christ</i>	Soares dos Reis	Portugal, deceased
1933			Sculpture	<i>After the bath</i>	José Clara	Spain, living
1933			Watercolour	<i>My dining room</i>	Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro	Portugal, deceased
1934	2500	Artist	Painting	<i>The steps</i>	Francisco Smith	Portugal, living
1934	2000	Artist	Painting	<i>The Fountain</i>	Francisco Smith	Portugal, living
1934	2500	José Dias Sanches	Painting	Portrait of Francisco Metrass	Visconde de Menezes (Luis de Miranda Pereira Henriques de Menezes)	Portugal, deceased
1934	17000	Likely purchased from widow of the artist, who died in 1934	Painting	Self portrait	Luciano Freire	Portugal, deceased
1934	15000	SNBA	Painting	<i>Men from Alentejo</i>	Portela Júnior	Portugal, living
1934	8000	SNBA	Sculpture	<i>Enslaved woman</i>	Simões de Almeida (nephew)	Portugal, living
1934	7000	SNBA	Painting	<i>Farrapos (Caramulo)</i>	Falcão Trigos	Portugal, living
1934	5000	SNBA	Sculpture	<i>Painter António Carneiro</i>	António de Azevedo	Portugal, living

1934	400	SNBA	Print	<i>After the toil</i>	Ortigão Burnay	Portugal, living
1934	400	SNBA	Print	<i>The main church in Vila do Conde</i>	Ortigão Burnay	Portugal, living
1934	30000		Painting	<i>Wings</i>	Carlos Reis	Portugal, living
1934	20000		Sculpture	<i>Country men</i>	João da Silva	Portugal, living
1934			Sculpture	<i>Country men</i>	João da Silva	Portugal, living
1934	4500		Painting	<i>Fisherman</i>	Carlos Bonvalot	Portugal, deceased
1934	4000		Painting	Still-life	Jorge Barradas	Portugal, living
1934	4000		Painting	Still-life	Júlio Santos	Portugal, living
1934	3000		Sculpture	<i>Bernardim Ribeiro</i>	António Costa Mota	Portugal, deceased
1934	2500		Drawing	<i>Women of Coimbra</i>	Guilherme Filipe	Portugal, living
1934	1800		Painting	Landscape, Várzea d'Arcos, Anadia	Fausto Sampaio	Portugal, living
1934	600		Drawing	<i>Young lady</i>	João Carlos Celestino Gomes	unknown
1934	500		Drawing	<i>Young girls who walk by the setting sun</i>	João Carlos Celestino Gomes	unknown
1934			Painting	<i>The descamisada</i>	João Reis	Portugal, living
1934			Sculpture	<i>The Age of Bronze</i>	Auguste Rodin	France, deceased
1934			Sculpture	<i>Head of Apollo</i>	Emile-Antoine Bourdelle	France, deceased
1934			Painting	<i>Girl with Amphor</i>	Joséph Bernard	France, deceased



1935	6000	António Cardoso Teixeira	Painting	Still-life	Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro	Portugal, deceased
1935	1200	António Cardoso Teixeira	Drawing	Several sketches for <i>Celebrating St. Martin's Day</i>	José Malhoa	Portugal, deceased
1935	30000	Arthur Guilherme Rodrigues Cohen	Painting	<i>The black men of Serpa Pinto</i>	Miguel Ângelo Lupi	Portugal, deceased
1935	2000	Artist	Painting	<i>Symphony of color</i>	Eduarda Lapa	Portugal, living
1935	1500	Artist; 32nd SNBA exhibition	Painting	Interior scene	Manuel Calvet de Magalhães (son)	Portugal, living
1935	10000	Artist; first SPN exhibition	Painting	<i>The Menino de Deus Square</i>	Roberto de Araújo	Portugal, living
1935	4000	Artists, first SPN exhibition	Painting	View over Colares	Ernst van Leyden	Holland, living
1935	1000	Artists, first SPN exhibition	Painting	<i>Umbelina and Maria Adelaide</i>	Karin van Leyden	Holland, living
1935	600	Caetano Afonso Nogueira	Watercolour	Portrait of a lady	António Ramalho (Júnior)	Portugal, deceased
1935	2500	Elisa de Sousa Pedrosa	Painting	Frutas	Joséfa Greno	Spain, living
1935	2000	Elisa Pereira de Menezes	Painting	Portrait of Antero de Quental	Visconde de Menezes (Luis de Miranda Pereira Henriques de Menezes)	Portugal, deceased
1935	2000	Francisco de Noronha	Painting	<i>Head of an Old Man</i>	Veloso Salgado	Portugal, living
1935	5000	Júlio Jardim de Vilhena	Painting	<i>Vasco da Gama leaving for India</i>	Miguel Ângelo Lupi	Portugal, deceased
1935	2200	Leiria & Nascimento	Painting	<i>The chemist</i>	Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro	Portugal, deceased

1935	800	Leopoldo de Almeida	Painting	Portrait of Tomaz Costa	António Ramalho (Júnior)	Portugal, deceased
1935	15000	Manuel de Lima Mayer Costa	Sculpture	<i>David</i>	Tomás Costa	Portugal, deceased
1935	25000	Policarpo dos Anjos	Painting	<i>Back from the market</i>	Silva Porto	Portugal, deceased
1935	8000		Painting	Barredo, Porto	Dórdio Gomes	Portugal, living
1935	7000		Painting	<i>Formosa Beach</i>	Frederico Aires	Portugal, living
1935	5000		Painting	<i>The fish stew</i>	Lauro Corado	Portugal, living
1935	5000		Painting	<i>Hillside of the Castle of S. Jorge</i>	João Pedro da Veiga	Portugal, living
1935	4000		Painting	<i>Lisboa and the Tagus, Sunday</i>	Carlos Botelho	Portugal, living
1935	4000		Painting	View of Lisboa	Abel Manta	Portugal, living
1935	3000		Watercolour	<i>Exhibition of French Art in Lisbon</i>	Jaime Martins Barata	Portugal, living
1935	3000		Sculpture	<i>Crazy man</i>	Raul Xavier	Portugal, living
1935	3000		Sculpture	Bust of Mrs. Z. S.	Artur Anjos Teixeira	Portugal, deceased
1935	3000		Sculpture	<i>Head of an Old Lady and Grandmother</i>	Isabel Gentil	Portugal, unkown
1935	2500		Painting	<i>Solitude</i>	João Reis	Portugal, living
1935	2000		Painting	<i>The courtyard</i>	Paul Scortescu	Roumania, living
1935	1800		Watercolour	Interior scene	Raquel Roque Gameiro	Portugal, living
1935	1500		Painting	<i>Maria Manuel</i>	Ricardo Bensaude	Portugal, living
1935	1500		Painting	Head	Estrela Faria	Portugal, living
1935	1500		Painting	Landscape, Serra do Caramulo	Álvaro Hogan	Portugal, living

1935	1000		Painting	<i>In the vineyard</i>	Ricardo Bensaude	Portugal, living
1935	600		Watercolour	<i>Church of São Frei Gil, Vouzela</i>	José Dias Sanches	Portugal, living
1935				<i>The Fabrician Bridge</i>	José Contente	Portugal, living
1935				Study for a head	José Contente	Portugal, living
1935				Head of a woman	António Ramalho	
1936	6000	Artist; 33rd SNBA exhibition	Painting	<i>Pedrosas, Arcos de Valdevez</i>	Ezequiel Pereira	Portugal, living
1936	4500	Artist; 33rd SNBA exhibition	Painting	Impressions	Ezequiel Pereira	Portugal, living
1936	2500	Artist; 33rd SNBA exhibition	Drawing	Landscape	Álvaro Duarte de Almeida	Portugal, living
1936	2500	Artist; 33rd SNBA exhibition	Drawing	Landscape	Álvaro Duarte de Almeida	Portugal, living
1936	2000	Artist; 33rd SNBA exhibition	Painting	<i>Antiquities</i>	Mário Reis	Portugal, living
1936	1500	Artist; 33rd SNBA exhibition	Painting	<i>Blue room, Ajuda Palace</i>	Albino Cunha	Portugal, living
1936	1200	Artist; 33rd SNBA exhibition	Painting	<i>Flowering windows of Tomar</i>	José Joaquim Ramos	Portugal, living
1936	800	Artist; 33rd SNBA exhibition	Drawing	Óbidos street scene	Álvaro Canelas	Portugal, living
1936		Artist; 33rd SNBA exhibition	Drawing	Óbidos street scene	Álvaro Canelas	Portugal, living
1936	5000	Joao Ventura	Painting	<i>Roma people resting</i>	Eduardo Viana	Portugal, living
1936	18300		Painting	<i>En la rua del Villar</i>	Fernando Alvarez de Sottomayor	Spain, living

1936	4000		Sculpture	<i>A thorn</i>	Artur Anjos Teixeira	Portugal, deceased
1936	3000		Sculpture	<i>Hit</i>	Artur Anjos Teixeira	Portugal, deceased
1936	1200		Sculpture	<i>Dawn</i>	Artur Anjos Teixeira	Portugal, deceased
1936	1200		Sculpture	<i>Old lady in the wind</i>	Artur Anjos Teixeira	Portugal, deceased
1936	1200		Drawing	<i>Caprarola</i>	Georges Loukanski	Russia, living
1936	1200		Drawing	<i>Mask</i>	Georges Loukanski	Russia, living
1936	1200		Drawing	<i>Caprarola</i>	Georges Loukanski	Russia, living
1936	1200		Drawing	Drawing	Georges Loukanski	Russia, living
1936	1000		Sculpture	Study	Artur Anjos Teixeira	Portugal, deceased
1936	900		Sculpture	Mending a basket	Artur Anjos Teixeira	Portugal, deceased
1936	900		Sculpture	Wrining the rags	Artur Anjos Teixeira	Portugal, deceased
1936	900		Sculpture	<i>Wiping the feet</i>	Artur Anjos Teixeira	Portugal, deceased
1936	900		Sculpture	<i>Head of an old man</i>	Isabel Gentil	Portugal, unkown
1936	800		Sculpture	<i>Fixing the knee pad</i>	Artur Anjos Teixeira	Portugal, deceased
1936	800		Sculpture	<i>Tying the belt</i>	Artur Anjos Teixeira	Portugal, deceased
1936	500		Watercolour	<i>Calle de S. Tomé, Toledo</i>	Carlos Carneiro	Portugal, living
1936	300		Drawing	Study	Artur Anjos Teixeira	Portugal, deceased
1936	250		Drawing	Four sketch albums	Anjos Teixeira	Portugal, deceased
1936	150		Drawing	<i>Studies</i>	Artur Anjos Teixeira	Portugal, deceased
1937	4500	Artist; 34th SNBA exhibition	Sculpture	<i>Antelopes fleeing</i>	Silva Pinto	Portugal, deceased
1937	12000	Artist; second SPN exhibition	Painting	<i>Annunciation</i>	Jorge Barradas	Portugal, living

1937	4000	Artist; second SPN exhibition	Painting	<i>Painting</i>	Carlos Botelho	Portugal, living
1937	7880	Artist; SNBA exhibition	Painting	Portrait of Rev. Padre Francisco Cruz	Francisco Romano Esteves	Portugal, living
1937	6000	Carlos Gomes da Costa	Painting	Portrait of Marechal Gomes da Costa	Carlos Reis	Portugal, living
1937	12000		Painting	Portrait of Madam M.M.V.	António Ramalho (Júnior)	Portugal, deceased
1937	10000		Painting	Portrait of ithe author's sister	António Soares	Portugal, living
1937	10000		Painting	Portrait of Mlle. Maffit Wiese	Eduardo Malta	Portugal, living
1937	10000		Painting	Portrait of a Woman	Domingos Rebelo	Portugal, living
1937	8000		Painting	<i>The romantic dress</i>	Joaquim Lopes	Portugal, living
1937	8000		Painting	<i>Weekend</i>	Theodor Baierl	Germany, deceased
1937	4000		Painting	<i>Pico do Léo, Azores</i>	Domingos Rebelo	Portugal, living
1937	4000		Painting	Portrait	Manuel Lima	Portugal, living
1937	3000		Sculpture	<i>Fisherman</i>	Isabel Gentil	Portugal, unkown
1937	3000		Watercolour	<i>The Caçadeira</i>	Jaime Martins Barata	Portugal, living
1937	3000		Painting	<i>The white suit</i>	Guilherme Filipe	Portugal, living

1937	2500		Painting	<i>Beggar</i>	José de Almeida e Silva	Portugal, living
1937	2000		Painting	<i>Autumn fruits</i>	Alda Machado Santos	Portugal, living
1938	3000	Artist, SNBA exhibition	Painting	<i>Streets of Mouraria</i>	Albertino Guimarães	Portugal, living
1938	2500	Artist; 35th SNBA exhibition	Sculpture	<i>Country woman</i>	Martins Correia	Portugal, living
1938	4000	Artist; 3rd SPN exhibition	Painting	<i>Rouen, França</i>	Tomás de Melo	Portugal, living
1938	8000	Mário de Freitas Ribeiro	Painting	Nude	Eduardo Viana	Portugal, living
1938	20000		Painting	<i>The giant chestnut</i>	Carlos Reis	Portugal, living
1938	10000		Painting	<i>Serra da Estrela</i>	Ayres de Carvalho	Portugal, deceased
1938	8000		Sculpture	<i>History</i>	Soares dos Reis	Portugal, deceased
1938			Sculpture	<i>Work</i>	Soares dos Reis	Portugal, deceased
1938			Sculpture	<i>Wealth</i>	Soares dos Reis	Portugal, deceased
1938			Sculpture	<i>Music</i>	Soares dos Reis	Portugal, deceased
1938	7000		Painting	Interior scene	Ayres de Gouveia	Portugal, living
1938			Painting	Still life	Ayres de Gouveia	Portugal, living
1938			Painting	Still life	Ayres de Gouveia	Portugal, living
1938	5000		Painting	<i>Shepherd</i>	Júlio Santos	Portugal, living
1938	4000		Painting	Landscape	João Ferreira da Costa	Portugal, deceased
1938	4000		Painting	Study	Severo Portela (Júnior)	Portugal, living
1938	4000		Painting	Portrait of José Pessanha	Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro	Portugal, deceased
1938	4000		Painting	Portrait	Estrela Faria	Portugal, living

1938	3500		Painting	<i>Bicho Watermill over the Ave river</i>	Júlio Ramos	Portugal, living
1938	3000		Painting	<i>Mill entrance, Vale de Cambra</i>	Espírito Santo de Oliveira	Portugal, unkown
1938	3000		Print	Thirty-one woodcut bases	Various authors	Portugal, unkown
1938	2000		Painting	<i>Lunch</i>	Albino Armando Costa	Portugal, living
1938	2000		Sculpture	<i>Work</i>	Henrique Moreira	Portugal, living
1938	2000		Sculpture	Bust of singer Arminda Correia	Júlio de Sousa	Portugal, living
1938	1500		Print	Portrait	Jaime Martins Barata	Portugal, living
1938	1500		Painting	<i>Sycamore</i>	Veloso Salgado	Portugal, living
1938	1200		Painting	<i>Beach, Foz do Arelho</i>	Gabriel Constâncio Silva	Portugal, living
1938	600		Painting	Study	Pedro da Fonseca Guedes	Portugal, living
1938	500		Painting	<i>Amsterdam</i>	Carlos Botelho	Portugal, living
1938				<i>Metraass</i>	João Pedroso	
1939	2000	36th SNBA	Painting	<i>Village courtyard, Alhadas</i>	Mário Augusto	Portugal, living
1939	1500	Artist	Painting	<i>Cammelias</i>	Eduarda Lapa	Portugal, living
1939	6000	Artist, exh Grupo Silva Porto	Painting	<i>Trying the stack</i>	João Reis	Portugal, living
1939	6000	Artist; 4th SPN exhibition	Painting	<i>Madona da serra, Beira Alta</i>	Augusto Tavares	Portugal, unkown
1939	1300	Artist; SNBA exhibition	Watercolour	<i>Kirckaldy</i>	António da Cruz	Portugal, living
1939		Artist; SNBA exhibition	Watercolour	<i>Harbour</i>	António da Cruz	Portugal, living
1939		Artist; SNBA exhibition	Watercolour	<i>Inverness</i>	António da Cruz	Portugal, living

1939	300	SNBA	Drawing	<i>Arc of Septimius Severus</i>	Albino Cunha	Portugal, living
1939	15000		Sculpture	<i>Adam and Eve</i>	Hernesto Canto da Maya	Portugal, living
1939	12000		Painting	<i>Interrupted departude</i>	Jorge Colaço	Portugal, living
1939	10000		Painting	<i>Inner harbor, Macau</i>	Fausto Sampaio	Portugal, living
1939	8000		Painting	<i>Maria Manuela</i>	Ricardo Bensaude	Portugal, living
1939	8000		Sculpture	<i>Waiting for the boats</i>	Artur Anjos Teixeira	Portugal, deceased
1939	8000		Painting	<i>Sea people</i>	Aires de Carvalho	Portugal, deceased
1939	6000			<i>Autumn</i>	Joaquim Lopes	Portugal, living
1939	3700		Sculpture	<i>Head</i>	Raúl Xavier	Portugal, living
1939	3500		Painting	<i>Relics in the rain</i>	João Jorge Maltieira	Portugal, living
1939	2500		Painting	Landscape	José Amaro	Portugal, unkown
1939	2250		Painting	<i>O Banho</i>	Martin Konopachi	unknown
1939	2000		Painting	Landscape	Raimundo Machado da Luz	Portugal, living
1939	2000		Painting	<i>Girl sitting</i>	Maria Keil do Amaral	Portugal, living
1939	2000		Sculpture	Bust of a woman	Henrique Albuquerque de Bettencourt	Portugal, deceased
1939	2000		Painting	Landscape	Frederico George	Portugal, living
1939	2000		Painting	<i>Fields of Alpedrinha</i>	Luciano Santos	Portugal, living
1939	2000		Watercolour	<i>Ruins of the Óbidos castle</i>	Eduardo Romero	Spain, deceased
1939	2000		Painting	Landscape	Jorge Colaço	Portugal, living
1939	1500		Watercolour	<i>Over the waves</i>	José Dias Sanches	Portugal, living



1939	1000		Drawing	Portrait of José Simões de Almeida	Soares dos Reis	Portugal, deceased
1939	1000		Painting	Still-life	Eduardo Romero	Spain, deceased
1939	550		Watercolour	<i>Rua da Guia, Mouraria</i>	Júlio Silva	Portugal, living
1939	500		Painting	<i>Carvalho Monteiro Garden, Sintra</i>	Adriano Costa	Portugal, unknwn
1939	500		Drawing	Album	António Ramalho (Júnior)	Portugal, deceased
1939	400		Drawing	<i>Tá-Mar</i>	Maria Adelaide Lima Cruz	Portugal, living
1939	100		Drawing	<i>Sailor's childhood</i>	Sousa Pinto	Portugal, deceased
1940	15000	Artist	Painting	Portrait of author's family	Domingos Rebelo	Portugal, living
1940	15000	Artist	Painting	<i>Women of Nazaré</i>	Eduardo Malta	Portugal, living
1940	5000	Artist	Painting	<i>Beetroots</i>	Mário Augusto	Portugal, living
1940	5000	Artist	Painting	<i>Tomb of D. Afonso Henriques</i>	Fausto Gonçalves	Portugal, living
1940	2500	Artist	Painting	<i>Movement in the river</i>	Eduarda Lapa	Portugal, living
1940	12000		Painting	<i>Idyll</i>	Artur Alves Cardoso	Portugal, deceased
1940	6000		Painting	<i>Chrysathemums</i>	Falcão Trigoso	Portugal, living
1940	5000		Painting	<i>Mist at dawn</i>	João Reis	Portugal, living
1940	4000		Sculpture	Bust of Luz Soriano	Simões de Almeida	Portugal, deceased
1940	4000		Sculpture	Bust of Duke of Ávila	Simões de Almeida	Portugal, deceased
1940	3000		Painting	<i>Winter fruits</i>	Alda Machado Santos	Portugal, living

1940	2500		Painting	<i>Returning from the weeding, Alentejo</i>	Luís Salvador Marques da Silva	Portugal, living
1940	2000		Painting	<i>Golden morning</i>	António Santos (Júnior)	Portugal, unkown
1940	1500		Sculpture	Bust sculptor Raul Leal	Martins Correia	Portugal, living
1940	1000		Painting	<i>Hill with flowers</i>	Carlos Ramos	Portugal, living
1940	1000		Watercolour	<i>Old Convent of Santa Clara, Coimbra</i>	António Vitorino	Portugal, living
1940	1000		Watercolour	<i>Scene in Morocco</i>	Luigi Manini	Italy, deceased
1940	500		Drawing	<i>The house of Teixeira de Pascoaes</i>	Cervantes Haro (Júnior)	Portugal, living
1940	500		Drawing	<i>Tree branches in Winter</i>	Cervantes Haro (Júnior)	Portugal, living
1940			Painting	<i>Color symphony</i>	Júlio Ramos	
1941	8000	Artist; individual SPN exhibition	Painting	<i>Boy from Nazaré</i>	Moise Kisling	France, living
1941	15000	Maria Celeste Coelho Ribeiro da Costa	Painting	Portrait of António Cândido	Veloso Salgado	Portugal, living
1941	10000		Painting	<i>Those from Almodovar</i>	Severo Portela (Júnior)	Portugal, living
1941	6000		Painting	<i>Aunty Rosa Galinheira</i>	Fernando dos Santos	Portugal, living
1941	6000		Painting	<i>Santarém creek</i>	João Pedro Veiga	Portugal, living
1941	4500		Drawing	<i>Gascony woman</i>	Daniel Vásquez Dias	Spain, living
1941	4000		Painting	Still-life	Júlio Santos	Portugal, living
1941	1500		Painting	Hot spring, Tomar	Maria de Lourdes de Mello e Castro	Portugal, living
1941			Painting	<i>Docks, Porto</i>	Abel Salazar	Portugal, living

1941			Pastel	<i>A kind old woman</i>	Aires de Gouveia	
1941			Painting	Portrait of painter Adriano Costa	Artur Alves Cardoso	
1941			Sculpture	Four busts of artists	Júlio Santos	
1941			Watercolour	<i>Old things</i>	Júlio Silva	Portugal, living
1941			Drawing	<i>The nap</i>	Almada Negreiros	Portugal, living
1941			Drawing	First study for the decoration of the Muñoz Seca Theatre, Madrid	Almada Negreiros	Portugal, living
1941			Drawing	Dancer resting her foot	Almada Negreiros	Portugal, living
1941			Print	Twenty-four woodcuts of works by other artists	Vários autores	
1941			Sculpture	Female bust	Diogo de Macedo	Portugal, living
1942	3000	Alfredo de Artagão	Painting	<i>Restaurant scenes</i>	Amadeo de Souza Cardoso	Portugal, deceased
1942	600	Artist	Painting	<i>La Pensée</i>	Bogomir Dalma	Yugoslavia, living
1942	20000	Artist; 39th SNBA exhibition	Painting	<i>Sea people, Nazaré</i>	Bonifácio Lázaro Lozano	Portugal, living
1942	6000	Artist; 39th SNBA exhibition	Painting	<i>Travanca Windmill</i>	Acácio Lino	Portugal, living
1942	3500	Artist; 39th SNBA exhibition	Painting	<i>Fisherman</i>	Joaquim Rebocho	Portugal, living
1942	3500	Artist; 39th SNBA exhibition	Sculpture	<i>Head of a Poet and Journalist</i>	António dos Santos	Portugal, living
1942	3000	Artist; 39th SNBA exhibition	Painting	<i>Painting</i>	Lauro Corado	Portugal, living

1942	3000	Artist; 39th SNBA exhibition	Painting	<i>The last cammelias</i>	Alda Machado Santos	Portugal, living
1942	3000	Artist; 39th SNBA exhibition	Painting	Pochades	Henrique Tavares	Portugal, living
1942	2500	Artist; 39th SNBA exhibition	Watercolour	<i>Sintra National Palace</i>	Alberto de Sousa	Portugal, living
1942	2000	Artist; 39th SNBA exhibition	Painting	<i>Gladiola</i>	João Augusto de Paiva	Portugal, living
1942	1500	Artist; 39th SNBA exhibition	Painting	<i>Évora</i>	José Felix	Portugal, unkown
1942	1000	Artist; 6th SPN exhibition	Watercolour	<i>Small fort</i>	Wanda Ostrowska	Poland, living
1942	7000	Francisca de Macedo Guerreiro de Bianchi	Painting	Portrait of Camilo de Macedo	Auguste Roquemont	Portugal, deceased
1942	10000	Lino Reis	Sculpture	Medallion, portrait of Dr. Francisco Fernandes Dourado	Soares dos Reis	Portugal, deceased
1942	7000		Painting	<i>Storm, Gerês</i>	Artur Loureiro	Portugal, deceased
1942	6000		Painting	<i>Head of a woman</i>	Abel Manta	Portugal, living
1942	2500		Painting	<i>Serra da Lousã</i>	José Maria Amaro (Júnior)	Portugal, unkown
1942	2500		Painting	<i>Manchas</i>	Túlio da Costa Victorino	Portugal, living
1942	2000		Pastel	<i>Master José de Brito</i>	António de Azevedo	Portugal, living
1942	1500		Painting	<i>Tagarro</i>	Ruy Roque Gameiro	Portugal, living
1942	400		Drawing	<i>Saint, Machado de Castro Museum</i>	António da Rocha Correia	Portugal, living
1942	400		Drawing	<i>Martyr Saint, 17th century</i>	Carlos Santana Bragança	Portugal, unkown

1942	400		Painting	<i>Gerês</i>	José Cavadas	Portugal, living
1942			Painting	<i>Head of a girl</i>	Luís Varela Aldemira	Portugal, living
1943	30000	António Soares	Painting	<i>Portrait of a ballerina</i>	António Soares	Portugal, living
1943	12000	Artist; 7th SPN exhibition	Sculpture	<i>Eve</i>	Leopoldo de Almeida	Portugal, living
1943	6000	Artist; 7th SPN exhibition	Painting	<i>Landscape of Rana</i>	Emmerico Nunes	Portugal, living
1943	3000	Artist; 7th SPN exhibition	Painting	<i>Fallen appletree</i>	Acácio Lino	Portugal, living
1943	2000	Artist; 7th SPN exhibition	Painting	<i>The Eiffel Tower and the old Trocadéro</i>	Milly Possoz	Portugal, living
1943	500	Artist; 7th SPN exhibition	Painting	<i>Outskirts of Lisbon</i>	Manuel Bentes	Portugal, living
1943	1200	Posthumous exhibition	Watercolour	<i>Orgy</i>	Benvindo Ceia	Portugal, deceased
1943	1000	Posthumous exhibition	Painting	<i>Roses</i>	Benvindo Ceia	Portugal, deceased
1943	600	Posthumous exhibition	Watercolour	<i>Following the master</i>	Benvindo Ceia	Portugal, deceased
1943	2000	SNBA	Painting	<i>Autumn Sun</i>	Henrique Tavares	Portugal, living
1943	1500	SNBA	Painting	<i>Old village man, Minho</i>	Abel Cardoso	Portugal, living
1943	10000		Painting	Passage of the river Zela, Vouzela	Domingos Maria da Costa	Portugal, unkown
1943	5500		Painting	<i>The bridge over the Ribeira do Calvo</i>	António Saúde	Portugal, living
1943	5500		Painting	Portrait of a lady	Alfred Stevens	Belgium, deceased
1943	5000		Painting	Nude	Luís Varela Aldemira	Portugal, living
1943	5000		Painting	<i>Fruits</i>	José Joaquim Ramos	Portugal, living
1943	4000		Painting	<i>Rio Tinto</i>	Dominguez Alvarez	Portugal, deceased

1943	4000		Sculpture	Bust of Maria do Céu Pereira Nobre	João Fragoso	Portugal, living
1943	3500		Painting	<i>Fishermen Quarters</i>	Dominguez Alvarez	Portugal, deceased
1943	3500		Painting	Landscape with figures	Alfred Stevens	Belgium, deceased
1943	2500		Painting	Landscape, Setúbal	Luciano Santos	Portugal, living
1943	2000		Painting	<i>Lisbon, Alcântara</i>	Alberty Nery Capucho	Portugal, living
1943	1800		Painting	<i>Anemones</i>	Manuel Bentes	Portugal, living
1943	1750		Painting	<i>Ílhavo farmwoman</i>	Francisco José de Resende	Portugal, deceased
1943	1500		Painting	<i>Serra da Estrela in Gouveia</i>	Fortunato dos Anjos	Portugal, living
1943	1000		Painting	<i>Autumn pools</i>	Ventura Moutinho	Portugal, living
-1943	1000		Painting	<i>Corn bread</i>	Pedro da Fonseca Guedes	Portugal, living
1943	900		Painting	Fragment of Óbidos	Pedro Jorge Pinto	Portugal, living
1943	800		Painting	<i>Cliffs of Magoito</i>	Emílio de Paula Campos	Portugal, deceased
1943	800		Painting	<i>Millers' beach at Azenhas</i>	Emílio de Paula Campos	Portugal, deceased
1944	6200	Artist		Fragment	Armando Lucena	Portugal, living
1944	3750	Artist	Painting	<i>Calle de la Alberca</i>	Juan Cabanas	Spain, living
1944	15000	Artist; 7th SPN exhibition	Painting	<i>Minho guitar</i>	Eduardo Viana	Portugal, living
1944	4000	Artist; 8th SPN exhibition	Painting	<i>Fall, Sintra</i>	Milly Possoz	Portugal, living
1944	1300	Artist; 8th SPN exhibition	Sculpture	<i>Judith</i>	Joaquim Valente	Portugal, living

1944	2000	Artist; 9th watercolours & drawings SNBA exhibition	Gouache	<i>Flowers</i>	Albino Cunha	Portugal, living
1944		Artist; SNBA exhibition		<i>Guiões</i>	Agostinho Salgado	Portugal, living
1944	4000	Buchholz Bookshop & Gallery, 1944 exhibition		<i>Girl from Nazaré</i>	Barata Feyo	Portugal, living
1944		João Vaz		<i>Boy</i>	Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro	Portugal, deceased
1944		Moreira Fernandes		Landscape. North of Portugal	José Maria Soares Lopes	Portugal, deceased
1944	11950		Painting	<i>Watermill in Bispo</i>	António Saúde	Portugal, living
1944	8000		Painting	<i>Fo«ishmongers</i>	António Lino	Portugal, living
1944	7500			<i>Journey</i>	Severo Portela (Júnior)	Portugal, living
1944	6000		Watercolour	View of a room	Alberto Sousa	Portugal, living
1944	2500		Watercolour	<i>Dock at Praça do Comércio</i>	Alfredo Morais	Portugal, living
1944	2500		Watercolour	Seascape	Raquel Roque Gameiro	Portugal, living
1944	2000			Study, Serra da Lousã	Alberto Cardoso	Portugal, deceased
1944	500		Drawing	<i>Botanic Garden</i>	Gabriel Constante	Portugal, deceased
1944	400		Drawing	Study	Gabriel Constante	Portugal, deceased
1944				<i>Prayer to life</i>	Lauro Corado	Portugal, living
1944				<i>Sines bay</i>	Maria de Lourdes de Mello e Castro	Portugal, living
1944				Bust of a girl	Martins Correia	Portugal, living

1945	3500	Ângelo Rodrigues da Silva Vieira?	Painting	Portrait of painter Rodrigues Vieira	Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro	Portugal, deceased
1945	16500	Auction Rua Rosa Araújo	Painting	Portrait of Bulhão Pato	Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro	Portugal, deceased
1945	8000	Fausto Sampaio	Painting	<i>Rua Afonso de Albuquerque, in Goa</i>	Fausto Sampaio	Portugal, living
1945	8000		Painting	Portrait of a boy	António Ramalho	Portugal, deceased
1945	6000		Painting	Portrait of painter Fernando David	José Malhoa	Portugal, deceased
1945	5000		Painting	<i>Pomegranates and grapes</i>	José Joaquim Ramos	Portugal, living
1945	5000		Painting	<i>Still-life</i>	Celestino Alves	Portugal, living
1945	4000		Painting	<i>Girl</i>	Estrela Faria	Portugal, living
1945	4000		Painting	<i>Porto docks</i>	Nadir Afonso Rodrigues	Portugal, living
1945	3500		Painting	Self-portrait	Mário Eloy	Portugal, living
1945	3000		Painting	<i>Grapes</i>	Fortunato Anjos	Portugal, living
1945	3000		Painting	<i>Pumpkins</i>	Mário Reis	Portugal, unkown
1945	2500		Painting	<i>Portalegre</i>	le Mattre de Carvalho	Portugal, living
1945	2500		Painting	<i>Station</i>	Martins da Costa	Portugal, living
1945	2000		Painting	<i>By Belém</i>	Francisco Maya	Portugal, living
1945	2000		Painting	<i>Quinta da Moura</i>	Constâncio Silva	Portugal, living
1945	1800		Painting	<i>Linguarito Beach</i>	Gabriel Constante	Portugal, deceased
1945	1500		Painting	Drawing album	Simões de Almeida	Portugal, deceased
1945	1200		Drawing	Nude	António Duarte	Portugal, living



1945	750		Watercolour	<i>View of Palmela</i>	Max Braumann	Germany, living
1945	500		Drawing	Nude	Paulo Parreira	Portugal, unkown
1945	350		Drawing	<i>Old woman's mask</i>	Max Braumann	Germany, living
1945	350		Drawing	untitled	Tomás de Melo	Portugal, living

**Appendix III.4 – MNAC, gifts and bequests by donor and number of objects, 1933-45.**

Sources: MatrizNet and MNAC correspondence files.

Note: all gifts and bequests and presumed to have occurred in a single year, unless otherwise specified.

<b>Name of donor</b>	<b>Number of objects recorded</b>
<b>Emília Bordalo Pinheiro</b>	<b>42</b>
1934	1
Gift	1
1935	1
Gift	1
1941	2
Gift	2
1942	1
Gift	1
1945	37
Bequest	37
<b>Manuel Teixeira Gomes</b>	<b>22</b>
1933	2
Gift	2
1934	20
Gift	20
<b>Adriano Sousa Lopes</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>José de Figueiredo</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Anjos Teixeira (son)</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Manuel Emídio da Silva</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Alice Pereira de Campos</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Manuel Gustavo Bordalo Pinheiro</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Eliza Barreiros</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Oswaldo Teixeira</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Veloso Salgado</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>unknown</b>	<b>2</b>
1937	1
Gift	1
1938	1
Gift	1
<b>Abel Salazar</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Alberto Dias Guimarães (Paris)</b>	<b>1</b>

<b>Amália Gomes dos Santos Sousa Leal</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Amélia de Oliveira Gomes</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Ângelo Rodrigues da Silva Vieira</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>António Joaquim Pereira da Costa</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Artur de Lima</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Capitolina da Silva</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Celeste and Beatriz Batalha Reis</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Centannials Commission</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Conselheiro Ernesto Driesel Schroter</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Dr. Ferreira de Almeida</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Elvira Bordalo Pinheiro</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Fausto Guedes Teixeira</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Friends of Portugal in Belgium</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Jesuina Saraiva Pinheiro</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Jesuína Saraiva Pinheiro</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>João Carlos Henriques</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>José Osório de Oliveira</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>José Rangel de Lima</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Maria Conceição Lemos Magalhães</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Maria de Jesus Mendes</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Maria Lucia Pinheiro Moacho</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Maria Quintela Sampayo</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Miss Craig</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Porto National Printmakers</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Viscondessa de Algés (sister of the painter)</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>124</b>

### Appendix III.5 – MNSR, purchases database, 1933-45.

Sources: MNSR correspondence files and inventories.

Year	Value (Escudos)	Acquired from	Typology	Description / Title	Maker / Author	Country of origin
1933	700	Salão Silva Porto	Ceramics	Tureen	Vista Alegre	Portugal
1934	190	Manuel Domingos Bandeira	Ceramics	Tankard		England
1934	130	Sara Vilela Barros	Ceramics	Plate		Portugal
1934	400	Joaquim Xavier Ribeiro	Ceramics	Tea set (tea pot, sugar pot, butter dish, two cups and saucers)	Vista Alegre	Portugal
1934	1000	Alberto Silva	Ceramics	Fô Dog	Cavaquinho factory	Portugal
1934			Furniture	Leather trunk		
1935	20	Sacavém Ceramics Factory	Ceramics	Ink pot	Carvalhinho factory	Portugal
1935	200	Manuel Domingos Bandeira	Ceramics	Tea pot		Portugal
1935	200	Alberto Silva	Ceramics	Bust of king Pedro IV		Portugal
1935	450		Ceramics	Tea set for two	Meissen	Germany
1935	400		Ceramics	Pair of Fô Dogs	Porcelain	China
1935	110		Ceramics	Cup and saucer	Vista Alegre	Portugal
1936	200	Ricardo Severo Barbosa da Fonseca Cardoso	Ceramics	Plate	Viana Factory	Portugal
1936	200	Ricardo Severo Barbosa da Fonseca Cardoso	Ceramics	Holy water basin		Portugal
1936	200	Ricardo Severo Barbosa da Fonseca Cardoso	Ceramics	Pair of vases	Viana Factory	Portugal
1936	1600	Barjona de Freitas	Sculpture	<i>Virgin with child</i>	Marble	Portugal
1937	120		Ceramics	Cup	Porcelain	China
1937	200		Ceramics	Fountain	Fabrica de Miragaia	Portugal
1937	33		Ceramics	Pair of tiles		Portugal
1937	20		Ceramics	Milk Jug	Porcelain	China

1937	20		Ceramics	Cup and saucer	Porcelain	China
1937	20		Ceramics	Cup and saucer	Porcelain	China
1937	20		Ceramics	Bowl and saucer	Porcelain	China
1937	20		Ceramics	Bowl and saucer	Porcelain	China
1937	25		Ceramics	Bowl and saucer	Porcelain	China
1937	100		Ceramics	Cup	Porcelain	China
1937	20		Ceramics	Cup	Porcelain	China
1937	20		Ceramics	Cup	Porcelain	China
1937	20		Ceramics	Cup	Porcelain	China
1936	unknown		Painting	Landscape	Ezequiel Pereira	Portugal
1936	unknown		Painting	Landscape	Ezequiel Pereira	Portugal
1936	unknown		Painting	Portrait of Augusto Santo	Ezequiel Pereira	Portugal
1938	50		Ceramics	Coffee Pot	Porcelain	China
1938	135		Ceramics	Serving dish	Miragaia factory	Portugal
1938	200		Ceramics	<i>Polvorinho</i>	Miragaia factory	Portugal
1938	160		Ceramics	Serving dish	Miragaia factory	Portugal
1938	100		Ceramics	Barrel	Fabrica do Cavaquinho	Portugal
1938	20		Ceramics	Cup	Porcelain	China
1939			Painting	<i>Lady sitting</i>	Abel Salazar	Portugal
1939			Painting	<i>Saint Pantaleon</i>	Abel Salazar	Portugal
1939	50		Ceramics	Plate	Viana Factory	Portugal
1939	250		Ceramics	Food warmer	Porcelain	China
1939	100		Ceramics	Tankard	Porcelain	China
1939	30		Ceramics	Plate	Fervença Factory	Portugal
1939	300		Ceramics	Ewer and basin	Miragaia factory	Portugal
1939	1500		Ceramics	Pair of vases	Edmée Samson-Paris	France
1939	50	Lúcia de Almeida Pinto	Ceramics	Plate		England

1939	300	António Nunes da Silva	Furniture	Trunk		Portugal
1940	100		Ceramics	Barrel	Cavaquinho factory	Portugal
1940	240	Auction, Prelada (Guimarães)	Ceramics	Tea and Sugar pot	Porcelain	China
1940	30	Auction, Prelada (Guimarães)	Ceramics	Cup and saucer	Porcelain	China
1940	30	Auction, Prelada (Guimarães)	Ceramics	Cup and saucer	Porcelain	China
1940	400		Ceramics	Fountain	Miragaia factory	Portugal
1940	130		Ceramics	Tankard	Miragaia factory	Portugal
1940	260		Ceramics	Pair of Tankards	Cavaquinho factory	Portugal
1940	260		Ceramics	Pair of Tankards	Porto or Gaia	Portugal
1940	2400	Luis Garcia de Macedo	Furniture	Tabourets		Portugal
1940			Furniture	Cardplaying table		Portugal
1940	2000	Francisco Perestrello de Alarcão e Silva	Furniture	Trunk		Portugal
1940	11000	Maria de Assunção Oliveira	Furniture	Half-commode		Portugal
1940			Furniture	Leather chairs		Portugal
1940			Furniture	Drawingroom table		Portugal
1940			Furniture	Settee and chairs		Portugal
1940	9000	Sara Afonso Cruz	Furniture	Armoire		Portugal
1940			Furniture	Commode		Portugal
1940	5000	Eduardo Lima Rego Machado	Furniture	Settee and chairs		Portugal
1940		Manuel da Silva Correia	Furniture	Trunk		Portugal
1940	5250	Alfredo Ramos	Furniture	7 chairs		
1940	4500	Camilo Bettencourt	Furniture	English commode		England
1940	4500	Manuel da Silva Correia	Metalwork	Cutlery set and pair of candelabra		
1940	4000	Conde d'Aurora	Painting	Soares dos Reis		Portugal

1940	4000	Elvira Ribeiro	Painting	<i>Fisherman, head</i>	João Augusto Ribeiro	Portugal
1941	200		Ceramics	Apothecary jar		Portugal
1941	10000	Francisco Perestrello de Alarcão e Silva	Furniture	Settee and chairs		Portugal
1941			Furniture	Armchairs		Portugal
1941	15000	João Rebelo Carvalho	Furniture	Flemish armoire		Flanders
1941			Furniture	Armoire		Portugal
1941			Furniture	Armchairs		Portugal
1941	6000	Domingos da Silva Correia	Furniture	16th century armoire		
1941	10000	heirs of the Viscondessa de Mairós	Furniture	Settee and two armchairs		
1941	10000	Maria Helena de Figueiredo Alarcão	Furniture	Two Empire credenzas		
1941	2400	Tirso de Olazabel	Furniture	Six armchairs Louis XV		
1941		To artist via Circulo Jose de Figueiredo	Painting	Portrait of Doutor Joaquim de Vasconcelos	Joaquim Lopes	Portugal
1941	6000	Fundicao Artistica Joaquim Meireles	Sculpture	Bust of Rodolfo Pinto do Couto	António Alves de Sousa	Portugal
1942	600		Ceramics	Basin	Porcelain	China
1942	500		Ceramics	Plate		Portugal
1942	500		Ceramics	Plate	Porcelain	China
1942	500		Ceramics	Fountain		France
1942	500		Ceramics	Tankard	Afurada factory?	Portugal
1942	600		Ceramics	Pair of apothecary jars	Cavaquinho factory	Portugal
1942	1000		Ceramics	5 plates	Savona make	Italy
1942	[5000]		Furniture	Cabinet	indo-portuguese	India
1942			Furniture	leather chairs		Portugal
1942			Furniture	Torch holder		Portugal

1942			Furniture	Two chairs		Portugal
1942			Furniture	Chair		Portugal
1942			Furniture	Half-commode		Portugal
1942			Furniture	Settee and chairs		Portugal
1942			Furniture	Armoire		Portugal
1942			Furniture	Cabinet on stand		Portugal
1942	9000	Arnaldo Neves	Furniture	6 chairs	João V	Portugal
1942	7000	Margarida Helena Cardoso de Menezes, Viscountess of Pindela	Furniture	Dutch armoire		Netherlands
1942		Sara Vilela Barros	Furniture	Chandelier		Portugal
1942	3000	Alfredo Ramos	Furniture	Boule settee		France
1942	3000	Alfredo Ramos	Furniture	Commode	João V	Portugal
1942	3000	Arnaldina Augusta de Sousa Neves	Furniture	Settee	João V	Portugal
1942			Glass	Cup		Portugal
1942	5000	António de Azevedo	Sculpture	Bust of Manuel II	António de Azevedo	Portugal
1943	579		Ceramics	10 tiles	Delft	Netherlands
1943	100		Ceramics	Tile	Vista Alegre	Portugal
1943	250		Ceramics	Tankard	Iznik	Ottoman empire
1943	250		Ceramics	Tankard	Iznik	Ottoman empire
1943	250		Ceramics	Tankard	Iznik	Ottoman empire
1943	200		Ceramics	Plate	Talavera de la Reina	Spain
1943	1200		Ceramics	Bowl	Delft	Netherlands
1943	600		Ceramics	Ewer and basin		Portugal
1943	200		Ceramics	Plate		Portugal
1943	600		Ceramics	Box with lid	Mariebeg	Sweden
1943			Furniture	Settee and chairs		Portugal
1943			Furniture	Table		Portugal
1943			Furniture	Armoire-ark		Portugal
1943			Furniture	Armoire		Portugal



1943			Furniture	Table		Portugal
1943			Furniture	Chairs		Portugal
1943			Furniture	Table		Portugal
1943			Glass	Glass		Portugal
1943			Glass	Glass		Portugal
1943			Glass	Plate		Portugal
1943	4500	Manuel Candido Dominguez	Painting	<i>São João da Ribeira, Ponte de Lima</i>	Dominguez Alvarez	Portugal
1943	2750	Salão Silva Porto	Painting	Miniature, 18th century representing a soldier with a gold frame decorated with minas novas		
1943	30000		Painting	<i>St John and the Pope</i>		Portugal
1943			Print	<i>City of Porto</i>		Portugal
1943		António Soares	Print	<i>City of Porto</i>		Portugal
1944	500		Ceramics	Pair of toothpick holders	Cavaquinho factory	Portugal
1944	1300		Ceramics	Serving dish	Rato ceramics factory	Portugal
1944	120		Ceramics	Coffee pot	Davenport	England
1944	800		Ceramics	Pair of apothecary jars	Cavaquinho factory	Portugal
1944	400		Ceramics	Basin	Massarelos factory	Portugal
1944	100		Ceramics	Pair of apothecary jars		Portugal
1944	600		Ceramics	Milk Jug	Vista Alegre	Portugal
1944	750		Ceramics	Butter dish	Rato ceramics factory	Portugal
1944	100		Ceramics	Vase	Miragaia factory	Portugal
1944			Furniture	Stand		Portugal

1944	2000	Maria Carlota Pinto do Couto	Painting	<i>Florence</i>	Emilio Montini	Italy
1944	10000	Julio Fortuna e Cia	Sculpture	<i>Our Lady of Milk</i>		Portugal
1945	150		Ceramics	Flower pot	Aveiro?	Portugal
1945	150	Salão Silva Porto	Ceramics	Plate	Sto António do Vale da Piedade factory	Portugal
1945	600		Ceramics	Serving dish		Portugal
1945	1100		Ceramics	Plate	Miragaia factory	Portugal
1945	1900		Ceramics	Plate		China
1945	200		Ceramics	Tankard		Portugal
1945	100		Ceramics	Measuring cup		Portugal
1945	300		Ceramics	Plate		China
1945	480		Ceramics	Cup and saucer	Vista Alegre	Portugal
1945	6000	Ismael Adelino de Oliveira Junior	Furniture	Three chairs, 18th		
1945			Glass	Cup		Portugal
1945			Glass	Pair of apothecary jar		Portugal
1945			Glass	Cup		Portugal
1945			Glass	Cup		Portugal
1945			Glass	Glass		Portugal
1945			Glass	Glass		Portugal
1945			Glass	Bowl		Portugal
1945			Print	Busts and chronologies of the sovereigns of Portugal		Portugal
1945			Print	Collection of 14 lithographs with vistas of Sintra		Portugal
1945			Print	Collection of lithographs	Centro Artistico Portuense	Portugal
1943			Sculpture	<i>St Anthony</i>		
unknown	unknown		Painting	Tryplich		

unknown	unknown		Drawing	<i>Head of a woman</i>	Soares dos Reis	Portugal
	unknown		Painting	Landscape, Alentejo	Henrique Pousão	Portugal
unknown	unknown		Painting	<i>Choir of the church of Sto António da Cidade</i>		
unknown	unknown		Painting	Landscape - View of	Henrique Pousão	Portugal
unknown	unknown		Painting	<i>Presentatio n to the temple</i>		
unknown	unknown		Drawing	<i>Fisherman</i>	J. A, Ribeiro	Portugal
unknown	unknown			Self-portrait	João Correia	Portugal

### Appendix III.6 – MNSR gifts and bequests 1933-45.

Sources: MNSR correspondence files and inventories.

Note: All gifts and bequests and presumed to have occurred in a single year, unless otherwise specified.

Name of donor (Bequests appear in <b>bold</b> ; remaining donors represent gifts)	Number of objects
<b>Manuel Maria Lúcio</b>	77
<b>Maria Rizzo Terra</b>	55
<b>António Ramos Pinto</b>	24
Elisa de Lima	21
Círculo José de Figueiredo	10
1941 and 1942/Gift	10
<b>José António Forbes de Magalhães</b>	6
<b>José de Figueiredo</b>	5
Diogo de Macedo	4
1940 and 1942/Gift	4
Ângelo Pereira	2
António de Azevedo	2
Elvira Ribeiro	2
Fernanda and Clotilde Costa Neves	2
João Braga	2
Manuel Emílio Dias de Almeida Castelo-Branco	2
Pedro Victorino	2
Ramiro Mourão	2
Abel de Moura	1
Adolfo Marques	1
<b>Adriano Ramos Pinto</b>	1
Alfredo Aires de Gouveia Allen via Círculo José de Figueiredo	1
Alfredo Ramos	1
Altino Maia	1
Álvaro Costa	1
Álvaro Rocadas	1
Amélia Aguiar de Macedo Soares dos Reis and Raquel de Macedo Soares dos Reis	1
António Fernandes de Sa	1
António Russell de Sousa	1
Armando Couto	1

Porto Industrial Society	1
Avelino Monteiro de Andrade	1
B. Nogueira Baudol	1
Berta de Alencastre de Aguiar	1
Berta Leite	1
Committee for the tribute to David de Sousa	2
Ernâni de Sá Lima	1
Family of the artist	1
Francisco Valença	1
Guilherme Pacheco	1
Guilhermina da Silva Vila Lobos Pereira Machado Giddy	1
João de Queirós	1
Joaquim Emílio Pinto Leite	1
Joaquina Machado da Cunha	1
José Lopes Baptista	1
Júlia Clavel de Moraes Silva	1
Library of the Faculty of Medicine of Porto	1
Luiz Xavier da Costa	1
<b>Manuel Cândido Dominguez</b>	1
Manuel da Silva Correia	1
Manuel Guimarães, "A Nova Decorativa"	1
Maria de Assunção P. Fernandes Borges	1
Nicolau dos Santos Veiga Júnior	1
Rosa da Silva Cardoso and Laura da Silva Cardoso	1
Rosa da Silva Cardoso and Laura da Silva Cardoso; Baltazar Valente	1
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>260</b>

**Appendix IV.1 – Acquisitions Database, Counts of Castro Guimarães Museum-Library, Cascais, Portugal**

Sources: MBCCG archives, MBCCG receipts archive at the Cascais Historical Archives.

Year	Mode of acquisition	Value (Escudos)	Acquired from	Typology	Description / Title	Maker / Author
1933	Purchase	6300	Leiria & Nascimento	Furniture	Cabinet on stand	Indo-portuguese
1933	Purchase		Leiria & Nascimento	Furniture	Cabinet on stand	Indo-portuguese
1933	Gift		Family of the artist	Painting	<i>View of Cascais</i>	Viscount of Athoughuia
1933	Purchase	4000	Guida Keil	Decorative Arts	Fan	
1933	Purchase		Guida Keil	Decorative Arts	Fan	
1933	Purchase		Guida Keil	Decorative Arts	Fan	
1933	Purchase		Guida Keil	Decorative Arts	Fan	
1933	Purchase		Guida Keil	Decorative Arts	Fan	
1933	Purchase	1000	Leiria & Nascimento	Print	The Fisherman	Barney
1933	Purchase	1000	Leiria & Nascimento	Print	The Pilgrim	Turner
1933	Purchase	28500	João F. da Silva Nascimento	Ceramics	Two large jars, Sobral coat of arms	China
1933	Purchase	5040	Leiria & Nascimento	Metalwork	Pair of copper buffalos	
1933	Purchase	5000	Marquis of Lavradio	Painting	Miniature 18th century, signed	
1934	Purchase	4895	Leiria & Nascimento	Textile	Embroidered bedspread	
1934	Purchase	150	Nuno Infante de la Cerda, Baron of de Sabroso	Books	Poezias eroticas' manuscript, Lisbon 1830	
1934	Purchase	13200	Mário Azevedo Gomes	Furniture	Boule clock	

1934	Purchase	1200	Fábrica Cerâmica Viúva Lamego	Ceramics	Four decorative vases	Portugal, contemp
1934	Gift		Severo da Silva	Memorabilia	Menu from the former Royal Palace in Cascais	D. Carlos
1934	Purchase	1200	Natividade de Sousa	Sculpture	Bas-relief, 16th century	
1934	Purchase	300	Abel Manta	Decorative Arts	Pair of fans in mother of pearl, romantic period	
1934	Purchase	8800	Leiria & Nascimento	Furniture	Cabinet	Indian
1934	Purchase	3245	Leiria & Nascimento	Ceramics	Elephant from China	
1935	Purchase	22500	Family of the artist	Sculpture	<i>Woman and child</i>	Bernard
1936	Purchase	1200	Unknown	Textile	Oriental carpet	
1936	Purchase	55000	Adelaide d'Almeida e Vasconcellos de Mendonca	Musical Instrument	Violin	Hiernimus Amatis Nicolay Filius Fecit 1692
1936	Purchase	16000	Committee of Friends of deceased painter Carlos Bonvalot	Painting	<i>Beach scene</i>	Carlos Bonvalot
1936	Purchase		Committee of Friends of deceased painter Carlos Bonvalot	Painting	<i>Cascais scene</i>	Carlos Bonvalot
1936	Purchase		Committee of Friends of deceased painter Carlos Bonvalot	Painting	<i>Cascais scene</i>	Carlos Bonvalot
1936	Purchase		Committee of Friends of deceased painter Carlos Bonvalot	Painting	<i>At the front (1914-18)</i>	Carlos Bonvalot
1936	Purchase		Committee of Friends of deceased painter Carlos Bonvalot	Painting	<i>Frieze for Student's Dance</i>	Carlos Bonvalot
1936	Purchase		1000	Jayme Silva	Painting	Seascape

1937	Purchase	6600	Vera Leroi	Painting	<i>The Sorrow</i>	Teodoro Baierl
1937	Purchase	250	Martinho da Fonseca	Decorative Arts	Fan	
1937	Purchase	250	Martinho da Fonseca	Decorative Arts	Fan with silver stems	
1937	Purchase	1200	Arnaldo Ressano	Drawing	Caricature of Dr. José de Figueiredo	Arnaldo Ressano
1938	Purchase	170	João Galvão	Print	<i>Sintra and Cascais</i>	
1938	Purchase	50	João Galvão	Print	<i>The Lisbon Earthquake</i>	
1938	Purchase	2600	Leiria & Nascimento	Furniture	Two armchairs Louis XVI	
1938	Gift		Albino Cunha	Painting	Landscape	Albino Cunha
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Print	Four English prints	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Furniture	Marble fireplace with bronze accessories	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Furniture	Credenza with mirror Louis XVI style	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Furniture	Two armchairs D. Maria style	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Furniture	Two inlaid cardplaying tables, half-moon	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Furniture	A wooden column, with gilt	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	



					Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	

1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	

1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	

1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	36 porcelain items (East India Company and others)	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Furniture	A bronze lion	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Furniture	Pair of candelabra in Saxony porcelain	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Furniture	A crystal chandelier	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Ceramics	Two ceramic figures	
1938	Bequest		José de Figueiredo	Furniture	Five 'galerias' wood, curtains and pillows.	Deaccessioned
1938	Purchase	12000	Emília Bordalo Pinheiro	Painting	<i>The White Glove</i>	Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro
1940	Gift		Alba Pereira Gomes de Mello	Painting	Still life	J. Prieto (1862)
1940	Gift		Clara da Conceição Costa Almeida	Glass	Glass	
1940	Gift		Clara da Conceição Costa Almeida	Decorative Arts	Antique fans	
1941	Purchase	2850	Unknown	Furniture	Table with inlaid and crystal	
1943	Gift		Family of the artist	Musical Instrument	Marble bandolin	Filipe Domingos Escrovana
1944	Purchase	500	Francisco Alves Teixeira	Watercolour	<i>Boca do Inferno</i>	C. Stockdael

**Appendix IV.2 – Acquisitions Database, Dr. Santos Rocha Museum, Figueira da Foz, Portugal.**

Sources: MSR correspondence files and inventories, contemporary local media.

Year	Mode of acquisition	Value (Escudos)	Acquired from	Typology	Description / Title	Maker / Author
1933	Purchase	1 000,00	Alberto Sousa	Painting	Unknown	Alberto Sousa
1936	Purchase	1 200,00	David de Sousa	Painting	Unknown	David de Sousa
1936	Purchase	250,00	Henrique Cabral	Painting	English troops disembarking	Unknown
1938	Gift		João Costa Monsanto	Painting	Portrait of João da Costa Monsanto	Alberto Portugal Correia de Lacerda
1938	Gift		António Boaventura Martins da Rocha	Decorative arts	18th century tool box	Unknown
1939	Gift		Adolfo Faria de Castro	Drawing	Unknown	Adolfo Faria de Castro
1939	Purchase	16 000,00	João Reis	Painting	<i>Buarcos Singer</i>	João Reis
1940	Gift		Manuel Teixeira Gomes	Painting	<i>Salome</i>	17th c
1940	Gift		Manuel Teixeira Gomes	Painting	<i>Veronica</i>	17th c
1940	Gift		Abel Cardoso	Painting	Unknown	Abel Cardoso
1940	Gift		Américo Denis	Painting	Margins of the Mondego	Américo Denis
1940	Gift		António Costa Mota	Sculpture	Bust of António Costa Mota	António Augusto Goncalves
1940	Gift		Diogo de Macedo	Painting	Portrait	António Carneiro
1940	Gift		João Carlos Celestino Gomes [intermediary: Prof. António	Drawing	<i>The storm</i>	António dos Santos

			Oliveira Simões]			
1940	Gift		António Vitorino	Watercolour	Landscape	António Vitorino
1940	Gift		Arpad Szenes	Print	Unknown	Arpad Szenes
1940	Gift		Augusto Nunes Pereira	Drawing	<i>Buarcos figure</i>	Augusto Nunes Pereira
1940	Gift		Augusto Nunes Pereira	Drawing	<i>Buarcos figure</i>	Augusto Nunes Pereira
1940	Gift		Augusto Nunes Pereira	Drawing	<i>Buarcos figure</i>	Augusto Nunes Pereira
1940	Gift		Augusto Nunes Pereira	Drawing	<i>Figueira da Foz</i>	Augusto Nunes Pereira
1940	Gift		Augusto Nunes Pereira	Drawing	<i>Figueira da Foz</i>	Augusto Nunes Pereira
1940	Gift		Diogo de Macedo	Sculpture	Head of a child	Diogo de Macedo
1940	Gift		Duchess of Medina Sidonia	Painting	<i>Sea and sky</i>	Duchess of Medina Sidonia
1940	Gift		Eduarda Lapa	Painting	<i>Anemone</i>	Eduarda Lapa
1940	Gift		Elvina Reimundis	Painting	<i>Poverty</i>	Elvina Reimundis
1940	Gift		Evan Sors	Watercolour	<i>Buarcos fisherman</i>	Ivan Sors
1940	Gift		Evan Sors	Watercolour	<i>Buarcos woman</i>	Ivan Sors
1940	Gift		Friends of the Museum	Watercolour	<i>Buarcos sea wolf</i>	Ivan Sors
1940	Gift		[intermediary: Cristovão Loureiro]	Drawing	Unknown	Francisco Loureiro
1940	Gift		[Intermediary: Cardoso Marta]	Drawing	Unknown	Hugo Sarmiento
1940	Gift		Soares da Graça	Drawing	<i>Old Square in Figueira</i>	João José Silva e Sousa
1940	Gift		João José Silva e Sousa	Watercolour	<i>Road</i>	João José Silva e Sousa
1940	Gift		João Jorge Santiago Corte Real	Painting	Still life	João Jorge Santiago Corte Real
1940	Gift		Friends of the Museum	Drawing	<i>Monks of Nabão</i>	João José Silva e Sousa

1940	Gift		intermediary: Raul Xavier	Drawing	Portrait of the artist's daughter	João Saavedra Machado
1940	Gift		intermediary: Raul Xavier	Drawing	Head of a girl	João Saavedra Machado
1940	Gift		intermediary, Captain J. Coutinho Garrido	Painting	<i>Roses</i>	Joaquim Costa
1940	Gift		Diogo de Macedo	Painting	<i>Church of Trindade, Porto</i>	Joaquim Lopes
1940	Gift		José Luiz Corte Real	Drawing	Portrait of the Count of Varrido	José Luiz Corte Real
1940	Gift		Intermediary: Alexandre Coimbra, teacher in Aveiro	Print	Portrait of Guerra Junqueiro	José Maia Romao Jr
1940	Gift		Júlio Vaz Júnior	Sculpture	Bust of José Leite de Vasconcelos	Júlio Vaz Junior
1940	Gift		Manuel Correia; Intermediary António Pimenta]	Drawing	Portrait of Fr. António Xavier	Manuel de Macedo
1940	Gift		Mário Reis	Watercolour	<i>Belém docks</i>	Mário Reis
1940	Gift		Intermediary; Otão Luiz, painter	Painting	<i>Studio corner</i>	Marques da Silva Jr
1940	Gift		Intermediary: Manuel and Clara dos Reis	Painting	Still life	Porfirio Alves
1941	Gift		Intermediary: Augusto Dias Coimbra, lawyer and civil registrar at Caldas da Rainha]	Watercolour	<i>Rainbow</i>	Adolf Hubner

1941	Gift		Intermediary: Ernesto da Costa Coelho	Print	<i>9 April</i>	Adriano Sousa Lopes
1941	Gift		Intermediary: Dr. Pinhal Palhavã, local doctor	Painting	Unknown	Alberto Nery Capucho
1941	Gift		Amélia Borges Rodrigues	Unknown	<i>Blossoming almond trees</i>	Amelia Borges Rodrigues
1941	Purchase	1 000,00	António Piedade	Painting	<i>Buarcos</i>	António Piedade
1941	Gift		Intermediary; António Piedade, local artist	Drawing	Head of a woman	Aurora Alves de Figueiredo
1941	Gift		Intermediary: Cardoso Marta	Drawing	Caricature of Costa Carneiro	Costa Junior
1941	Gift		Intermediary: Cardoso Marta	Drawing	Caricature of painter Jorge Colaço	Costa Junior
1941	Gift		Intermediary: Cardoso Marta	Drawing	Caricature of the Count of Principe	Costa Junior
1941	Gift		Friends of the Museum	Painting	Portrait of Teresa de Jesus Antunes	Ezequiel Pereira
1941	Gift		Intermediary; António Piedade, local artist	Painting	<i>Bridge</i>	Falcao Trigo
1941	Gift		Maria Luiza da Costa Pereira dos Santos	Painting	<i>Buarcos</i>	Frederico Gil
1941	Gift		Intermediary: Dulce Santiago Prezado	Drawing	<i>Count of Veride on horseback</i>	José Dinis da Camara Lobo Corte Real



1941	Gift		Luís Varela Aldamira	Painting	Landscape	Luís Varela Aldamira
1941	Purchase	2 500,00	Mário Augusto (estate)	Painting	<i>Isaura</i>	Mário Augusto
1941	Gift		Alberto Henriques Bastos	Sculpture	Bust of Alberto Henriques Bastos	Naoum Aronson
1941	Gift		Intermediary: Adelino de Mesquita	Painting	<i>Resting knots</i>	Otao Luiz
1941	Gift		Intermediary: Clara Reis and Manuel Povoá dos Reis	Painting	Still Life	Porfirio Luís Ferreira
1941	Gift		Alberto Henriques Bastos	Sculpture	Medallion profile of Alberto Henriques Bastos	Unknown
1941	Gift		Joaquim Custódio Feteira	Metalwork	Pair of candelabra	India
1941	Gift		Manuel Cardoso Marta	Decorative arts	Watch belonging to Guerra Junqueiro	Unknown
1941	Gift		Manuel Cardoso Marta	Ceramics	Ceramic fragments	Portugal
1941	Gift		Júlio Elias	Ceramics	Caldas da Rainha wares	Portugal
1941	Gift		Júlio Elias	Ceramics	Caldas da Rainha wares	Portugal
1941	Gift		Júlio Elias	Ceramics	Caldas da Rainha wares	Portugal
1941	Gift		Júlio Elias	Ceramics	Caldas da Rainha wares	Portugal
1941	Gift		Edmundo Mafra Elias	Ceramics	Ceramics miniature	Portugal
1941	Gift		Edmundo Mafra Elias	Ceramics	Ceramics miniature	Portugal
1941	Gift		João Rodrigues Estrela	Furniture	Cabinet	Zanzibar(?)

1941	Gift		João Rodrigues Estrela	Painting	Unknown	Portugal?
1944	Gift		Polish Assistance Committee	Drawing	<i>Sintra Royal Palace</i>	Wanda Ostrowska
unknown	Gift		Carlos de Faria Aguiar Loureiro	Drawing	Untitled	Adolf Hubner

### IV.3 – Acquisitions Database, José Malhoa Museum, Caldas da Rainha, Portugal.

Sources: MJM correspondence files and inventories.

Year	Mode of acquisition	Acquired from	Typology	Description / Title	Maker / Author
1933	Gift	José Malhoa	Painting	<i>Head of a boy</i>	Columbano
1933	Gift	Artist	Painting	Landscape	Joaquim Prieto
1933	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Moonrise</i>	José Malhoa
1933	Gift	José Malhoa	Painting	Portrait of José Malhoa	Maria de Lourdes Melo Castro
1933	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Houses in Trafaria</i>	João Ribeiro Cristino
1933	Gift	League of Friends of the Museum	Painting	<i>Fortress of Berlenga</i>	Luís Varela Aldamira
1933	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Margins of the Mondego</i>	Fausto Goncalves
1933	Gift	António Lobo da Silveira (Alvito)	Drawing	Self-portrait	José Malhoa
1933	Gift	Artist	Painting	Portrait of a lady	Joaquim Lopes
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>The son of the Maioral</i>	Simao da Veiga
1934	Gift	Artist	Sculpture	<i>Horse</i>	Delfim Maia
1934	Gift	Artist	Watercolour	<i>S. João da Praça</i>	Hermano Baptista
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Alentejo women</i>	Dordio Gomes
1934	Gift	Artist	Sculpture	Uncle of the author	Júlio Vaz Junior
1934	Gift	Dr. Alberto Rego	Painting	<i>Egas Moniz and the king of Spain</i>	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Blossoming almond trees</i>	Falcao Trigos
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	Landscape	Lima Machado Pereira
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Afternoon light</i>	Frederico Aires
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Aimais Creek</i>	José Leite
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Lisbon cathedral cloister</i>	Joaquim Costa
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Lousã in the distance</i>	Carlos Reis
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Buarcos Fisherman</i>	João Reis
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Wild area Lousã</i>	Luísa Reis

1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>St Clotilde in extasis</i>	Beatriz Lacerda
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Minho</i>	Tulio Victorino
1934	Gift	Artist	Sculpture	Portrait of Joaquim Lopes	Moreira Rato
1934	Gift	Artist	Sculpture	Lady in bas relief	Teixeira Lopes
1934	Gift	Artist	Print	<i>Church in Vila do Conde</i>	Luís d'Ortigao Burnay
1934	Gift	José Filipe Rodrigues	Painting	<i>Malhoa painting</i>	Maria de Lourdes Melo Castro
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Orange seller</i>	Maria de Lourdes Melo Castro
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Old men</i>	Portela Junior
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Convent choir</i>	Luís Salvador Junior
1934	Gift	Maria Malhoa e Silva	Drawing	<i>Horses</i>	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Artist's family	Painting	<i>Gerez</i>	Artur Loureiro
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Flowers from the field</i>	Eugenia Coelho
1934	Gift	Artist	Sculpture	<i>Sarah Affonso</i>	Diogo de Macedo
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Late hour</i>	Henrique Tavares
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	Still Life	Abel Manta
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>The street</i>	Abel Salazar
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Goat</i>	Alberto portugal Correia de Lacerda
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	Landscape	Adelaide Lima Cruz
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	Still Life	Alda Machado Santos
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Rustic homes</i>	Albino Cunha
1934	Gift	Alice Nazaré Fernandes	Painting	Portrait of José Malhoa	António Ramalho
1934	Gift	José Filipe Rodrigues	Painting	Portrait of José Malhoa	António Ramalho
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Painting	Seascape	António Ramalho
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Street in S. Martinho do Porto</i>	Carlos Neves

1934	Gift	Helena Bordalo Pinheiro	Painting	<i>The Tower of Caldas</i>	Henrique Csanova
1934	Gift	Artist's family	Painting	Portrait of Manuel Maria Bordalo Pinheiro	Columbano
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Tricana</i>	Constacio Silva
1934	Gift	League of Friends of the Museum	Painting	<i>On the grass</i>	Ernesto Ferreira Condeixa
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Geraniums</i>	Eduarda Lapa
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Roses</i>	Eduarda Lapa
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	Head	Domingos rebelo
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	Nude	Emília dos Santos Braga
1935	Gift	Artist	Painting	Portrait of an old lady	Emília dos Santos Braga
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Morning mist</i>	Eugene Colson
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Convent of Christ, Tomar</i>	Fernando Santos
1935	Gift	João Carlos Henriques	Painting	<i>Beach</i>	Frederico Aires
1936	Gift	Artist	Painting	Still Life	Henrique Franco
1937	Gift	Luís Pinto	Painting	<i>Convent, Figueiró dos Vinhos</i>	Henrique Pinto
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Woman from Nazaré</i>	Jorge Barradas
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Intimacy</i>	José Campas
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	Portrait of Viscount of Correia Godinho	José de Brito
1934	Gift	Alfredo da Cunha	Painting	<i>Autumn vine</i>	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	João Pereira de Sampaio	Painting	Landscape	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Agostinho Fernantes	Painting	Sketch	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	António Lobo da Silveira (Alvito)	Painting	Portrait of António Lobo da Silveira	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	José de Sousa	Painting	Sketch for an interior	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Laura Sauvinet	Painting	<i>Ticklish</i>	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	José Filipe Rodrigues	Painting	<i>Neighbours talking</i>	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Luís Pinto	Painting	<i>Caldas forest</i>	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Luís Pinto	Painting	<i>Rocks</i>	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Luís Pinto	Painting	<i>Fame crowning Euterpe</i>	José Malhoa

1934	Gift	Luís Pinto	Painting	<i>Adei</i>	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Luís Pinto	Painting	<i>Study for Lambertini home</i>	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Luís Pinto	Painting	<i>Horses</i>	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Luís Pinto	Painting	Portrait of Roque Gameiro	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Luís Pinto	Painting	<i>In the shade</i>	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Luís Pinto	Painting	<i>The promises</i>	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Painting	<i>Enough, father!</i>	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Painting	<i>Spring</i>	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Painting	<i>Youth</i>	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Painting	<i>Stones</i>	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Painting	Head of an old man	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Painting	Portrait of Julia Malhoa	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Painting	Portrait of Joaquim Malhoa	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Still Life</i>	Laura Santos
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Sea people</i>	Lino António
1934	Gift	Agostinho Fernantes	Painting	Head of a boy	Luciano Freire
1934	Gift	Alfredo de Azevedo	Painting	Head of a Napolitan woman	Marques de Oliveira
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Painting	<i>Cockerel</i>	José Maria Moura Girao
1934	Gift	Conceição Silva	Painting	Portrait of Conceição Silva	Mário Augusto
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Fisherman from the Algarve</i>	Romano Esteves
1934	Gift	Viscount of Sacavém	Painting	Landscape	Silva Porto
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Monchique mountains</i>	Tertuliano Marques
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	Landscape, Sintra	José Veloso Salgado
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Old houses</i>	António Varela
1934	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Complicated case</i>	Virginia Santos Avelar
1934	Gift	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Nazaré Boats</i>	Luís Fernandes
1934	Gift	Mário Salgueiro	Watercolour	<i>Sintra</i>	Alberto Sousa

1934	Gift	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Azenhas do Mar</i>	Emilio Paula Campos
1934	Gift	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Celebrating S. Martin</i>	Maria de Jesus Conceição Silva
1934	Gift	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Fialho d'Almeida</i>	Maria de Jesus Conceição Silva
1934	Gift	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Stream</i>	Alves de Sa
1934	Gift	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Shipyards</i>	Carlos Ramos
1934	Gift	Herminia Teles da Gama	Watercolour	<i>Tagus</i>	Alfredo Morais
1934	Gift	Herminia Teles da Gama	Watercolour	<i>Ericeira</i>	Alfredo Morais
1934	Gift	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Altar from Terceiros Church</i>	José de Sousa
1934	Gift	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Rural house</i>	MárioCosta
1934	Gift	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Notes</i>	Pedro Guedes
1934	Gift	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Mouth of the Alcoa</i>	Alfredo Roque Gameiro
1934	Purchase	Unknown	Pastel	<i>Park, Caldas da Rainha</i>	José Sousa Pinto
1934	Gift	Carlos Neves	Pastel	<i>Waters, Caldas da Rainha</i>	José Sousa Pinto
1934	Gift	Agostinho Fernantes	Pastel	Portrait of José Malhoa	Maria de Lourdes Melo Castro
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Pastel	<i>Promises</i>	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	José Filipe Rodrigues	Drawing	Album pages (4)	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	José Filipe Rodrigues	Drawing	Album pages (4)	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	José Filipe Rodrigues	Drawing	Album pages (4)	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	José Filipe Rodrigues	Drawing	Album pages (4)	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	José Filipe Rodrigues	Drawing	Album pages (4)	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	José Filipe Rodrigues	Drawing	Album pages (4)	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	José Filipe Rodrigues	Drawing	Album pages (4)	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	José Filipe Rodrigues	Drawing	Album pages (4)	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Drawing	Decorative study	José Malhoa

1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Drawing	Queen Leonor - study	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Drawing	Queen Leonor - study	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Drawing	Queen Leonor - study	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Drawing	O Fado - study	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Pastel	O Ventura - study	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Pastel	Spring - study	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Drawing	Figueiró peasant	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Drawing	Painting - study	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Sousa Pinto family	Pastel	Portrait of the mother of Manuel Sousa Pinto	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Agostinho Fernandes	Drawing	Self-portrait	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	António Lobo da Silveira (Alvito)	Drawing	<i>Knight of S. Tiago</i>	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Drawing	<i>Only in the village</i>	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Artist	Drawing	Portrait of José Malhoa	Alberto Sousa
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Drawing	<i>Seeing themselves</i>	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Artist	Print	<i>Bakers' quay</i>	Alberto Sousa
1934	Gift	Manuel Sousa Pinto	Drawing	<i>Soldier praying</i>	António Carneiro
1934	Gift	Family of António Carneiro	Drawing	<i>Camoës</i>	António Carneiro
1934	Gift	Family of Sousa Pinto	Drawing	Portrait of the mother of Manuel Sousa Pinto	António Carneiro
1934	Gift	Luís Teixeira	Drawing	Portrait of Luís Teixeira	António Soares
1934	Gift	Artist	Drawing	<i>Dock</i>	Celestino Tocha
1934	Gift	Artist	Pastel	<i>Autumn morning</i>	Joaquim Lopes
1934	Gift	Artist	Pastel	<i>Profile</i>	João da Fonseca



1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Drawing	<i>Moorish head</i>	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Drawing	<i>Pio IX</i>	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Drawing	Album page	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Drawing	Album page	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Drawing	Album page	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Drawing	Album page	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Drawing	Album page	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Drawing	Album page	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Drawing	Album page	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Drawing	Album page	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Drawing	Album page	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	José Filipe Rodrigues	Drawing	Album page	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	José Filipe Rodrigues	Drawing	Album page	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	José Filipe Rodrigues	Drawing	Album page	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Artist	Drawing	Maria José	Julia Ferreira Pinto
1934	Gift	Artist	Drawing	<i>People at Leiria market</i>	Luís Fernandes
1934	Gift	Artist	Pastel	<i>Crysantehmums</i>	Martinho da Fonseca
1934	Gift	Artist	Drawing	Portrait of Maria Manuela	Maria de Lourdes Melo Castro
1934	Gift	Artist	Drawing	Child's Head	José Veloso Salgado
	Gift	Artist	Drawing	<i>Barcelos</i>	Luís Varela Aldamira
1934	Gift	Maria Malhoa e Silva	Drawing	Study for a ceiling	José Malhoa
1934	Gift	Unknown	Sculpture	<i>Teixeira de Pascoaes</i>	António Duarte

1934	Gift	Manuel Teixeira Gomes	Sculpture	Women's torso	Unknown
1934	Gift	Artist	Sculpture	Head	Raul Xavier
1934	Gift	António Montes	Sculpture	Bas relief of Malhoa	Maximiano Alves
1934	Gift	Simoes de Almeida (sobrinho)	Sculpture	Bas-relief of Malhoa	Simoes de Almeida (tio)
1934	Gift	Maria José Malhoa e Silva	Sculpture	<i>Hope and longing</i>	Simoes de Almeida (tio)
1935	Gift	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Wooden houses</i>	Alfredo Migueis
1935	Gift	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Obidos Castle</i>	António Vitorino
1935	Gift	Artist	Watercolour	<i>White Liles</i>	Ligua? Osorio Teixeira
1936	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Eucalyptus</i>	Luís Reis
1936	Gift	Artist	Drawing	<i>Annunciation</i>	Laura Costa
1936	Gift	League of Friends of the Museum	Sculpture	<i>Harvest</i>	Henrique Moreira
1937	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Dunes, Caparica</i>	José Contente
1937	Gift	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Customs Dock</i>	António Cruz
1937	Gift	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Campanhã Station</i>	António Cruz
1939	Gift	Artist	Painting	Head	Renato Torres
1940	Gift	João Pereira de Sampaio	Painting	Portrait of a boy	António Conceição Silva
1940	Gift	João Pereira de Sampaio	Painting	Head of a child	António Ramalho
1940	Gift	João Pereira de Sampaio	Painting	<i>Algarve sunset</i>	Falcao Trigo
1940	Gift	João Pereira de Sampaio	Painting	<i>Snack</i>	João Reis
1940	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Landscape, Alcobaça</i>	José Amaro Junior
1940	Gift	João Pereira de Sampaio	Painting	<i>Village roses</i>	José Malhoa
1940	Gift	João Pereira de Sampaio	Painting	<i>Quelha in Figueiró</i>	José Malhoa
1940	Gift	João Pereira de Sampaio	Painting	<i>Child with flowers</i>	José Malhoa
1940	Gift	João Pereira de Sampaio	Painting	<i>Sunset</i>	José Malhoa
1940	Gift	Julia Adelaide Paramos Montes	Painting	Portrait of Manuel João da Costa	José Malhoa

1940	Gift	Eduardo Caetano Nunes	Painting	Seascape	José Malhoa
1940	Gift	League of Friends of the Museum	Painting	<i>Colhida</i>	Simao da Veiga
1940	Gift	Artist	Watercolour	<i>St. Jorge Castle</i>	Alberto Sousa
1940	Purchase	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Alcobaca market</i>	Alberto Sousa
1940	Purchase	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Carregado peasant</i>	Alberto Sousa
1940	Purchase	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Church of Santa Maria, Obidos</i>	Alberto Sousa
1940	Purchase	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Foz do Arelho</i>	Alberto Sousa
1940	Purchase	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Ericeira cliffs</i>	Alberto Sousa
1940	Purchase	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Sesimbra fisherman</i>	Alberto Sousa
1940	Purchase	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Sintra peasant</i>	Alberto Sousa
1940	Purchase	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Fishing boats, Nazaré</i>	Alberto Sousa
1940	Purchase	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Fishseller</i>	Alberto Sousa
1940	Purchase	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Seaside Peniche</i>	Alberto Sousa
1940	Purchase	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Alcochete House</i>	Alberto Sousa
1940	Purchase	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Woman from Nazaré</i>	Alberto Sousa
1940	Purchase	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Main church, Cladas da Rainha</i>	Alberto Sousa
1940	Purchase	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Palmela Castle</i>	Alberto Sousa
1940	Purchase	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Fishseller</i>	Alberto Sousa
1940	Purchase	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Market, Caldas da Rainha</i>	Alberto Sousa
1940	Purchase	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Fountain, Torres Vedras</i>	Alberto Sousa
1940	Purchase	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Church of the Convent of Jesus, Setubal</i>	Alberto Sousa
1940	Purchase	Artist	Watercolour	<i>Fishing Boats, Setubal</i>	Alberto Sousa
1940	Gift	João Pereira de Sampaio	Pastel	Portrait of Mrs. Pereira de Sampaio	José Malhoa
1940	Gift	João Matoso da Fonseca	Pastel	<i>Spring</i>	José Malhoa
1940	Gift	João Pereira de Sampaio	Drawing	<i>Emigrant</i>	José Malhoa
1940	Gift	João Pereira de Sampaio	Pastel	Portrait of Luísa Pinho Pereira de Sampaio	José Malhoa

1940	Gift	Artist	Drawing	<i>Calvário house</i>	Guilherme Camarinha
1940	Gift	João Pereira de Sampaio	Pastel	Portrait of João Celestino Pereira de Sampaio	José Malhoa
1940	Gift	João Pereira de Sampaio	Drawing	Portrait of João Celestino Pereira de Sampaio	José Malhoa
1940	Gift	João Pereira de Sampaio	Sculpture	<i>Laughing baby</i>	Costa Mota
1940	Gift	Unknown	Sculpture	<i>Viriato</i>	Leopoldo de Almeida
1940	Gift	Unknown	Sculpture	bas-relief	Simoes de Almeida (sobrinho)
1940	Gift	Unknown	Sculpture	Prof. Miguel Bombarda	Simoes de Almeida (sobrinho)
1940	Gift	Unknown	Sculpture	bas-relief	Simoes de Almeida (sobrinho)
1940	Gift	Unknown	Sculpture	<i>Woman and child</i>	E. do Canto
1940	Purchase		Sculpture	<i>Fogoteiro</i>	Martins Correia
1940	Unknwon		Sculpture	<i>José Malhoa</i>	Costa Mota
1941	Gift	José Dias Sanches	Watercolour	<i>Boat</i>	Carlos de Braganca
1942	Bequest	Maria Adelaide Joaquina Guedes de Faria Tierno	Painting	Portrait of Maria Adelaide Joaquina Guedes de Faria Tierno	António Ramalho
1942	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Margins of the Douro</i>	Fausto Sampaio
1942	Gift	Artist	Painting	Portrait of a girl	Francisco Xara
1942	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Garden</i>	Helio Estrela
1942	Gift	Fernando Mardel	Painting	Head of an old man	Luciano Freire
1942	Gift	Unknown	Painting	<i>Obidos Lake</i>	Constacio Silva
1942	Bequest	Maria Adelaide Joaquina Guedes de Faria Tierno	Watercolour	<i>Agriculture</i>	António Ramalho
1942	Gift	Artist	Pastel	<i>Wonders</i>	Josefina de Menezes Toste
1942	Gift	Artist	Drawing	<i>Praying for those lost at sea</i>	António Sergio

1943	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Arcos de Valdevez</i>	Ezequiel Pereira
1943	Gift	José Nunes Correia	Painting	<i>Arcos de Valdevez</i>	Ezequiel Pereira
1943	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Nazaré</i>	Guilherme Filipe
1943	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Sea wolf</i>	Lazaro Lozano
1943	Gift	Ismenia Belmira da Silva	Painting	<i>Napolitan woman</i>	António Ramalho
1943	Gift	Julia Paramos Montes	Sculpture	<i>Queen Leonor</i>	Francisco Franco
1943	Gift	Artist	Sculpture	Bas relief monument to Goncalves Zarco	Francisco Franco
1943	Gift	Artist	Sculpture	Conquest, Goncalves Zarco	Francisco Franco
1943	Gift	Artist	Sculpture	<i>Wisdom</i>	Francisco Franco
1943	Gift	Artist	Sculpture	<i>Christianisation</i>	Francisco Franco
1943	Gift	Artist	Sculpture	<i>João Goncalves Zarco</i>	Francisco Franco
1943	Gift	Artist	Sculpture	<i>S. Peter</i>	Francisco Franco
1943	Gift	Artist	Sculpture	<i>St. John</i>	Francisco Franco
1943	Gift	Artist	Sculpture	<i>Apostle</i>	Francisco Franco
1943	Gift	Artist	Sculpture	<i>Jesus Christ</i>	Francisco Franco
1943	Purchase	Francisco Franco	Sculpture	<i>Dr. Oliveira Salazar</i>	Francisco Franco
1943	Gift	Luís Pinto	Sculpture	<i>Augusto Cardoso</i>	Simoes de Almeida
1944	Purchase		Painting	<i>Afternoon sun</i>	Joaquim Lopes
1944	Purchase	Manuel Cassio Tovar	Watercolour	<i>Dutch Street</i>	Richard Hogan
1944	Gift	Manuel Cassio Tovar	Pastel	Portrait of a lady	António Ramalho
1944	Gift	Simoes de Almeida (sobrinho)	Sculpture	<i>Peasant</i>	Francisco Santos
1944	Gift	Simoes de Almeida (sobrinho)	Sculpture	bas-relief	José Malhoa
1944	Gift	Artist	Sculpture	<i>Fontes Pereira de Melo</i>	Simoes de Almeida (sobrinho)
1944	Gift	Simoes de Almeida (sobrinho)	Sculpture	<i>Francisco Palha</i>	Simoes de Almeida

1944	Gift	Artist	Sculpture	Head of a girl	Simoes de Almeida (sobrinho)
1944	Gift	Artist	Sculpture	<i>St Theresa</i>	Simoes de Almeida (sobrinho)
1944	Gift	Artist	Sculpture	Head	Simoes de Almeida
1944	Gift	Artist	Sculpture	<i>King Manuel II</i>	Simoes de Almeida (sobrinho)
1944	Gift	Artist	Sculpture	<i>In the wings of the dream</i>	Francisco Santos
1944	Gift	Artist's family	Sculpture	<i>Puberty</i>	Simoes de Almeida
1944	Gift	Artist	Sculpture	Bust of a lady	Simoes de Almeida (sobrinho)
1944	Gift	Artist	Sculpture	<i>Fishermen dragging the boat</i>	Simoes de Almeida
1945	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Portrait of Ezequiel Pereira</i>	António Conceição Silva
1945	Gift	António Salvador da Costa	Painting	Portrait of Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro	José Malhoa
1945	Gift	Artist	Painting	<i>Alcobaça</i>	Luís Varela Aldamira
1945	Purchase	Artist	Drawing	Nude	António Duarte

**Appendix V.1 – List of individuals and businesses listed as involved in the art trade, and possibly in the trade of looted art by Allied sources, 1943-1946.**

Sources: Roberts commission archives (NARA); Cascais Historical Archives, Hotel lodging bulletins for Adolf Weiss and Jacques Kugel; ‘Jacques Kugel’, Refugee profile series, Exiles Memorial Centre documentation centre.

Note : the columns ‘Nationality’ and ‘Jewish’ have been adjusted to reflect current knowledge.

SOURCE	NAME	NATIONALITY	BUSINESS	JEWISH
OSS/ALIU report(s)	Adolf Weiss	Austrian and Portuguese	individual	Yes
Red Flag Name List	Alfredo Leal	Portuguese	Antiquarium	unknown
Red Flag Name List	Conrad John	German	Galeria d’Arte	unknown
Red Flag Name List	Elfriede Marques Pereira	Portuguese acquired through marriage. Born in Belgium.	Galeria d’Arte	Yes
Card Index File	Erich David Popper	German	Salão d’Arte Antiga/Arte Antiga	Yes
OSS/ALIU report(s)	Fausto d’Albuquerque	Portuguese	Fausto d’Albuquerque	No
OSS/ALIU report(s)	Gretchen Wohlwill	German	individual	Yes
Red Flag Name List	Henrique Lehrfeld	Portuguese	Livraria Buchholz Exposições	No
Red Flag Name List	Jacques Kugel	French with Liberian passport	Casa Calendas	Yes
Red Flag Name List	Jean R. Ostins	Belgian	individual	unknown
Red Flag Name List	Karl Buchholz	German	Livraria Buchholz Exposições	No
Red Flag Name List	Leon Josipovicci	German	Galeria d’Arte	Yes
OSS/ALIU report(s)	Margarida Cifka Duarte	Portuguese by marriage, German at birth	individual	No
OSS/ALIU	Ms. Paiva Raposo	Portuguese	individual	No
Red Flag Name List	Wilhelm Gessmann	German	Livraria Buchholz Exposições	No

**Appendix V.2 – Works by foreign artists brought into the country by *Livraria Buchholz Exposições, 1943-45.***

Sources: *Livraria Buchholz* exhibition catalogues; Mário Novais Studio archives; *Seara Nova*; *Ocidente*; DGESBA archives; Godula Buchholz.

CODE NUMBER	ARTIST	TITLE/ DESCRIPTION	TPOLOGY	EXHIBITION FEATURED	EXHIBITION CAT
KB01	Domenico Tehpopoulas, El Greco	El Expolio   The Disrobing of Christ	Painting	Exhibited for sale as intermediary	n/a
KB02	Renee Sintenis	Kleine Daphne   Small Daphne	Sculpture	2nd	n/a
KB03	Renee Sintenis	Der Läufer Nurmi   The Runner Nurmi	Sculpture	2nd	n/a
KB04	Renee Sintenis	Shetlandpony im Wind   Shetland pony in the wind	Sculpture	2nd	n/a
KB05	Renee Sintenis	Liegendes Shetlandpony   Lying Shetland pony	Sculpture	2nd	n/a
KB06	Renee Sintenis	unidentifiable Shetland pony	Sculpture	2nd	n/a
KB07	Renee Sintenis	Undermined number of prints, representing horses, foals, and young athletes	Prints	2nd	n/a
KB08	Karl Hofer	Woman sitting	Drawing	2nd	n/a
KB09	Karl Hofer	Woman with parrot	Drawing	2nd	n/a
KB10	Karl Hofer	Woman at a window	Drawing	2nd	n/a
KB11	Karl Hofer	Die freundinnen	Drawing	2nd	n/a
KB12	Karl Hofer	Undetermined number of drawings	Drawings	2nd	n/a
KB13	Gerhard Marcks	La Cenerentola	Sculpture	2nd	n/a
KB14	Gerhard Marcks	Woman standing	Drawing	2nd	n/a
KB15	Gerhard Marcks	Undetermined number of drawings	Drawings	2nd	n/a
KB16	Hermann Haller	Standing woman [Portrait of Yella?]	Sculpture	4th	Y
KB17	Hermann Haller	Female torso, stucco	Sculpture	4th	Y
KB18	Hermann Haller	Female bust [Thinker - head of a woman?]	Sculpture	4th	Y



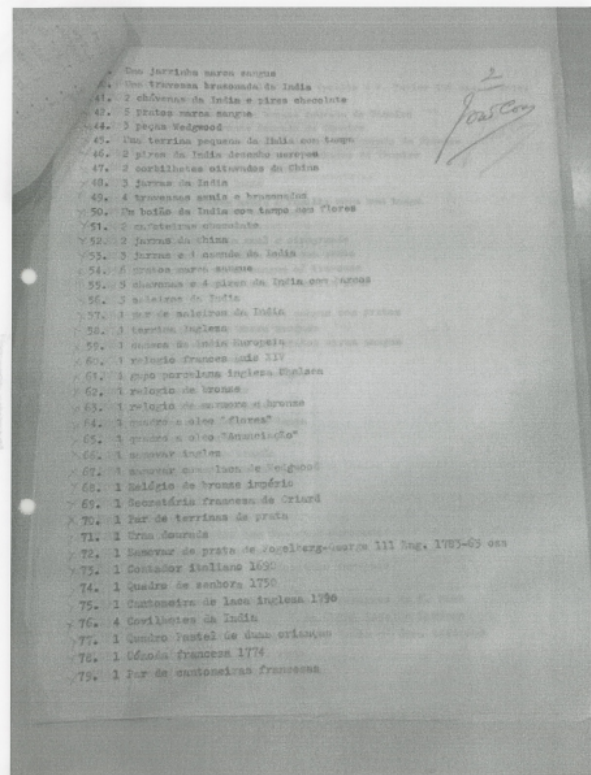
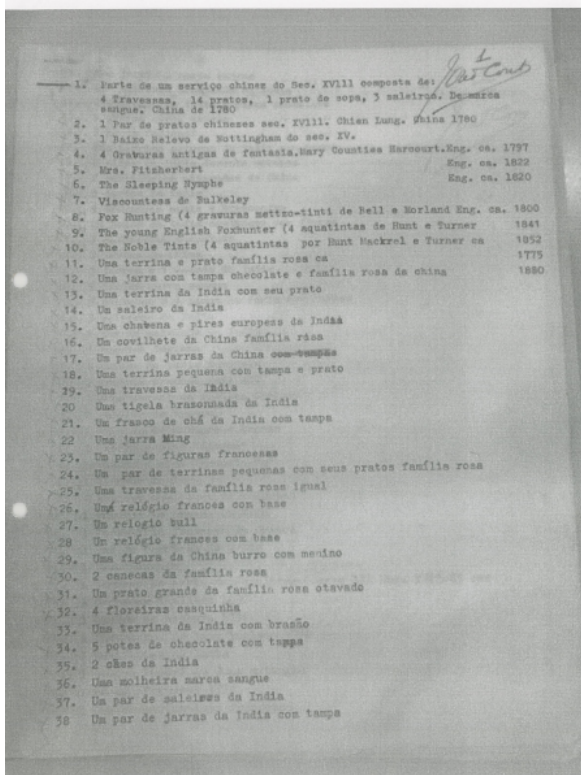
KB19	Hermann Haller	Standing female nude, no arms [Standing woman, stucco?]	Sculpture	4th	Y
KB20	Hermann Haller	Female nude sitting [Bather?]	Sculpture	4th	Y
KB21	Hermann Haller	Standing woman with raised arms	Sculpture	4th	Y
KB22	Gerhard Marcks	Nude female on all- fours	Drawing	4th	Y
KB23	Gerhard Marcks	Unidentified	Drawing	4th	Y
KB24	Gerhard Marcks	Unidentified	Drawing	4th	Y
KB25	Gerhard Marcks	Unidentified	Drawing	4th	Y
KB26	Gerhard Marcks	Unidentified	Drawing	4th	Y
KB27	Gerhard Marcks	Unidentified	Drawing	4th	Y
KB28	Gerhard Marcks	Unidentified	Drawing	4th	Y
KB29	Gerhard Marcks	Unidentified	Drawing	4th	Y
KB30	Gerhard Marcks	Unidentified	Drawing	4th	Y
KB31	Gerhard Marcks	Unidentified	Drawing	4th	Y
KB32	Gerhard Marcks	Unidentified	Drawing	4th	Y
KB33	Gerhard Marcks	Unidentified	Drawing	4th	Y
KB34	Gerhard Marcks	Unidentified	Drawing	4th	Y
KB35	Gerhard Marcks	Unidentified	Drawing	4th	Y
KB36	Gerhard Marcks	Unidentified	Drawing	4th	Y
KB37	Gerhard Marcks	Unidentified	Drawing	4th	Y
KB38	Gerhard Marcks	Unidentified	Drawing	4th	Y
KB39	Richard Scheibe	Woman sitting, knee up	Drawing	6th	Y
KB40	Richard Scheibe	Woman standing, arms down	Drawing	6th	Y
KB41	Richard Scheibe	Unidentified	Drawing	6th	Y
KB42	Richard Scheibe	Unidentified	Drawing	6th	Y
KB43	Richard Scheibe	Unidentified	Drawing	6th	Y
KB44	Richard Scheibe	Unidentified	Drawing	6th	Y
KB45	Richard Scheibe	Unidentified	Drawing	6th	Y

KB46	Richard Scheibe	Unidentified	Drawing	6th	Y
KB47	Richard Scheibe	Unidentified	Drawing	6th	Y
KB48	Richard Scheibe	Unidentified	Drawing	6th	Y
KB49	Richard Scheibe	Unidentified	Drawing	6th	Y
KB50	Richard Scheibe	Unidentified	Drawing	6th	Y
KB51	Richard Scheibe	Unidentified	Drawing	6th	Y
KB52	Richard Scheibe	Unidentified	Drawing	6th	Y
KB53	Richard Scheibe	Unidentified	Drawing	6th	Y
KB54	Richard Scheibe	Unidentified	Drawing	6th	Y
KB55	Richard Scheibe	Unidentified	Drawing	6th	Y
KB56	[Georg Kolbe]	Unknown number of photographs of his works	Photograph	6th	Y
KB57	Unknown author	Drawing of a female figure	Drawing	unknown	n/a
KB58	Unknown author	Partial drawing of a female nude	Drawing	unknown	n/a
KB69	Unknown author	Partial drawing of a female nude	Drawing	unknown	n/a
KB60	Unknown author	Partial drawing of a female nude	Drawing	unknown	n/a

## Appendix V.3 – Works of art brought into the country by Elfriede Marques Pereira, 1946.

Source: Ministry of Education Historical Archives, DGESBA fonds (Author's photographs).

1. List of objects approved for import tax exemption by João Couto.  
Request submitted on 1 April 1946.  
Current whereabouts of the works of art is unknown.



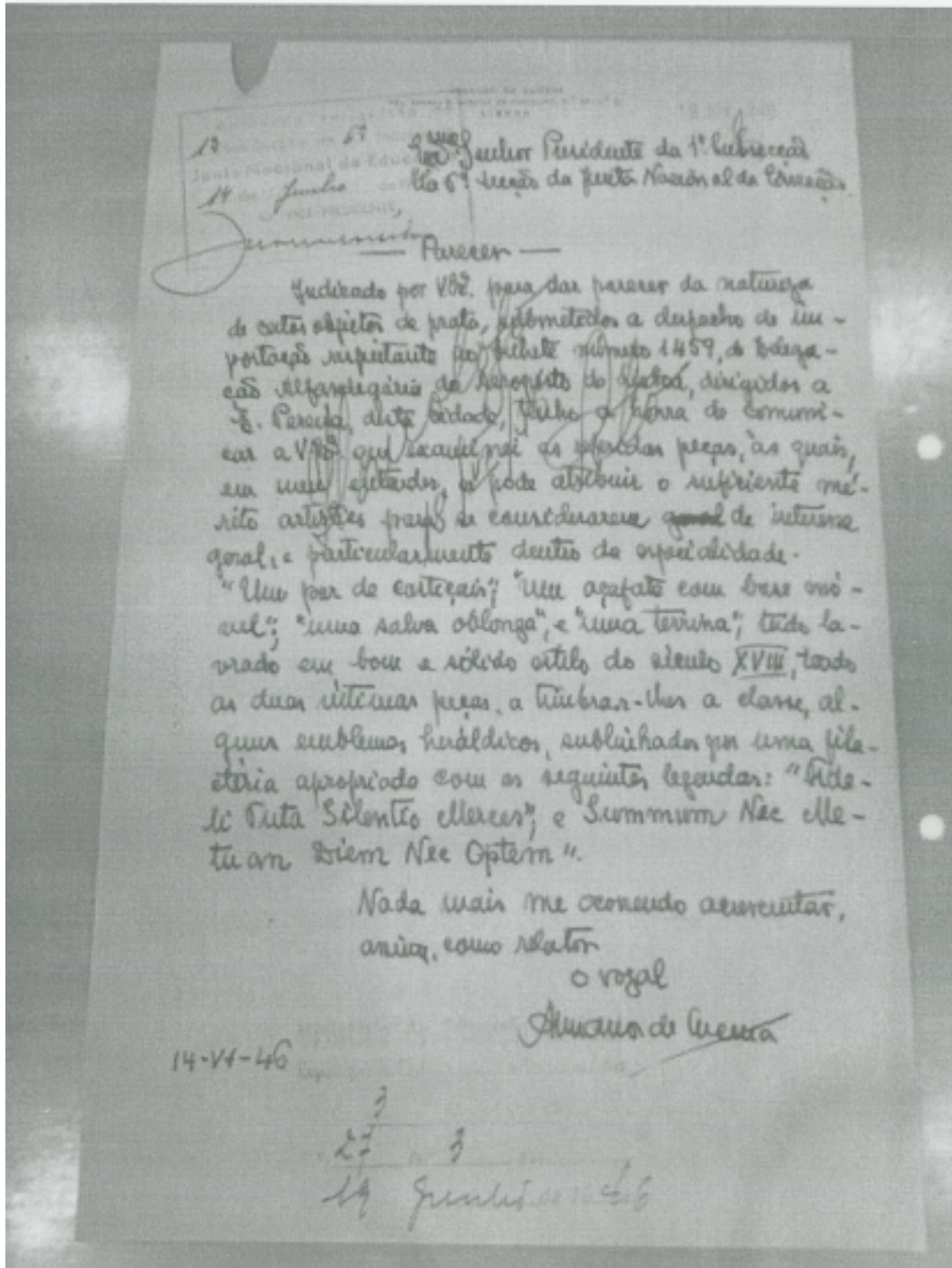
80. 17 Pratos de prata 1777-John Gwynell & W. Taylor 196 ass. 104vis.  
 81. 2 Terrinas de casquinha  
 82. 1 Peça de centro de bronce dourada de Thonire  
 83. 1 Figura de bronce dourada de Thonire  
 84. 1 Par de peças de centro de bronce dourada de Thonire  
 85. 1 Par de figuras de bronce douradas de Thonire  
 86. Brânças Châvenas com pires  
 87. 1 Covillete da Índia  
 88. 1 Par de bolhas azuis e família rosa com tampa  
 89. 1 Chávena de prata com tampa  
 90. 1 Covillete da Índia  
 91. 1 Bolho de Índia azul e dourado  
 92. 1 Terrina de família rosa com prato  
 93. 1 Terrina azul com tampa e travessa  
 94. 3 Terrinas assinatura da família rosa  
 95. -----  
 96. 1 Par de colheres marca sangue com pratos  
 97. Pratos pequenos marca sangue  
 98. 1 Par de colheres com pratos marca sangue  
 99. 1 Bula marca sangue  
 100. 1 Par de jarras marca sangue  
 101. 1 Elefante de saxe  
 102. 3 Tigelinhos europeias  
 103. 1 Bolho chocolate com tampa  
 104. 2 Relógios Império  
 105. 3 Travessas com brânço  
 106. 1 Relógio em forma de lyra com bolhas e família  
 107. 1 Chaleira família rosa  
 108. 1 Tapa azul com brânço  
 109. 1 Chaleira de saxe  
 110. 2 Peças da Índia com desenhos europeus  
 111. 1 Chávena e pires dourado europeu  
 112. 2 Jarras da China com desenhos europeus  
 113. -----  
 114. 2 Candeeiros e 1 jarra grande e reserva da f. rosa  
 115. 2 " " " " da China desenhos Europeus  
 116. 1 Prato grande e 2 pequenos da Índia e/ dea. europeias  
 117. 1 Par de pratos da f. rosa  
 118. 1 Terrina pequena e/ travessa

119. 6 Pratos marca sangue  
 120. 2 Terrinas e 1 prato m. sangue  
 121. 2 Jarras pequenas de chocolate  
 122. 2 Bolheiras m. sangue  
 123. " " " " da China e/ brânço  
 124. 1 Par de colheres m. sangue  
 125. 1 Par de figuras de bronce ajoalhadas  
 126. " " " "  
 127. 4 colheres da Índia  
 128. 1 Quando grande e/ personagens  
 129. inutilizado  
 130. 1 Retrato do Duque de Cumberland  
 131. Paisagem  
 132. 1 Cena de Venéza  
 133. -----  
 134. -----  
 135. Beautiful Venice Queen of the Earth.  
 136. Porcos  
 137. Paisagem  
 138. Assunção  
 139. Paisagem  
 140. Inar  
 141. Mulher lendo  
 142. -----  
 143. Venéza  
 144. 1 Serviço de jantar da C.a das Índias e/ medalha e inicial  
 composto de 137 peças  
 145. 1 Serviço da C.a da Índia de doce, composto de 31 peças centro  
 148. 1 " " Da Índia princesa composto de 96 p. bronzado  
 148. 1 Serviço da Índia e/ decoração, beira cor de rosa composto de  
 38 p.  
 149. 1 Serviço da Índia de chá e café decoração Camilleu cinzento comp  
 68 peças  
 150. 1 Serviço antigo de Dresden (Saxe au Point) comp. de 143 p.  
 151. 1 Par de elefantes da Índia "candelabros"  
 152. 1 Serviço de baile da Índia cinzento, cópia e oiro, 34 p.  
 153. 16 Châvenas e pires da Índia  
 153A. 1 Serviço da Índia com personagens chinesas comp. de 56 p.  
 154. 1 Chaleira antiga de saxe com brânço

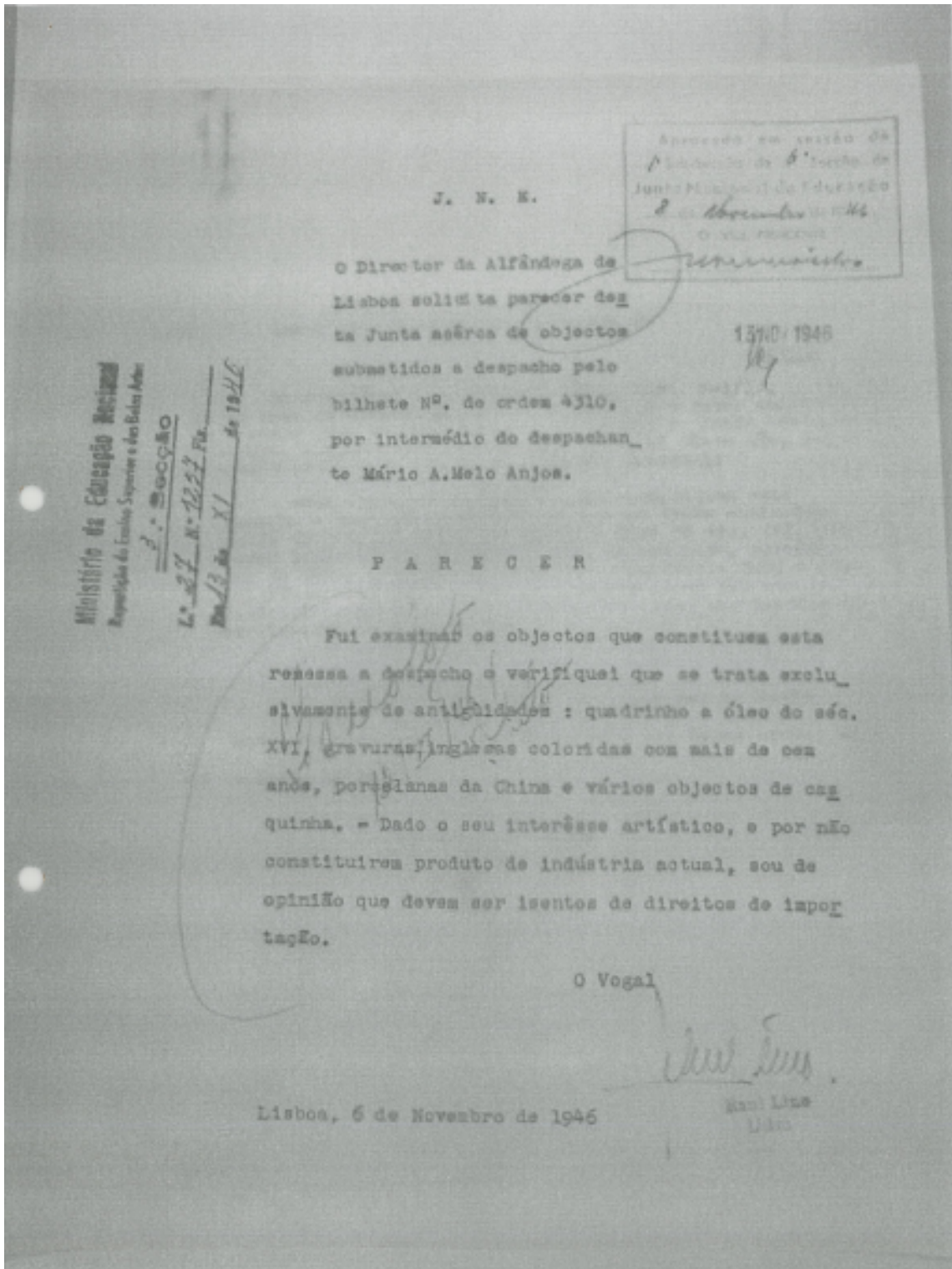
119. 6 Pratos marca sangue  
 120. 2 Terrinas e 1 prato m. sangue  
 121. 2 Jarras pequenas de chocolate  
 122. 2 Bolheiras m. sangue  
 123. " " " " da China e/ brânço  
 124. 1 Par de colheres m. sangue  
 125. 1 Par de figuras de bronce ajoalhadas  
 126. " " " "  
 127. 4 colheres da Índia  
 128. 1 Quando grande e/ personagens  
 129. inutilizado  
 130. 1 Retrato do Duque de Cumberland  
 131. Paisagem  
 132. 1 Cena de Venéza  
 133. -----  
 134. -----  
 135. Beautiful Venice Queen of the Earth.  
 136. Porcos  
 137. Paisagem  
 138. Assunção  
 139. Paisagem  
 140. Inar  
 141. Mulher lendo  
 142. -----  
 143. Venéza  
 144. 1 Serviço de jantar da C.a das Índias e/ medalha e inicial  
 composto de 137 peças  
 145. 1 Serviço da C.a da Índia de doce, composto de 31 peças centro  
 148. 1 " " Da Índia princesa composto de 96 p. bronzado  
 148. 1 Serviço da Índia e/ decoração, beira cor de rosa composto de  
 38 p.  
 149. 1 Serviço da Índia de chá e café decoração Camilleu cinzento comp  
 68 peças  
 150. 1 Serviço antigo de Dresden (Saxe au Point) comp. de 143 p.  
 151. 1 Par de elefantes da Índia "candelabros"  
 152. 1 Serviço de baile da Índia cinzento, cópia e oiro, 34 p.  
 153. 16 Châvenas e pires da Índia  
 153A. 1 Serviço da Índia com personagens chinesas comp. de 56 p.  
 154. 1 Chaleira antiga de saxe com brânço

155. 2 Potesinhos pequenos de Hencky com tampa  
 156. 6 Châvenas e pires de Lishach antigo  
 157. 1 pé de candeeiro de casquinha  
 158. 2 Terrinas oitavadas  
 159. 2 cafeteiras antigas de prata francesas  
 160. 1 chocolateira de prata francesa.

2. List of objects approved for import tax exemption by Armando de Lucena. Request submitted on 14 May 1946. Current whereabouts of the works of art is unknown.



- List of objects approved for import tax exemption by Raul Lino.  
Request submitted on 15 October 1946.  
Current whereabouts of the works of art is unknown.



4. List of objects approved for import tax exemption by Pardal Monteiro.  
Request submitted on 6 November 1946.  
Current whereabouts of the works of art is unknown.

Números	Números
1---1 Par de vasos chineses azuis e brancos, marca G. paisagem 1662-1722	30---1 Par de pratos com decoração europeia-1790
2---1 Par de Kyilins china branca Kwan-Shi	31---1 Relógio frances com planhas, guarnecido a bronze-Sec. XVIII
3---1 Tigela de arroz da China, decoração pheonix-Ming	32---5 potes e 5 camidos azuis e oiro, com reservas da familia rosa-Ken-lung
4---1 Par de ocos brancos da China--Kwan-Yin	33---1 Relógio frances, Império
5---1 Jarra da China, turquesa-Ken-lung	34---1 " " " "
6---1 Par de Blanc da China Kwan-Yin com jarras de lotus	35---4 Boifes com tampas, chocolate, com reservas da familia rosa-Ken-lung
7---1 Par de rapazes da China em 5 cores-Ming	36---1 Par de pássaros de Saxe
8---1 " " " " em pé "	37---1 Par de Boifes azul e oiro-Ken-lung
9---1 Altar de Celadon-Ming	38---1 Jarra com tampa da familia rosa-Ken-lung
10---1 Par de macacos da China-Ken-lung	39---1 Par de Kyilins Balno da China-Kwan-Yin
11---1 Par de jarras sangue de boi-Ken-lung	40---1 Jarra azul e oiro com tampa-Kwan-Yin
12---1 Par de de Wan-li de tigelas da China azul e branco com animais e emblemas-Ming	41---2 Potes chocolate com tampas-Ken-lung
13---3 Jarras da China azul e branco com asas douradas-Kwan-Yin	42---1 Taboleiro, 2 pires e 1 chávena da familia rosa
14---1 Fonte da China-Ken-lung	43---1 Cesto da India
15---5 Chávenas e pires familia rosa com senhoras e reservas de flores-Yung-Shi	44---1 Par de ocos, e 1 par de Kyilins da India e 1 dragão da China tudo Ken-lung
16---2 Pratos grandes familia verde, senhoras no jardim-Kwan-Yin	45---1 Par de terrinas com tampa da India
17---1 Chávena e pires da familia rosa com 1 galo-Yung-Shi	46---1 Par de pratos de lotus com planhas da familia rosa
18---1 Par de chávenas e pires citavadas da familia rosa-Yung-Shi	47---1 Jarra e 2 camidos azul e oiro
19---3 Chávenas e pires com patos-Yung-Shi	48---1 Par de jarras com tampa da familia rosa
20---3 " " da familia rosa-fundo café-Kwan-Yin	49---5 Chávenas e pires, azul e branco-Kwan-Yin
21---1 Garrafa miniatura da familia verde, decorado a verde e encarnado-Kwan-Yin	50---2 Pratos da China com decoração europeia, julgamento de Paris
22---1 Chaleira fundo negro com reservas da familia rosa-Ken-lung	51---1 Par de jarras, azul poudré e oiro-Ken-lung
23---1 Covilhete grande da familia verde com patos e flores-Kwan-Yin	52---1 Par de rapazes chineses da familia rosa-Ken-lung
24---1 Peato grande policromado, verde e encarnado-Ming	53---1 Caneca para vinho da familia verde-Kwan-Yin
25---1 Covilhete grande, fundo com medalhas em verde e amarelo-Ming	54---1 Garrafa sangue de boi-Ken-lung
26---1 Par de homens sentados num barril, com figuras europeias-da China-Ken-lung	55---3 Candelabros franceses de bronze dourado-Império
27---1 Par de fauteuils Luis XVI cobertos de tapeçaria Aubusson, tudo da época--Sec. XVIII	56---1 Caneca da India brasonada
28---1 Cômoda Francesa Luis XVI, mais ou menos 1880	57---1 Chávena e pires com decoração europeia
29---1 Par de jarras da India-Sec. XVIII	58---1 Par de quadros Holandeses-Sec. XVII
	59---1 " " (interiores) " "
	60---1 " " " " "
	61---1 Quadro paisagem- " "
	62---1 Galiteiro da India-Kwan-Yin





Números

- 130---1 Jarra com tampa, am e branca da china-Kwan-Yin  
 131---1 Ciste de Saxe  
 132---1 " " "  
 133---1 Par de dragões chineses  
 134---1 Messaro de saxe antigo  
 135---1 " " "  
 136---2 molheiras de cantão, séc. XVIII  
 137---1 Cesto de cantão com travessa "  
 138---1 " " " "  
 139---1 Prato grande da Índia com beira azul  
 140---1 Par de apliques da Índia séc. XVIII  
 141---1 Covilhetes da Índia  
 142---1 " azul poudré  
 143---1 " com personagens holandesas  
 144---1 Prato " europeias  
 145---1 " grande da china-Ken-lung  
 146---1 Relógio frances de bronze dourado, da época-Lu XVI  
 147---9 Travessas de Saxe  
 148---1 Cache-pots grande da familia rosa  
 149---1 Tigela da familia rosa  
 150---1 " pequena da familia rosa  
 151---1 Quadro por George Morland (indo ao poço)  
 152---1 " " " " pastora  
 153---1 Pintura por Herberto "So-ho"  
 154---1 Par de petiches-~~de~~ fundo negro  
 155---1 Tripla ocaça de porcelana da china, séc. XVIII  
 156---1 Par de covilhetes azul e branco-Ken-lung  
 157---1 Prato da familia rosa com decorações europeias  
 158---1 Oco da china, branco do séc. XVIII  
 159---1 Jarra da china da familia rosa-Ken-lung  
 160---1 Jarra da china, grande, com tampa  
 161---1 Par de jarras da china-Ken-lung  
 162---1 Mesa secretária francesa, Luis XV  
 163---1 Secretária com imbutidos, antiga  
 164---1 Cômoda francesa Luis XV  
 165---2 Jarras azuis antiga da china  
 166---1 secretária francesa para senhora

Números

- 167---1 Cômoda francesa Luis XV  
 168---1 Tapete de Bochara antigo  
 169---1 " persa  
 171---1 Jarra da china-Kwan-Yin  
 172---1 Par de camados da china-Ken-lung  
 173---8 Figurinhas da china "os imortais" Ken-lung  
 174---1 Relógio antigo ingles de carrilhão, com caixa de tartaruga verde  
 175---1 Samovar de casquinha, antigo  
 176---1 Par de castiçais " "  
 177---1 Grupo de Feteindre-Falcomert  
 178---1 Cômoda regencia  
 179---1 Relógio de mesa antigo holandês com caixa lacada  
 180---1 Dito Luis XV frances, pintado de verde com bronzes dourados  
 181---1 Par de pratos ovos, grandes, azul e branco-Ken-lung  
 182---1 Jarra azul e branca  
 183---1 Prato da china --Kwan-Yin  
 184---1 Samovar de casquinha antigo  
 185---1 Relógio grande c/ música--1790  
 186---1 " ingles de mesa-Stuart  
 187---1 " " " com carrilhão--1790  
 188---1 " " " 1793  
 189---1 " " " por Brant 1790  
 190---1 " " " Chippendale por Taylor 1775  
 191---1 " " " Sheraton, com caixa pau setim-1782  
 192---1 " " " por Brant 1792  
 193---1 " " " com caixa lacada 1760  
 194---1 Tapete oriental antigo  
 195---1 Samovar de prata inglesa-George III--1774  
 196---1 Cafeteira de prata francesa 1790  
 197---1 Urna de Vermeille de prata inglesa por Fontain 1805  
 198---1 " " George III de prata dourada no seu estojo da época--1800  
 199---1 Relógio preto e dourado de Vick-1750  
 200---1 Serviço de chá de prata Georgelll, composto de: 1 chaleira, 1 açucareiro, 1 tigela, 1 leiteira, 1 franco de chá 181

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201---12 Pratos George III, com brasão de Callard, Londres 1773  
202---12 " " " " " " 1773  
203---1 Cafeteira de prata inglesa, George III, estilo Adams 1771  
204---1 Jarro de prata inglesa " " " " 1773  
205---1 Samovar George III, Gilbert 1786  
206---1 Urna George III, ornamentada de folhas d'Acanto, em prata 1771  
207---1 Estojo de viagem, guarnecido de prata francesa 1790

Lisboa, 12 de Novembro de 1946

**Appendix V.4 – Works of art sold by Erich Popper to the Portuguese State.**

Sources: MatrizNet; Ministry of Finance, Contemporary Archive; Ministry of Education, Historical Archive.

In red, items originally identified in the archives of the Ministry of Finance with matching description in Sintra National Palace archives, according to Soares.

Code Number	Inv	Year	Description	Value (escudos)	Seller	Palace	Additional information	Obs
EP01	PNS 3599	1940	Persian carpet (5,70*1,08)	5500	Erich Popper	Sintra	10 carpets in same purchase	
EP02			Persian carpet (3,87*0,97)	pair with previous carpet				
EP03	PNS 3587		Oriental carpet: Ferraghan (4*2,13)	3000				
EP04	PNS 3550		Oriental carpet: Shirvan (1,60*1,17)	4000				
EP05			Oriental carpet: Bechir (1,87*1,03)	pair with previous carpet				
EP06	PNS 3577		Oriental carpet: Khazak (2,58*1,06)	pair with previous carpet				
EP07			Oriental carpet. Khiva/Bukhara (1,57*1,11)	pair with previous carpet				
EP08	PNS 3572		Oriental carpet: Persian/Karabagh, end 18th (6,75*2,20)	15000				





EP09	PNS 5993		Kilim (3*?)	1000				
EP10	PNS 5747		Kilim (2,25*?)	pair with previous carpet				
EP11		1940	Arraiolos carpet, antique (2,80*1,70)	2200	Erich Popper	Ajuda /Sintra	Two carpets one shawl in same purchase	All items delivered at Ajuda. In red: items purchased for Sintra
EP12			Oriental carpet: Asia Minor, Juruk (2,55*0,97)	2500		Sintra		
EP13			Shawl, Kashmir (3,15*1,95)	300				
EP14		1940	Arraiolos carpet (3,25*1,95)	4200	Erich Popper	Ajuda /Sintra	Eight carpets in same purchase	All items delivered at Ajuda.
EP15			Arraiolos carpet (2,12*1,05)	pair with previous carpet				
EP16			Oriental carpet: Mecca/Shiraz (2,87*1,57)	2700		Sintra		
EP17			Oriental carpet. Capristan (1,88*1,12)	pair with previous carpet		Sintra		
EP18	PNS 3552		Oriental carpet: Karabagh (3,10*1,22)	3000		Sintra		
EP19	PNS 5792		Oriental carpet: Dagestan (2,25*0,97)	pair with previous carpet		Sintra		
EP20			Arraiolos carpet (2,45*1,50)	2000				
EP21			Arraiolos carpet (2*0,90)	800				
EP22		1940	Oriental carpet. Saruk-Mahal (3,95*3,10)	19500	Erich Popper	Sintra	Six carpets in same purchase	
EP23			Oriental carpet. Kasak (2,10*1,29)	included in previous amount		Sintra		

EP24			Oriental carpet: Kasak (2,14*1,20)	included in previous amount		Sintra		Forwarded in 1940 to Teatro Nacional D. Maria II (Soares).
EP25			Oriental carpet: Ferraghan(3,70*2,80)	included in previous amount		Sintra		
EP26			Oriental carpet: Ferraghan(3,95*2,18)	included in previous amount		Sintra		
EP27			Oriental carpet: Quiva/Turcoman (4,00*2,65)	included in previous amount		Sintra		
EP28	PNS 3567	1940	Chinese carpet	7500	Erich Popper	Sintra	one carpet	
EP29	PNS 3565		Persian carpet (4*3)	3000		Sintra	one carpet	
EP30		1942	Arraiolos carpet; grid design with flowers (1*2)	2400	Erich Popper	Queluz	Two carpets and one ceramic in same purchase	JNE: Queluz National Palace
EP31			Arraiolos carpet; branches design in blue (1.20*2.30)	included in previous amount				
EP32	PNQ 1326		Ceramic pot with lid in the shape of the head of a black woman (Portugal,19th century)	200	Erik Popper (sic)	Queluz		Confirmed by JNE meeting minutes
EP33	PD 0162	?	Boar hunt, Flemish tapestry, 17th century	unknown	David Eurico Popper	Guimarães	One tapestry	
EP34	PD 0163	?	Fox hunt, Flemish tapestry, 17th century	unknown	David Eurico Popper	Guimarães	One tapestry	

## Appendix V.5 – Works of art sold by Erich Popper to the Portuguese State.

Source: MatrizNet.

Code number	Inv n	Description	Origin	Mesurements	Image	Criteria for matching items
EP19	PNS 5792	Carpet	Caucasus/Daghestan	223*95		Based on measurements and description
EP06	PNS 3577	Carpet	Caucasus/Khazak	263*100		Based on measurements and description
EP28	PNS 3567	Carpet	Northwest China	495*390		Based on measurements and description
EP29	PNS 3565	Carpet	Herat	400*307		Based on measurements and description
EP18	PNS 3552	Carpet	Caucasus/Karabagh (kasak?)	309*125		Based on measurements and description

EP12?/ EP16?	PNS 3554	Carpet	Anatolia?	284*96		
EP07?	PNS 3557	Carpet	Caucasus/Le ghistan	168*117		
EP01	PNS 3569	Carpet	Caucasus-La mpa-Kerbag h	567*113		Closest matching measurements
EP08	PNS 3572	Carpet	Northwest Persia -sarab	684*220		Closest matching measurements

	PNS 3581	Carpet	Caucasus/K hazak (?)	200*107		No matching measurements
EP10	PNS 5747	Carpet/kilim	Central Anatolia	225*155		Based on measurements and description
EP09	PNS 5993	Carpet/kilim	Central Anatolia (?)	300*144		Based on measurements and description
EP03	PNS 3587	Carpet	Sultanabad/ Roge Arak	407*211		Based on measurements and description
EP04	PNS 3550	Carpet	Turkey	162*115		Closest matching measurements



**Appendix VI.1 - 'Deposition' triptych. Provenance as presented by the Museum of Sacred Art, Funchal.**

Source:

[http://www.museuartesacrafunchal.org/arteflamenga/ flamenga\\_pintura\\_img2.html](http://www.museuartesacrafunchal.org/arteflamenga/ flamenga_pintura_img2.html)

'Pictorial group rediscovered in 1915 at the Church of Santo da Serra, in Madeira; it was then acquired by Américo Olavo and restored in Lisbon by Luciano Freire. Later, it was sold to antiques dealer Adolphe Weiss, from Vienna, Austria, and again restored. It was purchased by the Portuguese state in 1954, and then exhibited at the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, from where it was transferred to the Museum of Sacred Art.

Its likely origin is the Franciscan convent of Nossa Senhora da Piedade, in Santa Cruz, now vanished. It was founded by the will of Urbano Lomelino, who had settled in Madeira in 1470, and in much greater dimensions by his nephew Jorge Lomelino, in ca. 1927, with a much greater floorplan than initially envisioned.'

## **Appendix VI.2 - Deposition triptych. New proposal for provenance history.**

- I. 1518 - 27:**

Probably commissioned by Jorge Lomelino and his wife Maria Adão to Gérard David, or someone in his circle, for the newly built Convent of Nossa Senhora da Piedade, Santa Cruz, Island of Madeira.
- II. 1527 -1834 (?):**

Convent of Nossa Senhora da Piedade, Island of Madeira.
- III. 1834 (?) – (?):**

Transferred to the Convent of S. Francisco, Funchal, Island of Madeira upon extinction of religious orders.
- IV. (?) – 1915 (?):**

Transferred to the Church of Santo da Serra.
- V. 1915 (?):**

Purchased by Américo Olavo (Portugal) from the priest of the Church of Santo da Serra. Known to have been in Lisbon for conservation in 1915.
- VI. February 1927:**

Upon death of Américo Olavo, inherited by Ernestina Soares de Albergaria Nunes de Carvalho.
- VII. Until 1930:**

Purchased by Adolf Weiss (Vienna, Austria) through Pedro Sarasota (Lisbon) from Ernestina Soares de Albergaria Nunes de Carvalho (Lisbon).
- VIII. 1930 - 38:**

Adolf Weiss (Vienna, Austria). Exported in 1935 to Vienna from Porto.
- IX. 1938:**

Switzerland, Fischer Auction [unknown buyer and seller].
- X. 1938 - 53:**

Probably Adolf Weiss (Portugal); triptych remained in Switzerland.
- XI. 1953-4:**

Purchased from Adolf Weiss by the Portuguese State.
- XII. 1957:**

Transferred to the Museum of Sacred Art, Funchal (Portugal).

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  - Diplomatic archives, Vienna legation
  
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