

THE 19TH CENTURY WORLD EXHIBITIONS AND THEIR PHOTOGRAPHIC MEMORIES. BETWEEN HISTORICISM, EXOTICISM AND INNOVATION IN ARCHITECTURE

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1.- Technique and representation: photography and the World Exhibitions.

The links between the World Exhibitions of the second half of the 19th century and photography run both ways and complement each other. The exhibitions were prime spaces for showcasing and disseminating the progress being made in science, technology, industry and industrial art¹ and were thus prime spaces for disseminating the progress made in photography. Joseph Nicéphore Niépce (1765-1833) had taken the first photograph in 1826, and there had been significant advances in the following years, especially thanks to the contributions of men such as Louis Daguerre (1787-1851), who launched the daguerreotype in 1839², and Abel Niépce de Saint Victor (1805-1870), who developed the albumin process in 1847.

Experimentalism, which is still a seminal environment in the field of photography, was accompanied by an intense desire to share results, which manifested in the exchange of negatives and in the participation in national or international exhibitions. The World Exhibition held in London in 1851 at the *Crystal Palace*, gave great visibility to photographic practices through the exhibition of this new technique, as well as through photographic surveys of the exhibition itself made by the English photographers Hugh Owen (1808-

1 On this matter, MATOS, Ana Cardoso de (1998) "As Exposições Universais: espaços de divulgação dos progressos da Ciência, da Técnica e da Indústria e a sua influência na opinião pública portuguesa". In: MOURÃO, José Augusto; MATOS, Ana M. Cardoso de; GUEDES, Maria Estela (ed.) *O Mundo Ibero Americano nas Grandes Exposições*, Lisboa, Vega, 91-107; SOUTO, Maria Helena (2011) *Portugal nas Exposições Universais. 1851-1900*, Lisboa, Ed. Colibri/IHA-FCSHUNL.

2 The daguerreotype was the first popular form of picture taking.

1897)³ and Philip Henry Delamotte (1820-1889)⁴. That same year, Frederick Scott Archer (1813-1857)⁵ announced the discovery of the new process of collodion wet negatives, unhindered by the usages and patent restrictions that had accompanied the Talbot calotype, which in turn boosted photographic activity and associative practices⁶.

The second World Exposition, held in 1855 in Paris, was decisive in its affirmation of the new discipline and favoured the public debate about its scope. Most of the members of *The Photographic Society and Photographic Exchange Club* participated in the 26th Class, "Dessin et Plastique Appliqués à l'Industrie, Imprimerie, en Caractères et en Taille-douce, Photographie, etc." M. Robertson (with pictures of Constantinople and Athens on glass), R. Fenton (landscapes with the collodion process), Maxwell Lyte (with collodion landscapes in the Pyrenees), M. Llewellyn (with images of collodion of Pentlegave and Bristol), M. Henry White (also in landscapes with collodion), M. Sherloch (with some genre scenes shot in collodion); Ross and Thomson, from Edinburgh, submitted landscapes on albumin proofs taken from wet collodion; Benjamin Turner and M. Townsend and Sir William Newton, received prizes for their images made from paper negatives. There were several photographs as applied to science, for example Kingsley's microscopic anatomy image made with collodion and those of his friend and teacher Dr. H. W. Diamond who presented three examples of a large collection of portraits of his patients, also made with collodion.

In his travel diary, where he recorded his impressions of his trip to World Exhibition of 1855, the Portuguese King D. Pedro V tells us of the importance granted to both photography and the press at this exhibition⁷. Unfortunately,

3 Hugh Owen was one of the first amateur photographers and he is best known for his collotypes of the Great Exhibition in London in 1851.

4 Philip Henry Delamotte was an illustrator and photographer. He was commissioned to record the disassembly of the Crystal Palace in 1852, and its reconstruction and expansion at Sydenham in London, a project finished in 1854. In 1855, he published his two volume work entitled *Photographic Views of the Progress of the Crystal Palace, Sydenham*, containing 160 architectural photographs.

5 Scott Archer invented the photographic collodion process which preceded the modern gelatin emulsion.

6 As Roger Fenton mentioned in his text «Inaugural meeting», published in the *Journal of the Photographic Society*, of Mai 3rd, 1853, the associative impulse was given by the Great Exhibition; he also mentioned that the birth of the Société héliographique, in 1851, in France, proved the same necessity for association and, at this moment, thanks to the efforts of Charles Eastlake and Earl Rosse, in his opinion the representatives of Art and Science in the country, the photographers became free themselves from the limitations of the patent of William Henry Fox-Talbot (1800-1877).

7 During his European travels, D. Pedro V visited the 1855 Universal Exhibition in Paris, and a

the photographs illustrating the « lit et des rives du Douro » that formed part of the *Relation des objets expédiés à l'Exposition Universelle de Paris* [1855] par Joseph James Forrester⁸ – a Porto-based port wine merchant and internationally renowned amateur photographer – were not exhibited. Their absence was noted by Ernest Lacan, a central figure in 1850's photography and editor of *La Lumière*, the biggest French photography magazine of that decade, who made his displeasure clear: “We strongly regret not having been able to find the proofs sent by Baron Forrester. This distinguished agronomist, who single-handedly composed an exhibition of Portugal's agricultural products, had included in his dispatch landscapes taken in the Alto Douro and proofs representing various regional customs. It would be deplorable if these specimens remained unknown to the public”⁹. Their absence was even more significant since no other Portuguese photographer was represented at this exhibition.



Fig. 1. Cover of Joseph James Forrester's book, *Relation des objets expédiés à l'Exposition Universelle de Paris*, 1855 [Lisbon: Ajuda Library. Inv. B.A. 232-VIII, reg. 5198]. It bears an affixed photograph showing some of the objects sent to the exhibition.

range of scientific, technical schools, museums, important industries, recording his impressions in a diary, *Escritos de El-Rei D. Pedro V. Coligidos e publicados pela Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa*, Coimbra, Imprensa Nacional, 1924, vol. II, 149. About these trips, see: VICENTE, Filipa Lowndes (2003a) “The future is a foreign country’: the visit of the King of Portugal, Dom Pedro V, to the Parisian Exposition Universelle of 1855”, *Journal of Romance Studies*, vol. 3, nº 2, 31-48; VICENTE, Filipa Lowndes (2003b) *Viagens e exposições. D. Pedro V na Europa do século XIX*, Lisboa, Gótica.

- 8 FORRESTER, Joseph James (1855) *Relation des objets expédiés à l'Exposition Universelle de Paris par Joseph James Forrester propriétaire de vignes dans le Haut Douro, et Négociant. Porto*, [s.n.], 4.
- 9 “Nous regrettons vivement de n'avoir pu trouver les épreuves envoyées par M. le baron de Forrester. Cet agronome distingué, qui a composé presque à lui seul l'exposition des produits agricoles du Portugal, avait joint à son envoi des vues prises dans le haut Douro et des épreuves représentant les divers costumes du pays. Il serait fâcheux que ces spécimens restassent inconnus du public.” LACAN, Ernest (1856) *Esquisses photographiques à propos de l'Exposition Universelle et de la Guerre d'Orient*, Paris, Grassart Éditeur, 106.

In 1867 it was believed that “the photography generously offers to all the activities its prodigious means of reproduction and multiplication. There wasn’t a single gallery in the Champs-de-Mars Palace where photograph reproductions couldn’t be found: all the industries had received the photograph as a devoted friend, a useful, complete and fast intermediate between the producer and the consumer”¹⁰.

Raoul Ferrère demonstrated this in his article “Le Portugal à l’Exposition”¹¹ referring to the Portuguese section at the *Histoire du Travail* display, presented in Gallery I –a collection whose quality he gave the highest praise– describing several “excellent photography’s representing the main buildings of the kingdom”¹².

Moreover, in the final decades of the 19th century, photography was deemed to be an “instrument whose specific quality is to reproduce the reality appeared as the badge of the vulgarization of the arts and science accessible to all. The photographs presented, at this time, at the *Palais de l’Industrie*, were intended to instruct, educate, and support, in the interest of progress, a ‘moralizing action’ amongst ‘the working class’”¹³.

Photographers and photographic studios displayed their products at the exhibitions. Among the exhibitors at the various World Exhibitions, were a number of Portuguese individuals connected with photography or Portuguese photographic studios. The Portuguese chemist José Júlio Bettencourt Rodrigues presented new photographic reproduction techniques at the 1874 and 1876 exhibitions of the French Photographic Society and the

10 “La photographie donne généreusement à toutes les activités ses prodigieux moyens de reproduction et de multiplication. Il n’était pas une seule galerie du Palais du Champs-de-Mars où l’on ne rencontrait des productions photographiques: toutes les industries ont accueilli la photographie comme une amie dévoué, intermédiaire utile, complet et rapide entre le producteur et le consommateur”, DEVYLDER, M. S. (1868) *Rapport sur les produits de la Classe IX: Épreuves et appareils de photographie*, Bruxelles, E. Guyot, 1vol, 2.

11 FERRÉRE, Raoul (1867) “Le Portugal à l’Exposition”, *Exposition universelle de 1867 illustrée. Publication internationale autorisée par la commission impériale*, 46^a, 10 octobre 1867, 242.

12 “Excellentes épreuve photographique représentant les principaux édifices du royaume”, Raoul Ferrère also said that “il faut reconnaître que les nations étrangères ont envoyé de leur côté des objets d’un bien grand intérêt ; mais aucune d’elles ne possède une collection de merveilles archéologiques semblable à celle du Portugal”, *ibid.*, 242.

13 “Instrument dont la qualité spécifique est de reproduire apparait comme l’emblème de la vulgarisation des arts et des sciences accessibles à tous. Les photographies présentées au palais de l’industrie, à cette occasion, étaient destinées à instruire, éduquer, favoriser dans l’intérêt du progrès une ‘action moralisatrice’ sur ‘la classe ouvrière’”. BOUVIER, Béatrice (2004) *L’édition d’architecture à Paris au XIXe siècle. Les maisons Bance et Morel et la presse architecturale*, Paris, EPHE-SPP, 102.

1876 International Exhibition of Philadelphia¹⁴. The Emílio Biel studio was also present at several exhibitions.

On the other hand, photography also served to record various aspects of the World Exhibitions, and of the products displayed there. Above all, the various pavilions built for the exhibitions take pride of place in the photographic records. In fact, this interest in the architecture of the exhibitions reflected a trend that was making itself felt in architecture magazines¹⁵.

Hence, a number of important architectural magazines, such as the *Encyclopédie d'architecture*, began to make use of photography. During the 1889 World Exhibition, Anatole de Baudot, who edited this magazine between 1888 and 1892, published photographs supplied by photographers Durand, Médéric Mieusement, Levy et Cie, A. Inglis, Sosthène and Eugène Delon. Most of the photographers approached by Anatole Baudot had worked on archaeological expeditions or were at least specialists in photographing monuments. The renowned photographer Médéric Mieusement (1831-1885) supplied that magazine with nine *clichés* of pavilions from the 1889 World Exhibition.

However, the publication of photographic images, or the reproduction of those images by other techniques such as screen printing, was not limited to journals specialising in architecture. Newspapers and magazines with wider circulations also published various articles, illustrated with images, about the World Exhibitions, events that gripped people's imaginations in the second half of the 19th century.

Magazines such as the French *Illustration* showed the alterations taking place in the main cities, namely "the eruption of a new monument in the urban landscape greeted with as much interest as an ephemeral transforma-

14 Regarding the work of this professor of chemistry at the Escola Politécnica de Lisboa, MATOS, Ana Cardoso de (2009) "Spaces and Collections in the Portrayal of the Chemist José Júlio Bettencourt Rodrigues (1843-1893)". In: LOURENÇO, Marta C.; CARNEIRO, Ana (ed.) *The uses of spaces, collections and archives in the history of science: The Laboratorio Chimico Overture*, Lisboa, Museu de Ciência da Universidade de Lisboa, 111-123.

15 According to Béatrice Bouvier, "le dessin manuel d'architecture se modifia selon l'évolution des techniques de reproduction des images. Celles-ci proposaient de nouveaux modes de perception de l'architecture, et les différents procédés de duplication permettaient de mettre en valeur les aspects techniques ou pittoresques des dessins originaux. C'est probablement une des raisons pour lesquelles les revues d'architecture adoptèrent la photographie durant les dernières décennies du XIXe siècle. Les revues d'architecture se montraient généralement favorables à l'illustration de leurs textes par la photographie", BOUVIER (2004), 101.

tion of a building or its use by an official solemnity"¹⁶. They could therefore not remain indifferent to the World Exhibitions and the temporary or permanent alterations these induced in their host cities. Thus some of the great names in photography captured images of the various World Exhibitions and the various buildings erected for them.

Portuguese photographers also let themselves be swept up in the enthusiasm generated by the World Exhibitions and were receptive to the various architectures presented there, recording them in photographs that were often published by magazines such as *O Occidente*. At times, the magazines also had recourse to engravings made from photographs sent from Paris.

From 1867 onwards many of these photographs depicted the Portuguese pavilions constructed for the World Exhibitions. Construction of these pavilions resulted from a new logic for organising space in the World Exhibitions, which began to use specific pavilions for each country.

Every country had previously sought to transmit not only the more positive aspects of its history, art and culture, but also a progressive image of the country that did not always match its technical, industrial or artistic state of development, and these concerns became even more pronounced with the construction of their own Pavilions, and brought architectural representation to the foreground of the work of the Portuguese photographers. These photographs, many by unknown photographers, others by renowned photographers such as Aurélio da Paz do Reis, are mainly preserved in Portuguese libraries and archives such as the Photography Museum (*Centro Português de Fotografia* or CPF.) in Porto, the Ajuda Library and the National Library of Portugal, and are an important source for study of the universal exhibitions.

2.- Paris: World Exhibition of 1867 and the birth of the *National Pavilions*.

In 1867 the Second French Empire organised what was to be the fourth World's Exhibition, in accordance with a plan launched by Napoleon III,

16 "L'irruption d'un nouveau monument dans le paysage urbain salué avec autant d'intérêt que la transformation éphémère d'un édifice ou son utilisation pour une solennité officielle", LE MEN, Ségolène (2001) "La ville, Vive. Les représentations architecturales dans l'*Illustration*". In : LENIAUD, Jean-Michel; BOUVIER, Béatrice (dir.) *Les périodiques d'architecture, xviii-xxe siècle: recherche d'une méthode critique d'analyse*, Paris, Études et rencontres de l'École des chartes, 107.

which introduced a new landmark for this kind of Fair: to enter the enormous Palais du Champ de Mars¹⁷, visitors were bound to go through the large surrounding Park¹⁸, where they encountered a new exhibition process, the *National Pavilions*.

These pavilions gradually became more and more representative of their country, and were dotted around a park or brought together in a “street” (called the Rue des Nations by the French responsible for their construction in 1878 and 1900 exhibitions. They came to be a particular attraction for visitors, offering the idea of a *world museum*, all the more so since most of the various countries and/or cultures present opted to follow national architectures in erecting these ephemeral structures, historic “stage sets” which revealed their respective *essences*, archetypes of images that were easily recognisable to outsiders¹⁹.

A living museum was thus laid out, bringing a panoramic view of all the architectures of the world within reach of everyone, as well as introducing new references for the architects of eclecticism, for whom the exhibitions were places for manipulation and experimentation, i.e. a testing ground in terms of technology (new materials, new ways of building), and of manipulating formal languages (with varying success, given the profusion of proposals²⁰) that allowed for a revival of the past: as well as being places of the future, the exhibitions were spaces for revisiting the past. The Portugal Pavilion, destined for exhibiting colonial products, aimed to give a luxurious exotic image that would immediately be associated with the glory days of the Portuguese Empire. *Neo-Manueline* – a romantic construction based on the

17 Frédéric Le Play, commissioner of this universal exhibition, was the main promoter of the Palais du Champ de Mars, that found in another experienced engineer, Jean-Baptiste-Sébastien Krantz, and in architect Leopold Hardy, his planners. Krantz, on the other hand, hired the young Gustave Eiffel for construction works of this iron and glass modern Coliseu, built around a central garden.

18 Designed by Jean-Charles-Adolphe Alphand (1817-1891), engineer of the École des Ponts et Chaussées et directeur du service des Promenades et Plantations of the city of Paris.

19 On this matter SOUTO, Maria Helena (2011) *Portugal nas Exposições Universais. 1851-1900*, Lisboa, Ed. Colibri/IHA-FCSHUNL.

20 “Ai progressi tecnici delle strutture metalliche, per le quali i grandi edifici per le Esposizioni internazionali costituiscono le occasioni più propizie, corrisponde, negli ultimi decenni del secolo, (...) le strutture metalliche vengono regolarmente mimetizzate da stucchi, cornicioni, volute di gesso e cemento e, agli organismi, vengono applicate facciate monumentali sovraccariche dei più svariati elementi stilistici”, PATETTA, Luciano (1975) *L'architettura dell'eclettismo. Fonti, teorie, modelli. 1750-1900*, Milano, Gabriele Mazzotta Editore, 327.

most notable 16th century buildings²¹– the “immediate symbol of a national history justified by the Voyages of Discovery”²², was naturally the main reference, (re)invented by architect Rampin Mayor²³ in a fantastical utilisation that underscored the decorative character, bringing together orientalist images in the Anglo-Indian manner. The centralised floor was dominated by an octagonal tower topped by a bulbous cupola and skylight, like a minaret. The main body, flanked by another two smaller bulbous cupolas, was enveloped by a galilee, or porch, brimming with gothic style decoration.

In his study *Architecture of instruction and delight. A socio-historical analysis of World Exhibitions as a didactic phenomenon (1798-1851-1970)*, Pieter van Wesemael underlined the allegorical character of the Portuguese pavilion that distinguished it from the others, since it was more than just a project *à l’identique*: “only in the Portuguese pavilion, with its *style nautique* with masts and yards, was the ambience more allegorical than imitative; it was a symbol of a nation that thanked its wealth –or what was left of it– to the sea and shipping”²⁴.

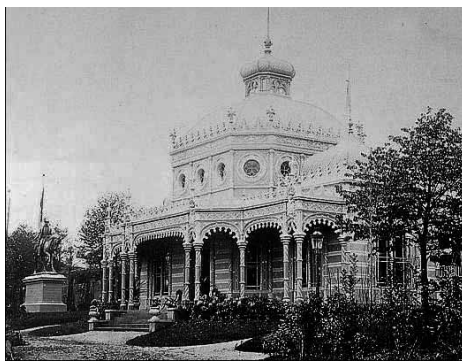


Fig. 2 Paris, 1867 World Exhibition. Portugal Pavilion. Photographer unknown. [Lisbon, Ajuda Library, Inv. B.A. 124-III-18].

21 The term *Manueline* had been codified from a study into the Jerónimos Monastery, published in 1842, by the German-Brazilian diplomat, Adolfo Varnhagen. It was appropriated by Romanticism, with Almeida Garrett’s literary appreciation and Mouzinho de Albuquerque’s restoration work at Batalha.

22 FRANÇA, José-Augusto (1981) *A arte em Portugal no Século XIX*, Lisboa, Bertrand, vol. II, 176.

23 Cf. *Diário de Notícias*, nº 705, 17 Maio 1867; *Archivo Pittoresco*, vol. X, 1867, 49; *L’Exposition Universelle de 1867 illustrée. Publication internationale autorisée par la Commission Impériale*, Paris, 1867, vol. I, 44.

24 WESEMAEL, Pieter van (2001) *Architecture of instruction and delight. A socio-historical analysis of World Exhibitions as a didactic phenomenon (1798-1851-1970)* Rotterdam, 010 Publishers, 294.

3.- Paris: World Exhibition of 1878 and the Rue des Nations.

The Trocadéro Park at the 1878 World Exhibition was a downscaled version of the huge 1867 World's Exhibition, since the organisers wished thereby to avoid the overly *fairground* atmosphere of the earlier Paris exhibition. To offset this reduction, each nation was to build its own architectural tribute in the section allocated to it in the Palace of Industry²⁵, thus giving rise to the Rue des Nations which formed the main focus of the international displays, while the Park was available for the nations who wished to build a second exhibition structure.

The Rue des Nations ratified these historic-artistic reconstructions²⁶ as one of the most complex landscapes in the history of these exhibitions, situated somewhere between professional culture and popularisation, and at the same time, between scientific research and public spectacle. Built in the long central zone cutting through the palace's 600-metre length and open to the skies, it brought together – in apparently random order – an eclectic montage of successive facades, each designed in accordance with the aesthetic image each nation wished to project. The Rue des Nations produced a panorama effect: places, countries and continents filed by rapidly before the visitors' eyes, identified by the symbolic reduction of the building to a facade, which, not infrequently, was the result of attempts at synthesis between various monuments considered to be emblematic of a nation's artistic culture. This is precisely what happened in the Portuguese section, which used references to the monasteries of Jerónimos and Batalha in an unusually complex synthesis that juxtaposed a careful relationship between interior and exterior.

The design was once again by a French architect but this time someone famous, and one who was to demonstrate professional dedication in bringing it to fruition: Jean Louis Pascal (1837-1920), one of the major figures in French eclectic architecture. Pascal's design was a large reason for the recognition won by Portugal's representation in 1878, and, in this case, to his decision to

25 The Palace of the Industry – a project by Léopold Hardy built by Gustave Eiffel – contrasted for its temporary character with the Palace of the Trocadéro, located in front, in the other side of the Seine. While the Trocadéro was especially destined to the retrospective exhibition of Fine Arts, the Palace of the Industry, in iron and glass, had "essentially an industrial, economic and practical character", *O Occidente*, nº 17, 1878, 131.

26 The construction of the Rue des Nations confirms how the nationalism of the 19th century, more than a style and a political doctrine, "must be seen as a form of historicist culture and civic education". SMITH, Anthony D. (1997), *A identidade nacional*, Lisboa, Gradiva, 117.

design it *à l'identique*²⁷ in order to reproduce the southern portal of Jerónimos in the facade on the Rue des Nations.



Fig. 3 Paris, 1878 World Exhibition. Portugal Pavilion in the Rue des Nations. Photographer unknown. [Lisbon, Ajuda Library, Inv. B. A. 123-III-19]



Fig 4 Paris, 1878 World Exhibition. Interior of the Portugal pavilion. *O Occidente*. Vol. I, Nº 23, 1 de Dezembro (1878), p. 180.

27 LOYRETTE, Henri (1983) "Architecture. Des palais isolés à la ville dans la ville. Paris 1855-1900". In: *Le Livre des expositions universelles. 1851-1989*, Paris, Union centrale des Arts décoratifs, 225. Using the words of another critic, it was a *facsimile*. SÉDILLE, Paul (1879) "L'Architecture au Champ de Mars et au Trocadéro". In: *L'art moderne à l'Exposition Universelle de 1878*, Paris, Gazette des beaux-arts, 1879, 246.

The facade of the Portuguese section continued along the gallery that intersected the Rue des Nations, defining a portal / diaphragm which reflected the study and the interest awoken in Pascal by the monasteries of Belém and Batalha²⁸. That facade was made up of:

“two distinct parts. The first was formed of two arches, copied from the cloister of Jerónimos, a specimen of that unrivalled opulent, graceful style found in the best renaissance models; the second reproducing a fragment of the cloister at Batalha, (...) so admired by Portuguese and foreigners alike, as one of the most opulent specimens of 15th and 16th century religious architecture. The special characteristics of this facade mark it out as one of the most original and worthy of admiration and study among all those erected on the Champ de Mars”²⁹.

The manueline ornamental exuberance, allied to the familiarity discernible with «certain Italian monuments»³⁰, was thus set against a “gothic architecture without peer in France” and allowed French observers to understand Jerónimos as “the architectural expression of an agitated Portugal, in progress, colonising”, while Batalha was associated with “an independent Portugal, under a stable, tranquil regime”³¹.

The Portuguese representation also had “...a portion of free, open air land, outside the palace, for cultivation, at the end of which was the pavilion to house the colonial products”³². This Colonies Pavilion had an eclectic combination of manueline elements, neo-mudéjar polychrome tiles and a fair amount of fantastical details. The conventional, static composition dominated by a rectangular, single storey building topped with a central cupola, was tempered by a vaguely orientalist flavour.

28 SOUTO (2011), 184.

29 *O Occidente*. n.º 23, 1878, 179.

30 LAMARRE, C.; LAMY, G. (1878) *Le Portugal et l'Exposition de 1878*, Paris, Ch. Delagrave, 218.

31 *Ibidem*, 219.

32 VILLA MAIOR, Visconde de (1879) *Relatório acerca da Exposição Universal de Paris em 1878*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 10.



Fig. 5 Paris, 1878 World Exhibition. Pavilion of the Portuguese Colonies.
O Occidente. Vol. I, Nº 23, 1 de Dezembro (1878), p. 177

The images of both the Portugal Pavilion on the Rue des Nations and the Colonies Pavilion were published in several Portuguese magazines. However, because image reproduction, especially of photographs, was still very expensive at the time, in most cases the images published were drawings, although there were also engravings made from photographs. The magazine *O Occidente* published several images of the exhibition, including some of the Portuguese pavilions, which graced the covers of a number of editions. Although they were engravings, readers were informed that they had been made “in accordance with a photograph” sent from Paris. However, the photographer was not identified. The same thing occurred with the image of the Trocadero Palace “view taken from the Park of the Champ de Mars” which was reproduced “in accordance with a photograph sent from Paris”³³.

4.- Paris: Portugal in the World Exhibition of 1889.

When France held the fourth World Exhibition in Paris in 1889 (with its famous symbol of the Eiffel Tower) it was simultaneously celebrating the Centenary of the French Revolution, which gave the monarchies who had

33 *O Occidente*, nº 16, 1878, 124.

survived the most radical ideas of the Revolution sufficient reason to feel they should keep their distance and not even send official representation. However, this did not prevent most nations being present via private initiatives, as was the case with Portugal. The Portuguese Industrial Association³⁴ (chaired at the time by João Crisóstomo, Viscount Melício) was responsible for the Portuguese delegation. Their preparation was plagued by polemics, and the first installation design, by architect P. Leidenfrost was rejected: a facade whose entrance replicated that of the “imperfect chapels” and whose wine pavilion was modelled on the Tower of Belém.

Melício finally decided that the commission for designing the Portugal Pavilion on the *Quai d’Orsay* would be awarded to French architect Jacques-René Hermant (1855-1930). The elevations, the decoration of the verandas, the door and window trims, and the platband – lavished with neo-Baroque and neo-Rococo elements – all sought to suggest an urban palace “from the opulent times of D. João V”³⁵. On the other hand, the tower, in a clear allusion to Clérigos Tower in Porto, was based on religious Baroque models. On the first floor level, at the most prominent angle, a cylindrical watchtower called to mind the turrets of the Tower of Belém³⁶, near the Tagus River in the Lisbon shore. The choice of the colour white and the arrangement of a flight of steps overlooking the water, taking advantage of the site by the River Seine, gave a nod to riverside Lisbon. The glory of spices was a factor, but the opulence of gold and diamonds was the dominant reference.

Despite the eclectic nature of the complex, a new genealogy in Portuguese revivalist styles was launched here, a model that was to be extensively reproduced over the following century. The manueline style conjured ideas of uniqueness and exoticism, suggesting isolation and specificity in relation to other European cultures. Instead the national Baroque style created an immediate identification with the family of *civilised*, indubitably western, modern architectures. For French journalists and critics, it was a “jewel of architecture” in the “Portuguese Luís XV style”³⁷. Portugal was no longer

34 A. I. P. (1889) *Regulamento para a Execução dos Trabalhos da Secção Portuguesa*. Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1.

35 SOUSA, Cavalleiro de (1892) *Uma visita à Exposição Universal de Paris 1889*, Lisboa, Lucas & Filho, 316.

36 *Revista de la Exposition Universal de Paris 1889*, 502.

37 *Exposition de 1889, Guide Bleu du Figaro et du Petit Journal*, 244; *Revista de la Exposition Universal de Paris 1889*, 502; HUARD, Lucien (1889) *Livre d’Or de l’Exposition*. Lisboa, G. Aillaud (distr.), 398.

being portrayed as a country defined only by its exotic components, but as a fully European country.



Fig. 6. Paris, 1889 World Exhibition. Portugal Pavilion.

PICARD, Alfred (1891) *Exposition Universelle Internationale de 1889 à Paris. Rapport general*, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, Tome Deuxième, 236

The exhibition rooms in the pavilion were decorated “in a D. João V style”³⁸ that the Portuguese artist Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro (1846-1905) adapted to the requirements of the exhibits, but refusing to make a simple accumulation of the products to be presented, Bordalo Pinheiro understood the exhibition to be a staged composition, such that the overall grouping “leaped from the commonplace and took on an absolutely Portuguese character”³⁹. In order to showcase the most typical features of Portuguese national identity, he composed a “rustic trophy” of “the home-grown attributes of our provinces”, with “objects from our rural life”⁴⁰, the country’s “picturesque resources”⁴¹. The objects on display were framed by artefacts – used here for purely ornamental purposes – pictorial representations, tiles and decorative pottery

38 *Pontos nos ii. Exposição Universal de Paris. O Pavilhão Portuguez do Quai d’Orsay* (Álbum), Dezembro de 1889, 28.

39 *Ibidem*, 9.

40 *Ibidem*, 20.

41 *Ibidem*, 9.

from *Caldas da Rainha*⁴². Several of these “regional attributes” were specially acquired at fairs in northern Portugal, on the instructions of the Portuguese scholar Joaquim de Vasconcelos, the tireless defender of popular decorative arts who was always striving to revive the old traditional industries. In the Portugal Pavilion annex, which would exhibit wines and olive oils, Bordalo Pinheiro had a greater hand, and was fully responsible for the use of framed tile panels and the coloured glass tile roof.



Fig. 7. Paris, 1889 World Exhibition. Portugal Pavilion (annex).
Levy et Cie Photographes, *Pontos nos ii. Exposição Universal de Paris. O Pavilhão Português do Quai d'Orsay*, Dezembro de 1889, 15-16.

Bordalo thus sought to present “an idea of what can be done with the prodigious artistic elements that our country has at its disposal even today – despite the great losses to our industries through foreign industries’ horrific mania for assimilation”⁴³, so that Portugal could take its place “worthily beside the countries that have their own character and a vigorous national tradition”⁴⁴.

On 21 June, *O Occidente* magazine said of the World Exhibition that commences today the illustrated chronicle of the Paris Exhibition”⁴⁵. However,

⁴² *Ibidem*, 20.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, 35.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, 9.

⁴⁵ *O Occidente*, N^o 378 (1889), 139.

despite publishing various images, they were mostly drawings “from life” and not photographs. The published drawings that reproduced not only the exterior of the Portugal Pavilion in this exhibition⁴⁶ but also images of the interior, were by the artist Luciano Freire who worked on the magazine staff and had recently returned from Paris. On the other hand, the special edition of the humorous magazine *Pontos nos ii* (which published the caricatures of Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro), included photographs by Levy et Cie Photographes, and by the photographer Otto. There were two photographs by Levy et Cie, one depicting the Portugal Pavilion and River Seine, clearly showing the sitting of the pavilion and its proximity to the river, and the other (which is reproduced above), giving an overview of the general perspective of the wine tasting and sales room.

5.- Paris: World Exhibition of 1900.

In August 1894, the French Ministry of Commerce held the first competition open to architects for the future 1900 World Exhibition. One hundred and six designs were presented, of which only twelve preserved the Eiffel Tower; in turn, the Gallery of Machines was preserved by only fourteen of the proposals and the Palace du Champs Élysées by ten of the proposals. This competition was not decisive, but it opened a debate among architects that led, little by little and via various conclusions, to the definitive project which, according to the jury, could not possibly be the work of just one architect, given the vast size of the complex. The design would thus be the result of successive proposals by various architects submitted to different competitions.

However, the Gallery of Machines and, above all, the Eiffel Tower, those two survivors of the 1889 Exhibition, retained their attraction, making it clear that the new constructions were less innovative than those earlier structures. Yet nowadays, with the distance that only time can give, we agree with Henri Loyrette’s 1989 analysis, written in the aftermath of post-modernism:

“But rather than simultaneously seeing in 1900 the apotheosis and death – in any case, the point of no return – of academic architecture (...) is it not time to hail the astonishing freedom of expression we find

46 *Idem*, N° 387 (1889), 212.

everywhere, the extent of an always surprising vocabulary, "happy in what it finds and even in what it invents", despite the sometimes destitute syntax? ... Let us finally look at what remained: the Grand and the Petit Palais⁴⁷ and the Alexandre III bridge, as one of the most beautiful compositions in the world. Let us pay particular attention to the movement designed everywhere today and praise the freedom of design, the sometimes flamboyant audacity, the calm amalgam, the negligent adoption of the most varied styles, all of this means that from now on 1900 will be our modernity"⁴⁸.

The national pavilions were once again arranged on a Rue des Nations (or Quai des Nations, 23 pavilions along the River Seine between the Pont des Invalides and the Pont de l'Alma at Quai d'Orsay), which underlined the presence of national representation and ensured once and for all the recruitment of architects for designing these structures, some of which were to become important references for the architectural culture of the 20th century.

47 The architects responsible for the two Palaces of the exhibition were all laureates of the School of Fine Arts in Paris. The architectural research of Charles-Louis Girault (1851-1932), Henri Deglane (1855-1931), Albert Louvet (1860-1936) was entirely done in within the reportorial and the rules of the eclecticism. Emblematic expression of this research is the project of the Grand Palais: the supervision was assigned to Girault, the main façade designed by Deglane, the secondary by Albert Thomas and the central hall by Louvet. In that space, were present the exhibitions of the Centenarian of the French Art (1800-1889), and the Decennial of the French Art (1889-1900), as well as the foreign collections. On the other hand, the Petit Palais by Charles-Louis Girault, showed the retrospective Exposition of the French art from the origins until 1800, which received 4.774 works proceeding from museums, libraries, cathedrals and private collections.

48 "Mais plutôt que de voir en 1900 à la fois l'apothéose et la mort - en tout cas un point de non-retour - de l'architecture académique ou même de l'architecture 'classique' au sens de Hauteceur, n'est-il pas temps de saluer l'étonnante liberté d'écriture que nous rencontrons partout, l'étendue d'un vocabulaire toujours surprenant, 'heureux dans la trouvaille et même dans l'invention' malgré parfois l'indigence de la syntaxe? (...) Regardons enfin ce qui demeure, le Grand et le Petit Palais, le pont Alexandre III comme un des plus beaux ensembles qui soit au monde. Soyons particulièrement attentifs au mouvement qui partout se dessine aujourd'hui et qui vante la liberté du dessin, l'audace parfois tapageuse, le tranquille amalgame, l'adoption nonchalante des styles les plus divers, tout ce qui fait que 1900 c'est désormais notre modernité", LOYRETTE (1983), 232.



Fig. 8. Paris, 1900 World Exhibition: a view by the Portuguese photographer Aurélio da Paz dos Reis.

Accordingly, both the organisation and the results of the invitation to tender for the Portuguese pavilions should be analysed. A public competition for designs for two separate pavilions was launched among Portuguese architects in May 1899. The first was for colonial exhibits and was to be sited on land adjoining the *Palais du Trocadéro*; the second, to be erected on the *Quai d'Orsay*, was to exhibit "Woodland Produce, Game and Fish".

The competition was distinguished by a deeply nationalist character (echoes of the recent commemoration of the discovery of the sea route to India) or with *pastiches* of the Tower of Belém. The winning projects were by architect Miguel Ventura Terra (1866-1919), a grant holder of the Portuguese Government at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, in Paris, where he studied under Louis-Jules André (1819-1890), and by architect Victor Laloux (1850-1937), who had designed the gare d'Orsay (1897). Ventura Terra had received an Architecture Diploma First class from the French Government in 1895, and was one of the most influential architects of his generation, having a profound effect on Portuguese architecture at the beginning of the 20th century.

The Colonies Pavilion reflected the formal influence of the eclectic French architecture of the times. Its floor plan was cruciform within a square, and the double symmetry was accentuated by repeating the theme of the big arched

portico on each facade. The angles were resolved with cylindrical volumes crowned with armillary spheres and the roof rose in a dome over the entire central part of the building in a clear preference for the curved line. A gallery ran around the interior at first floor level, leaving the central area open and free up to the summit of the cupola, where João Vaz painted an allegory of the Portuguese sea discoveries.

The Woodland produce, Game and Fish Pavilion on the Rue des Nations had a rectangular floor plan with a projected roof supported by a visible wooden structure, evocative of a chalet. At one of the end sections, a volume rose into a first floor, arranged perpendicularly to the ground floor; in the lower part of the pavilion, a plinth was decorated with tiles bearing seafaring motifs.



Figs 9 and 10. Paris, 1900 World Exhibition. Portugal Pavilion on the Quai d'Orsay. PICARD, Alfred (1903) *Exposition Universelle Internationale de 1900. Rapport général administratif et technique*, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, Tome Cinquième, 76.

The acclaimed photographer, Aurélio da Paz dos Reis (1862- 1931)⁴⁹, who

⁴⁹ Aurélio da Paz dos Reis was born in July 28th, 1862 in the city of Porto, where it passed away in September 19th, 1931. Pioneer of the cinema in 1896, amateur photographer until 1920, awarded floricultor and trader, republican politician. As a supporter of the republican cause, Paz dos Reis participated in the revolutionary movement of January 31st, 1891. Photographer amateur, when he knew that the Lumière brothers had made the first devices for filming and cinematographic projection, left for Paris where he acquired a filming and projection machine. He directed and showed in the year of 1896, for the first time, in Porto, 27 small films, being the first and most known the *Exit of the Laboring Staff of the Plant Confidence* (1896). He occupied several public jobs, such as vice-secretary and vice-president of the Senate of the Porto City

was adept in the technical innovations associated with image reproduction, left us the legacy of a photographic record of Paris and the Exhibition where he was to win a medal of merit. These photographs are, in the first place, valuable documents for discovering and studying the 1900 Exhibition.



Fig. 11. Aurélio da Paz dos Reis (1862- 1931) (SERÉN, 2000).

Other photographers and photographic studios captured images of the Portuguese pavilions at the exhibition that were later published in magazines. Such was the case of the photographer J. J Azevedo took several photographs of the Portuguese Pavilions that served later as a basis for engravings that were printed in the magazine *O Occidente*.



Fig. 12. Paris, 1900 World Exhibition. Portuguese agricultural section.
J. J Azevedo photographer, *O Occidente*. Vol. XXIII, Nº 784, 10 de Outubro 1900, 221.

Council between 1914 and 1921, as well as one the director of the Commercial Athenaeum of this city, consisting as a prominent figure of the Portuguese society of the time. About the life and works of Aurélio da Paz dos Reis see: SIZA, Maria Teresa and SERÉN, Maria do Carmo (1998) *Manual do Cidadão Aurélio da Paz dos Reis*, Lisboa, Ministério da Cultura - Centro Português de Fotografia; SERÉN, Maria do Carmo (2000) *Paris, 1900: photographies d'Aurélio da Paz dos Reis*, Porto, Centro Português de Fotografia/Paris, Instituto Camões.

6.- Final considerations.

The ca. 50 million people who visited the Paris World Exhibition in 1900 could not have been disappointed with the many spectacles offered to them. The electrical illumination of the exhibition was better than the electric shows that had already amazed visitors to the 1893 Chicago World Exhibition. The lighting effects were increasingly sensational and, inside the Palace of Electricity, the public crowded in to see the huge steam dynamos that produced the immense energy that illuminated the exhibition space like a fairyland.



Fig.13. Paris, 1900 World Exhibition: night view by the photographer Aurélio da Paz dos Reis. (SERÉN, 2000)

A contemporary commentator wrote: "Without electricity, the exhibition would be an inert mass with no breath or life... With the flick of a single switch the magic game begins to turn; all is immediately lit up, everything is in motion. The 16 000 incandescent light bulbs and the 300 electric arc lamps all light up at the same time"⁵⁰.

The light transformed the enclosure into a magical space that hypnotised the public wandering around the exhibits, and this curious spectacle of such mass reaction largely portended the huge success that cinematography

50 Apud ALLWOOD, John (1977) *The Great Exhibitions*, London, Studio Vista, 87.

would achieve.

In the lapse of time between the Chicago exhibition and that of Paris, Louis (1864-1948) and Auguste (1852-1954) Lumière had projected their movie film all over France. Cinematic techniques had been perfected, although cinema was still considered to be essentially a fairground attraction. The 1900 showing was a mass dissemination of the possibilities of this new means of expression; every night in the Salle de Fêtes inside the Gallery of Machines, the Lumière brothers projected a programme lasting twenty five minutes, with a daily average of around 5 000 spectators. In other parts of the exhibition, small variety theatres projected films between acts⁵¹.

Fin de siècle Paris was the center of the world and seat of the imagination for so many of our artists – 1900 was the year when two giants of Portuguese literature died, the poet António Nobre and the novelist Eça de Queirós, both of whose lives and works were irrevocably linked with the French capital. This world was captured by the various photographers who chose Paris and its great universal exhibition as the privileged place to record *l'air du temps* at that key moment of the turn of the century. Among them was the aforementioned photographer Paz dos Reis, an admirer of the Lumière brothers, and author of the first Portuguese film in 1896, entitled *Saída do Pessoal Operário da Fábrica Confiança* ("Workers leaving the Confiança Factory", Porto), in homage to the Lumières' *La Sortie des usines Lumière à Lyon* ("Employers leaving the Lumière Factory in Lyon", 1895).

But for Paz dos Reis the urban landscapes offered by the French capital in 1900, with its real avenues and the transient ones of the exhibition, were the subject matter for a photographer's gaze that focused on the crowd and on man, in the clear, direct manner of photojournalism, as spontaneous as the flow of life. He also took images where he sought to capture movement, a vestige of his cinematographic research. Aurélio understood that photography was more than a recorded testament and introduced Living History, i.e. the idea that the photographic image represents, above all, an event.

Many of his photographs, where the *leitmotiv* is movement and expressiveness, bear a seduction that transcend time and place and is constructed

51 In addition to the hand tinted films, accompanied by live commentaries, spectators at the 1900 exhibition could watch the first attempts at talking films: the *Phono-Cinéma-Théâtre* of Clement Maurice, although the synchronization was still in the early stages, projected narrative sequences, including one with the celebrated actress and French 'diva', Sarah Bernhardt in *Hamlet*.

between two outlooks, the photographer's and our own.

Paris has perhaps never been so much Paris as world capital as it was when seen through the attentive eye of an innovative and restless photographer.



Figs. 14 e 15. Paris. 1900. Visitors at the World Exhibition and a poetic view with the Palace of Electricity in the background by the photographer Aurélio da Paz dos Reis. (SERÉN)

One of the novelties of the World Exhibition, which Paz dos Reis, like so many others, was unable to resist, and which fitted with his movie buff photography, was the celebrated moving walkway. This was a case of the fascination of mechanisation brought to facilitate everyday life, but which was also shot through with some playful quality, and this character would never again be absent in each new World's Exhibition. Using state-of-the-art technologies, the spectacles became progressively mechanised and the mechanisation of leisure time came to be a fundamental characteristic that, in marking the last exhibitions of the eighteen hundreds, would become a cultural reality in the 20th century.



Fig. 16. Paris, 1900 World Exhibition. The moving sidewalk view by the photographer Aurélio da Paz dos Reis.
(SERÉN, 2000)

The Big Wheel of the Chicago Midway Plaisance in 1893 began the process whereby the public bodily entered a large technological apparatus for the purposes of amusement. Mechanical attractions began to be sought out by the proletariat, i.e., the exact same social group who had the greatest contact with machinery in the factories. The solitude and emotional withdrawal produced by factory work contrasted dramatically with the wild excitement they experienced in the amusement parks.

This leisure time mechanisation often sought to provide a distortion of the individual's sensory stability: dizziness, fear and speed began to be indispensable ingredients in the amusement parks at the World Exhibitions. The public began to submit themselves daringly to various and ever changing mechanical installations, as if to prove their progressive adaptation to the world of machines.