

## **Black Women's Bodies in the Portuguese Colonial Visual Archive (1900-1975)**

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**ABSTRACT:** The pervasiveness of images of black women's unclothed bodies in the Portuguese colonial visual archive from the late nineteenth century to the 1970s—in photographic postcards, propaganda leaflets, colonial exhibition ephemera or as illustrations in newspapers—demonstrates that the gendered and racialized body of (unnamed) women was a powerful trope of colonial hegemony.

The Portuguese colonial context, similar to other colonial contexts, reveals the banalization of the practice of white men photographing black colonized women. Is resistance or participation in the “event of photography” possible for these photographed women? This article will discuss some of the issues and challenges of dealing with these images through specific case studies: postcards of semi-naked African women between the ethnographic and the erotic; images of women exhibited in colonial exhibitions; private photographs of Portuguese soldiers next to African women; but also the counter narratives to an hegemonic visuality.

Where are these images now? Where were they in the past? Who saw them and in what contexts? How were they kept and classified? How were they reproduced? Their endless potential for reproduction, circulation and intermediality points to the heterogeneous nature of this legacy. How can we decolonize this visual archive? The question of ethics, one which scholars, curators and archivists have been debating for the past few decades, will also be addressed. Reproducing and exhibiting images of abuse and exploitation might replicate what one seems to criticize. Are the university, the archive, the museum, or the academic journal critical enough to counteract the risks of perpetuating the violence?

**KEYWORDS:** Photography, visual culture, colonialism, images of black women, Portuguese colonial Africa

RESUMO: A omnipresença de imagens de mulheres negras seminuas no arquivo visual do colonialismo português desde finais do século XIX até à década de 1970—em postais fotográficos, folhetos propagandísticos, publicações relacionadas com exposições coloniais ou ilustrações em jornais—demonstra como os corpos racializados de mulheres (anónimas) foi um poderoso agente de hegemonia colonial.

O contexto colonial português, à semelhança de outros impérios, revela a banalização da prática de homens brancos, provenientes da metrópole, fotografarem mulheres africanas habitantes dos espaços colonizados. Este artigo discutirá alguns dos temas e desafios que se colocam perante estas imagens, através de estudos de caso específicos: postais de mulheres a sugerir uma fronteira ténue entre o etnográfico e o erótico; imagens de mulheres expostas em exposições coloniais; fotografias pessoais de soldados portugueses ao lado de mulheres africanas; mas também as contra-narrativas a esta hegemonia visual.

Onde estão hoje essas imagens? E onde estavam no passado? Quem é que as viu e em que contextos? Como é que foram guardadas e classificadas? Como e onde foram reproduzidas? O seu potencial infinito de reprodução, circulação e intermedialidade ajuda a explicar a heterogeneidade deste legado. Como é que podemos descolonizar este arquivo visual? As questões éticas—que têm sido debatidas por académicos, artistas, curadores e arquivistas nas últimas décadas—também serão exploradas. Reproduzir imagens de abuso e desigualdade é um gesto que corre o risco de reforçar aquilo que se quer abordar criticamente. Será que a universidade, o arquivo, o museu ou a revista académica são espaços suficientemente críticos para conter o risco de perpetuar, no presente, a violência do passado?

PLAVRAS-CHAVE: Fotografia, cultura visual, colonialismo, imagens de mulheres negras, África colonial Portuguesa

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## **1. Widely Available for Visual Consumption: Images of Black Women in Colonial Contexts**

From the late nineteenth century until the 1970s, there was a thriving global industry of “colonial” postcards where unclothed black women’s bodies circulated openly. In the 1930s and 1940s, (white) women, children and men could view the naked breasts of black women in daylight at public exhibitions and gardens in Lisbon and Paris (Figs. 1-7). The unequal value placed on these bodies meant an unequal access to their viewing. Those black bodies could be subject to a close-up look because they came from distant geographies of subalternity that somehow “belonged” to the

viewers. Possession (or the desire for possession) implied, among other things, the right to see. The pervasiveness of images of black women's bodies in the Portuguese as well as in other European colonial contexts—in photographic postcards, colonial propaganda leaflets, colonial exhibition ephemera or as illustrations in newspapers and magazines—demonstrates that the gendered and racialized body of (unnamed) women was a powerful trope of colonial hegemony.

This is an heterogeneous and diverse archive and it would be narrow to think of these images only in relation to their common qualities. In a pioneering article on photography in Angola, published in 1990, Beatrix Heintze explored some of this diversity.<sup>1</sup> Christraud M. Geary has established a wide classification of “anthropometric” and “ethnographic” photographs, the first grouped according to “types” and “geographical origins” (Figs. 8-10) and the latter according to daily activities, which included motherhood among them.<sup>2</sup> Within the many sub-genres of these categories, some women appear posing toward the camera. In others, there is a staged reenactment. Geary also adds a relevant category in relation to which, I would argue, little is known for the Portuguese colonial case: that of “images of pride and confidence” where black women appear in studio-like interior spaces, seated, dressed and posing centrally to the camera.<sup>3</sup> In these images—photographs that were often printed as postcards—which provide counter narratives to the kinds of images I will analyze in this article, women actively participate in the photographic “event,” to use Ariella Azoulay's expression.<sup>4</sup> These were probably private, commissioned portraits that the photographer later used for commercial postcard printing not necessarily with the photographed women's knowledge.

The subject of representations of female black bodies has been framed through different scholarly approaches: there is an extensive scholarly literature on visual representations of blacks and blackness;<sup>5</sup> another approach focuses on the intersection of the visual with colonial contexts; and there is scholarship which concentrates specifically on the visual or photographic history of the black body, with some studies dedicated specifically to the female body<sup>6</sup> and some of these are dedicated to individual case-studies.<sup>7</sup> Another relevant critical approach to photographic history and theory is the one that reflects on an African or Black relationship to photography.<sup>8</sup> In 1981, the Algerian Malek Alloula published a pioneering study entitled, *Le Harem Colonial: Images d'un Sous-érotisme* (translated as *The Colonial Harem*). In his analysis of eroticized colonial photographic postcards of Algerian women, Alloula applied Edward Said's idea of Orientalism, something that had not yet been done for postcards in studies of visual culture.<sup>9</sup>

The colonization of the body—the female colonized body—by the male colonizer had the metaphoric resonance of the colonial experience itself: the “civilized” white European conquering the “wild” territory as well as the untamed body of the black woman. The ambivalence between the native woman and the prostitute, the racialized body as one available for male consumption, was played out in many of the photographic postcards that circulated widely and globally with more or less reference to their places of origin.<sup>10</sup> A white male identity was inseparable from the actual process of the construction of colonial states, and many of its practices, discourses and experiences were gendered.<sup>11</sup> These images were the visual translation of the widespread language imbued with difference, inequality and violence that were current within the vast printed culture produced in the colonial context.

These black women did not look like the white colonizing men’s sisters, mothers or wives. Images of white women’s undressed or naked bodies were also flourishing in the visual economy of the turn of the nineteenth century, but they did so within the private, male sphere of vision, placed in the circumscribed spheres of eroticism or pornography. These images of white women’s bodies circulated out of sight and outside of accepted morality. They were not available in the public realm of post office circulation, family photographic albums or current paper ephemera from newspapers to leaflets, available to all, as was the case with black women’s bodies.

This visual availability should be analyzed next to the actual availability of black women’s bodies in European public spaces at the turn of the nineteenth century—from universal or colonial exhibitions to zoological and public gardens. In this article I explore this line of inquiry through the case of “Rosinha” or “Rosita,” the black woman brought from a Portuguese colony to be exhibited in the 1934 Colonial Exhibition of Porto whose anonymity was somehow replaced by a process that turned her into an iconic figure with an invented, and more easily pronounceable, Portuguese name. In this case, the image making of her (semi-naked) body through widely accessible postcards was the visual and reproductive translation of the actual exhibition of her body in a particular space and time—that of a temporary exhibition which was designed for a Portuguese public and which aimed to make known, promote and encourage the national colonial enterprise. This case study exemplifies a much wider phenomenon, which has been studied widely in the French context, that of the “Human Zoos” which displayed human beings, mostly in public spaces in major European cities.<sup>12</sup>

Within this ideological context, there was space for women to have their breasts on view, in leisurely spaces such as gardens, *jardins d'acclimatation* and exhibitions. Black women's bodies were visually available to women, children and men, in broad daylight and in official, acceptable and accessible spaces in striking contrast to those spaces where images or displays of white women's exposed bodies could be observed—in circumscribed, private spaces, intended only for a “male gaze,” to use Laura Mulvey's much quoted idea of women as an on-screen object of desire for a male cinema viewership.<sup>13</sup>

However, even if breasts were at the center of this erotic gaze, there was another body feature, which was repeatedly given as the motive for the photograph—hair. A significant quantity of postcards or printed photographs in the Portuguese colonial context, as well as in others, reinforced this with a few words in the caption: “Typos e Penteados (Huíla)” is the Angolan postcard Geary reproduces in her chapter,<sup>14</sup> but many others could be cited over a long period of time. For example, in the 1940s and 1950s Elmano Cunha e Costa's ethnographic photographic projects were organized around a visual survey of women's hairstyles (Fig. 6), while in 1965 the Italian military man and journalist who was in Angola with his French companion Anne Dominique Gaúzes, who was also a photographer, published a book on *Penteados de Angola*.<sup>15</sup>

At the time of writing, in 2017, these white/black differences persist in those spaces where these images exist today and in the ways that they are consumed, seen and collected. The material legacies of colonialism now thrive in the contemporary vintage postcard market; and so do the colonial categories. White women's exposed bodies would be classified in the sections labeled “erotic” or “pornographic.” Equivalent black bodies can be filed in multiple categories: “Angola,” “Africa,” “colonial,” “ethnic,” “anthropological,” “colonial exhibition,” “human zoos,” etc. This leads me to another question that will be explored in this article: the enduring persistence in the present of the racism and violence of the past. Therefore, I am interested in thinking about these images in the past but also in the present.<sup>16</sup> Where are they today? In what contexts do they circulate? Where and how are they on sale? How are they viewed, kept, talked about, classified? Who collects them and why?

Use of these materials in the contemporary moment as historical or scholarly sources leads me to a point I find more and more poignant the more I look at and hold these kinds of materials—the words, printed or manuscript, that are written next to, or behind, the images. This need to think of images next to

words, the visual next to the written, is not as obvious as it may seem. The growing global tendency to digitize images may seem to make them more easily available—even in archival and academic contexts. However, this digital format moves away from the materiality that I argue is fundamental to the ways in which we must approach and analyze these documents. To look at the image printed in a photographic postcard is a gesture that should be followed by turning the object over and reading what is written on the other side, in printed letters or in manuscript ones.

Very often, the word, handwritten by an identified or non-identified person, addresses the postcard image in a way with which we are familiar from our smartphones, simultaneously image/word makers and circulation devices. It is easy to insert the picture postcard in the genealogy of our contemporary, private, individual uses of word and image, but there is a striking difference. If now this combination of word and image tends to be in the same frame, the same gaze, the same two-dimensional surface, an object such as the postcard demands a material approach where touch, movement (turning the object over) and tri-dimensionality are necessary for full apprehension. Therefore, if the printed words with which the images are identified are a relevant historical source—the banality of labels such as “Black Venus,” “Black Beauty,” “African Venus” or “Angolan Beauty”—so are the manuscript words someone has written on the other side or over the image itself. These words, as will be discussed below, can be more disturbing—racist, violent, humiliating—than the image itself. The image is often the trigger for the words someone has written. This “someone” is often the historical agent who is seldom heard, read or acknowledged, someone who lived a colonial experience, but who probably wrote little more than the texts found on the back of postcards sent to the metropolis. Most of the Portuguese “colonial” photographic (or picture, as seen in Figs. 14-16) postcards for sale today in commercial spaces were objects produced in colonial spaces (even if printed elsewhere), bought in Portuguese colonies by white Portuguese men or women and sent to the colonial metropolis.

Most of these postcards are now in the former colonial metropolis, a fact that is itself relevant to understanding the movements and “traveling” of these objects and the banality of their existence. Postcards are difficult to date, because one of their characteristics is that they are always undated, a strategy used to make them commercially valid for a longer period of time. In addition, an image could be printed in a postcard much later than its making. However, each object often

provides clues to its chronology or at least to the time of its circulation through stamp or manuscript dates, as well as its printed legends and even technical characteristics. As with photography, the black-and-white postcard was replaced by those printed in full color. What is striking when we think diachronically is the pervasiveness of the postcard image of the black African woman who inhabited colonized territories through time, in the case of Portuguese colonialism, into the 1970s; from black and white to color.

Beyond the contemporary collecting of colonial objects, there is another way in which the present uses of past, troubled and painful materials lead us into ethical questions: that is the ways in which these images are re-printed and re-produced in the context of academia and exhibitions. Is a critical and deconstructive frame of analysis sufficient to legitimize their showing and circulation yet again? Is it possible to decolonize these images while simultaneously and consciously putting them before new eyes in seminar or conference PowerPoint presentations, in scholarly books, in thematic exhibitions or in academic journals such as this one? To think about, look at or write on these images means inevitably having to confront the violence that was implicit in many of them and with the past uses of that violence embedded in their making and consumption. Is there a difference between “showing” problematic images and “quoting” problematic words? Does the very act of seeing, which can be immediate and undemanding, as distinct from the act of reading, a slower and apparently intellectually more demanding exercise, make it more ethically challenging to reproduce difficult images than to reproduce difficult words? How can we analyze these images as historical sources, while preserving or returning to these women the dignity, individuality and subjectivity that was threatened, or even destroyed, in the past making and the past (and present) uses of these images?

These are the main questions I will address in this article. To do so I will focus on specific case studies that can be seen as a mapping for further approaches. To identify a much larger quantity of visual sources would enable other questions to be posed and more definitive conclusions to be made. One such unanswered question would involve a thorough comparison with other European colonizing nations such as Belgium, Great Britain, Italy and France. The vast bibliography that in recent decades has concentrated on “colonial visual culture,” as it tends to be named in British historiography, or “colonial iconography,” as it tends to be named in French historiography, does not include the Portuguese colonial visual archive as a source, a problem, or a comparative frame. More extended

transcolonial and transnational comparative studies could enable researchers to detect possible nuances and differences within the more evident conclusion—that black African female bodies became a common visual trope within the context of all European nations that were formerly colonizers in Africa. The European colonial visual archive reveals the banalization of the practice of white men belonging to the military, administrative, scientific or commercial colonial European experiences, photographing black colonized women and making them available to a much wider public through reproduction techniques in a thriving global market of visual consumption.

## **2. Where are the images? Where were they reproduced?**

### **Archives, Postcards, Newspapers, Leaflets**

The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed a reproductive revolution, which had a growing and overwhelming impact on the ways images could be circulated, owned and seen. From the time of photography's disputed invention in 1839 to the invention of lithography and many other kinds of reproductive techniques, the viewing of word and image, at first separately and then together, became an increasingly democratic, less expensive and widespread experience.<sup>17</sup> When we overlap this chronology of technological and photographic developments with that of the formation of modern European empires, the result is discernible: the colonial, and this includes colonized territories and peoples in Africa as well as in Asia, became a central subject within the visual mapping of the world.

By the final decades of the nineteenth century the conditions existed for the development of the photographic postcard (by the 1870s with printed lithographed designs and by the 1880s with photographic images): on the one side, a small rectangle/framed space for the reproduction of a drawing or photograph; on the other side, the space for the written word, the address of the recipient and the words the sender could freely choose to write.<sup>18</sup> A few words describing the image or identifying the publisher were almost always printed, usually on the reverse side of the postcard, sometimes over the image itself.

Already in the twentieth century printing techniques enabled newspapers to add more and more photographic images next to their written texts. Likewise, other kinds of printed matter became increasingly common. Exhibition-goers could have their experience mediated by booklets and leaflets, with rich graphic work, while catalogues and books and all kinds of printed matter made wide use of the new possibilities of reproducing images next to words. It is also worth thinking

about the relationship between images and words on the same printed page. Very often there is a direct relationship between the text and the image. However, it is common to have photographic images of unnamed black women, mostly with bare breasts, to “illustrate” articles on colonial subjects with no relation at all to the image beyond suggesting a very broad idea of the “colonial.” (Fig. 17)

This new banality of images (much more was seen by many more) is relevant to understanding the ways in which many more people, in many more places could receive, see, buy and send postcards. It is also relevant to think of them as being objects as well as images: to focus on their materiality leads us to focus on the spaces where they are today. They are in public and private spaces, in commercial and non-commercial ones. They can be in archives and libraries, homes and in all kinds of commercial spaces, from flea markets, to secondhand bookshops to online postcard merchants. As we shall see, the ways in which they are classified or archived can also shape our understanding of them.

Many public archives separate photography from textual, manuscript and written documents. The archival fractures that divide image from word and separate documents that were together at the moment of their making had, and will continue to have, an impact on the ways in which we think about images and the kinds of history we can write. In addition, images of women’s bodies, black and nude, can be present in many archives, though they may not listed in the classification entries. Even an archive that is ostensibly synonymous with masculinity, such as the Military Historical Archive, can—if approached from a gender-conscious perspective—reveal the presence of women, in photography as well as in the interstices of many official textual documents.<sup>19</sup>

The political and the intimate, the public and the personal, the state and the private are intertwined, not necessarily in hierarchical or separate ways. The intimate, the sexual, the affective and the many layers of gendered violence are encountered in the colonial archive, and a major source for its study are the images of almost always unnamed and unknown black women in photographs or in photographic postcards that are simultaneously so exposed and so imperceptible. “Black Venus,” “Black Beauty” and other such classifications were widely used to name unidentified women in written and visual materials published in colonial contexts. Most often, they are printed by the editors, at other times it is the manuscript text in a postcard that reproduces the clichéd trope of associating the color of skin with the aesthetic label of those who should be looked at. (Figs. 1 and 10)

### 3. Inside/Outside:

#### The Photographic Studio Versus the Natural, Outdoor Setting

Since the 1850s there had been two clear traditions within photography—one inside a studio space and another outdoors, where the photographer could be a traveler and a landscaper. The latter genealogy was the one to benefit more from technological developments that enabled the camera to have more control over natural light. While we tend to associate “colonial photography” with the outside—and certainly the widespread practice of making images of humans as “types,” photographed where they were and as they were, contributed to this—it is important to acknowledge that studio photography became popular in India and in Africa from very early on, and that women often commissioned their own portraits.<sup>20</sup> Many of these photographers were African or Indian, and many of the people who paid to be photographed were also African or Indian, often with the status of colonized subjects.<sup>21</sup> This is another implicit distinction relevant to our case—indigenous elites would choose to have their portrait taken in photographic studios (or in outdoor spaces where a background canvas simulated a studio) and pay for it. This created a very different power relationship than the one that existed in the widespread images of “natives” outdoors, where it is much more difficult to understand the degree of control involved in allowing themselves to be photographed.

Most of the images of black, half-naked women printed in postcards were taken in outside spaces, and this is relevant to their meaning. The outside space can become a kind of justification for the photographic act—they were “naturally” like that, that was how they usually were, and the photographer had merely captured a “reality” with which he did not interfere. After the 1880s, when cameras became lighter, easier and faster devices, “instantaneous” photography would develop and the photographer could take snapshots—just by clicking the button—outside the studio space. Therefore, a major underlying justification for circulating images of women with bare breasts was the notion that that was how they actually went out in public spaces outside the home (Figs. 9, 10, 12, and 13).

This Western distinction between the inside space as the space for intimacy, privacy, and therefore nakedness, and the outside, as the space for the public, the communal, the constrained, was implicit in the widespread uses of these images of black women. In those images revealing the open sky and natural landscape, the photographer could more easily embody the role of a mere witness of the women who were already unclothed before his arrival. He became a

simple observer who only enabled others to observe what he had seen by taking the picture. This ambiguity, leaning toward a visual tradition informed by ethnography, travel inquiry and knowledge gathering, was in fact a main legitimizer for the open circulation of these images. They were already semi-naked—it was not the photographer who undressed them nor the photographic encounter that determined it, as was the case with the pornographic visual economy that had developed since the invention of photography.

How many similar images are there of naked white women before a male photographer? As soon as it was invented, photography was put to many uses, and certainly pornography was one of them. The major difference between the circulation and reception of these images was that when the women were white they were destined to a kind of private male view, shared by a selective and elitist gaze. Even though erotic photographic postcards showing naked women became so widespread in France that they became known as “French Postcards,” they were nevertheless meant for a male gaze. On the contrary, black women were available to a wider spectatorship, potentially to all that could see, including other women and children. The color of their skin made for an ontological difference—belonging to the space of the colonized, the subjugated and racially inferior, a space that implied distance and differentiation, their bodies could be looked at independently of who was looking and where. The ethnographic contained (or justified) the erotic.

For a long time images of naked white women did not make the transition from private archive to public print space. However, what happens later when, around the 1970s, the development of the tourist industry has an impact on the seaside postcard industry, which begins to portray topless women on beaches accompanied by indecent sentences? Certainly there is an objectification of the female body for male visual consumption, which transcends ethnic or national distinctions. However, the persistence and widespread nature of the exposed bodies of black women is the result of the ongoing complicity of patriarchy with colonialism, different structures of inequality that were often entangled even when the resistance to and denouncing of colonialism did not always acknowledge it.

#### **4. Rosinha, or the Empire as Object of Desire: The 1934 Colonial Exhibition in Porto**

Rosa, Rosinha or Rosita was the “Portuguese” name given to the most frequently mentioned “sight” exhibited at the Portuguese Colonial Exhibition.<sup>22</sup> This event, which took place in 1934 in Porto, Portugal’s second most important city after Lisbon,

was clearly inspired by the 1931 Parisian Exposition Coloniale, where the display of human beings brought from the French colonies was also a major visual trope. Therefore, unlike the vast majority of African women who were photographed and made to circulate, she had a name, even if it was not her real Islamic name, which was considered too difficult to pronounce and to write. Use of the suffix “-inha” or “-ita” created the diminutive versions of Rosa, a strategy that was employed to make her seem more familiar and closer to the majority of the Portuguese public to whom Africa, even if “theirs,” was a remote reality. A member of the Balanta community, she had been brought from the recently conquered colony of Guinea. The Portuguese colonial presence had not been there long enough for her to begin to cover her naked body. Underlying this legitimacy to display her naked breasts to the vast public of men, women and children—more than one million according to official records—in the daylight of a public garden in the center of Porto in the mid 1930s was the fact that she was black and came from a space dominated by Portugal.

Her “Portuguese” name appeared many times in the printed material related to the first (and the last) exhibition to carry the designation of “colonial” to be held in Portugal. Rosita’s presence helped account for the public success of the exhibition and her printed image—accessible to anyone to take home—further multiplied the impact of her image and name. Domingos Alvão was the official photographer of the exhibition, and his images were reproduced in catalogues and leaflets but mainly through that most popular object of the early twentieth century, the photographic postcard. Like the exhibition itself, the postcard was meant to prompt imaginative travels. In the exhibition, the public was physically separated from Rosita by a pond—a small, metaphorical Atlantic, easier to cross, with Africa on the other side of the water. In Domingos Alvão’s close-ups of her, distance was further annulled.

During a period when the Portuguese colonial project demanded more settlers to occupy the African territories, Rosita was to encourage exhibition-goers to make this departure by embodying the empire as an object of desire.<sup>23</sup> On display in Porto, she herself embodied “Africa.” Rosa represented not the dangerous and threatening Africa of the earlier expeditions or the later “pacification campaigns,” the name given to the Portuguese military expeditions which fought African resistance to their presence, but a luscious and desirable Africa, close enough to be attainable by the common man, precisely those whom the exhibition wanted to turn into potential settlers. The association of the masculine with territorial and sexual conquest, already implicit in the colonial as well

as the slave experience, became visible both within the exhibition and the photographs that multiplied it.

In the process of having her name as much as her body colonized, Rosita's image was reproduced and put into circulation beyond the limits of the exhibition visitors' gaze. Alvão, the author of all her official images, chose to photograph her in different visual narratives. In some of the images, Alvão photographs Rosita next to other members of the community who were also brought from Guinea. (Fig. 2) However, in other photographs Rosita stands alone. Either her bare breasts were contained within an ethnographic tradition or she was made to raise her arms in the recognizable visual code also present in Picasso's *Demaiselles de Avignon*, or in thousands of other images of women's naked breasts lingering in the moving boundaries between pornography and eroticism. With "Beleza Bijagoz," an unnamed women also exhibited in 1934, leaning against a tree, there is no doubt of the outside space she occupies. (Fig. 1) Nature and nakedness was the winning combination of the "ethnographic informed realism" that had in the color of the skin its major criteria.<sup>24</sup> The photograph was taken in Porto, but it was important for it to seem as though it were taken in Guinea, the photographer here mimicking the geographical game played by the exhibition itself. In the encounters between the African women and Alvão, the photographer is in the position of the exhibition viewer, thus reinforcing the black female body's visual (and sexual) availability to all; she was not merely available to the photographer.

In a book published in Luanda on the representation of Angola at the 1934 exhibition, a similar duality emerges. In an article on the Bank of Angola, a "black beauty of Huíla," with her arms raised, is printed next to an erotically toned down "Black Mucancala."<sup>25</sup> (Fig. 17) The image of the modern architecture of the bank next to the images described as that "curious Angolan tribe," "one of the lowest species in the human scale" contributed to the trivial language of colonial justification. Gender hierarchies are likewise implicit. The bank, the building, the colonial exhibition, as well as the picture book that promoted it, were all male, Portuguese, enterprises; Africa was female. As in Alvão's double "Rositas," the eroticized and the exoticized claimed each other's presence in an ambiguous frontier where the differentiation between one and the other was to be made by the colonizer.

During a research stay in Porto in 2001, I went to a photography shop named Alvão in the city center. The owners, no longer the original photographer's family, helpfully brought me everything that was left in the shop archive. One of the albums had photographs of the colonial exhibition glued to its pages and small

manuscript sentences next to some of the images. I was struck and disturbed by one of the sentences written by hand next to one of the images (I cannot remember which) where Rosita appears next to some Guinean men in the same reconstructed village. I copied it in my notebook: “Who is going to sleep with Rosita tonight?” was the comment. Visually available as much to white men as to black men, looking at her—in a photograph or in person—becomes the first act of other potential ones, the sexual or the colonial encounter.

The Colonial Exhibition of 1934—where the “ethnographic exhibitions” with more than 300 women, men and children from Cabo Verde, Guinea, Angola, Mozambique, India, Macau and Timor became the most popular—epitomized a new kind of colonial project. Focused on encouraging Portuguese immigration to Portugal’s African territories and eager to rival other European empires, the Portuguese state needed to invest more in promoting the colonies within the metropolis, and the exhibition, with its recourse to all visual devices available, became the best way to achieve this.<sup>26</sup> Beyond Rosita’s village, in another pavilion, a big diorama with life-size figures showed black women dressed in Western clothes being taught how to cook and sew by patient white nuns dressed in their habit. Domesticity and religion were rehearsed in a display that emphasized the role of Portuguese evangelization in Africa, actually one of the few official roles women could assume in the colonizing enterprise. In this case, inequality was established between women, the white nun as teacher and the black woman as pupil. Far from being contrary to what Rosita represented, these unnamed black women, dressed in modest clothes and dedicated to tasks appropriate to females symbolized, we could argue, what Rosita could become after the affirmation of the Portuguese male presence in Guinea. Portuguese male colonizers were stimulated by the overt sexualization of black women in colonial propaganda, but they also needed someone to cook for them and sew their clothes. Within the space of the exhibition these two distinct models could coexist and contribute to the same aim.

### **5. Mother and Child: The Nurturing Body Versus the Sexualized Body**

This leads me to another pervasive trope within representations of black women: that of a mother holding a baby.<sup>27</sup> In the United States and in Brazil,<sup>28</sup> it was the black “mammy,” or the “*mãe negra*,” as slave or paid laborer, the black woman who breastfed and cared for the white child. In the European colonial visual archive, the black woman appears mostly as the mother of her own children.

Their bosoms become de-eroticized by breastfeeding, a nurturing act, or by carrying a child on their backs. This is the main subject of a large quantity of photographic postcards of African women which circulated over a long period of time from the late nineteenth century to the 1970s, and even later. I was especially attentive to these kinds of racialized mother and child visual representations, when, in 2014, I found this image at a street market mixed in with many other photographs. (Fig. 18)<sup>29</sup> Unlike photographs that are located in family albums, which are kept by their owners and embedded in strong personal narratives of memory and affect, many other photographs have been separated from their owners and have become mute, lost, and lonely. These are “found photographs” which are to be found in commercial spaces or flea markets or simply in the garbage. Even when they are associated with other photographs, they are further fragmented by the commercial space, which allows the consumer or collector to purchase a single photograph from a group or set of multiple photographs.

It struck me, the combination of mother and child, like an icon; the somehow unstaged quality of the image; the way the mother is looking at the viewer; the image of Churchill printed on the fabric. Nothing in this black and white photograph with a white irregular frame provides information about its space or time. The woman is dressed in a fabric which reproduces the image of Winston Churchill, who is dressed in a military uniform. Is the “V” of Victory linked to the victory of the Allies at the end of World War Two or the British Victory in the Second Anglo-Boer War, which took place in Southern Africa from 1899 to 1902, and in which Churchill served as a young soldier? In any case, the fabric refers to the British political and colonial context.

However, the words written on the back of the photograph point us in other directions. “Victor,” the name of the man who signed the text written in blue ink and probably the one who took the photograph and dated it. His manuscript words describe the woman seen in the photograph as the wife of a soba of the Dembe region, only to add that “the women from the North of Angola do not seem so, but they are more stupid than the ones from the South.” He also adds that the women from the south carried their children on their backs, whereas the ones from the north—as the one photographed here—carried them on their bosom because they considered it more “beautiful.” Although “Victor” somehow begins by identifying the woman in her specificity, even though in relation to her husband’s social position, he then places her within a much wider category of “women of the north,” and adds an insulting generalization.

## 6. “Just to say a few words”:

### **Backs of Postcards as Documents of the Banality of Racism**

The words written on the back of this photograph shattered the dignity and subjectivity of those portrayed, something, I would argue, the image somehow preserved. The back of colonial postcards, a democratized authorial space, even for those who seldom wrote, can be a privileged historical document for locating the blatant, spoken racism that other kinds of written conventions may limit or contain. After recognizing the banality of these texts, I have been made much more aware of the words written by unknown persons on the back of colonial postcards. The ways in which the sender uses the images to initiate a dialogue with the recipient, within the long-distance conversation enabled by postcards, exposes distinct and entangled threads of the colonial experience, especially those embedded in racially and gendered structural violence (Figs. 8, 11, 13 and 18).

Throughout the year 1975, for example, a Portuguese man sends his mother a series of photographic color postcards with images of South African black women and men. I acquired three of them in 2017, in the major street flea market in Lisbon, the twice-weekly *Feira da Ladra*. This was the year of the independence of Angola and Mozambique, and that important detail may or may not explain why he sent South African postcards and why he sent them from South Africa. (Fig. 11) Did he move to South Africa in the aftermath of independence? Or was he already there? Mobility between different African colonies had always been an important feature, and photography was also witness to those transcolonial movements. In his words, however, the major distinction was between “us” and “them,” the European and the African, the former colonizers and the formerly colonized. It did not matter whether they were “colonies” or “nations.” His words strike us in other ways. They traveled from South Africa to Portugal, a country that was going through major transformations, the end of its right-wing New State and the end of its centuries-old empire, but in their unabashed racism—openly conveyed within the postcard’s rectangle—nothing seems to have changed. The empire had ended, but many of the ideas that had sustained it were still there.

## 7. **White Male Soldiers Photographed Next to Black Female Locals: The Persistence of a Typology**

The final typologies of images I will address were the last to be produced within the promiscuous one-hundred-year-long relationship between the Portuguese empire and photography, between the 1870s and 1970s.<sup>30</sup> They contain a violent

entanglement of many of the subjects we have so far discussed. First, the maternal body is the same as the sexualized body; second, the encounter between photographer-photographed is further complicated by the appearance of a third character. The Portuguese soldier engages both with the photographer as invisible accomplice and with the women as forced accomplices. And third, the disturbing ways in which these images transform the invisible into the visible. (Figs. 19-21). The black and white photographs reproduced here are glued together in a private album, next to other images, such as color commercial postcards from Guinea (Figs. 22-24). Within this album, the personal visual passage of a Portuguese military man through Guinea is mixed with other photographs. The banality of his photographed gestures are reinforced by the fact that they were considered acceptable enough to become part of the narrative.

The common practice of abuse, coercion and sexual violence toward colonized women that tends to be invisible in the archive (and that is also part of its violence) here appears banal enough to be staged in a performance for the camera; and that reinforces its disturbing abuse. Sexual or physical violence directed toward women was, one could argue, prevalent in Portugal and in Angola, independent of context and race. But would photography be used in the same way in both places? This is not simply an “event” that is taking place and that is captured by the camera. This is an “event” (to use Azoulay’s idea again) that happens because the camera is there, and there is an implicit agreement between photographer and photographed (but not all of those being photographed) that that is what should be seen when the image is revealed. Troubling and brutal, the abuse is exposed blatantly on the surface of the print—and in our faces.

Looking at the photographic lens, the young man, dressed in his military uniform, was conscious of the performative experience he was enacting. He wanted to be seen, both in the present and in the future. If all photographs are, as Azoulay has stated, “the result of an encounter of several protagonists, mainly photographer and photographed, camera and spectator,” where can we place these girls/women within this encounter? Distant from home, and in a geographical space where inequality was not just implicit but at the very heart of the colonial contract, the young man was empowered. In one of the images, the girl’s body becomes a mannequin—passive, stiff, inanimate—sexualized only by the crude hands of the man-boy. (Fig. 19) Lifting her dress, exhibiting her for the camera while squeezing her breasts, he shows clearly who is in command. All positions are uncomfortable, staged, artificial, in a way that has nothing

to do with the discomfort of posing for a portrait with the fake smile that was invented a few decades after photography itself. In the group image, nothing seems strange at first glance. (Fig. 20) A group of African women, men, children and babies are posing for a camera. But upon a second, closer look, a sole white man appears, and the effect is striking and troubling. At first glance he seems hidden, only his smile (the only one), his boots (the only footwear) and his hand (on the girl's breast) gradually emerge, making an effort to appear in the photographic space. What choice was available to the girl in his lap?

The ambiguous presence of the baby, in one of the other photographs, contributes to the disruption. Is this a couple with their first child? No. Isn't she pregnant? Where is the (black) father? The soldier holds the baby in one arm. His other arm performs that common gesture of manly protection and affect that we can see in thousands of photographs—with one striking difference. Instead of resting on her shoulder, the hand goes down to her breast, grabbing her with a gesture that highlights our impotence. The image of the Lusotropical couple thus becomes a cruel parody. (Fig. 21)

Next to these four images about which we know little—only that they belong to the photographic album from Guinea compiled by the young soldier who appears in the images and who is now an old man living in Lisbon, the former metropolitan capital of the “overseas provinces”—we could place the photograph used by the artist Vasco Araújo in an installation at an exhibition held in Lisbon a few years ago.<sup>31</sup> This is another image of an interracial couple, entitled “Guiné 1962,” with a white Portuguese soldier and a Guinean woman. He has one hand on her pregnant abdomen and the other on her breast. Would he be photographed like that next to a Portuguese woman, in an open space? No, he would not. The fact that he would not be photographed with such gestures with his white girlfriend or wife in his Portuguese village was what, for me, disrupted the image.

After participating in a guided visit by the artist, I along with several others scattered around the exhibition spaces. However, in reference to this image, I overheard a conversation that troubled me as much as the photograph itself had done. Two good-looking couples in their sixties commented jokingly on the image: “They really knew how to enjoy themselves!”; “There you go, what a man!” The critical context of the exhibition was not enough to prevent those responses of complicity toward the soldier's gesture as seen in the reproduction of the photograph on display in the show. Once again, I realized that one of my interests in these images resides in the ways in which they are seen, viewed, placed, and commented on

today. The ways in which images of black women's bodies continue to be trivialized, colonized, subject to the same kind of viewership to which they were subjected within the colonial contexts that both produced and legitimized them.

Therefore, the ways in which black women appear in photographs and postcards in the period of the African colonial wars, from 1961 to 1975, is a particularly relevant subject and one that deserves a profound and thorough study. First, because the quantity of white Portuguese soldiers who, while in the African colonies, were photographed next to local black women, very often with exposed, nude breasts, is disturbingly banal. Such a study would demand deep research within the photographic legacies still kept in the homes of former soldiers or their children; as well as in some public archives, such as the Arquivo Histórico Militar; and in informal and unofficial associations, groups or networks of former soldiers who use photography as a bonding practice of memory, experience sharing and a defying of trauma. The images can now often be found online, on those digital platforms that unite very different men who were grouped together in the territory of the colonial wars. Previously, they used to be shown in slide shows at private gatherings or printed next to autobiographical narratives of soldier's experiences.<sup>32</sup> The digital revolution, however, has turned these small, restricted groups into more public events.

This is a necessarily delicate subject and one that may turn photography into a particularly contested space made of contradictory and conflicting discourses. What may be for us a problematic visual document of different kinds of inequality, injustice and violence—gender, ethnic or political—may be, for others, a mere snapshot of daily routine in the context of war, even a visual reminder of some of the few moments of joy, laughter, affection and lightness which contrasted with the hard and traumatic challenges of young men being turned into fighters without having a choice to refuse it. The places and ownership of the photographs today is a determining factor for thinking about them. They are mostly in the possession of those who were on the side of power, the power of being a white male in the military uniform of the colonizing country combating the independence aspirations of the colonized. They are not in the homes or families of the black women who were also there in the images. This means that their contemporary uses, narratives and discourses—the memories they trigger in the present—belong to those who were already in control in the past at the moment the photograph was taken. As the Brazilian poet Ana Martins Marques writes, “como as fotografias por direito pertencem/aos que não saíram na fotografia.”<sup>33</sup>

Is it relevant for this distinction to consider the differences between those images in which the women are alone in the frame and those in which the women are seen next to Portuguese soldiers? Independently of being represented or not, it is predominantly the white male soldier who has control over the photographing process. How can we acknowledge the participation of women within the photographic event? The men were those who owned the cameras, those who had the power to coordinate the performative nature of the act of photographing and those who—now—have them in their possession (or in the possession of their families after their death). There are many questions which are difficult to answer. Where were these photographs shown and viewed? In Africa or back home in Portugal? Were there cases when more than one print was made to be distributed to all the photographed, including the women? How can we know more about these women's roles in the photographing process? Their interest in photography? Their possession of their own image? How common was the use of personal filming cameras? The role of black women in the photographing process, on the other hand, will necessarily be a fragmented history of individual stories and cases, one much more difficult to identify and narrate. As has been often repeated and demonstrated in gender approaches to history, women's history in the present is always determined by the scarcity, invisibility or negligence of sources in the past.

Independently of being present in the image itself next to a black woman or just on the invisible side of the lens, it was the Portuguese soldier who was in charge of the performative gestures. Those who had the camera in hand, made the gesture of centralizing the lens, making decisions according to the complexity of the camera itself, and pressing the button; those who were being photographed, decided the ways in which their bodies were made still (that stillness everyone knew by then to be a condition for the act of posing) and the ways in which their bodies should be placed in relation to the women's bodies. The man's arm over the woman's or women's shoulder(s) is a common example of these kinds of gestures. However, as Elizabeth Edwards has underlined, "whatever the assymetries of power relations, the act of photography was participatory and intersubjective by definition."<sup>34</sup> On the other hand, Ariella Azoulay has called attention in her groundbreaking publications to the fact that "every photograph of others bears the traces of the meeting between the photographed persons and the photographer, neither of whom can, on their own, determine how this meeting will be inscribed on the resulting image."<sup>35</sup> This approach

shifts the protagonism from the photographer, the photographed, and the photograph to the act itself, to the “event of photography” and the ways in which we, now or in the future, continue to be part of the “event” as spectators.

### **8. An Ongoing Project: The Last Images of the Colonial Visual Archive**

In this subject, as in many other historical subjects whose conflictive nature persists into the present, researchers thinking critically about images from a distant and detached present and considering them under the prism of subjection or inequality may be confronted with the profoundly different ways in which the photographers/photographed/owners of the photographs engage with them. This makes it a particularly difficult subject and one that only recently has started to be addressed in critical artistic and scholarly approaches. Júlia Garraio, for example, has written an interesting article in which she addresses the meanings and implications of the pervasiveness of black women’s bodies in the late Portuguese colonial empire, a subject that dialogues with her other work on sexual violence against women in the context of war, mainly during World War Two.<sup>36</sup> Afonso Dias Ramos wrote a Ph.D. thesis on the relationship between political violence and photography in contemporary art, particularly within the transnational context surrounding the liberation and the civil conflict in Angola (1961-2002).<sup>37</sup> In addition, Maria José Lobo Antunes is pursuing a research project on the place of photography in the African colonial wars, which will certainly address one of its most persistent typologies, that of Portuguese soldiers being photographed next to black Angolan, Mozambican or Guinean women.<sup>38</sup> Antunes’s research will make an important contribution to the wider subject of the relationship between Portuguese soldiers and African women and, more specifically, to the different kinds of gender and sexual violence against African women by Portuguese soldiers in the context of the colonial wars, a subject still imbued with the taboos associated with all historical moments marked by the triviality of violence.

When in 2014 I edited the book *O Império da Visão: Fotografia no Contexto Colonial Português*, I consciously chose the cutoff date of 1960 precisely because I considered the years from the beginning of the colonial wars in 1961 to the independence of the last Portuguese colony in Africa in 1975 to be too vast and multiple (and difficult), and felt this period deserved a specific research project in itself. When I wrote the proposal for the project in 2008, academia was not yet addressing the delicate and recent historical moment of the wars of independence, as it now is. Afonso Ramos’s article was the exception among the thirty contributions

to *O Império da Visão* because he analyzed the role played by photography as a conflict trigger at the onset of the war in Angola.<sup>39</sup> Another subject that should have deserved more space and reflection in the book was the banalization of black women's bodies in the Portuguese colonial context—only Carlos Barradas addressed the issue.<sup>40</sup>

A more recent book edited by Elsa Peralta, Bruno Góis and Joana Gonçalo Oliveira challenged both Maria José Lobo Antunes and myself to think about the photographs that were on display in the exhibition *Retornar* and the overall relationship between photography and this historical moment.<sup>41</sup> The book forms part of a larger research project that was carried out in relation to the temporary exhibition on the thousands of women, men and children who, after independence, were compelled for various reasons to leave the former Portuguese colonies in Africa where they had lived and “return” to the former colonial metropolis where many of them had never been. These people became known as the “retornados,” the “returned,” a problematic term which is being critically addressed by many scholars as well as artists, writers and cultural thinkers. The quantity of interesting research projects now taking place will result in the continuing enrichment of the growing field of studies on the recent Portuguese colonial legacy and its interstices with the visual.<sup>42</sup> The richness and disturbing quality of the Portuguese visual archive of the recent colonial wars—the latest in the European context—is finally now beginning to be addressed from many angles.

### **9. Collecting the Colonial: The Persistence of the Past in the Present**

As a collector of many different nineteenth- and twentieth-century documents, a woman in a male-dominated world, I am continually confronted with the banality of both the colonial materials and the colonial ideologies themselves: when I hesitated on purchasing a 1950s calendar at Lisbon's main flea market, the seller, a woman, told me that if I did not take it, she would sell it to a client who buys “pretas nuas;” when I asked for Portuguese colonial photographs at a photographic fair in a Russell Square hotel in London, the seller showed me some of the most violent images I had ever seen of African women with German military men. I had to look away. According to a Lisbon-based postcard seller, the combination of black, colonial, woman and nakedness is one of his most profitable categories. The male-dominated collecting market in the present reproduces the uses to which these images were subjected in the past. From the Hottentot Venus being displayed around Europe in the early nineteenth century

to the wide visual uses of black bodies two hundred years later, there are continuities that go beyond the chronologies of slavery and colonialism.

And this leads me, finally, to a central question, one which scholars, curators and archivists have been discussing for the past few decades: that of ethics. Images of abuse, pain and exploitation retain their strength and can perpetuate what one seems to criticize. Are institutions—the university, the archive, the museum—enough to counteract the risks of reproducing the violence? Can we show Rosinha, and all these unnamed “Black Venuses,” as well as the anonymous soldiers, who can now be old men still dealing with the experience of being sent from a remote Portuguese village to the unpredictable sceneries of the African colonial wars? In the 1990s, Mieke Bal wrote an essay entitled “A Postcard from the Edge” in which she problematizes scholarly exercises such as the one in this article.<sup>43</sup> For her, context and critique were not enough to justify the showing of these images yet again. They still encourage the voyeuristic gaze that victimizes the women portrayed one more time.

Saidiya Hartman took a radical gesture—on the one hand, she refused the PowerPoint culture of “showing again” (as she did in a 2017 conference at Brown University)<sup>44</sup> and by so doing, she preserved the dignity of the black girls and women who are portrayed in the photographs she was analyzing; on the other hand, she uses informed fiction to say more about these women than the historical archive allows.<sup>45</sup> If history and the archives themselves reproduce forms of oppression and the eradication of many human beings—like women slaves subjected to rape by their owners and middlemen—then she goes beyond the “boundaries of the archive” to tell the stories documents do not fully tell.

When Mieke Bal published “A Postcard from the Edge” twenty-two years ago, most of the authors writing on this subject were male, and for Bal it was relevant to ask “Who does the looking?” Would Bal ask the same question in 2017? For this reason, my position as a scholar writing on this subject also needs to be addressed. I am a woman, and that is a relevant factor to the ways in which many of these images and texts strike me and affect me. I am not a black woman, however, and I question myself about what would change if that were my viewing position. Questions of “who does the looking?” (or “the writing?” or “the speaking?”) have become central to many contemporary discussions on the politics of racial and gender identities, even if they are much more acute in countries such as the USA or South Africa than in other places, perhaps because their official and state-sponsored racism is so recent and because they have more active and activist people

with a political consciousness regarding gender and racial inequalities. The ethics of representation go much further than the frontiers of the academy, when contemporary experience daily confronts us with the problematic legacies of the past.

Now, some of the most challenging work on the intersections of visual culture and the colonial, slavery, politics and “blackness” is written by women scholars who also include gender in their approaches: from Elizabeth Edwards to Patricia Hayes or Christraud M. Geary, from Tamar Garb to Ariella Azoulay. Some are black women, such as Saidiya Hartman, Tina Campt and Krista Thompson.<sup>46</sup> Ethics has been a central issue for all of them. Certainly, the new scholarship on gender, race and visibility is also the result of this new generation of “women speakers,” black and white, who are more aware of questions of gender, going back to the archive—written, material and visual—and finding what was there but had not previously been found.

## **10. Counter-narratives:**

### **African Women’s Images in African Studio Portraits**

By the early twentieth century, photographic studios were widely available in African urban ports to Africans both as photographers and as sitters.<sup>47</sup> Over the past few decades, scholarship has increasingly emphasized this point. Patricia Hayes, for example, in a 1998 review of *The Face of the Country: A South African Family Album, 1860-1910*, a book project based on a compilation of two-hundred photographs in the collection of the South African Library in Cape Town, argued that “blacks were not entirely on the fringes of this visual economy.”<sup>48</sup> She does so in order to question the book’s argument that photographic representations of blacks tended to fit into two categories, the ethnographic one and the domestic one, where black subjects appear in the role of domestic workers in white households. Hayes, however, is also careful to explain that these categories depend on the nature of the archive itself, an official space which as such tended to receive and keep those materials of families from specific, privileged, white, social groups.

Beyond the “defeated and the domesticated,” there is a substantial corpus of images of Africans taken in photographic studios from the late nineteenth century onwards.<sup>49</sup> More recent studies have focused on these visual archives that work as a counter narrative to the “colonial visual archives” which had dominated research approaches and topics. In an essay published in 2013, Christopher Pinney, a scholar with a long and creative history of thinking about photography in spaces that have been colonized by Europeans, such as India, questioned the idea of “colonial

photography.”<sup>50</sup> By doing this he was calling attention to the limits and problems of looking at photography produced in a geographical space with the “lens” of the “colonial,” the theoretical frame that had determined most of the work on African or Indian photography for many decades. Scholars such as Christopher Pinney, Elizabeth Edwards and Patricia Hayes, among others, have contributed to making the relations between photography and colonial spaces more complex, fragmenting its meanings beyond the homogenizing and hegemonic place where it tended to be placed. The “colonial” should not prevent us from seeing other things that might also be there. And these other things can be dignity, resistance, subjectivity and self-consciousness, even when the “photographic event,” to use Azoulay’s expression once again, took place in a colonial and unequal context.

African women were a major object of the “desiring gaze” that was an integral part of the male dominated colonial ethos and the photographic experience certainly became a major way of materializing it. Furthermore, the possibilities of multiplying one image and making it travel further disseminated what became a colonial trope—the image of the unnamed African woman with her body partially exposed. However, even within and beyond this trope there were many other images of black women and to search for them can also be a way of questioning the banality of the images they ‘counter narrate.’ Not by chance, the questioning of the colonial as the central framework of analysis coincided with increasing scholarly attention to Black, African or Indian photographic practices.

This scholarly literature is diverse, as we have seen: from photography as an empowering tool, in the uses made by former North American slaves, such as Sojourner Truth and Frederick Douglass; to family and private uses of images by blacks at home and abroad; and to African photographers and photographic studios, those which were often the spaces where African women chose to go alone or with other family members to have their portraits taken and thus to possess an image of themselves for themselves or for others. It must be recalled, however, that even this kind of private image sometimes traversed a commercial frontier into a public sphere, most probably without the knowledge of the portrayed sitter. This happened when a studio photographer saw in these images of black women a potential consumer market and turned them into photographic postcards, most probably without their knowledge or consent.

There were, therefore, many black women being photographed because they wanted to be photographed, and they had the access and the means to do so. However, these images tended to remain in the private sphere of those who were

represented and had paid for them. They were not reproduced in postcards and colonial newspapers. Therefore, visual counter narratives to the dominant trope of the black typified or eroticized woman existed at this time, but their presence was not strong enough to create a contemporary alternative to the hegemonic banality of the exposed African female body, widely reproduced in postcards and print culture.

Recent studies have provided new insights into these counter-narrative photographic practices and uses, but the scholars working on them had to look beyond the culture of reproduction and circulation that characterized those images featuring the dominant tropes of the “defeated,” the “domesticated” and, we could add, the “sexualized and racialized female body,” devoid of self-identity and subjectivity. While reproducibility through a panoply of materials—postcards, newspapers, colonial propaganda leaflets and books or colonial exhibition printed matter—multiplied the impact of semi-naked or eroticized African female bodies in wide geographical spaces, the photographic portraits of black women that depended on their own choice tend to remain hidden in private homes, as part of well-kept or forgotten family albums, or within the archives of photographic studios.<sup>51</sup> Therefore, the uses, movements and reproductive uses of images need to be taken into account as much as the images themselves. The legacies of the visual archive from the past, found in public archives, libraries, markets or online postcard commercial sites, are much more visible and accessible than those other images of black women that also existed but that did not fit a popular or dominant visual culture of what was consumed and collected. (Fig. 25)

Even though I am concentrating in this article solely on photography, it is important to acknowledge other media, such as that of painting. Laura Knight, for example, a female student at the Slade School of Arts in London in the early twentieth century, was by 1926 painting a portrait of a black identified woman, Pearl Johnson, an African-American nurse at the racially segregated maternity ward of Baltimore Hospital, and a civil rights activist who had involved the British painter in the movement. A woman such as Pearl Johnson exemplifies a wider phenomenon of intellectually and politically aware African-American women who also incorporated photography into their lives, thus contributing to the formation of black family albums, which can be placed in contrast to the public, popular and massive circulation of racist or subordinated images of African-Americans in a country where racial segregation was part of everyday life.<sup>52</sup>

Contemporary art practices have also offered a means of critically engaging with the visual legacies of colonialism, especially those authored by women who come from places where colonialism and racial discrimination linger as more or less distant legacies. These artistic practices, as well as many of the exhibitions that theoretically frame them, go beyond written scholarly work, but they often share the same critical idiom. Some artists have specifically addressed the vast colonial visual archive of eroticized black women, mainly through postcards and illustrated newspapers, but the majority of them deal with broader issues of the politics of race and gender in past and present settings.<sup>53</sup> Many female black artists have thus greatly contributed to the decolonization of the black female body, problematizing its sexualization and subjugation, most often by a Western male colonizing paradigm that lingers into the present in different ways, and inscribing it within the unbound meanings and possibilities of subjectivity and agency.

I would like to conclude with the work of the black British artist Lynette Yiadom-Boakye, *Ever The Women Watchful* (2017). It is not a photograph but a painting that represents two black women looking through a pair of binoculars toward something, which we, the observers of the painting, do not see. It reminds me of the painting that was done by the North American artist Mary Cassatt while she was in Paris: *In the Loge*, from 1878. This painting has been used by feminist art historians, namely Griselda Pollock, to reclaim the female's right to gaze, to observe, to see (as well as to paint): the "female gaze." A woman in her theater box uses her binoculars to gaze down at what is going on in the theatrical space that we do not see.

These two paintings, separated by more than one hundred years, serve as counter-narratives to the strong visual paradigms that tend to place women, different kinds of women, socially, ethnically, nationally, in the place of that which is observed, gazed upon and appropriated. Even if there were multiple differences in the ways female bodies were made into images, reproduced and circulated, these were indissociable from the color of their skin, the political and social spaces they inhabited and the weaker or stronger voices they possessed. Some women had more of a voice than others. Women also looked back. Most, however, did not have the tools to materialize it through the instruments of writing, painting or photography. To find and analyze past and present female counter-narratives can also be a way of contesting the lasting silences of the past, the silences of the images of those women who never saw themselves portrayed in the photographs.

## NOTES

1. Beatrix Heintze, "In pursuit of a chameleon: Early ethnographic photography from Angola in context," *History in Africa*, vol. 17 (1990), pp. 131-156. I thank António Araújo, Afonso Dias Ramos, Djaimilia Pereira de Almeida and Inês Galvão for reading and commenting on this text.

2. Christraud M. Geary, "The Black Female Body, the Postcard, and the Archives," in Barbara Thompson, ed., *Black Womanhood: Images, Icons, and Ideologies of the African Body* (Hanover, NH: Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College; University of Washington Press, 2008), pp. 147-152.

3. Christraud M. Geary, "The Image of the Black in Early African Photography," in David Bindman, Suzanne Preston Blier and Henry Louis Gates Jr., eds., *The Image of the Black in African and Asian Art* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2017), pp. 141-166, p. 159-165; Geary, "The Black Female Body..." pp. 152-156.

4. Ariella Azoulay, *Civil Imagination. A Political Ontology of Photography* (Brooklyn, NY: Verso, 2012)

5. David Bindman, Suzanne Preston Blier and Henry Louis Gates Jr., eds., *The Image of the Black in African and Asian Art* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2017). This is the Companion volume to the series published between 2010 and 2017 in 5 volumes; Adrienne L. Childs and Susan H. Libby, *Blacks and Blackness in European Art of the Long Nineteenth Century* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014); Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "The Black Person in Art: How should S/He be portrayed," in *Black American Literature Forum*, Vol. 21, No. 1/2 (Spring-Summer 1987), pp. 3-24.

6. Geary, "The Image of the Black in Early African Photography," pp. 141-166; Barbara Thompson, ed., *Black Womanhood: Images, Icons, and Ideologies of the African Body* (Hanover, NH: Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College; University of Washington Press, 2008). Exhibition Catalogue; Geary, "The Black Female Body..." pp. 143-160; Deborah Willis and Carla Williams, *The Black Female Body: A Photographic History* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002); Gen Doy, "More than Meets the Eye...Representations of Black Women in Mid-19<sup>th</sup>-century French Photography," in *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 21, No 3, 1998, pp. 305-319.

7. See the many studies on Sara Bartman or Hottentot Venus as she was also known; as well as, for example, Ciraj Rassool and Patricia Hayes, "Science and Spectacle: /Khanako's South Africa, 1936-1937," in Wendy Woodward, Patricia Hayes and Gary Minkley, eds., *Deep hiStories: Gender and Colonialism in Southern Africa* (Amsterdam; New York: Rodopi, 2002), pp. 117-161.

8. Some examples: Tina M. Campt, *Listening to Images* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017); Tina M. Campt, *Image Matters: Archive, Photography and the African Diaspora* (Durham: Duke University Press), 2012; Tina M. Campt, *Other Germans: Black Germans and the Politics of*

*Race, Gender and Memory in the Third Reich* (Ann Harbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004); Leigh Raiford, "Photography and the Practices of Critical Black Memory," *History and Theory*, vol. 48, No.4, Theme issue: Photography and Historical Interpretation (December 2009), pp. 112-129; *In/Sight: African Photographers from 1940 to the Present*, Exhibition Catalogue (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 1996).

9. Malek Alloula. *The Colonial Harem* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1986).

10. Ayo Abiétoú Coly, "Housing and Homing the Black Female Body in France: Calixthe Beyala and the Legacy of Sarah Baartman and Josephine Baker", in Barbara Thompson, ed., *Black Womanhood: Images, Icons, and Ideologies of the African Body* (Hanover, NH: Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College; University of Washington Press, 2008), pp. 259-277, p. 272.

11. Patricia Hayes, "'Cocky' Hahn and the 'Black Venus': the Making of a Native Commissioner in South West Africa, 1915-46," in *Cultures of Empire: A Reader. Colonizers in Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2000), pp. 329-355, p. 350. The article was first published in *Gender and History* 8, 3 (November 1996): pp. 364-92.

12. *Human Zoos: the Invention of the Savage*, edited by Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Boetsch and Nanette Jacomijn Snoep (Arles; Paris: Actes Sud, Musée du Quai Branly, 2011). Exhibition Catalogue; *Zoos Humains: de la Vénus Hottentote aux Reality Shows*, edited by Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Boetsch, Éric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, (Paris: Éditions La Découverte, 2002); Filipa Lowndes Vicente, Review of *Zoos Humains: de la Vénus Hottentote aux Reality Shows*, edited by Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Boetsch, Éric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, (Paris: Éditions La Découverte, 2002), in *Estudos do Século xx*, n.º 3, 2003, pp. 389-395.

13. Laura Mulvey, "Visual pleasure and narrative cinema," *Screen*, Autumn 1975, 16 (3), pp. 6-18.

14. Geary, "The Black Female Body...", pp. 143-160, p. 148

15. Elmano Cunha e Costa, *Catálogo da exposição de penteados e adornos femininos das indígenas de Angola*. Agência Geral das Colónias (S.l.: s.n., 1951); Dante Vacchi, *Penteados de Angola*, Lisbon: Author's Edition printed at Litografia de Portugal, Text in Portuguese, French and English, 1965.

16. There are now many closed and ongoing research projects and a vast bibliography on subjects related to colonial memories and post-memories in the Portuguese context. For example: 2015-2020—"MEMOIRS-Children of Empires and European Postmemories", coordinated by Margarida Calafate Ribeiro, European Research Council Grant; 2017-2022, "CROME—Crossed Memories, Politics of Silence: The Colonial-Liberation Wars in Post-colonial Times," coordinated by Miguel Cardina, European Research Council Grant. Examples of publications: Ângela Campos, *An Oral History of the Portuguese Colonial War: Palgrave Studies in Oral History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); Boaventura de Sousa Santos,

*Epistemologies of the South: Justice Against Epistemicide* (New York: Routledge, 2016); Margarida Calafate Ribeiro; António Sousa, Ribeiro, eds., *Geometrias da Memória: configurações pós-coloniais* (Porto: Afrontamento 2016); Manuela Ribeiro Sanches, ed., *Malhas que os impérios tecem: Textos anti-coloniais, contextos pós-coloniais* (Lisbon: Edições 70, 2011); Rosa Cabecinhas and João Feijó, “Collective Memories of Portuguese Colonial Action in Africa: Representations of the Colonial Past among Mozambicans and Portuguese Youths,” in *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, Vol. 4 (1) 2010, pp. 28–44; Manuela Ribeiro Sanches, ed., “Portugal não é um país pequeno”: *Contar a Império na pós-colonialidade* (Lisbon: Cotovia, 2006); Manuela Ribeiro Sanches, ed., *Deslocalizar a “Europa”: Antropologia, arte, literatura e história na pós-colonialidade* (Lisbon: Cotovia, 2005);

17. Here I will not include those printed illustrations, very often based on photographs, which became so popular within illustrated journals worldwide. On this subject see: Leonor Pires Martins, *Um Império de Papel: Imagens do Colonialismo Português na Imprensa Periódica Ilustrada (1875-1940)* (Lisbon: Edições 70, 2012).

18. Christraud M. Geary and Virginia-Lee Webb, eds., *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998); Aline Ripert and Claude Frère, *La Carte postale: son histoire, sa fonction sociale* (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon; Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1983).

19. Filipa Lowndes Vicente and Inês Vieira Gomes, “Inequalities on Trial: Conflict, Violence and Dissent in the Making of Colonial Angola (1907-1920)” in Francisco Bethencourt, ed., *Inequality in the Portuguese-Speaking World* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2018), pp. 217-242.

20. Geary, “The Black Female Body...,” pp. 152-156.

21. Geary, “The Image of the Black in Early African Photography,” pp. 141-166, pp. 143-159; Christraud M. Geary, “Through the Lenses of African Photographers: Depicting Foreigners and New Ways of Life, 1870-1950,” in David Bindman and Henry Louis Gates Jr., eds., *The Image of the Black in Western Art: The Twentieth Century: The Impact of Africa*, vol. V (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press, 2014), pp. 87-99.

22. I first wrote on the case of Rosinha for a newspaper article: Filipa Lowndes Vicente, “Rosita ou o Império como um objecto de desejo,” *Público*, 25 de Agosto de 2013 which was then translated into French: “Rosita. La Vénus noire de Porto,” *Books.fr: livres & idées du monde entier*, n.º 52, Março 2014, pp. 50-53. See also the exhibition catalogue of Domingo’s Alvão photographs of the 1934 Porto Colonial Exhibition: Maria do Carmo Serén, ed., *A Porta do Meio: a Exposição Colonial de 1934: Fotografias da casa Alvão* (Oporto: Centro Português de Fotografia, 2001).

23. See the excellent article by Isabel Morais, “‘Little Black Rose’ at the 1934 Exposição Colonial Portuguesa,” in *Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at World’s Fairs*, edited by T.J. Boisseau and Abigail M. Markwyn, foreword by Robert W. Rydell (Urbana:

University of Illinois Press, 2010), pp. 19-36. For a recent overview on colonial exhibitions see Nadia Vargavtig, *Des Empires en carton: Les expositions coloniales au Portugal et en Italie* (Madrid: Casa de Velazquez, 2016).

24. Elizabeth Edwards, "Anthropology and Photography (1910-1940)," in *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, vol. V, 2014 pp. 47-62, p. 48.

25. "O Banco de Angola na Exposição Colonial," in *A Província de Angola: Número extraordinário dedicado à Exposição Colonial Portuguesa e em honra da Restauração de Angola*, 15 Aug. 1934 (Luanda : Empresa Gráfica de Angola, 1934), p. 18.

26. On the encouragement of colonial emigration, see the work of Cláudia Castelo, *Passagens para África. O Povoamento de Angola e Moçambique com naturais da Metrópole (1920-1974)* (Porto: Afrontamento, 2007).

27. Geary, "The Black Female Body..." and Kimberly Wallace-Sanders, "The Body of a Myth: Embodying the Black Mammy Figure in Visual Culture," in Barbara Thompson, ed., *Black Womanhood: Images, Icons, and Ideologies of the African Body* (Hanover, NH: Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College; University of Washington Press, 2008), pp. 143-160, p. 149; pp. 163-179.

28. Lilia Moritz Schwarcz has been exploring this subject both in her written work and through the curating of exhibitions: Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, "Black Nannies: Hidden and Open Images in the Paintings of Nicolas-Antoine Taunay," *Women's History Review*, 2017, pp. 1-18; Boris Kossoy and Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, *Um Olhar Sobre o Brasil: a Fotografia na Construção da Imagem da Nação: 1833-2003* (Rio de Janeiro: Objetiva; Fundación Mapfre, 2012).

29. I previously wrote on this image in Filipa Lowndes Vicente, "Introduction", in Filipa Lowndes Vicente (ed.), *O Império da Visão: Fotografia no Contexto Colonial português (1860-1960)*, (Lisbon: Edições 70, 2014), pp. 11-29.

30. I have already written about these photographs in the book chapter: Vicente, Filipa Lowndes Vicente, "Retornar não é possível. Fotografia nas partidas, nos regressos e na distância," in Elsa Peralta, Bruno Góis, Joana Gonçalo Oliveira, eds., *Retornar: Traços de memória do fim do Império* (Lisboa: Edições 70, 2017), pp. 197-212. Júlia Garraio has also written on them in the article "Perdidas na exposição? Desafiar o imaginário colonial português através de fotografias de mulheres negras," in Ribeiro and Ribeiro, eds., *Geometrias da memória: 279-303*.

31. Vasco Araújo, *Botânica*, Exhibition at MNAC (Museu Nacional de Arte Contemporânea) from March 13, 2014 to May 18, 2014, curated by Emília Tavares. I have already written on this exhibition in Vicente "Introduction," pp. 11-29.

32. Maria José Lobo Antunes, *Regressos Quase Perfeitos. Memórias da Guerra em Angola* (Lisboa: Tinta da China, 2016).

33. Ana Martins Marques, "As casas pertencem aos vizinhos..." in *O Livro das Seme-lhanças. Poemas* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2015), p. 60

34. Edwards, "Anthropology and Photography (1910-1940)," pp. 47-62, p. 53

35. Azoulay, *Civil Imagination* (New York: Verso, 2012); Azoulay, *The Civil Contract of Photography* (London: Zone Books, 2008).

36. Garraio, Júlia, "Perdidas na exposição? Desafiar o imaginário colonial português através de fotografias de mulheres negras," in Ribeiro and Ribeiro, eds., *Geometrias da memória*: 279-303.

37. Afonso Dias Ramos's PhD (2017) at University College London is titled "Imageless in Angola: Living through the aftermath of war. Reinventing the photographic medium in a transnational age."

38. Since April 2017 Maria José Lobo Antunes has been a postdoctoral researcher at the Institute of Social Sciences-University of Lisbon where she is developing the project "Image, war and memory: colonial war photography in private collections and in institutional archives," funded by the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia.

39. Afonso Ramos, "Angola 1961, o horror das imagens," Filipa Lowndes Vicente, ed., *O Império da Visão: Fotografia no Contexto Colonial português (1860-1960)*, (Lisbon: Edições 70, 2014), pp. 397-432.

40. Barradas, Carlos, "Descolonizando enunciados: a quem serve objectivamente a fotografia?" in *O Império da Visão: Fotografia no Contexto Colonial português (1860-1960)*, (Lisbon: Edições 70, 2014), pp. 447-460. See also by the same author: "Poder ver, poder saber. A fotografia nos meandros do colonialismo e pós-colonialismo," *Arquivos da Memória-Número Temático "Antropologia, Arte e Imagem,"* 2009, 5-6, 59-79.

41. Filipa Lowndes Vicente, "Retornar não é possível: Fotografia nas partidas, nos regressos e na distância" and Maria José Lobo Antunes, "O que se vê e o que não pode ser visto: Fotografia, violência e Guerra," in Elsa Peralta, Bruno Góis, Joana Gonçalo Oliveira, eds., *Retornar: Traços de memória do fim do Império* (Lisbon: Edições 70, 2017), pp. 197-212; pp. 213-224.

42. In this article I am not addressing the moving image—documentary, cinema or home movies: on this see all the work of Maria do Carmo Piçarra, for example, Maria do Carmo Piçarra and Teresa Castro, *(Re)imagining African Independence. Film, Visual Arts and the Fall of the Portuguese Empire* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2017); Jorge Seabra, *África Nossa: o Império Colonial na Ficção Cinematográfica Portuguesa, 1945-1974* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2011); Joana Pimentel, "La Collection Coloniale de la Cinemateca Portuguesa," *Journal of Film Preservation* 64 (2002), pp. 22-30. On the artistic uses of the Colonial Film Archive see the work of Teresa Castro: Teresa Castro, "In-Between Memory and History: Artists' Films and the Portuguese Colonial Archive", in Piçarra and Castro, eds, *(Re)imagining African Independence*, pp. 205-223; on television documentaries see Afonso Dias Ramos, "Rarely penetrated by camera or film: NBC's *Angola: Journey to a War (1961)*", pp. 111-130.

43. Mieke Bal, "A Postcard from the Edge", *Double Exposures: The Subject of Cultural Analysis* (New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 195-224.

44. Saidiya Hartman, “The Beauty of the Ungovernable” within the Seminar *Imperial Origins of Racialized Lives: From Enslavement to Black Lives Matter*, Mellon Sawyer Seminar on Displacement, Brown University, 7<sup>th</sup> April 2017.

45. Saidiya Hartman, “Venus in two Acts,” in *Small Axe*, Number 26 (vol. 12, Number 2), June 2008, pp. 1-14.

46. Krista Thompson, “The Evidence of things Not Photographed: Slavery and Historical Memory in the British West Indies,” *Representations*, vol. 113, No.1 (Winter 2011), pp. 39-71.

47. Erin Haney, *Photography and Africa* (London: Reaktion Books, 2010), pp. 49-55, 71-76.

48. Patricia Hayes, “Visual History in Photographs,” review of Karel Schoeman, *The Face of the Country: A South African Family Album, 1860-1910* (Cape Town, Pretoria, Johannesburg: Human and Rousseau, 1996), in *The Journal of African History*, vol. 39, No. 1 (1998), pp. 168-170.

49. Hayes refers here to the important project taken by Santu Mofokeag, *The Black Photo Album/Look At Me: 1890-1950*, “a series of digitally reworked 19<sup>th</sup> century, colonial portraits of Black South African families” which was exhibited at Tate Gallery.

50. Christopher Pinney, “What’s photography got to do with it?” in *Photography’s Orientalism: New Essays on Colonial Representation*, edited by Ali Behdad and Luke Gartlan (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2013), pp. 33-52.

51. For example the *Foto Melo* Photographic Studio in Mindelo, Cabo Verde (Cape Vert). This was the main photographic studio on the Cape Verdean Island of São Vicente for around a century, 1890 to 1990. It was founded by Djindjon (João Henriques) de Melo, and continued by his son Papim (Eduardo Ernesto) de Melo and finally, by another younger member of the family, therefore three generations of men. The archive of the *Foto Melo* has more than 150 thousand photographs, a major part being from individual studio portraits, commissioned by the local population across many generations. In 2011 the Centro Cultural Português do Mindelo, with the financial support of the Portuguese Instituto Camões started a conservation, digitalization and cataloguing process, which involved different people but which was never concluded due to the discontinuation of financial aid. I thank my colleague at the ICS-University of Lisbon, João Vasconcelos for this information on the photographic studio, as well as Inês Vieira Gomes, PhD candidate at the same Institute, for first telling me about this studio.

52. Deborah Willis, “Picturing the New Negro Woman,” in *Black Womanhood: Images, Icons, and Ideologies of the African Body* (Hanover, NH: Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College; University of Washington Press, 2008), pp. 227-245.

53. Ifi Amadiume, “African Women’s Body Images in Postcolonial Discourse and Resistance to Neo-Crusaders” and Barbara Thompson, “Decolonizing Black Bodies: Personal Journeys in the Contemporary Voice,” in Barbara Thompson, ed., *Black Womanhood: Images*,

*Icons, and Ideologies of the African Body* (Hanover, NH: Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College; University of Washington Press, 2008), pp. 49-69, pp. 279-311.

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FILIPA LOWNDES VICENTE, a historian, is a researcher at the Institute of Social Sciences of the University of Lisbon (ICS-ULisboa). In 2015 she was a Visiting Scholar at King's College, University of London and in 2016, at Brown University, Providence, USA. She completed her Ph.D. at the University of London (Goldsmiths College, 2000). Her Ph.D. thesis was the origin for the book *Viagens e Exposições: D. Pedro V na Europa do Século XIX* (Lisbon: Gótica, 2003), winner of the "Victor de Sá" Prize in Contemporary History in Portugal (2004). She has also published *Other Orientalisms. India between Florence and Bombay, 1860-1900* (published in Lisbon 2009, and in India and Italy in 2012) and *Entre Dois Impérios. Viajantes Britânicos em Goa (1800-1940)*. Her publications on women artists and feminist art history include *A Arte sem História. Mulheres e cultura artística (séculos XVI-XX)* (Lisbon: Athena, 2012) and the exhibition catalogue, *Aurélia de Sousa, Mulher Artista, 1866-1922* (Lisbon: Tinta da China, 2016). She coordinated the research project *Knowledge and Vision. Photography in the Portuguese Colonial Archive and Museum (1850-1950)*, which resulted in the book, *O Império da Visão. Fotografia no contexto colonial português (1860-1960)*, published in 2014. Her work has concentrated on intellectual, visual, exhibition and cultural history in different spaces in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, from Europe to India. Her approach is mainly historical, but her research also draws from other areas, from visual culture to anthropology.

1. *Beleza Bijagoz, Guiné, 1ª Exposição Colonial Portuguesa, Portugal, Porto, 1934.* Black and white photographic postcard. Photograph by Domingos Alvão. Uncirculated. (Collection of the author).

2. *Indígenas Balantas-Guiné. 1ª Exposição Colonial Portuguesa. Portugal. Porto, 1934.* “Rosinha” is standing on the right side. Black and white photographic postcard. Photograph by Domingos Alvão. Uncirculated. (Collection of the author).

3. *Guia Oficial. Secção Colonial da Exposição do Mundo Português.* [Official Guide. Colonial Section. Exhibition of the Portuguese World]. With a black and white photograph of two women. Lisbon. 1940. (Collection of the author).

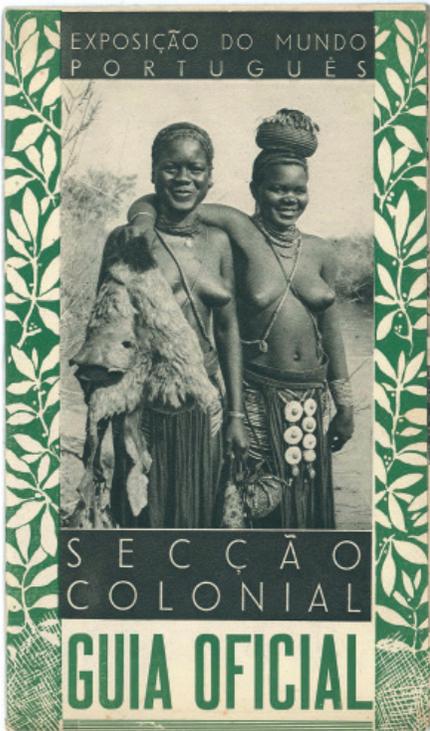
4. *Como se deve ver a Exposição* [How one should see the Exhibition]. Inside page of the cover of the leaflet *Official Guide. Colonial Section. Exhibition of the Portuguese World.* Caption under the black and white photograph reads *Indígenas de Bijagós* [Indigenous from the Bijagós]. Lisbon. 1940. (Collection of the author).



1.



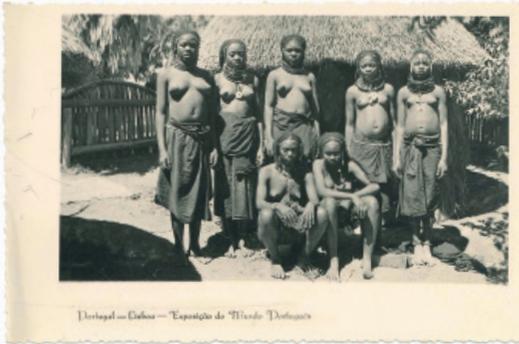
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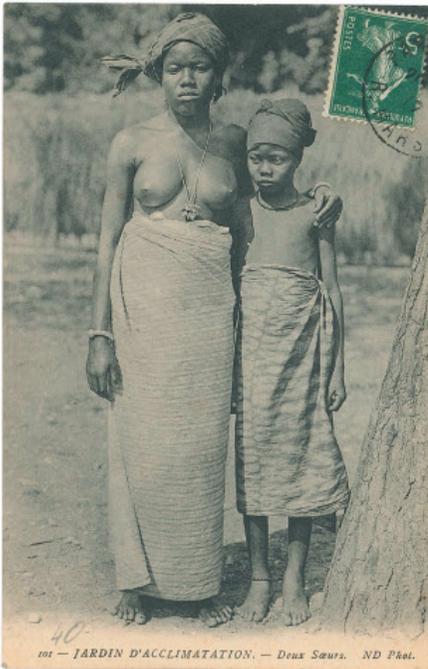
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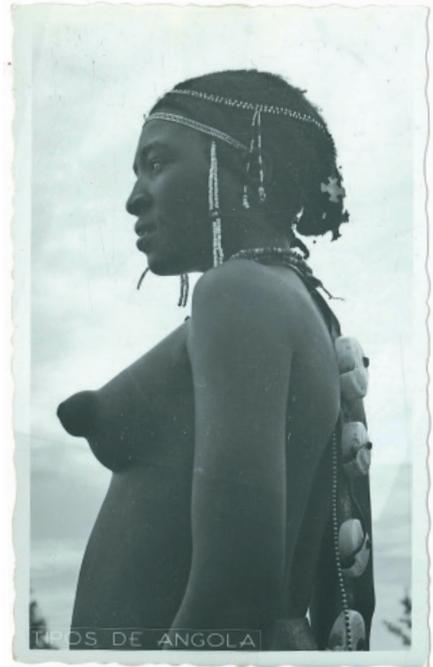
5.



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5. *Portugal. Lisboa. Exposição do Mundo Português*. [Portugal. Lisbon. Exhibition of the Portuguese World]. Photograph with a printed caption under the image; no writing on the back (probably a commercial photograph on sale at the exhibition site). Uncirculated. (Collection of the author).

6. *Angola. Penteado de Noiva. Secção Colonial da Exposição do Mundo Português. 1140—Duplo Centenário—1940*. Neogravura, Lda., Lisboa. Photograph by Cunha e Costa. Circulated. Manuscript text begins on the back of the postcard and ends on the front. The text is written in an almost illegible, humorous mixture of badly written Spanish and French. (Collection of the author).

7. *Jardin d'Acclimatation. Deux soeurs* [Two Sisters]. Black and white photographic postcard. "ND Phot". Circulated. Paris. 12, 1918 sent to Le Havre. (Collection of the author).

8. *Tipos de Angola*. Black and white photographic postcard published by "Foto-Sport". Circulated. The postcard was sent from Luanda on October 30, 1953, to Lisbon, to the civil servants of one of the departments of the Instituto Nacional de Estatística in Lisbon [National Institute of Statistics]: "*Queridos Ex-colegas. Enriqueçai o vosso simpático album com a foto da "miss Angola" que em nada fica atrás da Silvana Mangano como podereis constatar. Que tal, Hei???? Abraça-vos o ex-colega e amigo [assinado]*". [Dear Ex-Coleagues. Enrich your nice album with the photograph of "miss Angola" who, as you can see, could be compared with Silvana Mangano. What do you think???? Your ex-colleague and friend embraces you [signed]. (Collection of the author).

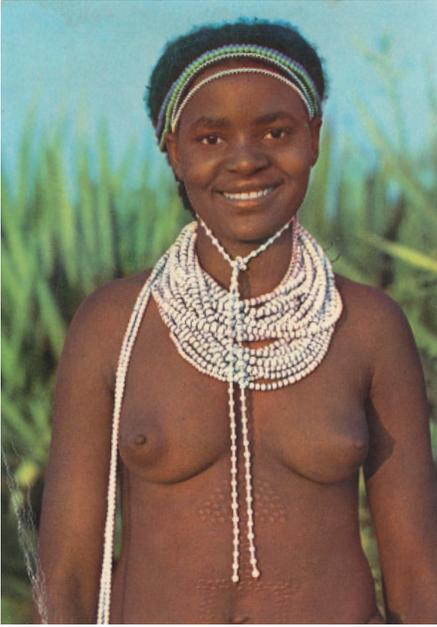
9. *Grupo Étnico “Umbundo”: Mulher “Kaconda”*. Distrito da Huíla. Angola [Ethnic Group “Umbundo”. “Kaconda Woman”. Huíla District-Angola]. Photographic Colored Postcard. Edition “Foto-Polo”, Luanda. Uncirculated. (Collection of the author).

10. *Beleza Negra. Tipo Índigena* [Black Beauty. Indigeneous type]. Photographic Colored Postcard. Printed in Belgium. Uncirculated. (Collection of the author).

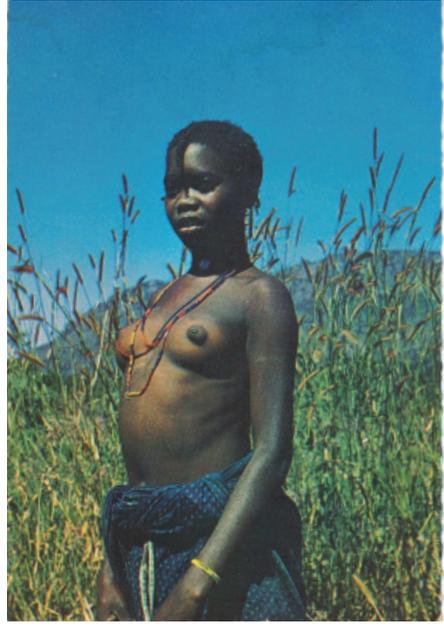
11. *Lesotho. Southern Africa. Perfect balance and poise is necessary when strolling with babe and clay pot*. Photographic Colored Postcard. Publishers (PTY) LTD, Durban, South Africa. Circulated. The back of the postcard is occupied entirely by a manuscript text written in Portuguese: “JHB [Johannesbourg], 4/6/76 “*Mãezinha, Hoje é esta encantadora selvagem! Repare bem no olhar dela e, veja lá, se é ou não, o que lhe tenho dito. Um olhar mau e um ar insolente, não é? Esta gente é toda ruim e odeia todos os brancos. Eles, além de pretos, invejam tudo o que branco tem. Isto daqui a uns tempos, vai ser uma tragédia, por causa destes tipos. Pronto. Aqui tem mais uma postal para a sua coleção e olhe que há muita gente, [sic] têm coleções destes postais que são uma maravilha. Beijinhos e saudades [assinado].*” [Mummy,

Today this lovely wild woman! Look at her gaze and tell me if she isn't as I have been telling you? An evil gaze and an insolent look, isn't it? These people are all mean and hate all whites. They, apart from being black, envy everything the white has. Soon this will be a tragedy, because of these guys. There. Here you have another postcard for your collection and remember there are many people with these kinds of postcard collections that are wonderful. (...) [signed]”. (Collection of the author).

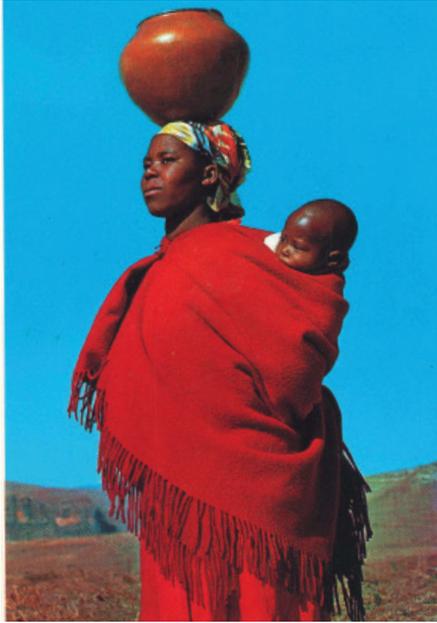
12. *Rapariga fula (Bissau). Guiné Portuguesa* [young Fula woman (Bissau). Portuguese Guinea]. “Fotografia verdadeira. Reprodução proibida. Edition “FOTO SERRA” — C.P. 239 — Bissau. Impresso em Portugal”. Uncirculated. (Collection of the author).



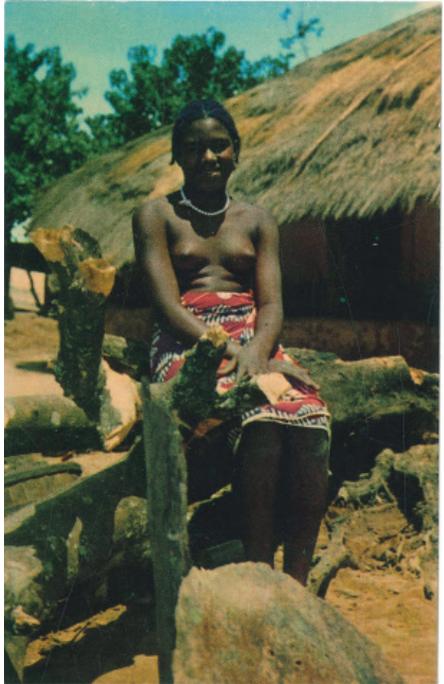
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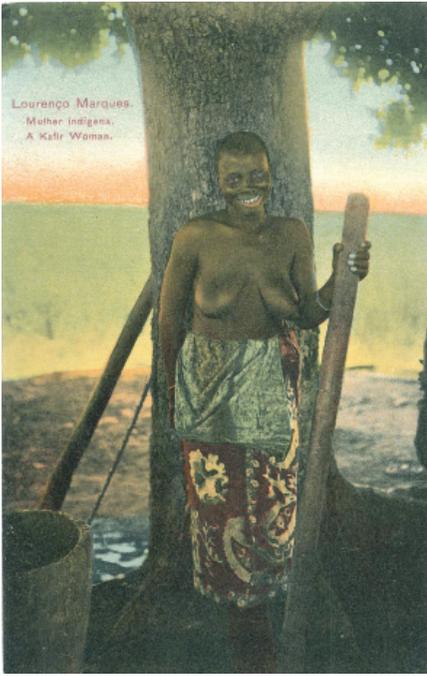
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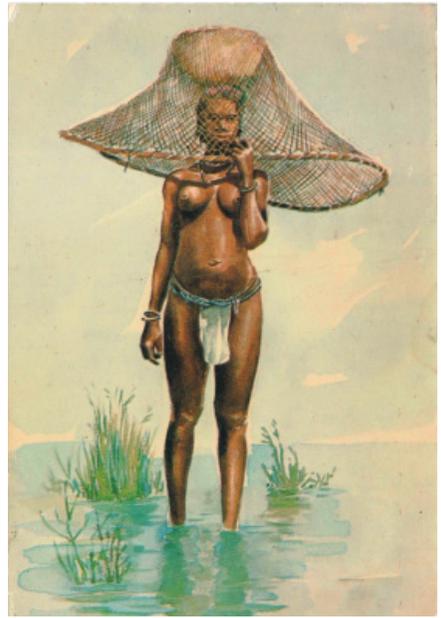
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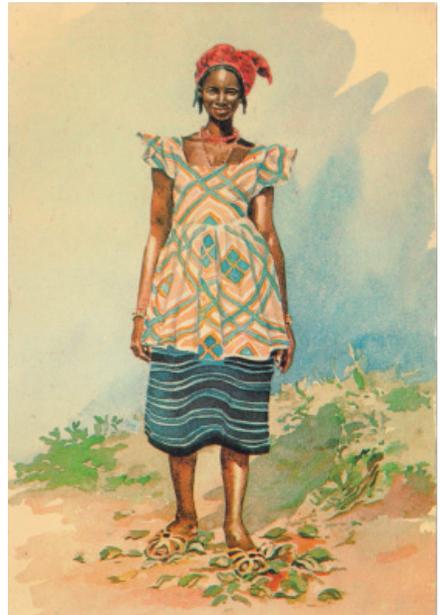
13.



14.



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16.



17.

13. Lourenço Marques. *Mulher Indígena. A Kafir Woman*. Photographic Colored Postcard with printed caption in Portuguese and English. Published in Lourenço Marques. Circulated. Postcard sent from Lourenço Marques 7/4/1922 to a woman in Abrantes, Portugal. Manuscript text on the back: “*Cristina, Envio-te uma das figuras mais atraentes que aqui há a não serem as inglesas e algumas portuguesas o resto é tudo isto, e não são más, em breve tenho casamento feito com uma como esta, não achas que esta é interessante? A cidade não é feia mas ainda não é Lisboa; (...)* [assinado]” [Cristina, I send you one of the most attractive figures one can find here as beyond the English women and a few Portuguese the rest is like this, and they are not bad, soon I will have an arranged marriage with one like this, don’t you think this one is interesting? The city is not ugly but it is not yet Lisbon; (...)] [signed]”. (Collection of the author).

14. *Pescadora (papel)*—*Guiné Portuguesa. Agência-Geral do Ultramar-Lisboa*. Colored picture postcard. Uncirculated. (Collection of the author).

15. *Campune (Bijagós)*—*Guiné Portuguesa. Agência-Geral do Ultramar-Lisboa*. Colored picture postcard. Uncirculated. (Collection of the author).

16. *Mulher Fula*—*Guiné Portuguesa. Agência-Geral do Ultramar-Lisboa*. Colored picture postcard. Uncirculated. (Collection of the author).

17. “O Banco de Angola na Exposição Colonial [1934]” [The Bank of Angola at the Colonial Exhibition [1934], in *A Província de Angola. Número extraordinário dedicado à Exposição Colonial Portuguesa Portuguesa e em honra da Restauração de Angola* (15 Ag. 1934) (Luanda: Empresa Gráfica de Angola, 1934), p. [18], Cortesia da Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto.

18. [Woman carrying a baby]. Black and white photograph with manuscript text on the back. Dated 15/11/61 [Angola]. "*Esta preta é do Norte de Angola (...) estas mulheres do norte não parece mas são mais estúpidas e selvagens que as do Sul, esta é a mulher dum "Soba" da região do "Dembe" é lá muito para o norte e muito no interior do mato. [assinado]*" [This black woman is from the North of Angola (...) these women from the North do not seem so but are more stupid and wild than those of the South, this is the wife of a "Soba" from the "Dembe" region which is in the farthest north and very much in the jungle interior. [signed]]. (Collection of the author).

19. Photograph. Black and white. No written reference on the photograph. Portuguese soldier and a Guinean woman. Guinea. Undated (1960s-1970s). Private Collection (in the family of the photographed soldier).

20. Photograph. Black and white. No written reference on the photograph. Portuguese soldier with a group of Guinean people, mostly women and children. Guinea. Undated (1960s-1970s). Private Collection (in the family of the photographed soldier).

21. Photograph. Black and white. No written reference on the photograph. Portuguese soldier with a Guinean woman and baby. Guinea. Undated (1960s-1970s). Private Collection (in the family of the photographed soldier).



18.



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23.



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25.

22. Photographic album where figs. 19-21 are mounted with metal corners. On this page six photographs of the same dimensions (including figs. 19 and 21) are placed next to each other. In all of them, the Portuguese soldier appears next to a young woman. Guinea. Undated [1960s-1970s]. Private collection (in the family of the photographed soldier). Photograph taken in January 2018.

23. Photographic album where figs. 19-21 are mounted with metal corners. On this page fig. 20 is placed next to another photograph where the Portuguese soldier is photographed in the same pose and gesture as seen in other images, but he is here surrounded by children. Guinea. Undated (1960s-1970s). Private collection (in the family of the photographed soldier). Photograph taken in January 2018.

24. Photographic album where figs. 19-21 are mounted with metal corners. On this page two photographs are placed next to two postcards. The one on the left belongs to the same postcard series as fig. 12: "*Dançarino mandinga (Farim). Guiné Portuguesa* [Mandinga dancer (Farim). Portuguese Guinea], "Fotografia verdadeira. Reprodução proibida. Edition "FOTO SERRA"—C.P. 239—Bissau". Private collection (in the family of the photographed soldier). Photograph taken in January 2018.

25. Plastic box with photographs on sale at the Feira da Ladra market in Lisbon. Photograph taken by the author in December 2017.