BETWEEN IMAGE AND OBJECT: CHICHICO ALKMIM'S PHOTOGRAPHY AND THE AFRO-BRAZILIAN SUBJECT.

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Abstract: The history of photography and the legacy of slavery in Brazil converge in the work of the largely understudied Francisco Augusto de Alkmim (1886 -1978), also known as Chichico. Self-taught, he established his studio by 1919 in Diamantina, a once prosperous mining city in the state of Minas Gerais. Over 5000 of his surviving negatives capture family festivals, small-town life, individual and group portraiture from numerous social and ethnic backgrounds, a varied and variegated racial spectrum typically associated with the country. Although Chichico's images convey a post-slavery complexity [and fantasy] inherent in the visualization of a "Brazilian racial identity," they are, nevertheless, useful tools for exploring that which is concealed and unspoken. Drawing on theoretical scholarship in hauntology and spectrality, as well as Critical Race theories and Black Feminist thought, my work argues that Chichico's photographs reflect the Brazilian culture of concealment regarding race and gender issues. On the surface, these images reproduce ideas of racial democracy and the positive aspects of racial miscegenation, but they also carry centuries of abuse that is hidden, obscured, or ignored. Each chapter centers on key photographs that manifest and reveal various aspects of Brazilian culture: a haunting family portrait shows the in-between-spaces occupied by Black and mixed-race women and raises questions about informal adoptions in rural Brazil; a group portrait of Carnaval foliões (partygoers) speaks of modernity in the margins through the lens of a peculiar party drug, lança-perfume; and a captivating double portrait uncovers long-standing mythologies surrounding the visualization of Afro-Brazilian woman in forging a national identity. This study concludes that Chichico's photographs propel us to reflect on Brazilian myths that emerged over a century ago but still linger today, urging us to question current institutionalized practices and reflect on systematic global conditions regarding race and gender inequalities.

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INTRODUCTION

Brazilian histories of race, gender, and class converge in the works of studio photographer Francisco August de Alkmim, also known as Chichico. Self-taught, he established his studio by 1919 in the once-prominent mining city of Diamantina in the state of Minas Gerais, located in the Southeast of Brazil. Chichico's photographic corpus includes images of city life, family festivals, group and individual portraits of sitters from numerous social and ethnic backgrounds. By simply taking pictures of people who passed by his studio, he created a "metonymy of Brazil," depicting the nation, its racial makeup, and its social struggles.[1] Locally, his camera captured in detail the lives of residents from a town grappling with new norms introduced by the abolition of slavery (1888) and the end of neocolonial mining (1889)[2] , standing as a historical record of this transitional period.

[1] Eucanaã Ferraz. "Diamantes, Vidro e Cristal." *Chichico Alkmim: fotógrafo*. (São Paulo: Ipis Gráfica e Editora, 2017): 16

[2] Gold and diamond extraction in Minas Gerais took place roughly between 1730 and 1870. Brazil became an independent country in 1822, but economic and political systems of exploitation remained in place until the abolition of slavery (1888) and the country's transition from monarchy to republic a year later (1889), a period which I will refer in this thesis as neocolonialism. For more information see Emília Viotti da Costa. *The Brazilian Empire: Myths & Histories* Rev. ed. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

Portuguese exploitation of Brazil's territory began in the 1500s with the extraction of brazilwood, sugar production,[3] and later the mining of gold and diamond.[4] Slavery was central to the colonial system and an integral part of Brazilian society representing labor, capital, and status. It has been estimated that Brazil imported close to four million slaves – more than any other country in the Americas and perhaps ten times more than in the United States.[5] Brazil achieved its independence relatively peacefully in 1822, with a Portuguese Prince establishing a monarchy.[6] Thus Brazilians had gained autonomy; traditional economic structures continued essentially unchanged. By the time Brazil abolished slavery in 1888, many Black and mixed-race Brazilians were already free, yet several continued to perform similar jobs for little to no pay. Paternalism and slave or subordinate loyalty are often cited as reasons for the endurance of systematic exploitation, one that lingers even today.[7]

In Minas Gerais, the discovery of diamonds and gold in the 1700s along the Jequitinhonha River provoked rapid interest in the region, greatly increasing its free male and slave population.[8] By 1734, Diamantina, or Teijuco, as it was called then, was one of the richest

[3] Dominant exportation product of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth-centuries.
[4] For more information, see A. J. R. Russell-Wood, "Preconditions and Precipitants of the Independence Movement in Portuguese America" *From Colony to Nation: Essays on the Independence of Brazil.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975). 3-40.
[5] Lamonte Aidoo. *Slavery Unseen: Sex, Power, and Violence in Brazilian History*. (Durham:Duke University Press, 2018) 13.
[6] A. J. R. Russell-Wood, "Preconditions and Precipitants…" (1975): 4
[7] Emília Viotti da Costa. "Masters and Slaves: From Slave Labor to Free Labor." In *The Brazilian Empire: Myths & Histories* Rev. ed. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. 125- 171.
[8] By 1832, African slaves accounted for 53,6% of the total population, with the vast majority arriving straight from the foreign continent and utterly alien to the geography, language, and Brazilian costumes. See Donald Ramos. "Slavery in Brazil: A Case Study of Diamantina, Minas Gerais." in *The Americas* (2018): 47-59

diamond mining regions in Brazil, being featured in eighteenth century world maps.[9] By the 1870s, unable to compete with African diamonds, Diamantina's mining profits decreased drastically, driving the economy to quickly change and adapt, moving from mining dependent to commercially based, textile emerging as its primary industry of the early twentieth century.[10] Chichico's photographs, produced between 1910 and 1955, captured this transitional and the town's attempt to modernize its economy and distance itself from neocolonial practices.

After Chichico's death in 1978, his family donated over 5000 negatives to governmental and educational institutions.[11] In recent years, Chichico's work has received considerable national attention with a long-standing exhibition organized by the Instituto Moreira Salles, traveling through the institute's three locations in Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo.[12] Despite national interest heightened by these exhibitions and some international attention provided by blog reviews,[13] the literature surrounding Chichico's work is still scarce. Only an exhibition catalog containing four essays[14] and 2005 bilingual photographic book authored by

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[9] Marcos Lobato Martins "Diamantina, A Capital Oitocentista do Norte de Minas Gerais" in *Chichico Alkmim: fotógrafo*. (São Paulo: Ipis Gráfica e Editora, 2017) 171.

[10] Marcos Lobato Martins, "*Comércio, Indústria E Projeção Regional Da Diamantina Oitocentista: As Fragilidades "do grande Empório Do Norte,"*(São Paulo: Universidade Federal dos Vales do Jequitinhonha e Macuri*,* 2016), 1-19.

[11] In 1998 Chichico's photographic corpus was taken to be cleaned and cataloged by Fevale (Faculdade de Filosofia e Letras da Fundação Educacional do Vale do Jequitinhonha) in a project funded by the Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa (research fund) in the state of Minas Gerais and UFMG (Federal University of Minas Gerais). In 2005 the family donated his entire archive to Fevale. Today, the negatives are on loan with the Instituto Moreira Salles.

[12] Exhibitions were held at the Instituto Moreira Salles Cultural centers in Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo between May, 2017 and July, 2019.

[13] Jim Mortram. "Review: Chichico Alkmim, Photographer." *The United Nations Of Potography* (blog), n.d. https://unitednationsofphotography.com/2018/02/09/review-chichico-alkmim-photographer/.

[14] Catalog organized by Poet and exhibition Curator Eucanaã Ferraz, including texts by Historians Dayse Lúcide Silva Santos and Marcos Lobato Martins, and Photographer and Theorist Pedro Karp Vasquez.

Chichico's Granddaughter Veronica Alkmim França[15] stand as a direct secondary inquiry into his work. Recognizing the inherent connection between Chichico's photographs and Brazilian culture, as well as perceiving paramount overarching issues related to colonialism, slavery, race and gender, a more specialized analysis of his work is not only clear but also critical.

Although Chichico's photographs convey the racial continuum, complexity, and fantasy inherent in the visualization of a "Brazilian racial identity," they are, nevertheless, useful tools for exploring that which is concealed, unspoken, or invisible. Drawing on theoretical scholarship focused on spectrality and hauntology, as well as Critical Race theories and Black Feminist thought, my work argues that Chichico's photographs reflect the Brazilian culture of concealment regarding race and gender issues. On the surface, they reproduce ideas of racial democracy and the positive aspects of racial miscegenation, but they also carry centuries of abuse that is hidden, obscured, or ignored.

The term hauntology was introduced by French philosopher Jacques Derrida in 1993 as a concept referring to the return and the persistence of elements from the past, specifically to articulate feelings that lingered via Karl Marx's writings.[16] Derrida uses the term spectrality or "specter" to define "ghosts" and "ghostliness," not referring to the spooky figures defined by pop culture, but as a way to evoke links between "visibility and invisibility, life and death, materiality and immateriality within the humanities."[17] Scholars generally apply hauntology and spectrality to literature dealing with time, memory, and trauma, and notably essays related to the African

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[15] Verônica Alkmim and Flander de Sousa. *O Olhar Eterno de Chichico Alkmim.* (Belo Horizonte: Editora B, 2005).
[16] Jacques Derrida. Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International. (New York: Routledge, 1994).
[17] María Del Pilar Blanco and Esther Peeren. "The Spectral Turn / Introduction" *The Spectralities Reader: Ghosts and Haunting in Contemporary Cultural Theory*. (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 2.

diaspora and Indigenous studies. Examples of works that apply Derrida's theories include Toni Morrison's popular novel *Beloved* which cross-examines the catastrophic legacy of slavery via the appearance of a ghost,[18] Afrofuturism and its attempts to claim and refigure a future in spite of a negated past as seen in movies like Black Panther,[19] and Maria Fernandez's inquiries on Indigenous exploitations through the appropriation and glorification of Mexico's ancient ruins.[20]

Moreover, Derrida's theories are particularly useful in attempts to expose or explain all that is out of reach, buried, and concealed due to the literal destruction of historical documents, loss for words, or even the inability to articulate one's experiences. Furthermore, hauntology also provides a call for action, or as Avery Gordon describes, it beseeches "something-to-be-done," either through disclosure or by a possible re-narration of events.[21] This thesis is a direct attempt to do-something by re-evaluating Brazilian histories superficially presumed as presented in Chichico's photographs. Through careful observation and by using unconventional ways of thinking, my goal is to manifest a peripheral view, one outside normative rhetoric that defines and confines the space of Afro-Brazilian women.

Besides their underlying value for investigating Brazilian history of trauma and mythologies surrounding its racial makeup, hauntings and deathly matters have long been associated with the photographic medium itself — not only the ambiguous and fluid aspect of

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[18] Toni Morrison. Beloved. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).
[19] *On Black Panther, Afrofuturism, and Astroblackness: A Conversation with Reynaldo Anderson.* The Black Scholar. March 13, 2008. On Black Panther, Afrofuturism, and Astroblackness: A Conversation with Reynaldo Anderson
[20] María Fernandez."Of Ruins and Ghosts: The Social Functions of Pre-Hispanic Antiquity in Nineteenth-Century Mexico," in *Cosmopolitanism in Mexican Visual Culture*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014).
[21] Avery Gordon. *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*. (Minneapolis: (University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

producing an image as a mere trace from the past, but also its inherent association with mourning and death recognized by a myriad of theorists such as Susan Sontag, Roland Barthes, and Derrida himself. All remind us that photographs are a failed attempt to preserve something that is already gone, that exists only in that split second. The medium bears "witness to the relationships between life and survival, destruction and preservation, mourning and memory."[22] More than any other artistic representation, the photograph emerges, announcing its own immortality as well as the death of the sitters. [23]

In this thesis, hauntology will serve as a catalyst to question dominant discourses that hover Brazilian cultural memory and visual culture. However, to further substantiate my arguments, I rely heavily on feminist thought[24] and Critical Race theory.[25] Black feminism arose in the United States circa 1970 as a need to critique previous feminist thought that failed to acknowledge issues of race when describing gender subjugation. Over the years, Latinx and people of African descent across the globe have adapted and revised feminist theories, opening the path to new ways of thinking. A critical facet of Black feminism is the realization that the Black female experience has, for the most part, been narrated and visualized by others, often a white male.[26] To regain agency and authority over their stories, Black feminists seek to include more diverse voices into the discourse to more accurately describe their experiences and revise

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[22] Gerhard Richter, ... Copy, Archive, Signature: A Conversation on Photography. (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2010). XXX Introduction.
[23] Susan Sontag. On Photography. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977): 70.
[24] Consists of ideas and concepts written by black women to clarify and advocate for Black Women's rights. A key point of black feminist thought is the idea of intersectionality theorized by Kimberlee Crenshaw and how black women often suffer from multiple forms of oppression such as gender, class, sexual orientation, and others.
[25] Theoretical framework used to examine society and culture in terms of race, class, and power as opposed to white supremacy views.
[26] Hortense J. Spillers. "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book." *The John Hopkins University Press. 17, no. 2 (*1987): 61-81.

history. Turning our attention to the Afro-Brazilian women in Chichico's work with this framework allows us to fill the void, even if ever so slightly, and correct past erasures.

Critical Race theory has also proven incredibly useful to my analysis of Chichico's photography not only because it contextualizes race relations during the period in which the images were taken but because it often exposes power relations that continue to exist today. As the last country in South America to abolish slavery, Brazil transitioned from a strong engagement in theories of "branqueamento" (whitening) and eugenics in the 1920s[27] to following Gilberto Freyre's Luso-Tropicalism theory that Portuguese colonization in Brazil took place more harmoniously and humanely.[28] In the early nineteenth century, like many other Latin American countries, Brazil was reformulating its identity. To counter negative perceptions of Brazil as a Black and mixed-race country, Brazilians asserted that the nation was going through a process of modernization and racial improvement.[29] Declaring racial mixing as a positive aspect of Brazilian society was less arduous than undertaking the "whitening" of an utterly heterogeneous nation as proposed by eugenics.[30] That is when all things African and Indigenous gained popularity, such as feijoada, samba, and Carnaval's colorful aesthetics, becoming a source of national pride for the elites. Within this context, the figure of Freyre and the idea that Brazil had resolved its racial problems through "mestiçagem" began to take hold. Race theorists worldwide have criticized Freyre's theories, denouncing the myth by exposing concealed history and presenting glaring evidence of racial disparities in the country.[31] In this thesis, I will argue

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[27] Nancy Leys Stepan. "Eugenics, Race, and the Nation of Brazil," in *The Hours of Eugenics.* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991) 153 – 170.
[28] Gilberto Freyre. *The Masters and the Slaves (Casa-Grande & Senzala) A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*. (New York: Knopf, 1956).
[29] Nancy Leys Stepan. "Eugenics, Race, and the Nation of Brazil," 154.
[30] Ibid. 154 -160.
[31] Barbara Weinstein, Micol Siegel, and Lamonte Aidoo.

that although demystified by scholars, Freyre's "ghost," in the form of his idea of racial democracy, still lingers within Brazilian culture, as evident in the responses given to Chichico's photographs.

The correlations and the interweaving conditions shared by Black feminist thought, Critical Race theory, hauntology, and the medium of photography are altogether compelling. Each, in its own way, deals with visibility and invisibility and the attempt to manifest something that is no longer there – an attempt to seek truth, present it, and preserve it as cultural memories somehow. How can one authenticate a particular version of events? Ultimately, they all seek and fail endlessly to document and make visible a world that cannot yet materialize in its entirety. Through new discourses and the iteration of diverse visualizations, one can hope to piece distant fragments together and perhaps get closer to presenting a more just and aware version of events.

CHAPTER OUTLINES

Chapter two will focus on one specific family photograph of a husband and wife and their two children, flanked by a young girl of African descent and Chichico's wife. The two marginal figures were not intended to be part of the image; they are present to hold a picturesque backdrop for a family of four. Thanks to the preservation of Chichico's negatives, however, curator Eucanaã Ferraz was able to resurrect the uncropped original exposure, literally returning it from [visual] oblivion. In this chapter, I argue that the photographer's assistants, standing in the margins, occupy an in-between space, like ghosts. It is not only the presence of the marginal that unsettles but the marginalization's very endurance. The literal cropping of the margin represents the historical erasure experienced by Afro-Brazilian women while simultaneously drawing attention to the persistent authoritative practices that limit their place within society.

Chapter three will focus on a group photograph of Carnaval foliões as I explore aspects of modernity in the rural town of Diamantina. Bordering states of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, Diamantina established itself as a historical, commercial, and intellectual municipality that was "liberal in terms of politics, but profoundly Catholic and conservative in terms of aesthetics."[32] Different from Brazilian Modernists such as Mario de Andrade, Chichico's photographs may be experienced as more technical and constrained. However, the fluid aspects of a city that simultaneously accepts and rejects bordering influences, whether in ideals, culture, or in choices of visual representation, are throughout represented in Chichico's images. Chichico and his subjects actively used and adapted the modern to fit local discourses and individual inclinations. From a popular Carnaval drug to the automobile, to emphasis on knowledge and education, the signifiers of modernity in Chichico's photographs manifest the peculiarities of Diamantina and the push and pull between local and external influences imposed on its residents. Other key photographs will be used as visual evidence, as I argue that race, gender, and modernity were entangled and interconnected in Diamantina. For clarification, in this thesis, I use the term Modernism or Modernists when referring to the Brazilian Modern Movement that emerged in São Paulo with the Semana da Arte Moderna (1922); and the terms modernity or modern when referring to the early nineteenth-century transition to an industry-based economy concurrent with the rise of new attitudes, practices, and socio-cultural norms.

Chapter four centers on an image captured by Chichico of two Afro-Brazilian women used to illustrate the front cover of a 2017 exhibition catalog. Who are these women? What can they tell us about Diamantina's past (1920) and the Brazilian society today (2020)? In this

[32] Translated Marcos Lobato Martins "Diamantina, A Capital Oitocentista do Norte de Minas Gerais" in *Chichico Alkmim: fotógrafo*. (São Paulo: Ipis Gráfica e Editora, 2017) 173.

chapter, I argue that this photograph has lost, over time, its affiliation and closeness with its referent (sitters). In other words, the image is now perceived through the Brazilian collective and cultural memory that identifies and classifies the lives of Afro-Brazilian women according to white dominant capitalist discourses. Under this context, a hidden agenda emerges, potentially dictating visual forms of visualization and propagating mythologies related to Brazilian racial democracy and the miscegenation of races. Adopting an intersectional feminist framework and informed by Derrida's theories on photography, memory, and archive, I will attempt to uncover these inclinations, accessible only, through careful visual and textual investigation.

Via careful slow-looking exercises and thorough questioning of dominant narratives, I hope to expose inconsistencies in current discourses and past erasures, widening the field much like the act of exposing an additional margin of a photograph. Chichico's photographs propel us to reflect on post-slavery Brazil and urge us to consider our current and global condition regarding race and gender inequalities. Questions related to authenticity, ethnography, and how white elite audiences globally view and respond to images of Black and brown women are a primal consideration in my work. Ultimately, we can all learn from Chichico.

CHAPTER 2

PHOTOGRAPHY UNCUT: THE FEMALE GHOSTS AND THE FAMILY PORTRAIT

> "O extracampo faz retornar algo da temporalidade, consegue um certo descongelamento da imagem - da sua história - e acaba por ativar novos mecanismos de comoção."[33]
>
> "The outer margin enables a sort of temporal return; it can, somewhat, unfreeze the image - its history - and ends up activating new mechanisms of commotion."
>
> Eucanaã Ferraz, 2017

Sometime between 1910 and 1919, Francisco August de Alkmim (1886-1978), also known as Chichico, captured both a prosaic and extraordinary scene in the small town of Diamantina, a town located in the southeast of Brazil [Figure 1]. In the photograph, a seated father secures a baby boy on his lap. His wife stands near him with one hand placed gently on his back, an endearing gesture that visibly reaffirms a nuptial bond. The couple's eldest son stands in front of the mother, with his chin down, shyly looking upwards and caressing his hairline. All family members are well-dressed, collected, and calmly posing for the camera.

[33] Eucanaã Ferraz. "Diamantes, Vidro e Cristal." in *Chichico Alkmim: fotógrafo*. (São Paulo: Ipis Gráfica e Editora, 2017), 22.

The photograph displays a perfect picture - the quintessential Brazilian family, a traditional unit worthy of being framed for household display. Yet, the group portrait is incomplete. Once we expand our view and acknowledge the margins, we are confronted with a more absorbing visual field. The family of four in the center - the actual subjects being photographed - are flanked by two female figures, a young Black girl with a tattered dress on the left and the photographer's wife, Miquita, on the right. These female "extras" hold a painted panel that served as the picturesque background for the family portrait. Their bodily presence was essential that day, even though the space in which they existed was not. The printed negative was, from its inception, predestined to be cropped. Let's imagine, for instance, Chichico, developing the glass plate image, measuring the borders with a ruler, cutting the paper, and discarding the excess material into a trash bin. Just like that, the casual act would have denied us access to the photographic moment and limited our historical understanding of it.

A series of events had to unfold for this narrow yet significant border to appear today: Chichico's diligence in the care and organization of his glass plates; his family's agreement in donating all 5000 negatives to educational and governmental institutions after his death; and a curator's choice in exposing the glass plate negatives in their totality. All of these behaviors and decisions played a role in resurrecting this uncropped original exposure, literally returning it from [visual] oblivion.

One might register the movements and choices leading to the supplemental border's survival and appearance today, but that alone would not address the impact—the pictorial demands—of the margin. There is something beyond the intended photographic subject that now wrestles for recognition, an aura that unsettles, a quality that haunts. The additional border, even with its own constraints, requires that viewers today recognize, historize, and theorize issues of

race, gender, and social class both banished and present in the photographic object. These issues, moreover, relate to power struggles that are embedded within Brazilian culture — matters that are difficult to witness and agitate and easiest to avoid and conceal. Charged by the need to disclose these concerns, I draw on the theoretical notions of spectrality and hauntology with one explicit purpose: I intend to show how Chichico's two marginal sitters, like ghosts, occupy an in-between space within Brazilian society both then (c. 1920) and now (c. 2020). Capturing neither slave nor colonist, the black-and-white image fluctuates between visibility and invisibility and, ultimately, functions as an extension of the nation and its mythologies. More specifically, they stand analogous to the nation's violent history of slavery and exploitation, and consequently, a culture that intentionally or unknowingly tries to deny and conceal its painful past.

Ghostly matters have been closely associated with the photographic medium since its origin. This connection derives in part from photographic accidents that resulted in the appearance of translucent figures, such as double exposure or poorly cleaned plates.[34] Photography, moreover, mimics the technologies of séance, or the tools the living developed to communicate with the dead. Susan Bruce summarizes the analogous methods when stating: "The photograph emerges gradually into our sight via the operation of a chemical medium in the dark room; the spirit makes itself gradually visible via the operation of a human medium in a darkened one (room)."[35] The sitters in Chichico's photographs are not actual spirits nor representations of such as seen in spirit photography, but they are also not real in a physical, material way; they are mere traces of themselves that have been transmitted by light onto the glass plate. Furthermore, the close relationship between the medium and death exacerbates the

[34] Susan Bruce. "Sympathy for the Dead: (G)hosts, Hostilities and Mediums in Alejandro Amenábar's "The Others" and Postmortem Photography." *Discourse.* 27, no. ⅔. (2005): 25.
[35]Ibid., 25.

hauntings. Susan Sontag writes that the photographic medium "states innocence, and the vulnerability of lives heading towards destruction, and this link between photography and death haunts all photographs and people." Every time we see a photograph, the passing of time is instantly pinned to the sitters, who are no longer present in this world. More than any other artistic representation, the photograph announces our own mortality as well as the death of the sitters.[36] The medium in itself, without any further consideration, is thus already "uncanny" as one can argue that all photographs are haunted through its correlation to the material and immaterial, visible and invisible, life and death.

However, the hauntings provoked by the ghosts of the two marginal sitters in the family portrait are much more substantial. To best clarify the term ghost(s), I turn to definitions found in recent scholarship. For Avery Gordon, "the ghost is not simply dead or a missing person, but a social figure, and investigating it can lead to a dense history."[37] For Tim Edensor, ghosts are "sought to recall that which has been forgotten… because the horrors of the recent past are too painful to confront."[38] Chichico's ghosts not only demand us to try to find a more dense history, but they also represent repressed trauma and pain. Furthermore, as ghosts, "they interrupt the presentness of the present," indicating that "beneath the surface of received history, there lurks another story, an untold story that calls into question the veracity of the authorized version of events."[39] In this sense, ghosts perform crucial social work. They arise to fill in a missing piece

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[36] Susan Sontag. On Photography. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977): 70.
[37] Avery Gordon. *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 8.
[38] Tim Edensor. "The Ghosts of Industrial Ruins: Ordering and Disordering Memory in Excessive Space." *Environment and Planning D: Society a* Jeffrey Andrew Weinstock. *Spectral America: Phantoms and the National Imagination*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press/Popular Press, 2004): 65*nd Space* 23, no. 6 (2005): 835.
[39] Ibid.

from our fragmented understandings of history and to expose what was once out of sight. A closer examination of Chichico's family portrait and its additional margin should, therefore, aid in the quest to broaden the field of history. Additionally, I hope that this investigation will lead us, even if so slightly, into a journey towards some type of healing.

As mentioned, the image shows a well-dressed light-skinned Brazilian family in the center flanked by two female ghostly figures—a young Black girl wearing tattered clothes and Chichico's wife, Miquita. The marginal sitters' presence was summoned that day to help sustain the picturesque backdrop used in the portrait. They hold a virtual reality for the family to insert themselves outside their real surroundings. Unsurprisingly there is no attention given to the space outside the backdrop limits. The foreground is filled with dirt, some trash, and vegetation. Additionally, the father and the eldest son's shoes are old and unkempt compared to the baby boy's shiny new shoes located within the imagined final frame. The family portrays themselves as higher socio-economic strata participants than, perhaps, in reality, but only within the projected margins' limits, since what is around them would never be seen.

A Marxist reading of this image would suggest that the two females holding the panel, the individuals who are, in fact, performing a job, are left outside the final product - the cropped photograph.[40] The figures' social and economic positions are reflected in their clothes. Miquita, on the right, wears attire similar to the woman in the center - white conservative blouse and long dark skirt. Yet, differences in fabric and detail convey inequality of status. Miquita's garments and the fact that she is working suggest she is of a lower social bracket, yet she is aided by a child, likely a servant, whose clothes are frayed and stained. As a small-town studio

[40] Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and Frederic L. Bender. *The Communist Manifesto*. (Minneapolis: Lerner Publishing Group, 2017).

photographer's wife, it is evident that Miquita was not among Diamantina's dominant elite, but neither was she at the bottom of the pyramid. The image iterates Miquita's in-between position, fluctuating between the woman in the center and the servant girl. Noticeably, Miquita's lighter skin parallels her social position.

The in-between space occupied by mixed-race women in Brazil was created and affirmed through Portuguese colonization starting in 1500 when the land was first claimed by the Kingdom of Portugal. Rebecca Brienen, commenting on a print from 1793, states that the mixed-race female subject (Joanna) "was admired for her beauty and often described as pleasure seeking and vain."[41] [Figure 2] These characteristics, according to the author were both "negative and positive," reflecting and reinforcing the "reality of colonial context, in which such women were highly sought after by European men as sexual partners."[42]

Later, modern Brazilians adhered to this trope of beauty as a positive aspect of their culture. The mixed-raced or *Mulatas'* racial ambiguity served as a powerful symbol of the nation's progress and "inclusion," an inclusion that hinged on one's proximity to whiteness. Always related to the white male gaze, its presumed perception eases racial tensions by offering the Brazilian elite a hyperbole of racial equality worthy of competing internationally as a more racially advanced nation.

According to sociologist Mariza Correia in her essay, *Mulata Tal Qual*, the imaginative social construct and symbolic representation of the mixed-race women in Brazil exposes a critical contradiction: the affirmation of a racial democracy paralleled to the evident social

[41] Rebecca P. Brienen "Joanna and Her Sisters: Mulatto Women in Print and Image, 1602–1796." *Early Modern Women* 10, no. 2 (2016): 66.
[42] Ibid.

inequality between whites and non-whites.[43] By praising the Mulata as beautiful, Corrêa affirms, "we seem to resolve racial contradictions, as we create a third term between the white and black binaries. Meanwhile, the Mulata incarnates the desires of white men, and in doing so, she also reveals the rejection that this conceals: the dismissal of the purely Black women."[44]

The three women in Chichico's photograph stand as racial subjects and, as such, serve as visual indicators; they literally and metaphorically define their placement within the frame and their position within society. The light-skinned woman is in full view center-stage, the mixed-race Miquita is off to the side, and a young Black girl helps support a bucolic backdrop that hides a third of her body. Their position parallels the period's imposed dominant patriarchal discourse that classified and valued each of these women according to their race. Their gaze is also telling. The woman at center conveys a stare that is both external and internal; she performs the act of posing, possibly thinking about how others (even us) may view her in the future.[45] We see her, in other words, as a being with full knowledge that she will be viewed. Miquita, too, participates in creating a subject to behold; she connects her gaze to someone, probably Chichico, as she performs a routine job that aids her husband's business. On the left, the young Black girl tilts her head slightly as she looks sideways, her gaze entirely internal. Perhaps lost in her thought, she is present only as labor. She is there in body, but beyond in consciousness. Her presence is needed, but not necessarily worthy of being recorded. Unfortunately, this image is overly predictable within the early twentieth-century Brazilian context. Brazilian women and girls of African descent have been continuously and perpetually bonded to service positions; typically, they are

[43] Term related to Sociologist Gilberto Freire theories that Brazilians had resolved its racial problems through racial miscegenation.
[44] Translated from Mariza Corrêa. "Sobre a Invenção da Mulata. " *Olhares Feministas.* Brasilia: Ministrio da Educacao: UNESCO (2009): 248.
[45] John Berger. *Ways of Seeing*. (London: British Broadcasting Corp., 1979).

expected to be invisible yet essential labor in the homes of lighter-skin women. The labor is often hereditary, passing from mothers to daughters. Curiously, Miquita holds the hand of a child that is left outside the additional frame. Even with this supplemental piece of information, there is a limit to what we can see. To explore these issues further, I turn to race as a subject in Brazilian history.

Chichico's photographs originate from a complex period in which Brazilians were trying to formulate a new modern identity, post-slavery. By the 1930s, racist theories of "Branqueamento" (literally, "racial whitening") were being challenged and replaced by Gilberto Freyre's ideas of racial democracy set forth in his seminal text *Masters and Slaves* (*Casa-Grande & Senzala*, 1933). For Freyre and his followers, socio-political consensus in Brazil was not achieved through "whitening" but through mixing ("mestiçagem").[46] Race theorists across the globe have criticized Freyre's radical notion of *Lusotropicalism* (a racial democracy carved by the character of Portuguese conquest and Brazilian miscegenation) as an idealizing myth that minimizes, if not conceals, Brazil's history of prejudice and discrimination.

According to the scholar Lamonte Aidoo, Brazilians were utterly skilled at keeping secrets, concealing truths, ignoring facts, and shamelessly destroying documents related to slavery.[47] Using primary sources, Aidoo discloses that on December 14, 1890, Finance Minister Rui Barbosa issued the immediate destruction of all government records related to slavery. "The Republic is thereby obligated to destroy [the] vestiges [of slavery] in the name of national honor," stated Barbosa.[48] The records were so extensive it took years to wipe them out.

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[46] Gilberto Freyre. *Casa-grande & senzala. (*Rio de Janiero: J. Olympio, 1943).
[47] Lamonte Aidoo. *Slavery Unseen: Sex, Power, and Violence in Brazilian History*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018) 12.
[48] Lamonte Aidoo. *Slavery Unseen* (2018) 11.

Government officials burned documents in the name of progress, but this act can only be understood as a calculated effort to erase an unwanted and embarrassing past— a past that would interfere with the need to "promote" the nation as "exceptional" and "divergent" among other slaveholding nations such as the United States.

Compelled to find missing histories and informed by Aidoo's critical theories regarding Brazilian culture concealment, I researched and questioned current responses to Chichico's family portrait. As mentioned in the introduction, only an exhibition catalog and a photography book exist as secondary sources for Chichico's work.[49] The 2005 book, authored by Chichico's granddaughter, did not include the family portrait. However, the image was prominently featured on the back jacket of the Instituto Moreira Salles' exhibition catalog. Published in 2017, the catalog was organized by poet and literature professor Eucanaã Ferraz, who contributed with an opening essay. Four articles are included in the catalog, but only Ferraz mentions this particular photograph; he limits his discussion of it to one paragraph.

In his essay, Ferraz writes about the importance of the *extracampo* or the extra margins, which he, thankfully, chose to keep intact for viewers today. He also astutely observes that the margins are, in fact, our access point to a more complete Brazilian history. As to the sitters, Ferraz details their attire and calls attention to differences in class and status. However, he curiously equates Miquita's position with the young Black girl's, "Chichico's studio was humbly established, a family-style workplace in which (his) wife and a servant (girl) - a possible "agregada"[50]- are the same within the workspace."[51] The word *agregada* originates from the

[49] Verônica Alkmim and Flander de Sousa. O olhar eterno de Chichico Alkmim. (Belo Horizonte: Editora B, 2005).
[50] "Agregada." "Pessoa que participa do convívio familiar como se fosse membro da família. " Accessed September 16, 2020. https://www.dicio.com.br/agregada/.
[51] Eucanaã Ferraz. “Diamantes, Vidro e Cristal." (2017) 22.

term *agregar,* a verb meaning to join or bring people or things together.[52] The official meaning of agregada is "a person who participates in a family life as they are members of that family," but the term commonly refers to a person of lower means who performs jobs around a house for little or no pay, simultaneously joining in family affairs or receiving food and shelter arrangements. I would agree with Ferraz that both sitters perform the same job of holding the panel, however, their circumstances are evidently far from equal. When the curator equates the two, he unknowingly overlooks the young girl's experiences and attenuates factors of oppression that may have been particular to her individual existence, such as her age, dark skin color, and gender.

Another response to this distinct family portrait includes a blog entry written by literature scholar Silviano Santiago for the Instituto Moreira Salles blog *Primeira Vista* (In First Sight). The defunct blog series (2011 - 2019) proposal was to request various writers to compose a fictional story inspired by one photograph, which they knew nothing about. Santiago was tasked with Chichico's family portrait. His response is telling.

The scholar writes in the first person from the perspective of the young boy caressing his hair in the center. The story begins with him, now as an adult, finding a mended photograph among his mother's belongings soon after her passing. This act takes him back to the time when the image was taken. The seated father, a prominent doctor, commissioned the photo to be taken, enlarged, and appropriately framed.[53] The father's character in the story was stern and absent as he seemed to care only about outer appearances. The cropped photograph was hung in the dining room until the day his father decided to leave his wife and sons. "My mom asked the maid to

[52] "Agregar. " "Ocasionar o agrupamento de (indivíduos ou coisas); reunir". https://www.dicio.com.br/agregar/ Accessed September 20, 2020.
[53] As noted in Santiago's narration, Chichico's photographs would for the most part, be displayed in private settings, on view only to close friends and relatives.

burn the frame in the backyard"[54] the author states describing his fictitious mother's anguish over the father's departure.

The family in the center of Chichico's photograph is also the heart of Santiago's story. He describes early twentieth-century Brazil, patriarchy, and the power relations between men and women. However, he, too, forgets about the two figures standing in the margins. Santiago's response to the image reflects a push and pull between visibility and invisibility, concealment and avoidance, ultimately speaking to which perspectives are deemed worthy of being in center stage and which existences are continually brushed aside and used as a prop. In his twenty-six-hundred-word essay, only a few passages belong to them, and those are also telling.

"We were now five, counting the maid Etelvina and her daughter. Six, in fact, if we count my mother's adopted daughter, whose white piece of clothing we can see on the left side of the original photo. (She) was commonly acknowledged as the youngest daughter of the maid who served the mother..."[55] Like Ferraz, Santiago also presumes an informal adoption, although he attributes the girl we cannot see to the woman in the center. When sharing details of the day in which the photograph was taken, the author describes how his fictitious mother went inside the house to get the maid and the girl, but the father yelled "Not Her!" and refused to include the adoptive child in the photograph. The passage's aim is to contrast the controlling and rigid attributes of the father with the helplessness and perceived benevolence of the mother. Both Ferraz and Santiago's responses reveal how notions of servitude, love, and benevolence are entangled with informal adoption practices in Brazil.

[54] Translate from Silviano Santiago. “Primeira Vista.” *Primeira Vista* (blog): 2017.https://blogdoims.com.br/familia/.
[55] Translate from Silviano Santiago. (2017) https://blogdoims.com.br/familia/.

Like Santiago, I also associated the image with the practice of "levar pra criar" or informal adoptions. After the abolition of slavery (1888), it became common for Brazilian women to informally "adopt" young girls from poor upbringings as a way to "help" the community. This neocolonial practice is still prevalent in Brazil, especially in the Northeast and in rural areas. These young girls, the great majority of them Black and daughters of household maids, are often expected to help around the house doing chores or babysitting. Some argue that they are treated similarly to biological children, however, they do not typically attend the same schools, partake in vacations, or inherit on par with biological children.[56] Moreover, these adoptees are expected to be thankful for their situations, since being in the care of a well-off family is considered to be in the child's best interest. Within this context, the affluent mother's acts are viewed not only as charitable but also beneficial and enriching to the lives of these young girls. Sadly, this perception obscures the true beneficiaries of these relationships and enables families to receive home services at low costs without regulation.

Regarding Chichico's family portrait, the little girl who holds Miquita's hand whose body is left outside of the frame is, in fact, her and Chichico's biological daughter.[57] Furthermore, after further consideration, I believe it is unlikely that the Black girl on the left is an "adoptee." First, I found no evidence that Miquita had adopted any children, although it would be hard to find any documentation if that actually took place. Second, the girl's unkempt hair and dress would have reflected poorly on the "adoptive" mother, whether it would be Miquita, of fewer means, or the woman in the center. Keeping "adoptive" children well-kept and nicely dressed was crucial in exposing the benefits gained by the children participating in these arrangements. I do believe that

[56] Preta-Rara. *Eu, Empregada Doméstica: A Senzala Moderna é O Quartinho Da Empregada*. Belo Horizonte, MG: Letramento, 2019.
[57] Instituto Moreira Salles Photograph Title includes "Miquita Holding the hand of her daughter outside the frame."

the young girl is associated with Chichico's family since she was there that day, performing a job related to the studio. Most likely, she is a house maid's daughter, who helped with domestic chores as needed in exchange for living arrangements. Here domestic work passes from Black mother to daughter, attaching itself as a hereditary condition that is common and expected with the Brazilian society then and now.

In another less formal family portrait captured by Chichico circa 1920, we see evidence of this domestic work in a comparable scene. [Figure 3] A young Black male and a young female of African and/or Indigenous descent act as aids to a well-dressed family, each affectionately holding light-skinned babies. The boy stands on the right, closer to the foreground, wearing a modest but clean working attire and a round brim hat. He comfortably carries a toddler girl as if this is something he has done several times before. There is an unmistakable bond between the two. Next to him towards the back, a dark-skinned girl in her early teens firmly holds and proudly displays a younger baby. This time, those who serve are also participants in a more informal family portrait, placed not in the center, but not outside the final frame. Their race, more modest attire, and the task they perform mark their position as servants; still, their presence was meant to be recorded next to the Matta Machado family.

The family patriarch, Aries da Matta Machado is in the center behind his seated daughter and next to his wife, Lola. An unidentified boy stands confidently with his hands on his hips.[58] A couple identified as family members stands on the right corner wearing refined clothes, almost too refined to be worn outside in such an informal setting. Seated on a bench in the foreground is a priest and Airesinho, the patriarch's blind son.[59] The boy grew up to be a philosopher and linguistic scholar writing essays on literature, history, and anthropology, including a book on

[58] Diminutive - Little Aires.
[59] https://www.folcloreminas.org.br/index.php/2019/08/30/aires/

Afro-Brazilian mining workers and their cultural contributions to Diamantina and the state of Minas Gerais.[60]

What is so complex and heartfelt about this image is the realization that relationships are formed, even through exploitation and subjugation. It is not hard to imagine that the young servants may have loved this family and vice-versa. This emotional content is precisely what keeps the racially oppressive system in Brazil intact. The family's decision to include the servants in the photograph is a curious but not an uncommon choice. It allows the family to engage in an unjust system while projecting a loving and caring image.

In colonial and neocolonial Diamantina, owning slaves was a lucrative business and inherently associated with social status and power. In a society constructed by a rapid economic turnaround, slavery was also fluid. In some instances, Diamantina's free Black population was equivalent to the white people. The act of freeing slaves, largely the master's concubines and their offspring, was often expected and viewed as a charitable sign. We can assume that after slavery was abolished, having low-paid servants followed a similar context. Being photographed with servants served to show the family's social standing, their benevolence, and lack of prejudice. What is so daunting and all the more complex is that mixed-race families of various socio-economic means may have had servants only a generation away from slavery.

To conclude, although I established that all photographs are inherently haunted, I believe the family portrait is heavily charged. The image projects us to the present, confronting us with minimal progress and change and frustrating us with wrongful repetition. It is not only the presence of the marginal that unsettles but the very endurance of marginalization. It evokes a similar dissatisfaction with the past, such as an image of slavery or the holocaust, for example.

[60]Aires Da Mata Machado Filho. *O Negro E O Garimpo Em Minas Gerais.* (Rio De Janeiro: J. Olympio, 1943.)

Still, it is also near-acceptable within its Brazilian context or too close to a present reality that defines the space occupied by Black female bodies. Hauntology as a theory asks us to see beyond the surface, the ontological, the fully present, to gauge the trace, the absence that only occurs on edge or as a shadow. How do we narrate what lies beyond the frame? How can we redirect our focus to figures on the margin? Miquita's ghost stood analogous to the symbolic representations of mixed-raced Brazilian women and the benefits, difficulty, and avoidances that lie within. The Black girl's "ghost" unravels harmful but accepted Brazilian practices that hereditarily bound Black female bodies to service jobs. The literal cropping and the disposal of the border stand as a metaphor for the erasure of histories experienced by African slaves brought to Brazil while, at the same time, drawing attention to the persistent concealment of racial injustices and gender inequities that continue in Brazilian society to this day. Our ghosts refuse to rest.

CHAPTER 3

THE MARGINS OF MODERNITY: FRAMING THE REGIONAL IN EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY BRAZIL

In the first half of the twentieth century, Brazilian intellectuals, mostly from São Paulo and Rio, embarked on a quest for modern national identity, underlining all things that could differentiate Brazil from European cultures. Its tropical environment and a new appreciation for Indigenous and African culture by both Brazilians and foreign visitors paved the way to this new national identity. Prevailing interpretations of Modernism in Brazil, thus, tend to focus on historical events in dominant centers: the Semana da Arte Moderna in São Paulo (1922)[61], the Pau-Brasil (1924)[62], and Antropofagia (1928)[63] draw the most attention. Although these urban movements are key for understanding Brazilian Modernism, turning our focus to the outskirts allows us to see a larger picture of this period. This chapter aims to widen this landscape to

[61] Semana da Arte moderna was an event that included exhibitions, performances, poetry readings provoking controversy for its irreverent artistic ideas. The event is used as a marker to introduce Modernism in Brazil.
[62] Movement led by Oswald de Andrade and Tarsila do Amaral urging artists and thinkers to reject European influences and look domestically for inspiration in subject and style.
[63] Antropofagia was launched by Oswald de Andrade and rooted in a manifesto published under the same title (*Manifesto Antropófago*) in 1928. Similar to Pau Brazil, the movement looked inwards, though also seeking to digest and assimilate European influences.

include a more dynamic and self-aware view of Brazilian modernity other than the customary narrative attached to Brazilian urban centers.

Chichico's oeuvre, produced between 1910-1950s in the small town of Diamantina (MG), is a compelling source to investigate Brazil's passage towards modernity and "progress." His photographs often convey the conventionalism of a town attached to colonial norms and costumes, but they are also a useful tool for exploring the fluid aspects of modernity, specifically as it relates to issues of race and gender. His images of city life, festivals, and sitters from numerous social and ethnic backgrounds reflect a region in transition, sometimes vigorously resisting modern ideals, other times embracing it or shaping it to fit the local discourses and individual desires.

In addition to spectrality and hauntology, this paper uses many of the theoretical tenets posited in Esther Garbara's *Errant Modernism: The Ethos of Photography in Mexico and Brazil*. A useful framework, Gabara's book is a study of modernism in Latin America, specifically in Brazil and Mexico; it challenges the standard practice of analyzing these countries only compared to, or solely as an extension of, dominant centers in the U.S and Europe. By doing so, the author develops a new vocabulary that can better describe modern Latin American, unrestricted from Western influences. Similarly, this paper aims to release modernism from dominant centers but on a national scale. If São Paulo's Modernism can be freed from Europe, the city's overbearing force within Brazil should also be tested.

To explore a distinctly Brazilian modern signifier, I turn to Chichico's 1920 group portrait of Carnaval "foliões."[64] [Figure. 4] The origins of the Brazilian Carnaval are hard to pinpoint. The event began as a pagan holiday in ancient Greece and Rome, which transitioned to a Portuguese Catholic celebration in Brazilian land. The African tradition of masks and parades, and most importantly, rhythm and dance, redefined the event. Regardless of its origins, the celebration has long been symbolic of breaking social hierarchies and bringing people together of all races through music and dance, and of course, having a good time.

Costumes play a significant role in the February festivities, as seen in the photograph. Some wear specific costumes such as "Menina da Sorte" (Lucky girl) with the cloverleafs, "Pierrot" (the sad clown character of the Italian *Commedia dell'arte*), a "Dutch Girl" with a white triangular cap, and a "Chinese man" with a cone hat and fan. Others wear Western flapper style ensembles standard during this period, ornamented by bracelets, long necklaces, and headpieces. One woman wearing a black hat, white ruffled shirt, long coat, and pants seems to be cross-dressing. On her left, a woman in a white dress gazes sideways and poses with both hands gathered by her hip, holding a glass object. In the center, we see another girl holding the same clear tube as if advertising it to a customer. The item is a tube of lança-perfume.

Lança-perfume (chloroform/ether) is an inhalant commonly used among Brazilians during February in conjunction with the Carnaval festivities. It was originally imported in 1904 from the French company Rhodia through its subsidiary in Argentina.[65] Due to high demands,

[64] Dicionario Online de Portugues(Dicio)."foliões." A group of people who like to dance to the sound of a tambourine during carnaval or people who are part of a Carnaval group. https://www.dicio.com.br/folioes/

[65] "100 Anos". 2020. *Rhodia Brasil*. https://www.rhodia.com.br/pt/company/sobre-o-grupo/a-rhodia-no-brasil/historia/index.html.

Brazil started manufacturing the tubes locally in 1922. Soon after, the product became so popular it was viewed as a symbol of Carnaval, with its name and image repeatedly being used in popular songs and literature.[66]Although distributed as an air freshener, people used lança in various ways. Some would diffuse the liquid directly into the air, and children would sometimes spray each other in the eyes, playing a game reminiscent of tag. During the scalding hot month of February, the liquid probably felt refreshing on the skin as it evaporated, leaving a fragrant *sillage*. Partygoers would also spray lança on a handkerchief and inhale to get a quick "high" or add the substance to alcoholic beverages to intensify its effects.[67]

Regardless of how it was used, lança was viewed as a harmless, even family-friendly prop for having fun during Carnaval, especially among elites. College students, intellectuals, Rio and São Paulo bohemians seemed to favor the imported product. "Our Carnaval today is splendid and modern: there is a game of confetti, and lança-perfume, it is beautiful,"[68] writes a "Cronista Carnavalesco" (Carnaval chronicles writer) for *Fon-Fon!* magazine in 1912 - a progressive and forward-thinking Carioca periodical of that period. This new "democratic" Carnaval with people of all colors and social backgrounds inundating the streets was taken as a symbol of Brazilian progress and modernity, therefore, attracting São Paulo's educated youth.[69] Lança-perfume was clearly marketed to a specific audience, as we can see in this 1929 newspaper advertisement,

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[66] As seen in different "marchinhas" de Carnaval (musical verses) and advertisements. See shorturl.at/eCDH0

[67] Gustavo Werneck "Lança-perfume que ganhou os salões no início do século passado ainda traz lembranças. *Jornal Estado de Minas, 01, 2014*. Me-que-ganhou-os-saloes-no-inicio-do-seculo-passado-ainda-traz-lembrancas.shtml.

[68] A portion of a chronicle published by the Magazine Fon-Fon! in 1912, Rio de Janeiro. Fabiana Lopes Da Cunha. "Os 'Cordões' entre confettis, serpentinas e lança-perfumes... *Diálogos*, 2 (2016): 566.

[69] Alberto Botelho "O que foi o Carnaval de 1920" posted by CTAv Centro Teccnico (2018) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pgq9rORyOyI

showing the same brand held by Chichico's subjects. [Figure 5] The last sentence is telling. Lança was, in fact, the spray of the Elite. Touting its distinguished inebriating qualities, the product was marketed as an upscale symbol of modernity.

> The VLAN perfume is the preferred amongst
> "Folguedos Carnavalescos" (Party Goers)
>
> Demand VLAN. To be better identified (by consumers)
> VLAN has horizontal lines, providing a distinguished note.
> Notice that our label is already diffused throughout the entire Brazil.
>
> VLAN is the lanca-perfume chosen not only for its careful composition,
> but also, specifically, for its inebriated essence.
>
> VLAN will not irritate your skin -
> VLAN will not offend your sight -
> For Reveillons, Balls, Battles, etc. only VLAN –
> The perfume of the Elite.

Gender also played a role in the use of lança-perfume. "When I was a boy, maybe nine or ten, I remember my father buying the golden tube so we could have fun with it. In the *corsos*,[70] the people on the parade floats liked to use Rodouro[71] to flash others, to seek attention.

[70] The *corso* was a Carnival tradition that promoted horse carriage parades, leading to later more embellished and automobile-centric processions in Rio and other Brazilian states. It was preferred to cordões by the elites.
[71] Popular brand of lança-perfume in the 1920s.

To be honest the product was used as an element of flirtation."[72] The passage indicates that people, men and women, used lança not only to show off their modern and refined taste, but also as a persuasive prop that lured others in a romantic game. Seduction, in this case, was tied to a distinct and flashy product that provided a good time in accordance with new contemporary standards.

In this 1925 advertisement [Figure 6], we see evidence of this function of the lança-perfume. A woman in the center holds a small tube near her shoulder as she gazes sideways towards a male figure wearing a Pierrot costume. He seems to gaze towards her hand and the tube or towards her lifted chest. She wears a Greek-like empire waist dress adorned by beaded bracelets and necklaces, which she plays with, with her spare hand. Another male figure wearing a costume admires her and her gesture of holding the lança perfume while playing with her necklaces. It is evident from the ad that the product added a tantalizing element to the party, maybe like the American Virginia Slims brand of cigarettes - also a product highly associated with ideas of modernity. A man spraying a woman's neck with lança in Brazil could be parallel to a man lighting a woman's long and lean cigarette, for example - a familiar scene in Western movies of the time. Most carnivalesque depictions of women such as this one are, of course, objectifying. However, in a highly patriarchal and sexist society, women may have used the liberty derived from Carnaval and the use of lança to assert themselves as active participants of a modern society. She is, after all, in the center and initiating the romantic interplay.

[72] The text above was translated from an interview between historian Marcos Maia and Belo Horizonte resident Ildeu Koscky and published by Gustavo Werneck on the Newspaper *Jornal do Estado de Minas*, January 2014. Me-que-ganhou-os-saloes-no-inicio-do-seculo-passado-ainda-traz-lembrancas.shtml.

It is critical to note that not all were able to partake in this liberating aspect of modernization. It is hard to recognize that all people posing in Chichico's group photograph are, in Brazilian terms, "brancos" (white or white-passing). Lança-perfume was openly used until 1961 when President Jânio Quadros[73] made the substance illegal after reported death cases related to the substance. Today, the transparent spray tubes are rarely seen in the festivities. However, inhaling chloroform/ether is still widely popular under the name of "cheirinho de loló," and it is still used today among people of higher means.[74] Brazilian elites' preference for lança may have allowed for the uncensored and legal use of the substance for so long.

As previously mentioned, the young woman in the center of Chichico's *Carnaval* photograph holds the glass tube as she is advertising it to the viewer. On the far right wearing a white dress, another young woman secures the tube near her waist as she poses in a slight contrapposto. Both figures seem to use the product as a prop to add an element of interest to their premeditated stances. In the center-left, a child, possibly 9 or 10, holds the tube's extremities with both hands in a relaxed manner. Neither of the two male figures present display nor has a tube. This fact further exacerbates the inhalant's gendered association as harmless and playful. Seduction is not staged in Chichico's image as it is in the advertisement − it is perhaps only so-slightly present in the leaning figure in the far right with pursed lips. It is also important to note that the static sitters flash the lança-perfume to the viewers; they are not using the product as most people in Urban centers would during the February festivities. The sitters display modernity in a secured setting, away from the loud, crowded, messy, and racially diverse street Carnaval.

[73] Served as President between January 31 to August 25 of 1961, when he resigned from office.
[74] Zila M Sanchez, Ana R Noto, and James C Anthony. "Social Rank and Inhalant Drug Use: The Case of Lança Perfume use in São Paulo, Brazil. " (*Drug and Alcohol Dependence*, 2013): 92–99.

Costume choices and setting also reflect entanglements between small-town traditions and urban modernity. As mentioned previously, some sitters wear specific costumes, such as a Chinese man, a Dutch girl, and Pierrot. Dressing oneself as a person from a foreign land was a familiar and safe choice at the time. Others do not wear categorical costumes. The young girl standing, holding a tube of lança, and the two seated wear somewhat regular dresses if not for their festive choices in textile (embroidery, ruffles, faux fur). These particular sitters are fashioned in a more laissez-faire manner, reflected by their bare shoulders, modern hairpieces, and lack of costume specificity. However, none of the sitters wear risque and overly adorned garments, not too common, but already a component in Rio's street performances. The use of African and Indigenous elements such as feathers is unseen in the Diamantina photo.

Cross-dressing appears in an ambiguous manner. Men dressing as women during February festivities were common and non-controversial, at least in urban centers. The woman with the long black coat, ruffled shirt, and oversized trifone hat seems to collectively push boundaries by merging feminine and masculine elements into her attire. Her serious gaze and unperturbed posed also contrasts with the unruly and agitated manner of male cross-dressers.

The paradox in the setting is also intriguing. Carnaval was becoming overwhelmingly associated with the streets, open-air, and movement. The staged and static scene with the sitters surrounded by a mix of real and faux painted curtains is curious. There is no attention given to the fringes and outermost margins. There is a rag on the floor on the left side, and the stained walls are left exposed. It is possible that the people in this group were some type of performers associated with theater and less likely the circus. Their elaborate ensembles, although theatrical, look costly. Moreover, their homogenous and light skin color and similar physiognomy may indicate an extended family portrait.

In chapter one, I established the connections between photography and hauntology. The medium intrinsically manifests junctures and disjunctures between life and death, past and present, science and superstition. I argued that Chichico's sitters are not ghosts simply because they are dead but because of their ability to unravel the present by introducing and exciting fragments of the past. In this chapter, hauntology has informed my writing as a kind of active questioning, or as Colin Davis would say, as a type of "skepticism."[75] Through slow-looking exercises, I grew attracted to the glass tubes held by Chichico's sitters in the first photograph. What could be so alluring or haunted about those transparent objects? The fragmented findings surrounding the unfamiliar drug speak of modernity in the margins and race and gender inequalities, erasures, and cultural appropriations that emerged alongside the modernization process in Brazil.

According to Natasha Pravaz, the political use of Afro-Brazilian culture was initiated by President Getúlio Vargas[76] when he appropriated "subaltern performance genres in his populist project of modernity."[77] As opposed to constructing a Brazilian identity based on capitalism and the whitening of its population offered by the liberal-oligarchical political culture of the First Republic[78] (1889-1930), Vargas' attempted to gain the political support of the masses by praising the working class and the subaltern. His populist agenda sought to "modernize folk practices…

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[75] Colin Davis. "The Skeptical Ghost: Alejandro Amenábar's *The Others* and the Return of the Dead," in *Popular Ghosts: The Haunted Spaces of Everyday Culture*. Ed. Maria del Pilar Blanco and Esther Peeren (New York: Continuum, 2010), 66.
[76] In 1930, after his running mate was assassinated, presidential candidate Getúlio Vargas seized power via a military coup rather than elections.Vargas served as an interim President from 1930. to 1945, a constitutional president from 1934 to 1937, and a dictator from 1937 to 1945.
[77] Natasha Prava. "Hybridity Brazilian Style: Samba, Carnaval, and the Myth of 'Racial Democracy' in Rio de Janeiro. " *Identities* 15, no. 1 (2008): 83.
[78] The First Republic or Old Republic was first ruled by members of the military and then by regional coffee oligarchs.

while turning citizens into spectators and consumers of culture."[79] In this context, Carnaval emerges as a progressive, democratic, and inclusive celebration, still a commonly accepted idea among white Brazilians.[80]

Parallel to the spread of eugenics and theories of Branqueamento (whitening), a growing appreciation of all things Black and Indigenous arose during the 1920s. According to these Western ideologies that encouraged a new attitude towards everything exotic, "Brazilians consciously embarked on a process of creating a Luso-tropical[81] modernity. The white cultural Elite appropriated the local and marginalized, nationalized it, and universalized it."[82] The new twentieth-century Carnaval, samba, capoeira, and many things African and Indigenous arose as national symbols providing Brazilian elites with a rhetoric of racial exceptionalism, progress, and modernity worthy of international praise while simultaneously alleviating national racial disputes.

It is no surprise that São Paulo's Modernists such as Oswald de Andrade, Mario de Andrade, and Tarsilla do Amaral relied on primitivism, racial makeup, and the tropical environment to set Brazil apart from other nations. These elements are displayed in Tarsila's paintings *La Negra* and *O Aboporu*. [Figure 7] In a typical Modern European style, her figures are abstracted, distorted, and simplified. In *O Abaporu*, the color palette mimics the Brazilian flag, and the title refers to the Tupi word for cannibalism. A print of the painting was used to

[79] Natasha Prava. "Hybridity Brazilian Style…" (2008): 87.
[80] Ibid., 82-86.
[81] Term first used by Sociologist Gilberto Freyre to describe Portuguese colonizers as more friendly and humane.
[82] Styliane Philippou. "Modernism and National Identity in Brazil, or How to Brew a Brazilian Stew." (National identities, 2005): 253–254.

illustrate the Antropofagia Manifesto, written by her then-husband, Oswald de Andrade.[83] The motto was written in English - "Tupi or Not Tupi: That is the Question" - in reference to the largest Indigenous tribe in Brazil. Because none of these artists were, in fact, Tupi, the search for what it was to be authentically Brazilian was not an easy one for the Paulistas. Referencing Mario de Andrade, Gabara speaks of this dilemma "He was neither European enough to be a cosmopolitan photographer of exotic others nor "primitive" enough to be authentically one of them."[84]

In the self-portrait [Figure 8], Andrade holds a European cane and a hat, a banana that can be associated with Brazilian "savages" and a fan that can be related to plantation mistresses. The pose is meant to mock European representations of Brazilians, but it also shows Mario's awareness of his urban and his Paulista status in these rural spaces.[85] The writer set himself on a journey through the interior of Brazil to observe, and perhaps, digest and present art that was more authentically Brazilian as described by Modernists such as himself.

Gabara investigates two main ideas, the "ethos" and the "erring." The ethos, in short, explains Modern Latin American artistic production that intertwines Modern aesthetics with ethics. The author relates "ethos" not only with morals and politics but also with the artists recognition of the complex paradoxes existing in the colonized land. The second idea, "erring," arises from the awareness of Brazil and Mexico's misshapen status in Latin America. Brazil as the only Portuguese speaking country in Latin America, and Mexico as the only Latin American

[83] The movement urged Brazilian artists to eat and digest international influences to create a better and more modern nation for themselves.
[84] The author seems to be defining the North American region as opposed to the North American continent, and thus is only considering Canada, the US, and Mexico in this argument. See Esther Gabara, *Errant Modernism: The Ethos of Photography in Mexico and Brazil*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 94.
[85] Ibid., 76.

country in North America.[86] Mario's photographs of people and himself throughout his travels with Brazilian interior blended aesthetics with an ethical sentiment. They also "erred" and misbehaved, making intentional mistakes and falling outside conventional forms.

In contrast to Mario de Andrade purposefully "erring" or making mistakes, abstracting the Brazilian land, and engaging in a postcolonial intellectual dilemma, Chichico's studio photography may be viewed superficially viewed as more static, formal, and documentative. "Having worked in the first four decades of the twentieth-century, Chichico practiced in the tradition of the previous century,"[87] says curator Eucannã Ferraz. He continued to use the same photographic equipment for four decades, staying loyal to using glass negatives, even when acetate film and more modern equipment were widely available.[88] Photographer Pedro Vasquez states that the "first thing noticeable about Chichico's photographs is his technical perfection."[89] These comments tether Chichico to an established set of past rules, unlike Mario, for example, who is often praised for his audacity to break norms. A more nuanced approach to Chichico's photographs would allow the artist flexibility and adaptability, acknowledging both his technical skill and his ability to process a region in transition.

Assessing the work of twentieth-century Peruvian photographers, the Vargas Brothers, Megan Sullivan argues that "confrontation between countryside and the city, was achieved through the use (and perhaps even misuse) of photographic techniques."[90] The brothers utilized

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[86] Esther Gabara, *Errant Modernism* (2008) 19.
[87] Eucanaã Ferraz, "Diamantes, Vidro e Cristal." (2017) 10.
[88] Ibid., 8.
[89] Pedro Karp Vasquez "Calma Beleza e Simplicidade" *Chichico Alkmim: fotografo,* (São Paulo: IMS*,* 2017), 25.
[90] Megan Sullivan. "Nature and Modernisation in the Vargas Brothers's Nocturnes". Oxford Art Journal. 40.3. (2017): 454.

an array of natural and artificial light sources, sometimes adding unnecessary technologies such as flash, to create unsettling images of a paradoxical modernization process. Sullivan connects this use and misuse of photographic techniques to the town's relationship with foreign goods arriving from urban centers. These items and technologies were regarded as objects of curiosity, rather than effective or usable tools within their regional context. Similar conclusions can be drawn regarding Chichico's photographs, as evident in the street photograph of an automobile and various Diamantina's residents [Figure 9].

There are several figures gathered inside and surrounding an automobile. This quintessential symbol of speed and modernity stands there, motionless, opposing futuristic views of mechanical velocity.[91] The sitters are also frozen in space, showcasing an array of poses and attire. One boy stands on the rail near the large wheel - he has only one shoe and sock on his feet. In the area allocated as the point of interest or the vanishing point, a taller boy wears a tie, a jacket, a hat, and boots. He holds his hand near his hip, possibly emulating Western films of the decade. Next to him, a barefoot boy displays a parcel, suggesting he is a working young man in town. The relationship between the figures and the vehicle is one of infatuation, yet also one of distance. No one is actually driving the car. The man in the front sits sideways in a relaxed manner. The point of the photograph is to showcase the luxurious item, not its use, since most did not have access to it, emphasizing the fact that some imported goods had little use to most in the mountainous countryside.

Family portraiture, a frequent theme in Chichico's oeuvre, can help us further explore Diamantina's transitional period and its historical context. [Figure 10] In a 1934 photograph

[91] Same argument is made by Sullivan regarding a photograph by the Vargas' brothers that includes an automobile.

captured by Chichico, the family of Levy de Oliveira e Silva (top left) and Adelina Rodrigues da Silveira (seated) is displayed.[92] According to Historian Dayse Lúcide Silva Santos, the image entails white and black people, brought together through a marriage (1923) that resulted in the birth of 13 children.[93] The family tried entering the mining industry but found little success. Levy then worked in a small farm inherited by Adelina's parents, taking care of cows, among other things. Adelina worked as a seamstress, occasionally contributing to the household income. The baptism of the couple's youngest daughter, Rita (on Adelina's lap), is the photograph's motivation. Next to Levy is his eldest son, followed by baby Rita's Godfather. In the front row (left to right) stand their daughter Francisca, son Jovelino, Baby Rita, and Zita (Levy's daughter raised by Adelina), and Terezinha.[94] The family wears their best garments, even though Jovelino bears no shoes.

Silva Santos's description of the family reflects the post-mining transitional economy and patriarchal costumes of the town. Unable to compete with Africa as the world's primary supplier of gem diamonds, Diamantina's population had to look for other ways of generating income. By the turn of the century, the economy quickly changed and adapted, moving from diamond dependent to commercially based, textile being its primary industry.

Similar to São Paulo's coffee elite, who moved from agriculture aristocrats to business oligarchs, Diamantina also developed a mercantile bourgeoisie secured by revenue acquired

[92] Dayse Lucide Silva Souza, "O que é Visto Merece Ser Evocado," in *Chichico Alkmim: fotógrafo,* (São Paulo: IMS, 2017), 41.
[93] Ibid., 41.
[94] Ibid., 47.

through diamonds.[95] Unlike in São Paulo, however, Diamantina's powerful residents rebuffed some modernization aspects, clinging to exploitative modes of operation. The majority of workers in the textile industries were women and children. Free men were hired on an informal part-time basis, many receiving salaries in the form of merchandise and goods coupons.[96] Slavery had ended, but old systems of exploitation remained entangled with and at odds with progressive ideas. Martins states that Diamantina's economy was at the same time traditional and modern, family-oriented and impersonal, rational and emotional.[97]

Religion and patriarchy also played a fluid and ambiguous role in Diamantina. The town bishopric entities exercised significant influence, dictating moral norms, participating in politics, investing in the textile industries, and establishing schools. These religious schools, in addition to an active journalistic press, generated a culture that was liberal in terms of politics [98] but profoundly Catholic and conservative in terms of aesthetics.[99] The highly educated bishops, some kin to the mining/textile elite, were likely to promote commerce and the modernization of industries while also preaching traditional moral codes to the working force, composed of mostly females, about chastity and marital obedience.[100]

Wondering how the fluid aspect of the town affected the lives of Afro-Brazilian women living in Diamantina, I turn to another studio portrait captured by Chichico circa 1920. [figure

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[95] Marcos Lobato Martins, "Comércio, Indústria E Projeção Regional Da Diamantina Oitocentista: As Fragilidades do grande Empório Do Norte." (São Paulo: Universidade Federal dos Vales do Jequitinhonha e Macuri, 2016), 1-19.
[96] Ibid., 29.
[97] Ibid., 20.
[98] In Brazil, the word liberal is associated with republicanism and American influenced capitalist tendencies.
[99] Translated Marcos Lobato Martins "Diamantina, A Capital Oitocentista do Norte de Minas Gerais," 173.
[100] Ibid, 38.

11]. The three sitters gaze towards the photographer/viewer in a similar way: chins scantly down and eyes slightly upwards with serious facial expressions. All three sitters wear empire-waist white dresses adorned by flower corsages, short-heeled white shoes tied with a bow, and jewelry consisting of dainty bracelets and perhaps wedding bands. The center figure wears a pendant, possibly a Catholic saint medal. Their hair is "fixed"– straightened, curled, and pulled back – showing their access to products specific to women of African descent. The women's formal attire, refined jewelry, position center-stage, and access to modern products imply that they are Black women of higher means and participants in the town's traditional society.

In Diamantina women were classified according to their honor (integrity, respectability, and purity). A "mulher honrada" (a respectable women) was always considered pure and subservient. In the case of single women, honor was determined by virginity, and in the case of married women, it was determined by loyalty and obedience towards their husbands. Poor enslaved and free Black women in the colonial period were expected to adhere to an adapted version of these modes of conduct, as I will explore in the following chapter. In short, Black women were classified according to how others viewed them in town. Their respectability and honor were measured by how honest, loyal, and hard-working they were perceived. Purity and virginity did not necessarily impact their *honra* (sense of decency) since that was, for the most part, impossible to attain.[101] Perhaps, in the case of Black women of higher means, these lines were blurred, as they may have actively inserted themselves according to dominant modes of representation ascribed to white women as a way of maneuvering societal limitations.

Ferraz mentions this photograph in his essay, referring to Chichico's backdrops and its power to evoke different associations; he says, "this scene speaks of the African Diaspora,

[101] Kelly Cristina Benjamin Viana. "Apesar de preta é pessoa de honra" in "Em Nome da Protecao Real: Mulheres Forras, Honra e Justiça na Capitaniade Minas Gerais." (Dissertation from the University of Brasília, 2014): 149-180.

obliquely, and the centrality of the Western world, white. However, the three young women do not appear submissive or dislocated. They assert themselves, above all, with the appearance of princesses…[102] Ferraz's statement seems dislocated, perhaps a romanticization of post-slavery Brazil defined as inclusive and racially equitable. Although I do not deny the sitters royal elegance and agency, I find it hardly likely that Afro-Brazilian women were to affirm themselves as equitable participants of Diamantina's society without the need to maneuver the specific limitations and societal rules imposed by the dominant culture.

In a different photograph, three light-skinned women gather around a table in a much more relaxed manner. [Figure 12] The seated figure on the right supports her head with a closed fist in a contemplative pose. The sitter on the left stands reclining on the table in classical contrapposto, reminiscent of Raphael's *Three Graces*. All three hold wine glasses that are half-empty, in need of a pour. None stare at the viewer - a more spontaneous approach than the previous image. On the table, there are bottles of wine, fruits, vegetation, and a book. In addition to the table's props, the figures' pensive gazes suggest that these women are well-educated and participants in modern society. Their sophisticated garments, although somewhat conventional, appear modern, possibly influenced by styles arriving from neighboring urban centers. Perhaps the sitters' skin color, combined with their social status, may have given them further access to modernity, permitting them to sometimes counter the town's restrictive moral norms.

Exploring the Constitutionalism Movement of 1932[103], Barbara Weinstein outlines differences between white and Black Brazilian women when entering the political sphere.

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[102] Eucanaã Ferraz. "Diamantes, Vidro e Cristal." (2017) 14.

[103] Military upbriging led by São Paulo's population against the Brazilian Revolution of 1930 when Getulio Vargas regime was established. For more information see Barbara Weinstein. "The War of São Paulo" in *The Color of Modernity: São Paulo and the Making of Race and Nation in Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015) 72-109.

"Compared to the jaunty cap and tailored uniforms of the nursing corps, the Black women's outfits were more traditional, even rustic, evoking rural/peasant dress… Apparently, modesty and simplicity made them acceptable as participants in the movement, but still not eligible for inclusion under the mantle of the "Mulher Paulista" [104] (Paulista women). Echoing Weinstein's observations, Chichico's two photographs previously discussed show how Black women in Diamantina may have chosen to fashion themselves more simplistically instead of dressing in a liberal or *avant-guarde* way. These modest choices may have allowed them to maneuver societal limitations imposed on them.

To conclude, the photographs of Chichico Alkmin not only convey the small-town customs and traditions of Diamantina but are also an excellent vehicle to investigate modernism in Brazil as both product and *process*. Inspired by Garbara's scholarship and the urge to explore the outskirts, indeed, to question the very value of a center-periphery model, I argued that Chichico's photography displayed modernity "in the margins." Instead of viewing Chichico's images as opposed to modern aesthetics originating in São Paulo during the 1920s, it is more conducive to investigate them as engaging with modernity, on its own terms, and according to its specific regional dilemmas. Through my use of spectrality and hauntology, profoundly Brazilian questions arise concerning colonialism, race, social class, gender, and general power structures within the country. From a popular Carnaval drug, to negotiations between the rural and the urban, the old and new, Chichico's photographs capture the people and the land of Diamantina as powerful actors in search of the present

[104] São Paulo's white and priviledged female participants of the 1932 military uprising that sought to overturn Getulio Vargas' provisional government or regime. For more information see Barbara Weinstein. "Marianne into Battle?" in *The Color of Modernity.* (2015) 187.

CHAPTER IV

BLACK BRAZILIAN WOMEN AND THE MAKING OF A MYTH

"The right to look is not about seeing. It begins at a personal level with the look into someone else's eyes to express friendships, solidarity, or love. That look must be mutual, each person inventing the other, or it fails. As such, it is unrepresentable. The right to look claims autonomy, not individualism or voyeurism, but the claim to a political subjectivity and collectivity…"[105]

Nicholas Mirzoeff

To Mirzoeff the right to look is a genuine exchange between a spectator and that is viewed — one that is not dictated by common and accepted visualizations. Visuality, which he defines in opposition to "looking" as making the process of "history" perceptible, has long been established to sustain authority and systems of dominance. In other words, visuality supplements control by forming imaginings that come to seem natural or common sense. By naming, categorizing, and defining visual culture, dominant structures remain intact and are perceived as legitimate and reasonable. "Such visuality separates and segregates those it visualizes to prevent them from cohering as political subjects, such as the workers, the people, or the (decolonized)

[105] Nicholas Mirzoeff. "introduction" in *The Right to Look: a Counterhistory of Visuality* Durham (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2011) 1.

nation… it makes this separate classification seem right and hence aesthetic. [106] In terms of photographic portraiture, I understand the right to look as a more humane form of looking, as it contests the "right" to property in another person by insisting on subjectivity and autonomy of all citizens. The right to look does not categorize, defines, separates, and finally historicizes; it is a genuine exchange between viewer and subject - one that is personal and capable of generating a multitude of responses and visualizations, free from fixed and predetermined imaginings.

In this chapter, I argue that recent interest, viewership, and response to Chichico Alkmim's photographs - including the production of an exhibition catalog – are often obstructed by an unnoticed system of suppression. Under this context, a hidden agenda emerges, potentially propagating Freyrian notions of racial democracy. More specifically, I claim that Chichico's photograph of two female sitters is a complex performance of something that has lost touch with the referent instead of merely reproducing the referent (sitters). Adopting Mirzoeff's framework and informed by Derrida's theories on photography, memory, and archive, I will attempt to counter visualities that have been historically linked to Afro-Brazilian women. In the case of photography, these visualities go about unnoticed, lingering into the present day as they continue to categorize, exoticize, and separate Black and brown bodies. This chapter aims to produce countervisualities by redirecting our gaze and reevaluating common visualizations and perceptions that emerge in response to Chichico's photography.

The 2017 exhibition catalog, mentioned in previous chapters, will be our first source of investigation. The book was organized and edited by Poet and Literature Professor Eucanaã Ferraz, who also curated the Brazilian exhibitions and wrote the first essay included in the

[106]Nicholas Mirzoeff. “introduction” in *The Right to Look* (2011) 3.

catalog. Using sophisticated terms, lyrical language, and referencing American theorists such as Susan Sontag and Alfred Stieglitz,[107] Ferraz does not disappoint Brazilian academics and elites. His text is precise and informative but also colorful and emotive. He draws connections to Western history of photography, astutely placing Chichico outside dichotomies of traditional versus modern, praising his technical capabilities, and withholding from categorizing his work. To the poet, however, the real power of Chichico's work falls outside his exceptional use of light. "The Photographs of Chichico Alkmim are, above all, emotional."[108] "What fascinates us are the people"[109] "...those men, women, and children, let's say, our ancestors … as if we encounter the material traces of our past."[110]

Ferraz's passage echoes what Brazilian viewers might think when they first glance at Chichico's portraits in the catalog or recent exhibitions. So many images of multiracial people, black people, and light-skinned "white Brazilians" altogether. Sometimes celebrating as families or just going about their lives, other times participating in an unequal system typical of the era.[111] Those people are symbolic of the nation. They represent Brazil's tortuous history of slavery, but they serve as grounds for celebration as they embody the nation itself. As mentioned in previous chapters, considering that Chichico's body of work is largely composed of Afro-Brazilian subjects, very little is theorized about race within the catalog's essays. When race is evoked, it is often symbolic – referring to the nation's unique racial makeup - or making objective comments

[107] Most taken from Alan Trachenberg's book *Classic Essays on Photography*.
[108] Eucanaã Ferraz. "Diamantes, Vidro e Cristal." in *Chichico Alkmim: fotógrafo.* (São Paulo: IMS, Instituto Moreira Salles, 2017) 7. Translated from portuguese. "As fotografias de Chichico, são acima de tudo, emocionantes.
[109] Ibid., 15. Translated from portuguese. "O que nos fascina é a pessoa."
[110] Ibid., Translated from portuguese "aqueles homens, mulheres e crianças serem, digamos, os nossos ancestrais,... como se deparássemos com vestígios materiais do nosso passado.
[111] Reference to the family portrait in chapter one of a young Black girl and Chichico's wife Miquita, both holding the panel used as a backdrop for the "white" Brazilian family.

related to slavery and the mining economy. Considering the visual evidence of racial oppression, subjugation, and erasure paralleled with avoidance or blindness in acknowledging such, I grew concerned about the viewership of these photographs in Brazil and, possibly later in a foreign land. Could the catalog reinforce hegemonic ideas of racial democracy? Indeed, the catalog presents itself as history and hence an aesthetic visualization as proposed by Mirzoeff. Presented as documentative and historical, the photographs in catalog are organized to show a diverse nation, perhaps one that is slightly more racially inclusive and free of certain prejudices such as anti-miscegenation regulations.

To illustrate the catalog's front cover, Ferraz or his team selected an image of two Afro-Brazilian women sitting in front of a plain background. [Figure 13] There are no picturesque panels, painted curtains, no furniture props - just the two, tightly enclosed. The focus is on the sitters, not on the space. Unlike the back-cover's family portrait [Figure 1], shown in its totality, the front cover was enlarged and cropped — a curious choice considering margins and additional exposures was a significant thematic in Ferraz's exhibitions and opening essay. Perhaps the wider glass negative would not have looked so compelling; perhaps the awkward extra margin would have confused a casual observer. Nevertheless, it is essential to note the paradox — that from an oeuvre of over 5.000 negatives, the most preeminent image had to be manipulated, cropped, and delimited, possibly reducing connections that arise from the additional piece of information.

Luckily, the extended negative is included in the catalog and can be easily found in the Moreira Salles archives. [112] [Figure 14] Once the complete negative is exposed, a man's figure appears on the right. A vertical line divides him from the two women, cutting a portion of his right arm. His position closer to the foreground further disassociates him from his female counterparts. It is well-documented that Chichico used the same glass plate to make different photographs to reduce costs. Because of their positioning, differences in lighting, and the vertical line, I believe these were two different exposures at distinct instances in time. It is possible that all three sitters knew each other arriving at the same time at studio, asking to have their portraits made consecutively, or maybe not. Chichico could have captured their images on separate days. On either occasion, once a printed image was produced, Chichico would have disjoined the lone male figure from the female duo, thus splitting the two distinct instances in time. In a way, Ferraz or his team mimic Chichico's actions, yet why? Throughout his essay, Ferraz regularly speaks of significance displaying and viewing Chichico's negatives in their entirety, untouched. He states that the different coexisting exposures create a virtual space that evokes different associations. Clearly, the intention was not to conceal the ancillary male figure; after all, the uncut image is easily accessible to the public. Noting that a catalog's cover is the most prominent visual space, I believe that, aside from design considerations, showing the man's figure in the front cover would confound and complicate effortless visualizations of Afro-Brazilian women as the personification of the nation itself.

According to Ferraz, Chichico's Black subjects were not depicted as categories. They are not "the workers, " "the poor, " "the blacks. "[113] Each portrait shows singular stories and individualized narratives. "There is no ostentation (in the photograph), only dignity. "[114] Ferraz

[112] Entire image included on page 164-166 of the catalog.
[113]Eucanaã Ferraz. "Diamantes, Vidro e Cristal." (2017) 18.
[114]Ibid.

places Chichico's photography outside what Mirzoeff defines as authoritative visualizations that seek to classify, categorize, and exoticize Black and brown people. Moreover, the specificity of Chichico's Afro-Brazilian sitters combined with ideas of respectability and dignity may partially account for the positive responses given to Chichico's photographs. The two women on the catalog do not conform to abhorrent nineteenth-century ethnographic and photographic studies, nor are they stereotypical representations such as the objectified mixed-raced Mulatas, or the folk-type Baianas.[115] Unlike photographers like Marc Ferrez (French-Brazilian, 1843-1923) and Pierre Verger (French, 1902-1996), Chichico did not search for his subjects. His sitters sought after his services and paid to have their portraits made according to Chichico's taste but also their individual preferences, granting them a higher level of autonomy and agency.

The two Afro-Brazilian sitters on the cover appear as they wanted to be seen that day, at least in parts. Of course, authorship was shared amongst the sitters and the photographer, since Chichico would have guided them to what was acceptable. The two female figures evocate Diamantina's model of respectful female representation— modest attire and humble demeanor. They do not contest or deviate from the norm, from which some may infer compliance. It is also important to note that the two sitters do not appear to be in the fringes of society, nor are they in noticeable subjugated positions — a commonly criticized form of visualization reinforced by photographic works such as Maya Goded's Tierra Negra (1994).[116] Because of these combined factors — sitters' autonomy combined with respectability, Chichico's cover image may emerge

[115] The word Baiana refers to any woman born in the state of Bahia. It mainly used to refer to Black women street vendors in Salvador dressed in native costumes. Its stereotypical representation has been connected to mammy figures in the US.

[116] The photographic book includes images Mexico's San Nicolás Tolentino Afro-Mexican residents. Many smoking, drinking, sexualized, or appearing unkempt. Funded by the Mexican Federal Office of Popular Cultures to "celebrate" Mexican Afro-culture, the book has been criticized as a project that attempted to classify its Black residents according to an "outsider's" perspective.

as a more democratic form of representation of the Afro-Brazilian female subject. It may also simultaneously project a picture of Brazilian race relations and more amicable, possibly comforting white-passing and privileged Brazilians. To be clear, I believe that the sitters' individualities and subjectivity are also evident in the image; however, I am apprehensive of visualizations and iterations that have lost touch with their referents, and that may reinforce racial democracy mythologies that are dependent on the image of Black Brazilian women.

This brings me to Derrida's deconstruction and the idea that there are no legitimate units of meaning in a text since words can only be understood in a larger context. Like deconstruction, photography is concerned with questions of presentation, dissemination, repetition, memory, and of course, death and mourning, among others. Photography rarely reflects those or the things it superficially represents. At this point, most would agree that the medium is ambiguous and far from indexical. Withholding from engaging on this tiresome discourse, what I would like to emphasize, like Gerhard Richter so eloquently states when alluding to Derrida, "is that photography … can be seen as an operational network and metalanguage through which larger philosophical, historical, aesthetic, and political questions can be brought to focus."[117] Which aesthetic is brought into focus, iterating itself as history, depends on our collective imaginings and associations. I thus argue that the use of the two Afro-Brazilian women in the catalog's front cover has little do with the sitter's individuality and subjectivity as described by Ferraz. Instead, I suggest that their collective visualization may reinforce racial democracy mythologies sustained on the Afro-female subject.

According to Derrida, photography's function as a witness (which some relate to indexicality) is not limited to what a single photograph depicts. Witnessing also takes place in

[117] Gerhard Richter. "Between Translation and Invention: The Photography in Deconstruction. " in *Copy, Archive, Signature : a Conversation on Photography* (California: Stanford University Press, 2010): XXIII

recording, storing, and dissemination. A photograph, therefore, also bears witness as it "activates the circulation of a certain cultural memory"[118] through inspection and interpretation. The Diamantina photographer's lens shows, clearly, a diverse population who lived together. Families were composed of people from different racial backgrounds and participants of various strands of social and economic upbringing, suggestive of a more racially inclusive society than perhaps, the segregated American south. To quote exhibition goer Helena Correia in an informal blog post, "Unlike other photographers of the time, [Chichico] represented everyone, blacks, whites, poor, rich, men, women, children, elderly - [his] photographs represented some sort of equality among community members."[119]

Chichico's photographic trajectory, dissemination, and recent exhibition conditions are worthy of consideration because of its impact on viewership and collective visualizations. In his own moment, Chichico developed and produced a limited number of each photograph he took for the costumer's personal use. These small-sized images would be framed and hung at home or sent to close relatives. It was not until after his death that his photographs were first shown in Diamantina as a collection (1980). In 2015 the Instituto Moreira Salles (Moreira Salles Institute) acquired the 5.500 negatives and undertook the extraordinary project of exhibiting his works in three major Brazilian cities during three consecutive years (Rio de Janeiro, May to Oct. 2017; São Paulo, Jan. to April 2018; Minas Gerais, Oct. 2018 to July 2019). For the exhibitions, Chichico's portraits were considerably enlarged, some bigger than life-size. [Figure 15] On the most obvious level, looking at the enlarged portraits today through the institutional frame of an exhibition or a catalog creates encounters utterly distinct from that experienced in the 1920s. Diamantina residents would see the images isolated from other works or small groupings at the

[118] Gerhard Richter. "Between translation and Invention." XXV.
[119] Helena Correa, "Chichico Alkmim, fotógrafo: Medium (blog). March 7, 2018. https://medium.com/araet%C3%A1/chichico-alkmim-fot%C3%B3grafo-cee54ec1f451.

photographer's studio. Viewers of these exhibitions, or one that browses the catalog, are provided, for the most part, with only a few individual names; the focus is mainly on Chichico and the town's history. Moreover, viewers confront large quantities of photographs, one after the other, so that each subject's specificity is lost and overshadowed by the collective - the people of Diamantina. It is not a surprise that Chichico's work is often described as a visual representation of Brazilian history and its people — one that is anonymous, collective, and undifferentiated.

The rhetoric of Brazil as a nation that is racially accepting and integrated is, of course, linked to Freyre, as previously stated in earlier chapters. *The Masters and the Slaves* sociologist was born in Recife, Pernambuco, located in the Northeast of Brazil, from a distinguished family. Freyre's father was a college professor who encouraged him to study in the United States. After spending some time in the American South, Freyre drew connections between that region and the subjugated Brazilian Northeast. Aware of his subjugated position in comparison to Paulistas or Cariocas,[120] but also a participant in Pernambuco's elite, Freyre's ideas of racial democracy may have been self-serving, allowing him to have black servants, for example, while also promoting his very diverse Regional traits at a national and international level.[121] This personal interplay between regional subordination and superiority may have paved the way for the fabrication of racial democracy.[122] To Freyre, the common relations between Portuguese landowners and their Black female slaves brought them into a more harmonious proximity, lessening hierarchies and accrediting Brazilian slaves more social mobility. With time racial democracy became attached to Brazil's self-identity, an image that continues to export to this day. It is important to note that

[120] People born in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro respectively.
[121] Barbara Weinstein. "Introduction" in *The Color of Modernity: São Paulo and the Making of Race and Nation in Brazil*. *The Color of Modernity*. (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2015): 11-14.
[122] Ibid.

parallel to the twentieth-century cynicism that the Black presence had done irreparable harm, Freyre's theories were considered revolutionary, forward-looking, and utterly racially inclusive, probably allowing the myth to endure even among paradoxes.

Mythologies surrounding Brazil's race relations are intrinsically reliant on Afro-Brazilian women and the sexual relationships between the white *masters* and their female *slaves*. Sex was necessary and central to both the institution of slavery and the construction of the myth of racial democracy since interracial sex came to serve as proof of racial harmony.[123] In other words, the fact that Portuguese settlers took African female slaves as concubines served to delineate the country's lack of racial discrimination. A paradox nevertheless, as it neglects significant details such as the lack of white immigrant women in colonial Brazil, the violence and rape endured by the female slaves, and the fact that this system economically benefited the colonizer by generating more slaves through their illegitimate offspring.

To resist cultural memories that may indirectly activate and propagate Freyrian ideals, especially the combination of Brazilian Black women and racial democracy - I return to the referent (sitters) to possibly activate new possibilities of meanings. The two women appear to be closely related, sharing similar facial structures — almond-shaped eyes and faint brows. Their skin color differs, one darker, one lighter. Could they be sisters or cousins? or is this the image of a mother and her daughter? The woman on the right appears to be slightly older. The two women sit near each other, shoulders overlapping in a relaxed predetermined pose. They wear refined, yet modest attire, and there is no sign of ostentation seen through jewelry, adornments, and fabric choice. Their natural short hair is tightly brushed sideways, pinned, and embellished by a single

[123] Lamonte Aidoo. *Slavery Unseen: Sex, Power, and Violence in Brazilian History*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018): 25.

white flower. The duplication of the white flowers and the black belts create an attractive connection between the two sitters.

Unlike the three Afro-Brazilian sitters mentioned in the previous chapter [Figure 11], I believe these two sitters come from humble upbringings. Their dress, although neat and refined, are not necessarily elaborate. Their natural hair is pulled back but not "fixed" - straightened or curled, indicating that they did not have access to costly products. I believe that they are sitting in front of Chichico's studio that day, putting forward the best image of themselves. Perhaps they worked in the nearby textiles industries as seamstresses, or maybe they were "empregadas domesticas" (household maids) for a family of higher means. Their subservient demeanor emphasized by their conservative attire and pensive gaze is in agreement with the town's norms that valued women according to ideas of modesty and respectability.

According to Kelly Viana, in the early 19th century, white women were expected to live according to Diamantina's imposed notions of modesty, fidelity, and virginity, regardless of their social class. Manual work was rarely expected of white women, as they were firmly advised to stay home taking care of their families and only go out for religious purposes. To Diamantina's free Black and mixed-race women, that model of respectability was impossible to attain. By analyzing court records, Viana states that free Black women went through great lengths to create a respectful and virtuous image of themselves, which did not depend on the color of their skin, sexual conduct, or home boundness. To these free women, their "honra" (respectability) and "boa fama," or their public reputation, especially related to their work, helped to protect them legally. Within this adapted version of "mulher honrada," (virtuous women), free Black women's reputation depended on how others viewed them according to sustaining notions of honesty, hard

work, humility, and amicability.[124] A century later, the two Afro-Brazilian women in the catalog's cover represent these attributes of respectability, decency, or dignity, as Ferraz identifies. Their image stands outside outdated modes of representations that are either stereotypical or unfavorable. Their positive implications make the image more accessible and uncomplicated to viewers.

It is hard not to notice the absence of anything that speaks of their African heritage. The ancestral absence is haunting because of its dual effect. It is an erasure that dissembles – as it may free the sitters from restricting and stereotypical modes of representation (candomblé, Carnaval) while possibly concealing the reasons that led to the absence. To quote the late Toni Morrison (1989), "invisible things are not necessarily "not-there."[125] To understand this absence, one must also consider imposed dominant rhetoric and the culture of whitewashing in Diamantina.

Perhaps a prime example of Brazilian culture of concealment and the birth of a myth is the story of Chica da Silva. Born a slave in Diamantina between 1731 and 1735, Francisca Parda[126] was bought and soon after freed by a diamond contractor with who she lived for several years.[127] Their relationship resulted in the birth of thirteen children. By 1754, Chica da Silva, as

[124] Kelly Cristina Benjamim Viana. "'Apesar de preta e pessoa de honra': o acesso das forras a justiça." in *Em nome da proteção real: Mulheres forras, honra e justiça na Capitania de Minas Gerais*. (Brasília: Universidade de Brasília, 2014): 147-205.
[125] Toni Morrison. "Unspeakable Things Unspoken: The Afro-American Presence in American Literature (1989)." In *Within the Circle* (Duke University Press, 1994). 136.
[126] While African Slaves were called after their place of origin, slaves born in Brazil were classified by their color. Chica was called "Parda" (brown) and Mullata (mixed) in different documents. Parda was referred to the lightest skin tone, therefore the most desirable. See Júnia Ferreira Furtado. *Chica da Silva: A Brazilian Slave of the Eighteenth Century.* (New york: Cambridge University Press, 2009): 40-43.
[127] Júnia Ferreira Furtado. *Chica da Silva...* (2009): 104.

she named herself after freed, owned a luxurious house in Teijuco[128] on Opera Street, where affluent freed blacks and whites lived side by side.[129] Her ample two-story mansion was adorned with extravagant architecture and furnishings, an extensive garden, and a private chapel.[130] She was also a slave owner – slaves being the primary income source for her and her children. Records indicated that she owned at least 104 slaves at different times - a large sum by local standards.[131] Her sons received noble titles and held prominent positions, and many of her daughters married wealthy white men.[132]

In 1868, after Joaquim Felicio dos Santos's published *Memórias do Distrito Diamantino* dedicating two chapters to the former slave, Chica da Silva's story attracted the curiosity of many. "Unthinkable during the nineteenth century, when slaves were the butt of prejudice, the book scandalized its readers with the story of an ex-slave … who had lived a long-standing and stable love affair with one of the richest and most powerful men in the Diamantine District."[133] From thereon, her image and story have been popularized in history books, movies, and telenovelas. "Witch, seductress, heroine, queen, slave,"[134] traitor - those are some characteristics commonly attributed to Chica da Silva over time. In the 1976 film *Xica da Silva,* [135] the former slave embodies stereotypical attributes often attached to Mulatto Brazilian women. Sensual and possessed by an intense sex drive, Chica's character was able to lure the most powerful men in town, turning the logic of a system that subjugated her and thus, blurring hierarchies of race,

[128] Júnia Ferreira Furtado. *Chica da Silva...* (2009): 130.
[129] Ibid., 131.
[130] Ibid.,133.
[131] Ibid., 154.
[132] Ibid., 271.
[133] Ibid., 12.
[134] Ibid., XIX.
[135] *Xica da Siva,* directed by Carlos Diegues (1976).

gender, and social class. It is a classic dark horse story that fermented and inspired the Brazilian popular imagination for centuries. Unfortunately, the myth of Chica da Silva is twofold. According to Furtado, Chica da Silva has been primarily used to support Freyre's theories of racial democracy in Brazil, cementing the idea that concubinage between whites owners and female slaves somehow mitigated the exploitation inherent in the slave system.[136] Furtado and recent scholars have pushed against this myth, providing a better overview of her life, hardships, and motivations.

Although surprising, especially in comparison to American colonial practices, the story of Chica da Silva was plausible within Diamantina's context. Records indicate that there were many other Chica da Silvas in the auriferous region. Because women were in short supply, concubinage became widespread, and many white men ended up freeing their mistress[137] as well as sometimes freeing their illegitimate offspring. A household census in Teijuco in 1774 revealed 56% of its residents were non-white[138] "Minas Gerais, had not only the largest slave stock but also the largest freed population in the Colony."[139] Among the slaves, women were more likely to receive manumission papers. Concubinage was, in fact, the most common way a female slave could earn her liberty. Like Chica da Silva, some free women were able to acquire wealth through gold and diamond exploration, ending up owning homes and slaves.[140] Many others, however, lived in the fringe of society as prostitutes or street vendors. Moreover, one must not

[136] Júnia Ferreira Furtado. *Chica da Silva…* (2009): 104.
[137] This was more often done in the landowners' deathbed a s symbolic of benevolence. Chica da Silva, however, received her papers soon after she was purchased.
[138] Júnia Ferreira Furtado. *Chica da Silva…* (2009): 36.
[139] Eduardo França Paiva. *Escravos e Libertos nas Minas Gerais do século XVIII*. 106
[140] Júnia Ferreira Furtado. *Chica da Silva…* (2009): 17.

forget that although some Black women benefited from this system, these free women were never able to elevate themselves to the condition of a wife.

Chica da Silva's life reveals an attempt to whiten her way into a more favorable position to dodge the limitations imposed by a prejudiced society. Many of her sons were able to attain Portuguese honorable status by the grace of half-truths and omitting Chica da Silva's former slave condition. This active form of erasure consolidated alternative versions of facts, forging a new life for Chica da Silva and her children, somewhat free from the stigma of color. Religion paradoxes also played a role in social ascension. Although the Catholic church was fervidly against extramarital sex between masters and slaves, its members turned a blind eye to the system. Chica da Silva and her offspring were members of many religious all-white, mixed, and Black religious brotherhoods. The former slave was an assiduous churchgoer, and she followed the Christian models to a 'T', instructing her children to follow the same path.[141] "Her motives, however, may not have been strictly Religious. Making a public show of her unreserved acceptance of Catholicism was one way she and her descendants could achieve social standing among the white Catholic village elite."[142] All her daughters attended the renowned Convent of Macaúbas — the best religious, educational establishment in town, which ensured they were perceived as virtuous, pure, and worthy of marriage.

Like Chica da Silva, many other freed Black and mixed-raced women actively concealed aspects of themselves. They embraced the white elite's values as a way of finding a place in society for themselves and their descendants. However, one must mistake this with racial democracy and a natural way in which foreign people assimilate cultures. Furthermore, recent

[141] Júnia Ferreira Furtado. *Chica da Silva…* (2009): 175-192.
[142] Ibid., 199.

studies indicate that African costumes and traditions were many times maintained behind the facade.[143] Chica da Silva chose to project an image of herself that followed Portuguese-Brazilian authoritative norms, assimilating the culture of her oppressors and sometimes actively concealing her ancestry. By the time we get to the two women in the Moreira Salles catalog in the 1940s, their ancestral roots are that it feels natural and authentic. I believe that the two women no longer viewed themselves as African; they simply viewed themselves as Brazilians, reflecting and aiding the country's racial exceptionalism discources of the period. Of course, their partial inclusion comes with their own set of limitations and erasures, which haunts us.

To conclude, based on Derrida's theories on photography, I argued that Chichico's image of two Afro-Brazilian sitters is an elaborate performance of something that, through time, has lost its connection with the referent, or the actual people in the photograph. In other words, the moment captured that day in Chichico's studio has little to do with what is iterated today. In place of the two Afro-Brazilian women, persistent cultural memories emerge, possibly reinforcing ideals of racial democracy through the duplication, manipulation of the photograph, and iteration of collective visualities. Trying to counter "history" and accepted institutional practices, I questioned curatorial choices related to the exhibition and the catalog production. Moreover, by attempting to bring back the referents, I highlighted that although Chichico's portraits display the sitter's authentic individualities and subjectivity, the Brazilian history of concealment and whitewashing is unduly evident in the cover photo. Like Chica da Silva, the two sitters likely presented themselves within a self-imposed subservient mode of representation, allowing them to maneuver through the paradoxes imposed within Diamantina's context.

[143] Júnia Ferreira Furtado. *Chica da Silva…* (2009): XXIII.

V. CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I argued that Chichico's photographs reflect the Brazilian culture of concealment regarding race. The images of Diamantina's multicultural residents superficially reproduce ideas of racial democracy and the positive aspects of racial miscegenation. Yet, they carry centuries of abuse that is hidden, obscured, or erased. Drawing on theoretical scholarship focused on photography, spectrality, and hauntology, I asked myself: why are these photographs circulating today, almost one hundred years after its conception? What can they tell us about society then (1920) and now (2020)? Incited by hauntology and supported by critical race theories and Black feminist thought, I concluded that Chichico's images of the Afro-Brazilian subject are, in fact, haunted by all that is masked, concealed, avoided, and manifested through persistent mythologies that historically locate Brazil as a racially moderate and racially flexible country. Always dependent and reliant on Afro-Brazilian subjects, racial democracy mythologies were central to developing the nation's modern identity, one that propagates through present time. Although these romanizations have long been debunked, history or collective visualizations continue to persist in time, adapting themselves to keep dominant systems in place. Although I acknowledge the memorable, constructive, and celebratory effects of Chichico's photographs, I also wanted to bring forward complexities and drawbacks that arise from the broad circulation of Afro-Brazilian subjects when viewed through divergent angles.

Recognizing the inherent connection between Chichico's photographs, Brazilian culture and finding that literature surrounding his work was scarce, I felt compelled to produce a critical analysis of his work that focused on race as a noticed a lack thereof. It was alarming that from an oeuvre compiled vastly of images of multiracial people, very little was given to the Black subjects in his work. Noticing the void, I felt compelled to produce a study that undertook this complex route. Triggered by the family portrait [Figure 1], I wanted to explore stories in the margins by paying close attention to a past that "shows" up or persists in the present time. This motivation led me to familiar histories such as slavery, racial democracy, and Brazilian Modernism; but most importantly, it provoked peculiar associations that led me to places I could never predict. Brazilian particularities such as the practice of "levar pra criar," the Carnaval drug lança-perfume, and the revised story of Chica da Silva, emerged gradually, supporting my argument that Chichico's photography stands as a representation of the Brazilian culture of concealment regarding race issues.

In terms of relevance, this thesis augments the limited plane of written works that engage with Chichico Alkmim's photography. It supplements historical accounts on Brazil informed by critical race theory and Black feminist thought and adds to investigations of modernity in the margins in Latin America, specific to rural spaces. Perhaps, more importantly, this thesis contributes to a long-growing literary movement that yearns to humanize and bring forward the African Diasporic experience as seen through a divergent and non-authoritative lens.

FUTHER CONSIDERATIONS

In light of these motivations and persistent cultural memories, I am concerned about the viewership of these photographs in Brazil and, possibly later, in a foreign land. The photographic medium itself bears historical proximity to ethnography and practices of exoticizing the "other."

From its origin, pictures were deemed much more real and honest than a painting, for example, that could distort reality. By the mid-1850s the practice of commercial and standardized photography allowed everyday people to 'travel places' and engage in 'virtual tourism' from the safety of their homes. By the first decades of the 20th century, Images of Egypt and Machu Picchu, for example, were highly popular on Western grounds.

Today, many are skeptical of the photographic medium's indexicality; however, the search for honest and real images of faraway lands and people of color remains. With this in mind, Chichico's work may come into place to fulfill this gap as a more legitimized and authenticated option. His images may allow viewers, including Brazilian elites and Western audiences, to observe, partake, and certainly celebrate the history and exotic people of color without the fear of engaging in a racist, white-dominant visual experience.

In a push towards disassociating from ethnology that sought to organize and classify, and later Modern approaches that appropriated and exoticized the African subject, contemporary institutions need to carefully search for more legitimized photographic perspectives. The fact that Chichico is not an 'outsider' or a foreigner grants his work a permission stamp, maybe allowing viewers to engage in a neighboring visual genre without evoking uncomfortable feelings. Moreover, unlike other photographers who engaged in ethnography such as, Indigenous-descent Martin Chambi and French Pierre Verger, for example, Chichico did not actively 'search' for his subjects. People around town asked and paid to be photographed according to how they wanted to be seen. The sitter's agency, in addition to the nationality of the photographer, certifies and accredits his work, granting viewers permission to partake in a visual investigation of Brazil and its colorful people, as so many have described.

Furthermore, to some extent, there is an honest and urgent need for audiences to honor and revere African Diasporic subjects as a possible way of making up for the horrors of the past.

As if by partaking in this celebration, white people, elites, and institutions try to compensate for the visual historical void and the past exploitation of African bodies. This interest and celebration can, undoubtedly, be fruitful and beneficial, giving visibility to previously subjugated groups. However, if we are going to consider the control and agency of Chichico's subjects, we should also make a note of current exhibition practices. In Chichico's exhibition, the photographic negatives were curated, enlarged, and assembled as a collection of faces and people, vastly differing from their small-scale and intimate original use. Within this sanitized museum aesthetics, the intimate and private becomes collective, and the subjectivity of the sitters may be lost to broader visualizations of Brazil and its history of race.

To be clear, I do not mean that documentative and artistic photographs of people of color should not be produced, displayed, and exhibited. However, it is critical for art institutions and their audiences to be aware of the extended history that bleeds outside dominant rhetoric as an exercise to foresee possible political and social implications that unceasingly conceal the lives and experiences of Black and brown people. As a final inquiry, I would like to consider who are the beneficiaries behind the resurfacing of Chichico's photographs: Artistic institutions, Brazilian elites, intellectuals, and scholars such as Ferraz and myself, Chichico's family members, perhaps. One can only hope that current-day Afro-Brazilians, the offspring of Chichico's sitters, feel somewhat vindicated for centuries of abuse, exploitation, and erasure.

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FIGURES

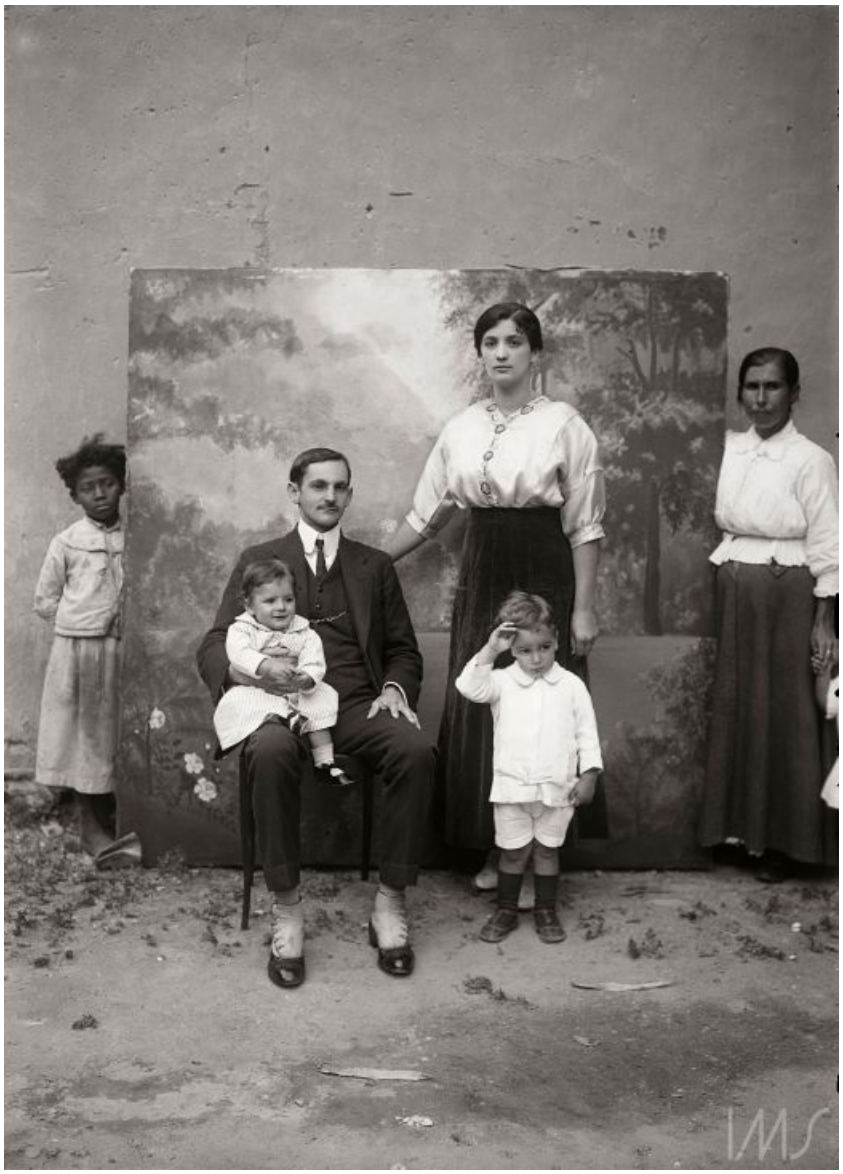

Figure 1: Chichico Alkmim, *Family Portrait — On the left, holding the panel, Maria Josefina Alkmim (Miquita), Chichico's wife*, ca. 1910. Glass plate negative, 18,0 x 13,0 cm, silver gelatin print / Instituto Moreira Salles Archives.

Figure 2: Thomas Holloway after John Gabriel Stedman, *Joanna*, engraving. 1793.

Figure 3: Chichico Alkmim, *Padre Lessa, Aires da Mata Machado Filho, Aires da Mata Machado, Mimi, Jose, Mata e Lourdes Mata Machado.* ca. 1910. Glass plate negative. Scanned image from Chichico Alkmim: Fotógrafo Catalog, 102-103 / Instituto Moreira Salles.

Figure 4: Chichico Alkmim, *Carnaval,* undated. ca.1920-30s. Glass plate negative, 13,0 X 18,0 cm, silver gelatin print / Instituto Moreira Salles Archives.

Figure 5: Estadão newspaper archives, *Para o Carnaval de 1929*, January 13, 1929.

Figure 6: Estadão newspaper archives, *Lança Perfume Colombina*, February 1, 1925.

Figure 7: Tarsila do Amaral, *O Aboporu.* 1928. Oil on Canvas. 34 X 29 inches.

Figure 8: Mário de Andrade, *Aposta do ridículo em Tefé 12 de junho de 1927,* 1927 *(Ridiculous bet in Tefe, June 12, 1927).*

Figure 9: Chichico Alkmim, *Auto Bonde,* 1924. Glass plate negative photography, 13,0 x 18,0, silver plate print / Instituto Moreira Salles Archive.

Figure 10: Chichico Alkmim, *Levy de Oliveira e Silva and Adelina Rodrigues da Silveira Family Portrait*. ca.1933-34. Glass plate photography printed later. Image scanned from Chichico Alkmim: Fotógrafo Catalog, 41 / Instituto Moreira Salles.

Figure 11: Chichico Alkmim, untitled, ca.1920. Glass plate negative photography printed later. Courtesy of Dr. Cristina Gonzalez.

Figure 12: Chichico Alkmim, untitled and undated, ca 1910. Glass plate negative photography printed later. Scanned image from Chichico Alkmim: Fotógrafo Catalog / Instituto Moreira Salles.

Figure 13: Chichico Alkmim, *Chichico Alkmim, Fotógrafo* exhibition Catalog, ca 1940, printed in 2017. Image found on the public domain at the Instituto Moreira Salles virtual store. https://lojadoims.com.br/product/31109/chichico-alkmim-fotografo

Figure 14: Chichico Alkmim, untitled, ca 1940. Glass plate photography. Image sourced from the Institute Moreira Salles website.

Figure 15: Fiona Hays, São Paulo's Moreira Salles Exhibition, 2017. Digital photography. Image found on public domain. https://somethingimworkingon.tumblr.com/

VITA

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