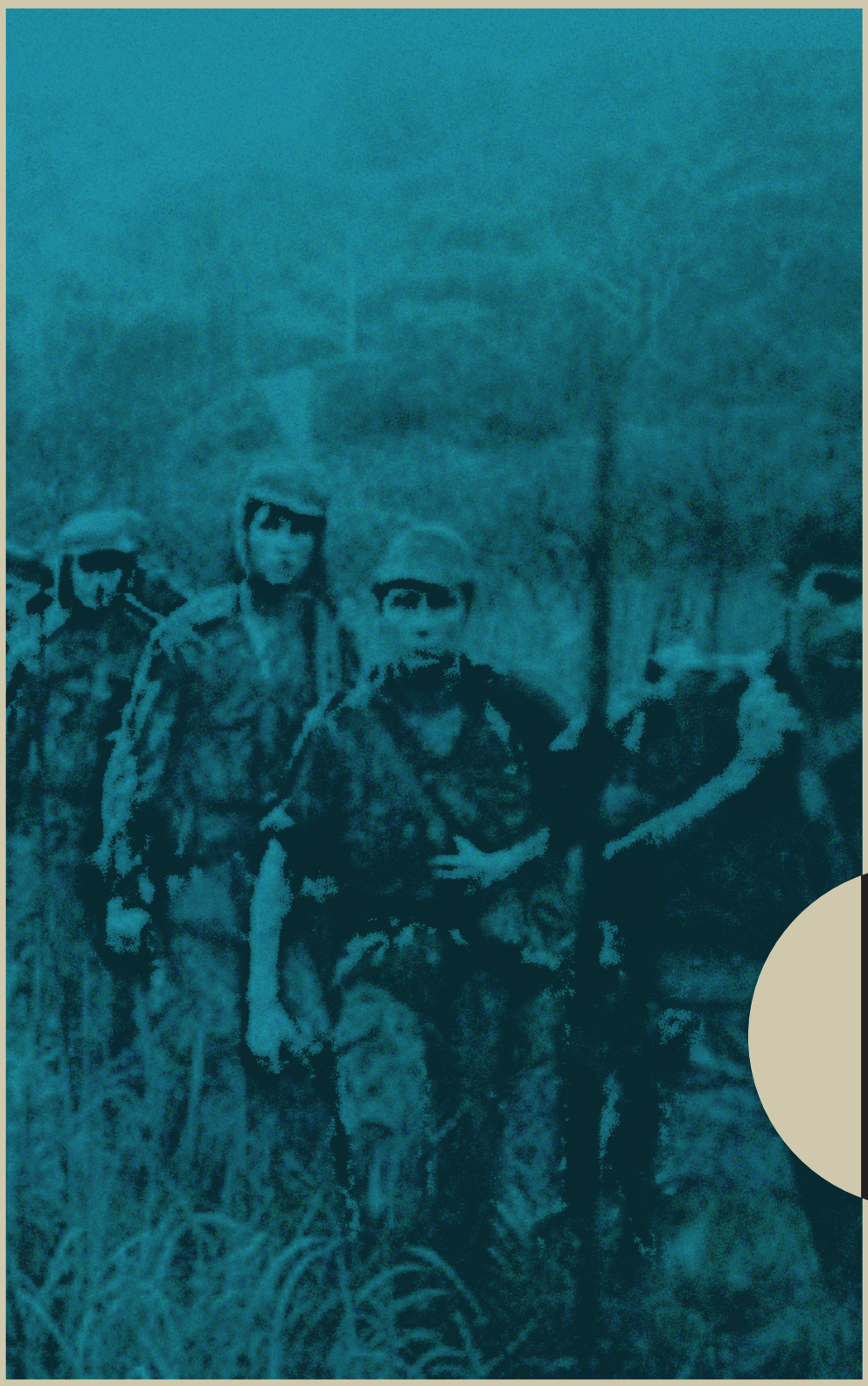
Culture Unbound

Journal of Current Cultural Research



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Cover image: *Marching in the bush*. Original caption: "Members of Cavalry Company 1773 in operation, area of Canacassala." Source: Vitor Abreu. Aveiro e Cultura Digital Archive.

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Special Section: "Imagined pasts: photography, colonialism, and archives"

Maria José Lobo Antunes, Inês Ponte and Filipa Lowndes Vicente

Introduction

This special section, with texts by six researchers, three of whom are also the volume's editors, spans diverse geographical spaces – Portugal, Angola, São Tomé and Príncipe, Indonesia, and the Netherlands – and a long chronology from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. The authors employ diverse methodologies to examine the meanings and uses of photographic images and archives within the Portuguese and Dutch colonial contexts, across religion, medicine, state bureaucracy, independence wars, ethnology, and private and commercial uses. Most contributions focus on specific archival collections or on tracing photographic materials dispersed across different repositories. Together, they examine how photographic images are produced, circulated, and revisited, and how they shape intimate, historical, and political understandings of the colonial past. "Imagining" – the play between image and imagining that inspired our title – reminds us that the past is always approached from the present, even as the present itself becomes history.

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"Other lives" of photography

A recent special issue, edited by Patricia Hayes and Iona Gilbert, draws on Georges Didi-Huberman's notion of the "afterlife of the image" to propose instead "other lives", avoiding the death connotations of "afterlife" (2020: 10). We adopt this insight to frame the contributions in this special section, which examine how photographs acquire new meanings across contexts, formats and temporalities.

This is evident, for example, when archival documents become available through digital projects, as in Marleen Reichgelt's article *Zooming in. Children as Guides and Informants in Merauke, West Papua 1905-1910*, which opens this special section. It was precisely the digitisation of photographs held in a Dutch colonial missionary archive that made it possible to "zoom" into the images and, by enlarging them, see details that would not have been visible in the previous analog formats available in the material archive – an insight that Antonioni's film *Blow-Up* (1966) portrays. Lobo Antunes' article analyses the fascinating transformations that occur when former Portuguese soldiers post personal photographs taken in Angola during the war of independence (1961-74) on digital platforms open to public scrutiny, turning them from objects of personal affect into objects of debate. These cases illustrate how photographs acquire "other lives" when reactivated in new contexts and viewed through new interpretative frames, such as those pursued by the authors brought together in this special section to reflect on *Imagined Pasts: Photography, colonialism, and archives*.

Like Hayes and Gilbert's special issue in *Kronos*, ours grew out of an international workshop held in Lisbon in November 2019 at the Institute of Social Sciences of the University of Lisbon (ICS-ULisboa), where the three editors are based (two anthropologists and one historian). The two-day workshop focused on photographic collections from the colonial period. Living in Portugal, where such materials are abundant yet dispersed across institutions and largely understudied, we issued an open call to attract researchers working on other colonial contexts. With 22 presentations and around 30 speakers, the workshop was broad and diverse in scope. Although this diversity cannot be fully reproduced here, the workshop marked the conceptual starting point for this special section.

Time and space are central to both history and photography. As Elizabeth Edwards argues, photographs are "visual incisions through time and space" linking personal experience, culture and history. Yet photographic time is not fixed: images are encountered across multiple temporal presents, acquiring new meanings in changing contexts. Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer's notion of "liquid time" captures this condition, describing photographs as "dynamic" and "unfixed" objects that shift meaning over time (2019:13). The temporalities addressed in this special section range from early colonial photography in the mid-nineteenth century to contemporary digital circulation, where archival images are reactivated,

recontextualised, and reinterpreted across analogue and digital environments. Diverse forms of preserving and circulating images coexist, from colonial archives that have remained largely untouched in postcolonial contexts to digital platforms where "old" photographs - whether dated or undated – are shared and re-exposed. "Old" may refer to black-and-white prints, but also to the faded colour of photographs taken by Portuguese soldiers during the wars of African independence in the 1960s and early 1970s, or to the vibrant colour slides produced during the five ethnographic and photographic missions led in Angola by an employee of the Lisbon Ethnology Museum, discussed in Ponte's article *Wholes and Parts*.

Alongside time, space is the other key dimension for exploring photographs' multiple intersections with history, culture, and personal experience. First, there is the space where photographs were taken, the original "incision" captured by the camera. Second, there are the spaces through which photographs travelled, moving from the locations where they were produced to the places where they are now preserved and studied. Photographs, photographers, and those depicted often circulate, and their meanings, uses, and effects change along the way, shaped by these spatial and temporal movements. Third, there is the space in which photographs are placed: where they are printed, glued, posted or stored. This includes archives of many kinds, with various formats and diverse classificatory systems: digital platforms, institutional and personal albums, images embedded in documents, or reproduced in books, journals, newspapers, leaflets, and photographic postcards, and even, as in this case, in the pages of an academic journal such as *Culture Unbound*.

Although most of the special section's contributions address Portuguese colonial histories, the inclusion of a Dutch colonial case broadens the comparative scope of this special section and highlights the wider relevance of these questions. Together, the articles examine the material legacies and the "imagined pasts" that continue to shape contested understandings of colonial history. These include the lingering lives of colonial visual and material legacies; the ways photography can reveal unexpected colonial encounters and the lives and humanity of particular subjected individuals; the different scholarly disciplines that used photography in their inquiries and preserved these images in their archives; and the diasporic lives of images and image-makers, crossing national and colonial frontiers and thereby subverting fixed identities.

Images that move

Images are often on the move. Travel, circulation, and migration - experiences inseparable from space and time - lie at the heart of photography and shape all 6 articles in this special section. Decades after the fall of European empires –

and across subsequent political transitions – these studies trace the trajectories of images across time and space, highlighting their movements between formal and informal archival contexts, the blurring of private and public spheres, and the diasporic lives of both photographers and their subjects. Sometimes photographs remain immobile, preserved where they were created, yet the individuals depicted were travellers, forced or otherwise. In Silvio Marcus de Correa's *Beyond the image of the pain of others*, sick Africans brought to Lisbon for medical trials become the subjects of images in contexts of ambiguous consent. Similarly, in Cláudia Castelo's *Black Images Matter*, photographs are central to bureaucratic files that African residents in Portugal submitted to request state-supported travel back to Africa. Castelo's study brings to light forms of intra-imperial mobility that are often obscured in other sources, going beyond the more obvious movements of white Portuguese settlers or administrators. Importantly, she works with documents that reference specific, individual stories. While the exact locations where the photographic portraits were taken are unknown, they were annexed to Lisbon-based documents and remain there today.

In both cases, photography appears either at the beginning or the end of a journey, becoming a key moment in the process itself. In Correa's article, we encounter a medical context in which the photograph is produced in the same hospital where the therapeutic trial takes place, a practice that, by the early twentieth century, already had a genealogy in other hospital settings and across different pathological conditions. Jean-Martin Charcot's photographs of his patients, for example, are a well-known and widely studied case from the Parisian Salpêtrière hospital in the second half of the nineteenth century. In Castelo's article, on the other hand, photography forms part of the bureaucratic procedures through which states sought to know their citizens and to control their movements and actions. In this case, the issue concerned the state's coverage of the expenses of a long journey from Portugal to several African countries. This required the submission of specific information to make a decision, and a photographic portrait was among the documents required. Then and now, photographic portraits are indispensable to the movement of people crossing borders.

Diverse movements shape the photographic archives studied by Reichgelt, Ponte and Lobo Antunes. In Reichgelt's article, the images were produced in the early twentieth century in Western New Guinea (Papua) in the context of a religious mission, and were later likely transported together to the missionary archive in the Netherlands, where they remain today. Antunes' private photographs travelled from Angola to Portugal at different times: some were sent directly to relatives, while others were carried by soldiers completing their military service. Within Angola, images also circulated among barracks, battlefields, and local laboratories. In Ponte's case, the photographs she analyses were taken in Angola

at different moments in the 1960s, but were quickly printed by Lisbon's Ethnology Museum, which had supported the missions and where the fieldworker worked. Today, the images remain in the same archival space, seemingly detached – as Ponte suggests – from the paradoxical legacy of a late colonial project that combined modern anthropological methods and documentary technologies with imperial domination. Across these cases, what emerges is not only the physical movement of photographs, but also their circulation through shifting social, institutional and temporal contexts. As they travel, photographs acquire new meanings and archival lives – other lives.

In Filipa Lowndes Vicente's article, *On the Margins of the Indian Ocean*, mobility concerns the photographers themselves more than the photographic archives. Goan photographers of the nineteenth century were often highly itinerant, practising their craft across Bombay, a major British imperial city, and the East African coast, where a thriving commercial culture nurtured photography's technological and economic potential for producing images of peoples and places. Here, both photographers and photographs emerge as diasporic subjects and objects, travelling across time, space, and empire. This text on Goan photography as a diasporic practice draws from a research itinerary that began much more centred in Goa itself before leaving its borders (Vicente 2014). Across the six articles, these studies reveal that photography is inseparable from movement: whether through the journeys of images, the circulation of archives, or the migrations of those who make and inhabit them.

Recovering marginalised lives in the colonial archives of the present

The originality of Reichgelt's text lies in how a photographic technique, *zooming*, becomes a metaphor for identifying a new subject of the narrative. Digital technologies allowed her to zoom in on archival photographs and notice children who were not the focus of the camera's gaze. Their presence would not have been easily perceived by the naked eye in standard viewing formats, such as photographs. In her article, "small" children become "big" characters within the Dutch missionaries' experiences in distant colonial settings. Through photography and other written documentation preserved in the missionary archive, children and young adults, mostly boys, emerge as key mediators in the missionaries' encounters with the region. The idea of the colonised as mediators has been widely discussed in imperial studies and has taken different conceptual forms to designate those who played this formal or informal role: "colonial intermediaries", "go-betweens" or "indigenous informants", as developed by C.A. Bayly (2009) in his *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870*.

Reichgelt's contribution places children within this category. Through her visual and theoretical approach, children move from unseen to seen, and from marginal figures in most historical and anthropological studies to unexpected protagonists. She also gives them "other lives".

In Correa's *Beyond the image of the pain of others*, the archive of the former Institute of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine in Lisbon is treated as a historical laboratory linking Africa and Portugal through early-twentieth-century research on sleeping sickness (human trypanosomiasis), which caused widespread mortality in the African colonies. Among its holdings are the papers of a bacteriologist and parasitologist involved in the first colonial medical mission of 1901, which helped establish a scientific network between Africa and Lisbon, sustained through conferences, journals, and clinical trials. Photography was integral to this project, which relied on the circulation of patients, images, and biological specimens between the colonies and the metropole.

African women, men and children appear in these archival materials in a precarious state between life and death; many died shortly after being photographed. They all suffered the same illness and were subjected to human medical experiments in which consent was uncertain despite the early codification of informed consent in 1900. Correa, a Brazilian scholar who often works on the European visual archive, describes encountering an envelope labelled "Photographs of the Blacks". Inside were 9 male portraits taken in Lisbon in 1914, each identified by name and surname, plus two additional unnamed portraits - one male and one female. These materials document only a fraction of those transported to Lisbon from Africa for treatment and experimentation, many of whom died during the process or en route. Likely made at the hospital by the School of Tropical Medicine's photographer, other photographs preserved in the archive depict the disease vectors such as tsetse flies, placing humans and insects within a single visual and clinical regime. Correa draws on Susan Sontag, particularly her book *Regarding the Pain of Others*, echoed in his title, and on Roland Barthes, to reflect on photography, suffering, and death, while situating his work within broader histories of tropical and colonial medicine.

Castelo's contribution engages in several dialogues with Correa's work. Both authors focus on the early twentieth century and reveal the presence of "Black lives" in the colonial metropolis, albeit for different reasons, thereby contributing to what Castelo describes as the retrieval of the experiences of the dominated. Both also engage with photographic portraits produced within expanding institutional documentary regimes – police, hospitals, prisons, border controls, and identity systems – that had become widespread by the early twentieth century. Finally, the two archival institutions are located close together in present-day Lisbon, in the Junqueira-Belém area, historically shaped by institutions consolidated in the

mid-twentieth century.

These parallels are best understood within the broader political and institutional context of the late Portuguese empire, in which decolonisation elsewhere was met with renewed imperial investment and the redefinition of the colonies as "overseas territories". This period saw the expansion of archival institutions and "tropical" disciplines, including the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU), the "Overseas Historical Archive", and the Escola de Medicina Tropical, "School of Tropical Medicine", which retained their colonial nomenclature after 1974-75.

Castelo (2012) wrote about the institutional "colonial complex" in mid-twentieth-century Lisbon and was already familiar with the AHU when she encountered the fonds underpinning her article in this special section. She approaches the archive as both field and object of study, following Antoinette Burton (2006) and Ann Laura Stoler's (2009) call for "archive stories along the archival grain", and draws on decolonial approaches inspired by Elizabeth Edwards' notion of "presence" and Temi Odumosu's "ethics of care".

While researching Portuguese settler migration, Castelo encountered the "settler files", applications for free travel to a Portuguese colony submitted to the Ministry of the Colonies by would-be settlers who claimed insufficient means for the journey but had guaranteed employment or financial support at their destination. Nearby, she found the "files of the repatriated", which she initially assumed concerned settlers returning from Africa to Portugal without the means to do so. To her surprise, however, these files contained photographs of Black women, men and children living in Portugal who were requesting support to return to Africa. This unexpected direction of migration; from Portugal back to Africa rather than the reverse – only became visible through close engagement with the archival material, which offered no such indication in its classification. *Black Images Matter* draws on a small portion of the much larger "files of settlers and repatriates" preserved at the AHU, underscoring the need for further research. The fonds comprises around 150 boxes, of which the article analyses only 20 – about ten per cent of the total.

Photography is central to this archival discovery. In the "files of the repatriated", photographic portraits – rather than names – make it clear that the documents concern Africans living in Portugal. For Castelo, this reveals fragments of "Black Lives" in Portugal and compelling evidence of a wider African and African-descent presence in the country. Within state bureaucratic procedures, photography functioned as a technology of identification, as applicants were required to submit two photographs alongside a birth certificate and a "poverty certificate" to qualify for travel assistance. The files describe these Africans as working in menial, underpaid jobs, as servants or port workers.

Africans living in Portugal who sought to return home appear in the archive alongside Portuguese citizens applying to emigrate to African colonies. These

groups are described within markedly different juridical, racial, colonial and symbolic worlds, even if poverty and difficult living conditions sometimes brought their trajectories into proximity. As Castelo notes, these populations intersected both aboard ships linking Lisbon and various African ports and within the same bureaucratic system of imperial mobility. As Castelo also shows, while the place of birth determined archival classification, only Black applicants had their racial identities explicitly recorded. The archive thus both connected and differentiated these populations, revealing the asymmetries of colonial documentation.

A final note concerns the impact of Castelo's research on the AHU itself. With Castelo's input, the archival description was revised to acknowledge traces of African lives in Lisbon. These files reveal names and images, making individual identities visible, in contrast to the many anonymous Black portraits that populate other Portuguese colonial visual collections. The explicit recognition of "blackness" within the classification thus became a form of archival reparation, consistent with Temi Odumosu's "ethics of care" and broader efforts towards more inclusive and reflexive descriptions. By adding new layers of interpretation to these files, Castelo pays tribute to lives long neglected or subalternised. As Elizabeth Edwards argues, photographs "inject a particular form of *presence* [Castelo's italic] into the historical landscape".

In different ways, all the articles in this special section share a concern with recovering forgotten or marginalised lives through contemporary archives. The first three do so through Reichgelt's focus on Papuan children, Correa's exploration of photographs taken at the threshold of death, and Castelo's attention to suspended lives within the colonial bureaucracy, as revealed in written and visual records.

Photographing during the "colonial wars": leaving violence out of the picture frame

Maria José Lobo Antunes and Inês Ponte, authors of the next two articles, share the same historical period, taking us to the final decades of long Portuguese imperial rule (1961-1974), marked by the independence wars in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau - or, in the terminology of the authoritarian regime, the "overseas wars" (*guerras do ultramar*). Lobo Antunes examines how, around 2000, Portuguese veterans began using blogs and other digital platforms to share private photographs taken during the conflict. In Ponte's study of António Carreira's five ethnographic and photographic missions to Angola between 1961 and 1969, the wars remain in the background, surfacing only in private correspondence. Lobo Antunes and Ponte recently collaborated on the exhibition and catalogue *A War Kept*, devoted to photographs taken by Portuguese soldiers during the colonial wars. Their project explored how memories of the colonial wars resurfaced through

vernacular photographs preserved in private homes decades after the conflict had ended (Antunes and Ponte 2024).

In this special section, Lobo Antunes asks: "What occurs when soldiers' private photographs enter the public domain?" She examines a digital vernacular repository launched in 2001, which now holds around 5,000 images. Initially created for teachers, the site soon became a space where former soldiers shared personal photographs from the Portuguese colonial wars. Its founder, a former soldier and amateur photographer, serves as archivist, selecting images and writing captions that privilege war-adjacent scenes while excluding graphic violence – focusing instead on the *before* and *after* of violent moments. As the digital archive's founder explained, images depicting severed corpses or other extreme brutality were withheld, revealing a pattern of selective memory that avoids confronting Portuguese violence towards African populations.

Lobo Antunes explores the ambiguities of this digital archive, in which the historical actor and the archivist are one and the same. Drawing on long-term work with veterans, she shows how personal memories of the colonial wars often sidestep critical engagement with violence and colonialism. The exclusion of this violence from the digital repository thus reflects a broader difficulty in Portuguese society in confronting the violent end of its imperial history. Such silences, she argues, are themselves political and resonate with Ann Laura Stoler's notion of "colonial aphasia": not speaking – or not showing – functions as a way of keeping the Pandora's box safely closed.

In Angola during the 1960s and 1970s, soldiers used personal cameras or bought photographs from others, producing unofficial images that circulated separately from official war photography, which served propaganda purposes (Ramos 2015). Thirty years after the wars ended, the digital turn transformed the circulation of this vernacular imagery: photographs once confined to albums, memoirs, or veterans' reunions became accessible to wider publics. This shift enabled the public visibility of previously private images, raising the question of what these curated online displays share with earlier official uses of war photography. In both cases, Portuguese violence against African populations remains largely absent.

Ethnographic interviews with war veterans, conducted over many years, together with archival research, have served as Lobo Antunes' laboratory (2023a, 2023b, 2023c, 2022, 2017a, 2017b, 2015). Photography, her article shows, lies at the heart of these remembered experiences, functioning as a medium of storytelling and a means of regulating what is revealed and what remains private. Drawing, like Castelo, on Temi Odumosu's "ethics of care" (2020), she argues that seemingly small interventions – such as revising captions to acknowledge African agency – can function as decolonial gestures, restoring visibility to subjects often marginalised in archival and photographic narratives, as Marleen Reichgelt also demonstrates

in her working archive.

One could argue that Ponte's close reading of an institutional archive in *Wholes and Parts* is itself a decolonial exercise. Rather than reproducing photographs from Carreira's field cards and slides, she redraws them, introducing another layer of mediation that encourages a more critical engagement with the National Museum of Ethnology [Museu Nacional de Etnologia] archive in Lisbon. In this approach, Ponte follows a reflexive trajectory developed in earlier research on ethnographers' photographic archives and institutional collections (2020, 2023). Building on Stoler's reading of colonial archives "along the archival grain", she turns to the overlooked photographic archive created in 1965 at the museum to document the cultural diversity of the Portuguese colonies, reading it both along and against its grain. She explores its ambivalent history: established in the final decade of the country's long colonial rule, as part of a modern sociocultural anthropology, as Castelo (2012, 2014) has shown for the 1950s and 1960s, the archive became largely dormant after decolonisation and the democratic transition of 1974-75, turning into an anachronistic remnant of knowledge production during colonial times.

The photographer responsible for most of the Angolan photographic collection was António Carreira (1905-1988), alongside archivist Fernando Rogado Quintino (1907-76). Both, born in Portuguese colonies and long embedded in the colonial administration, became invisible or uneasy figures after 1974. Ponte reconstitutes Carreira's negatives, slides and field cards across a dispersed archive, treating archival work itself as fieldwork. Her familiarity with the archive since 2017 has shaped her practice as forensic "archival hunting" (Roque 2022), tracing each field mission's trajectory from Angola to the museum in Lisbon.

Like the other contributions, Ponte reads photographs alongside reports, correspondence, and administrative records. These textual layers - mission reports, manuscripts, and letters, as in Reichgelt's work on religious missions or Correa's study of tropical and colonial medical history – reveal dimensions absent from the images alone. In Ponte's article, this method is particularly effective in bringing visibility to the colonial wars unfolding in the background of the missions.

While apparently absent from the photographs themselves, war emerges in Carreira's private correspondence from Angola, where he describes collecting a large drum intended for the Lisbon museum and notes that similar drums had likely been destroyed by Portuguese troops because they were used for "long-distance transmission of news" and were thus considered subversive. By cross-referencing different sources, Ponte's article illuminates both specific cases and broader historical processes. To borrow a photographic metaphor, she shifts between a macro lens - grasping colonial war and the development of modern Portuguese anthropology - and a zoom lens, focusing closely on the photographic archive produced through fieldwork in Angola.

Dispersed Pasts, Unstable Archives

Finally, the last article of this special section remains at the macro level, rarely zooming in on specific photographic archives. In *On the Margins of the Indian Ocean*, Filipa Lowndes Vicente adopts a bird's-eye view, focusing on photographers rather than individual photographs. Her attention lies more with the spaces where photography occurred than with the archives where these images now reside. Unlike the other articles, her chronology predates the twentieth century, tracing the early decades of photography across multiple Indian Ocean sites, with Goa as a geographical centre. Here, local men became photographers, sometimes running shops or studios, while others migrated in search of better opportunities.

By tracing the diasporic movements of photographers and their practices, Vicente raises a key question: is it meaningful to analyse early photography through the "nationality" or "origin" of the photographer, or is it more relevant to focus on the place depicted? In Goa, Bombay, and East Africa, photographers of diverse origins, nationalities, and religions produced postcards, portraits, ethnographic surveys, and commercial images, highlighting a contrast with the more tightly circumscribed medical, bureaucratic, or ethnographic collections examined in some of the other articles.

Vicente also addresses the challenge of studying photography in contexts where no consolidated photographic archive exists (2023; 2025; 2026). Early photographs are often scattered, missing, or known only through written references in exhibition catalogues, advertisements, books, or poetry. These fragmented traces require scholars to look beyond images to written sources on photography. Differences in early photographic cultures - such as Bombay's relatively rich photographic societies and publications versus Portuguese India's sparser visual documentation - continue to shape the histories that can be reconstructed today.

In the present moment, marked by heightened attention to Europe's colonial past, private photographic collections in former imperial metropoles have become central to scholarly inquiry across anthropology, history, the visual arts, literature and film. At the same time, those who lived through colonialism, including those who fought as young adults in the so-called "colonial wars" or "independence wars" – people who have memories and materialities of their colonial pasts – are now elderly or have passed away, while the digital turn has shifted archives from material storage to increasingly unstable technological formats.

Colonial photographic archives thus remain both past and present objects. Their material traces persist but rarely align with the histories they are expected to convey. This makes continued archival work essential and raises a broader question: whose pasts can we imagine, and how?

Maria José Lobo Antunes, Inês Ponte, Filipa Lowndes Vicente

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On the margins of the Indian Ocean: Early goan photographers in Goa, Bombay and The East African Coast (1859–1900)

Filipa Lowndes Vicente

Abstract

This article analyses the practice and presence of photography in Goa, and by Goan photographers outside of Goa, from the 1850s to the 1900s. One of the aims of this text is to draw a preliminary mapping of Goan photographic histories beyond its most well-known chronologies and geographies – beyond Souza & Paul's photographic studio dominating visuality of Goa from the 1890s onwards and beyond Goa itself.

To write a history of Goan photographers in this period – and not only of photographers in Goa – means necessarily to leave Goa's borders and address questions of transnational and transimperial mobilities and diasporic identities. Therefore, after an introduction where I map what I consider to be the main lenses of analysis when approaching the subject, the article is divided into three parts which correspond to three geographical spaces: the first one concentrates on Goa, on the early traces of photographic practices before the 1890s, the date when the photographic studio Souza & Paul publishes a catalogue of images for sale and starts leading the local visual culture; the second and third parts analyse the references to Goan photographers away from Goa, in two significant geographies of the Goan diaspora – in Bombay (now Mumbai), a major city of neighbouring British India, and in the East African coastline, across the Indian ocean.

My approach will entail crossing those physical and colonial borders that were also crossed by photography and photographers, while also placing Goan photographic practices within the wider history of photography in India and in the coastal port cities of the Indian ocean. By doing so, it argues that the history of photographic studios can also be analysed though the lenses of an Indian Ocean history, one with thriving ports with cosmopolitan communities, and individual and collective histories of mobility and migration. Mobility itself is a major characteristic of 19th and 20th century professional photographers. This explains the enormous quantity of photographers who make images of places that are very far from their original places of birth. Goan early photographers are exemplary of this need to go beyond national histories of photography and acknowledge the diasporic characteristics of photography.

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Introduction

Earlier images of Goa, as a material presence in present public and private archives, tend to be synonymous with the work produced by the photographic studio of Souza & Paul, the main Goan studio from the end of the 19th century and throughout the 20th century (Vicente, 2026; Derenthal 2012).[1] In 1889, Souza & Paul published the first major photographic catalogue of Goa – *Photographic Views of the State of Portuguese India by D'Souza and Paul. Photographers in Nova Goa. 1889*.[2] Within this written description of more than 200 views of Goa, the photographic studio framed a visual canon of the place, while transforming what had been a fragmented, undated, and dispersed experience made of multiple agents, sellers of photography and photographers, into a dominant control of image-making in Goa and of Goa (Vicente: 2025). There is, thus, a before 1889 and an after 1889: before, in the first decades of the existence of photography in Goa, there are written traces referring to the existence of photography but not necessarily an archive of photographs directly associating them with specific images. After 1889, and with their printed catalogue with more than 200 written descriptions of images of Goa, Souza & Paul created a corpus of photographs of Goa ready to be printed on demand.

One of the aims of this article is, thus, to search for Goan photographic histories that Souza & Paul's dominating visuality of Goa did not allow us to see.[3] I propose here two main ways of doing so: first, to search for evidence of photographic practices and photography in all kinds of written sources. Secondly, to "leave" Goa, in the sense of searching for Goa photographers away from Goa. Indeed, it was far from their birthplace, in the main geographies of the Goan diaspora, that many Goans became photographers, and where images appeared abundantly next to words, and much before 1889.

I looked at references to photographs as actual material objects for sale, in commercial spaces that sell many other goods; at the practice of photography as a paid service that can be ordered by any individual, as when someone enters a studio to have their portrait made; as a consumer good for sale on ships crossing

1 I was recently informed by Nuno Borges de Araújo, a scholar of 19th century photographic history, that the late José Luis Madeira had done wide research on Photography in Goa but never came to publish the result of his work. It would be very relevant if those in charge of his legacy would be willing to edit and publish his work.

2 I have never been able to find this catalogue, but it is mentioned and partly reproduced in: Ferracuti, Giovanni (ed.) (1991) *Goa: memoria e imagine. Architettura e città dell'India portoghese*, Milan: Edizioni Lybra Immagine. I have written a text on this 1889 catalogue for a bilingual, Portuguese-English exhibition catalogue: Rosa Maria Perez, (ed.) (2025) *Foto Arte Ganesh: Goa, Fotografia e Memória*, Lisboa: Fundação Oriente.

3 On Souza & Paul photographic studio see my upcoming chapter: Filipa Lowndes Vicente, "Goa in black and white: Souza & Paul's photographs in catalogues, albums, exhibitions and archives, in and out of India", in Maria do Carmo Piçarra (ed.) (2026) *Luso-Orientalism(s) – on imagined projections and ruins. Visual representations of former "Portuguese Asia"*, London: Palgrave, *in press.*

the Indian ocean or those ports where they stop, or as an idea or word that starts to be part of the language itself, of everyday life, of poetry or of historical consciousness (Edwards 2021). As we shall see, the first traces of the public presence of photography in Goa, are those printed mainly in exhibition catalogues and newspaper advertisements or references, mostly from the 1860s onwards – announcing the services of specific photographers in specific places or advertising the selling of photographic prints or *appareils* as part of a market of commercially available goods. What becomes clear is that the ways in which photography evolves and changes throughout the second half of the 19th century are inseparable from the technological transformations in contemporary printing cultures, the ones that enabled newspapers, postcards and all kinds of reproductive possibilities for using words and images.

By focusing mainly on photography as a professional or commercial activity – in the sense of implying a profit-making transaction for public consumption – I am leaving out other fundamental dimensions of photographic practice but ones that would demand access to private archives in family homes in Goa and of Goans elsewhere, and the recourse to oral history.[4] One limit to my research is the fact that it relies mostly on sources available in print. For the case of photography in Goa, I rely both on newspapers and other printed primary sources, and on secondary sources; for the case of Goan photographers in Bombay and in the East African Coast, I rely mostly on secondary sources – books and articles published in the last decades on photography in India and in the eastern coast of Africa.[5] The fact that I have no images in this article is both practical and theoretical. First, I see this article as a proposal, a mapping, for further research, to be pursued by me or by others, one where images themselves would become more central; and secondly, because

4 This individual, non-professional practices of photography that became common by the end of the 19th century, especially when Kodak invented the instant camera, small, cheaper, and easier to use, allowed many more people, significantly more women, to photograph without becoming photographers.

5 Haney (2010): *Photography and Africa*; Christopher Pinney (2008): *The Coming of Photography in India*; Gerda Theuns-de Boer (2008): *A Vision of Splendour. Indian Heritage in the Photographs of Jean Philippe Vogel, 1901-1913*. Exhibition Catalogue; Malavika Karlekar (2005): *Re-Visioning the Past. Early Photography in Bengal 1875-1915*; Maria Antonella Pelizzari (ed.) (2003): *Traces of India: Photography, Architecture, and the Politics of Representation, 1850-1900*; Vidya Dehejia (ed.) (2000): *India Through the Lens: Photography 1840-1911*, Exhibition Catalogue; Christopher Pinney (1997): *Camera Indica: The Social Life of Indian Photographs*; John Falconer (1992): "Early British Photography in India", *History of Photography*, 16, no 4 (1992); John Falconer (2001): *India: Pioneering Photographers 1850-1900*. Exhibition Catalogue; Judith Mara Gutman (1982): *Through Indian Eyes: 19th and 20th Century Photography From India*; Ray Desmond (1982): *Victorian India in Focus: A Selection of Early Photographs From the Collection in the India Office Library and Records*; Ray Desmond (1977): *Nineteenth Century Indian Photographers in India*; John Falconer (1990): "Photography in Nineteenth-Century India," C.A. Bayly (ed.): *The Raj. India and the British 1600-1947*; G. Thomas (1981): *History of Photography. India 1840-1980*. See also the auction of over 2000 Indian photographs collected by Sven Gahlin, an Indian art historian: "Modern and Contemporary South Asian Art", Sotheby's, London, 3-7 October 2014.

my research has been based in printed sources, both primary and secondary, and I have not pursued research in Indian or East African archives.

Therefore, a more comprehensive and holistic history of photography related to Goa, before or after 1890, would require further research: on the one hand, a closer analysis of the images themselves, their subjects, contexts and meanings and, on the other hand, deeper research into other archival spaces. First, in public archives in India and in the East African port cities mentioned; secondly, in the intimacy of Goan families' homes, in Goa, or in its vast diaspora; and, thirdly, in the private archives of Portuguese families who passed through Goa and then went to other parts of the empire, such as Angola or Mozambique, or returned to the colonising centre, Portugal. The country was a monarchy until 1910, a republic until 1926 and, afterwards and for more than 40 years, a right-wing dictatorship under António de Oliveira Salazar. Democratic Portugal, from the carnation revolution of 1974, still had to wait another year to cease being a colonizing nation, something that only happened fully in 1975 with the independence of the former African colonies. Goa had ceased to be "Portuguese" in 1961, when it became a part of India, and many Goans chose to leave India, with a significant number moving to the eastern coast of Africa. These historical events and movements determined the locations where many archival materials exist today. Photographic itself has a diasporic history. One of my arguments is that all histories of photography tend to transgress geographies and national or colonial frontiers, even if historiographies of photography have tended to organise them nationally.

Diasporic Goan photographers

This article analyses the practice and presence of photography in Goa, and by Goan photographers outside of Goa, from the 1850s to the 1900s, already a very significant period of photographic production across the world. To write a history of Goan photographers in the 19th century – and not only of photographers in Goa – means necessarily to leave Goa's borders, and address questions of transnational and transimperial mobilities and diasporic identities.

This article is thus divided in three parts, which correspond to three geographical spaces that are themselves imperial spaces: the first one concentrates on Goa; on the early written traces of photographic practices in Goa before the 1890s, when the photographic studio Souza & Paul starts dominating the local visual culture; the second and third parts analyse the references to Goan photographers away from Goa, in two significant geographies of the Goan diaspora – in Bombay, a major city in neighbouring British India, and in the East African coastline, across the Indian Ocean. My approach will entail crossing those geographical and colonial borders, that were also crossed by photography and photographers, while also

placing Goan photographic practices within the wider history of photography in India and in the coastal cosmopolitan port cities of the Indian ocean.

Photography's history is itself inseparable from the itinerancy of people and of images. Photographs were objects that travelled with or without people, through the growing postal networks developed precisely during this period, or through the developing printing processes that turned images into postcards and illustrated albums. The profession of photographer was, from very early on, associated with movement – travellers became photographers and photographers became travellers – but Goa's case seems to emphasize this. The 19th century Goan diaspora, mostly made up of young Catholic, but also Hindu, men in search of better work and study opportunities away from Goa, is inseparable from all aspects of Goa's history.[6] This migration had three main destinations: Bombay, a major urban metropolis and a thriving port, especially from 1869 onwards, after the opening of the Suez Canal; the East African coast, from Mozambique within the Portuguese imperial space, to other port cities such as Mombasa or Zanzibar Stone Town, cosmopolitan hubs strategically placed at the intersection of Indian ocean's routes and under British hegemony; and finally, Portugal, mostly for the study of law and medicine.

Within this vast diaspora, I am interested in those men that took photography as a profession – I have only found men, even if it is probable that some of these were family enterprises that included the collaboration of women that were not acknowledged in written sources. In India and in Africa, in Bombay, Mombasa, and Zanzibar, Goan names appear as some of the earlier photographers with a commercial and public practice. In Portugal, I do not know of the practice of any Goan photographer for this period, but there can be a prosaic reason for this invisibility: the fact that Goans had Portuguese names means that other biographical marks must be identified to trace their origins.

This question of "names" is especially relevant in identifying diasporic Catholic Goans. Because the Portuguese strategy in India began as one of religious conversion – with name "conversion" as well – Indians who were forced to convert to Catholicism, from the 16th to the 18th centuries, took on Portuguese names. This has a double effect. Depending on the geographical context where they are found, names can hide as well as reveal their ethnic identity. In the Portuguese context – Portugal, Portuguese colonial India or Africa – Indians are invisibilised from written sources as their names are the same as white Portuguese citizens. On the contrary, when Indian Catholics lived or moved to British India or to the African port cities under British rule, their names stood out – they were either Goans or locals whose ancestors had been converted to Christianity. This is, therefore, a

6 The Goan global Diaspora in different historical periods and in multiple geographies (mainly in British colonial India, before 1947, in East Africa, UK, Australia, Portugal, Middle East, US, Canada), is a scholarly subject in itself – both historical and literary – with a wide bibliography.

research strategy for finding diasporic Goans.

Therefore, "individual names" – given names and surnames – differentiate Portuguese India from British India, where conversion was never a priority and where individual names tended to correspond to an ethnic and religious identity. In Goa, this subverted the possibility of distinguishing colonizing individuals from colonized ones, as opposed many other colonial contexts such as the British one, where Indian names stand out in written historical sources and enable an easier identification of their places and roles with the empire.

Historiography on photography in India: The British-Portuguese colonial divide

India's case reveals how present photographic archives and histories depend on past photographic cultures. There is a contrast between the quantity of Goan photographs before 1889 that can be found today and the photographic production of Goan photographers away from Goa, in Bombay or in the East African coast. The latter constitute a visual corpus with more precise names and dates of production. This possibility of seeing, in the present, those early photographs, has a direct relation to the degree of consolidation of these photographic cultures of the past.

In Bombay (now Mumbai), with an early institutional culture of photography, photographers were encouraged to participate in collective printing projects or even temporary photographic exhibitions already in the 1850s and 1860s. Many photographs of unnamed groups of persons – united by religion, profession, caste or geography – were published in photographic albums favoured by a survey and ethnographic culture. This 19th century survey culture, that used words but also images as a way of uniting great quantities of knowledge on India, was inseparable from the colonial British project of getting to know and controlling the place it wanted to rule.

A developed printing culture associated with early photographic practices meant that images were reproduced in greater numbers and filled the public sphere where goods and images circulated. This use of photographs stands in clear opposition to a single photograph commissioned by a private person, which tended to remain hidden from a historian's radar, unpublished in thematic albums, excluded from exhibitions, and necessarily more dependent on access to private archival spaces. The fact of photography being a more public or a more private practice in the past has a direct influence on the places where these photographs exist today. The more private and individual they were, the less probability of having persisted as a significant corpus of images until the present and available in public archives and collections. This connecting link between past and present reveals how histories of photography today also depend on past photographic histories. The valuing of photography in the past has a direct repercussion on the valorisation

of photography in present times – more valued in some places than in others.

Both imperial experiences, Portuguese and British, had very different histories and chronologies, but for at least one hundred years, between the mid-19th century and the mid-20th century, it is not possible to think of Portuguese Goa without its British neighbour. Yet, historiography on India in general has been divided in a way that has separated both histories: on one side a historiography on British India, written in English, by Indian or British historians and, on the other side, a historiography on Portuguese India, written mostly in Portuguese, but also in English, by Portuguese and Goan historians, and a few other scattered nationalities. These two historiographies on the two colonial "Indias" – the Portuguese and the British – hardly ever crossed each other. Even now, it could be argued that the historiography on Goa is increasingly attentive to the "other India" in ways that have no parallel on the opposite side.

The making of the history of photography in India repeats the dichotomous pattern – British India versus Portuguese India – even if it is not possible to compare the bibliographical production on both geographies. The abundance of books, articles and exhibitions that have been published and organized about photography in British India from the 1970s onwards, contrasts with its scarcity on Goa, Daman or Diu.[7] The first example I could find for Portuguese India was published in 1991 by Italo Zannier, Maria Teresa Gaivão Veloso and Giovanni Ferracuti. However, in *Goa. Memoria e Immagine*, the focus was more on architecture than on photography itself, even if Zannier was conscious of the lack of studies or references to photographers in Goa and Daman. Souza & Paul are the authors of most photographs reproduced.

In his text, Zannier also notes how Goa was missing from those books containing reproductions of photographs of places from all over the world, which began to become popular at the end of the nineteenth century (Zannier 1991: 35-44). Travel books of this kind, dominated by images with short captions, gave readers/viewers a *tour du monde*, a visual journey around various parts of the world that was determinant to the creation of geographical identities. Zannier, was, therefore, noting Goa's absence from both history and historiography, from the visual canons that developed when image making technologies became widespread, and from the contemporary historiographical privileged lines of research where the "India" that has a place in them, does not include Goa.

Goa's invisibility in an increasingly visible world is inseparable from its invisibility in touristic maps from the mid-19th century onwards. The great majority of visitors to India did not visit Goa (nor did foreigners who lived in India and

7 A very good exhibition which, unfortunately, had no catalogue: *Illuminating India: Photography 1857-2017*, Science Museum, London, UK, 4 October 2017-31 March 2018.

travelled to other regions) and this obviously influenced its visual projection within the canon of "pictures of the world" or even "pictures of India". This also explains Goa's almost complete absence from written accounts of journeys to India or within India. Visual sources and written ones influenced each other, while both also determined the success of certain touristic routes – what sites and sights should not be missed by a proper traveller. In a historical period where individual and organized tourism was in full growth, the most visited places naturally tended to be more photographed, in a vicious circle where the most photographed and reproduced places also attracted more travellers.

An interesting exercise is that of comparing the corpus of images made in Goa during the second half of the 19th century to those produced in British India. If in British India there was a photographic search for what was "Indian", the opposite tendency can be found in Portuguese India where cameras – as drawing and painting tools – tended to fix, reproduce, and circulate what was "Portuguese" – mainly 16th and 17th century Catholic churches and state edifices or monuments built by the Portuguese colonial government. This happened when the photographic studio of Souza & Paul came to dominate Goan visual culture from 1890 onwards and contributed to the visual imaginary of Portuguese colonial India, while also becoming indissociable from the consolidation of Goa's identity as an independent and specific territory, a different place from the rest of India. This is something I have observed informally after many years of looking at photographs, from both sides of the colonial frontier, but still lacks a systematic and encompassing comparative study.

In a visual economy where British India dominated the images of India consumed worldwide, Portuguese India, with its ruined or still erected Catholic churches or European style architecture, did not fit into a dominant idea of what India looked like. Portuguese India was a very different India from the one reproduced in 'views' of British India, which were dominated by Hindu monuments (and some Muslim and Buddhist ones) and by the affirmation of an otherness, quite distinct from that of the British colonizer. Even if the imposing buildings of the British Empire, like museums and railway stations, were also transformed into commercialised photographs or postcards, the images of "British India" tended to be much more "Indian" than "British" as opposed to those of "Portuguese India" where what was visually perceived as "Portuguese" – mainly Catholic churches photographed from the outside and the inside – became synonymous with "Goan".

After 1991, there was a long gap in published references to Goan photography. More recently, the Goans Savia Viegas and Vivek Menezes and, more recently, Lina Vincent and Akshay Mahajan have contributed to this still limited field. It was Viegas who, in 2015, curated a small and short-term exhibition in Pangim, Goa's capital, titled "Moments, Memory, Memorabilia. An exhibition of old Goan photographs"

(Xavier Centre of Historical Research, 12-21 December 2015). The exhibition produced a small, homonymous booklet with a text written by the curator herself. The short duration of the exhibition and the lack of a more ambitious catalogue somehow reveal the lack of institutional investment on the subject, still relegated to a "curiosity" that does not receive enough funds and scholarly attention. This could be said both for Goa and for present day Portugal where, despite the growing valorisation of photography, translated into major exhibitions in art museums, it is still far from the valorisation it deserves as an historical artifact.

The project *Goa Familia*, created in 2019, in Panaji, as part of the Serendipity Arts Festival, a periodical cultural festival that includes art exhibitions, performances, film, literature and fashion events also paid attention to the more private experiences of photography. Its "objective was to help initiate an archive of people's memories and stories, as reflected in photographic remnants and other memorabilia", writes the curator Lina Vincent (Vincent s.d., Das 2019, Duwarah 2022). The exhibition *Families Are Like Rivers* was one of the results of the *Familia* project and was curated by Lina Vincent and Akshay Mahajan (with research assistance by Divesh Gadekar and Nishant Saldanha), as part of the 2022 Arts Festival. Also, in the context of that edition, the freelance photographer and curator Prashant Panjiar curated an exhibition on Goa's photographic history which he had already rehearsed in the 2016 edition of the Serendipity Festival. *The Way We Were – Goa through the lens of Souza & Paul*, opened at the recently renovated Fort Aguada Jail and Museum in Candolim at the end of 2022. However, the lack of a catalogue prevents us from knowing about its curatorial choices and approaches. In these different publications, Souza & Paul are the main photographers. With outdoor architectural images of the main monuments or studio portraits of unknown families, Goa became a visual entity through their encompassing camera.

Photography in 19th century Goa

It is not clear when Souza & Paul started to photograph. In the aforementioned exhibition in Goa, *The Way We Were – Goa through the lens of Souza & Paul,* 1884 is considered the date of their studio's opening.[8] But in a later source, a 1952 publication, 1864 appears as its date of birth (*Reportagem fotográfica* 1952). Independently of when it was born, the studio's coming of age coincides with a remarkable double public event that took place in Goa in 1890, where they were chosen by the organizing State Committee as the official photographers. The first

8 The exhibition, which took place at the Fort Aguada Jail and Museum, Candolim, until 9 January 2023, was curated by photographer, Prashant Panjiar. The curatorial note was written by Vivek Menezes. The exhibition was first shown at the Serendipity Arts Festival, in 2016, and was supported by the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts (IGNCA), Regional Centre, Goa.

event was the Exposition of St Francis Xavier's relic-body, the main symbol of Catholic Asia, inside the Basilica of Bom Jesus in Old Goa, and the second one, the exhibition of Goan products and objects that took place simultaneously and concurrent to the religious event. It is not by chance that just before this double exhibition took place, an event that was religious as well as political and cultural, Souza & Paul published the catalogue *Photographic Views of the State of Portuguese India by D'Souza and Paul. Photographers in Nova Goa. 1889*, an example of the entangled stories of photography and history (Edwards 2022).

Souza & Paul's constitute a striking example of the persistence of the global model of the photographic studio, which united the practice of photography with the high street commercial space, rehearsing all possibilities available to the practice of photography. Some examples of the different functions of professional photographers that they also pursued were: official state commissions of public and historical events held, such as exhibitions, royal visits, railway inaugurations or even detained political insurgents after a revolt[9]; commercial selling of "views" of Goa, available to be chosen by catalogue; commercial selling of individual postcards or postcard booklets; portrait making in their studio; or the making of special luxurious albums – of those considered to be the main Goan sights – to be displayed in universal exhibitions abroad.

The rich print and periodical culture in Goa, especially from the second half of the 19th century (a chronology coinciding with the maturing and dissemination of photographic technologies) has been one of the subjects of a contemporary historiography on Goa (Lobo et al, 2023; Faria et al, 2022; Machado et al, 2022; Lobo, 2013; Pinto 2007). Reading this print culture is one way of mapping the practice and presence of photography in Goa. Here I will refer to the examples I found in different contemporary sources, the first one being from 1860, and this is part of research I published for the first time in 2014 (Vicente, 2014). It is very probable that photographs and photographers were circulating in the region before 1860, but it is from this moment that written references to their presence became more common. A name mentioned as one of the earliest Goan practitioners of photography, though with no reference to coeval sources, is that of Manuel Xavier de Noronha (1828-1888). Born in Aldona, in the Goan province of Bardez, he had supposedly learned photography from the Portuguese and, as early as 1854, was in the Princely States of Rajputana (a state that had a local ruler but was under the supervision of the British crown) photographing the more distinct local families (Duwarah 2022).

Photography was one of the categories in the all-encompassing catalogue of

9 See the photographs "Estado da India – Revolta dos Marathas e dos Ranes de Satary, iniciada em setembro e outubro de 1895" and "Estado da India – Tentativa de revolta dos Ranes de Satary em Novembro de 1901" at the Arquivo Histórico Militar in Lisbon.

the 1860 *Industrial Exhibition of Portuguese India*, an event with 4000 objects on display that took place in Old Goa (*Relatório* 1860; Vicente, 2018). Announced between 'oil paintings' and 'lithography', photography was number 21 of the 99 'classes' of products on display at the industrial exhibition (*Relatório* 1860: V, 10). Its place in the catalogue – between "art" and "technology" – seems like a metaphor for one of the major discussions surrounding the nature of 19th century photography. Ultimately, there were only two photographs mentioned in the catalogue, and both were sent by individual men who probably were not the photographers: the Bombay Parsi Hormosgy Cangy Bengaly sent a "book of photographic plates" (while also sending two chairs in sandalwood marquetry that won him a gold medal and were bought by the local government to be sent to the metropolis and offered to the Portuguese king, D. Pedro V), while Thomaz de Aquino Mourão [Garcez Palha], author of the *Almanach de Lembranças para 1858,* and a grandson of a former Portuguese Governor of India, sent a "portrait in glass", almost certainly referring to a daguerreotype.

In 1865, few years after the Industrial Exhibition took place, the local newspaper *Ilustração Goana* announced the arrival in the Goan capital of a portrait photographer:

A portraitist arrived in Nova Goa with a photograph [sic], and he lives in *Rua da Alegria*. A friend of mine has written to me from there, saying that the pictures are magnificent. But the money spent on each one is also magnificent. It is six rupees, and this for a picture taken on a *carte de visite*" (Oliveira 1865: 20).

In 1872, on the first page of the *Gazeta de Goa*, there was an advertisement entitled *Vistas Photographicas* [Photographic Views], signed by A.M. Gomes e Filhos. Two short paragraphs announced both the sale of photographs and the sale of chintz fabrics:

"For sale [views] of the convents of Bom Jesus, Caetano, Cathedral of Goa [Sé Principal], entrance of the viceroys, palace of the general administration, praça de flores, rua de boa vista, the municipal council of the islands, and others.

An assortment of superior chintzes and beautiful patterns has just been dispatched from London."

The announcement of the 'photographic views' appeared between two other advertisements, also signed by the same Gomes family. One declared the arrival of a ship to the Mandovi River, and the other was from the *Agência Geral* in Nova Goa, a company in charge of sending "every kind of merchandise from London, Paris, Lisbon", and from other "trading cities."

The "Views" for sale – another consumer good amongst others – identified the three main churches and convents of Old Goa, the former capital of the Portuguese empire, and other public monuments, also from the late 16th century, such as the Arch of the Viceroys. Beyond these representations of Goa's past and

Portuguese architectural opulence, for sale were also urban views of Nova-Goa, the contemporary capital of Portuguese India, later named Pangim, now Panaji. Portuguese material presence – Catholic and state – was dominant, while Hindu architecture was not yet part of the list of local sights on sale. This was clearly a visual Portuguese and Catholic Goa, where the most distinctive monuments were churches, and the architectural style and names of the buildings referred to the Portuguese political and religious hegemony in the territory.

In 1877, a Mr. Schulz paid for a newspaper advertisement announcing his new services to a wider public (*Ilustração Goana* 18 Jan 1877: 2). Apart from the "scientific and recreational show" he had organized with his wife, Mrs. Schulz, the daughter of a "celebrated magician", he would soon open a photographic studio "in the courtyard of the house where he lives" to "portray all who wish so using the system of the most recent and refined invention." The new "system" of photography here appears as a continuity of the entanglement of science and magic that was already the *métier* of the Schulz couple, probably of German origin as suggested by their surname, and one more example of a characteristic of the history of 19th century photography – the global mobility of the photographic profession.

Ten years after, in 1887, a short text in the weekly magazine *A Discussão* mentions how very "sophisticated had become the photographic atelier of Mr. José Pereira, which was in the Fontainhas [neighbourhood], next to Mr. Domingos's pharmacy". Mr. Pereira "in addition to giving the cardboards the glossy look that is given in Europe, takes oil portraits, on glass, on a larger scale." Apart from listing some of the different services made possible by almost four decades of technological development since the invention of photography in 1839, the text makes a point of stressing how the outcome was at a European level. By doing so, it reinforces the idea of faraway Europe as the place of technological superiority, the reference to be emulated and reproduced. This is probably the same Joseph – the name becoming anglicised – J. Pereira that appears as the author of some of the non-dated photographic portraits of the family Silveira e Lorena, one of the so called "luso-descendant" families who originated from Portugal but lived in Goa for many generations[10].

These short advertisements quoted here reveal Goa as a place where objects and merchandise were circulated. A point of arrival rather than a starting point, somewhere distant from, and peripheral to, the major trading centres. A place,

10 This Silveira e Lorena family photographic collection formed by 166 photographs has been bought, more than a decade ago, by Pedro do Carmo Costa, a Portuguese of Goan origin who is not only a specialist in Goan genealogy but also a collector of books, objects and photographs related to Goa's history. It was on sale in a commercial secondhand postcard seller in Lisbon and there is no knowledge on how it arrived there. I thank Carmo Costa for sharing this information with me as well as the reference to Gonçalo Jorge Tomás Paulino's MA thesis on this photographic collection.

however, where through intermediary agents like Gomes & Filhos, it was also possible to enjoy what came from abroad. Photography itself favoured, and benefited from, this culture of flow and commercial mobility, which included not only the materials needed for photography, but also the photographers themselves, a profession characterized by its mobility.

If newspapers can be a rich source to grasp the diverse spectrum of photographic practices, other kinds of publications also started, timidly, to include photography in different ways. By the end of the century, in 1897, the Goan Paulino Dias, a doctor, professor at various Goan institutions and a poet, included "photography" alongside 'steam', 'museums', 'wagon', 'telegraph', and 'phonograph' in his poem *Lyra da Sciencia*, all contemporary symbols of progress that could also be sung by poets (Dias 1897: 19, Braga 2020). Photography had already entered the vocabulary of nineteenth-century modernity and progress, and language itself, all languages, were now infused with the metaphoric possibilities of photography. Anyone who wanted to describe a realistic drawing, one person resembling another, or a detailed description, often used the word 'photography' and its derivatives to reinforce their idea. For example, while on board a ship between Bombay and Europe in 1873, an anonymous Goan describes his journey to the readers of the *A Gazeta de Goa* and recounts how he met an Englishman who was "the absolute photographic likeness" of a friend of his, back in Goa (*A Gazeta de Goa* 26 June 1873: 4).

The written press in Goa in the second half of the nineteenth century was especially rich and diverse, and revealed how photography became an acknowledged and banal practice, idea and object, subject to the imagination of poets or the metaphorical creativity of travel writers. These written sources also reveal how photography became another asset available in Goa's urban and commercial fabric. Through these dispersed examples – exhibition catalogues, short articles and advertisements in newspapers, or texts published in print and signed by members of the local elites – one comes across actual references to photographers and to photographs being made, being exhibited and being sold. This approach to Goa's case could be used in studies of the early history of photography in many other spaces, particularly those where, for different reasons, it is more difficult to identify substantial corpus of early photographic images. Written traces of photography can be a part of all histories of photography but become even more poignant when photographic archives are scarce or fragmented.

Institutions, exhibitions, publications: the public practice of photography by Bombay Goans

If we think of Goan photographers away from Goa or more generally as part of a Goan diaspora, we must acknowledge the city of Bombay, one of the main

metropolis of British India, and an early centre of photography. The Bombay Photographic Society was created in October 1854, two years before its counterparts in Madras and Calcutta, and one of its founders was a Goan man, Narayan Daji, or Narayen Dajee, as sometimes appears in sources (c.1828-1875) (Worswick and Embree 1976: 4-5, Tankha 2010: 30). The Bombay Society also started a monthly journal named *Indian Amateurs' Photographic Album*, which published 24 issues between 1856 and 1858 (Dehejia 2000: 15). But as Christopher Pinney has stated, the first references to photography arrived in Bombay much earlier: already in December 1839, the official year of the invention of photography, *The Bombay Times* published a few articles on Daguerre's discovery (Pinney 2008: 9).

Indians were active participants not only in the practice of photography in India, but also in the making of its institutions of knowledge. The Calcutta branch of the Photographic Society, according to Pinney, had 30 Indians out of its 100 members (Pinney 1997: 72, Mitter 2010: 9). John Falconer also underlined the early Indian involvement in different photographic societies from Bombay and Calcutta to Madras (Falconer 2001, Hapgood 2015).

The pioneering character of the city of Bombay, by then a flourishing and increasingly cosmopolitan port city, can be grasped in the booming of photographic studios in some areas of the city, from Grant Road and Kalbadevi Road to Rampart Row, where the Hindu Goan Narayan Daji ran his studio between 1858 and 1868. His active involvement in the creation of the Bombay Photographic Society as well as his (failed) application to the post of Instructor of Photography at Bombay's Elphinstone Institute in 1855, reveal how he saw his role as photographer beyond a mere practical and commercial enterprise (Tankha 2010: 30, Falconer 1995: 16).

Narayan Daji as well as his brother Bhau Daji Lad, also a member of the Photographic Society, exemplified the many young Goan men, not only Catholic but also Hindu, who went to Bombay in search of better opportunities to study or work. The fact that the brothers were Hindu meant that they would mingle with the Bombay Hindu community and be perceived as "Indians" in the British context, and not immediately as Goans. Both studied at Elphinstone College first and then medicine at the Grant Medical School. Bhau Daji Lad became a prominent Indologist and doctor, and today, a major museum, is named after him: Dr. Bhau Daji Lad Mumbai City Museum (Gutman 1982: 89). Judith Mara Gutman states that Bhau Daji must have been one of the authors of the 1856 *Indian Amateurs' Photographic Album*, "the first publication to use a series of such photographs to depict the 'Costume and Characters of Western India'", where "individuals were shown in costumes or with objects identifying their caste or trade group. This group of photographs was probably part of a set of 'forty-five photographs of native heads', which was displayed at the London International Exhibition in 1871." Gutman refers that many of his photographs were chosen to be on display at this

London exhibition, because his work "satisfied British sensibilities so completely".

Already in 1855, Narayan Daji was exhibiting two ethnographic works at the Photographic Society of Bombay and receiving praise for the technical and aesthetic qualities of his photographs of the Bohra cultivators of Gujarat and of "A Rajpoot Grassia native of Kattiawar (now Gujarat) with a hookah or smoking apparatus in his hand" (Desmond 1977: 314, Mitter 2010: 11). Two years later, in 1857, his name appeared as the author of the 31 ethnographic portraits that were exhibited in Calcutta, at the Photographic Society of Bengal exhibition (Falconer 1995: 16). The organizers of the 1857 Calcutta exhibition noted how "the castes and costumes of the natives of the country have not yet received (…) that attention which they deserve, and which they will no doubt in time obtain" (Falconer 2001: 22).

Ethnography became the focus of Daji's work, an aim that implied travelling throughout India searching for persons that could represent "types", ethnicities, professions or activities. That means that we know the names of the photographer, but not of the people photographed. In this kind of portable studio photography – a tent could work as a travelling chamber – it was the photographer who searched for the photographed, and not the other way round (as it happened when a person entered a studio to commission her or his own portrait). Determinant to the meaning of these photographs, which would be printed for sale, were the words that classified what was seen in the image. Thus, the albumen silver prints have inscribed in them manuscript words identifying who was to be seen on the image – "Kolis, Hindoo Fishermen Caste, Bombay", "A Bhandaree or Toddeewalla, A Hindoo" or "Jain Priest, Bombay", not individual names, but references to occupations, castes, and ethnic and religious groups (Tankha 2010: 26, 29-30).

Daji's ethnographic interests became more institutionalized when later, c.1863, he participated as one of the contributing photographers to an ambitious project of visual classification, *The Oriental Races and Tribes, Residents and Visitors to Bombay* (2 vols., London, 1863-1866). This publication has been considered one of the earliest examples of ethnographic albums to be produced in a colonial context, the first in India. It has also been noted for its heterogeneity – reflecting the individuality of each participating photographer – in contrast to a more "conventional inventory of types" as was the subsequent case of *The People of India*, an ambitious 8-volume work published slightly later between 1868 and 1875 (Falconer 2001: 20-26, Tankha 2010: 33).

This ethnographic photographic and textual project – each "type" shown was accompanied by an explanatory text – revealed Bombay's cosmopolitanism, a multi-religious and multi-ethnic port city that seemed to congregate all parts of India. It should also be seen as part of the British endeavours to know the territory they were occupying and administering, where ethnography was put at

the service of the imperial project in India as well as in all those contemporary colonial contexts. In one of his books on photography in India, the anthropologist Christopher Pinney discusses the camera's presence in India as being an extension of the census and the telegraph, other encompassing instruments of knowledge, communication and control that were used by the colonial governments to collect and aggregate knowledge on India (Pinney 1997: *Camera Indica*).

It is, however, pertinent to note how *The Oriental Races and Tribes* included the work of Indian photographers, even if the project was led by the British William Johnson, who also wrote its introduction and many of the specific texts accompanying each photograph. Johnson, a civil services officer, along with Thomas Biggs of the Bombay Artillery, and Dr. W.H. Pigou of the Bombay Medical Service exemplify those members of the colonial administration who became interested in photography and often made use of their professional circumstances to practice it. On the other hand, Narayan Daji, of Goan origin, or Hurrichund Chintamon, an Elphinstone College alumni, exemplified how some Indians, of different ethnic backgrounds and religions, made photography a practice and profession and authored the kinds of images that are associated with colonial projects – knowing in order to rule. It is not by chance that they had the studies – medicine in the Goan brother's case – and financial possibilities to pursue the expensive and technically demanding practice of photography. Chintamon also participated with his photographs at the Archaeological Survey of India and showed some of his work on Indian castes and tribes at the Parisian Universal Exhibition of 1867.

How can we apprehend these examples of local colonised subjects actively participating in "colonising" projects, such as ethnographic photographic albums or colonial displays at European universal exhibitions? Their case-studies can contribute to the already rich scholarship that came to question a plain association between early photography in India, or in Africa, with those European colonising missions which placed cameras next to arms, surveys, and all kinds of scholarly studies. What they show us is how there were privileged Indians using the camera and directing it towards other Indians that could fit contemporary ethnographic classifications, based on profession, ethnic or regional origin, but mostly unnamed women and men. The people photographed belonged to very diverse castes and origins, but within these photographic albums their differences and specificities become flattened by the homogenized language of "types".

The brothers Narayan and Bhau Daji Lad, born in Pernem, the closest Goan town to Bombay, were the first generation of Indians to participate in leading and visible positions in an intellectual, civil and political British India. Vivek Menezes has an interesting argument on their case: "The Lad brothers avowedly embodied a newly emerged Indian cosmopolitanism and urbanity, an unprecedented "native" democratic engagement with the public sphere" (Menezes 2015). He claims

that their successful itineraries in Bombay can only be understood through the acknowledgment of their place of origin. By that period, Goan elites in Goa, mostly Catholic but also Hindu, already occupied positions of administrative, intellectual, and professional visibility and authority, many being part of the colonial governmental apparatus and of the most distinguished professions in medicine or education. This was not necessarily due to a conscious delegation of power on the part of the Portuguese colonisers, but due to a complex set of explanations that could be simplified into two main reasons. The long span of Portuguese presence in the region, from the early 16th century, meant that local Brahmin elites, especially those converted to Catholicism, occupied prominent positions in different spheres – caste, from India, combined with religion from Portugal. Secondly, Portugal's incapacity to invest – financially and humanly – in its faraway Asian colony, meant an absence of Portuguese elites in Goa. This created literal and symbolical space for the local elites to occupy positions of agency and decision, both in Goa and away from Goa.

Beyond Narayan Daji and Bhau Daji, I could not find any study or reference to the presence of Goan photographers in Bombay for such an earlier stage. Some Portuguese names appeared in Bombay's later photographic landscape, but these names can refer to men who were of Goan origin, of recent migration, or who belonged to the long-established Christian communities of Bombay. Here I will mention those names that appear associated with the business of photography, in the British historiography on photography, merely as a map for further inquiry. Gomes & Co. announced their photographic services – "in an artistic manner" – for "Wedding Picnics" and "family groups" around 1900s Bombay (Chitnis 2019). Gomes & De Lair appear as a popular commercial photographic studio, at Kalbadevi Road, in the 1940s (Paulino 2013: 62). "Gomes and Lair. Photographic Artists" and "Fred and Lair. Photographic Artists" also appear as one of the photographic studios where members of the Goan based Silveira e Lorena family sat for their portraits.

In the early 1890s, António Xavier Trindade was the first Goan to study painting at the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy School of Art (Sir JJ School of Art, 1857), now the oldest art institution in Mumbai. After graduating, he worked at the Photographic Studio of Raja Deen Dayal (1884-1905), the well-known Indian photographer, where his job was to tint black and white photographs giving them the "painted" and coloured finish that was so popular in India (Menezes 2020; Dewan 2013, Allana, 2008). Later he became a well-known Bombay painter and so did his daughter, Ângela Trindade. The fact that his first job as an artist was that of painter of photographs must be understood in an Indian context where, for many decades in the 20th century, there was a thriving market for painted photographs (Pinney 1998, Dewan 2012).

The book published in Bombay in 1876 by Goan historian Gerson da Cunha *Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein*, is another example of how photography was being used by the new scholarly knowledge consolidated in this period (Cunha 1876: v-ix; Vicente, 2013). Under the title of the book, on the cover page, were written the words "Illustrated with seventeen photographs, nine lithographic plates and a map". In 1876, the technology did not yet allow photography to be printed directly on published documents. Therefore, the 17 photographs that "illustrated" the historian's book had to be individually glued on its pages, a gesture only justified by the relevance that photography was increasingly being given by the discipline of history – as tool, trace, and proof. Would this inclusion of pasted photographs in a book have been possible at the Goan official printer, "Imprensa Nacional"? Is there any book published in Goa with pasted photographs before 1876? I could not find any example.

Other Indian geographies can be explored with the preliminary strategy of finding "Portuguese names" related to photography that may reveal people of a Goan origin. But this can also be a misleading and unreliable criterion because the Christian presence in India – with Portuguese names – dated back many centuries and was a diasporic community. Savia Viegas, for example, mentions a photographer of Goan origin who worked for the Maharaja of Travancore, in South India but does not include footnote or bibliographical sources to back this affirmation (Viegas 2015: 13).

There is, therefore, in Bombay an early photographic culture that implied the existence of institutions, exhibitions, and collective photographic printed albums and therefore, many more material documents to foster, and facilitate, an early history of photography. As we have seen, even in this period there are Indians as protagonists, two of the earliest ones being of Goan origin. On the other hand, there is a consolidated secondary bibliography on the history of photography in India, published in India as well as Great Britain, that enables us to see the reproduction of photographs that had already been printed in 1860s Bombay. The vibrant photographic culture of the past, in Bombay, has facilitated historical research in the present, while the fact that British historiography has valued the history of photography for many decades has also contributed to the richness of the photographic bibliography in India. But this is an India that only includes "British India" and where Goa is absent. Further archival and primary source research needs to be done on the Goan photographic presence in Bombay, but here, my aim was to draw an initial map for further investigation.

Across the Indian ocean: Goan photographic studios in East Africa

On the sea voyage that took the Portuguese Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara back to Europe in 1877, after more than twenty years in Goa as secretary of the Governor of Portuguese India, the ship moored at the port of Aden (now Yemen) (BPE 1863-1877: 55). In the stops on the route between Asia and Europe, since the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, he described how "the usual merchants" came onto the vessels to offer their articles for sale. Photographs were amongst them. In his manuscript travel diary, Cunha Rivara described how he bought some photographs from "a Goan man" from Mapusa, by the name of "Bragança". We do not know if he was also a photographer or if he only sold photographs, as one of the goods available for consumption for those travellers in transit. The common practice of travellers buying photographs of the most memorable monuments and sights of the places they visited, was also performed by the passengers of those ships that docked in a port for only a few hours (Picard 2009; Schwartz 2003). Photography thus became the souvenir of the place that was touched, by the means of transport, but not really known – a passenger could say "I have been there" even if only having seen the port city from on board, and its main sights in the acquired images.

This case-study illustrates a much wider phenomenon – the significant number of Goan merchants working in various parts of the African coast in the second half of the nineteenth century (Monti 1987: 53, 145-146, Haney 2010: 68). Aden, where Cunha Rivara stopped, but also Zanzibar's Stone city, and other port cities, such as Mombasa or Dar-es-Salaam, became the destination for a small but visible community of Goans who were, mostly, merchants, shop owners, cooks, artisans, musicians and photographers. Pamila Gupta writes how photographing and tailoring became activities that were specifically associated with Goans (Gupta 2019b, Gupta 2019a, Roque 2020: 1125-1126). As she points out, the work of Liam Buckley already links both professions – photographers and tailors – within "the same category of adornment work". Their origin in Goa's Catholic community contributed to their specificity amongst other migrant groups, as well as explaining the existence, for example, of the Catholic church and school of Zanzibar Stone Town. Goan Zanzibaris, as Gupta argues, put "Zanzibar's cosmopolitanism on display" (Gupta 2020: 191-211).

The Omani Sultans ruled the region until the Zanzibar revolution of 1964, but it became part of the British Protectorate by 1895, after some years of the East Africa Company's hegemonic presence. Zanzibar's in-betweenness and hybridity – an island, port and city that was a passage between Asia, Europe, Arabia and Africa – was visible in its diverse ethnic and religious communities and in its material culture, both of which can be observed in its thriving photographic production.

Some of the first photographic studios in the main port cities on the East African coast were, in fact, originally owned by Goans (Haney 2010: 49)[11]. Associated with the East African coast in general, and Zanzibar in particular, and with extensive output in the 1880s, the A. C. Gomes firm, for example, was founded in 1868 in Mombasa and carried on by P. F. Gomes[12]. In the 1930s they also had a branch in Dar-es-Salaam and, probably much earlier than that, one in Aden[13]. Is there a relationship between the Bombay "Gomes", the "Gomes" of Goa and the "Gomes" photographic studio that was to be found in the African Eastern coast shortly after? Further research is needed but it would not be surprising that a photographic commercial name or family crossed the Indian ocean. This idea of the ocean as a connecting space between Asia and Africa is, of course, a major trope of Indian Ocean scholarship, one that concentrates on the early modern period or the more contemporary one, attentive to the diasporic movements of the 19th and 20th centuries (Metcalf 2007).[14]

Other Goans set up their photographic studios in Zanzibar Stone City in the 1890s: for example, E.C. Dias, J. B. Coutinho (Paulino 2013: 33, 62) and Felix Coutinho (Geary 20148: 81), A. [Andrew] Pereira de Lord and A. C. Gomes and Son, as already mentioned. The Coutinho brothers, commercial photographers who, for a short time, were associated with the Gomes, had a studio in Zanzibar and Dar-es-Salaam at least since the 1890s. Some of these photographers also extended their commercial operations to other places such as the port of Mombasa, further north. Through many decades, the Goan studios of Coutinho and Gomes dominated the region's imagery, made even more accessible through photographic postcards. The fact that most postcards were printed in Germany reveals a relevant aspect of the global networks of image production, and not only image circulation (Gupta 2023). As Lidia Payne states in her book, postcards were the "world's first social network", and their history is indissociable from the history of photography, because most of them where actually photographic postcards, where views of places

11 Manuela Palmeirim organized an exhibition with no catalogue, on the subject, in Zanzibar: The Portuguese Studio Photographers of Zanzibar, Exhibition at the Old Dispensary, Stone Town, 21 December 2020-5 January 2021.

12 In her blog on photography, *Grand Monde*, Ângela Camila Castelo-Branco has several articles about photography in Africa, one being on Goan photographers on the East African coast, which is titled "O 'Sultanato' dos fotógrafos portugueses no Zanzibar", 2 January 2007; see also the blog *Zanzibar Unveiled*, created by the collector Torrence Royer.

13 I thank Nuno Borges de Araújo for sending me the reproduction of a photograph from his collection that links A. C. Gomes to Aden. In the back of the portrait of a woman in local attire one can read the printed words "A. C. Gomes. Photographer. Steamer Point, Aden". In black ink, the word "Aden" is also written by hand.

14 In the context of Portuguese colonialism and the Indian Ocean a few scholars should be mentioned: the work of Sanjay Subrahmanyam, for an earlier period and, for a later period, that of Margret Frenz and Pamila Gupta for an historical approach and Joana Passos, Paul Melo e Castro and Selma Carvalho, amongst others, for their literary lenses.

were a dominant typology (Payne 2021, Staff 1979).

Apart from these more common names associated with the region's visual production, I found the name of Souza & Paul on a single image, a paradox when one thinks of how studio photographs are characterized by their multiplicity and endless reproductive qualities. In fact, "Souza & Paul, Zanzibar" appears printed on the lower right-hand corner of a photograph reproduced in Prita Meier's article, "Objects on the edge: Swahili Coast Logics of Display" (Meier 2009: 11)[15]. The photograph analysed by Meier was itself reproduced in a British newspaper (a non-identified cutting in the private collection of Torrence Royer, while an original print of the photograph is in the Zanzibar Archives). The image depicts a man sitting in a rich domestic interior. His name is not identified but, as Meier argues, he must have belonged to the local elite surrounding the Sultan court. In the well-ornamented room, typical of the "Bombay style" that attested the "oceanic transculturation" linking the African eastern coast with the Indian coast, there was also an Indo-Portuguese cabinet displaying framed photographs (Meier 2009). This is the sole reference I could find to the presence of Souza & Paul beyond Goa, in contrast to the hundreds (or thousands) of photographs printed with their names and related to Goa, which can be found today in several private and public archives.

The Goans I refer to in this section, with Portuguese names, and thus from Catholic families, should also be considered in the context of a much larger Indian community – Hindu and Muslim, but also Parsi – who came from British India before and after 1900. One was the photographer Ranchod T. Oza, who started working for the Goan Gomes and Sons when he arrived from Gujarat, before opening his own practice, Capital Art Studio, in 1930 (Samuelson 2018: 75-91, Gupta 2020: 191-211). The other two professional photographers identified in the region were Karim Essa Allibhai and Ali Pira Harji, who founded the Harji Photo Gallery, but little is known about them. Of all these photographic studios, Ranchod T. Oza's was the only one that survived the Zanzibar revolution of 1964, even if forced to destroy many of its prints and negatives. The new government impelled the departure of most of the Goans and, in general, the Indian community, who became, somehow, a diaspora of a diaspora, having to move elsewhere.

The new rulers actively destroyed most symbols of the sultanate past – photographs, of course, becoming major victims of this image obliteration. However, and because during this period most photographers were also photographic postcards makers, their work survived. Photographic postcards were

15 The photograph belongs to the collection of Torrence Royer, Qatar. The caption under the photograph reads: "Interior view of a large mansion in Zanzibar. Such white-washed and coral rock multistory mansions were associated with the Zanzibari Omani Arab elite during the Sultanate years, and their interior display logics were an amalgamation of diverse cultural strands. This photograph was taken by Souza and Paul, a photo studio located in Zanzibar Stone Town".

a very popular means of global communication as well as a collectable object, from its 19th century invention, until the recent digital turn. This means that the images produced by these photographic studios endured thanks to the multiple prints that had already travelled elsewhere or that travelled in the 1960s, in the luggage of those that abruptly left Zanzibar for other places in the world (Gupta 2023). The political revolution which prompted the sudden closing of photographic studios, the hasty departure of whole communities and the material erasures of the past, was somehow resisted by the travelling dissemination of photographic postcards. Images of urban streets, landscapes and views, as well as weddings – which Pamila Gupta analyses in her inspiring work on photography in Zanzibar – survived in postcards elsewhere.

Concluding remarks

In 2001, on the occasion of an exhibition of Indian pioneering photographers at SOAS's Brunei Gallery, John Falconer wrote that "the story of photography in nineteenth-century India has inevitably been dominated by Europeans" (Falconer 2001: 29). Later, however, Falconer himself, as well as other scholars, such as Deborah Poole or Christopher Pinney, recognized the enthusiasm for photography in India, not only by Europeans but also by Indians, particularly in the regions which had been under British colonial rule. Presently, the early history of photography is no longer seen as a mere technological transference from Europe to "beyond", but as a global phenomenon that had many lives and travelled continuously.

India, in fact, is an excellent example of a vast territory where photography was widely explored as soon as it appeared, not only by colonial authorities interested in promoting and learning about India's landscapes, monuments and peoples, but also by the involvement of many Indian men, in a range of different positions and locations. Its uses tended, though, to be socially divided: photography in the private sphere, as a sophisticated hobby, was still something practiced by the elite, while its professionalisation, in the person of the photographer, whether Indian or Italian (think of Felice Beato photographing India in the 1850s), was practiced by men of diverse geographical, social, ethnic and religious identities. But beyond the photographers themselves, the consumption of photography, the possibility of paying to be photographed or of buying photographs, spread and became democratised throughout India during the second half of the 19th century, as it did elsewhere (Pinney 1997).

This article tried to demonstrate how enriching a transnational and transimperial approach is to understand the early association between Goa and photography, in Goa and beyond Goa. First, in Goa itself. The traces of photography's presence were scattered and fragmented: photographs came from

Bombay to be exhibited in an industrial exhibition in Goa; a German named itinerant photographer announced his services in a local newspaper; photographs of local views were on sale next to products which arrived by ship from faraway places. We then looked away from Goa, towards a wider India and a wider Indian Ocean, the east African coast and islands, where different generations of Goans settled in search of lives they could not find in Goa itself. Photographers were one of the identified professions of the male Goan diaspora on the eastern coast of Africa, when photography became part of a market of goods and experiences. Some opened studios – under their personal names – in ports such as Bombay, Zanzibar, Mombasa or Aden.

I will end by questioning the historiographical approach I chose to take in this article – that of focusing on the origin of photographers as the dominant lens of analysis. Photography was a diasporic and migrant 19th century practice, a profession that suited mobility and foreignness, and where those who produced images of a place were not necessarily native to that place. Not only in India, but all over the world, many of the "first" photographs of a place were done by men, mostly, who were not originally from that place. An example is that of Portugal, where some of its earliest photographs, in the 1850s and 1860s, were produced by foreign men that came to Portugal and remained – the Czech Wenceslau Cifka, the German Emilio Biel, the Swiss Eduard Knopfli and Jacques Wunderli.

Not by chance, "itinerant photographer" was the denomination of a specific profession. But itinerant foreign photographers often stayed and ceased being travellers. Photographers were not yet wandering tourists with (light) cameras, but the other way round – somehow cameras and the photographic apparatus grounded travellers-migrants into settled diasporic communities who contributed to the making of images of the places that they were also getting to know and appropriate as theirs (Campt 2012). That explains the role of diasporic Goan men in the making of some of the earlier images of East Africa, Bombay or other places in British India, one that requires further research. This also happened because these were cities with ports, and ports were synonymous with sea travel, great movements of people, and a growing visual consumption of images of the places they were passing through. This is especially exemplary of the global possibilities of reproducibility and circulation of photography that recently have been privileged by histories of photography (Batchen 2019).

Is it pertinent, therefore, to use the "nationality" or "origin" of photographers as the point of departure to analyse early photographic practices around the Indian ocean? Wouldn't it be more pertinent to take a geographical approach? To depart from the place that is photographed and not the place of origin of those who photographed? To analyse photography in Goa, photography in Bombay, photography in the east African coast instead of "Goan photographers"? As we

have seen, a common characteristic of the three geographies – Goa, Bombay and East Africa – was that they were home to photographers of different origins, nationalities or religions. Independently of the angle – more centred on people or on places, on images or on words – histories of early photography necessary need to cross borders and become global.

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Zooming In: Children as Guides and Informants in Merauke, West Papua 1905–1910

Marleen Reichgelt

Abstract

At the heart of this article is the presence of Indigenous children in photographs of explorative travels taken by Dutch Missionaries of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Netherlands New Guinea (present-day West Papua, Indonesia) in the early twentieth century. Departing from the hypothesis that the children may have been guiding the missionaries, this research studies if and how young West Papuans acted as 'local intermediaries' in the early years of colonial settlement. 'Zooming in' on engagements between missionaries and children in both visual and textual sources, two paradoxical aspects of Indigenous children in missionary archives are grappled with: their centrality as objects of civilising practices on the one hand, and their marginalisation as historical subjects in colonial textual practices on the other. The visual and textual are brought in conversation: the active presence of children as individual historical actors participating in processes of colonisation in the photographs helps to see children and their actions in 'still' discourse, to contextualise captured instances in time and space. This shows how and when missionaries depended on the knowledge, skills, and networks of local children to introduce them to their new working ground. This article thus adds to the existing body of literature on colonial intermediaries, in which young people constitute an overlooked group, and to complement understandings of non-elite colonial childhoods of Indigenous children outside of familial or institutional contexts.

Keywords: colonial intermediaries; historical childhoods; photography; Catholic mission; West Papua

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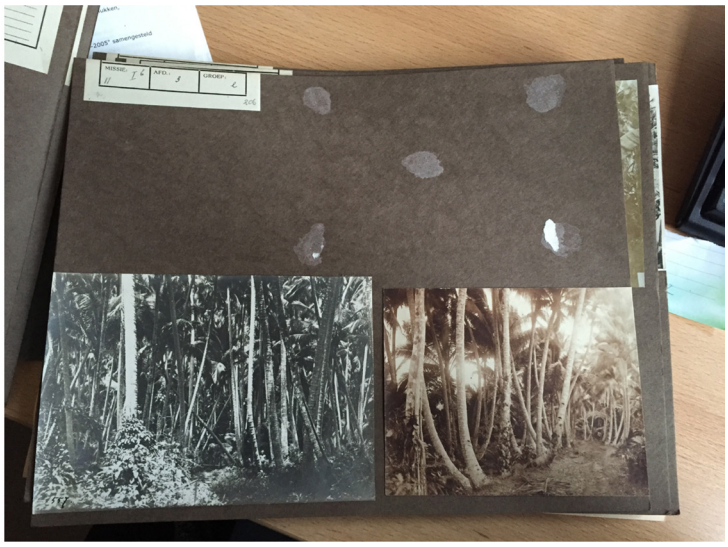


Fig. 1. Erfgoedcentrum Nederlands Kloosterleven (hereinafter: ENK), AR-P027-20210-3. Photographic catalogue of the mission on South New Guinea until 1940, page containing photograph 228987 and 228988.

Introduction

Sometimes, what is right in front of you can remain unnoticed. The reasons are manifold. Information is purposely obscured. Unobtrusive details get lost in an overwhelming mass of information. Confirmation bias causes observations to lean toward confirming the observer's conscious and unconscious expectations. Even technological factors can be biased toward privileging certain data while shrouding other.

With some effort, however, what is obscured can be brought into focus. Take the image above (Fig. 1). At first glance, the black-and-white photographs depict a densely grown tropical forest. The pictures are part of the archive of the Dutch province of the French missionary congregation of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (*Missionarii Sacratissimi Cordis Iesu* or MSC).[1] They can be found in a categorised catalogue of photographs depicting the early years of the Catholic mission on the south coast of West Papua, then known as 'Netherlands New Guinea'. West Papua was one of the final territories of the Dutch East Indies to be brought under Dutch administration, and colonial presence was negligible when the MSC missionaries settled in administrative post Merauke in 1905. Being

1 International religious orders and congregations are often divided in administrative regions called 'provinces', generally according to political borders.

among the first colonial agents in the area, the missionaries were involved in ethnographical, linguistical, and geographical explorations. The photographs in Figure 1 testify to the efforts of the missionaries to document their surroundings. As indicated by the code in the upper left corner, the page is classified under section 3, 'land and people', group E, 'landscape'. The backside of the page bears the caption *klapperbosschen* or 'coconut tree forests' (AR-P027-20210).

These landscape photographs did not exactly spark my interest in my initial engagements with the MSC's photographic archive, some five years ago. Curious about daily interactions in colonial society, I spent hours hovering over photographs capturing moments of contact between missionaries and the local Marind-anim communities, but more or less flicked through the images depicting West-Papuan coasts, wetlands, and forests. However, since the primary aim of my project then was to get a full picture of the quality and content of photographic collections in Dutch missionary archives, even the to my mind insignificant 'landscape' photographs were included in the database I was constructing of the photographs taken by the MSC on in the Merauke area of West Papua between 1905 and 1940 (Reichgelt 2016). This database contains factual data (what, where, when, who, of whom), a social biography (uses, captions, publications; see Fig. 2), and a high-definition scan (600dpi) of each of the 1,300 photographs (Fig. 3).

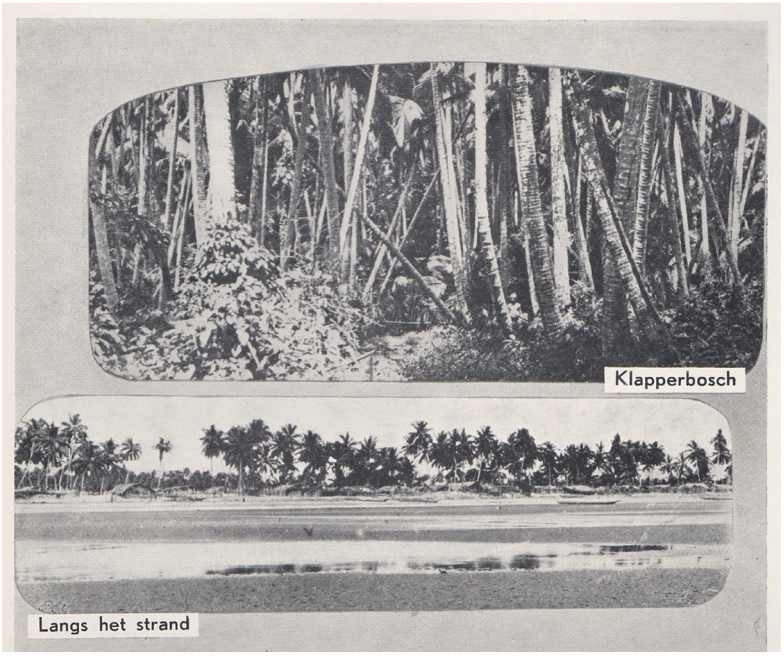


Fig. 2. Photo no. 228987 printed in H. Geurtjens msc, *Onder de Kaja-Kaja's van Zuid Nieuw Guinea,* Roermond: J.J. Romen & Zonen (1933), plate 16.



Fig. 3. Scan of photograph 228987, ENK AR-P027-20210-3.

It was not until I took the time to take a close look at each of those high-definition scans that I noticed that photograph 228987 does not just depict a forest. On the bright computer screen, it was possible to make out a figure in on the centre lower half of the picture. As I zoomed in, a boy became visible, posing inconspicuously between the trees, his body overlit by the strong light of the sun (Fig. 4). Enlarged details showed him standing to the side of a path through the forest, which seems to be leading up to a bamboo fence – presumably marking the borders of a garden maintained by the Marind-anim for food production (Van Baal 1966). His cropped hair and the band around his upper arm indicate that he is a *patur*, the Marind age grade for boys until the onset of puberty. I wondered why such a young child was captured so inconspicuously on a photograph taken during an early explorative trip, and why he was standing there all alone. Was he perhaps guiding the missionaries through the forest?



Fig. 4. Fragment of photograph no. 228987.

The photograph brought two crucial realisations. First of all, that not everything that had been captured by the camera was necessarily visible on the often small and dark prints. There was more to these photographs than meets the naked eye. From that point onwards, zooming in on every inch and every detail of each photograph became standard practice. This did not only reveal countless of small or more meaningful details, but also turned vague blobs into clearly distinguishable human figures. Often, these people seemed remarkably young: children, in fact.[2]

The second realisation was not the presence of children in and of itself, but rather that this presence could be questioned. As I have written elsewhere, young people were the overwhelmingly dominant subject of the missionary photographs I digitised and analysed (Reichgelt 2020), just like they were the focus of attention in missionary writings and civilising interventions (Mak et al 2020). Yet, these photographs with obscured or barely visible children differed from the ubiquitous missionary propaganda photos in which children – often flocking around the missionaries or posing in a distinctly colonial environment – were the focus of attention (Reichgelt 2018, Jensz 2018). Here, children turned up 'unexpectedly' and in the margins, prompting a simple but formative question: What were they doing there? I started seeing the children in the missionary archive not as mere objects of interest but as active participants in photographic, and in extent, colonial encounters. This paper studies West-Papuan children's engagements with

2 I follow the Convention on the Rights of the Child and regard those under the age of eighteen as children. Childhood sociologists and anthropologists have pointed out how the category 'child' was variously deployed within colonial modernity resulting in the production of multiple childhoods, emerging from unequal, situated encounters (Nieuwenhuys 2013: 6). Although both in Marind and Dutch Catholic communities, boys up to the age of eighteen were considered to be adolescents, the sociocultural meanings of 'childhood' differed and sometimes interfered especially with regards to children's mobility and labour.

missionaries in the first years after colonial settlement in the Merauke area of West Papua, 1905-1910. Using visual and textual sources to position these encounters in time and space, I consider if and how young Papuans introduced the missionaries to culturally-specific information and skills by acting as guides, interpreters, and informants.

Children as Colonial Intermediaries

The principle that children are not just 'becomings', but social actors capable of making sense of, participating in, and affecting their societies has its roots in the early 1990s, when a 'new sociology of childhood' emerged in childhood studies (James & Prout 1990). This notion soon permeated other fields of research, including history, where the search for children's agency and 'voices' became important aims. Mary Jo Maynes famously likened the difficulties of recognising the agency of children to the problem of recognising the agency of women: obscured by the 'everydayness' of their activities as well as 'prevailing views that historical change is a result of the public actions of powerful individuals' (2008). Although Maynes' critique on inadequate notions of historical agency and the prevalent focus on the individual rather than collective social relations resonated widely, the central issue in the discipline remained the lack of representational sources on historical children (Gleason 2016, Maza 2020).

The past decade has seen many scholars address these theoretical and methodological challenges in writing histories of children and childhood. Especially historians with an interest in children in colonial history have been at the forefront of developing new approaches to teasing young peoples 'voices', perspectives, and traces from the archive. These approaches have focussed on religious practices, educations and emotion, children's mobility, and youth culture, paving the way for a much-needed consideration of (marginalised) young people as social and political actors in history (McLisky et al 2015, Olsen 2015, Vallgårda 2015, Pomfret 2015, Moruzi et al 2019). Thus far, these debates primarily take place within the context of institutionalised interventions in children's lives: the history of education, constructions of childhood, and politics of sexuality, race, and citizenship (Stoler 2002, Saada 2012, Mak et al 2020). Moreover, the insights gained on children's agency in colonial history have not always reached other subdisciplines yet. In the significant body of literature examining Indigenous agency in processes of colonisation, young people remain largely absent.

Since the 1990s, imperial and colonial exploration has increasingly been considered in terms of a 'collective enterprise involving a diverse labour force […] upon which expeditions were dependent for their progress and success' (Konishi et al 2015: 1). While the concept of local intermediaries was first employed by

anthropologists and historians who aimed to 'uncover' 'hidden histories' of (scientific) exploration expeditions and critically reconsider networks of global knowledge circulation, it has since found wider use in colonial history studies ranging from cross-cultural contact to knowledge creation (Driver & Jones 2009, Schaffer et al 2009, Roque & Wagner 2012, Kennedy 2013, Konishi et al 2015). In a similar vein, the obsolete notion of a one-way interrelation model of missionary-to-missionised has long since been abandoned within the field of missionary history. Many compelling studies have pointed to the multiplicity of colonial actors which had a stake in the mission project: missionaries, converts, settlers, local communities, educators, and government authorities (Pels 1993, Brock 2005, Ballantyne 2015, Derksen 2021). Missions were dependent on the cooperation and support of local people in order to be successful. It has been widely acknowledged that both Protestant and Catholic missionaries employed intermediaries who, as children, had been raised in the mission's sphere of influence (Lawrance et al 2006, Jensz 2016, Derksen 2021). Yet actual children have seldom been considered in the role of guide, interpreter, or cultural broker.

In this article, I aim to bring together the debates on children's agency and colonial intermediaries and elaborate our understanding of children's positions in colonial society, as well as point to an overlooked category of colonial intermediaries. I hypothesise here that in times of early colonial settlement, young Indigenous people often constituted the indispensable guides, interlocutors, escorts. These periods,[3] in which there was little to no colonial infrastructure and colonial agents were especially dependent on Indigenous help, knowledge, and skills may have been brief, but were decisive moments of societal change and exchange in which young people performed crucial intermediary roles.

Additionally, I want to reflect upon the mechanisms which obscure children's active participation in processes of colonisation. There is of course the lack of sources on children's lives, which is even more paramount when considering children belonging to colonised communities, who are twice removed from being represented in historical archives: by their age, and by their societal position (Nieuwenhuys 2013). Many authors have pointed out silences and silencing in colonial archives (Trouillot 1995). I postulate, however, that children acting as intermediaries have remained particularly 'silent' or invisible, as the notion conflicts both with the rationale behind the civilising mission that colonised peoples were in need of European 'help' or even 'saving' as well as linearly opposes

3 In his dissertation on the gathering of ethnographical information by different parties (Catholic missionaries, Protestant missionaries, government officials, academic scholars) on West Papua, anthropologist Sjoerd R. Jaarsma dates the period of, in his words, 'exploration and expansion' until approximately 1920. See: Jaarsma, Waarneming en interpretatie: Vergaring en gebruik van etnografische informatie in Nederlands Nieuw-Guinea (1950-1962) (Utrecht: ISOR, 1990), 30.

the late-modern conviction that children are inherently in need of 'instruction', 'guidance', or 'training'. This means that the positionalities of brokering children are not only outside the logics of the colonial archive and mainstream histories, but also challenge present-day understandings of childhood as situated mostly in familial and educational contexts (Nieuwenhuys 2013).

Finally, this paper examines the merit of using photography to study people marginalised by colonial textual practices – a source which does not play a key role in methodological debates in the history of childhood (Moruzi et al 2019). Photographs may alert one to the presence of people unnamed or unmentioned in textual sources, may provide additional information regarding age or background, and, crucially, document actors in time and space. It is therefore a valuable and relevant starting point to question historical encounters and engagements.

Case Study, Sources, and Method

This paper analyses the acts of guiding, assisting, and brokering that children performed for MSC missionaries during the first years of colonial settlement in Merauke, 1905-1910. Military post Merauke had been erected in 1902 and the Dutch presence on the southern coast was still limited and fragile. The main interests of the colonial administration were copra trade and the geographical exploration of the island. The colonial government hardly concerned itself with communities living in the area. The missionaries and other colonial agents knew little about the geographic features of the region and even less about the languages and customs of the people living there, the largest community being the Marind-anim (Steenbrink 2014: 239). The MSC congregation was plagued by financial mismanagement, causing the Merauke mission to be understaffed and undersupplied (AR-P027-135, AR-P027-139). Arguably, this was the period when the missionaries were most dependent on others, yet had the least connections locally.

The Dutch MSC would remain active in the Merauke area until the 1990s, resulting in an extensive archive documenting the history of the mission and the culture, traditions, and language of the Marind-anim. The archive of the Merauke mission was brought to the Netherlands in the early 1990s and integrated in the archive of the Dutch MSC province, which is presently maintained at the Heritage Centre of Dutch Religious Life (AR-P027-7822, 7914). In addition to a wealth of textual sources, the archive contains a collection of thousands of photographs taken by the missionaries. As described above, my research started with the construction of a database containing 1,300 photographs taken on the south coast between 1906 and 1935. These visual sources not only make it possible to locate children in various colonial encounters and contact zones, but also provide a useful and meaningful source to zoom in on people marginalised in the textual archive,

rupture the colonial discourse, and offer perspectives that allow for new ways in which to engage the missionary archive (Reichgelt 2020).

Scholars, with anthropologists at the fore, have been proving the significance of photography as a historical source inviting alternate readings and perspectives for decades (Edwards 1992, Pinney & Peterson 2003, Quanchi 2006, Campt 2017). Ariella Azoulay's (2012, 2019) ground-breaking philosophical and theoretical work even developed a non-imperial understanding of photography, which abandons the notion of a sovereign photographer in favour of viewing photography as a complex encounter involving various participants, including (potential) spectators of the photograph. Although various power imbalances may exist between these participants, the fact that they all play a role in the event of photography means that a photograph does not necessarily reflects the point of view of the most powerful. This differentiates it 'from all other forms of documentation that we know, and renders it a powerful and suggestive source for understanding the political existence of human beings, as well as investigating their history' (Azoulay 2012: 25).

Like many scholars of photography in (post)colonial contexts, I take my inspiration from Azoulay's assertion that a photograph is always the product of an encounter and thus always shows people in shared space (Campt 2017, Moser 2019). In this article, I adapt Azoulay's method of 'watching' photography, in other words reinscribing temporal and spatial dimensions to still images. Departing from the potential of intermediating children offered by the photographs, I contextualise the captured encounters and actions in time and space by tracing the presence of these children in the mission's archive. Sources used range from published texts in journals, newspapers, and books to confidential letters, reports, diaries, and chronicles, as well as some colonial government records and reports of exploration expeditions between 1905-1910 (Rouffaer et al 1908, Miedema 1993). Although most of these sources discursively present children as *objects* of the civilising mission – if individual children are mentioned at all – the photographs can shift perspective: by first watching children as active historical *subjects,* the 'still' narratives can be put in time and space to study practices on the ground. Moreover, the encounters and engagements between missionaries and children as recorded in the photographs show what to look for in the textual sources, and vice versa. This way, children in intermediary positions can be 'teased' out of the archive – their actions, sometimes their names, backgrounds, and some of their engagements with the mission.

In the following, I discuss three different kinds of brokering activities in which young people engaged in the first five years of the mission's presence in Merauke: guiding and escorting the missionaries when travelling, assisting on the mission station, and instructing in Marind language and customs.

Children as Guides and Escorts

This article began with a photograph documenting the presence of a young boy on one of the explorative travels between 1905 and 1910, prompting the question: could he have been a guide? (Fig. 4) Photographs of early expeditions and trips made by the missionaries are rare: since the photographic equipment was cumbersome and heavy, it was not taken along on every trip. Furthermore, infrequent supplies coming in to the Merauke mission meant that the missionaries habitually suffered from a shortage of photographic plates and paper to print the photographs on (AR-P027-135). Still, a few dozen photographs presumably made during travels before 1910 could be identified in the archive. About a third of those feature children; none feature adults (AR-P027-20210, 20153, 20244). Despite the limited photographic documentation, the noteworthy presence of young people in 'landscape' photography taken between 1906 and 1910 is a clear indication that children at least occasionally accompanied missionaries on their travels and trips.

To contextualise and understand the apparent phenomenon of children accompanying missionaries on their travels, it is imperative to consider the general employment of guides by the mission. The mission's chronicle describes how on their first visits to the Marind after their arrival in August 1905, the missionaries were accompanied by 'boys' (*jongens*) working in Merauke as (indentured) labourers (AR-P027-5790). The chronicle notes that labourers had to accompany the missionaries in order to translate. Another entry on 22 August 1905 records how the missionaries decide not to visit a dance in Novari because Saul, a 'boy' from Manado, was too tired to accompany them. This suggests that the missionaries relied on these 'companions' not just to interpret, but also for a measure of protection. It must be noted here that the word 'boy' in this context does not necessarily signify young or underage people: Indonesian and Asian men with lower social status, such as indentured labourers and men sentenced to penal labour in Merauke prison (*kettingjongens*, chain boys) were consistently called 'boys'. Notably, Marind adult men were never referred to as 'boys' in missionary writings – possibly because of their tall and muscular physique, possibly because they did not occupy subordinate positions within colonial society.

Despite the initial reliance on indentured labourers, the mission's superior Father Nollen severely disliked travelling together with representatives of either the colonial government or the Merauke company. The missionaries wanted to get acquainted with the Marind-anim on their own terms, and aspired to be seen as benefactors or even mentors to Marind communities. They absolutely did not want to be associated with people who were (violently) enforcing restrictions or who were only after material gain (AR-P027-142, AR-P027-5790). Therefore, from late 1905 onwards, the missionaries started to look for other ways to get around and to inform themselves about the Marind and their ways. Although there are no outright

references to children as guides or brokers in the textual sources, Marind children are quite often mentioned in passing in descriptions of explorative encounters. A closer look at these encounters shows children engaging in various guiding practices.

Letters written by the missionaries are an important source on the early mission. The archive contains two types of letters: confidential communication with superiors at the central mission station on the nearby Kei Islands and in the Netherlands, and letters written with a broader audience in mind. These 'public' letters were addressed to seminary students, family, friends and beneficiaries, and often intended for publication in the *Annalen van O.L. Vrouw van het H. Hart* (hereinafter: *Annalen*), the MSC's leading missionary journal with approximately 15,000 subscribers around 1905. Although the propagandistic letters were censored and romanticised, both the public and the confidential letters and reports are characterised by the same pervasive narrative: the independent and competent missionary-protagonist toiling to bring salvation to unwilling adults and passive children (AR-P027-135, 139, 142, 5790). For example, the missionaries often mention in passing how children 'follow them around' on their travels and visits.[4] Subtle anecdotes, however, indicate that it may have been the other way around:

> We know most of the children by name, but as for the women, that is a different matter. First of all, they are often away, and what is more, they have multiple names. Still, they want to be called by their name. "So what is my name then?", asks Mambiske's mother. At a loss, I pull Mambiske close to me, and he whispers his mother's name: "Ramoeke".[5]

This short exchange indicates how children were escorting the missionaries in the villages, introducing them to and informing them about their kin and communities. It also points to the fact that children were the necessary go-betweens, since they were often the only ones available when the adults were engaged in their daily doings during the day, often away from the villages. Moreover, when visiting a new village or community, the missionaries often mention how they are already acquainted with a few children who have been visiting the mission station in Merauke.[6] Several contemporary anthropologists describe with wonder how children, boys especially, were free to do, come, and go as they pleased (Wollaston 1912, Van Baal 1966). It seems that young Marind were both by availability and on their own initiatives among the first contacts of the missionaries.

4 Letter by Brother Dionysus van Roessel, Annalen (1906), 99-102; letter by Father Eduard Cappers, Annalen (1907), 42-45.
5 ENK, AR-P027-5005, Cappers to the board of directors of the MSC's mother house in Tilburg, 20 October 1906.
6 ENK, AR-P027-5005, Cappers, September 1908.

In addition to the many anecdotes describing children escorting and introducing the missionaries in their villages, children are also encountered in accounts of explorative trips in the country, acting as guides. The following example describes an effort to find drinking water (notably scarce in the marshy region) during a first visit to the Okaba region, some 100 kilometres to the west of Merauke:

> "Hey! Boys, where's the water hole?" – "That way, Tuan!" – "All right, but who is going to show us the way?" – "Me! Me! Me!" and a whole bunch of them little rascals chased after us. In the blink of an eye those apprehensive boys seemed to have changed, and cheerful and friendly they led the way and said their names, and asked ours, and took our hand.

The letter then describes the difficult trip across the marshland, during which the children showed the missionaries how to navigate the bridge-like constructions used by the Marind-anim.

> The way back [across the bridges] was successful, but only because I had taken the precaution of giving the pots filled with water to the most boisterous boys and the lids to the quieter ones, telling them: "You may help Tuan too".[7]

Again, the children are described as *chasing after* the missionaries, while they were actually *leading* them towards an unknown water source, even sharing their skill in navigating the terrain. Furthermore, the letter frames the anecdote as if the missionaries were doing the children a favour, as if this trip was to indulge them: the children had been "apprehensive" among adult Marind, but became "friendly" and "cheerful" once removed from that environment. In reality, however, the young Marind were aiding the missionaries by not only helping them navigate unfamiliar and difficult terrain, but also pointing them to a basic need: water. The children's alleged use of the Malay word *Tuan* ('sir') may also point to their intermediary position between Marind and colonial societies, Malay being the lingua franca in the Dutch East Indies.

Another way in which young Marind helped the missionaries to navigate their land, was by rowing – an essential form of transportation in Melanesia for which colonising powers often depended on Indigenous skill (Ballantyne 2018). This published letter by Father Cappers describes how four young men in their late teens from Jobar village, whose names are uncommonly mentioned, agree to

7 Father Henricus Nollen, 'Reis naar Okaba-Sangasee', Annalen (1910), 292-293.

be rowers on a first visit to Wendu village across the Merauke river, in June 1908. Cappers, however, only complains about how useless they are:

> Our glorious rowers, who before entering the proa claimed to be afraid of neither devil nor hell, laid their paddles down one after the other and scrabbled for the middle of the boat, hugging the benches tightly with the face of someone who is determined not to let go [...] I have to say, shame to these people: cowardly, cowardly, cowardly. [...] The fear had entered their souls and they started calling us all sorts of names: "What stupid people! You don't understand anything about sailing, we Mariend-anim (= people from here) know all about it ... Who would sail in the middle of the river?!" [...] We told our cowards to lie down on the bottom of the proa, we would keep rowing ourselves. [...] Our four heroes Wangies, Jogoei, Karvi and Joro were impressed, staring at us with open mouths [...].[8]

In this clearly propagandistic story, the efforts and characters of the missionaries are favourably compared to those of the Marind, who are consistently accused of both vanity and cowardice. By ridiculing the Marind-anim and belittling their help, the mission's dependence on young Marind is minimised as well, making the missionaries seem competent and self-sufficient. If we take the criticism in the letter seriously, however, it is at least questionable whether the missionaries were indeed the sea-worthy boaters they claimed to be: perhaps they underestimated the danger of rowing in the middle of the fast-flowing river. What is more, a critical reading of the remainder of the letter suggests how the four young men did far more than just row: they facilitated the first encounter with the residents of Wendu, they showed the missionaries how to cross the wetlands, they alerted the missionaries about local customs and taboos, warning them when their behaviour might be upsetting.[9]

Departing from the perspective provided by the photographs, i.e. the hypothesis that children acted as guides, the textual sources in the missionary archive feature quite a few examples of young Marind engaging in practices of guiding, escorting, rowing, informing, and instructing the missionaries. Starting from the photographs and approaching children as possible intermediaries, helps to read through the passive framing and instead zoom in on acts and encounters. The photographs, however, have value in addition to changing perspective: they can provide information which remains obscure in the textual sources, namely into the background of the children depicted, as well as allow for individual children to be identified.

8 Annalen (1908), 301-303.
9 ENK, AR-P027-5005. Cappers, June 1908.

Figure 5 shows a young person featured in multiple photographs made on explorative travels between 1905-1910.[10] Although his features seem Papuan, he is not wearing the traditional Marind dress as worn by the children in Figures 3 and 6, but dressed in clothing. Here, I use the term 'clothing' to specifically refer to forms of dress made from textile, as opposed to forms of dress consisting of other material like pomade, shells, bark, and fibre, typically worn by the Marind-anim in this period. The distinction is important since dress and appearance were important signifiers of 'belonging' in colonial contexts especially (Brock 2007). In the first decade of the twentieth century, the number of Marind who wore clothing was limited and missionaries were unsuccessful in propagating its use. Therefore, it can be surmised that the teenager posing on the sawed-off tree trunk suspended over the pond is likely not Marind, and can be identified as Paulus le Cocq d'Armandville.[11] Paulus had been born in Mimika, some 600 kilometres to the north west of Merauke, and had been bought and taken away as toddler by Jesuit Father Cornelis le Cocq d'Armandville (1846-1896) in 1896.[12] He grew up with the mission on the Kei Islands and spent a year and a half with the Merauke mission from August 1906 until February 1908, as a domestic servant. The missionaries indicate that he was around twelve years old upon arrival in Merauke.[13]

Despite the various photographs of Paulus posing in the woodlands surrounding Merauke, he is not once mentioned as coming along on any explorative trips.[14] In the published letters in the *Annalen*, his name is barely mentioned at all – even though three photographs of him clearly posing on various travels were printed in the journal between 1907 and 1909, among which the photograph in Figure 5.[15] This is in line with other published photographs of the explorative travels featuring children: their presence is consequently left unspoken, as if they belonged to the scenery (Figure 6; caption reads 'snapshot of a plantation on the way to Boeti'). This is remarkable, since as we have seen in the previous textual fragments, missionaries were typically very eager to stress their involvement with local children (Jensz & Acke 2013).

10 Other examples are 228967 (AR-P027-20210) and 229228 (AR-P027-20244).

11 Although this photograph does not bear a caption, a captioned photograph of Paulus exists: AR-P027-20210-2, no. 228646.

12 For a romanticised description of how the missionary bought Paulus and another child and the events leading up to his death, see W. van Nieuwenhoff sj (1900), Levensbeschrijving van R. P. Le Cocq d'Armandville S.J., Amsterdam: Borg, 167-172.

13 ENK, AR-P027-142, Nollen 15 August 1906.

14 The only mention of him accompanying the missionaries is immediately after his arrival, August 1906. In a confidential letter to his superior, Nollen writes how Paulus attracts a lot of attention in the Marind villages, and that people are eager to get acquainted with him. ENK, AR-P027-142, Nollen, 5 August 1906.

15 *Annalen* (1907), 277; *Annalen* (1908), 76; *Annalen* (1909), 24. Paulus is also featured on a photograph in *Annalen* (1907), 230, but less clearly visible.



Fig. 5, ca. 1907. ENK, AR-P027-20210-3, no. 228989.

That brings me to the third and final pointer provided by the photographs: they show that in addition to non-local intermediaries, local Marind were involved in guiding too. In the literature on the colonisation of West Papua, the dominant focus lies on intermediaries from other parts of the Indonesian archipelago, such as Ambon and the Kei Islands, or on the go-between role that traders of Chinese descent often fulfilled (Steenbrink 2014, Derksen 2016). Other European parties in the Merauke region, such as the colonial government, exploration expeditions, and trading companies, employed various labourers from all across the archipelago too. Although they are seldom mentioned by name and their actual contributions are discounted, since they were technically employees their involvement, numbers, wages, housing, and sometimes protests are described in detail in various reports.[16] The involvement of Papuan people, on the other hand, in the exploration journeys, in ethnographic research, in the establishment of Merauke, or in trade is at most only hinted at. Since they were often not paid in money, but received material goods in return for their services, their employment was not in the books and readily discounted.

A telling example concerns Bido, a Marind adolescent who lived with the missionaries around 1910. In their letters, missionaries describe how Bido had

16 Miedema (1993); Rouffaer, Seyne Kok & Adriani (1908).

acted as a guide during the 1904/1905 exploration tour.[17] The official report of this expedition, however, repeatedly states that it was 'impossible' to hire Papuan people as carriers or guides as they were too 'uncivilised'. Nevertheless, Bido is mentioned in the report: his name is included in the list of measurements of Marind people subdivided in men, women and children. Bido is on the men's list, being number 46 out of 46 in total.[18] However, with a height of 1.55 meter he is the shortest among the men by a distance, the average height being 1.76. Moreover, his measurements are incomplete: the column indicating the estimate age is left empty, as are most of the measurements which required specific instruments. Of the sixteen children (one girl, fifteen boys) whose measurements were recorded, the average height of a twelve-year-old boy was 1.52 meter.[19] This supports the idea that Bido was a boy in his early teens involved with the exploration tour in *some way*, whose data was haphazardly recorded and used to substantiate the humble data set. The report shows how colonial textual practices quite literally reduces the Marind to objects of interest, passive data to be 'collected', instead acknowledging them as contributors to colonial enterprises. Moreover, it is an example of how the age of those rare young Marind brokers we know by name like Bido is obscured by listing him among the 'men'.



Fig. 6, ca. 1907. *Almanak van O.L. Vrouw van het H*. Hart 27 (1909): 63.

17 ENK, AR-P027-5007, G. Jeanson 21 August 1910.
18 Rouffaer, Seyne Kok & Adriani (1908): 397-398: '1e meetlijst'.
19 Ibid., '2e meetlijst'.

Children as Labour Force

Figure 7 shows a photograph of the view on the pasture behind the first mission station. Judging by the livestock, it was probably taken halfway 1906. Most animals seem to have gathered in one spot. The picture was shot from some distance away, but zooming in on that spot, a person becomes visible (Fig. 8). It looks like an adolescent boy, holding some kind of container. It seems like he is feeding the animals.

In addition to indicating the existence of certain practices, such as guiding, photographs may also reveal in which practices children did *not* engage. This photograph is a rare example of what looks like a Marind child doing one of the many daily chores at the mission station. In the first years of settlement in Merauke, insufficient personnel proved a persistent problem for the MSC missionaries. Upon arrival in August 1905, the entire mission consisted of two fathers and two lay brothers. The division of labour was as follows: the fathers were charged with visiting the people, learning the language, and reporting back home. The brothers were in charge of both manual labour and domestic duties, including but not limited to: cultivating plants and livestock, hunting, construction work and maintenance, cleaning, cooking, mending clothes, and practicing taxidermy in order to stock the mission museum in the Netherlands.[20] Two people hardly sufficed to manage all this. After several attempts to have some of the Dutch missionaries working in German colonial territory in Papua New Guinea transferred to Merauke, a third brother arrived on 22 December 1905. In September 1906, however, one of the brothers was called back to the main station on the Kei Islands and shortly after another died after attracting typhoid fever. His replacement arrived in February 1907, but died two weeks later from dysentery. Despite repeated requests, extra help, either in the form of a brother or Catholic labourers from Kei, did not arrive until the end of January 1908 (AR-P027-142). Brother Hamers and Paulus had to manage together.

A lack of personnel was not the only difficulty. Manual labour was a sensitive, racially segregated issue in a colonial settlement like Merauke: white Europeans were not supposed to engage in physical work. Since the *ora et labora* work ethic of the missionaries dignified manual labour as inherently virtuous, and a significant part of the responsibilities and duties of the lay brothers consisted of physical labour (farming, tinkering, construction work), this principle was problematic for the Merauke mission.[21] The mission had insufficient resources to hire men from Merauke or Kei, whose monthly wage was 15 guilders. Therefore, the missionaries often tried to enlist young Marind against a small payment or, ideally, as live-in pupils.

20 ENK, AR-P027-5007, Brother Norbertus Hamers 22 December 1906.
21 This was one of the reasons the missionaries refused to live in Merauke (the other being their wish to live close to the Marind-anim). ENK, AR-P027-5790.



Fig. 7, mid-1906. ENK, AR-P027-20210-1, no. 228351.



Fig. 8. Fragment of photograph 228351.

According to the official narrative as presented in the *Annalen*, young Marind were eager to help. Photographs with the explicit subject of 'Marind children' engaged in domestic or manual labour feature regularly in the *Annalen* around 1910. Figure 9 is an example.[22] Its caption reads: 'Some Kaja-Kaja-boys [*Kaja-Kaja* being an obsolete slang name for Marind], working in the garden with Brother

22 Other examples: *Annalen* (1908), 362.



nen ook trouw betrachtten, maar die ze gauw ver-
gaten toen ze met Raymundus en mij alleen waren
en buiten 't zicht der ouderlingen. Immers onder-
weg naar den waterput hadden ze alle vrees op zij

lui van *Birok* en *Noh-otiev*, allen bekenden en vrien-
den. Natuurlijk werd daar even gepleisterd. „Wat
komt gij lieden hier doen?"
—„Mijnheer, overmorgen is hier een groote dans.
We zijn al een dag of twee hier."

EENIGE KAIA-KAIA-JONGENS, WERKEND MET B.'. JOOSTEN IN DEN TUIN.
Dat die wilde natuurkinderen reeds willen werken, bewijst dat wij vorderingen maken onder de laaggezonken bevolking van N. G.

gezet, en waren zoo aanhalig en openhartig als mijn
jongens van *Iohar*. Ze toonden me zelfs onder hen

— „Zoo, en wat doet ge in dien tusschentijd?"
— „We wachten op den dans. Maar, mijnheer,

Fig. 9, late 1908. *Annalen van O.L. Vrouw van het H. Hart* 28 (1 October 1910): 293.

Joosten. The fact that these wild children of nature want to work already, proves the progress we are making among the depraved people of New Guinea'.

Photographs like these provided the reader with 'evidence' that the mission had acquired pupils, who were being taught what was perceived as good labour and useful crafts, such as construction and gardening: civilising efforts with the benefit of creating an unpaid workforce. Furthermore, the 'pupils' are wearing clothing. Both the labour and the clothing served to signify that a beginning had been made with the 'civilisation' of West Papua, as well as convince the reader that the younger generations could adapt. At the same time, the accompanying description reminds the reader of '[t]he big difference between the Dutchman and the native, being that the first are known to be especially diligent and hardworking, whereas the latter does not even deserve the honourable label of "labourer" [...]. But one should not exaggerate; they do some work, as one can see in the pictures' (*Annalen* 30, 1912: 346).

However, again photographs can be used to rupture the discourse: judging from the appearances of the young men and boys in Figure 9, there is only one Marind among them. The first, second and fourth men from the left are construction workers from the Kei Islands employed by the mission. The boy on the far right might be Marind, but also closely resembles a boy from Kei who spent a brief

period in Merauke.[23] The boy in the centre, however, is unmistakably Marind: he is dressed in the manner of the *aroi-patur*, the age grade of boys of approximately thirteen years old. Zooming in on the picture, it seems like he is holding up a piece of fabric to shield the lower half of his body. All in all, this caption and message purported by this photograph is clearly false – as were the photographs claiming to portray Marind children and even adults at 'school' in this period (Reichgelt 2018).

Interestingly, the only young West Papuan who is known to have performed manual labour for the mission, is consistently obscured in these same pages. As opposed to the 'Marind boys' who were proudly presented in Figure 9, Paulus' presence is again ignored in the captions and surrounding text – even when other people are mentioned by name (Fig. 10: 'Brother Hamers in the vegetable garden', Fig. 11: 'Father Cappers and Brother Hamers in action'). Paulus' hard work and many responsibilities are mentioned frequently in internal communication (AR-P027-142). He is often compared favourably to the Marind-anim, whose indifference to manual labour and money, goods, or profits is denoted as 'laziness' (AR-P027-5006, 5007, Miedema 1993: 48-51). Yet, despite the mission's dependence on him and his help, Paulus' contribution too is belittled and ridiculed at times. In one of his letters to former pupils in Tilburg, Father Cappers quite literally lists Paulus among the things bothering him during his writing: 'the boiling heat, a terrible exhaustion, a swarm of mosquitos, Paulus (a person who is always on pins and needles) at my table, a pile of newspapers staring at me and a very bad mood'.[24]

To conclude: where it is often hard to spot children in photographs taken on exploratory travels, quite a few photographs taken between 1905-1910 depict young people 'openly' engaging in manual labour. As labour was seen as a civilising instrument, improving both one's material and moral condition, these photographs served propagandist purposes as proof of successful 'education' of the Marind. However, most pictures do not feature Marind children but non-local intermediaries who had been raised or trained by the missionaries on the Kei Islands. The internal textual sources mentioning young or older Marind engaging in (paid) labour for the mission are scarce – it seems that those who were willing to engage in the culturally-sensitive manual labour, opted to work for less demanding private traders. What, then, was the boy feeding the animals in Figure 8 doing on the mission station? Well, it seems that even though the missionaries were unsuccessful in durably or substantially attracting young assistants, they did manage to convince various groups of young boys to stay and live with them for shorter or longer periods between 1906 and 1910. Although they helped around on the station, I postulate that their most important contribution was not in the form

23 See *Annalen* 1910, 196.
24 ENK, AR-P027-5005, Cappers to seminary students in Tilburg, 18 May 1907.

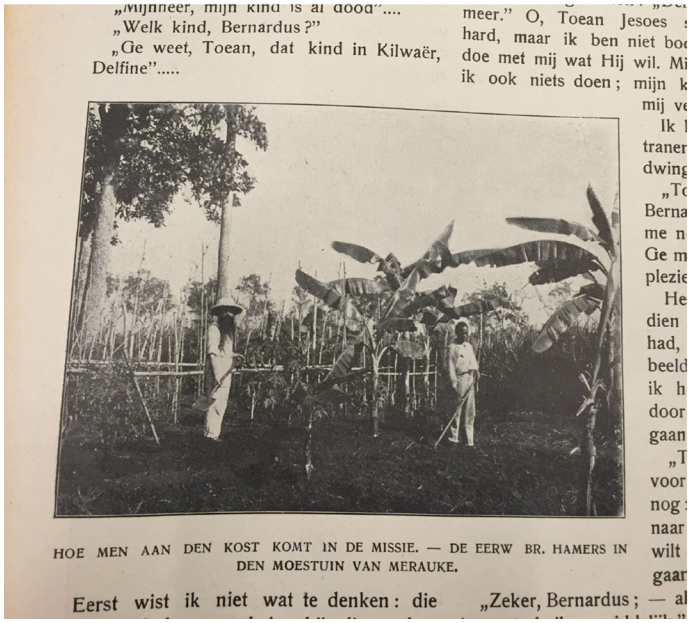

„Welk kind, Bernardus?"
„Ge weet, Toean, dat kind in Kilwaër, Delfine".....
meer." O, Toean Jesoes
hard, maar ik ben niet bo
doe met mij wat Hij wil. Mi
ik ook niets doen; mijn k
mij v
Ik
traner
dwing
„T
Berna
me n
Ge m
plezie
He
dien
had,
beeld
ik h
door
gaan
„T
voor
nog
naar
wilt
gaar
HOE MEN AAN DEN KOST KOMT IN DE MISSIE. — DE EERW BR. HAMERS IN DEN MOESTUIN VAN MERAUKE.
Eerst wist ik niet wat te denken: die „Zeker, Bernardus; — al

Fig. 10, ca. 1907. *Annalen van O.L. Vrouw van het H*. Hart 30 (1 October 1912): 342.

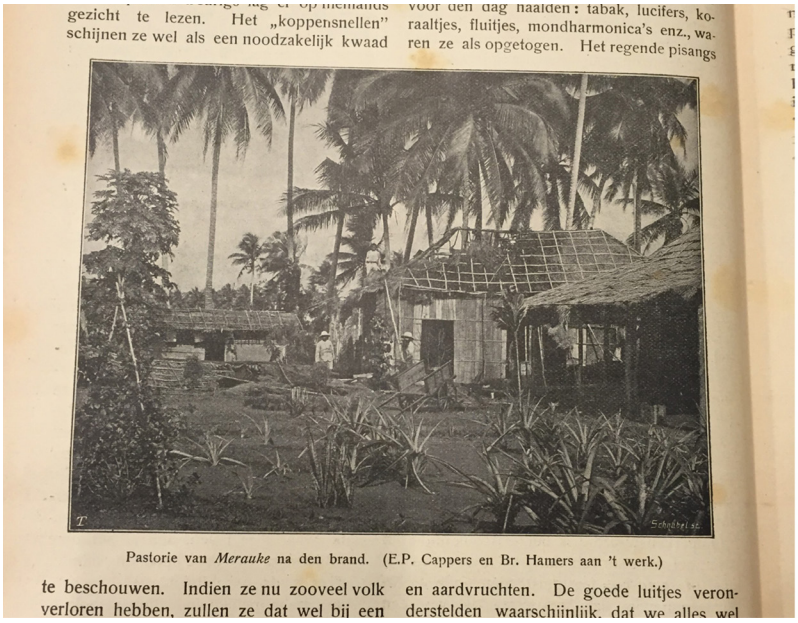

gezicht te lezen. Het „koppensnellen" schijnen ze wel als een noodzakelijk kwaad
voor den dag haalden: tabak, lucifers, koraaltjes, fluitjes, mondharmonica's enz., waren ze als opgetogen. Het regende pisangs
Pastorie van *Merauke* na den brand. (E.P. Cappers en Br. Hamers aan 't werk.)
te beschouwen. Indien ze nu zooveel volk verloren hebben, zullen ze dat wel bij een
en aardvruchten. De goede luitjes veronderstelden waarschijnlijk, dat we alles wel

Fig. 11, 1907. *Annalen van O.L. Vrouw van het H. Hart* 27 (1909): 24. Paulus is standing on the roof of the damaged presbytery.

of manual or domestic labour. Rather, as I will elaborate upon in the final section, these boys supplied the missionaries with the opportunity to learn the Marind language and get acquainted with their norms, values, and culture.

Children as Cultural Brokers and Instructors

Figure 12 depicts four of the first boys who lived at the mission station for a while. Their names were probably Sopajam, Grave, Badei, and Oembri. The textual sources drafted around the time of their stay do not mention them. However, their names and story are recounted in a 1910 letter detailing how Father Nollen runs into Sopajam in Okaba, about four years after their stay.[25] The fact that neither letters, nor reports, nor diary entries from 1906 mention them was probably because their stay was short and 'unsuccessful' from the mission's point of view. It seems the missionaries attempted to keep the boys from leaving the mission station at night, forbidding them to attend the many Marind social events which took place after dark. In response, Sopajam and the others opted to work for Chinese traders in Merauke instead, who did not put such restrictions on their freedom (AR-P027-5006).



Fig. 12, 1906. ENK, AR-P027-20210-2, no. 228628.

25 ENK, AR-P027-5006, Nollen 2 May 1910.

Mentions in the sources are scattered and scarce, but it seems that several groups of young men and boys lived with the missionaries between 1906-1910. Despite claims in the official reports that these children were being educated and being prepared for baptism, a critical reading of the engagements between the missionaries and the children indicates that in this period, it was the other way around: the children were instructing the missionaries.[26] Take for example the mission's engagements with Aroe and Kenda, two teenage boys who are among the first Marind to live at the mission station for more than a few weeks. During their stay in early 1908, Father Superior Nollen was composing an article for *Anthropos*, a journal of anthropology and linguistics (Nollen 1909). It seems he conversed with the boys both in order to advance his language studies, as well as to acquire information for his ethnographical study on Marind age grades. Additionally, Aroe and Kenda helped out at the mission station and accompanied the missionaries on their travels.[27] They are acknowledged to have accompanied the missionaries on at least two trips: a first visit to the hinterland along the Merauke river and a trip to Kumbe, across the river. According to the missionaries' reports, the boys fulfilled all kinds of small tasks like carrying goods, fetching water, making fire.[28] However, when Father Nollen left for the MSC's headquarters in Langgur on the Kei Islands in May 1909, he took Kenda with him. Kenda stayed there for six months and travelled back in November, together with newly-arriving Father Van de Kolk. Although Nollen does not mention the reasons for taking Kenda to Kei, it seems very likely that Kenda was there to instruct arriving MSC missionaries on Marind language and customs.[29]

Acts of cultural brokering by children also took place during encounters in the villages and surrounding area. When travelling to unfamiliar places, children – mostly boys – are often described as the first to approach the missionaries, to break the ice.[30] Some texts had propagandistic purposes, and the 'natural' curiosity of the children to unfamiliar things may have been exaggerated to underline how

26 ENK, AR-P027-142, Nollen, 15 November 1908. Ironically, the missionary sources affirm this: after 1910, newly arriving missionaries complain that no start had been made with some form of schooling or education, see for example ENK, AR-P027-142, Father Joseph van de Kolk.

27 ENK, AR-P027-5005, Cappers 22 February 1909.

28 ENK, AR-P027-5005, Cappers, September 1908 and 22 February 1909.

29 ENK, AR-P027-142, Van de Kolk 15 December 1909. A few years later, around 1913, Kenda is among the first people who move into the mission's so-called model kampong, an attempt to enforce social re-organisation in the form of nuclear families. He suddenly passes away on 6 April 1914, shortly after his marriage. He was buried next to Brother Oomen, the first missionary to be 'martyred' on New Guinea – a sure sign of Kenda's crucial role for the mission. See also AR-P027-5790.

30 ENK, AR-P027-5005, Cappers to seminary students in Tilburg, 29 July 1907; *Annalen* (1908), 44-46. Missionaries did interact with girls too, but these encounters are even more difficult to reconstruct from the textual sources: contact between celibate men and unmarried girls or women was controversial and as such hard to mention. Any girls coming in the care of the mission were sent to sister missionaries on the Kei Islands as soon as possible.

the children are 'open to' change, or the exchanges may have been embellished to make the missionaries look popular with the children. Still, the descriptions do indicate (what kind of) information between children and missionaries was exchanged. Moreover, events describing how children instigated contact and sometimes smoothed out cultural conflict appear in confidential sources too. In one letter, Cappers describes how Warmoeke, a girl of about thirteen years old, succeeds in mounting his horse Blanda without help.[31] Witnessing this, several other girls want to try too. Afterwards, the girls promise to clean up Blanda's dung off the roads from then onwards, which had apparently aggravated the village's elderly. Interestingly, this particular fragment of the letter had been crossed out by the censors as inappropriate for publication. Probably, both the interaction with teenage girls engaging in behaviour deemed 'improper' such as mounting a horse as well as the mention of excrements were cause for censorship.

When visiting the villages in the vicinity of Merauke, it seems children supplied the missionaries with the most useful information. Letters indicate that children informed the missionaries of practices the colonial government tried to ban, such as the abduction of young children during head hunting raids,[32] as well as warned the missionaries about possible acts of hostility by other villages and when other villages were about to go on raids.[33] And, most importantly, children were the ones teaching the missionaries the Marind language:

> There is a little fellow from the fourth village, called "Mària", a quick boy who understands what I am after quite well, and is happy when he teaches me a new word. When I have finished an outline for a new catechism lesson, I sometimes take him home with me so I can practice. One time, while he was in complete wonder about what I had said, he suddenly asked: "May I tell the other boys about this too?" – "Yes, dear boy, please pass it along; the more the better!" May Our Lord bless that seed![34]

Here, the events are framed as if the missionaries are the ones teaching the children the wonders of the Christian faith, thus obscuring the fact that they are relying on the children for language instructions. Another example of this distortion can be found in a letter written by Father Cappers to his former students in Tilburg, dated May 1907. In it, he describes how he 'teaches' the children of the two villages of his 'parish' (Boeti and Novari) how a prearranged meeting works, by asking them

31 ENK, AR-P027-5005, Cappers to seminary students in Tilburg, May 1907.
32 ENK, AR-P027-5006, Nollen 2 May 1910.
33 Letter by Nollen 27 April 1907, Annalen (1907), 298.
34 Annalen (1906), 250.

to bring coconuts to the mission station in three days. When they indeed arrive with the goods three days later, he exclaims: 'Oh! But now I have to entertain this lot!' – insinuating that the children had come to ask something of him instead of the other way round. Cappers describes how he lets the boys try out his cigars, play with his tinderbox, draw with pencils and paper. These efforts are presented as 'gifts' to the children. Afterwards, however, Cappers sent the children's drawings to the Mission's Museum as examples of 'primitive art'. Moreover, three of the boys stay the night and share stories of Marind mythology. So, even though this visit was both instigated by Cappers and resulted in a wealth of information for the mission, Cappers presents the events as if he is being a patient and self-sacrificing teacher, and as if all his efforts are just to 'win their hearts'.[35]

Finally, it seems that Paulus sometimes acted as cultural broker too. Being young and Papuan himself, he had a connection and a rapport with the Marind that the missionaries could not establish. For example, when Father Cappers – who prided himself on his sense of humour – describes his failed attempts to banter with the Marind, he mentions how '[a Marind] preferably laughs about a thousand things of which Paulus says that they could not even be whispered among us'.[36]



Fig. 13, early 1909. ENK, AR-P027-20297, no. 229260.

35 Letter by Cappers, Annalen (1907), 276-279.
36 ENK, AR-P027-5005, Cappers 15 April 1907.



Fig. 14. Fragment of no. 229260.

These few words indicate that Paulus had learned to speak Marind quite well, and, more importantly, that he was included in cultural intimacies which remained difficult to access for the missionaries. It seems, however, that Paulus was perhaps getting *too* close to the Marind-anim to the missionaries' liking. A short diary entry on 29 January 1908 mentions how the visiting Father Superior has taken Paulus back with him to the Kei Islands. The explanation given: 'The boy was pursuing a bad path' (AR-P027-5790).

Returning to the photographs, a final argument can be made to support the impression that in the first years of colonial settlement, the involvements between missionaries and children primarily served to instruct the missionaries, rather than 'civilise' the children. Both Figure 12 and 13 present photographs of boys deliberately posing at the mission station (although the boys in Figure 13 are almost impossible to see without digitally enhancing the picture, Figure 14). Just like the photos of the labouring 'young Marind', these photographs probably had to prove the mission's influence on local children, to show that the missionaries were raising their first pupils. What they do, however, is indicate that the missionaries' claim that 'clothed' boys lived at the station was an exaggeration. In both photographs, the 'clothes' worn by the boys are ill fitting, awkwardly bound or draped around their lower bodies – more likely a temporary cover for the sake of the photograph than practical everyday dress as worn by Paulus.

Conclusion

The modest presence of a small figure posing alongside a forest path on a photograph taken on an early-twentieth century missionary exploration trip formed the starting point of this article. The boy's unexpected presence prompted the question what he could have been doing there, changing the child from object of interest to active participant in a colonial encounter. Departing from the hypothesis that he may have been guiding the missionaries, this article examined the ways in which children acted as local intermediaries in the early years of colonial settlement in West Papua. Inspired by Azoulay, I used the active presence of children as individual historical actors participating in processes of colonisation in the photographs to circumvent 'still' discourse and focus on actions and encounters. Simultaneously, tracing the presence of young intermediaries in the textual sources enabled contextualising the captured engagements in time and space, showing how and when missionaries depended on the knowledge, skills, and networks of West-Papuan children. This not only adds to the existing body of literature on colonial intermediaries, in which young people constitute an overlooked group, but also complements understandings of non-elite colonial childhoods of Indigenous children outside of familial or institutional contexts. Moreover, the analysis allows for the agency of young Marind to emerge, by considering which practices they did, but also did *not* engage in: despite multiple attempts by the missionaries, they could not persuade Marind boys to become their live-in assistants, nor to engage in manual labour. Finally, this paper indicates the merit of using photography to study people marginalised by colonial textual practices. Although the information provided in the photographs is just as obscured and partial as the data in textual sources, photography always documents people engaging in time and space. It is therefore a valuable and relevant starting point to consider and question encounters and engagements.

In this article, three different intermediary roles in which children engaged in the first five years of the mission's presence in Merauke were analysed: guiding and escorting the missionaries when travelling, assisting the missionaries in daily chores, and instructing the missionaries in Marind language and customs. In each case, the photographs formed the lens through which the textual archive was examined. In the first section, the photographic documentation helped to tease the traces of young Marind engaging in practices of guiding, escorting, rowing, and informing out of the missionary discourse. Additionally, the photographs provided information which remains obscure in the textual sources, namely into the social background of the children depicted. In the second section and third section, photographs were used to rupture the discourse in a different way, namely by showing how missionary claims of employing Marind children as live-in attendants were false – making room for a different perspective on their presence

at the mission station. Zooming in on photographs helps differentiate between photographs taken for propagandic purposes, which may have been staged (Fig. 9) and details which were 'caught' on camera: in this article, the children emerging on landscape photographs (Fig. 4) and far-away views of the mission station (Fig. 7). These may have been 'failed' photographs: the children could have been posing with the intent of being captured on camera, but the technically limited possibilities and small prints and reproductions meant that they were rendered (almost) invisible in the resulting photograph. Moreover, as the racial bias built into photography favoured light objects over dark, photography was unsuited for adequately capturing the skin of the Marind children (Fig. 13, Lewis 2016).

In addition to addressing the underresearched positions of Indigenous children as intermediaries in pioneering periods of colonial settlement and adding to the debate on children's agency, I wanted to reflect on why young intermediaries had received such scant attention so far. The article grapples with two paradoxical aspects of Indigenous children in missionary archives: their centrality as objects of civilising practices on the one hand, but their marginalisation as historical subjects in colonial textual practices in the other. Although this is in line with the current consensus among historians of exploration that 'colonial textual practices typically obscured the fragility of the European explorer and their deep dependence on indigenous intermediaries' (Konishi et al 2015: 5), I feel that children acting as intermediaries have remained particularly marginalised. Perhaps this is because the notion not only conflicts with the rationale behind the civilising mission that colonised children needed to be 'enlightened' and even 'saved', but is also at odds with current trends within historical research on colonial childhoods. For the last two decades, prominent research has been dedicated to the important and crucial aim of outlining how children became the targets of colonial interventions – and the post-colonial continuities of this (Saada 2012, Mak et al 2020). Although this research underlines the agency of children, it concentrates on childhood as shaped within institutionalised contexts and colonial governmentality. This means that the positionalities of brokering children are outside the 'child-as-recipient' focus in both the colonial archive and mainstream histories.

Once aware of the existence of children acting as guides, interlocutors, and informants, this discourse and the silencing it enforces can be ruptured to reveal colonial records of Indigenous children as skilful and knowledgeable intermediaries. Once I had seen the young Marind as historical actors in the mission's exploration of Merauke, I started seeing evidence of children as acting as guides and informants in a variety of sources and contexts: from the small boys sitting at the feet of the White Fathers in the photographs of their famous caravans from north to central Africa at the end of the nineteenth century (AR-P024-5004), to the young people from all over the world examined by German anthropologist

and physician Rudolf Virchow and his *Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* who were being introduced as 'former guides' of colonial agents (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*: 'Sitzung vom 20. Juli 1889', 'Sitzung vom 21. Februar 1891'). The existence of young guides, interpreters, and brokers was not limited to West Papua alone, and merits more consideration by researchers interested in histories of colonisation and Indigenous childhoods.

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Beyond the Image of the Pain of Others: Medical Research Experiments at the Colonial Hospital of Lisbon in the Early 20th Century*

Silvio Marcus de Correa

Abstract

This paper discusses the experiments with human subjects in clinical trials related to the investigation of African human trypanosomiasis at Lisbon's Colonial Hospital during the first decades of the twentieth century. The research draws on evidentiary photographs and archival documents produced by leading Portuguese tropical medicine researchers. At the beginning of the 20th century, the first Portuguese medical mission went to Angola and São Tomé to study African trypanosomiasis. Images of ill persons, some of them in near-death condition, illustrated the mission's report. The investigation about sleeping sickness continued in the recently inaugurated School of Tropical Medicine in Lisbon, where instruction and research on exotic pathologies relied on clinical cases brought to the metropole. Since 1903, the colonies' health departments sent patients affected by tropical diseases to the Colonial Hospital in the Portuguese capital. Flies of the Glossina genus, identified as the causes of the illness, were also shipped for medical entomology studies. Ayres Kopke, professor of bacteriology and parasitology at the School of Tropical Medicine, was responsible for the institution's insect collection and was one of the leading "sleeping sickness" researchers. In Kopke's files, kept at the Hospital archive, a few portraits of Africans lay among photographs of flies and protozoa. The portraits of Africans at Lisbon's Colonial Hospital are evidence of life stories that intertwine with the history of tropical medicine in the context of colonial empires.

Keywords: photography; Africans; colonial hospital; tropical medicine.

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Photographs of the Others' Sufferings

In *Regarding the Pain of Others,* Susan Sontag claimed that "the more remote or exotic the place, the more likely we are to have full frontal views of the dead and dying." According to her, "a succession of unforgettable photographs of large-eyed victims, starting with figures in the famine lands of Biafra in the late 1960s to the survivors of the genocide of nearly a million Rwandan Tutsis in 1994," represents the Western imaginary of post-colonial Africa (Sontag 2004: 70–71). Sontag saw in photojournalism's tendency of (almost) shamelessly exhibiting images of other peoples' suffering an atavism of the modern tradition of displaying others as zoo animals in the European metropolises until the early twentieth century. For Sontag, photography favored a continuity of such tradition in the "rich world," who watched the others' suffering from a safe distance.

The photographs of men and women with tropical diseases published in scientific journals may contain the same dual message of the war images, distant in time or space: "they show a suffering that is outrageous, unjust, and should be repaired," and confirm that "this is the sort of thing which happens in that place." Additionally, the similar pervasiveness of the photographs showing victims of exotic pathologies corroborates the "belief in the inevitability of tragedy in the benighted or backward – that is poor – parts of the world" (Sontag 2004: 71).

From the end of the nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries, the medical photographs of tropical diseases frequently exhibited colonized and racialized bodies. Photographs of patients suffering from African trypanosomiasis, for instance, were frequent in tropical medicine publications. The disease is caused by the Trypanosoma parasite, transmitted to humans by the bite of infected flies of the *Glossina* genus.[1]

The designation "sleeping sickness" refers to the state of lethargy or "hypnosis" that may affect the patients during the progression of the trypanosomiasis infection. The expression "sleeping sickness" was widely used in the English medical literature to refer to African trypanosomiasis (Manson 1898). Likewise, the Portuguese tropical medicine documents adopted the equivalent expression "doença do sono" to refer to the same illness (Bettencourt et al. 1903, Kopke 1905, Costa et al. 1915).

In 1898, the *British Medical Journal* published the portraits of Eli Mboko

1 According to Daniel R. Headrick (2014), "Sleeping sickness is a parasitic disease transmitted by tsetse flies. An infected person has joint pain, headaches, and a fever, then becomes drowsy. The infection also causes a swelling of the lymph nodes at the back of the neck. Once the pathogen crosses the blood-brain barrier and infects the central nervous system, the patient becomes lethargic or insane, then goes into a coma, and finally dies. There are two varieties of sleeping sickness, and they affect their victims very differently. One, caused by the protozoan *Trypanosoma brucei gambiense*, is a chronic disease that can persist for months or even years with occasional mild symptoms before it enters the central nervous system. The other, caused by *T. b. rhodesiense*, is acute and can cause death within three to 12 months of infection."

and Tendo Makaloo in an article about sleeping sickness. Born in Congo, the two patients had been sent to London for treatment in more favorable conditions and served the disease's study. According to the London School of Tropical Medicine coordinator of the treatment and study, the physician Patrick Manson,

> they were brought to this country partly that they might have the chance of treatment under conditions more favorable than any their own homes could supply, partly that they might afford an opportunity for careful study of the deadly disease from which they are suffering (Manson 1898: 1672).

The physician reported the disease's evolution in its final stage and completed experiments with arsenical drugs. Manson inferred that a parasite of the Filarioidea type could cause sleeping sickness.

The publication of the two Africans' portraits sought to depict, with "terrible sharpness," the appearance resulting from a fatal illness, a tropical disease. In October 1902, Patrick Manson reported the first case of sleeping sickness affecting a European woman. She was the wife of a missionary based in Congo and was treated in the "tropical wards of the London School of Tropical Medicine." Nevertheless, her anonymity was preserved, and no photographs were published (Manson 1903: 1461).

For those who had seen Eli Mboko and Tendo Makaloo's photographs published in 1898, the impression was, probably, the same as the experience of seeing the portrait of men sentenced to death. The disease expressed in the photographs of racialized bodies was fatal. A hundred years later, the time interval that separates us from those "ghosts" can create a different sensation when observing such photographs. The images of these men may provoke us. Indeed, "who are the 'we' at whom such shock-pictures are aimed?" (Sontag 2004: 7).

Unlike the past's "we" – the Victorian readers of the *British Medical Journal* – the "we" I refer to henceforth is the current-day community of researchers. To them, or us, such photographs may constitute evidence for the study of past experiments with human subjects in London or Lisbon's hospitals when the widespread "fight against tropical diseases" was part of the ideological discourse of the "peaceful conquest" or "scientific colonization."[2] *We* currently know that tropical medicine was instrumental to colonial imperialism (Arnold 1988, Vaughan 1991, Worboys 1993, Eckart 1997, Amaral 2006, Castro 2013) and that photography can be the colonial empires' eye of history (Vicente 2014).

2 By the end of the nineteenth century, the *British Medical Journal* readers were mostly physicians and other similar Victorian society professionals. Although spreading the ideology of the "white men's burden" was not the objective of the publication of ill bodies' images, the tropical medicine journals contributed to the ideology's consolidation.

At the dawn of the twentieth century, the newly created institutions for instruction and research on tropical medicine undertook many scientific expeditions in Africa. Liverpool and London's schools of tropical medicine were founded in 1898 and 1899, respectively. Between 1901 and 1903, fifteen medical-scientific missions, eight of which British, took place in different parts of the African continent (Headrick 2014: 2). Lisbon's school of tropical medicine was established in 1902, and Portuguese physicians conducted two medical missions to their African colonies between 1901 and 1905.[3]

After the 1890 British Ultimatum, the Portuguese crown needed to reform its colonial policy. The creation of Lisbon's School of Tropical Medicine [*Escola de Medicina Tropical de Lisboa*], and the Portuguese medical-scientific missions reflect a new relationship between the metropole and its colonies. Following the trend of other colonial empires, prominent Portuguese physicians ideologically embraced the conquest of Africa. It is worth noting that the Portuguese School of Tropical Medicine statute, chapter 13, article 46, anticipated the organization of scientific missions to the overseas provinces and the foreign colonies (Escola de Medicina Tropical 1903).

The First Medical Mission to Portuguese West Africa happened in 1901. Under the leadership of physician Aníbal Bettencourt, director of the Portuguese Royal Bacteriological Institute, the team formed by the physicians Ayres Kopke, Gomes de Rezende, and Correia Mendes published a report written in French (Bettencourt et al. 1903). The report included the photographs of the sick Africans Thomaz and Esperança, similarly to Eli Mboko and Tendo Makaloo's portraits published some years earlier - as visual representations of the disease's effects.

After the report of the First Medical Mission to Portuguese West Africa, several papers were published in Portuguese scientific journals. The physicians Moraes Sarmento and Carlos França published a paper in the *Revista portuguesa de medicina e cirurgia práticas* about a case of sleeping sickness in an individual deceased in the Hospital of São José, in Lisbon (Carvalho 1906: 25). Carvalho (1906) does not provide information about the patient's origin. Correia Mendes, director of Luanda's Bacteriological Institute, had published a paper in the journal *Medicina Contemporânea* of May 8, 1904, about a case of sleeping sickness in a European individual. An additional couple of articles published in the editions of January and February 1905 of the journal *Porto Médico*, respectively authored by physicians Carlos França and Dias de Sá, discussed two cases of Europeans suffering from "sleeping sickness" (Carvalho 1906: 44). Unlike the publications that discussed the cases of African patients and included their photographs, such as Bettencourt's report and Manson's study, none of the papers about European

3 See Castro (2013) for a thorough discussion of the medical missions of the Lisbon School of Tropical Medicine and their role in the projection of Portuguese authority in the African colonies.

patients published any photographs of "sleepy whites."[4]

At the time, cases of Portuguese nationals affected by African trypanosomiasis were rare, but many African colonial subjects were brought from Angola and other colonies to the Colonial Hospital of Lisbon. The finding of a small envelope among physician and professor Ayres Kopke's papers containing images of African patients taken to the Colonial Hospital sheds light on the experiments with human subjects in the early days of Portuguese tropical medicine and its therapeutical trials related to Human African trypanosomiasis.

"Photographs of the Blacks"

Ayres Kopke had organized and traveled with scientific missions overseas. The Portuguese physician was an active member of the European community of sleeping sickness researchers. By the eve of the twentieth century, Kopke had become a leading Portuguese bacteriologist and epidemiologist.

In a collection of Ayres Kopke's papers held at the library of Lisbon's Institute of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine [*Instituto de Higiene e Medicina Tropical*], there is a small envelope with the stamp of the School of Tropical Medicine. Its back records the following: "*Photographias dos Pretos*," that is, "Photographs of the Blacks." The envelope contains 11 portraits of African patients of Lisbon's Colonial Hospital. Two anonymous patients, and Francisco Pereira, Manuel Tavares, Manuel Vaz Cabral, Paulo Borges, Francisco Fernandes, Evaristo Nunes, Aureliano Lopes, José Borges, and Joaquim, all male names, posed for the photographer in the winter of 1914.



Portraits of the African male patients found among Professor Ayres Kopke's papers. (Archive of Lisbon's Institute of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine)

4 In an article published in *Medicina Contemporânea* about experimental chemotherapies for Human Trypanosomiasis, Professor Ayres Kopke kept anonymous a Portuguese man showing clinical signs of sleeping sickness: "J. F. (case n. LXXXVI, my series), white man, born in Alcaçoba (Portugal), 28 years of age, left in August for São Tomé, where he stayed for ten consecutive months, in the fields of Ribeira Peixe and Santa Cecília" (Kopke 1909: 3).

Although the portraits do not indicate the photographer's name, it is likely that J. A. Cruz, photographer of the School of Tropical Medicine, had captured the images. Cruz's name and institution affiliation are credited in the photograph of an African patient featured in the annex of a paper about sleeping sickness published in the *Arquivos de Higiene e Patologias Exóticas* journal (Kopke 1907b).

The portraits of the eleven Africans found in the envelope were probably taken a few days after they arrived in the infirmary of the Colonial Hospital of Lisbon. The eleven patients possibly arrived in two groups during the winter of 1914. Four photographs are dated January 14, while five of them indicate March 4, 1914. Besides the date, these nine photographs include the patient's name, bed and case number.

The remaining two of the eleven photographs do not include any information about the depicted patient. The only portrait of a female face is one of the anonymous portraits. Her portrait contrasts with the other ten patients, who all wear the same cotton shirt and tweed coat.[5] She looks straight at the camera, wearing a white dress, necklace, and earrings. According to the Lisbon Colonial



Portrait of the anonymous female patient found among Professor Ayres Kopke's papers. (Archive of Lisbon's Institute of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine)

5 According to the regulations of the Colonial Hospital of Lisbon, before arriving at the infirmaries, the patients were bathed and received hospital clothing (Hospital Colonial de Lisboa 1903: 104).

Hospital regulations, the patients' belongings were collected, stored, and returned to the patients in case of discharge. Therefore, the young African woman's portrait may have been taken before the hospital check-in.

As all photography registers a moment extracted from a continuity, the portrait also refers to the unseen (Berger 2017:39). The anonymous African woman's portrait shows a face of the lesser-known history of experiments with human subjects in the Colonial Hospital of Lisbon. The portraits of the African patients remit to a moment that acquires meaning, when photographed, if the length of its duration may be intelligible to those who see the image "fixed" between a past and a future (Berger 2017:91).

The portraits record ill persons sent from the colonies to the metropole. For many of them, that was the only portrait of their lifetime. Such photographed moment entails a before and an after. The patients' portraits lie between their African past and their future of confinement in a metropolitan hospital, where they were subjected to medical exams and drug trials. In most cases, they faced the fatal outcome of human African trypanosomiasis. Since photography contains a quantum of truth (Berger 2017: 40), the portraits prove that those persons had been in the Colonial Hospital, while the Portuguese physicians' reports and scientific papers indicate those patients were subjects of clinical trials.

The set of "photographs of the Blacks" reveals that Kopke collected the human faces of his clinical trials. He used photographs to document the various stages in the progression of sleeping sickness and to illustrate scientific papers, classes, and conferences. The eleven portraits were likely part of Kopke's archive of dozens of clinical cases of sleeping sickness he studied in the early twentieth century.

At that time, only on infrequent occasions were patients cured of sleeping sickness or "hypnosis." What were those people doing in the metropole if the chances of cure were minimal? The gloomy fate of those 11 individuals seems to have been the same as many of the other Africans treated at Lisbon's Colonial Hospital in the early decades of the twentieth century: To die in hospital.

There is a common ground to the 11 photographs of Africans: their subjects would likely not leave the hospital alive.[6] Each of those 11 Africans is the image of a *Spectrum,* in Roland Barthes' definition (1981: 9). The photographs suggest each subject's disappearance while simultaneously withholding the image of the deceased, alluding to the "return of the dead." The gaze of those Africans disturbs the researcher as spectator.

6 In his essay about photography, Roland Barthes referred to the *punctum* in the young death convict Lewis Payne's portrait. Alexander Gardner photographed the youngster, sentenced to death by hanging, in his prison cell in 1865.

> As for the viewer, […] even many years after the picture was taken ... well, one can gaze at these faces for a long time and not come to the end of the mystery, and the indecency, of such co-spectatorship. […] More upsetting is the opportunity to look at people who know they have been condemned to die (Sontag 2004: 60).

What else can we know about the 11 Africans that posed for the photographer in the winter of 1914? What about their life stories? How do they intersect with the Colonial Hospital's social history and, therefore, with the history of tropical medicine in Portugal? Finally, why were people affected by certain exotic pathologies sent to the Colonial Hospital? The hospital's documents held at the Overseas Historical Archive [*Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino*] and Professor Kopke's papers and reports available at the library of the Institute of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine [*Instituto de Higiene e Medicina Tropical*], in Lisbon, will help to answer to these questions.

In a recent article about photographs of an anomaly, I alluded to a possible "anthology of existences" of people who have never conflicted with the law but had vestiges of their lives preserved in the archives because the anomaly of their bodies attracted scientific curiosity (Correa 2021:12). This is also true of those 11 Africans whose photographs, basic information, and records of chemotherapy treatments were kept by Ayres Kopke due to scientific interest.

The portraits of the 11 Africans in Kopke's archives exemplify the appropriation of the image of the Black body as data or scientific record, which may reify these people as study objects. Nevertheless, the set of photographs of the 11 Africans differs significantly from the images of the pain of others shown, for instance, in photographs of war victims (Sontag 2004). Additionally, the 11 portraits contrast with the photograph depicting a sleeping sickness patient in a terminal state, as a squalid body laying in bed, published in the *La Maladie du Sommeil* report (Bettencourt et al. 1903).

The portraits found in an envelope among copies of Ayres Kopke's papers at the library of Lisbon's Institute of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine depict patients showing facial expressions and dressed according to the existing aesthetical norms of portraits. The patients do not grin nor show pain or joy. It is possible to have the impression that the patients are well-cared for.[7] However, as Temi Odumosu (2020) suggested in a discussion about the digitalization and availability of sensitive visual

7 Doctors believed hospitalization in the metropole, rather than staying in their homeland, was always better for the Africans with serious illnesses. Patrick Manson, a leading doctor of the tropical medicine establishment and a professor at the London School of Tropical Medicine, for instance, believed that hospital care in the metropole was favorable even for the treatment of sleeping sickness (Manson 1898: 1672).

material of the colonial archive, the atrocity of the image is not always tied to the hideous or disgusting. Therefore, thinking beyond the photograph is necessary. If the 11 portraits are not evidence of the patients' suffering, other documents such as medical reports and Ayres Kopke's published papers allow for a more complex approach to the others' suffering.

Colonial Empires and Tropical Medicine

The development of tropical medicine in Portugal contributed to the elaboration of the colonial policy during the fierce competition for the African territories (Amaral 2008: 03). Portuguese physicians considered tropical medicine indispensable to the colonizing efforts (Carvalho 1906: 11) and expressed the conviction that a "scientifically organized colonization would certainly constitute one of the best elements for the good future of our homeland" (Kopke 1915: 41).

The internal regulations of Lisbon's School of Tropical Medicine demonstrate how the newly established institution was intertwined with the colonial project. Tuned by the pitch of other empires' tropical medicine, the regulations defended a "scientifically organized colonization" (Escola de Medicina Tropical 1903).

In the early twentieth century, Ayres Kopke was the sole Portuguese delegate in the two international conferences about sleeping sickness held in London in 1907 and 1908. Since the first meeting, the Portuguese physician had been a member of the International Committee for Scientific Investigation of Sleeping Sickness, leading the efforts in applied therapeutics.

However, Kopke could not count on research resources on par with his foreign colleagues. Some of them, such as the German physicians Robert Koch and Paul Ehrlich, and the French Alphonse Laveran, had received the Nobel Prize in medicine in 1905, 1908, and 1907 respectively. The Portuguese physician himself had visited and recognized the superior resources available at the foreign tropical medicine institutions and their laboratories. Nevertheless, Kopke built on the work of his peers and relied on the international network of tropical medicine to advance his research on sleeping sickness. However, Kopke's research needed clinical cases, and it was necessary to bring patients to the metropole.

Sending Patients to the Colonial Metropole

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the physician Alberto de Souza Maia Leitão (1901) claimed that the causes of sleeping sickness were mostly unknown. The First Medical Mission to Portuguese West Africa did not identify the disease's etiological agent, speculating instead that a streptococcus might cause the illness (Kopke 1915: 16). To continue studying sleeping sickness, Ayres Kopke relied on the

arrival of patients affected by the illness to the Colonial Hospital of Lisbon, created in tandem with the School of Tropical Medicine on April 24, 1902. According to the royal legislation that established the Colonial Hospital, the overseas provinces' municipal chambers had to provide an annual subsidy of 1% of their revenue for the School and the Hospital (*Carta de lei de 24 de abril de 1902)*. The Colonial Hospital's wards were considered dependencies of the School of Tropical Medicine (Escola de Medicina Tropical 1903: 9). Since 1904 the tropical medicine classes had been held in the Colonial Hospital's facilities (Azevedo 1958).

The Overseas Directorate General [*Direção Geral do Ultramar – DGU*] official letter number 567, September 11, 1903, ordered Angola's health teams to "collect samples" of certain tropical diseases. The DGU required human cases of sleeping sickness, filariasis, and ancylostomiasis, among other diseases, to "serve for study in Lisbon's School of Tropical Medicine." However, it was difficult to find subjects who were willing to travel to the metropole. Documents available at the Overseas Historical Archive in Lisbon reveal the obstacles the colonial health officers faced to fulfill the metropolitan orders to obtain the "samples" for the Colonial Hospital.

The health officer of Pungo-Andongo, José Maria da Silveira Montenegro, claimed several factors prevented the African patients' travel to Portugal. Some were contract workers, and their employers opposed their travel; others did not want to leave their families and land. Additionally, Montenegro highlighted that the "indigenous" individuals were suspicious of the officers' intentions (*Do delegado de Saúde de Pungo-Andongo* 1903).

In an official notice from November 2, 1903, the health officer of Alto Dande, Sérgio Moreira da Fonseca, communicated the following:

> That the ill-affected persons in conditions to serve as samples in the hospital of tropical medicine flatly refused to abandon their native land and to surrender willingly to the administrative authority; - That the refusal was reinforced by their employers who recalled the inviolability of their contracts; - That the Blacks are not in the custody of this office because they farm the land and their families oppose emigration to the hospital of colonial medicine (Do delegado de Saúde do Alto Dande 1903).

In his turn, the health officer of Ambaca claimed to have sent a few patients in compliance with the order of October 12, 1903, of the Health Department [*Repartição de Saúde*] of Angola, São Tomé, and Príncipe. Nevertheless, he added that:

> If more clinical cases have not yet been sent than those which are necessary for the Colonial Hospital, it is because I have not been able to

> find them in the official health clinic and because the sick in the private clinic do not wish [to go], and I suppose I cannot force them to abandon their lands and families to receive treatment in Lisbon (Do delegado de Saúde de Ambaca 1903).

Antônio da Cruz Rodrigues dos Santos, health officer of Dondo, sent a letter to Luanda's office informing he would soon hand over two persons affected by "hypnosis" for the chief of Dondo's Council to send them to the hospital in Luanda (*Do delegado de Saúde do Dondo* 1903). In turn, the health officer of Benguela informed that "the patients referred to in the official letter of the DGU have not been sent because it was impossible to obtain them" (*Do delegado de Saúde de Benguela* 1903).

In July 1904, Ayres Kopke had arrived in Luanda as a member of a medical-scientific mission. The physicians Correia Mendes, Damas Mora, Silva Monteiro, and Bruto da Costa also integrated the mission to Angola and the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe to research beriberi and sleeping sickness. The medical doctors concluded the mission in September, and by mid-October Kopke had returned to Lisbon.

During the stay, Kopke observed many patients suffering from different stages of sleeping sickness and some suspected cases (Kopke 1905). However, he also had difficulties obtaining "samples" to send to the Colonial Hospital in Lisbon. About a seven-year-old ill boy, Kopke wrote: "I tried to make this ill [boy] get to Lisbon, but I could not; his condition worsened during the trip, he died in 09/27/1904, before reaching Santiago de Cabo Verde, his body thrown at the sea, therefore without autopsy" (Kopke 1905: 19).

Eight-year-old Antónia's condition worsened after the lumbar puncture performed in Luanda, and Professor Kopke could not board her onto the ship to Lisbon.[8] She died on September 22, 1904. Corrêa Mendes, the physician director of the Bacteriological Laboratory of Luanda, performed an autopsy in Antónia's body and shipped a sample of her brain to Lisbon. Additionally, Mendes likely was the sender of Beatriz's brain samples, another patient who had died on October 19, 1904 (Kopke, 1905). There are no records of any consent or authorization provided by the patients or the "donor" families regarding the samples sent to Portugal.

Like Correia Mendes, Damas Mora was a physician based in Angola who sent blood and other samples from African patients to Kopke in Lisbon. The shipment of human bodily material, without any genuinely informed consent of the patients

8 Lumbar punctures were performed in sleeping sickness patients to detect the presence of the trypanosome in the cerebrospinal fluid. Based on the cerebrospinal fluid analysis, blood and ganglion fluid tests, physicians could better estimate the stage of the disease and adjust the drug treatment accordingly.

or their relatives, was fundamental for the progress of Professor Kopke's etiological research on sleeping sickness, who recognized the valuable collaboration of the overseas physicians to the research (Kopke 1905: 40-41).

During the 1904 mission, Ayres Kopke observed six patients on Príncipe Island, four showing evident symptoms and two suspected cases. In Luanda, at the Maria Pia General Hospital, Kopke examined 30 "hypnotics" or "sleepy," as physicians referred to the patients of African trypanosomiasis due to the symptom of somnolence, coming from different parts of Angola (Kopke 1905: 26). Of the 30 cases, 15 were 18-year-old or younger. Among them, there was 11-year-old Maria, who was sent to the Portuguese capital and remained hospitalized for a few weeks in the Colonial Hospital of Lisbon, where she died in November 1904. Luiza, eight years of age, passed away in the same hospital two months after arrival. In Luanda, Luiza was already incapable of responding to fellow patients' conversations due to the advanced stage of the disease. Still, she was sent to Lisbon and spent her two final months away from home in silent suffering and morbidity. There is no record of the parents' authorization regarding the underaged children sent to the Maria Pia Hospital in Luanda or the Colonial Hospital in Lisbon.

Kopke's notes are unclear about how many patients were embarked from the colonies to Portugal following the 1904 medical mission. Nevertheless, according to the physician's report (Kopke 1905), the voyage to Lisbon was challenging. Bartolomeu's situation, for instance, worsened significantly during the trip, and he died in the Colonial Hospital of Lisbon on October 25, 1904. A few of the patients held on well through the journey to Portugal; that was João Bernardo and Domingos's cases. The two adult men remained in relatively good health in their first weeks in the metropole after their arrival on October 8, 1904. Nevertheless, João Bernardo succumbed in early November and Domingos in February. 13-year-old Deolinda had also completed the journey to Lisbon but passed away on January 10, 1905. Kopke still performed a lumbar puncture in Deolinda's corpse to detect the presence of trypanosomes in the cerebrospinal fluid (Kopke 1905: 19).

Other patients transported to Lisbon on the same voyage faced similar fatal endings. João Francisco completed the journey in stable conditions, but the illness continued its fatal progression. He died on November 28, 1904. Joaquim, an elder, and veteran of the Bailundo campaign (1902), also survived the trip without significant health issues. However, after a few lumbar punctures during the therapy at the Colonial Hospital in Lisbon, the former combatant Joaquim, already unable to stand out of bed, refused further treatment. He died on January 21, 1905. Before performing the autopsy, Kopke completed the last lumbar puncture on the cadaver to analyze the spinal fluid. The analysis did not detect trypanosomes but rare diplococci (Kopke 1905: 18–21).

Far from their relatives and friends, the patients faced a new diet, a diverse

climate, and stringent hospital regulations. The hospital's statute envisaged punishment, including social isolation and meal suspension, due to unruly behavior from the patients. Furthermore, the hospital routine forced patients to adapt to a schedule that included a quiet time at the end of the day, when social life usually intensifies in tropical regions. Such social and cultural constraints stemming from hospital internment may have affected the patients' immunity, worsening the health condition of the "hypnotics." Besides the lethargy caused by the disease, there was the melancholy derived from exile.

Experimentation on Human Beings

In 1905, the German pharmaceutical company Bayer initiated the commercialization of Atoxyl (p-aminophenyl arsenic acid), an organoarsenic compound employed to treat skin diseases, syphilis, and malaria. Kopke tried Atoxyl on the Colonial Hospital's patients in mid-1905. He had pioneered the drug's use in humans, with the results publicized in the International Congress of Medicine, held in Lisbon in April 1906. As he stated, it was the "School of Tropical Medicine the first to use Atoxyl to treat the patients and publish the experiment's notes regarding the therapeutic for sleeping sickness" (Kopke 1911: 9).

In addition to malaria, beriberi, and other tropical pathologies, sleeping sickness was Kopke's preferred subject and the one to whose therapy he dedicated his entire medical research career (Amaral 2012: 1281). In his synthesis of the progress in the studies of the etiology, treatment, and prophylaxis of sleeping sickness, Kopke claimed that the mark "of a true progress in the therapeutics of human trypanosomiasis was the use of Atoxyl" (Kopke 1911: 9). In Kopke's probing for the optimal drug combination to cure sleeping sickness, the Portuguese physician experimented with Atoxyl and derived drugs' posology and employed experimental treatments in human beings.

In 1907, two years after pioneering the use of Atoxyl, Kopke tried Atoxyl-based compounds to treat trypanosomiasis, attempting to prevent the parasite from adapting to the harming agents (Kopke 1907a: 51). To avoid trypanosomes developing resistance to the Atoxyl-based treatment, Kopke searched for the "optimal combination" (Ehrlich 1907), that is, a chemotherapeutic cocktail comprised of a variety of medicated substances. The treatment with the organic arsenical drug, he continued, was advantageous from a prophylactic perspective because eliminating the trypanosomes from the bloodstream prevented the infection of more tsetse flies. Kopke agreed with Patrick Manson's observation about the coincidence between the geographic distribution of human African trypanosomiasis cases and the occurrence of *Glossina* flies. One of the objectives of the 1904 mission to Angola and São Tomé and Príncipe Islands was to study

such geographic coincidence (Kopke 1905:5). Following developments in tropical medicine in other European empires, Portuguese physicians defended prophylactic campaigns against *Glossina* flies, such as deforesting and mass administration of Atoxyl ("atoxylization") of the population in areas where *Glossina* flies were endemic.

In 1907, Lisbon's School of Tropical Medicine's journal published the portrait of a patient treated with Atoxyl. His name was Joaquim Semedo, born in Santiago de Cabo Verde (Kopke 1907: 427). J. A. Cruz, the School of Tropical Medicine's photographer, took Joaquim's portrait. In the session of June 18, 1907, of the International Conference on Sleeping Sickness, London, Kopke warned the attendees about visual perturbations occurring in patients treated with Atoxyl. However, Alphonse Laveran and Paul Ehrlich relativized their Portuguese colleague's warning and highlighted the drug's efficacy, particularly for prophylactic purposes (Neill 2012: 175–176). In 1906, Alphonse Laveran had participated in a mission to investigate sleeping sickness in the French Congo. In the following year, he was awarded the Nobel Prize in Medicine. The Nobel Prize granted Laveran relevant funding to improve his tropical diseases laboratory, associated with the Pasteur Institute, and establish the Exotic Pathologies Society of Paris, which he chaired until 1920. Laveran (1905, 1906, 1908) was then a leading authority regarding clinical drug trials for treating human African trypanosomiasis, and French tropical medicine relied on a robust network of laboratories and medical missions to the colonies. Additionally, French tropical medicine could count on the multiplication of branches of the Pasteur Institute in the colonies: Tunis (1893), Argel (1894), Tananarive (1898), Brazzaville (1908), Kindia (1922), and Dakar (1923).

By the 1907 International Conference on Sleeping Sickness, the German physician Robert Koch had also employed Atoxyl in patients in East Africa. Although some serious effects occurred, such as sight impairment in dozens of patients, the 1905 Nobel Prize in medicine awardee continued to administer different dosages of Atoxyl in African patients suffering from sleeping sickness (Neill 2012: 115). In German East Africa, colonial authorities reported many cases of blindness following Atoxyl-based treatment (Eckart 1997: 162). In the Independent State of Congo, Belgian authorities debated the adoption of Atoxyl in the prophylaxis or treatment of sleeping sickness following visual impairment problems due to the substance's use (Lyons 1988: 111). For Joseph Barona (2019), "the colonies were an open and unrestricted field for research with human beings." Nevertheless, this was not only a matter of the colonies' territories, as many clinical trials with arsenic compounds were performed in colonial subjects at the Colonial Hospital of Lisbon.

Likewise, the experiments with Atoxyl in Lisbon had not indicated a correct

posology, and often incurred relevant side effects, notably severe visual impairment (Magalhães 1909, Gama 1910). The improvement of sleeping sickness therapies depended on scientific research on each of the disease's phases of symptomatology and a better understanding of the disease's etiology. However, new clinical cases were necessary for the progression of the research. Despite disposing of fewer resources than the other scientists from the leading colonial empires to conduct research in Africa, Professor Kopke could study dozens of cases just a few meters from Lisbon's School of Tropical Medicine, at the Colonial Hospital. Most of the clinical cases were African patients.

Portuguese physicians had observed ophthalmic perturbations since the start of Atoxyl-based treatment at the Colonial Hospital in 1905 (Kopke 1907a, 1907b; Magalhães 1909; Pinto 1910). The patient José Mendes checked into the Colonial Hospital of Lisbon on January 9, 1906. After a few months of therapy, having received 13 injections totalizing 23g of Atoxyl, the patient became blind (Kopke 1907a: 12). Bartolomeu, born in Príncipe Island, had his right eye's optical nerves severely atrophied. He had received 22g of Atoxyl in seven months of treatment (Kopke 1907a: 14, 1924: 11), despite never having presented "muscle tremors nor somnolence, being able to walk easily and speak correctly" (Kopke 1924: 10). Another patient, Quilundo, lost her sight after four months, during which she received 17 injections equivalent to 20.5g of the drug (Kopke 1916: 78). Between 1905 and 1907, 20% of the patients treated with Atoxyl at the Colonial Hospital of Lisbon developed ocular lesions (Kopke 1907a: 49).

Ayres Kopke thought the ocular problems were not directly related to the drug dosage because some patients had their sight impaired despite having received lower dosages than others treated with Atoxyl in higher dosages. In fact, Kopke seemed to agree with his colleagues Gama Pinto and José de Magalhães in believing that "the pathologic alterations, caused in some patients by trypanosomiasis itself, may constitute a cause that promotes Atoxyl's noxious action" (Kopke 1911: 11). Members of Kopke's medical team, Gama Pinto and José de Magalhães, had published papers about optic lesions in "hypnotics" treated with Atoxyl (Magalhães 1909, Pinto 1910). Likewise, in the French Congo, the observed side effects of Atoxyl treatment were many, but physicians believed the overall health conditions of the "Atoxylized" rather than the drug itself caused the problems (Martin, Leboeuf and Roubaud 1909).

Sight problems were not the only severe side effects of Atoxyl or Atoxyl-derived drugs. Cainga, a female laborer born in Ganguella and brought to Lisbon from the Príncipe Island, arrived at the Colonial Hospital on October 6, 1906. She received Atoxyl injections between October 1906 and March 1907. Cainga's health conditions "improved significantly" after March (Kopke 1907a: 32), but she got pregnant during the treatment and suffered a miscarriage in May 1907. After it,

her health worsened, with fevers, trembling, walking difficulty, and persistent somnolence. Atoxyl treatment was resumed on July 13, and reduced dosages were administered on July 20 and 29 (Kopke 1907a: 32-33).

Some of Kopke's experiments were fatal. Patients died soon after receiving injections of Beurmann, Monwyrat, and Tanon's Galyl, an organoarsenic compound derived from Atoxyl. The reported cases suggest the cause of death of some of the patients was the Galyl therapy rather than sleeping sickness itself. Doctor Kopke recognized at least one of such cases: "I believe the subarachnoid injection caused the death of patient CXXVII" (Kopke 1916: 111).

Among the patients to whom Kopke prescribed the new therapy, a woman infected in Príncipe Island died on February 13, 1914, four days after receiving a Galyl injection. The woman showed "violent delirium; she thought herself threatened by a Black man who wanted to burn her with a red-hot piece of iron, screamed intensely and sought to jump out of bed all the time" (Kopke 1916: 109).

A small group of Kopke's hundreds of sleeping sickness patients in the early twentieth century have their portraits preserved in the archives. Three of the 11 patients whose portraits were found in the envelope among Kopke's papers left additional traces in the physician's notes: Paulo Borges and José Borges, photographed on January 14, 1914, and Francisco Fernandes, portrayed on March 4, the same year. Paulo and José Borges were from Santiago de Cabo Verde, probably agricultural laborers, but infected on Príncipe Island. Both received Galyl injections during their hospital stay. José Borges left the Colonial Hospital on February 16, 1914, and returned to his homeland after refusing another lumbar puncture. Paulo Borges also rejected a lumbar puncture and wanted to leave the hospital. He was discharged on February 22, 1914, and returned home.[9] Francisco Fernandes, on the other hand, passed away in the 24 hours post-injection. Professor Kopke was unable to undoubtedly attribute the cause of death to the Galyl injection (Kopke 1916: 109–111).

The Portuguese professor and physician recognized the limitations of some of the drug trials: "Evidently, the results were not encouraging at all. What is the reason for the failure? Is the Galyl dose too high?" (Kopke 1916: 112). The extent to which Kopke's experiments threatened the lives of those who already had few chances of cure is noticeable.

In 1910, Bayer introduced Salvarsan - the commercial designation of Arsphenamine – in the pharmaceutical market (Swann 1985, Riethmiller 2005). Derived from Atoxyl, Salvarsan was developed in Germany by Paul Ehrlich and employed to treat syphilis (Jeanselme 1913) and for human African

9 A patient's refusal of a lumbar puncture does not imply they had not been submitted to the chemotherapy. In case of refusing a lumbar puncture, a patient might be discharged from the hospital, but that does not imply he or she had been cured from sleeping sickness.

trypanosomiasis prophylaxis (Aubert, Heckenroth and Blanchard 1913). In 1911, Kopke tried Salvarsan in 15 patients of the Colonial Hospital. Four survived. The survivors returned to Santiago de Cabo Verde on a subsidized voyage. One of the deceased died soon after an intravenous injection, "the only one [and last] the patient received" (Kopke 1916: 105).

Later, Paul Ehrlich improved the drug and called it Neosalvarsan. After Neosalvarsan's promising results in syphilis treatment in 1912, Kopke tried the drug on sleeping sickness patients between 1913 and 1914. In Kopke's evaluation, "the cases I treated with Neosalvarsan, subarachnoid injections, subarachnoid injections followed by intravenous injections, and only intravenous injections, did not improve; instead, the use of the drug may have been harmful" (Kopke 1916: 108).

Ayres Kopke had applied intravenous injections of Neosalvarsan to treat a patient since late November 1912. By mid-February 1913, the patient began demonstrating psychological disturbances and "soon after, turned completely mad" (Kopke 1916: 108). The patient was transferred to a sanatorium, where he died on March 25, 1913. Again, the Kopke recognized that some of the therapeutical procedures he had followed did not yield satisfactory results: "The mercuric drugs I employed in frictions and by gastric means (the intravenous injections had not been disseminated as common practice yet) did not provide good results, and it seems to me that they may have caused harm in some cases" (Kopke 1924: 3).

The Human Trials' Mitigated Results

Ayres Kopke's reports, papers, and research results demonstrate his obstinate search for a curative therapy for sleeping sickness. However, his medical experiments with Lisbon's Colonial Hospital patients depended on a foreign chemical arsenal, mainly from Germany, because Portugal's pharmaceutical industry was still incipient. Kopke's scientific agenda had to adapt to a series of contingencies, such as the reduced number of clinical cases in the Colonial Hospital, the lack of resources for importing supplies, poor laboratory infrastructure, and participation in several administrative functions.

The advances in therapeutics and prophylaxis in other countries' tropical medicine allowed Kopke to fine-tune his research on sleeping sickness. The professor's participation in the international scientific community, correspondence with foreign peers, and the constant evaluation of the results published in scientific journals and international events contributed to adjusting the therapies experimented in the Colonial Hospital's patients. The results of Nicolle and Mesnil (1906a, 1906b) and Ehrlich's (1907), for instance, contributed to the execution of new clinical trials in the School of Tropical Medicine's laboratories and the treatment

of the Colonial Hospital patients (Kopke 1907b, 1907a). By then, professor Kopke was aware of his chemotherapy experiments' poor results: "All patients have already died, except one whose future, despite some recent improvement, will likely be as lugubrious as the others'" (Kopke 1905: 64). Notwithstanding the physician's fatalist prediction, experiments with human subjects, treated as human guinea pigs, continued in Lisbon's Colonial Hospital.

During the first Congress of Tropical Medicine of West Africa, held in Luanda, 1923, professor Kopke synthesized the most important results he obtained in two decades of research. The evaluation of his clinical experiments demonstrates that he sought to obtain an effective chemotherapeutic against sleeping sickness. The colonial power ordered the health officers to send patients to the Colonial Hospital to support Kopke, allowing him to perform experiments on human beings (*Ofícios para todas as províncias ultramarinas* 1903). Still, experimental medicine's bioethical principles seemed not applicable to all human groups, even more at a time when the Africans sent to Lisbon's Colonial Hospital were neither voluntary nor professional human subjects.[10]

Apart from prophylactic methods, the isolation of patients yielded controversial results in many colonies. In São Tomé, some of the patients discharged from Lisbon's Colonial Hospital were kept in isolation. After treatment with Atoxyl through hypodermic injections, some of the patients returned to the Islands to be sheltered from reinfections and placed under medical surveillance to monitor the drug treatment result. However, little information about them reached back Kopke and his team until mid-1912. Then, Kopke informed he would send the portraits of all the patients to the colony to obtain information about those discharged from the Colonial Hospital sent back to Santiago de Cabo Verde.

In addition to the Africans who had returned to their lands, a small number of Portuguese patients left the Colonial Hospital, abandoning treatment, and Kopke was unable to determine whether they had been cured. Since Kopke could not identify the outcome of those patients' treatment, he chose to ignore their cases in the evaluation of Atoxyl-based therapy. Of the 74 remaining cases that based Kopke's verdict about Atoxyl, only seven survived. Kopke concluded that the drug and other arsenical compounds had limited efficacy against advanced stages of the disease when trypanosomes were present in the cerebrospinal fluid (Kopke 1907b: 50–51).

In 1923, professor Kopke expected to start trials with a brand-new drug. It

10 In his study about professional human subjects in the pharmaceutical industry's clinical trials, anthropologist Roberto Abadie (2010) discussed the related legislation and bioethics. After the 1978 restrictions the use of prison inmates in clinical tests in the United States, pharmaceutical companies needed an alternative to the lack of volunteers for testing new drugs. Companies began recruiting people in exchange for payment, favoring the emergence of professional human subjects.

was Bayer 205, the commercial designation for Suramin. The medicine had been tested in laboratory guinea pigs and humans to treat patients in the earlier stages of the disease (Mayer & Zeiss 1920, 1921a, 1921b; Low & Manson-Bahr 1923). Responding to Kopke's request, the German pharmaceutical company promised to send him samples of the new drug. The Portuguese physician hoped to test the drug in patients who had recently arrived from the Island of Fernando Pó, in the Gulf of Guinea. Since Suramin seemed to have a more substantial parasiticide effect on the trypanosomes than Atoxyl and other arsenicals, Ayres Kopke expected to obtain more favorable results in the patients whose central nervous system contained trypanosomes (Correa 2020: 1140).

Medical Photography and Portrait as Evidence

The experiments with human beings at the Colonial Hospital of Lisbon indicate that many from them were Africans sent to the metropole in response to the School of Tropical Medicine's demand for clinical cases. Depicting the ill, colonized, and racialized bodies, the portraits of the Africans reveal the human faces of an early twentieth-century experimental medicine whose human subject research ethics was flawed. Additionally, the Africans of the Colonial Hospital of Lisbon's photographs are evidence of a history of tropical medicine that suggests correlated experiments in other imperial capitals.

At the end of the nineteenth century, physician Albert Neisser, professor at the University of Breslau, inoculated women with a serum, without their consent, in a clinical trial for the treatment of syphilis. The German press treated the case as a scandal. The controversy among physicians, legal experts, and German politicians resulted in the first regulations about scientific experiments with human beings (Benedek 2014). The Prussian decree of December 29, 1900, has been referred to as the first legislation about informed consent in clinical trials (Reuland 2017, Araújo 2017, Benedek 2014, McNeill 1998).

By then, medical research with human beings was most often conducted in lower-class individuals, such as the indigent, prostitutes, prisoners, and proletarians. According to Renata Soares Santos:

> Most drug and vaccine trials happened in prisons, orphanages, nursing homes, and psychiatric institutions. In Pasteur's research, vaccines were administered to individuals sentenced to death (Benchimol 2005: 63). Another important target for research with human beings were hospitals, which contained in the same space the human and microbiological material required (Santos 2019: 229).

Like the prisons, nursing homes, and orphanages in the metropoles, the colonies were an immense living laboratory (Tilley 2011). Historian Jürgen Zimmerer (2020) claims that the bacteriologist Robert Koch, aware of the risks of elevated doses of Atoxyl to human health, still tested the drug in African subjects. In 1902, the publication of the book *Medical Ethics* [*Ärztliche Ethik*], of the Berliner psychiatrist Albert Moll, fostered additional debate on the issue of consent and included reference to the Albert Neisser case and the 1900 Prussian decree (Reuland 2017: 18). Therefore, experiments with human beings were already debated in books, pamphlets, petitions, and articles in the press, even though a consensus on clinical trials with human beings had not been achieved yet. Nevertheless, there was little progress in the debate about the ethics of research with human beings in Germany's Republic of Weiner (Reuland 2017), Brazil's First Republic (Santos 2019), or in early twentieth-century Portugal (Castro 2013).

Issued in the mid-twentieth century, the Code of Nuremberg (1949) represents a milestone in the issue of clinical trials because it determines a set of ethical principles to guide research and experiments with human beings (Santos 2019: 229, Araújo 2017: 13; McNeill 1998: 372). Nevertheless, the difficulty of obtaining genuinely informed consent persists. As shown by anthropologist Roberto Abadie (2010), the protection of the participants in medical research experiments remains a challenge to the deontology of medical research. This challenge of the present time is – perhaps even more due to the new coronavirus pandemic – what makes us more sensitive in the face of the "human guinea pigs'" portraits because they remain evidence of the experiments with human beings at the Colonial Hospital of Lisbon.

While discussing the evidential paradigm, Carlo Ginzburg (1989) approximated history's method compared to that of medicine. Clinical studies have featured medical photographs from the beginnings of photography in the nineteenth century. The photographs may constitute evidence not only of an illness or anomaly but also of practices and experiments with human beings. To a historian, the photograph may become an element of conviction, a document.

Among Kopke's papers and reports, the portraits of 11 Africans reminded me of Roland Barthes' classic essay, more precisely of the "return of the dead," "that rather terrible thing" that all photographs contain (Barthes 1981: 9). Professor Kopke could count on human beings for his clinical trials to fulfill his program, whose main objective was to eradicate the trypanosome and obtain the complete cure of sleeping sickness. The School of Tropical Medicine's professor tested drugs, different dosages, and innovative methods in the ill bodies.

Based on the information available about Lisbon's Colonial Hospital patients, it is possible to trace the outcome of three patients out of the 11 portraits found in the envelope labeled "*Photographias dos pretos*" or "photographs of the Blacks."

Paulo Borges and José Medeiros returned to their homeland. Francisco Fernandes died 24 hours after receiving an injection. The portraits of the 11 Africans are like ghosts, like shadows of themselves. The spectrum is nothing more than an image, the "return of the dead," in Roland Barthes' words. The lugubrious fate the patients would not escape from seems reflected in their retinas. They look at the spectators who, facing the others' suffering (Sontag, 2004), ask themselves if the portrayed persons knew they had been condemned to death in the name of science. Their portraits remain to us as evidence of histories interwoven in the colonial empire's structure and as traces of what is beyond the image of the pain of others.

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Black Images Matter: Re-inscribing African Lives in the Portuguese Imperial Archive and History

Cláudia Castelo

Abstract

Until 2023, the finding aids of the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Portugal (Overseas Historical Archive) did not provide information on the scope and content of the archival series "files of settlers and the repatriated" ("processos de colonos e repatriados") created by the Ministry of the Colonies. While doing research on Portuguese settler migration to Africa, the author came across identification photographs of Black people who were applying for free passage to their birthplace as "repatriates". The photographs in the files, taken for reasons of visual identification and included for bureaucratic requirements, alerted me to a paradoxically invisible reality: Black people inhabiting the imperial archive and the metropole geography. In this paper, I reflect on this chance encounter — in which image played a central role – taking into account contemporary discussion on decolonial archival and historiographic practices. I acknowledge that those files open new opportunities for historical analysis of Black lives in Portugal and intra-imperial migrations throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Looking closely to concrete cases, I argue that the visual record makes them even more real and human.

Keywords: Black Portugal, Colonial archive, Decolonial practices, Identification photographs, Migration, Population control, Portuguese colonial empire

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Introduction

During my PhD research on Portuguese settlement in colonial Angola and Mozambique (early twentieth century-1974), I have identified, located and consulted the documental series "files of settlers and the repatriated" ("*processos de colonos e repatriados*") from the fonds of the Ministry of the Colonies at the Overseas Historical Archive, Lisbon, Portugal (*Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino*, hereafter AHU). In the early 2000s, the AHU did not have a catalogue drawn up in accordance with archival descriptive standards. The finding aid provided by the AHU to retrieve the material did not describe archival units (intellectual units) proceeding from the general to the specific, but merely the content of the storage units (packs, boxes and folders), reproducing the delivery notes that had accompanied the transfer of documentation from the Ministry services into the historical archive up until 1974, when the 25 April military coup put an end to the dictatorship and opened the way to formal decolonisation.

The name of the files' creator, the title of the files included in the container, and its creation dates were the few elements at our disposal. No description of the scope or content at the series or item level was available. However, the General International Standard Archival Description – ISAD(G), established in 2000 by the International Council on Archives, considers scope and content a prescriptive element of any given description. Its purpose is "to enable users to judge the potential relevance of the unit of description", and it should "give a summary of the scope (such as, time periods, geography) and content (such as documentary forms, subject matter, administrative processes) of the unit of description." (ICA 2000: 22). Likewise, several national rules and guidelines for archival description also consider scope and content to be mandatory information (Portugal. *Direcção Geral de Arquivos* 2007). Without an accurate and a detailed description, the records literally remain hidden.

As I was studying Portuguese settler migration to the Portuguese colonies in Africa, my attention focused primarily on the "settlers' files". These files consist of applications for free travel to a Portuguese colony, presented to the Ministry of the Colonies by would-be settlers who claimed insufficient means for the journey, but guaranteed they had a job or financial support at their destination. The applications included two photographs of the applicants, among other documents. The "settlers' files" were more numerous than the "files of the repatriated", but both were stored in the same boxes and folders. Therefore, I soon came across a couple of "files of the repatriated". Initially, I thought that they resulted from applications by white settlers living in Africa who wished to return to Portugal from the colonies. However, to my surprise, I was confronted by photographs of Black women, men and children, attached to the files.

After closer examination, I realised that these applicants, seeking

repatriation to their birthplace, and claiming they had no means to pay for it, were Africans residents in the metropole. The photographs in the files, required by state-bureaucracy, taken for "official" purposes of visual identification, alerted me to a paradoxically invisible reality: Black people inhabiting the imperial archive and the centre of the empire.[1] Their gaze towards the viewer demanded actual visibility and intelligibility.

These Black images matter, as socially and historically situated "fragments of personhood" (Rizzo 2013, 265 and 269), and archivists and historians can no longer look away. The global movement Black Lives Matter resonates in a new awareness and ethical commitment of the professionals who deal with the colonial past and heritage.[2] In this article, based on my own archive story (Burton 2005), I reflect on this chance encounter – in which images played a central role as proof of the applicants' African origin – in the light of my previous professional training as archivist, and my research experience studying Portuguese colonialism in Africa. This article draws on literature addressing three main subjects: the history of Portuguese empire and African presence in Portugal; colonial archives; and photography produced in colonial situations. I found inspirational the work of Lorena Rizzo (2013, 2014 and 2020) on the role of photography in the practice of applying for and issuing "documents of passage" in Southern Africa, the analytic concept of "presence" applied to photography as elaborated by Elizabeth Edwards (2021, 71-81), and decolonial perspectives on archives and visual culture (Bastian, 2006, 2019; Basu and De Jong, 2016; Agostinho, 2019). My primary sources are, of course, the "files of the repatriated". However, this is an exploratory essay based on a small and random sample. The heuristic work is still ongoing. There are 150 boxes with "files of settlers and the repatriated", but this paper relies on just 20 boxes (a little more than 10 per cent of the available material).

This article consists of three sections. The first exposes the historical context in which the "files of settlers and repatriates" were produced and the bureaucratic rational behind the workflow. The second section discusses African actual presence in the colonial archive and its role in archival contestation, on one hand, and historiographical renewal, on the other. The last section looks at some files whose

1 Caroline Bressey (2006: 51) states that photographs have become an important primary source in her search for the Black presence in nineteenth-century London institutions that collated albums of their residents, such as prisoners and hospital patients.

2 On the situation in British Archives, see Chilcott, et al. (2021). It is worth mentioning, for instance, the effort of the London School of Tropical Hygiene and Medicine Archives: "to re-examine the way we work, the stories we tell and the role we can play in promoting different versions of history. (...) The global response to the Black Lives Matter movement further encouraged us to engage with our collections and archival practices from a decolonising perspective." Retrieved from https://blogs.lshtm.ac.uk/inclusion/2021/06/30/lshtm-archives-service-re-examining-the-way-we-work-and-the-stories-we-tell/. To my knowledge, there has not yet been a comparable change in approach and practice in Portuguese archives.

photographs attracted my attention to demonstrate how they can provide a window for an unprecedented historical analysis of Africans in Portugal in the first half of the twentieth century.

The "files of settlers and repatriates" in historical context

Portuguese attempt of actual colonization of Africa started in the last decades of the nineteenth century, after military campaigns in Angola, Guinea and Mozambique. Except for Cape Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe, the establishment of Portuguese effective occupation would only occur after the First World War. Although all people living in the Portuguese empire were considered part of the Portuguese nation, not all of them were Portuguese citizens. The large majority of the Black population of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, the so-called "indígenas" (natives), had a different political, social and criminal statute. To become Portuguese citizens they had to prove they knew how to speak and write Portuguese and lived according to Portuguese habits and customs. As the other European powers in Africa, Portugal used the in vogue rhetoric of the civilizing mission to elevate the backward races, but as in all colonial situations the main pillars of Portuguese colonial rule were racial discrimination, forced labor, tax exactions, and economic exploitation of the natural resources. To oppose real and imaginary external threats to the integrity of its empire, Portugal argued that the Portuguese had a special ability for colonization and privileged relationship with the natives, two ideas occasionally articulated since the eighteenth century.

Portuguese settlement in Africa was advocated with enthusiasm by politicians and publicists, but the state was afraid of involving itself in driven a massive settler migration to the colonies, in particular of unprepared and deprived people, since there was plenty extremely cheap labor (the forced labor) at the destination. In addition, Brazil (a former Portuguese colony) continued to attract the majority of Portuguese emigrants as a land of opportunities.

As a means of cautious promotion of Portuguese colonization in Africa with no direct costs for the state, Portugal imposed to the shipping companies operating between the motherland and the colonies the obligation of transporting free of charge a small number of settlers and repatriates, in each trip.[3] This obligation, which started in the late nineteenth century, lasted until the end of the Portuguese State's subsidies to the companies, in the mid-twentieth century. After 1907 no passport was required for Portuguese travelling from the metropole to African possessions, but the intra-imperial mobility was controlled by the state until 1962,

3 For Mozambique, 12 settlers and 2 repatriates, for Cape Verde and Guinea 6 settlers and 1 repatriate, for Angola and São Tomé and Príncipe 6 settlers and 1 repatriate in each voyage.

in order to avoid the unrestricted entering of poor and unemployed individuals. Portuguese with no capital or high education would have to ask for permission to travel and settle in a colony, and make proof of employment or someone responsible for paying their repatriation in the first two years of permanence in the colonies. The imperial state did not tolerate European beggars and homeless in the colonial cities. This uneasiness with poor whites in overseas territories was common to other colonial empires (for instance, Stoler 1989, 2009). In the colonies, work was the main pillar of their civilising mission among the natives and, in turn, a guarantee against Europeans "going native".

In the opposite direction, the so-called *indígenas* could only enter the metropole if they worked for a Portuguese employer who would be responsible for their repatriation in the first two years of permanence. The so-called *assimilados* (Africans considered Portuguese citizens) could enter in some circumstances, such as for attending high school or university, receive medical assistance, etc. The colonial subjects born in Cape Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe (colonies where the "natives' statute" did not apply) could travel if they proved that they had a job or someone responsible for their subsistence and repatriation (if occurring in the first two years of permanence) in the metropole.

On 24 April 1922, the Ministry of the Colonies transmitted its preoccupation to the colonial governors of "Portuguese Guinea" and Cape Verde after several natives from those colonies had showed up at the Ministry in Portugal, asking to be repatriated.[4] Four years later, the Ministry of the Colonies transmitted the same concern to the governors of all the colonies, stating that they should never allow any native to leave the territory without a deposit to guarantee the payment of their return ticket to the colony.[5] However, in 1935, the situation of indigent Cape Verdeans wandering about the Port of Lisbon once again triggered alarm, since "humanity and national dignity" were at stake.[6] Portuguese citizens who brought native servants from the colonies to the metropole had to leave a deposit for the value of the return ticket at the treasury of the colony from which they had departed. In cases of doubt, the Ministry of the Colonies tried to determine if an applicant for repatriation had a domestic services contract in the colony of origin and if the return ticket was guaranteed by deposit or bail.

The "files of settlers and repatriates", produced by Ministry of the Colonies, embody a technology of knowledge and mode of governance directed to low income population and migration within the empire. The files mirror the workflow of the applications for free of charge passage to Africa. Both administrative proceedings

4 AHU, Ministério das Colónias, Direcção Geral das Colónias do Ocidente, n. 266.
5 AHU, Ministério das Colónias, Direcção Geral das Colónias do Ocidente, n. 266.
6 Letter from the General Administration of the Port of Lisbon to the Minister of the Colonies, Lisbon, 25 March 1935. AHU, Ministério das Colónias, Direcção Geral de Administração Política e Civil, n. 266.

were conducted jointly. The files were organised and stored together, in function of the scale of the ships' departure. For obtaining free transport all the applicants had to address an application to the minister of the Colonies written by the individual applicant or someone on his/her behalf, following a rather standardised minute. The application was supported by other required documents. The settlers had to deliver three ID photographs; a copy of the birth certificate; poverty certificate issued by the administrative authorities and a "letter of invitation" (*"carta de chamada"*) written by employers or relatives guaranteeing that the applicants would have employment or a means of livelihood in the colony; criminal certificate attesting a clean criminal record; and during the Estado Novo dictatorship, a police certificate proving "good political behaviour". The repatriation applicants had to present two photographs, the birth certificate and the poverty certificate. All those documents were supposed to permit officials of the Ministry of the Colonies to verify if the applicants were legally entitled to benefit from free transport to the colonies. If the applications were accepted, the files include a ministerial order authorizing the concession of the sea passage, information on their voyage to the colonies (the date and name of the ship), and the transit permit ("*guia de marcha*").

The imperial archive intersects the paths of applicants as settlers and as repatriates at the instant they requested free transport to the colonies. Since they submitted themselves to similar bureaucratic procedures, their applications stand side by side in the archive. The ship gathered them in the archive just as it did on the actual voyage to Africa. Both settlers and the repatriated were poor or unemployed and had to provide proof of their poverty (in fact, lack of financial means to pay for sea transport). Through their written applications, they seem equals in terms of class. When granted free ticket by the Ministry of the Colonies, they all had to pick up the same kind of transit permit, before embarking on the same ships to the colonies. However, at their destination their status would clearly reveal. They would occupy distinct positions in racial hierarchies and in colonial society, with different expected roles and opportunities for social promotion. The settlers (Portuguese citizens) were supposed to colonise the African land, civilise the natives and contribute to the development of the colonial territories. The African repatriates (Portuguese colonial subjects) had to assume their colonised (inferior) condition and moral obligation to work for the settlers and the colonial power benefit.

The "files of settlers and repatriates" do not fix "settlers" and "repatriates" according to race, because these bureaucratic categories were not *strictu sensu* racial categories. Photographs in the files confirm that these categories did not correspond to race/colour. We encounter some photographs of Black, mixed-race people and Indians (from Goa) in applications for free transport as settler and several photographs of white people of European descent applying for free transport as repatriate. The categories in question depended on the place of birth/

origin and destiny of the applicants: a person born in the metropole who wished to move to/settle in Africa would have to apply as "settler" (even in cases of Black people); a person born in Africa and living in the metropole would have to apply as "repatriate" (even if the person was white).

Racial classification ("*preto*", *preta*", "*de cor*") or the racialized legal statute ("*indígena*") were only written down in the applications and attached documents in case of Black applicants. These applicants (themselves or the person who wrote the application in their name) sometimes confused the category under which they had to apply. This was for instance the case of Victória, 48 years old, a Black woman born in Huila (Angola) (fig. 1). The application written on her behalf in 1941 stated that she wished to embark as settler. The indigent certificate issued by the Charneca parish council ("*Junta de Freguesia*"), in the northern outskirts of Lisbon, and the police and criminal record also referred to her request to travel as "settler".

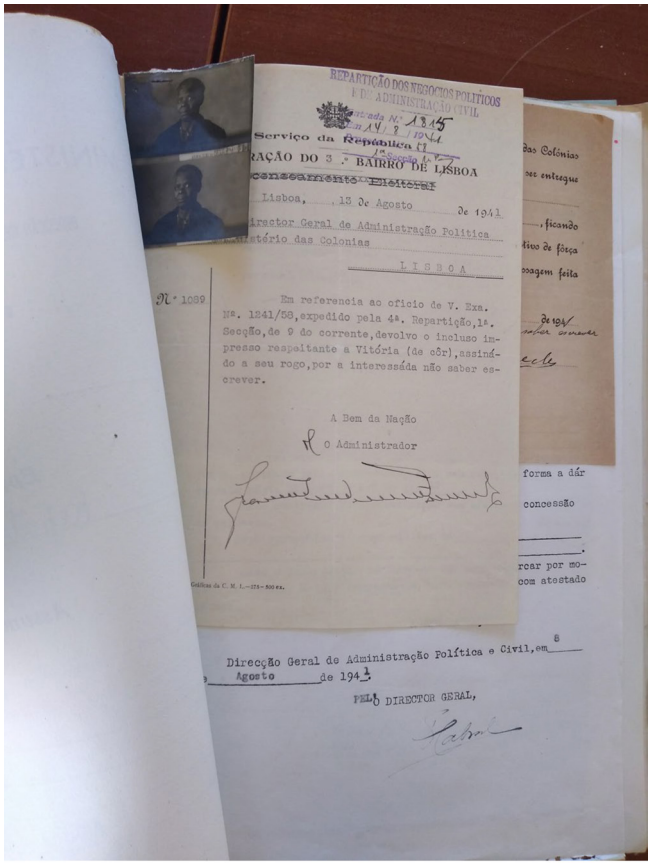


Fig 1.

A Cape Verdean woman resident in Lisbon asked for free transport as "repatriated" to Bolama, Portuguese Guinea, where she had relatives.[7] The information of the colonial official was that repatriation could only be granted to the applicant's land of birth; therefore, to obtain free ticket to Bolama, she would have to apply as "settler". Still her application was rejected. The expectations regarding the race/colour of "settlers" – persons who intended to settle in the colonies – was expressed in a discriminatory manner by the Ministry authorities when appreciating an application of Cape Verdeans inhabiting in Cape Verde for free transport to Angola as "settlers":

> One notices that the majority of the families that intend to migrate to Angola are constituted by black. Therefore, their transportation to that colony, for colonisation purposes, contradicts the very essence of the ministerial order no. 10919, 9 April 1945 and decree-law no. 34464, 27 March 1945, which refer the colonisation made by white and not by black people."[8]

Contrary to what is stated above, the legislation did not make explicit reference to race, only to "Portuguese by origin" (birth/nationality). We can conclude that the Ministry of the Colonies had an expectation regarding the race/colour of the "settlers", but no similar expectation regarding the race of the repatriated.

Photographs, archival contestation and historiographical renewal

My recent engagement with the "files of the repatriated" at the AHU, triggered, as abovementioned, by photographs, led me to revisit, on one hand, the discussion on the limits of the "colonial archive", and on the other, the power of the archives custodian entity and the archival practice and its reflection on historiography.

There is extensive literature on the shortcomings and bias of the archives created by the colonial state. The notion that the voice of the colonized is absent or silenced in colonial archive continues to justify the reading of records against the grain, questioning colonial hegemonies and recovering African agency. Ann Laura Stoler (2009) has suggested an ethnographic approach to archives not as neutral or dormant repositories of sources, deposits from which to mine evidence and truth

7 Application of Justina de Oliveira Lima, 15 October 1927, information from the chief of section, 18 October; and dispatch, 25 October. Portugal, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU), Ministério das Colónias, Direcção Geral das Colónias do Ocidente, Processos de colonos e repatriados, n. 266.

8 Information elaborated by the official in charge of the service of settlers, 5/10.11.1948, AHU, Ministério das Colónias, Direcção Geral de Administração Política e Civil, n. 10-11, 2-2).

about the past, but technologies of the modern state, subjects that the researcher should study in their structural order and logic, to understand the dynamics implicit in the documental production. David M. Gordon (2018) observed that a post-positivist reading of archives appreciates silences, dissonances, and conflicts within archives, and that, through a process of crosschecking of different sources, it is possible to read archives both "along the grain" and "against this grain". Roque and Wagner (2012: 18-19), instead, consider it is possible, under certain circumstances and after necessary criticism, to engage with colonial records in ways that allow for retrieving voices and studying experiences of those who were dominated. A reading strategy that explores colonial records as "multivocal" (do not just host or speak for the colonial power) and as means of gaining access to the entangled reality of indigenous and colonial worlds.

The "files of the repatriated", produced and accumulated by the imperial state, actually contain African voices and images. What did or did not happen within the institution holding and responsible for the archival records care and communication that compromised their discoverability by the researchers? Archival records "wield power over the shape and direction of historical scholarship, collective memory, and national identity, over how we know ourselves as individuals, groups, and societies" (Schwarz and Cook 2002: 2). In turn, archivists "wield power over those very records central to memory and identity formation through active management of records before they come to archives, their appraisal and selection as archives, and afterwards their constantly evolving description, preservation, and use" (ibid.). The self-image of archivists as objective, neutral and passive keepers of records tends to obfuscate the fact that archivists control, in the present, what the future will know about the past (ibid: 5, 13). Before a box is opened in the research room by a researcher, archivists also intervene in the archival record, either by acts or by omission. In this particular case, an absence of information on medium and context has been the archivists' undetectable mark on the archive. Although – I am certain – there was no conscious archival choice not to describe the files of the "settlers and the repatriated" (mainly the result of a lack of technical professionals at the AHU), this fact has created a filter that has limited the perception of the records and thus of the past (cf. Schwarz and Cook 2002: 14, 18).

Until recently, none of the stories of the repatriated had emerged from the archive. Bearing in mind calls for the decolonisation of the archival practice (Gaddar and Caswell, 2019), and the notion that "the power to decolonize the archives resides, at least partially, within archivists themselves" (Bastian 2019), it was up to the AHU archivists to inscribe the Black presence in the archival description in order to provide public notice of it in the inventory and ensure their discoverability for future inclusion in historical narratives. Fortunately, the AHU director, the archivist and historian Ana Canas, was sensible to our call and since

December 2023 it is possible to find basic information through the archive's search portal, and a process of description and digitalization of the files has followed.[9]

How can further a reparation materialise? A dignifying procedure and essential step would be to describe this archival series at the item level (each file). In this case, the bottom level of a description would be the individual: each application described would be a person rescued from the silence of the storage units and storage rooms. I consider very important that the description mentions Blackness – the users should be able to find the files of Black applicants and the photographs of Black people, when existent.[10] People in these photographs are not anonymous, in contrast to many other photographs of Africans – anthropometric and ethnographic images – that I came across during a research project on scientific missions in the late Portuguese colonial empire. Acknowledging the names, race and biographical data of the repatriation applicants, so that the archival description – encompassing as full a story as possible – would also become a kind of tribute to Africans who lived in Portugal and became invisible.[11] Nevertheless, the option of identifying the race or ethnicity of the applicants cannot be taken for sure since, in Portugal the discussion of guidelines for inclusive and conscious description has not yet begun.[12] Moreover, racial classifications are associated with the colonial past and not with anti-racist policies (for this reason, no ethnic or racial data is collected in the national census).

At the same time, the politics of access and use of the records should also be grounded in an ethics of care dealing with the individuals documented in ways that honour their humanity and recognise their objectification, and acknowledge the shared responsibility of the archive and the represented communities (Odumosu 2020: S295 and 2021:110). The archival institution, in the present case, could involve in equitable partnership African and Afrodescendent who may feel related to this past and researchers willing to work on the history of Black people in Portugal.

The historiography on the Black presence in Portugal has dealt mainly with

9 See https://digitarq.ahu.arquivos.pt/asearch

10 Not all the files have photographs. Files from the late nineteenth century do not include photographs, and they seldom appear in files from the 1910s. In more recent files, a reason for a lack of photographs was the urgency of the imperial state to repatriate "undesirables". In such cases, it could dispense with the presentation of some of the documents normally required for the process, such as an ID photograph or even a birth certificate. Sometimes, to get rid of "indigents" around the port of Lisbon or in jail, an incomplete file did not deter repatriation.

11 Elizabeth Hobart (2020: 216) in a courageous analysis of her own cataloguing special collections past practice and the traps of colour-blind racism in the US context, demonstrates that "ignoring race is an act of erasure".

12 Charlotte G. Lellman, Guidelines for Inclusive and Conscientious Description, last change January 20, 2022. Available at: https://wiki.harvard.edu/confluence/display/hmschommanual/Guidelines+-for+Inclusive+and+Conscientious+Description

the period before the abolition of slavery (Tinhorão 1988, Lahon 1999, Henriques 2009, 2011 and 2019). For most of the twentieth century, the Black presence is ignored or confused by representations of Africa and Africans in Portugal, in the press, propaganda, exhibitions, etc. or the presentation of human beings in colonial exhibitions (Henriques 2009, 2011 and 2019). The neglect has to do with colonialism itself and racial prejudices, the *Estado Novo* ideology and colonial categories, the smaller scale of the phenomenon compared to earlier and later periods, but also due to the alleged scarcity of documentary sources. Except for a few studies dealing with the Black intellectual movement in the early twentieth century, the *Casa dos Estudantes do Império* (an association of students from the colonies attending high schools and universities in Portugal, 1944-65), or the *Club Marítimo Africano* (an association of African seamen in Lisbon, 1955-61), there is no literature on the Black inhabitants of the imperial metropole (Castro and Garcia 1995, Zau 2005, Sanches 2013, Garcia 2017, Castelo and Jerónimo 2017, Domingos and Peralta 2019, Varela and Pereira 2020). This shortage contrasts with the available knowledge on Black London and Black Paris (for instance, Gilroy, 2007, Blanchard 2012, Matera 2015).

From the perspective of the researcher, discovering Black images in the archive provides new directions for studying the history of the overlooked flows of Black people from Africa to Europe and vice-versa, but also the history of Africans in the imperial metropole from the end of slavery (1878) until the decolonization (1974). The analysis of these files confirms the need to approach the analysis of colony and metropole within a common framework (Cooper and Stoler 1997). Because some applicants had been previously repatriated or deported to Portugal from Brazil, France, Spain, UK and US, the files could also enable us to reframe Portugal's imperial circulation within a transnational framework.

What can we say about Africans in the imperial metropole based on the "files of the repatriated"? Due to their internal logic, the records usually included applicants' sociodemographic data and other contextual information (birthplace; age; gender; reason for being in the metropole; profession; reason for asking for free transportation to their place of origin). From a random sample of files, it is possible to present a general picture of the applicants for repatriation.[13] They were people born in all the African colonies; men and women; single and married; with and without children; adults, youths and children; female and male servants ("*criadas*" and "*criados*"), sailors, manual workers, secondary school and university students, unemployed, indigent, mentally ill/insane ("*alienados*"); and individuals repatriated or deported from Brazil, France and the US. Those who had entered

13 As stated above, there are 150 boxes with "files of settlers and the repatriated", and for this paper I have consulted and relied on 20 (boxes 1-7, 11, 19.1, 19.2, 20, 23.1, 23.2, 266, 452, 1738, 2335, 2336, 2345 and 2355). So far, I am not able to say how many files there are.

Portugal illegally and those deported were only temporary residents, but all the others had been permanent residents for at least two years.

The "files of the repatriated" enable us to recover the applicants' presence in the institutional practices of the imperial state and gain a grasp of their biography and social existence in relation to others and the state, even if the subaltern consciousness in colonial records tends to escape us (Premsh Lalu apud Rizzo 2014: 692). Fortunately, sometimes, attached documents, such as personal letters and statements to the police, break the monotony of the rather standardised applications and illuminate the subjects' agency.

What does photography add to the written record? What does historical analysis lose when the files have no photograph? Recently, reflecting on photographs and the practice of history, Edwards argued that photographs "inject a particular form of presence into the historical landscape – those of standpoint and experience" (Edwards 2021: 71). Looking at the photographs in the "files of the repatriated" which hold the presence of Black individuals who actually existed in Portugal, I felt a vital connection to their social being and lived experience. The idea of getting in touch with real people through their photos can be illusory, but also fruitful for further research and reflection.

"Presence" as "a matrix of experience, embodiment, standpoint and emotion" has the ability to change historical perspective (Edwards 2021: 72). The photographs pave the way for attempts to write histories "from below" based on the colonial archive or, at least histories about common/ordinary and dispossessed people. In the next section, I look into some files whose attached photographs attracted my attention. The cases are presented in chronological order. In view of "the unresolved ethical matters present in retrospective attempts to visualise colonialism", I recognise the need for extra care in my own witnessing gaze (Odumosu 2020: S289) and for further reflection and analytic work.

Black lives in the archive

The portrait of Manuel Loureiro Nkiakuma, 19 years old, born in São Salvador do Congo (Angola), a former student of the Portuguese (Catholic) Mission of São Salvador, which was attached to his application presented on 27 October 1917, seems out of place in this bureaucratic context of colonial migration control. It is a refined image-object, a studio portrait printed on high-quality paper, with an elegantly crafted frame (fig. 2). The photographer is unknown. Nkiakuma presents a composed posture, neatly combed hair, and wears an immaculate shirt-collar, jacket and tie. He had come to the metropole with the missionary Daniel Simões Ladeira, probably in 1913, since Ladeira was in São Salvador between 1902 and 1913 (Vezzú and Ntanda 2007: 22), "to learn Portuguese well and the tailoring

trade, in order to return later to the Mission and offer his services there"[14]. After concluding his training, he asked for free transport to Angola on a steamship due to leave on 7 November, in order to join the missionaries who were to embark on the same ship. The application was not written by Nkiakuma, but by canon José Pereira Mendes, the registrar of the ecclesiastic chamber of the Angola and Congo Diocese in the early 1900s (cf. Anonymous, *Portugal em* África, 1903, 10:438). This fact is intriguing because Nkiakuma had come to Portugal to learn the language. Moreover, the paternalist mentoring of canon Mendes results maladjusted to Nkiakuma's dignified self. The file has no further information except that the applicant was granted free transport.



Fig 2.

14 AHU, Ministério das Colónias, Direcção Geral das Colónias, Processos de colonos e repatriados, n. 2335.



Fig. 3

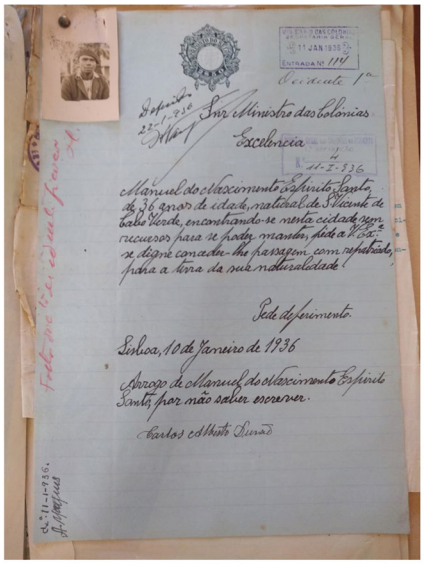


Fig. 3.1



Fig. 3.2

In the 20 boxes I have so far examined more closely, I have not encountered any other object with the quality of Nkiakuma's photograph in the "files of the repatriated", although there are other distinctive image-objects. One example is the photograph attached to the inscription certificate issued by the Portuguese consulate in Huelva (Spain) in the name of Pedro Paulo, single, seaman, born in Portuguese Guinea on 31 January 1876 (fig. 3). The print has a fading tone that may reveal a lower quality and cheaper process of production, but accentuates the

serenity of Paulo's gaze. A consulate stamp placed on the bottom right-hand quarter of the photograph leaves a bureaucratic mark on this rather distinctive image but is unable to threaten his personhood. The portrait presents the face and upper body of a refined man with a trim moustache, combed hair, wearing a fine suit, waistcoat and tie, a pocket watch, and a white flower in his lapel. The image conveying the dignity of Pedro Paulo contrasts with the information regarding his profession and, specially, the negative category of "indigent" that the administrative authority of the Lisbon's district assigned him in a letter to the minister of the Colonies asking for his repatriation. From this document, dated 24 August 1917, one learns that Pedro Paulo was transported at the expense of the Portuguese consulate in Huelva (Spain) to "this capital city", where he had no resources and wished to be repatriated to Portuguese Guinea, where he was born[15]. Was Paulo's portrait from a period on his life prior to his present economic difficulties? Were the clothes and the watch props borrowed exclusively to set the scene for photography? We cannot be sure. In any case, the pose and dress code in the portrait seem at odds with his socioeconomic condition. This happens in several other cases of poor and illiterate applicants. Still there is no comparable mismatch in other photographs of seamen applying for repatriation (for instance, fig. 3.1).

A bright smile, elegant appearance and confident look towards the camera caught my eye to Joaquim Domingos André, born in Cabinda (Angola) on 15 September 1910 (fig. 4). He wrote in an impeccable handwriting a detailed account, full of rhetoric and appeal to emotion, about his misfortune, and of his wife and new-born daughter.[16] On 6 October 1934, he presented himself as a "poor black man due to being just another victim of the crisis, who drags himself around Lisbon, leading an almost vagrant life" ("é um *pobre preto por ser também mais uma vítima da crise, que arrasta por Lisboa uma vida de quase vagabundo*"). He tried to build an empathic bond with the Minister of the Colonies, stating that the minister knows "better than anyone the miseries with which the tremendous global crisis infests the world, and also our metropole". André followed this by arguing that the crisis had affected the metropole "to a lesser extent, thanks to the incomparable guidance of the current government, in which it is fair to highlight the president of the ministry and yourself, two colossi of tireless patriotism for the good of Portugal". He asked for passage to Luanda only for himself, explaining that he has in Lisbon a "charitable soul who houses" his wife and daughter, and his wife will be working as cleaning lady (*trabalhando "a dias"* [day work]) until he is able to call her to join him.

15 AHU, Ministério das Colónias, Direcção Geral das Colónias, Processos de colonos e repatriados, n. 2335.

16 AHU, Ministério das Colónias, Direcção Geral de Administração Política e Civil, Processos de colonos e repatriados, n. 4.

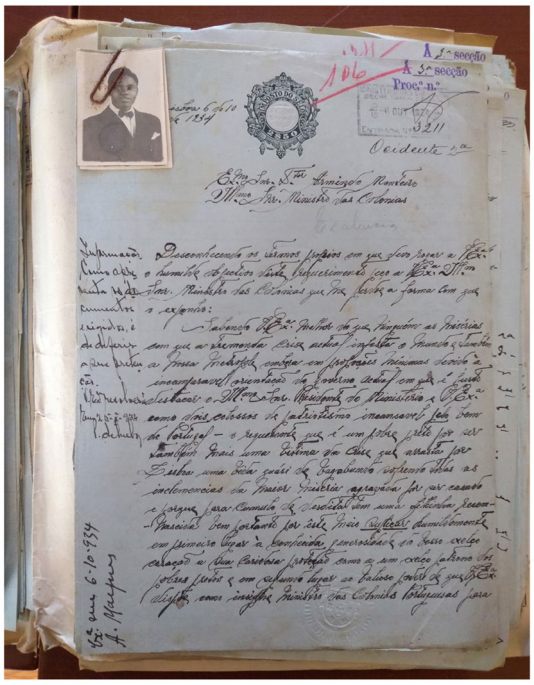


Fig. 4

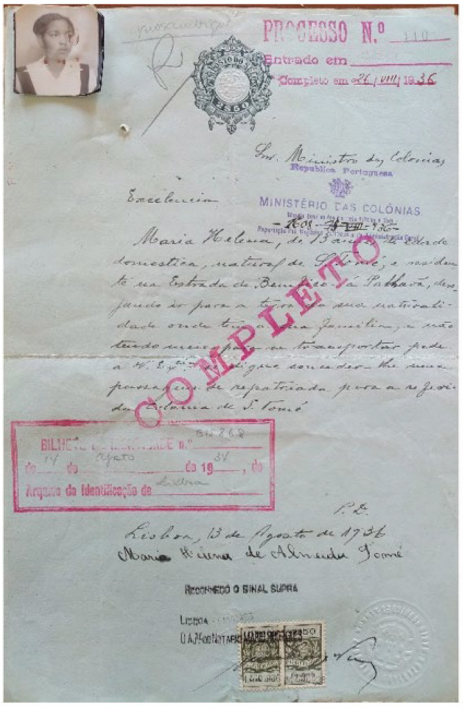

PROCESSO N.º
Entrado em
Completo em
MINISTÉRIO DAS COLÓNIAS
COMPLETO

Fig. 5

The photograph in figure 5 is part of the application that Maria Helena Almeida Tomé delivered to the Ministry of the Colonies on 13 August 1936. She is not looking at the camera but slightly to her left. From the photograph is impossible to capture her intimate state of mind, but her eyes seem to have a sad expression.[17] She is 13 years old, and she was born in São Tomé. She lives on *Estrada de Benfica a Pavalhã*, Lisbon, but one does not discover with whom. She did not write the application, but she signed it herself in perfect handwriting, so she must have completed primary education. In the application, she presents herself as homemaker ("*doméstica*"), but that does not necessarily mean she was no longer attending school. Her clothes may well have been a school uniform. From her birth certificate, one learns that Maria Helena was born on the Rio da Prata *roça* (plantation), on 23 March 1923, the illegitimate daughter ("*filha ilegítima*") of Maria Júlia da Silva, 28 years old, single, born in Benguela (Angola), housewife, resident at Rio da Prata *roça*. Maria Helena was acknowledged as a daughter by the Portuguese Joaquim d'Almeida Tomé, single, property owner, and also resident at Rio da Prata *roça*. On 10 July 1936, Tomé wrote to his godfather (*compadre*) Henriques, accepting his advice to send Maria Helena back to São Tomé. The letter includes some insinuations about the expense involved in his daughter's permanence in Lisbon and the debt the father had to incur on her account, probably with some Portuguese women entrusted with taking care of her or of her education.[18] This case is representative of a very common, but not always openly admitted situation: children resulting from non-matrimonial (and usually enforced) sex between Portuguese men and Black women, generally domestic servants were taken from their mothers who were, thus, subjected to double violence (sexual exploitation and separation from their children). These children were then sent to the metropole to be raised by the fathers' families, while the fathers remained in the colonies.

Like Maria Helena's, João Afonso Rodrigues Santinho's eyes do not face the camera directly, and his photograph has also a disturbing impact (fig. 6). Santinho was a 20-year-old man, born in Lourenço Marques (Mozambique's capital), son of António Afonso Rodrigues Santinho and Joana Lopes Gomes. He was arrested for begging and imprisoned in the Lisbon Command jail of the Public Security Police (PSP).[19] On 26 January 1940, the commander of the PSP, requested the Ministry of the Colonies to repatriate João Santinho, "in order to avoid the spectacle he makes

17 On the dangers of over-reading photographs, Edwards 2021: 79-80.

18 AHU, Ministério das Colónias, Direcção Geral de Administração Política e Civil, Processos de colonos e repatriados, n. 2.

19 The repression of begging and vagrancy increased in the early years of the Estado Novo regime. The Public Security Police Begging Hostel, known as Albergue da Mitra, was created by the PSP in 1933 to arrest the "bum" and "clean" the capital's streets.



Fig. 6



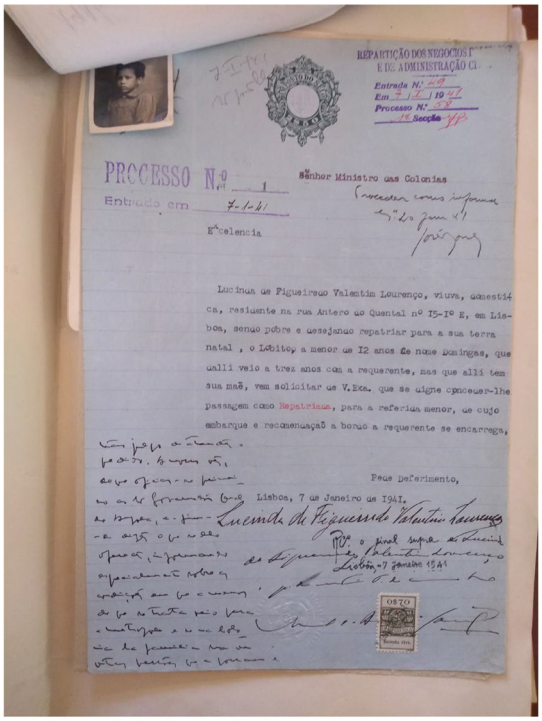
Fig. 7

in the downtown streets" of Lisbon.[20] He informed the Ministry of the Colonies that, some years ago, Dr. Mariano Godinho had brought Santinho to the metropole as a servant, but when the boss committed suicide he was abandoned.[21] Later he worked in several factories, and suffered a work-related accident, which resulted in the amputation of some of the fingers on his right hand. Santinho's photograph is attached to the letter from the Ministry of the Colonies to the PSP informing them that he had been granted free transport on the "Niassa", leaving for Mozambique on 23 March, and should present himself at the Ministry on 21 March to pick up his embarkation permit and deliver two photographs. His ID photograph was probably taken at the police station. Among other cases prepared by police authorities, I recall the photograph of Januário Sousa, a 23-year-old Cape-Verdean sailor, repatriated by the Portuguese consulate of Antwerp, whose eyes are closed (fig. 7).[22] Was it a reaction to the flash? Was it a conscious choice? Was it a response to

20 AHU, Ministério das Colónias, Direcção Geral de Administração Política e Civil, Processos de colonos e repatriados, n. 4.

21 The application has no further information on Mariano Godinho, and I was unable to find much on his biography. I presume he was a lawyer (since the abbreviation dr. in Portuguese usually signifies a law graduate) and had Indian origins (he was member of the board of the Goan Sportive Club, in Beira, Mozambique). Anuário de Lourenço Marques, 1939, 755.

22 Photograph attached to a letter from PIDE to the Ministry of the Colonies, 4 April 1937. AHU, Ministério das Colónias, Direcção Geral de Administração Política e Civil, Processos de colonos e repatriados, n. 20.


REPARTIÇÃO DOS NEGÓCIOS I
E DE ADMINISTRAÇÃO CI...
Entrada N.º 23
Em 7 / 1 / 1941
Processo N.º 23
1ª Secção

PROCESSO N.º 1
Entrada em 7-1-41

Senhor Ministro das Colonias

Excelencia

Lucinda de Figueiredo Valentim Lourenço, viuva, domestica, residente na rua Antero de Quental nº 15-1º E, em Lisboa, sendo pobre e desejando repatriar para a sua terra natal, o Lobito, a menor de 12 anos de nome Domingas, que alli veio a tres anos com a requerente, mas que alli tem sua mãe, vem solicitar de V.Exa. que se digne conceder-lhe passagem como Repatriada, para a referida menor, de cujo embarque e recomendação a bordo a requerente se encarrega,

Peço Deferimento,

Lisboa, 7 de Janeiro de 1941.

Fig. 8

police repression? One cannot tell, but his photograph epitomizes all the emotions an individual could be experiencing: fear, anger, sadness, etc.

Domingas (fig. 8), no surname, was a 12-year-old girl, born in Lobito, Angola.[23] Her quiet gaze into the distance touched me, and I wished I could take her in my arms, comfort her and give her a brighter future. This is evidence of the power of a portrait photograph to trigger personal responses, its unsettling ability to recreate the person's individuality and authenticity before us in the present (Rizzo 2014: 691). However, following Daniela Agostinho (2019: 160-161), I am aware of the entanglements of care and colonialism, and I have tried to devise an ethical mode to engage with this material. For now, all I can do is rescue a fragment of Domingas' story and her human dignity, combining sensibility with critical positioning.[24]

On 7 January 1941, Lucinda de Figueiredo Valentim Lourenço, resident in

23 AHU, Ministério das Colónias, Direcção Geral de Administração Política e Civil, Processos de colonos e repatriados, n. 3.

24 Edwards (2021: 80) refers that "presence introduces a vital (in both senses of the word) sensibility, and like all historical practices, it requires critical positioning. Such an assessment is part of the historian's craft."

Rua Antero de Quental, Lisbon, homemaker, and widow, who had travelled with Domingas to the metropole three years earlier, submitted a first application to the Ministry of the Colonies asking for the 12-year-old's repatriation to Angola, and claiming that she herself was poor. She attached the minor's birth certificate (the document is missing from the file) and two photographs. The Ministry of the Colonies asked the general government of Angola to ascertain the circumstances in which the minor had been brought to the metropole, and if she had family in the colony who were able and willing to take care of her. The relationship between Lucinda and Domingas is unclear. Were they mistress and servant? Was this a case of unpaid child labour disguised as protection and care? Lucinda did not say. Probably because a child under 12 years old could not be contracted for domestic service.

A year and a half later, Lucinda Valentim presented a new application for Domingas' repatriation, with two letters by Albano Abreu, dated Lobito, 18 April 1942 – one to Lucinda and the other to Domingas – offering to become Domingas' employer in Angola. He assured them that, as a servant (*criada*) in his house in Lobito, Domingas would be close to her mother and brothers as she wished and as the family had asked him. The official at the Ministry responsible for evaluating the case did not consider the letters sufficient to grant Domingas free transport for repatriation to Lobito, and insisted that the Angolan authorities should clarify who authorised Domingas to leave the colony. Heard by the colonial authorities in Benguela on 13 May 1942, Guilhermina, Domingas' mother, a laundress, born in São Tomé, daughter of Jimbe and Filipa, and resident in Benguela, stated that she did not recall the day or year in which her daughter left Lobito for Luanda in the company of Lucinda Valentim, travelling the following year from Luanda to Lisbon. She also stated that she did not know which authority gave permission for Domingas to leave the colony. Finally, she said she wanted her daughter to return home.

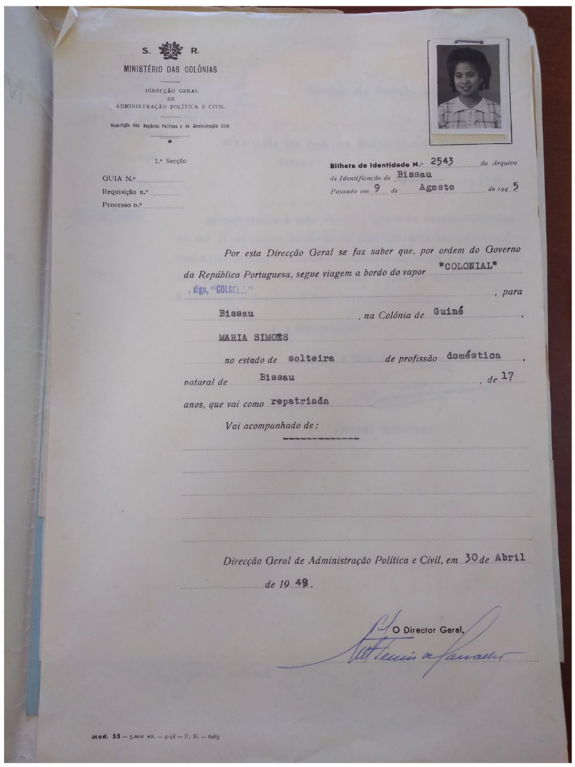
Probably due to the constraints of the Second World War, Lucinda was only notified in mid-January 1945 that Domingas could pick up her embarkation permit to Angola at the Ministry of the Colonies, but Domingas had already left on 17 December 1942. Who paid for the return ticket? From the file, one does not know, but it is plausible that it was Domingas' new boss.

Figure 9 is the ID photograph of Maria Simões, attached to her permit of transit to Portuguese Guinea from 30 April 1949.[25] One sees a mixed race (near white) teenager smiling, wearing some lipstick and a fashionable checked dress. In March 1948, the Ministry of the Colonies received an application for Maria

25 AHU, Ministério das Colónias, Direcção Geral de Administração Política e Civil, Processos de colonos e repatriados, n. 5.

Simões' repatriation at State expense. At the time, she was 16 years, and lived on *Avenida Almirante Reis*, Lisbon, "staying at a charitable person's home" ("*em casa de quem se encontra por caridade*"). She did not know how to read and write, so another person – probably the woman she was staying with – wrote and signed the application at her request ("*a rogo de Maria Simões por não saber ler nem escrever*"). In 1946, Maria Simões had come to the metropole as servant of Leopoldina Pontes Hugh[k]. When Leopoldina got divorced from her husband, João Hugh[k], of German nationality, she also had to get a job, and dismissed Maria.

From the birth certificate issued at the request of Maria Simões on 12 December 1946, one learns that Maria was born on 4 November 1931, child of unknown parents ("*filha de pais incógnitos*"). Leopoldina Ponte Hugh[k], 35 years old, married, housewife, Irene de Oliveira Barbosa, 28 years old, married, housewife, Leonor Ledo Pontes, 40 years old, single, housewife, and Benjamim Pinto Bull, 29 years old, single, public servant, all resident in Bissau, were witnesses of the birth registration at the Bissau Civil Registry. Leopoldina and Benjamim declared they were godparents of Maria. On 8 October 1948, Manuel Araújo, a Post Office official in Bissau, wrote a "letter of invitation" to Júlia Maria Araújo Nunes



S. R.

MINISTÉRIO DAS COLÓNIAS

DIRECÇÃO GERAL DE ADMINISTRAÇÃO POLÍTICA E CIVIL

Repartição dos Negócios Políticos e da Administração Civil

1.ª Secção

GUIA N.º

Requisição n.º

Processo n.º

Bilhete de Identidade N.º 2543 do Arquivo de Identificação de Bissau

Passado em 9 de Agosto de 194 5

Por esta Direcção Geral se faz saber que, por ordem do Governo da República Portuguesa, segue viagem a bordo do vapor "COLONIAL" (Algo, "COLOC[illegible]") , para Bissau , na Colónia de Guiné ,

MARIA SIMÕES

no estado de solteira de profissão doméstica ,

natural de Bissau , de 17 anos, que vai como repatriada

Vai acompanhado de:

Direcção Geral de Administração Política e Civil, em 30 de Abril de 19 49.

O Director Geral,

Fig. 9

(resident in Lisbon) offering to receive the servant Maria Simões and provide her a livelihood. Júlia Araújo Nunes, a widow and pensioner, had already offered to take responsibility for Maria Simões during the journey back to Bissau. The Ministry of the Colonies had five free tickets to Cape Verde and Portuguese Guinea on the "Guiné", a ship of the *Companhia Nacional de Navegação*. As the "Guiné" was being repaired, on 8 February 1949 a Ministry of the Colonies official suggested that the "Colonisation Fund" (a state fund to promote white settlement in Portuguese Africa) pay for the repatriation. This pragmatic suggestion revealed the confusion between the categories of repatriated and settler, already abovementioned. Nevertheless, the ministry ordered the General Directorate of the Colonies to study how the colony of Guinea could pay for the ticket.

Conclusion

The "files of settlers and the repatriated" help us to reset our ideas on the limitations and possibilities of the imperial archive. They are important documents as historical sources and as memories of the empire. Reading the regularities of those files one understands the effort made by the imperial state to control and manage the flows of people within the empire and their settlement in the various territories, in the context of the "mission of colonisation and civilisation", and the concern of the imperial state with poverty and disorder. The colonial state machinery tried to put citizens and subjects in their proper place when they had no job or were poor, and the shipping companies became essential collaborators in this management of imperial circulation by providing the state with a small number of free tickets in each ship's journey.

The "files of the repatriated" in particular complicate previous ideas about the movement of people across the empire (the direction of flow, and the people involved in it) and are an invaluable collection of information on long-overlooked subjects in the Portuguese historiography: the Black migrants from Portuguese colonies in Africa living at the centre of the empire. Black people's everyday lives in the imperial metropole remain almost invisible in historiography, but they are visible in the repatriation files, as poor, unemployed, indigent, and deported. Adverse circumstances – of an economic or familial nature – forced them to go back. In several cases, their bosses wanted to get rid of them (especially in the case of women and children). One cannot help considering Kesting's reflection (2014) on the "negative" visibility of migrants who were not fully acknowledged as citizens. Even when the repatriated were Portuguese citizens and not "*indígenas*" (subject to a different juridical statute), they were treated as "disposable" things, whose gender only aggravated the situation.

The "files of the repatriated" resonate with difficult life histories, injustices and

violence, affection and disaffection, aspirations and disillusion, and the dependency and autonomy of Africans in Europe. Being "sources bathed in humanity" (Edwards and Mead 2013:33), the photographs have a special ability to "populate" the history of the imperial metropole during the first half of the twentieth century with Black social beings and lived experiences. As argued in the third section of this article, the visual record makes the cases even more real and human.

Pictures, despite their ability to become lost in text archives (Mitman and Wilder 2016:6) caused me to re-examine and realise the need for future archival inscription and historical research. As Ballantyne (2019) points out: "archival institutions and archivists play a key role in organizing collections, controlling access and setting terms of use, and (…) they can provide powerful clues to how archival materials should be read." At a time of increasing awareness of colonial and racial prejudice in contemporary societies, after the Black Lives Matter and the Rhodes Must Fall movements, archives, museums, and other heritage institutions that curate the colonial past are under scrutiny. In this demanding ethical environment, the AHU must provide visibility for the "files of the repatriated" through a complete archival description available to the public. These files can in a near future take on a new life and become powerful material for documenting Portuguese African lives and recounting the History of the Black presence in Portugal. This can undo the perceived linear relationship between African and migrant, so that Afro-Portuguese people can re-appropriate and reframe their past. This can be part of a strategy to empower children and youth against racial discrimination, and promote anti-racist education in general, involving an innovative joint effort by archivists, historians, artists, Afro-descendants and antiracist activists. The images provide rich opportunities for decolonial action (Basu and De Jong 2016) and can act as windows into a post-colonial imagination within museology, and artistic and literary projects.[26]

26 On participatory photography projects with (self-) portraits, see Kesting 2014.

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Culture Unbound
Journal of Current Cultural Research

Hunting Pictures of Wartime. Photographic Encounters in a Vernacular Archive from the Colonial War in Angola (1961-74)*

Maria José Lobo Antunes

Abstract

What occurs when soldiers' private photographs enter the public domain? This article examines a digital vernacular repository and its collection of personal images from the Portuguese colonial war (1961-74). Drawing on archival analysis, interviews, and ethnographic research regarding the production, uses, and circulation of war photography, it discusses the transformation of photographs from objects of affect into objects of public scrutiny. By exploring the history of the self-named digital archive, this essay argues that its emergence, success, and longevity are inseparable from its vernacular character and the absence of consistent Portuguese politics of memory concerning the war. The archive's curatorial practices avoid questioning colonialism and the violence of the conflict, thereby providing an uncritical space for articulating unofficial representations of the past while sustaining the public narrative of the war years. Focusing on the archive's collection of photographs from Angola, the article addresses three significant encounters that conscripts experienced due to the war: their encounters with military life, Africa, and Africans. The relationship between photograph and caption proves crucial to understanding the colonial and warrior imaginaries that underpin the photographic gaze and its contemporary discursive reconfiguration.

Keywords: Photography, War, Portuguese colonialism, Vernacular archive, Angola

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Introduction

The perceived transparency of the photographic image has long fuelled the desire to preserve visual tokens of things past. The camera's gaze has been used to capture "image remnants" of our private history and the public history we share with others: if something was caught on camera, it must have existed somewhere (Trachtenberg 2008). For the ordinary person, photography offers the possibility to document life: people, places, instants, and occasions can all be frozen by the mechanical eye of the camera for future remembrance. Since the technique's emergence, the association of photography and memory has captivated the popular imagination and scholarly and theoretical discussions (Barthes 1981, Batchen 2004, Langford 2001).

This article addresses ordinary people, extraordinary times, photographs, and their uses. It examines a self-titled digital archive, Aveiro e Cultura, along with its collection of soldiers' images from the colonial wars—three counterinsurgency conflicts that the authoritarian regime waged against liberation movements in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique between 1961 and 1974.[1] Decades after the war's end, the Internet afforded veterans unprecedented opportunities to articulate their narratives, countering the selective memorialisation and persistent amnesia surrounding Portugal's recent colonial past (Cardina 2024). Freed from the editorial mediation of publishing houses, they utilised digital technologies to create and share personal visions of wartime. A "vast archive of narratives and mnemonic artefacts in cyberspace" emerged following the Portuguese blogosphere revolution in 2003, opening up space for interaction among peers, which later expanded to Facebook and other social media (Ferreira 2024). This essay, however, focuses on an earlier venture that has managed to survive the rapid transformation of digital platforms: an online repository that has gathered thousands of photographs from nearly 200 veterans over the past two decades.

Based on research interviews with the digital archive's team, this essay explores the history and processes of Aveiro e Cultura, discussing the curatorial aspects that shape what is and is not displayed. It argues that Aveiro e Cultura's emergence and longevity as a vernacular repository of soldiers' photographs is inseparable from the colonial aphasia (Stoler 2011) that prevented the Portuguese colonial past from being addressed, formulated, and thoroughly discussed in the public sphere (Cardina 2024). Without public spaces and initiatives to share personal experiences, veterans have created alternative digital arenas where they can tell their unofficial narratives.

1 Seen from the Portuguese side, this conflict may be referred to as a guerra do ultramar (overseas war), a term that denotes political proximity to the former regime, or it can be described as a colonial war, an epithet that recognizes the colonial historical circumstances. For the sake of simplification, and since the article focuses on the war in Angola, I will henceforth use the term colonial war in its singular form.

Focusing on the collection of photographs from wartime in Angola, which represents over 80% of all of the veterans' images in the archive, the essay examines the visual and textual presentation of three significant encounters experienced by the soldiers as a result of the war: their encounters with military life, with Africa and with Africans. These were all photographable moments in the sense that the camera could capture them. Impromptu or staged, visual records were produced and collected by servicemen and later brought back to Portugal, where they were eventually digitised and made publicly available nearly four decades after military discharge.

The self-named digital archive will be examined from the visitor's perspective, meandering through its galleries and dead ends. The analysis will focus on the dyad of photo and caption, which forms the double-narrative thread the visitor encounters while browsing its pages. Detached from the "performative cord" that rendered photographs instruments of collective show and tell (Langford 2008), the images are left only with the textual clues provided by their captions. As Erving Goffman remarked, a picture "cannot be true or false in itself; these possibilities are reserved for the caption or label" (Goffman apud Gordon 1997, 5). The essay demonstrates that the photographs and their captions are neither ahistorical nor innocent: overlapping layers of curation have ensured that a visitor's journey through the digital archive follows marked trails.

Drawing on my earlier ethnographic research regarding veterans and their private photo collections (Antunes 2023), this article seeks to contribute to ongoing discussions about the visual construction of the past. Photographs are, as anthropologist Elizabeth Edwards so aptly articulated, "visual incisions through time and space" that navigate various scales, bridging the "grand" and the "little" narratives of culture, history, and personal experience (Edwards 2001, 3). By intersecting different temporalities—from the moments when pictures were taken and collected to their transformation into digital objects that can be broadly disseminated—this essay aims to uncover the entanglements of expectations, memory, and storytelling surrounding military experiences in the colonies. What images did soldiers capture, preserve, and employ to craft their war narratives? And decades after their discharge, how do they engage with the opportunities presented by digital platforms?

Private and public visions of the Portuguese colonial war

War and photography have a long history together. Images of troops preparing for action or resting after it, photographs of battlegrounds and landscapes of ruination abound in private and public archives. War has been one of the favourite photography subjects ever since the technique allowed for documenting warlike

events in the mid-1850s. From the Crimean War to the trenches of World War I in Europe or the Vietnam War, the camera's memorialising gaze has turned conflicts that were photographed into scenes so familiar to many that they enjoy "a physical presence, a palpable cultural reality" (Trachtenberg 1985). Initially, war photography was almost exclusively the domain of professional photographers seeking to visually document historical events. Later on, as technical developments progressed, amateurs joined in. The attraction of photography created armies of snapshooters who have produced an immense body of pictures over the last hundred years.[2]

Unlike war photographers, who captured some iconic images, soldiers' photographs tend to be more amateurish and formulaic.[3] They fall within the snapshot photography genre, which the art historian Geoffrey Batchen has provocatively labelled as boring pictures (Batchen 2008). Nevertheless, the lack of creativity and entrenched emotional emphasis in snapshots render them a revelatory medium: arising from the intimate act of shooting visual records of private lives, they reflect widespread ideologies, cultural imaginaries, and lived experiences (Zuromskis 2009).

Recent research on private collections of soldiers' photographs has examined several central and recurring pictorial themes: images of social occasions (soldiers resting, laughing, playing sports, or drinking), postcard-like pictures in touristy poses (in both militarised and civilian contexts), portraits of indigenous peoples, and snapshots of death and destruction during the war (Medeiros 2002, Nguyen & Belk 2007, Struk 2011). Created for private contemplation and circulation, soldiers' photographs often exhibit jarring combinations of mundane portrayals of military life alongside unexpected images of violence. Private pictures reveal the same dissonant blend of platitude and drama that literary scholar Samuel Hynes identified in war diaries and letters, which he noted existed to "subvert the notion that war can be both familiar and imaginable to persons who were not there" (Hynes 2000: 211). Soldiers' textual and visual documents commemorate the profound strangeness of war and the incongruous juxtaposition of triviality and extraordinariness (Batista 2000, Putney 2013, Sá 2003) Up-close and personal visions of war have the potential to open uncomfortable cracks in official narratives, for they follow different and contradictory logics: the former is guided by a desire to visually collect instants from personally memorable experiences, while the latter

2 During the Great War, for instance, images from the front were popularized and reached a wide public through their transformation into illustrated postcards (Vries 2016, Mayhew 2019).

3 There are numerous examples of iconic pictures of war captured by professional photographers. Interestingly, some of these photographs have brought up questions about authenticity and documentary purpose. See, for instance, Renn (2015) on the photo of the flag being raised on Iwo Jima, or Lavoie (2017) on Capa's falling soldier. On the public impact of iconic war pictures, see Hagoplan 2006, Sontag 2005.

attempts to shape a favourable public image of events. The creation of national press bureaus has often enforced limits on what can and cannot be seen or pronounced, and censoring soldiers' photos is one of their key propaganda functions.[4]

The Portuguese colonial war was notable for the central role played by its visual representation; the production and circulation of photographs were heavily monitored and censored throughout its duration. At that time, Portugal was governed by the New State (Estado Novo), an authoritarian and conservative regime whose political and ideological apparatus utilised press censorship, political police, and numerous avenues of propaganda, all working to enforce nationalism, corporatism, and traditional values (Alexandre 2017, Garcia et al. 2017).

One of the events that sparked this enduring conflict was the attacks on 15 March 1961 in Northern Angola by the UPA (Union of the Peoples of Angola). This incident became the focal point of an unprecedented official media campaign. Photographers, summoned by the Portuguese authorities, captured horrific images while embedded in the military convoy sent to contain the insurgents. Photographs depicting mutilated bodies and deceased infants were unabashedly published in the Portuguese media and distributed to international audiences; these images were ultimately presented at the UN Security Council meeting in June 1961 (see Ramos 2023 for a comprehensive analysis of the 1961 Portuguese media campaign). The war subsequently expanded to Guinea-Bissau (1963) and Mozambique (1964) as part of an extensive counterinsurgency campaign on three fronts, which only concluded with the 1974 Carnation Revolution in Portugal and the subsequent decolonisation process.

The initial outburst of visual horror was followed by stringent control over the public representation of the war. After the 1961 attacks, the Ministry of Defence established a Public Information Service for the Armed Forces (Serviço de Informação Pública das Forças Armadas – SIPFA) aimed at shaping public opinion regarding military activities. Photographs were considered a dangerous breeding ground for enemy counterpropaganda, leading to a temporary ban on private cameras in operational areas (SIPFA 1961). From 1962 until the end of the war, all published images, whether still or moving, required prior approval from the military authorities. SIPFA's Portuguese press bureau collaborated with press censorship to ensure that all portrayals of destruction or violence were avoided. Visual and textual references to heavy weaponry (artillery, flamethrowers, and mines) or aviation (ground attacks or bombardments) were prohibited from the public sphere (Antunes 2023). For the Portuguese media, the war did not exist.

The official images depicting military presence in Africa showcased a close

4 See, for instance, the British Official Press Bureau, created in 1914, that reviewed every photograph before its publication (Struk 2011).

collaboration with local populations, visually reinforcing the Luso-tropical narrative of supposed multiracial harmony and colour-blindness that underpinned the Portuguese narrative of imperial exceptionalism (Cardão 2015, Castelo 1999, 2017, Pinto and Jerónimo 2015, Stucki 2019). Despite official propaganda, significant distinctions existed in treating individuals of differing skin tones. Furthermore, in the struggle against insurgency, racial markers could determine whether a person was considered trustworthy or suspicious. For clarity, I shall revise the terms used in this article to reflect that time's officially unspoken yet pervasive colour. I will, therefore, use the term "African" to refer to Angola's indigenous people and "Portuguese" to designate white Europeans.

Unlike the official photographs, those taken, purchased, or shared among soldiers did not adhere to the conventions that shaped public imagination. Even seemingly innocuous soldiers' photos were prone to provide unsanctioned glimpses from the front lines. In January 1962, the military press bureau intervened in a campaign by a women's magazine seeking female pen pals for troops abroad, known as war godmothers (madrinhas de guerra). SIPFA advised that magazines should avoid the pitfalls of using personal photographs. Beyond the risk of revealing operational details, published images could be used to mock the armed forces, as evidenced by a snapshot whose publication they obstructed, which depicted "two soldiers with machine guns, in combat positions, while a helmetless soldier appears to be cleaning his nails" (Antunes 2023). Private photographs of war took considerable time to surface in the public domain. However, by the turn of the century, images of veterans began to emerge from their previously restricted spheres. They gradually infiltrated blogs, books, and, more recently, social media. Freed from official surveillance, what stories do these images convey?

The accidental war photography archive

The website Aveiro & Cultura offers an intriguing collection of materials, including teaching resources, various video games, transcriptions of books and periodicals, and photographs, all organised within a self-styled "digital archive" accessed via a somewhat old-fashioned and vintage-looking template. I first found it while searching for images of the Portuguese colonial war, only to realise it houses an unparalleled number of soldiers' photographs. It currently contains nearly 5,000 images credited to 180 contributors, spanning fourteen years, from the outbreak of the conflict in Angola in 1961 to the aftermath of independence for the African colonies in 1975.[5]

5 Numbers of photographs and contributors were collected in March 2025 and may change in the near future, as new images are regularly added to the digital archive. This digital archive also features photographs from military personnel deployed in East Timor (then, Portuguese Timor) and in Goa in India, but they make up a comparatively small fragment of the archive's war photos.

I browsed its numerous pages and struggled to find additional information. There is no 'About Us' page summarising its history, mission, and processes, so I sought out the people behind the scenes. Over the past few years, I have met and conducted several interviews with the archivist and his main assistant.[6]

During these interviews, I learned that *Aveiro e Cultura* is a digital venture established twenty years ago by Henrique Oliveira, a Portuguese teacher from Aveiro, a city in northern Portugal.[7]

The site was designed and launched in 2001 to share teaching materials with the local school community. Over time, *Aveiro e Cultura* expanded into unforeseen areas. In 2003, Oliveira posted the first batch of photographs from Angola, where he served as a conscript second lieutenant in the early 1970s. Oliveira was an amateur photographer, and military service allowed him to document the experience in detail. Soon after posting his wartime photos, Oliveira recalls that visits to the site "exploded" and that dozens of messages from veterans offering to share their collections flooded his inbox. Somewhere along the way, Oliveira met Mário Silva, an industrial worker deployed in Angola in 1971, who contributed his substantial collection of snapshots. An amateur photographer, Silva was his unit's unofficial cameraman in Angola.[8]

In recent years, Silva has become highly active as a mediator between Aveiro e Cultura and other veterans' communities—starting with his military unit, whose photographic collections were extensively digitised and displayed—and expanding to connect networks of social relations (local, familial, professional, etc.). Silva's liaisons with fellow veterans also extend to virtual communities. After the turn of the century, blogs and social media introduced new forms of mediated social interaction and offered unprecedented tools for self-presentation (Caliandro 2017, Miller et al. 2016). Portuguese veterans took to social media to share their stories and create mnemonic communities, thereby circumventing the public scrutiny that continues to surround the colonial war (Ferreira 2020, 2024). Silva is the networking arm of Aveiro e Cultura: he connects with veterans and their families, assists in digitisation, and promotes the site on social media.

6 Research interviews with Henrique Oliveira took place in the Aveiro e Cultura office at the secondary school where he taught for more than three decades. Interviews with Mário Silva, the archivist's assistant, took place at his home in a village near Aveiro. Occasional electronic communication with Oliveira and Silva have also complemented information for this article.

7 Oliveira created Aveiro e Cultura after attending an IT training programme (Prof2000) promoted by the Portuguese Ministry of Education. For seventeen years, the site was hosted on the programme's domain. Oliveira claims that hosting was cancelled without prior notice in early 2018. Archived material was lost and Oliveira was forced to reassemble it on a local school domain whose servers frequently malfunctioned. Both data and functionalities were lost with this unforeseen change.

8 The collaboration between the archivist and his assistant resulted in an edited volume about veterans from Cacia, Silva's hometown in northern Portugal, which was published by the local parish council (Junta de Freguesia). See Silva & Oliveira 2010.

Research interviews were essential for understanding the history of the digital archive and clarifying aspects that might otherwise have remained perplexing, such as its vintage appearance and basic functionalities. *Aveiro e Cultura* appears to be caught in a time warp, which, in a sense, it is. It is managed by a pair of elderly amateur archivists who rely more on personal engagement and voluntarism than on IT expertise. There is no search engine, and visitors must navigate the archive as if perusing an analogue catalogue. Although there are digital resources that could help with cross-referencing data and metadata, the archivist, nonetheless, adheres to the logic of an analogue archive and the rationale of a repository: documents are stored with basic information deemed relevant, and downloading is permitted.

Whether recruited online or face-to-face, veterans are invited to engage in this collaborative effort to preserve and exhibit personal visions of wartime. Images are digitised, and veterans are asked to provide basic information about each donated piece. Photographs are displayed with a brief caption and the holder's name, and each is attributed a date and location (some pictures have the contributor's initials and date stamped on their bottom edge; see Figures 4 and 5). Aveiro e Cultura uses the term "author" to refer to the individual who kept it in their collection but was not necessarily the photographer. By favouring the social gesture of appropriation (holder/photograph) over the technical act of composing a picture (photographer/photograph), it unintentionally echoes current debates about authorship and ownership (to whom does a photograph belong?), swelling the ranks of those who argue that it is shared and diffused among the photographers, those who were photographed, and those who share the photo and use it to imagine places, events, time, and people (Azoulay 2008, Hevia 2014). Although *Aveiro e Cultura* was not designed initially to archive war photographs, it has become an unparalleled digital source of soldiers' pictures. However, over the years, no adjustments have been made to meet the exponential growth of veterans' photographs received. Their pictures have not been given an autonomous section, so they are still mixed in among dozens of the archive's numerous collections under generic folder titles such as "Angola in images", "Guinea in images", and "Mozambique (Images)" (Figure 1). Navigating the Angola, Guinea and Mozambique sections, one wanders through predominantly geographically based subcollections (Figure 2).

"Angola in Images" features the most extensive collection of digitised photographs of soldiers. With over 3,500 images, it represents 85% of all wartime pictures. Credited to 132 contributors, the photographs from Angola are organised into more than 200 sub-folders, showcasing online galleries that vary significantly in the number of pictures. The images include aerial views, snapshots of servicemen in both their daily lives and at remarkable moments, depictions of African exoticism (covering landscapes, wildlife, traditional villages, and contemporary Angolan

towns), as well as portraits of Africans, with or without Portuguese servicemen included in the composition.

Inseparable from veterans' will of memory, Aveiro e Cultura's amateur assembly line of wartime photographs has spawned several levels of offline and online curation. Those who collaborate in locating contributors, sharing their pictures, and the site's archivist all participate – albeit at different times and with varying curatorial freedoms – in selecting the images for public display and drafting captions to assist in interpreting the pictures. The final decision rests with the archivist, who possesses editorial and veto power over the contents. Oliveira adheres to a common-sense criterion of general appeal: images should engage and interest the public, not merely their holders. Photographs of soldiers that do not provide glimpses of the original settings and circumstances (natural or built landscapes, fellow soldiers, civilian populations, military materials, and scenes) are excluded from the digital archive. Due to these overlapping layers of curation, Aveiro e Cultura's assemblage of photographs starkly contrasts with private collections where the holders/protagonists are meticulously depicted throughout their military service. In this digital vernacular archive, by contrast, one cannot trace individual trajectories from a multi-centred visual narrative composed by numerous contributors.

Archives are neither apolitical nor unbiased repositories of documents and objects. On the contrary, they are "cultural artefacts of fact production" (Stoler 2002), actively shaping knowledge, categories, and perspectives on the world (Burton 2005, Stoler 2009, Trundle & Kaplonski 2011). Therefore, the seemingly apolitical Aveiro e Cultura archive is fundamentally political: it never explicitly references war. Furthermore, it does not present images of violence—although a visitor may occasionally come across snapshots that suggest past violence, such as pictures of helicopter evacuations of wounded soldiers. In an interview for this study, Oliveira elucidated the guiding principle behind his actions as an archivist:

> MJ: Did you ever say, "I don't want to publish this" or "I can't publish this"?
>
> HO: Yes, that has happened. I remember a colleague of mine once brought me his photographic collection. He had been in Angola when war broke out and witnessed horrific scenes. He showed me his photos. There were lots of gruesome pictures, and I said to him, "I'm sorry, I cannot publish this". Our troops were violent, too. This man had documented everything in photographs. I decided to only publish photos from his collection that did not show violence. How could I post images of severed corpses and entrails gushing out? All that barbarism should be forgotten. (Interview with Henrique Oliveira, 10 October 2019)

By refusing to make public images of brutality, Aveiro e Cultura's archivist was not swayed by contemporary debates surrounding the mass digitisation of documents and the risks of perpetuating colonial oppression. Had he been, he would have focused more on the best way to acknowledge the "violated bodies and biographies without replicating historical patterns of abuse" (Odumosu 2020, 7). Rather than advocating for an ethics of care towards former subjects of colonisation, the archivist chose to avert his gaze from the violence of the war, thereby preserving a generally benign portrayal of the Portuguese military presence in Africa. Justified by the supposed benefits of amnesia ("all that barbarism should be forgotten"), this curatorial stance stems from Oliveira's ambiguous relationship with the war and the decline of the Portuguese empire. This ambiguity reflects large segments of contemporary Portuguese society. Inextricably linked to the ongoing prevalence of the discourse of Portuguese exceptionalism (Pinto and Jerónimo 2015), this ambiguity fails to engage critically with the thirteen-year conflict and the regime that sustained it. All archivists indelibly shape the scope and reach of archives by mediating between archived materials and their users, "between conceptions of the past and extant documentation" (Blouin 1999, Marquis 2007). In the case of Aveiro e Cultura's war photography collection, curatorial actions prioritised documenting soldiers, their daily lives, and the surrounding environment (civilians, natural and built landscapes, wildlife) while distancing itself from the legacy of violence associated with the war. By favouring personal portrayals of wartime, the archivist avoided a critical examination of late Portuguese colonialism and limited the archive's contribution to collecting, preserving, and showcasing private glimpses into the past.

I have yet to find any comparable digital archive of soldiers' photographs.[9] Aveiro e Cultura's vernacular character makes it an exceptional case, as it simultaneously showcases soldiers' war images while being maintained and enriched by the original custodians of the photographs. Its two decades of existence are noteworthy amid the impermanence of most internet sites. Aveiro e Cultura has survived the loss of its original hosting domain and, shortly after its inception, was included in the central Portuguese web archive, thereby ensuring the preservation of the site's contents.[10]

9 For coeval conflicts, and specifically the Vietnam war, I located both state-sponsored and commercial online initiatives, that regard soldiers' pictures as either historical documents or valuable commodities. See the site Personal Snapshots – Picturing the Vietnam War (https://www.loc.gov/vets/stories/ex-war-snapshots-vietnam.html?loclr=blogflt), part of the wider Library of Congress Veterans History Project that gathers soldiers' photographs, audio recordings and manuscripts. As for vernacular images from the Algerian war of independence, excluding published books (Mauss-Copeau 2003, Quemeneur and Zeghidor 2011), I found no references to digital archives.

10 Arquivo.pt grew out of a research project of the University of Lisbon with the aim of preserving information published online from 1996 onwards. Aveiro e Cultura has been archived in Arquivo.pt since January 2002. Oliveira learned about the web archive through the author, and was thrilled to thoroughly explore Aveiro e Cultura's past.

Unconnected to formal organisations, whether state- or privately funded, it continues with its amateur and collaborative structure. Stories and photographs are transferred from donors to the digital archive through interpersonal relationships: flexibility, not bureaucracy, governs the archival processes. Managed by amateur archivists who were once involved in central historical events, it aims to preserve and present visual documents that might otherwise vanish. In this respect, Aveiro e Cultura follows and extends the archive-as-hospice model (Zeitlyn 2012). Not only are documents safeguarded, but they find a home in a hospice run by peers. War, as it was lived, experienced, and captured on camera by ordinary soldiers, is granted a safe space to share and exhibit it.

Picturing soldiers

Nearly one million men were conscripted for thirteen years. Uprooted from their civilian lives, these young men were armed, given expedited training, and deployed to combat insurgencies in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique. This marked their first significant encounter with the colonial war: being thrust into military life. Regardless of their military vocation or personal support for the cause, thousands of draftees were swiftly instructed to behave like soldiers. The fundamental symbolic distinction between civilian and military, regarded by anthropologist Celso Castro as an invention of the army, is crucial for acquiring a new identity. This distinction instils conformity, discipline, and obedience while establishing that the ideal conduct is "not to be a civilian" (Castro 2013). Although this concept may have seemed imprecise to many conscripts, it aimed to shape internal dimensions (subjection to a hierarchy, adherence to military values) and external dimensions (representing Portuguese authority and the armed forces).

The encounter with military life also marked the socially recognised transition from boyhood to manhood. Previous ethnographic research on veterans and their photo collections has highlighted the importance of capturing, preserving, and revisiting visual traces of military experiences (Antunes 2024). The recruits' newly acquired status reinforced their belief that the camera should document everything. And that is precisely what soldiers did: they hunted for pictures of war. Those who owned cameras became amateur reporters and often took hundreds of photographs; many who lacked a camera assembled their collections with images purchased from fellow servicemen. Negatives and prints circulated between barracks and photographic labs in African cities – whether in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, or Mozambique – fuelling the informal trade of visual records of wartime. Photographs were sent across the Atlantic via post to families, friends, and sweethearts as proof of life at war on the African continent (Pontes 2019).

The visual certification of military experience inspired numerous photographs. However, authorities restricted these images by controlling the public narrative of the war. Unlike other conflicts, there were no official cameramen assigned to document the progress and victories of the troops (Bijl 2015, Gerster 2015). In contrast to their Portuguese counterparts, Vietnam War veterans amassed an extensive collection of combat snapshots, capturing everything from bombings to attacks on enemy bases. These were eagerly shared and displayed, providing evidence of soldiers' presence during pivotal moments of the war (Nguyen & Belk 2007). Based on the *Aveiro e Cultura* collection, a visitor might assume that the Portuguese colonial war was militarily uneventful. However, data from my previous research indicate otherwise: Portuguese soldiers took and collected snapshots of violence and destruction. Nevertheless, these images have remained out of the public's sight; the decision to publish private photographs in books or online is typically preceded by careful curation, which restricts the disclosure of visual traces of violence (Antunes, 2023).

A succession of curatorial gestures filters soldiers' photographs in Aveiro e Cultura, primarily showcasing moments before or after combat: troops moving, pausing, or waiting (Figures 6, 7, and 8) – combat itself is visually absent. Eliminating visual evidence of violence does not erase it but makes it more discreet. One can see it in images of material damage, such as buildings or vehicles – traces that survive the curatorial ban on more explicit depictions of brutality. Soldiers sometimes used such materials as photographic props, staging images in which they appeared like tourists in hell. Captions also reinforce this staged intent. For instance, Figure 5 combines a dual inscription of past destruction: the photograph holder is shown entering a destroyed car, while the caption refers to the 1961 UPA attacks that prompted Portugal's mobilisation against what was then termed "terrorism". The caption reads, "In an abandoned vehicle that once belonged to farmers", suggesting that the car is a quasi-archaeological trace of the destruction that triggered the war in Angola. The image depicts a soldier holding the door as if unaware of the vehicle's evident ruin: the car's bonnet is smashed, the wheels and headlights are missing, and the door bears inscriptions carved into the metal. Beyond the façade of normality (a soldier getting into a car), the image occupies a space between a visual evocation of past destruction and a humorous appropriation of the remnants of violence, thereby offering an unsettling photo-memorial of past terror and devastation.

Historian Joanna Bourke argues that popular combat literature and martial films represent the most democratic form of basic training, conveying a repertoire

of images that shape soldiers' prospective and retrospective narratives about their war experiences (Bourke 1999).[11]

The ideals of male strength and heroic patriotism, the allure of firearms, and the exaltation of the pleasures of combat converge to interpret one's war experience through an imaginary camera lens. In the absence of reportages, Portuguese servicemen posed and gestured in ways made familiar by popular culture. Numerous images showcase the re-enactment of martial moments: servicemen aiming weapons, utilising military devices, or driving in armoured vehicles, revealing the attraction of weaponised imagery.

The Portuguese authorities would likely have censored every single one of these images for both evoking bellicose imagery and displaying an undesired air of relaxation. The contrived nature of this type of picture is frequently revealed by its general setting and by the protagonists' smiles, clothing, or laid-back postures, which contradict the apparent belligerence of their poses. However, the more recent captions often reinforce the warrior fantasy by providing literal descriptions of the scenes depicted, failing to acknowledge their performative nature. Some images prolong the original scenic pact by textually asserting what the images deny. The smiling artilleryman was probably unfamiliar with the heavy weapon on which he was seated, relaxed and bare-chested (Figure 9). The soldier using a radio transceiver as if under enemy fire is contradicted by the scenery behind him – the wall, likely part of a military building, the 200-litre water drum on the left, and the wet clothes drying background – all indicating that it was an intentional re-enactment of a warlike scene within the safety of military walls (Figure 10).

Although they are somewhat rare, visual representations of hand-to-hand combat illustrate the playfulness surrounding photographic practices among soldiers. For instance, Figure 11 conveys multiple meanings. Two soldiers mimic a fight: the one facing the camera raises his gun above his head as if about to strike his opponent, while the second soldier, whose back is turned to the camera, appears unarmed and waits for the blow. The photograph vividly depicts a highly improbable situation: in a counter-insurgency conflict, the enemy was typically indistinguishable from the civilian population, from which precise, swift, and primarily invisible attacks were launched. Although the second soldier's face is not fully visible, he is African, a detail that renders the composition exceptionally provocative as it plays with the racial boundaries that marked the Portuguese colonial war. This African serviceman was likely Angolan and a fellow soldier from the same unit, one of many Africans conscripted as the war progressed. In 1971,

11 Kristof Titeca's book on photographs from inside the Lord's Resistance Army offers interesting insights on the power of the action-film heroes of the 1980s and 1990s in the construction of visual narratives of life among former Ugandan rebels (Titeca 2019). See also Richards (1994) on how Rambo and Kung Fu films were regarded as formative among Sierra Leone's RUF rebels.

the year this photograph was taken, 42% of the troops mobilised for Angola were locally recruited (Estado-Maior do Exército 1988, Coelho 2002). The photograph's caption explicitly mentions the playful nature of the situation and identifies the African soldier as a friend; however, it does not provide his name (was it forgotten?); instead, it directs attention to the vegetation behind the pair, as if the blooming coffee flowers were more significant than the performance staged for the camera.

Hunters and hunted

For Portuguese conscripts, wartime was both a source of anxiety and a youthful adventure. Military service abroad radically expanded the horizons of young men from a peripheral nation long governed by an authoritarian regime. When the war erupted in 1961, 45% of Portuguese labour was concentrated in agriculture, nearly 40% of the population was illiterate, and the country was characterised by a profound rural-urban sociological asymmetry (Nunes 1964). During the war years, draftees were mostly poorly educated, unskilled, and had limited expectations for social mobility. Their arrival in Africa marked a significant moment in their lives; not only were soldiers embarking on a full-scale military life, but they were also doing so in an unfamiliar context. The second important encounter they faced due to the colonial war was their engagement with the African territory to which they were conscripted. The climate, the people, and the landscape all combined to signify a dramatically different new world. For example, the exotic nature of Angola's flora and fauna is a significant motif in the photographs exhibited in Aveiro e Cultura. Soldiers transformed African landscapes into memorable mise-en-scènes for portraits. Numerous images depict tropical fruits (bunches of bananas being the most popular, followed by pineapples) and snapshots of small monkeys, generally referred to as military unit mascots. However, photographs featuring hunting trophies are perhaps the most revealing of the exotic Africa genre.

The imperial enterprise is closely linked to hunting and exhibiting wild specimens. Tales of European hunters have long stirred the imagination with notions of conquest and control over colonised territories' natural environments and human populations (Ryan 2000, Storey 1991). With the rise of photography as a portable technology, a new hunt began for exotic subjects captured with a camera that produced and propagated stereotypical illustrations of majestic African landscapes, vibrant wildlife, and extraordinary racial diversity (Direito 2023, Ryan 2013). Furthermore, apparent similarities exist between hunters and warriors: both depend on skill with firearms to take down their quarry, and both embody qualities of resilience, precision, courage, and perseverance (Bourke 1999, Ryan 2000). Hunting features prominently in the repertoire of tales veterans share about their military service in Africa, as colonial and warrior narratives intersect in the

last European wars of decolonisation. Both in published memoirs (Gouveia 2002, Niza 2012) and oral storytelling (Antunes 2015, Campos 2017), accounts of chasing and shooting animals are prevalent in the stories of Portuguese veterans.

Images of hunting trophies in the *Aveiro e Cultura* online collection exhibit a consistent visual pattern: servicemen pose alongside one or more dead animals, primarily African buffaloes and antelopes, referred to respectively as *pacaças* and *palancas* (felines and reptiles appear less frequently in private collections, likely due to the local fauna in the regions where the military was deployed). Occasionally, soldiers hold the animals' horns or tails, mimicking bullfighting gestures demonstrating human mastery over the creatures. There is always an atmosphere of joyous celebration, yet it remains unclear whether death is being commemorated or if it signals a welcome deviation from the monotony of military rations. Africans are typically absent from these images (Figure 12) despite their likely fundamental roles as guides or skilled hunters. The omission of Africans from the pictorial history of hunting practices, which echoes in other colonial contexts (Rizzo 2005, Ryan 2000), is contradicted by contemporary discursive revisits of the past. Interestingly, while the visual mementoes of Portuguese soldiers' hunting escapades during wartime generally exclude Africans, anecdotes from veterans, both oral and written, frequently highlight the remarkable expertise of Africans – for instance, the detailed account of a local guide who mimicked an African buffalo calf's cry to lure a herd within the range of Portuguese troops (Gouveia 2002: 18-20; see also Niza 2012). This dissonance between imagery and storytelling underscores the malleability of memory: unlike photographs, which freeze moments into a fixed composition, memory constitutes a relational and mutable construct of the past in the present and is thus subject to continual reconfiguration (see, for example, the selection of writings in Ollick et al. 2011).

Amongst the many formulaic depictions of hunting trophies in *Aveiro e Cultura,* one photograph offers an extraordinary inversion of the usual imagery (Figure 13). A uniformed white soldier and two African civilians stand around a dead animal. The soldier is unarmed and gazes at the prey while the African men hold rifles. The man on the right rests his foot on the trophy, signalling power and ownership over the carcass, whereas the one on the left points his gun at the dead animal and frowns at the camera. The caption reads, "*Resultado de uma caçada*", which can be translated as "Result of a hunt". This choice of words dissociates the picture from whatever might have happened prior as if only the trophy mattered. It overlooks the three men portrayed and their agency. Observing the image, one is struck by the soldier's apparent passivity and the active postures of the Africans, which starkly contrast with numerous comparable photographs depicting similar hunting events. Following Odumosu's proposal for a speculative ethics of care (Odumosu 2020), I endeavoured to return to the instant Figure 13 imaginatively

was taken and produce an alternative narrative. "Africans teaching a Portuguese soldier how to hunt" seems a more equitable caption. Guided by this, an observer could easily envision the African men imparting lessons on tracking and slaying prey, thereby introducing the white soldier to wildlife he had previously been unable to comprehend.

The photographic encounter with African civilians also includes a troubling image that I call warrior trophies. Similar to the hunting trophies discussed earlier, this type of image involves composing visuals that testify to a mastery in capturing prey. As there are no traces of violence and death in *Aveiro e Cultura*, the warrior trophies depicted are living and unscathed civilians captured during military operations. Numerous photographs in the Angolan section are accompanied by captions that typically read along the lines of "natives retrieved from the bush." The notion of "retrieval" serves as a euphemism for what, in practice, amounted to the imprisonment of civilians by the military. The Portuguese counter-insurgency doctrine dictated that local civilians found outside the areas secured by the authorities should be rounded up, thereby diminishing the likelihood of popular support for the liberation movements. Captured civilians were subsequently handed over to colonial authorities or the political police of the *Estado Novo*, the PIDE/DGS, for further interrogation regarding guerrilla activity (Afonso & Gomes 2010).

The four photographs comprising the collage "Fear the Colonial Soldiers" (Figure 15) originate from various parts of the Quixico gallery, specifically within the section "Angola in Images." The similarities among these photographs became evident while analysing the data from the digital archive, leading to the creation of the collage through a speculative arrangement of different moments from the same events. Attributed to three holders, these four images depict a group of civilians—four women and a child—surrounded by Portuguese soldiers. Various domestic items (mats, blankets, containers) are scattered across the floor, likely representing the personal belongings they were permitted to bring to the Portuguese barracks. A stark contrast is observable between the demeanour of the Africans (tense postures, downcast eyes, and a child seeking refuge in a woman's lap) and the relaxed, smiling disposition of the soldiers. This disparity highlights the asymmetry between colonised civilians and colonial soldiers. Unarmed and unable to resist the military's actions and orders, the civilians succumbed to a final act: being photographed as a living testament to military efficacy. Among the dozens of photographs of warrior trophies, these four images stand out: civilians remain resignedly motionless as Portuguese soldiers move in and out of the frame (some squatting down, an officer attempting to speak to a frightened child, and a soldier inching closer to one of the women, pretending to touch her breast). In a research interview with Mário Silva, the archivist's assistant, I discovered he was the photographer behind the camera

despite these images being credited to their respective holders. As was the case each time "natives were brought in from the bush," Silva was asked to take photographs before the civilians were transported to the Battalion headquarters.

> This was the result of one of my company's operations. The terrorists fled, and the women and children were left behind. They called me, and I took the photos. Afterwards, I sold them to anyone who wanted them. I don't have any of those photos now. (Interview with Mário Silva, 17 September 2020)

These photographs and their narratives reveal that African detainees served as valuable props, as everyone wished to have their picture taken with them. They were used to create images that became commodities. Numerous copies were printed, sold, and preserved for decades before being digitised and exhibited in *Aveiro e Cultura*. Frozen in the moment they were captured by the camera and subjected to the perpetual gaze of all who encounter the images over time, the Angolan civilians are seen but not heard. We do not know who they are or how they defined themselves. We overlook what happened before and after they were transformed into portraits of themselves, stripped of any existence beyond their photographic presence. The asymmetric nature of the photographic event—an asymmetry that persists even in circumstances where consent is unequivocally given by the person who presses the shutter and the individual who agrees to authorise the image (Azoulay 2008)—is heightened by the cumulative conditions of colonialism and war. The right to see, exhibit, and touch colonised bodies resurfaced in numerous photographs of African civilians, rendering them silent actors who were compelled to become part of the scenery.

Conclusion

Captured with a camera and kept as mementoes, the photographs of Portuguese soldiers from wartime draw on visual repertoires that are staged, mimicked, and repeatedly performed: at the moment a photographic image is composed, and at every subsequent viewing when the photographs are narratively enacted. The soldiers use these images to encapsulate and inscribe their personal experiences into history. In these photographs, the soldiers are more than mere uniformed men posing for the camera; they are individuals summoned to arms by a collective cause, deployed to fulfil a specific mission in a distinct setting. None of this is apparent in the images; their generic context and unseen details mean they can only be understood through discursive data, accessible via verbal storytelling or textual insertions. Both offer clues to comprehend otherwise puzzling images.

Focusing on a digital archive containing private photographs from the Portuguese colonial war, the essay explored the transformation of visual and affective mementoes into records of history. Drawing on ethnographic research regarding the production, circulation, and uses of war photographs, it excavated the visible contents of the archive along with its hidden dynamics, concluding that its vernacular character is crucial for understanding its success and longevity: it offers safe custody for personal documents at risk of vanishing and opens a digital arena where unofficial narratives can be presented. Soldiers' photographs are incorporated into a multi-faceted visual story from below, comprising a patchwork of glimpses into military life in Africa. The captions provide a textual counterpart to the visible images, which is essential for their interpretation. Guided by the narrative thread established by the dyad of photograph and caption, visitors to the archive are offered visions of war produced by ordinary soldiers. Even though the pictures are no longer subject to the ideological control that once constrained the public imagination of the war, they are shaped by several layers of curation that present a benign vision of wartime, prolonging a propagandistic view of the final years of the Portuguese colonial regime. The archivist has actively avoided publishing any traces of violence, concentrating instead on displaying an assortment of images from the daily lives of hundreds of ordinary soldiers.

Separated from the narratives that usually recount the contexts of photographs and their meanings, images dissolve into the indistinctness of generalised visual patterns. Soldiers used the camera to document the extraordinary times to which they were conscripted, capturing and producing a vast volume of wartime imagery. The documentary purposes and the playful re-enactment of visual repertoires converged to record significant encounters with military life, Africa, and its people. A discernible pattern emerges of soldiers adopting warrior poses, both by staging bellicose re-enactments and by showcasing their prowess in capturing prey, posing for the camera alongside both human and non-human trophies. The captions underpin this visual fiction, subsequently added to the photographs, prolonging the original theatrical artifice while avoiding problematic formulations. Sanitised by seemingly innocuous interpretations, the images are stripped of their original contexts, becoming visual tableaux open to varied interpretations.

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Figure 1: Two pages from Aveiro e Cultura: the digital archive's home page and its main index. War photos can be found in the hyperlinks "Angola in images", "Guiné in Images", "Mozambique (images)", highlighted in purple.

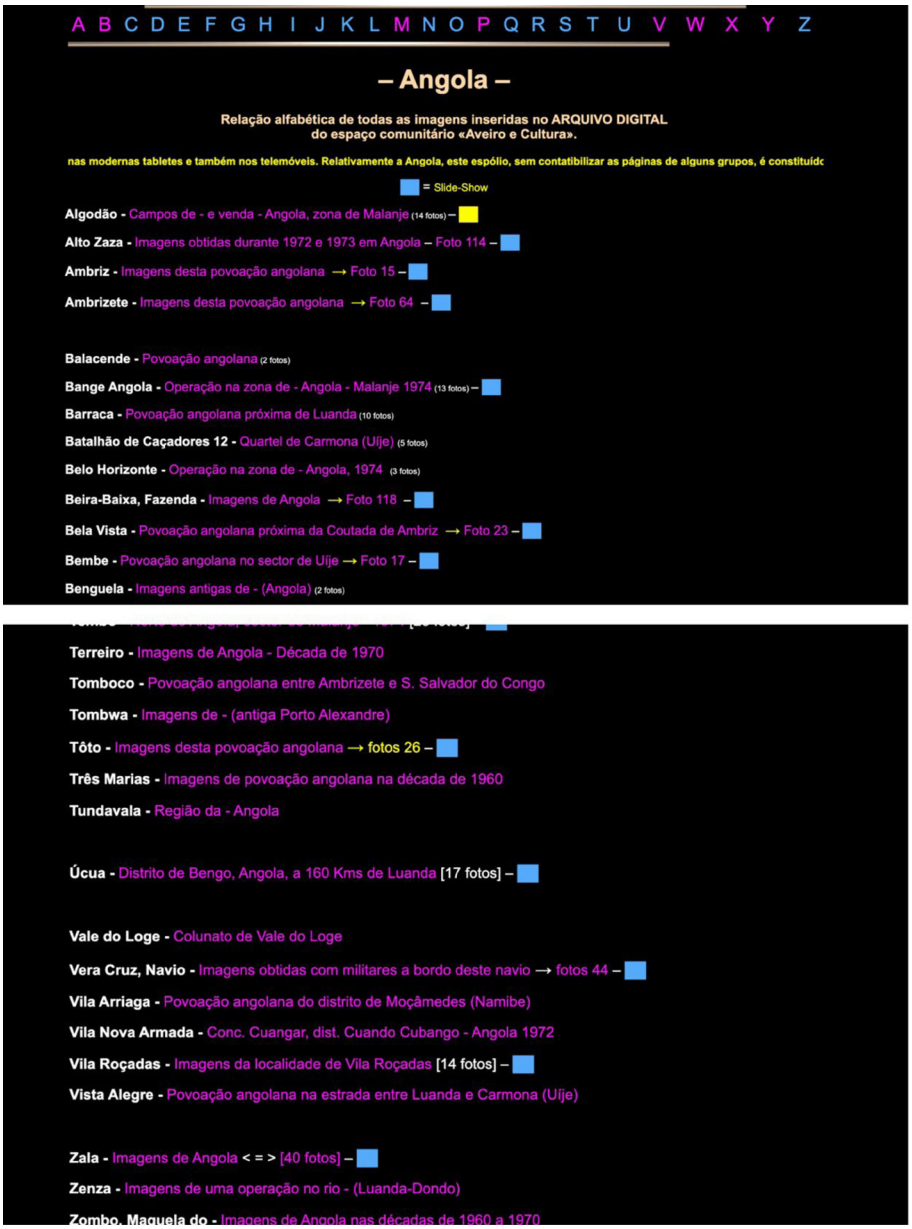


Figure 2: Collage of the initial and final segments of the table of contents for the "Angola in Images" section. These two segments contain mostly geographically-based galleries and two thematic galleries: algodão [cotton] and the Vera Cruz, the vessel that transported troops from Portugal to Africa.



Figure 3: Fragment of a page from the Nambuangongo gallery from the "Angola in Images" section of the Aveiro e Cultura archive.



Figure 4: Staging the photographer. Original caption reads "Horácio Tavares recording images for posterity." Source: Horácio Tavares, Aveiro e Cultura Digital Archive.



Figure 5: Staging normality amidst ruins. Original caption: "In an abandoned vehicle that once belonged to farmers." Source: Amadeu Alpoim, Aveiro e Cultura Digital Archive.



Figure 6: Marching in the bush. Original caption: "Members of Cavalry Company 1773 in operation, area of Canacassala." Source: Vitor Abreu. Aveiro e Cultura Digital Archive.



Figure 7: The warriors' rest. Original caption: "Members of 2nd company of Batallion 4614 in the bush, refueling with field rations." Source: José Pinto, Aveiro e Cultura Digital Archive.



Figure 8: Journey to a war. Original caption: "Rookies on their way to the Dembos region." Source: Raul Mesquita, Aveiro e Cultura Digital Archive



Figure 9: The smiling artillery-man. Original caption: "Manuel Costa in the anti-aircraft "nest"." Source: Manuel Costa, Aveiro e Cultura Digital Archive.



Figure 10: Mimicking combat transmissions. Original caption "Using one of the radio transceivers." Source: Adriano Rodrigues, Aveiro e Cultura Digital Archive



Figure 11: Friend or foe. Original caption: "Playing around with a friend. In the background, coffee flowers in bloom" Source: João Fernandes, Aveiro e Cultura Digital Archive.



Figure 12: The joys of hunting at war. Collage made by the author with photographs from the Angola in Images section, Aveiro e Cultura Digital Archive.



Figure 13: Africans teaching a Portuguese soldier how to hunt. Original caption "Result of a Hunt." Source: António Cardoso, Aveiro e Cultura Digital Archive.



Figure 14: Fear the colonial soldiers. Collage made by the author with photographs from the Angola in Images section, Aveiro e Cultura Digital Archive.

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Wholes and Parts: Oblivious Legacies from the Photography of A. Carreira's Angolan Missions for a Portuguese Colonial Metropolitan Museum amid the Liberation War (1961-74)

Inês Ponte

Abstract

This article recuperates an overlooked history of a photographic archive created in 1965 to document the cultural diversity of the Portuguese colonies for an ethnological museum in Lisbon during the concluding decades of the country's last colonial regime (1933-74). Five decades after the country's democratic transition and the decolonisation that accompanied it, I explore this stillborn archive, which has remained in its institutional successor, and historicise a systematic practice of field photography created as a resource for ethnographic research in a late-colonial setting. I investigate the development of this research-based ethnological museum by examining the case of António Carreira (1905-1988), who, as a metropolitan-based colonial field officer, colleague and subordinate, played a series of critical roles in its institutionalisation. Thinking through Carreira's five annual missions to Angola (1965-69) conducted during the Portuguese colonial wars (1961-1974), in this article, I engage with images and archival devices rendered obsolete by a capricious political transition to demonstrate their potential to unravel some of the paradoxes of developing modern sociocultural anthropology in a late and contested colonial context.

Keywords: photography, archive, anthropology, colonialism, modernity, transitions, history, Portugal, Angola

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Introduction

This article discusses a photographic archive created to document the cultural diversity of the Portuguese colonies for an ethnological museum in Lisbon during the concluding decades of the country's last colonial regime, the New State [*Estado Novo*] (1933-74). The archive was assembled as a part of the project for the Overseas Ethnological Museum [*Museu de Etnologia do Ultramar*, MEU], which was developed during a period when the authoritarian *Estado Novo* regime was fighting to keep its colonies by engaging in a three-front war in its continental African colonies (1961-74) and by implementing a "scientific occupation" policy that included expanding the field of social sciences (Castelo 2012). The delay of such a project in a country with a long history of colonial pursuits led to several paradoxes in its dynamic but short-lived colonial dimension, which was abruptly ended by the sudden triumph of democracy. Diverging from subsequent literature that focuses on the project's successes, such as the consolidation of anthropology as a profession in Portugal (Leal 1999, 689; Sobral 2007), fifty years after the revolution suddenly turned the MEU's field photography from the colonies obsolete, those images offer intriguing questions and answers about multiple unaddressed paradoxes inherent to this late-colonial project for a modern anthropology museum.

In its original form, the MEU was a research-based museum consisting of three institutions under the same direction: the MEU and two research centres, one of which focused on colonial sociocultural anthropology, and the other on metropolitan and Iberian ethnology. Between 1965 and 1973, its director was Jorge Dias (1906-73), and his vice-director, Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira (1910-90), succeeded him up to 1980. From its inception, one of the MEU's priorities was to gather collections of material culture, particularly by using then-modern analogue technologies such as photography, film and audio. Impelled by a sense that they had made a belated start, during almost a decade the MEU conducted a substantial number of field missions to colonies where wars were often raging. Besides extensive material culture collections, they managed to create a trans-territorial visual archive that focused specifically on Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique, and particularly on rural Africans, the classic subject for this discipline, as free from colonialism.[1]

The MEU developed a mixture of nation-building ethnology and imperial anthropology, which often characterised Portuguese anthropology (Viegas and Pina-Cabral 2014), conducting field research into both aspects on an unprecedented scale.[2] With the 1974 carnation revolution in Portugal, everything connected to its

1 A decade prior to the museum's formal establishment, Dias began directing various research missions to the colonies; so that field data was collected during almost two decades and processed into the MEU's archives during its final decade.

2 For glimpses of its institutional life and various research agendas, see Branco (2014) and Pignatelli (2014).

former colonies was relegated to the background (Branco 2014), and thus work on what was, by then, a substantial field-based photographic archive was abruptly abandoned. It has also ever since remained largely overlooked by its successor, the National Ethnological Museum [*Museu Nacional de Etnologia,* MNE]. While the MEU's "prodigious adventure" (Costa, Freire, and Pereira 2010) on Portuguese ethnology is well-remembered (Saraiva 2023), its research on the colonies has been dismissed as intellectually underdeveloped within the discipline (Bastos and Sobral 2018). But when the democratic transition shifted the focus between the MEU's Portuguese ethnography and of its former colonies, it also left a significant amount of historical scientific data and its processing intentions unaccounted for. Primarily because the focus on the intellectual history of anthropology in Portugal overlooked the substantial archival field material generated by the project (Simão 2022), the MEU team's "modern" methods for studying African cultures in colonised territories remained largely obscured throughout Portuguese democracy.[3]

As an anthropologist interested in the reflexive post-modern nature of the discipline, I am seduced by studies on the parallel history of anthropology and photography (Pinney 2011) that reveal the varied and intricate disciplinary uses of photography. A significant predecessor to a large-scale project such as that of the MEU includes the photography archive created in the 1930s by a curator at a British ethnographic museum (Morton 2012a). This archive relied on second-hand collections of images from previous decades that his successors had cancelled. In contrast, after the 1974 revolution, the creators of the MEU archive largely abandoned their initiative. It can also be remindful of a scale-up of the disciplinary archiving by a post-World War II South African ethnographer of his field images (Comaroff et al. 2007). But against the background of a thirteen-year-long colonial war, the late-colonial MEU undertook an intriguing large-scale ethnographic repurposing of photography, using teamwork to manage the entire process from fieldwork to research on various Portuguese colonies to record traditional native cultures as greatly untouched by colonialism. Exploring this historical stillborn archive, this article discusses photography's potential to historicise a systematic practice of field photography created as a resource for a late-colonial ethnographic project. Thus it takes on the challenge of engaging with images and historical archival devices that have survived capricious transitions underused.

To undertake an empirically-based excavation of this grand institutional legacy of aggregated visual resources collected in the field by the team that consolidated the MEU, I concentrated on the most dynamic period of its operations and on Angola, the largest territory under Portuguese colonial control, and the one with the most extensive foundational collections of field photography and material

3 On the project's use of film in the colonies before the war, see Alves Costa (2016).

culture. Seeking to shed light on some of the original agendas and practices of the MEU's foundational research programme, I focused on a series of metropolitan missions to Angola (1965-69) conducted by the same fieldworker, António Carreira (1905-1988), also recuperating its related practices and direct interlocutors. Based on a bottom-up appreciation focused on a secondary figure, in intellectual terms, and on a marginalised method – photography –, Carreira's repeated use of photography in Angola midway through the project makes this series of missions a compelling subject to better understand a neglected and paradoxical part of the history of this research-based museum, with its colonial state sponsor aiming to institutionalise modern social sciences during a contested political context. By looking at Carreira's multi-layered practice, I also sought to understand how such a massive photographic record could be reused as a valuable archive for Africanist ethnographic research, even if for that I had to turn myself into a sort of archivist, able to explore a limited set of their many "affordances" (Basu 2021).

Recent research on Africanist archives has highlighted the usefulness of "collections" as analytical tools (Morton & Newbury, 2015). Reconstituting Carreira's series of Angolan photographs required transcending the existing institutional logic of the MEU's collections, for his field images had been partially repurposed to integrate an ethnographic archive with a larger geographical scope. To recover a substantial contribution of a single photographer within the archive, involved taking a tentative multi-scalar approach to navigate an immense photographic archive that encompassed several African territories, a multi-contributor Angolan collection, and a parallel coeval archival fond known today as the MNE historical administrative archive. Cross-referencing against and along the archival grain became a way to conduct a thorny process of informally retrieving a dispersed collection that resulted from the series of missions Carreira led to Angola during the MEU's formative period. To address an unresolved tension that the democratic political rupture in Portugal has somewhat buried in the history of the discipline, I thus analyse a "part" while navigating the "whole".

Supported by a myriad of institutionalised archival field documents and related bureaucracy, I developed graphical representations to visualize the temporal and spatial photographic activity of the various MEU field missions to the colonies. Alongside guiding representations for the overall MEU field activity in the colonies and of Carreira's five missions in Angola in particular, I present outline drawings based on his photographs. The drawings recover the social nature of Carreira's field relationships and expose some of the archival idiosyncrasies embedded in complicated storage and retrieval systems. They achieve this by being released from the constraints of institutionalised photography.

The MEU was driven by post-World War II ideas of sociocultural anthropology within a declining colonial regime. This paradox somewhat mirrors

the achievements and failings that emerge when summarizing in retrospect the trajectory of Carreira's career or the convoluted objectives of his late field experiences in Angola for the MEU, as part of its short-lived programme focused on the colonies that was abruptly extinguished. The suspended state of the MEU's colonial programme in the decades following democratic rule highlights striking parallels between its thwarted ambitions and those of Carreira's missions to Angola.

António Carreira: a life spanning many Portuguese colonies in Africa, multi-tasking and teamwork at the MEU

António Carreira (1905-1988) was born in Cape Verde but grew up in Guinea-Bissau when both were Portuguese colonies. After being a colonial official for several decades, in 1955 he began working as the manager of a private company that operated the Bissau docks. His action in calling the police on a workers' strike for better pay, led to what nowadays is known as the Pidjiguiti massacre (1959), an event that the African liberation movement PAIGC considered foundational for creating their armed response to Portuguese colonialism (Telepneva 2021, 51).[4] Forced to find a job outside the country, Carreira moved to Lisbon, where he became involved in the project for the metropolitan MEU, led by Jorge Dias. At a mature stage of Carreira's life, Dias would take advantage of his multi-faceted profile.

In 1962, seeking to benefit from Carreira's bureaucratic knowledge as an experienced colonial official, Dias made him an administrative manager for his nascent research-based museum. Dias also employed him for other tasks, such as academic publishing and as a field officer. He had met Carreira on a field visit to Portuguese Guinea in 1956 (cf. Dias 1968), when the MEU was still being formulated. At that time, Carreira already had a solid connection to the multi-disciplinary Research Centre of Portuguese Guinea [*Centro de Estudos da Guiné Portuguesa, CEGP*], located in Bissau and active between 1945 and 1973 (Ágoas 2020). In previous decades, while conducting field surveys for colonial administration, such as for a hut tax (cf. Carreira 1936; 1940), he gathered population data. He later incorporated this data into articles on topics such as native housing and religion, which he published in the CEGP's journal, which combined scientific and colonial news about the territory (C. Carvalho 2004).

Carreira has been retrospectively recognised as "the most prolific ethnologist-administrator in the territory" (Ágoas 2020, 12; cf. also Costa 1996, 3), which fitly describes only a part of his career. Many of his writings certainly relate to

4 As the liberation movements in Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau united, the Bissau docks incident also made Carreira a persona non grata in Cape Verde for some time. After his death in Lisbon, in 1988, his personal archive was donated to Cape Verde's National Archive (Filho 2015).

Portuguese Guinea and deal with ethno-social aspects. Still, occasionally Carreira also wrote historical overviews, and later became an historian of Cape Verde and of the transatlantic slave trade. He authored many articles and a few books on these subjects, particularly during his later years in a democratic Portugal, which remain his most remembered legacy.[5] In his overall scholarly career, Carreira moved between various fields of knowledge, with his focus shifting from a specific subject within a Portuguese colony, particularly Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde, to topics interconnecting territories in which he had specialised to varying degrees.

Drawing solely on the history of the CEGP (Ágoas 2020) and its journal (C. Carvalho 2004), appreciations of Carreira's work overlook the various professional shifts he made during his many years collaborating with it. In contrast, diachronic approaches centred on Carreira's career, such as that of Filho (2015), take into account many of the multiple professional roles he assumed during his life. These included colonial and private administration, field surveys and scholarly writing on the social sciences and humanities. They involved shifting locations within the empire - from one colony to another, and when armed resistance to colonialism arose, to the metropolis. In the metropolis, he later experienced the transition to decolonisation. Recruited from the field of colonial bureaucracy, Carreira's multidisciplinary career was full of shifts, transitions and multi-tasking. This profile makes it hard to impose a linear narrative on his participation in Dias' late colonial project of modern sociocultural anthropology.

For example, Dias's preface to Carreira's monograph on Cape Verdean fabrics, a result of the latter's recent fieldwork within the MEU project, frames him firstly as an administrator, and then as an established self-taught ethnographer, who later excelled in his studies back in the metropolis between 1946 and 1949, when training to become a senior colonial official (1968, 7; yet written in 1965). The year before writing such a preface, Dias had already decided to put Carreira's fieldwork experience to use in African colonies other than the one where Carreira could not then return. In the following decade, while liberation wars were being waged on three fronts, Carreira spent his 60s in the metropolis as an employee of this museum-in-the-making, producing a significant number of publications on various cultural and historical subjects and also showing great energy in carrying out almost every year a mission to one of the disputed colonies. Carreira's late missions to Angola provided a significant amount of visual and material data to the embryonic MEU and, perhaps unsurprisingly, ended up generating little academic output for him as a scholar.

Epistolary correspondence between the MEU leadership has given insights into

5 Perhaps as an effort to secure a job in the metropolis, he published on biological anthropology while affiliated with a metropolitan centre specialising in the field (e.g. Carreira 1963). For an extensive bibliography of his scholarly work see Costa (1996: 7-21).

the project's intellectual dimension within the history of Portuguese anthropology (Leal 2008). The published correspondence from Dias to Carreira, written in 1967 while Carreira was preparing for his third mission to Angola, reveals an additional, previously absent, dimension of the inner workings of the MEU project. It shows, for instance, the tense balance in the latter's multitasking as a field researcher and as an administrative manager for the museum-in-the-making (cf. Filho 2015). While on a prestigious fellowship at Stanford, USA, Dias wrote to Carreira, asking him to prioritise the administrative procedures of the research-based museum over the mission he was preparing. Dias stressed that bureaucracy was the wheel that moved it forward (2015, 245, 247). Dias' letters give a sense of his interlocutor's apologetic attitude, and as Carreira proceeded with the mission, one may assume that he succeeded in completing both tasks. One may also wonder, however, what compelled Carreira to take on, for the third time, the demanding challenges of conducting fieldwork in a huge, faraway and destabilised colonised territory, while his superior was actually asking him to prioritise his managerial tasks in Lisbon. Highlighting Carreira as a motivated fieldworker on yet another mission to a turbulent colony, Dias' letters also establish him as one of the metropolitan administrators of the museum-in-the-making, in charge of managing what nowadays is a large part of MNE's historical archive. In other words, a multi-tasker.

Dias' vision of a research programme encompassing all the colonies made it heavily dependent on both multi-tasking and teamwork for gathering and processing field data. This warrants the mention of another member of MEU's formative team, Fernando Rogado Quintino (1905-76), who was important to Carreira's Angolan missions because he managed the field photography archive on non-European cultures under Dias' direction, from 1963 up to its abandonment, in 1974. As an archivist, a field officer, and a scholarly author, Quintino shared multi-tasking with all the other MEU members. Quintino also shared with Carreira a curious set of biographical traits: Quintino was born in a colonised territory - in his case Goa -, had extensive field and administrative experience as colonial official, namely in Guinea and was a metropolitan graduate in colonial administration before working regularly on the MEU project.[6] Except for an educational exhibition on Guinea-Bissauan and Cape Verdean fabrics (MNE 1996), which was based on the collections gathered during the MEU's formative period, and included mapping their overall published scientific production and, in Carreira's case, a (sanitised) biographical version, both became secondary figures in the postcolonial history

6 People born in the colonies shared the same rights in the colonial administration only when considered legally equal to European Portuguese, i.e. as descendent of metropolitan parents with no other native predecessors (article 9, Decree Law 34:169/1944; and article 8, Decree Law 29:244/1938); Carreira (1947) is his formal request for recognition as of European descent.

of the MNE. That is, after the democratic transition in Portugal the ambiguous dimensions that surrounded their lives and work during and for the colonial regime turned them into a sort of "excluded ancestors". Their role in the MEU's history becomes evident only when viewed "from below", with a particular focus on field photography being especially relevant.

I tentatively reconstituted Carreira's Angolan field practice by pairing constellations of records found in the remains of two institutional archival devices formerly managed by these two multitaskers. I recognise that this practice resulted from triangular teamwork arrangement, with the third component being the MEU's management. They directed both the fieldwork and the creation of the photography archive to support a larger research programme based on first-hand data from the colonies. The exception of autonomous work was the administrative archive led by Carreira, a competent expert in the state bureaucracy.

Oblivious field legacies, their historical visual archive, and its Angolan collection

Fifty years after its decade of consolidation and abrupt cancellation, the historical photography archive has largely retained its original design. It has persisted like a "living dead" archive, with its structure and contents frozen in time since the revolution: no new records were added; and no significant cataloguing was done afterwards. Similar to Silva (2003: 33), my approach to the photography archive involved engaging with the inspiration it drew from the post-World War II North American project, the *Human Relations Area Files* (HRAF), created in 1949 in New Haven, Connecticut, USA. Nonetheless, I concluded that understanding all the implications of the archival architecture implemented is not straightforward today.[7] The HRAF is a universalist databank that organises comprehensive data for cross-cultural comparison and, to facilitate this, uses categories based on cultural groups rather than countries. Its structure must have sounded attractive to Dias, who had German culturalist training, and he used it as a guide for achieving the MEU's purpose of a combined study of various colonies.[8] Further suggesting the relevance of the underlying specialist rationale of the HRAF, particularly its potential for cross-referencing data, the photographic archive dedicated to Portuguese ethnography, which was established earlier, appears to have only a

7 The MNE's library holds a copy of Outline of Cultural Materials (Murdock et al. 1950) and the HRAF guestbook shows that Dias visited it in 1951. I thank Ricardo Moreira for the latter information.

8 It reinforces the director's aim of creating a universalist museum (Dias 1963; 1966), an expanded agenda that lacked institutional support. His proposal holds a paradox, as it aligned with the extensive geographical reach of the Portuguese colonial drive. See Leal (2001, 650-1) for Dias' multiple anthropological influences.

generic catalogation system (see Saraiva 2024 for examples of field cards showing signs of [simple] cataloging).

The field missions undertaken throughout the Portuguese colonies during the MEU's period of consolidation generated substantial visual data, but its incomplete cataloguing shows that they achieved little ability to cross-reference.[9] This underdeveloped disciplinary status of the photographic archive revealed by its incomplete cataloguing may have stemmed from the project's sudden abandonment after the transition to democracy in Portugal. But built, as it was, with the intention of looking for predefined ethnographic themes within or shared by the various geographies studied, the archive contains one other decisive ambiguity. In organising data from multiple field missions to the colonies conducted over almost two decades by various researchers, it subordinated the contexts of the data gathered to a variety of principles.

In contrast with the dismembered field collections of Northcote Thomas (1868-1936), the first anthropologist hired by the British colonial administration in early XX century (Basu 2021: 49-50), the re-structuring that took place in the MEU in the 1980s, left most of Carreira's field materials in the same building – by an historical chance, the building created for the MEU was only terminated in 1974, and the democratic revolution caught them recently reunited there. About fifty years later, locating the original images from Carreira's Angolan missions involved searching through multiple archiving devices stored in various cabinets in a single room. To discover his Angolan photography, I had to sort through both photographic material generated in the field (35mm and 6x6 b/w negatives; and 35mm colour slides) and copious material engendered by the subsequent archiving process (accessioned 10x15 paper copies from the b/w negatives; two incomplete catalogues dedicated exclusively to Angolan materials, and partial aids for finding the slides). The field material had been stored and accessioned by format. Negatives and slides from all the missions to various colonies coordinated by the MEU, had been stored together.[10] The paper copies, designated field cards (*fichas de campo*) by the formative team, were intended to make the data more manageable for research across or within the colonies. Through this archival device, collections of images with shared geographical provenance were formed, with captions handwritten along their frames indicating the authorship of many of them.

With about 4,000 annotated images sourced from the b/w negatives, kept in

9 There is another historical archival system designed to enable cross-referencing between material culture and their contemporary photographs from the field. However, as far as I could determine, this practice, had been abandoned and might never have been fully implemented.

10 The one exception was data from the mission to Angola in 1965, led by the Austrian ethno-musicologist Gerhard Kubik (n. 1934), in partnership with the MEU, whose b/w negatives were stored in dedicated albums, apparently at his request.

two dedicated drawers, the most extensive collection of field cards is for Angola. Each field card also has two accession numbers: one for the card and the other for its negative. The Angolan field cards assigned to Carreira helped to locate their negatives, stored in four dispersed single-format albums, and intermixed with images from other sources, whether by place or contributor. Both the original catalogues for the field cards and for the slides dedicated to Angola, prioritised top-down predefined categories, which had not been applied to all of the thousands of individual records.

By the time I began my research in 2017, the photographic archive had already shifted to a digital management system that also recovered historical records. It used the field cards as the main reference for its internal database and occasionally included slides. By interconnecting the analogue files and their digital equivalents, the field material and the archive closely aligned, but never fully interlocked. It was a consequence of the decade-long original development of the analogue archive, in which its incomplete cataloguing system only seemed to hide the many discrepancies in its composite storage. It also rendered it incapable of providing an accurate response to any question it had not been specifically set up to answer. Authorship, which could trace the visual data's production context, was not one of them. As archival processing disregarded field production, this was certainly the case when attempting to track down all of Carreira's Angolan photography from his missions in five consecutive years.

According to a preliminary overview from the mid-1990s, the series of missions that Carreira had undertaken to Angola every year between 1965 and 1969 brought around 2,500 artefacts to the MEU (Costa 1996, 5). Two decades after this overview, I deduced from the available digital database that Carreira had made at least 1,300 images (around 800 field cards printed from negatives, and about 500 slides). An empirical bottom-up archival search that included cross-referencing Carreira's b/w field cards from Angola with the whole MEU collection of colour slides, and noticing similarities in the situations depicted, confirmed his authorship of additional images. Categorically identifying about 1,000 slides not previously attributed to Carreira's missions to Angola involved looking at around 30 boxes, each containing 150 to 300 slides, and finding definitively-attributed quasi-replicas of b/w images randomly stored in 13 boxes. This laborious cross-referencing uncovered Carreira's field practice of using two cameras to take both b/w records and colour images on the same occasion. As a result, the estimate of images from Angola attributable to Carreira was revised to about 2,300. This increase was partly due to his use of dual-cameras, which helped reveal more images through cross-referencing formats.

The dispersed way that the slides were originally stored explains why Carreira's systematic use of double cameras in Angola has mainly remained unnoticed up to

today. It also demonstrated that the visual material from his first two missions to Angola was accessioned shortly after each one, in contrast, material from later ones had been accessioned together. Concerning the Angolan collection of b/w field cards, it also seems that earlier missions were more extensively catalogued than later ones, a backlog not unusual in living archives today (Greene and Meissner 2005). Understanding how Carreira's Angolan field photography series was embedded in the archive revealed its convoluted evolution.

Evaluating a major contributor such as Carreira required negotiating a series of problems, such as the inaccuracies arising from inconsistent campaign organisation, convoluted storage practices, fragmented accession, and the original top-down cataloguing system. However, a bottom-up assessment of his photographic contribution provided an opportunity to gain a better understanding of a reflexive dimension that the formative team appeared to have ignored in the archive – the way Carreira's photography and his missions were undertaken. My archival hunting (cf. Roque 2022) consisted of a counter-retrieving enabled by the analogue nature of photographic materials.

Neither Carreira's exquisite field practice in Angola nor his records from each mission were immediately accessible in the archive, but analogue photography made both retrievable to a certain degree. This retrieval depended on understanding the various opportunities and obstacles embedded in the multiple archives of Dias' abruptly terminated project to develop a sociocultural anthropology programme on the Portuguese colonies. As the photographic archive refused to give straightforward answers about its many sources, I undertook dynamic readings of two archival devices at the MNE along and against the grain (Zeitlyn 2012). Thus, in the following sections, I describe how I critically navigated the MNE's historical photographic and administrative archives to frame a few preliminary ethnographic impressions about Carreira's Angolan missions, particularly in the context of Dias' short-lived project. To address the paradoxical constraints of a structurally unfinished universalist archive covering various Portuguese colonies, I interlink Carreira's Angolan photography with a range of materials from these historical archives, establishing balanced two-way connections between them.

The MEU's missions to the colonies and the major contribution of Carreira's work in Angola: pairing the administrative and photographic archives

To make sense of António Carreira's systematic practice of field photography in Angola, whose archiving was fragmented, I inspected the historical administrative archive, which holds the bureaucratic remains of this museum-in-the-making. This included reports on planned and past activities, as well as other revealing

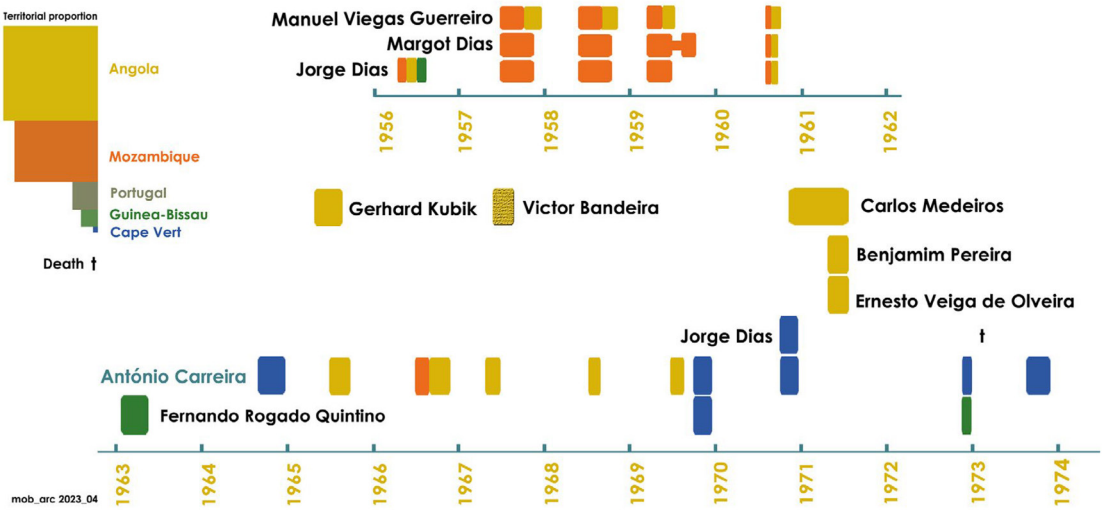


Diagram 1: Thick lines show field missions to Portugal's African colonies during the MEU's pre-formative (1956-62) and formative periods (1963-74).

documents such as authorisations, telegrams, letters, bills, and invoices. This device was also genealogically linked to Carreira, as the experienced administrator of Dias' ambitious project. Engaging with two autonomous yet related archival systems at the MNE, I reassembled various constellations of historical administrative records and photographic materials; disparate but precious fragments that, pieced together in differing ways, brought intriguing glimpses of Carreira's work in Angola.

The historical administrative records had been recently re-organised, and I selected about 30 boxes, which were briefly described by the MNE, to review. By navigating another set of fragmented data, I began to grasp the broader institutional context of Carreira's fieldwork in Angola and, primarily based on administrative sources, developed a preliminary overview of the MEU's missions to Portuguese colonies (Diagram 1). Although containing significant gaps in the overall dynamics of fieldwork for the museum-in-the-making, it does illustrate the broad scope of its work in the colonies. It offers a valuable snapshot of the MEU's rarely-discussed research programme in which field photography played a major role.[11] The diagram graphically

11 Diagram 1 has three significant gaps that, along with its missions to the colonies, account for the MEU's artefact fond of about 21,000 items by the end of its formative period (Dias et al. 1972). Firstly, it excludes the fieldwork conducted by the team in rural Portugal, which was viewed as fading due to industrialisation, with a separate photographic archive created for this earlier. Secondly, it omits the often-informal but substantial collaboration of Vitor Bandeira (1931-2024), an adventurer and collector of world art, from the Portuguese colonies and beyond, which has little associated photography. Thirdly, collections derived from institutional transfers, missionaries and other social actors linked to the African colonies, whose fieldwork and photography needs a case-by-case evaluation are also not considered.

conveys how the first-hand field experiences in those geographies can be divided into two periods: a pre-formative one, that includes the official "Research Mission on Ethnic Minorities" (1956-1962); and a formative period (1963-74), during which the "MEU's Organising Mission" (1962-1965) transitioned to the dynamic "MEU" (1965-74). At a macro-level, the beginning of the liberation wars in 1961, which by 1964 had turned into a three-front colonial conflict, also separates these two periods.

A few scholars have discussed the MEU's pre-formative period (Pereira, 1989; West 2004; Pereira 2005; Macagno 2015), which was characterised by its founding missions to Mozambique on an annual basis between 1956 and 1961, led by its first director, Jorge Dias, and two assistants, Margot Dias (1908-2001), also his wife, and Manuel Viegas Guerreiro (1912-1997). This literature explores the connection between social sciences and colonial administration, focusing on Dias' ambivalent confidential reports about Portuguese colonialism based on his Mozambican fieldwork. The next, less-researched phase includes the empirically valuable studies by Costa (1996) and Silva (2005), found in catalogues published by the MNE, which cover parts of the MEU's overall field programme on the colonies (see also Ponte, 2022a). The diagram shows that in its decade-long formative phase between 1963 and 1973, the MEU supervised about a dozen individual missions and a few joint missions throughout Portugal's colonies in Africa. This period was characterised by a larger number of staff involved in trans-territorial data gathering, less frequent missions, an emphasis on Angola and Cape Verde (the largest and the smallest colonies, respectively), and the context of the colonial wars.[12] The preliminary diagram also shows that Carreira was the field officer who led the greatest number of missions. Of these, his annual missions to Angola (1965-1969) were a regular occurrence, in contrast to his intermittent missions to Cape Verde (between 1964 and 1973).

The archival condition of Carreira's Angolan contributions to the MEU's field photography of the Portuguese colonies, made me interpret diagram 1 as revealing three internal dynamics that occurred during the project's consolidation and that reflect on its dedicated archive at different scales. Firstly, the b/w Angola collection features multiple authors, with even minor contributors producing hundreds of field records. Identifying images by other authors helped establish reference points for a more precise evaluation of Carreira's 5-episode contribution. Secondly, Carreira's photographs from Angola are also interspersed with his Cape Verde and Mozambique images. This geographical diversity of a single author within the archive attests to the extent of the project's territorial ambition and of its limited human resources. Thirdly, while the diagram shows the chronology

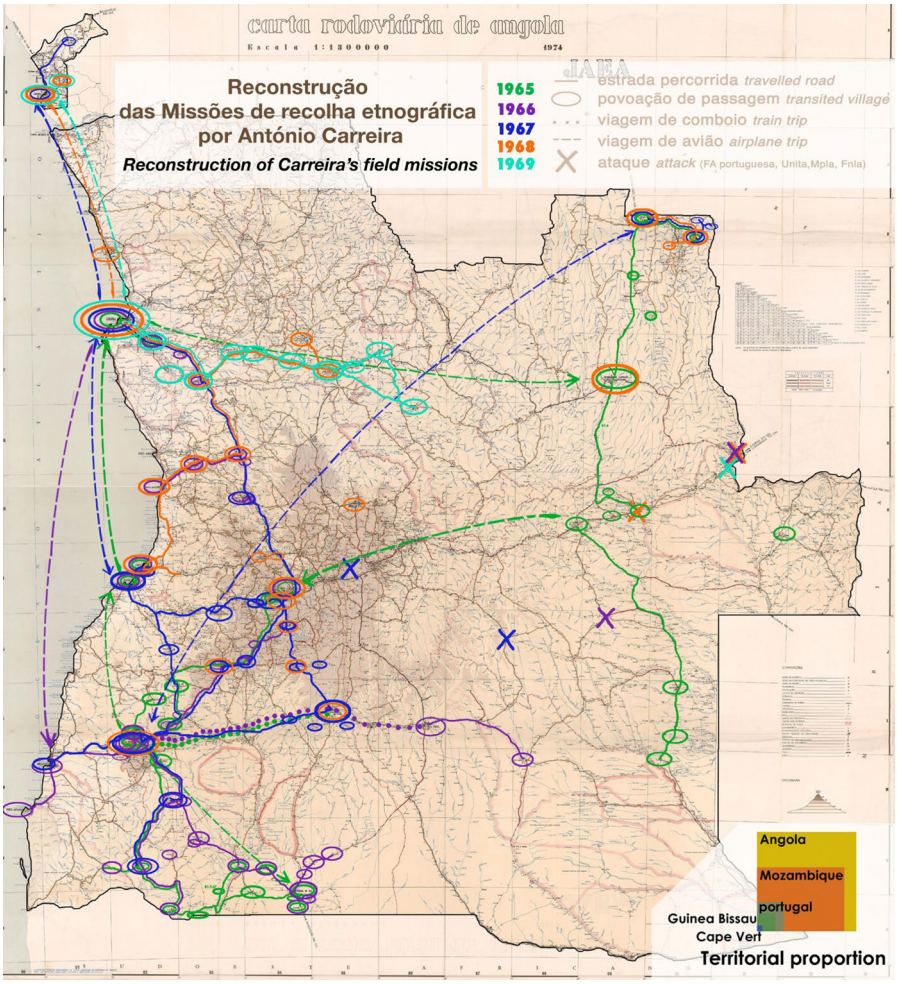
12 Administrative records show that Dias requested funding for field missions to the colonies every year, and that due to the decade-long colonial war budgeting constraints occurred in 1971.

and duration of the missions, and not their photographic results, it is still helpful to invoke the tremendous amount of manual processing and management of the analogue materials produced by various contributors. This process culminated in the primary accession of items into geographically-classified collections based on b/w printed material and into muddled collections of negatives and colour slides.

To recover Carreira's five annual series of field photography in Angola, I kept switching between the archive's architecture, the missions' multi-format content and the multi-authored geographically-driven collections, often having to counteract the unfulfilled universalist bent of the ethnographic data, designed to provide answers to questions such as what kind of basketry can be found in Angola? Locating the extent to which this archive can offer answers to questions such as this one to the historical period of its records' field production, Silva (2005) has given a great reply to it, domesticating the coloniality of the archive through her contemporary fieldwork among Angolan refugees that due to the civil war that followed independence (1975-2002) had fled to neighbouring Zambia. Instead of focusing on the historical evolution of predetermined topics, I concentrated on with what such "living dead" archival device might reveal about the field methods it seemed to obscure. For this, the historical administrative archive continued to provide valuable clues.

Mapping Carreira's Angolan missions and his photographic practice

Assessing each of the annual missions and creating a counter-memory of them (Cross & Peck 2010: 128) required resisting the MEU's archival rationale. In the historical administrative archive I followed the trail of dated and located records of every type on the missions (official and informal correspondence; expense invoices; mission reports and telegrams), to formulate a tentative sketch of their geographical range (Map 1). With varying degrees of reliability and completeness, the resulting map gives a sense of the route of each mission and shows how occasionally they intersected. Considering Carreira's prior field experiences, it should be noted that Angola is more than 30 times larger than Portuguese Guinea and 14 times larger than continental Portugal. Besides the vast geographical scope of Carreira's field trips to Portugal's largest colonised African territory, the map also highlights specific areas that he repeatedly visited over the five years. The deceptive archival process used fragmented a photographic practice that sometimes made various visits to the same place and often involved double photography-making.



Map 1. *Incomplete sketch of Carreira's five annual missions to Angola*. The large blank areas mostly coincide with war zones. GIF version: see Ponte, 2022.

The administrative trail clarifies with exceptional precision that each of the five missions Carreira conducted in Angola consisted of a stay of roughly two months and combined the collection of material culture with photography. The MEU's annual reports from the period set out the missions' intentions and results in a general fashion. Although conducted in consecutive years, they convey the idea that each mission was devised for a particular year, with no long-term plan in mind. A published letter from Dias to Carreira during his first mission to Angola, in 1965 illuminates how its agenda was developed when he was already in the field (Filho, 2015, 241), with Dias advising on the kind of material the MEU was interested in. Dias' reply resulted from Carreira having encountered private collections in the

field that were potentially available for purchase, for which Dias sets a dual criteria for evaluating them. Second-hand collected items often lacked field information, but if artefacts had been used (rather than made to be sold) and their price was low, it could be worth acquiring them. Dias, however, preferred collecting everyday artefacts first-hand from a variety of cultural groups, and specifically cited some from the southern region with whom he had become acquainted in previous visits to Angola (in 1956 and 1961).[13] To do this, Carreira's only obstacle was finding transportation suitable for the bush areas to be surveyed.

For Carreira's third (1967) and fourth (1968) missions, Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira acted in Dias' absence as the metropolitan coordinator, and some of their field correspondence can be found in the MNE's historical administrative archive (folder 98). Carreira's letters from Angola in 1967 have a more personal tone compared to the formal professional style of his more detailed report on the series of missions to Angola (Carreira, 1967). He may have consulted these letters when drafting this report, which would explain how they ended up in the historical administrative fond, fortuitously enabling their further use by researchers such as myself. The set is also the only instance of two-way epistolary from his Angolan fieldwork to the metropolitan coordination that I could get hold of.[14]

In the letters, it is clear that Oliveira, a specialist in European ethnography and African art without prior field experience in the colonies, shared Dias' anxiety that African peasants were no longer producing ethnographically interesting pieces. Thus, in competition with other metropolitan and Angola-based institutions, Oliveira directed Carreira to focus more on disappearing African art, for which private collections were the most desirable sources.[15] In contrast with Dias' epistolary advice during the two earlier missions, Oliveira strongly encouraged Carreira to survey existing private collections rather than artefacts currently in use. The long-distance supervision on first- and second-hand collecting thus ended up differing in Carreira's Angolan field series, with the diligent bureaucrat appearing to keep following both strands: surveying rural areas and particularly off-road locations, while occasionally detouring to visit private collections he had heard about.

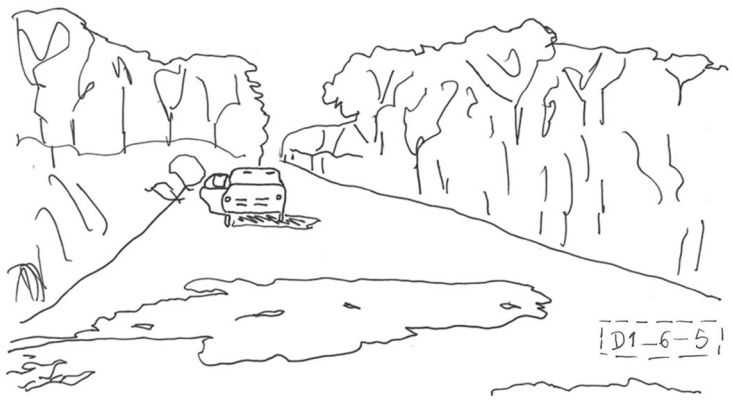
The main subjects of the images retrieved from Carreira's five annual missions are landscapes, people, and dwellings in rural contexts, occasionally punctuated by sets of outdoor studio images of artefacts in private collections. They reveal

13 Which was before the liberation war started. West (2004) shows how Dias' Mozambican fieldwork series was interrupted by the increasing instability in his selected area. During the war, Dias made only one mission to a colony, to Cape Verde, in 1971, together with Carreira (see Diagram 1).

14 Carreira also mentions to Oliveira that he was annotating his routes on a map, making Map 1. a new but incomplete record of this currently missing piece.

15 The MNE's opening exhibition in 1976, under Oliveira's direction, was on the modernist aesthetic appreciation of African art. Oliveira conducted a joint mission to Angola in 1971 (see Silva 2005).

his pursuit of a dual agenda involving both first- and second-hand collecting, as evidenced by the epistolary records. Reordering the retrieved images by their field sequencing invoked another strong impression, one of intense road trips: images of transiting through rural areas, interspersed with passages in urban settings. Carreira used multiple means of transport in his five missions to make each two-month survey as extensive as possible and to cover vast swathes of territory while circumventing changing war fronts. Bills from his first mission to Angola show him using borrowed cars from administrators and taxis to move in and around urban areas, combined with air and train travel to cover greater distances. The following year, Carreira also conducted his only mission to Mozambique, and administrative records reveal that one motive was to collect the vehicle Dias had obtained for missions in the MEU's pre-formative phase, and take it to Angola.[16] From then on, Carreira made use of the valuable access to an all-terrain vehicle on his missions around Angola while also still travelling by train or plane – the latter being the only means of transport he appears not to have recorded visually (fig. 1). I will describe how Carreira conducted his five brief and fast-paced missions to Angola and examine the exquisite way they are recorded in the photographic archive, while also offering further insights into his field practice.



16 Carreira's disappointment with regard to the material culture he collected in Mozambique (cf. Dias in Filho, 2015, 243), increased his will of surveying Angola with an appropriate vehicle.



Figure 1. *Fieldwork on the mov*e. Drawings based on Carreira's slides (from 1965 and 1966), by the author.

Universalist and social readings of Carreira's Angolan field photography

An inventory that disregarded the processual dimension of both the field experience and photography-making and a meagre universalist catalogue were challenging devices to engage with the set of António Carreira's retrieved records. Fortunately, the nature of analogue photography allowed me to uncover clues about Carreira's series of missions as production contexts. Carreira had linked a specific technology with his fieldwork technique. In line with the material turn emerging in the last decade (Basu and De Jong 2016), reconstructing episodic sequences from the existing collection b/w Angolan photography enabled me to challenge the archival principles that limited understanding of his fieldwork as a social practice.

The field cards of Carreira's five Angolan missions shed light on the archive's structure and the rationale for adding records. They also potentially enabled a reading of multiple photographic registers made on a specific occasion, which its original thematic organisation had disregarded. An example of this serialised reading of dispersed annotated field cards regarding Carreira's Angolan missions is illustrated below.





Fig 2. *Sequencing the field and the archive*: three images from Carreira's Angolan mission, dated 1966. Drawings based on photography field cards, by the author.

Figure 2 takes a set of images Carreira assigned to his second mission to Angola, where he revisited the southern region. The images are arranged according to two distinct ordering principles. The upper sequence features the three field cards placed in the order indicated by their negatives, thus reuniting a view of a farmstead with a collective portrait of a man, woman and child that inhabited it and an individual portrait of the woman. Their accession numbers reveal that, although the images were produced sequentially in the field, in the archival device intended to make them more easily accessible, the three images had become separated by a few dozen other images. The lower sequence attempts to show this, with the field cards appearing in the order they were filed in the archive's cabinet drawer, including the gaps between them.

Although meagre, the top-down catalogue of Angolan negatives adds a universal classification to all the records in this reconstructed field triptych. Through their accession numbers (A1.XXXX), I indicate below the categories (.) and subcategories (:) the catalogue inscribes to them, followed by Carreira's individual captions (-). The captions share his authorship and the same date and indicate Angola as the territory and Huila as the region.

A1.0975. House and Comfort: Villages and Settlements - Settlement

A1.1009. Man: Descriptive Somatology - Curoca, Mundimbas

A1.1061. Clothing and Ornaments: Ornaments and Costumes - Chibia, Mwila woman

When one cross-references Carreira's specific data regarding these images scattered within the archive, different ethnic identities and geographical locations are attributed to the same woman: Ovandimba in Curoca and Ovamwila in Chibia. Both areas are connected by a road in the Southern region, which Carreira travelled in 1965, 1966 and possibly in 1967. Ecologically speaking, Curoca is a desert environment historically associated with the pastoralist Ovandimba, while Chibia is on a plateau and associated with the agro-pastoralist Ovamwila. However, the images carry insufficient detail to resolve either this ethnic discrepancy or ecological specificity. In multi-ethnic Angola, both appearance and locality are problematic issues as ethnic markers, and the geographical categories firmly established in colonial times, were unable to properly reflect this (R. Carvalho

2008). Establishing the same occasion for this captioned duo of portraits offers a more intriguing testament to the slippery multi-ethnicity of the region than most of Carreira's images portraying people of similar ethnic appearance, or than his few individual captions to images that attest to multi-ethnic interactions.

The ethnic mislabelling of these two sequential portraits also suggests that their captioning was done after the field cards were reorganised for accession on a thematic basis that separated them. Carreira's captions for these cards from 1966, apparently based on his memory of somewhat fleeting experiences, suggest brief ethnographic encounters rather than the long-term stays characteristic of what became considered classic modern anthropological field practice. This appears to be a rare practice in the MEU's formative period, especially regarding their work on the colonies, for which both the war context and the project's underfunding might have contributed.[17] Some of Carreira's later missions, having been accessioned together, suggest that some images may have been captioned a considerable time after they were taken in the field. All this does not invalidate Carreira's data but it certainly helps to put it in perspective, and expands its potential for a relational understanding.

Looking at the archive according to its original universalist configuration and also through the alternative lens of the reconstituted sequence of its records' production in the field, enriches our reading of these images, which involves a multi-layered understanding of visual and textual material in the archive at different levels.

Photography in the Angolan missions: two-camera fieldwork

Guided by tentative reassemblies of António Carreira's missions from the Angolan field cards, I now address in more detail his intensive photographic practice during fleeting encounters in the field, which implied a complex use of two cameras. Budget constraints limited the MEU's film usage for fieldwork, prioritizing b/w format for archival consistency. However, Carreira's 1967 mission report indicates an institutional intention to use slides for teaching - which explains the typewritten guide for the colour records from some of his Angolan missions. Beyond these specificities, the three photographic formats assigned to Carreira in the archive translated into two largely parallel sets covering all five of his Angolan missions;

17 Before the war, Dias' training had included intensive fieldwork in rural Portugal, for his PhD at the University of Munich, in 1944; his fully recognised PhD in Portugal in 1965, was based on his MEU fieldwork series among the Mozambican Makonde (1956-1960). During it, Carlos Medeiros is known by having followed this method, in 1971, Southern Angola, for his undergraduate dissertation the MEU co-hosted.

one of (6x6 or 35mm) b/w negatives and one of (35mm) colour slides. This revealed that he always used different cameras for colour and b/w photography during these five missions and further indicated the simultaneous use of two cameras.

Carreira's series of Angolan images prominently feature paired formats, with exceptions due to technical issues with one camera.[18] This systematic use of double cameras enhances our understanding of how he produced his images during his fast-moving missions to Angola. Tthis intensive two-camera practice characterises him as an ethnographer-photographer (Morton 2012) and underscores the paradox of its archival obscurity until today. Given this intense photographic practice, it can be somewhat surprising that some of Carreira's field images reveal a lack of proficiency in both framing and composition, as well as in capturing brief social interactions. Exploring his use of paired analogue photography provides an ethnographic perspective on his photographic technique and his social interactions with rural Angolans as his field interlocutors.

Figure 3 shows a paired example of b/w photographs and colour slides. Carreira apparently took these during his second mission to Angola in 1966, in the area between Huila and Curoca that was previously mentioned. In the annotated b/w field cards, one gets a sense of his encounter with a traveling shepherd on a bush road, which the caption reinforces while adding an ethnic identity to the subject – "Muchimba with his goat herd, travelling". On the slide, the travelling herd has moved away from the lens, while the shepherd has made himself available for a posed portrait, in a framing that, in contrast with the earlier images, excludes Carreira´s Land Rover. Pairing these images suggests a situation in which, on encountering the shepherd on the road, Carreira rushed to take a photograph of the shepherd and his moving herd, and only then began to be attentive to frame shots that excluded his vehicle after the shepherd had paused talking with someone in the car. Supporting this narrative, the two b/w images are the final frames on one roll of film, while the colour slides were taken with a different camera.[19] From the slides alone, it is hard to ascertain that the traveller portrayed was a shepherd. The ethnographic description of the slides may be greatly enriched by articulation with the associated images in different formats.

Fig 3, next page. *Encountering a travelling shepherd along the way*: a triptych of serialised photography. Drawings based on field cards and slide, by the author.

18 In replying to Carreira during his first mission to Angola, Dias mentions that Oliveira sent word that his interlocutor's colour images had turned out fine (Filho 2015, 241), showing that, besides news from the field, Carreira had also sent exposed films, which the team quickly had developed. Retrieved sequencing shows a lesser mastery of camera exposure in some of his later colour records.

19 Another slide from this sequence shows the shepherd turning to pose for the camera, which speeds further this entire scene.


A1. 1074
A.223.30


A1. 1075
A.223.31


D1.28.22

Later epistolary tales: drumming narratives from the field

I now address a major aim of António Carreira's missions for the museum-in-the-making: to build a collection of material culture with its associated visual documentation from the field. One such artefact was a massive drum he collected during his third mission to Angola. Connecting documents related to this drum in the administrative archive with records retrieved from the photographic archive, vividly exemplifies the historical context of his series of war-time field missions, as at least he made repeated visits to the Cabinda enclave, which had begun to be an active war front in 1963.

Carreira's images of Angola show many snippets of everyday life. Still, there is a conspicuous absence of references to the ongoing conflict. However, by sifting through the massive archive on everything, it is also possible to retrieve a sense of how the war affected Carreira's missions and how it resonated in his field photography. Much like Carreira's field experience, the photographic archive does not explicitly feature the war, but, by scanning the archival constellations, its influence can still be discerned. It was browsing the MNE archived correspondence between Carreira in the field and Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira in the metropolitan headquarter that war-related constellations began to emerge.

Besides revealing that this mission also included an intensive search for private collections, the 1967 correspondence also introduces a subject that, in contrast, seems absent in the about two thousand archival field photographs he made over five years in Angola. Excerpts from interconnected field letters reveal more details of Carreira's news and concerns in 1967 and should be read in the knowledge that it was his first visit to the Cabinda enclave. What guided me to a field card was his rare reference to photography (fig. 4).

> I took some photographs of the drum bought in Cabinda. As they were taken on a cloudy day and under the ruins of a shed, I suspect they will not look good. I tried to get people to drag it into the sun; but there was no workpower for that (there were very few men in the village). I calculate that it weighs about 2-tons!!! Luanda, 23 May [Original in Portuguese, my translation]

Carreira arranged for the heavy drum's transport to Luanda. He left the forests of the northern enclave for the faraway southern plateau of Angola, literally – and diligently – travelling the length of the country. However, a few days later the drum was still on his mind, as this excerpt from the letter that followed makes explicit.

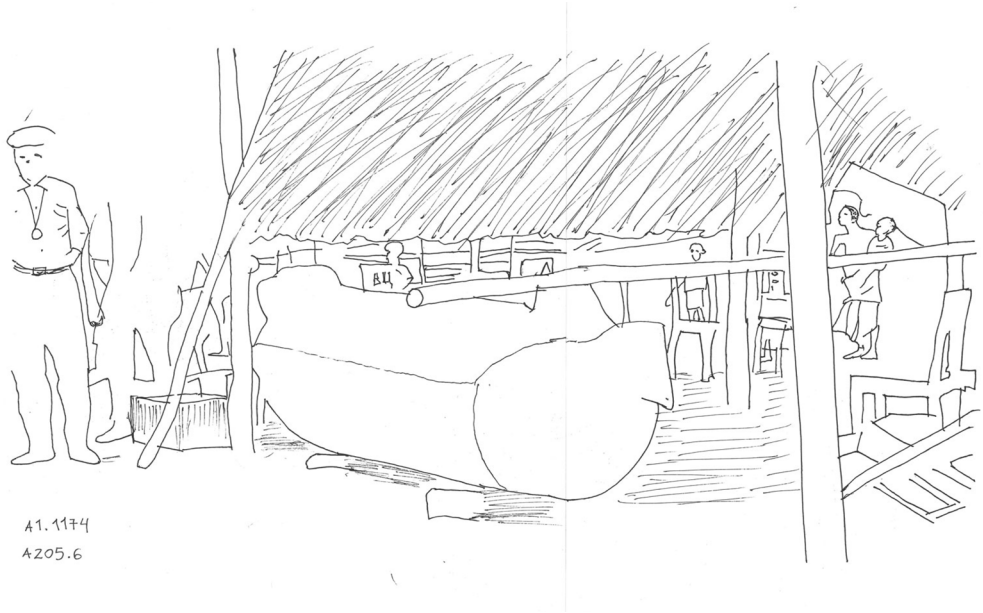


FIG. 4. *Hidden echoes of a war-front*. Drawing based on photography field card, by Lino Damião.

> Tell me frankly if you agree with my decision about the drum. I'm sure that when you see it, you will be able to evaluate the interest of the piece better. And its interest is, in my opinion, all the more valuable since it is certain that the troops have already destroyed most of the drums of this kind to avoid them being used for the long-distance transmission of news, especially concerning military movements. Sá da Bandeira (nowadays Lubango), 26 May [my translation]

In this expression of what in the parallel epistolary from Dias to Carreira (30-3-1967), Dias refers as his interlocutor's psychological fear of making autonomous decisions in the field (Filho 2015, 245), Carreira's need for validation combined his collecting and photography concerns with their wartime context.[20] The value he saw in the drum provides a far more nuanced understanding than the generic caption he provided to the corresponding field card dated 1967, Cabinda: "Drums for long-distance communication". His archived field caption clearly

20 To provide context for Quintino's less frequent participation in missions during the MEU's formative period, one of Dias' letters to Carreira (10-4-1967) reveals that Dias preferred the field qualities of his interlocutor (Filho 2015, 247). For an example of Quintino's field photography, see Quintino (1963), which demonstrates his method of asking craftsmen to manufacture artefacts for the museum and documenting the process. Additionally, Botas (2012) discusses Quintino's role as field collector for the MEU.

demonstrates that Carreira did not include all of his valuable field observations in the photographic archive.

Carreira's 1967 letters to Oliveira also exemplify his great persistence in solving many of the practical hurdles of fieldwork far from home, gathering many of such significant details from the field. When Carreira arrived in Luanda he prioritised getting a mechanical overhaul of his jeep but fell afoul of bureaucratic blockages, demonstrating a lack of awareness of institutional procedure that is surprising for so diligent a bureaucrat with two previous missions to Angola already under his belt. He also writes of the excessive cost of transporting collected items, much higher than the cost of purchasing them, and cites the large drum as an example. His letters detail the serious logistics involved, the anticipated difficulties and the unexpected complications of conducting fieldwork in colonised Angola during a war, which even his prior preparation and experiences of other colonised territories could not overcome. He also mentions other problems encountered, such as the delayed fevers from mosquito bites in the Maiombe forest, which only appeared after he had moved 2,000 km further south into the Ganguela region.[21] However, war and fever appear as minor details to be endured while conducting demanding fieldwork of his choosing.

Carreira's Angolan missions largely avoided the ongoing colonial war. Yet, its context enriches the interpretation of his visual material, collected as he made rapid visits in and out of the war zones. From the far reaches of Angola, Carreira wrte to his distant metropolitan coordinator about the imminent reality of a war zone he had already left, integrating the drum int the situation. After returning to the metropolis, Carreira did not add this specific background in the photographic archive; instead, he left it in the parallel administrative archive, where it provides valuable insights into the war zone's context. The letters help directing the reading of Carreira's caption regarding the drum, providing valuable ethnographic content and formal evidence of the war circumstances.

It was not just an ethnographer-photographer but also an administrator-ethnographer-photographer who was responsible for linking these fragments of his field experience. This role enables a discussion of what the MEU team appears to have omitted from their ethnographic materials. Carreira's letters offer insights into the lived experiences of his fieldwork, adding a valuable dimension to his related photography. It is paradoxical, though perhaps not unexpected, that the most informal source in the institutional archive provides such a broad understanding.

21 The year after this mission, he published one of the few articles with images resulting from fieldwork in Angola, on the Ganguela region (Carreira 1968).

Conclusion

While Jorge Dias' achievements in the intellectual and institutional development of anthropology in Portugal are indisputable, I focused on the MEU project through the case of António Carreira. As a metropolitan-based colonial field officer, colleague and subordinate, Carreira played several critical roles in the institutionalisation of this late-colonial research-based ethnological museum. Thinking through Carreira's five annual missions to Angola (1965-69) conducted during the Portuguese colonial wars, I addressed the resonances in his biography of the convoluted course of Dias' ambitious late-colonial project. To locate Carreira's multi-episodic fieldwork in colonised Angola within the macro-idea of this modern sociocultural anthropology project and against the overarching macro-event of the Portuguese colonial wars, I both recuperated and navigated the micro-practices of the field and the archive.

The quest to understand Carreira's Angolan photography meant dealing with a series of heavily compartmentalised but interrelated sources, and required the mission's coeval administrative archive to play an enhanced role in piecing together glimpses of his multi-episodic fieldwork. Drawing on two related institutional archival devices into which the data had been divided, I sought their mutual guidance in reconstituting the intriguing puzzle of Carreira's Angolan field series. To recover both the frantic rhythm of Carreira's fieldwork and the intensity of his photography, I carefully examined how they were originally archived. I found items repurposed to suit this disciplinary-driven archive through a convoluted inventory process that differed for each of the five missions. Moving between parts and wholes, I have given a few examples of the value of undertaking a weighted cross-referencing of multiple available sources, whether by contrasting photographic formats or by juxtaposing the historical photography with the administrative archive, through simultaneous readings along and against the grain.

Carreira's five annual missions to Angola proved to be an excellent entry point for understanding the paradoxical essence of this ambitious but short-lived project from the late Portuguese colonial period meant to institutionalise sociocultural anthropology in the metropolis. They showed, in practice, the relationship between the project's objectives and its accomplishments. By retrieving Carreira's series of Angolan field photography from a "living dead" archive, I demonstrated how photography can reveal some of the paradoxes involved in developing modern social science within a late colonial context, especially after the democratic transition rendered these visual materials obsolete. In describing Carreira's pre-modern, fast-paced extensive annual surveys undertaken in the largest territory under Portuguese colonial control, I also highlighted its articulated systematic usage of photography that involved two cameras and its divided agenda, split between first- and second-hand collecting.

Mapping the missions' routes and analysing personal field correspondence between Carreira and his metropolitan coordinators clarified the archival condition of his photography. This analysis allowed me to reconstruct the context of his fast-paced fieldwork across a vast territory and to situate it within the late colonial war context by tracing his movements in and out of war zones. Despite varying levels of precision, my preliminary approach suggests that these materials offer significant opportunities for further research, particularly regarding whether Carreira's dual camera use in the field was a shared practice among the MEU members or varied with training and supervision.[22]

Thus offering a provisional and partial history of this ambitious disciplinary project in its dynamic formative phase, this ethnographic understanding of Carreira's Angolan missions sheds light on past agendas and practices of this foundational research programme on former Portuguese colonies as a transient sociocultural anthropology project that made systematic use of field photography but left post-field archival devices unfinished when it was abruptly extinguished by political change. Examining parts of the extensive concrete fieldwork materials from this period has expanded our understanding of the establishment of sociocultural anthropology in Portugal. Since the MEU's formative members used the same field methods yet diverged on the archival devices, in the metropolitan context, it is even more fascinating to explore the achievements and limitations of the comprehensive anthropological project Dias was undertaking across many geographies before the onset of democracy in Portugal.

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Being out of Time: Life Narratives by and about Queer Youth

Tanja Vogler and Lena Sotevik

Abstract

This paper examines the life narratives by and about queer youth in Sweden and Switzerland through the lens of scholarship on queer temporality. The analysis focuses on two questions: Firstly, how do queer youth narrate their childhood (past) and adolescence (present), and how do they imagine their adulthood (future)? Secondly, how do these narratives stick to or challenge heteronormative modes of narration such as progress, linearity, and teleology? We therefore analyzed interviews with queer youth in Sweden (N = 27), conducted between 2022 and 2023, and texts from the queer youth magazine *Milchbüechli* (N = 22) in Switzerland, published between 2017 and 2023. The results from the analysis of the queer youth magazine *Milchbüechli* reveal that queer youth subcultures use their own shared tropes and stages to construct life narratives from childhood to adolescence. These queer life narratives begin with the experience of being "out of time," and are followed by a turning point that leads to the "death of the straight life" and end in pride. The coming-out narratives from the interviews suggest greater complexity than the linear trajectory from repression to pride found in issues of the magazine *Milchbüechli*: Coming-out is narrated as a lifelong process, as unnecessary, or as impossible. The visions of the future articulated in the interviews often stick to the "straight line" (marriage, a stable job, a family). However, given contemporary anti-gender backlash, "heteronormative" futures can also be understood as a radical act, while linear narratives that end in pride may encourage queer youth to change their futures in the present. Nevertheless, we argue for the necessity of queer life narratives that imagine new and different futures beyond the straight line.

Keywords: Temporality, Queer youth, Coming out, Life narratives, Chrononormativity, LGBTIQA+

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Introduction

In recent years, the rise of right-wing parties and anti-gender movements across Europe (Kováts 2017, Dahl & Kennedy-Macfoy 2020, Martinsson 2020) has undermined the achievements of the LGBTIQA+ communities (Nuñez-Mietz 2019, Roots 2022). This backlash is often rationalized in the name of protecting the "innocent child" (Butler 2024). At the same time, many European countries have increased legal equality for homosexual and bisexual people via same-sex marriage legalization, and there have been gradual improvements for trans* and intersex people. For example, when the ICD-11 (International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems, 11th Revision) took effect in January 2022, trans* diagnoses were removed from the "personality disorders" section, while some countries have legalized a third gender and adopted self-determination laws for trans* people (ILGA-Europe 2025). Therefore, the situation for LGBTIQA+ people in contemporary Europe is ambiguous and complex—it may appear to be simultaneously moving forward and backward. In the light of the current situation, this paper focuses on LGBTIQA+ youth from two European contexts, Sweden and Switzerland, to explore how queer youth are positioned and position themselves in relation to the past, present, and future.

Research on the experiences of LGBTIQA+ youth in both the Nordic and German-speaking countries shows that they still experience many challenges despite the countries' reputations for inclusivity. We found similar patterns across both contexts, even though the Nordic countries are often described as progressive in terms of gender and sexual diversity (Kjaran 2017, Kjaran & Lehtonen 2018). Growing up in heteronormative social institutions (e.g., family, school), LGBTIQA+ youth face the challenge of recognizing and accepting their own wishes and desires despite the heterosexual demands placed on them. They deal with self-doubt and shame and are confronted with fears of marginalization and rejection, as well as homophobic and transphobic attitudes in their environments (Kleiner 2016, Boll 2018, Oldemeier 2018, Hofmann et al. 2019). They often experience bullying and discrimination, especially at school, where they are exposed to threats and physical violence, yet receive little to no support from their teachers (Van der Star, Pachankis, & Bränström 2018, Weber & Greding 2018, Bomolo et al. 2022). For example, students at Swedish secondary schools expressed that teachers ignored or downplayed the seriousness of the verbal abuse toward LGBTIQA+ people there (Cederved et al. 2021). In particular, trans*, inter*, and nonbinary youth feel unsafe, invisible, and silenced at school (Schmitt 2023, Busche & Fütty 2023, Enzendorfer 2024). At the same time, trans* youth frequently face long wait times for gender-affirming medical care. Linander and Alm (2022) explore how trans* youth in Sweden describe their lives being put on hold and that they "lose time" by passing their teenage years waiting and longing for life to truly begin.

The authors (2022: 9) further describe a timeline that LGBTIQA+ youth feel they are not following: "The feeling of being left behind seems related to a feeling of being out of sync with time, not on the same timeline as other youth." Hence, LGBTIQA+ youth in the Nordic and German-speaking contexts experience more psychological discomfort, anxiety, and higher suicide rates than youth who identify as heterosexual and cisgender (Prasse 2020, Nordic Council of Ministers, 2020, 2021, Nuñez et al. 2022). However, research also emphasizes that many LGBTIQA+ youth have their own strategies for gaining agency (Kleiner 2016, Enzendorfer 2024) and that peer networks and LGBTIQA+ subcultures serve as crucial sites of mutual support, exchange, and empowerment (Sotevik & Stretmo 2025, Sotevik, 2024; Vogler 2021, 2022).

Our paper extends these findings to elaborate on how queer youth navigate a cis-heteronormative world that regulates and disciplines queer lives through temporality. We revisited two bodies of material that were produced during separate research projects: interviews with queer youth in Sweden (see Sotevik, 2024) and a discourse analysis of magazines published by Switzerland's largest youth-led queer organization, *Milchjugend* (see Vogler 2021, 2024). The projects had no previous connection, and their combination arose from the authors' shared interest in how temporalities emerge in narratives by and about queer youth. We therefore re-analyzed our material through the lens of scholarship on queer temporality. We use this lens to uncover how queer youth relate to time: What temporal narratives emerge in queer youth culture and how are they challenged in queer young people's descriptions of their past, present, and future lives?

Queer Temporalities and Queer Life Narratives

In the past 20 years, there has been a growing body of queer theory literature that addresses temporality. This "temporal turn" in queer theory marks a shift from primarily dismantling the "state's naming apparatus" to focusing on the pressure from states and markets as a "periodising apparatus" (Freeman 2005: 58). Freeman (2010) calls this normative and linear temporality "chrononormativity." From a biopolitical perspective, heteronormative temporalities regulate and discipline bodies to be both productive and reproductive. Dana Luciano (2007) shows how biopolitics and normative temporalities, described as "chronobiopolitics", regulate bodies and affect in relation to time and the nation-state. Heteronormative temporalities, therefore, fit within the rationality of capital, Western epistemology, and the nation-state, which is deeply connected to sexuality, gender, race, ableism, and age (Dinshaw et al. 2007). The concept of queer temporality describes ruptures in chrononormative temporality and is particularly influential in the field of queer cultural studies and queer

history. Lee Edelman's (2004) monograph *No Future* was groundbreaking for queer-theoretical thinking about temporality: He argued in favor of a queer negativity that rejects the future, which is connected to the image of the child (Matz 2015). Queer of Color scholar Muñoz (2009) critiques this rejection of the future for being embedded in a white, middle-class narrative of queers who can live safely and be relatively unharmed by violence, racism or poverty, for example, and instead advocates for imagining alternative futures. In queer history and narrative theory, scholarship on queer temporality has notably criticized teleological metanarratives that assume a linear relation among past, present, and future (Dinshaw et al. 2007). In contrast to linear metanarratives, queer (historical) narratives emphasize the circularity, discontinuities, and nonlinear movements of time (Doan 2017).

Analyses from film and literary studies show that queer life narratives have their own shared tropes and consecutive stages, which often remain within the logic of linearity, progressivity, and teleology (Mulhall 2020). Jay Prosser (1998: 101), for example, identified the following stages in trans* life narratives: "[...] suffering and confusion; the epiphany of self-discovery; corporeal and social transformation/conversion; and finally, the arrival 'home'—the reassignment." Similarly, Kathryn Stockton (2009:7) shows how queer childhood narratives retrospectively construct the queer child as an "afterwardness" or "gravestone marker" that only acquires meaning through its future consequences. Like Prosser (1998), she also points to shared tropes and stages in these narratives like "growing toward a question mark" (4), the "death of the straight life" (7), and the happy newborn queer. Another dominant queer life narrative is the "coming-out teleology," which has been critiqued for its "homonormative" (Duggan 2004) inclusion of "queers" into the white, Western paradigm of finding happiness and success in love and marriage (Mulhall 2020: 145). These narratives imply that queer success and happiness begin with coming out and culminates in marriage and family. Furthermore, another well-known example is the "It Gets Better" campaign, which was launched on YouTube in 2010 (Ciszek 2014, Mason 2012, Dyer 2017). It depicts older LGBTIQA+ individuals who share their life stories, which often begin with experiences of bullying and discrimination and end with finding happiness in a stable, long-term relationship (Ciszek 2014). On the one hand, scholars argue that this campaign "promises" a happy future that not every queer person can attain (Halberstam 2011, Mulhall 2020). On the other hand, the campaign is recognized as a queer pedagogy that teaches LGBTIQA+ youth to change their future right now (Matz 2015). Nevertheless, there are also queer life narratives that challenge teleological and progressive narratives, such as Dorothy Allison's *Two or Three Things I Know for Sure* (1996), Paul Preciado's *Testo Junkie* (2013) and Billy-Ray Belcourt's *History of My Brief Body* (2020).

Elsewhere, queer scholars have reflected on how queers who do not follow the rationality of reproduction, marriage, and family experience time and space differently. Halberstam (2005), for example, shows how queers who enjoy participating in subcultural life beyond adulthood are cut off from the temporal rhythms of family life (e.g., school, work, shopping). Those who do not follow the heteronormative temporality of "childhood—early adulthood—marriage—reproduction—child" are perceived as childish and immature because they do not fulfill adulthood correctly (Dinshaw et al. 2007). They are constantly "in question" and "marked by questions" (Ahmed 2017: 120), as they do not fulfil childhood and puberty correctly. Getting married or having a long-term romantic relationship is a crucial part of what is perceived as a successful adulthood, even for queer people (Duggan 2004, Halberstam 2005, Jackson 2014). Sara Ahmed (2010:112) emphasizes that the prospect of including certain forms of queerness into the contemporary image of a successful and happy life simultaneously excludes other queer people, that cannot participate. According to her (2010, 2017), the "promise of happiness" is linked to a life course that includes marriage, family, a job, and a house, which puts pressure on queers, queer migrants, and queer people of Color, who do not fit into this "straight line." Chronomorativity can therefore mean both: how the day is organized by institutions and family life (Halberstam 2005) and how life is organized according to a life course (Ahmed 2006).

Materials and Method

This paper analyzes the life narratives of queer young people who are part of queer subcultures in Sweden and Switzerland through the lens of scholarship on queer temporality. We re-analyzed materials that were initially produced in two separate projects: interviews with queer youth in Sweden and discourse analysis of a queer youth magazine in Switzerland. Rather than comparing or contrasting the different materials and their contexts (interviews vs. magazines or Switzerland vs. Sweden), we analyzed them separately before bringing each project's results into a dialogue with each other. In doing so, we hope to find overlaps where the materials complement each other and together contribute to a broader analysis. We are interested in how the queer life narratives by and about queer youth first position themselves in relation to chrononormativity: How do queer youth narrate their childhood (past) and adolescence (present), and how do they imagine their adulthood (future)? Secondly, we elaborate on how the narratives follow or overcome "straight" forms of narration such as progressiveness, linearity, and teleology. We understand life narrative as "a set of shifting self-referential practices that, in engaging the past, reflect on identity in the present" (Smith & Watson 2010: 1). In line with Michel Foucault's (1972) discourse-theoretical thinking, we consider

the life narratives of queer youth to be embedded in a larger queer discourse rather than existing in isolation. While the broader queer discourse seeks to challenge heteronormativity (Butler 1993), it also risks, as we have already noted with respect to queer futures and happiness, being centered on a white, middle-class perspective, that excludes queers that do not fit its promises (e.g. Ahmed 2010, Muñoz 1999, 2006). We applied Siegfried Jäger's (2015) methodological tools of critical discourse analysis to our material. This approach is based on Foucault's thinking. First, we read and analyzed all relevant texts (magazines N=22 and interviews N=27) while focusing on the research question. This gave us an overview of the material and showed us which topics, statements, and patterns were typical for the material. Second, we performed detailed analyses of the topoi, patterns, and statements that had a temporal dimension (Jäger 2015: 80-97). Our analysis also considered that our materials' text types—magazines and interviews—worked differently: The life narratives in the Swiss magazines were written by queer young people who "came out and are proud" to retrospectively share their past struggles with other queer young people, to give them hope for their future. The texts are orientated toward the specific purpose of giving hope, and when writing an article, there is time to reflect on what has been written. On the other hand, interview responses are more spontaneous, influenced by the situation, and affective. However, both text types are understood as interpretive and meaningful constructions of one's own life, which also have the implicit purpose of constructing oneself as a coherent and successful queer subject (Woltersdorf 2005).

Milchjugend: Milchbüechli Magazine

We analyzed material from a queer magazine called *Milchbüechli*, published by the Swiss queer youth organization, Milchjugend, which is the largest youth-led LGBTIQA+ organization in the German-speaking world. It is a network that connects LGBTIQA+ youth across the country—in both urban and rural areas. *Milchbüechli* has been published four times per year since Milchjugend's foundation in 2012, and has a current circulation of 5000 copies per issue. Besides its typical LGBTIQA+ youth subscribers, it is also available at counselling centers, bookstores, community centers, AIDS centers[1], youth work facilities, and several schools. The magazine focuses on local activism, identity issues, LGBTIQA+ politics, popular culture, and sexuality. It is written, edited, and published by a (constantly changing) group of queer young people (ages 16-28) from different parts of Switzerland (see Vogler 2022). Because the interviews with queer youth in Sweden were conducted in 2022 and 2023, we analysed the most recent *Milchbüechli* issues (20–45, from

1 Under the umbrella organisation Aids Hilfe Schweiz, there are cantonal and regional Aids Hilfe organisations operating across Switzerland, with a focus on HIV and sexual health more broadly. The name dates back to their establishment in the mid-1980s in response to the AIDS crisis.

2017 to 2023) to cover a similar period as the Swedish interviews. We selected texts that contain life narratives, which were primarily found in experience reports. Unlike the Swedish interviews, the articles in *Milchbüechli* contain only a few narratives about the future.

Interviews With Queer Youth

Interviews were conducted in 2022 and 2023 with participants from both larger cities and rural areas in Sweden. Participants were between 16 and 27 years old and recruited through various activist groups and organizations.[2]

The interviews, which lasted between 40 and 90 minutes, were audio-recorded and later transcribed. Using a semi-structured approach allowed for follow-up questions and enabled participants to bring up themes they found important (Elliott 2005, Brinkmann 2020). The research project was approved by the Swedish Ethical Review Authority; given that the participants were both young and shared potentially sensitive details about their lives, it was essential to make ethical considerations while creating a respectful and trusting atmosphere. Participants were given written information about the research project, including information that participation was voluntary. At the beginning of each interview, the researcher went through the information verbally and participants were given the opportunity to ask questions. To ensure privacy, participants were assigned pseudonyms, while other personally identifying information like city names was removed.

Analysis

Drawing on scholarship on queer temporality, we analyzed the two types of material to examine how queer young people narrate their lives in relation to time. The first section, *Stages of Queer Life Narratives*, analyzes shared tropes and life stages in the life narratives within queer youth discourse depicted in *Milchbüechli*. Next, the *Being out of Time* section analyzes temporalities of coming-out narratives using interviews. Finally, *Happy Futures* takes a closer look at how the interview participants spoke about their personal visions for the future. We conclude by discussing similarities and differences between the two bodies of material and how they represent temporality and life narratives for or by queer youth.

2 The interviews were made for a study that focused on young LGBTIQA+ people's self-organization in Sweden (Forte 2021-01981). The interviews focused on their experiences in activism and organizing meeting places; participants were asked about the needs and benefits of queer spaces and the challenges they encountered while organizing (see Sotevik 2024). In this article, we have selected parts of the interviews that align with our interest in temporalities and queer life narratives.

Stages of Queer Life Narratives

The analysis of *Milchbüechli* reveals that queer youth construct life narratives with their own "shared tropes" and "consecutive stages" (Mulhall 2020). The life narratives depicted in the magazine begin with queer youth being "lost in time", are followed by a transformation that leads to "death of the straight/cis life", and end with the happy, proud queer. We drew on four representative examples to show how these typical "consecutive stages" work. The first example, published in Issue 25, is titled "How I found out I was polyamorous" (Milchbüechli 2018b). The second example, from Issue 30, is titled "First straight—then bi—now lesbian" (Milchbüechli 2019). The third example, from Issue 39, focuses on bisexuality and is titled "Am I in the right place? My path to safety" (Milchbüechli 2021). The final example—published in Issue 23 (Milchbüechli 2018a) —is by a trans woman and is titled "Puberty 2.0."

The (queer) youth lost in time

The four life narratives of queer youth from *Milchbüechli* share a common beginning that features a story of "being in question" —being lost in time or being out of time —due to not fitting into heteronormative temporality (Ahmed 2017: 115). The queer youth describe how, at the beginning of their lives, they felt stuck—moving sideways and backward rather than forward (Stockton, 2009).

The text titled "How I found out I was polyamorous" begins by describing a feeling of loss and being in question: Lou[3] recounts how their dating experiences were overshadowed by the difficulty of navigating and understanding their pansexual and polyamorous feelings:

> I didn't know that I was also attracted to women, and I had no intention of telling her. I was too afraid of coming out and of what others would think of me. I didn't know what to do anymore until I happened to meet a man I liked, and after a short time we became a couple. We were very happy, but I still couldn't get that woman out of my head. […] I had found a new love—how could I be in love with someone else at the same time? (Milchbüechli 2018b: 14).

Lou's story begins with Lou being overwhelmed by feelings for another girl. They were not able to act on these feelings because they were afraid to come out. Lou describes themselves as a question ("How could I be in love with someone else at the same time?") because their simultaneous love for more than one person does

3 All names are pseudonyms. In some articles, the authors' pronouns are specified; if not, I use they/them.

not fit into heteronormative temporality, which assumes that people fall in love with only one person at a time. Not fitting into a heteronormative expectation leaves them feeling stuck ("I didn't know what to do anymore.").

Clara, a lesbian youth, begins her life narrative, "First Heterosexual—Then Bisexual—Now Lesbian," with a recollection of years spent dating a boyfriend while also having crushes on girls—a tension that ultimately led her to question her sexual orientation:

> Over the next few years, I increasingly realized that I was probably bisexual. […] On the one hand, it tore me apart not to know exactly where I stood with myself; on the other hand, I pushed it away to some extent, until I broke up with my boyfriend after eight years together. At that time, I was still repressing my bisexual identity to some degree. […] Again and again, I felt caught in a whirlpool. I didn't know: is this still bisexuality? Or would I feel more comfortable labeling myself as lesbian? (Milchbüechli 2019 :17).

Clara describes this phase as being a question ("not to know exactly where I stood with myself"). She uses the image of a whirlpool to convey her confusion and ongoing self-questioning. Clara also characterizes it as a period of being stuck, during which she was at times unable to move forward. She avoided dealing with her feelings—"pushed it away"—and repressed her bisexual identity. For Clara, this uncertainty and sense of being stuck lasted for ten years.

The life narrative "Am I in the right place? my path to safety" narrates the story of Emma a bisexual young person. The title of the article, "Am I in the Right Place?," already poses a question that stands for all the times Emma has been in question because of her bisexuality. Unlike the first two stories, Emma explains that she did not have trouble with her bisexuality or her (inner) coming-out. Emma's challenges began when family, friends, and the queer community started questioning her and her bisexuality:

> Even though I was completely at peace with my bisexuality, I increasingly noticed criticism, incomprehension, or even anger from the outside. From 'so are you more into women or into men?' to 'you're basically a lesbian, you just don't want to admit it,' I had to listen to all kinds of things. Apparently, this 'both' was simply not accepted." […] "My family dismissed it as a trend. Like: 'it's just a phase. You're trying it out, and then it will pass.' […]. What hurt me most was the lack of understanding from lesbian friends. They gave me the impression that I didn't belong, that I hadn't quite found myself yet, or that I just wasn't as right as they

> were. I noticed how I felt increasingly insecure. I had the impression that I was wrong. I tried to compensate for this inner restlessness. So if I was in a relationship with a woman, I identified as lesbian. When I was with a man, I was back to being straight. My environment seemed okay with that. I was not. For me, it just wasn't right. (Milchbüechli 2021: 10).

Emma recounts how others questioned her bisexuality suggesting that a person can desire only either/or and not both genders at the same time ("So are you more into women or into men?"). Her family questioned her "true" feelings by labeling them a trend or a phase that would soon end. They thus situate her within a heteronormative developmental model of sexual maturity that presumes a temporary "homosexual phase" in early adulthood. Her lesbian friends, in turn, questioned whether she had "found herself" yet, assuming bisexuality is merely a phase for those not yet ready to admit their lesbianism. Emma describes that this state of being in question made her feel "insecure" and "restless". She recounts that she coped by passing as either heterosexual or lesbian—a strategy that pleased others but made her feel "wrong."

Likewise, in "Puberty 2.0," Carmen, a trans woman describes how her happy childhood ended with the unwanted onset of becoming a man, beginning at puberty:

> Born in 1975, I try to put myself in the shoes of a younger teenager and figure out how this small difference, which never seemed to matter in the happy childhood school years, caused my Puberty 1.0 to go horribly wrong. The 24/7 struggle against the unwanted becoming-a-man of a happy child began, which, after around 27 years, would culminate in a striking emotional and physical pile of shards. Fear and ignorance repressed the trans identity, postponed coming-out. Every day I stood in front of my nicely filled wardrobe and had nothing left to wear outside, because I no longer wanted to play the man. (Milchbüechli 2018a: 7)

Carmen narrates that her happy childhood ended during puberty, when a gap opened between the bodily changes society reads as "becoming a man" and her refusal to identify as a man. Feeling out of time with respect to normative cisgender development led to a "24/7 fight against manhood." She describes a sense of being stuck that lasted twenty-seven years: fear and uncertainty delayed her coming out. The image of standing before her closet day after day, unsure what to wear, captures this sense of immobility—the difficulty of knowing where and how to stop "playing the man."

The death of the straight/cis life

The second stage of queer life narratives in the magazine *Milchbüechli* was the "death of the straight life" (Stockton 2009: 7), which marked the beginning of a transformation that allowed queer youth to move forward.

Lou narrates a transformation from a straight life to a polyamorous, pansexual life, which begins with a crisis and the recognition that it was OK to love more than one person at a time:

> Then a new person entered my life with a force that nearly knocked me over. I was totally in love with her, and the drama started all over again. […] I still loved my boyfriend. That couldn't/shouldn't be. […] For a long time, I repressed my feelings until I couldn't take it anymore and, in tears, tried to explain the situation to my boyfriend. That was it—everything was over, I thought; I'm ruining everything. He reacted with surprising understanding and was there for me, drying my tears. […] I thus discovered that I could have romantic feelings for several people at the same time—and that this was OK. (Milchbüechli 2018b: 14)

The death of Lou's straight/monogamous life begins with them falling in love again with a girl while still in a relationship with their boyfriend. This situation brings them into a crisis—"drama"—that culminates when they "couldn't take it anymore." Lou tells their boyfriend, in tears, expecting to ruin their relationship, even though Lou still loves him. Instead, the situation opens up the possibility of questioning monogamy and heteronormativity. The death of the straight life begins with Lou's recognition that it was OK to be out of time—"to feel romantic love for several people at the same time." It marks a transformation from the self being in question to questioning heteronormative temporality—namely the assumption that one can love only one person at a time (Ahmed 2017: 27).

In Clara's life narrative the turning point that led to the death of her straight/bisexual life was her discovery of her own lesbian desire when she fell in love with a work colleague: "In 2016, I fell head over heels in love with a work colleague and she fell in love with me. Our relationship did not last long, but after that relationship, I was sure that I was a lesbian (Milchbüechli 2019: 17)." Falling in love—and being able to experience that desire in a relationship—ended Clara's self-questioning and gave her certainty about her desire.

Emma explains that her transformation began with a decision to stand up for herself—regardless of what others might say:

> I made the decision to stay true to myself—no matter what anyone says. I stand by it: I am and will remain bi, no matter whom I'm in a relationship

> with. I'm not more into women than men, or vice versa. I don't have to pin myself down or choose. (Milchbüechli 2021: 10).

In Emmas narrative, it is not the "straight girl" who dies, but the girl who tries to survive people's need for unambiguity by squeezing herself into either a heterosexual or a lesbian identity. However, Emma is privileged in that she can stand up for herself without being exhausted—an option not available to every queer young person (Ahmed 2010: 112). In the life narrative of Carmen, the trans woman, the transformation began with her urgent need to survive a complete "emotional and physical breakdown" (Milchbüechli 2018a: 7).

The happy, proud queer

The final stage of queer life narratives in *Milchbüechli* is the happy life of the newly born queer (Stockton 2009) or the "arrival home" (Prosser 1998: 110). The queer youth narrate that, at the endpoint, they no longer need to hide their sexuality and can accept themselves and enjoy their queer relationships or their puberty.

Lou explains that they can now be themselves and is in a happy partnership with their boyfriend while also sustaining other relationships: "I realized I didn't have to repress anything and could fully be myself—pansexual and polyamorous. I've been with my boyfriend for eight and a half years; I have other relationships as well, and we're happy with that" (Milchbüechli 2018b: 14). Clara describes how she finally felt she had arrived, sure that she is a lesbian: "Our relationship didn't last long, but after it ended, I was sure that I am a lesbian. I needed that short but intense time to know where I stand with myself. […] I felt I had arrived. Not with her, but with my sexuality." (Milchbüechli 2019:17). Clara uses the metaphor of "arrival" to express how she found herself. This metaphor refers to the endpoint of a journey from a heterosexual, through a bisexual, to a lesbian life. This long and often exhausting journey described in queer life narratives—marks a contrast to cis-heterosexual young people who usually do not have to question their desire or gender identity. Their temporality is one of having already arrived at their identity. Similarly, Emma concludes by saying she has made peace with herself—and with being questioned: "Today I can stand by it firmly and even smile when someone questions my bisexuality. I am fine the way I am and the way I feel" (Milchbüechli 2021: 10). While most life narratives culminate in arriving at themselves and their sexuality and therefore tell a linear, progressive story—from being in question, to becoming themselves or standing in for themselves —Carmen's life narrative is less linear. She describes being in her thirties, still in puberty, still naive, still experiencing becoming a woman, and in no hurry to finish this process:

> Right now I feel like I'm fourteen—rather inexperienced, somehow young, and in the midst of a still unfamiliar, at times confusing rush of hormones. A cheeky pageboy cut, after pink now turquoise-blue hair; people address me with the informal "du"[4]. […] Only for a few months have I been able to explore my new sexual organs myself. My conclusion so far: definitely a woman, and I love people. That sounds fantastic (and it is!), and, banally enough, it feels exactly the way I always imagined it and experienced it in my dreams. […] I'm now enjoying my puberty to the full. Long may it continue. (Milchbüechli 2018a :7)

Carmen also frames her story as having a happy ending. It feels fantastic—like in her dreams—to have and to explore her new body. In terms of normative developmental stages, her narrative marks a step backward: feeling fourteen and undergoing a second puberty at forty. She enjoys this second puberty and hopes it will continue for a long time, thereby resisting the urgency of the "rush of chrononormativity" (Israeli-Nevo 2017: 42). She is also cautious about claiming a stable, final identity; instead, she speaks of "my conclusion so far," signaling that her self-understanding may change and that there is no need to arrive at a definitive endpoint.

Being Out of Time

This section shows how queer young people positioned themselves in their life narratives relative to heteronormative temporalities as well as to queer life narratives. The narrative of coming out as a part of the queer life course is often reduced to a linear process—from hiding to being proud of who you are (Liinason 2020, Mulhall 2020). Compared to the *Milchbüechli* magazine narratives, the interviews contained more complex descriptions of how young people thought about and dealt with the process of coming out. For example, 24-year-old Lee said: "I'm not open, but I'm not closed either, so it's like I haven't come out, but I talk about going to gay clubs and Pride parades." Likewise, Nelly, aged 18, stated, "I feel like I CAN talk about it, but I don't" regarding whether she could be open with her friends and family. Others, like 25-year-old Jessica, did not feel the need to "come out" in the traditional manner because of the accepting environment where she was raised:

> I've always had a supportive family, and my sister has always taken the debate before I started thinking about sexuality. She was into gender and

4 In German-language contexts, adults and people higher in the hierarchy are addressed with the formal "Sie," whereas young people are addressed with the informal "du."

> sexuality and politics and things like that, so it's always been open. I've never felt that I've needed to have a coming- out story, it's just flowed on.

Jessica's description illustrates what is sometimes referred to as the "post-closet generation" (Murphy 2017), i.e., young people do not come out because they have never been in the closet. However, this was not a frequent narrative among the young participants.

In many ways, 21-year-old Lisa's experience aligned with the common queer life narrative from repression to pride (Mulhall 2020): "In the beginning it was very difficult, I had a huge longing to just be able to accept it at once." However, she also described how this was not a linear, temporal, one-time event, but more ongoing or repetitive: "Getting out is not a one-time thing, you have to do it over and over again. For everyone you meet for the first time, and also people you meet after you've kind of taken the step yourself." Lisa's description interrupted the linear narrative where "coming out" becomes a step forward in queer life. An interview with 25-year-old Mona depicted another example of not following the temporality of the queer life narrative. Because she knew that her parents had negative attitudes toward homosexuality, she chose not to disclose her sexuality to them. Mona described how people sometimes got upset when they learned that she was not being open about her lesbian identity to her parents. For example, she referred to how a school counselor responded when she shared her situation:

> I would say that the majority understand but still do not understand, for example counselors at school: "-God, I can't understand that you need to go through this, it's 2022. Do you really think your family would not be able to accept you?—I thought that was a hundred years ago."

The counselor referred to the present year (of that conversation) as an era where not being accepted as a lesbian is almost incomprehensible. She also positioned this as something far in the past—from a hundred years ago—and not something that still happens today. Not coming out or living openly is therefore interpreted by others as being out of time or experiencing a delay (Ahmed 2006, Stockton 2009, Freeman 2010). Mona also experienced being told that because she was now of legal age, she no longer needed her parents and should cut off contact with them if they did not accept her. Here, too, there is a temporal reference to the expected life course where a young adult will act independently in relation to their parents. Mona said that in some ways, she appreciated these reactions because they made her feel validated in her right to be queer, but she also felt questioned and alienated. In relation to the image of Swedish society as modern and progressive, Mona's

experience was positioned by others as untimely, and as *being out of time* regarding her own life course. Ahmed (2006) describes an expected way of living that follows the straight line that we are expected to live by. It is "straight" in both the sense of moving in a straightforward direction and heterosexual living. Deviating from the straight line—not doing anticipated things (for example, getting married and having children) in the expected order or time of your life—can be perceived as being out of line or out of time. Mona's story shows how deviating from the expected queer life narrative also created a sense of being out of time (Ahmed 2006). In many of these interviews, the temporality of coming out flowed back and forth, rather than moving forward in a chrononormative sense (Dinshaw et al. 2007, Freeman 2010, Doan 2017). This contrasts with the more linear, progressive narrative produced in the magazine *Milchbüechli*, where one stage seemed to follow another. Conversely, the narrative presented by the interview participants brought more messiness into how context, relationships to others, and individual feelings could challenge heteronormative temporality. Paradoxically, the act of not coming out—and thus remaining invisible to the outside world in one's queerness—serves as an example of a queer temporality that disrupts the chrononormative narrative.

Happy Futures

During the interviews, queer youth described their future plans and wishes. A recurring narrative was about finding a long-term partner and getting married. Alice, a 20-year-old trans woman, described how this makes her happy and gives the future a positive note:

> I have plans to get married in the future to my girlfriend, that's what we've both talked about and it's very nice, it makes me very happy to have it, to share that future plan with someone else and it feels really very positive.

For Alice, this future plan was perceived as within reach, while others expressed more uncertainty about getting married. Miro, a 20-year-old nonbinary youth said:

I hope that I will be able to have a partner that I'll be able to be open with no matter who this is, that I'll be able to live a happy life. But, like this idea of getting married, it's still a bit like … it still feels a bit scary to have a wedding. There are many of my relatives that I have no idea what they would think about it.

Miro was hoping for a happy life and a partner but stated that their relatives were a potential obstacle to getting married. Here, not getting married reflects more a consequence of negative attitudes than an active choice made by the queer subject themselves. Although few youths discussed marriage during the interviews, it was not explicitly criticized as a normative choice. Instead, some youth stated that

their dreams for the future were "ordinary" and just like everybody else's. Nelly, an 18-year-old lesbian, said that her vision for the future was "like many others, family, a small house maybe. I haven't thought so much about it, but I want the same as many other people I think." Likewise, Jessica, a 25-year-old lesbian, stated that her picture of the future was ordinary:

I hope, the way I feel today, that I would have a stable job where I would thrive, and that I might have a partner and we have a good everyday life and that we might even be able to have children. That's my picture of how I would like to have my future. Very ordinary.

It was not particularly surprising that queer youth described their futures in terms of relationships and family life. Halberstam (2005) and Ahmed (2010) point out that when queer people now have marriage rights in many countries, their demands to live a happy family life are more present. In these cases, queerness does not challenge what happiness can be or what it can look like, but is adapted to existing happiness narratives where marriage, financial stability, and whiteness are rewarded. However, "queer happiness" will not be available to everyone, according to Ahmed (2010). One strong discourse about the future for LGBTIQ+ is that it can be hard to be a young person but that a better future lies ahead. For example, many of the videos from the "It Gets Better" campaign have narratives where happiness equals finding a stable and long-term relationship (Ciszek 2014) and present a linear and progressive movement toward a future that promises something different from their past and present. This is also how the queer young people in the interviews envision their (happy) future: They have quite "ordinary" hopes for their future such as marriage, a job, children, and a house. On the one hand, desiring such futures can be a way of avoiding exhaustion: "We also learn: the desire for a normal life does not necessarily mean identification with norms but can be a desire to avoid the exhaustion of having to insist just to exist" (Ahmed 2017: 122). On the other hand, "normative" promises of the future might not always be available for those who are struggling to survive, because they cannot live safely and unharmed (Muñoz 1999, 2006). According to Halberstam (2010), the "it gets better" promises are a "sad lie" of adulthood as a "safe harbor" for everyone. It only gets better for a few privileged queers; for others, it gets worse—or maybe it gets different (ibid.), which the interviews also point to. Miro, for example, would like to imagine a future in which they get married, but they are also scared of it, because they are not sure whether marriage is an option for them. Unlike the narrative produced in the magazines, the interviews provide more insight into how young LGBTQIA+ imagined, or hoped for, their future. The orientation toward a happy future from the magazines was here embodied in narratives of romantic love and family life. This emphasis on romantic relationships being crucial parts of young queer people's life courses can be understood as the same chrononormative (Freeman 2010)

temporalities as those existing on the straight line are also reproduced in queer life narratives.

Conclusion: It Gets Different

From the perspective of queer temporality, our analysis elaborated on how life narratives of queer youth worked on and against heteronormative temporalities and might therefore be able to offer alternative paths to happiness for queer youth who continue to struggle with cisnormativity and heteronormativity. The analysis of the *Milchbüechli* magazine discourses showed that queer youth subcultures create their own life narratives. Except for the trans narrative, they followed their own linear and progressive (queer) timeline, which begins with "repression" and ends with "pride." The first stage of the queer life narratives reveals the pressure placed on queer young people by their non-conformity with hetero- and cisnormative temporality (the queer youth lost in time). However, queer life narratives suggest that queer youth do not have to be stuck in a repressed life but can take a different path that begins with the death of the straight life. Therefore, the narratives offer queer youth a new path (e.g. finding and accepting themselves, questioning heteronormativity, coming out to others, standing up for themselves) that allows them to escape repression (repressing identity, hiding identity, feeling lost or out of place). On the one hand this can be understood as a queer pedagogy that encourages queer young people to change their future, which has not yet begun, right now (in the present) (Matz 2015: 234). However, coming out—or, as in Emma's case, standing up for oneself—is not available to everyone and does not necessarily lead to a happy life (Ahmed 2010, 2017, Halberstam 2010). The interviews uncovered more complexity in how queer young people position themselves and revealed that queer time is more complicated and less straightforward than the queer life narratives suggest. Compared to the progressive queer youth narrative discourses, the interviews characterized the positions of queer young people by simultaneity, forward, backward and sideways movements: They may choose not to come out to their parents, they are neither open nor closed, they come out in some spaces and not in others, they don't have to come out or they have to come out throughout their lives. This messiness compared to the magazines can also be partly explained by the different materials. The interview responses are more spontaneous and affective than the life narratives in the magazines, which allow for time to reflect on how a life story is told. In doing so, authors unconsciously tend to constitute themselves as successful subjects. However, a successful/progressive life story also serves the goal of encouraging queer young people to change their future right now. The narrative of trans life in the magazine is an exception. It reveals sideways and backward movements. The trans life narrative ends with enjoying the experience of

becoming, thus interrupting both the "rush" of chrononormativity and the linearity of the identity paradigm (Israeli-Nevo 2017: 42).

The queer life narratives not only encourage young people to change their future right now, but also promise them a better future with the happy proud queer as an endpoint. The visions of the future in our material also point to a lack of queer youth discourses and queer life narratives. There are no alternative visions of the future that aim to redefine the social order, nor is "failure" (Halberstam 2011) part of these visions. Instead, the narratives often conclude with a "cruel optimism" (Berlant 2020), which suggests that changing the future now will lead to the happy, proud queer. But striving to offer hope while maintaining a critical perspective on what constitutes a desirable future is not a contradiction. When we think of the shame, fear, silence, bullying, and discrimination that many queer youths still experience, it is important to create life stories that offer opportunities to escape these repressions by starting to change the future now (Matz 2015). Queer youth narratives could provide the opportunity to reject the normative notion of what a "better" life entails and claim that it can be different. Future research should address the question of which alternative nonlinear visions of the future can be offered to queer young people.

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