

ANTHROPOLOGY AND PHOTOGRAPHY IN BRAZIL: THE BEGINNING OF THEIR HISTORY (1840-1970)¹

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the outset of the relationship between anthropology and photography in Brazil, aiming to systematize, for educational purposes, a history of the photographic production of an ethnographic character produced in the country from mid-19th to mid-20th century. That is, a timeframe prior the institutionalization of the discipline in Brazil, and the creation of the first research centers for Visual Anthropology, in the 1980s. Simultaneously to organizing such productions, we point gaps in the traced history that indicate important future developments. Thus, this paper addresses a story to be reconstructed that, even so, is worth telling.

KEYWORDS

Photography; Visual anthropology; Authorship; History; Brazil.

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A depiction is never just an illustration. It is the material representation, the apparently stabilised product of a process of work. And it is the site for the construction and depiction of social difference. To understand a visualisation is thus to inquire into its provenance and into the social work that it does. It is to note its principles of exclusion and inclusion, to detect the roles that it makes available, to understand the way in which they are distributed, and to decode the hierarchies and differences that it naturalises. And it is also to analyse the ways in which authorship is constructed or concealed... (Fyfe and Law 1988, 1)

INTRODUCTION

According to Barbosa and Cunha (2006), the formation of Visual Anthropology as a field of study has been debated since the 1950's, and no consensus on the term used to designate it exists. Some call it "Visual Anthropology", others "Anthropology of image", "audio-Visual Anthropology", "Anthropology of image and sound", etc. These different terminologies carry within themselves different debates about image—thought of as either a cultural artifact, a language, a tool or research method. In this article, Visual Anthropology refers to a worldview where knowledge is produced by images that raise questions related to ethics, methodologies, interpersonal relations, and social representations.



The history of Visual Anthropology has already been written and analyzed by several authors, both Brazilian and foreign (Heider 1995, Banks and Morphy 1997, Costa 2005, Samain 2005a; 2005b, Barbosa and Cunha 2006, Pink 2007a; 2007b). Some have analyzed paintings, others have used films and videos (Crawford and Simonsen 1992, Henley 1999, Caiuby Novaes et. Al 2017), photography (Kossoy, 1980; 2002, Becker 1996a, Edwards 1996; 2016, Pinney 1996, Guran 2012), drawing (Kuschnir 2016) etc. Some have used images on anthropologic research as a document (Barros and Strozenberg 1992), as a method (Collier Junior 1973, Menezes 1987, Becker 1996b, Kossoy 1999, Caiuby Novaes 2008; 2012), and as a language in itself (Guran 2002). Regarding its subject of study, the Western production has been the main focus of some scholars (Hockings 1975), while others focused on the Indian production (Pinney 1998), or the Brazilian one (Kossoy e Carneiro 1994, Monte-Mór 1995). All in all, there are as many studies as there are perspectives.

Studies conducted in Brazil have been aimed at both the national and foreign audio-visual production. Several books, articles, theses and dissertations in the field of Visual Anthropology have already been written, and most focus on the development of this field in an international context (Peixoto 1999), on the history of its institutionalization in Brazil (Eckert and Rocha 2016) or on the audio-visual production made by anthropologists (Gonçalves 2008). Fewer texts discuss the work of a specific photographer (Samain 1995; 2004, Tacca 2001, 2011, Segala 2005, Mauad 2009, Angotti-Salgueiro 2014, Espada 2014) or institution (Costa 2016a; 2016b), while some others focus on the relation between Anthropology and Photography (Samain 2005a; 2005b, Caiuby Novaes 2015).

Despite the growing number of academic publications dedicated to photographic essays², there is little knowledge among non-specialized researchers on how to build anthropological photographic narratives. Several authors have systematized theories on how to use it in research (Godolphim 1995, Guran 2000, Achutti 2004, Koury 2006), but so far, there is no publication dedicated to organizing the history of photographic production in Brazilian Visual Anthropology. This has great influence on understanding how this practice developed in the country, and on establishing concrete examples that show the possibilities of using photography in anthropological research.

Although pictures are easily taken nowadays thanks to photographic cameras and smartphones, and an anthropologist who does not produce images in the field is rare sight, usually these images are limited to personal blog posts or as mementos used, alongside journals and notebooks, after the fieldwork ends. Systematizing and publishing images produced during anthropological research remains something rarely done. Most researchers lack the knowledge to do so, or how to produce “efficient photographs”, as Guran (2000) puts it. That is, they are unable to make “good use of photographic language” (idem) to clearly demonstrate the intended anthropological content.

Even anthropologists who can photograph often feel insecure as to an image’s power to show ethnographic content or narratives, thus relying on verbal explanations. A complementary use of languages, as mentioned by Mitchell (2002), is still limited to a handful of professionals who sought, by themselves, complementary training in the field of photography (Peixoto 2019). This urges investing in systematizing the anthropological images that have already been produced and the ways in which these images are currently being produced in Brazil.

2. To name a few national examples, we have *Anuário Antropológico*, *PROA: Revista de Antropologia e Arte*, *Cadernos de Campo*, *Mindaú*, *Iluminuras* and *Fotocronografias*.

THE BEGINNING OF THIS HISTORY: RECORDS IN THE 19TH CENTURY

This article focuses on the relation between Anthropology and Photography in Brazil, aiming to construct a history of photography of an ethnographic character in the country. This is because, considering that since the first ethnographic expeditions anthropologists have brought photographic equipment to the field to record peoples seen as exotic, many of these images remain unknown to wider audiences.

In 1840, only a year after the daguerreotype had been invented, the first ever photograph in Latin America was taken. Made by Louis Comte, this image documented the *Paço Imperial*, in Rio de Janeiro, which had been the seat of the colonial government and, at the time of the picture, the seat of the Empire (Martins and Figueiredo 2017).



FIGURE 1
Paço Imperial.
Photo: Louis
Comte, 1840.³

D. Pedro II was the first Brazilian to ever have a photograph taken, and was also an important supporter of the practice in the country. Figure 2, a portrait taken by Marc Ferrez in 1885, reveals some of the strategies used in the period to create an imagined reality: behind the subject we see a fake backdrop placed there to neutralize the surroundings and enhance the character. The emperor is seated on a chair that offers support to remain still during the long exposure time required to make the image.

3. The images presented in this article were found in several collections and websites of the Internet, such as those of the Biblioteca Nacional, the Museu do Índio (RJ), the Itaú Cultural, Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros/USP, Museu de Astronomia e Ciências Afins (MAST / MCTIC) and Instituto Moreira Salles (IMS).

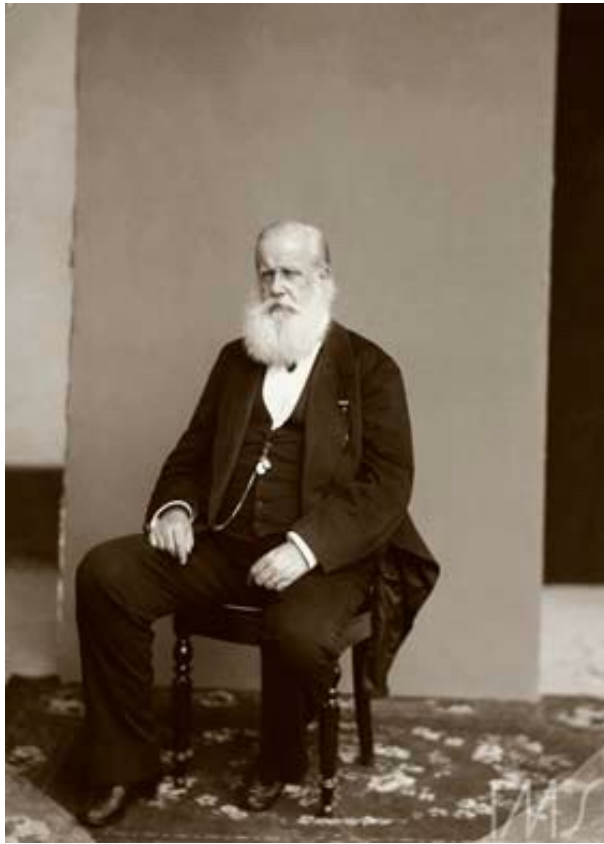


FIGURE 2
D. Pedro II. Photo:
Marc Ferrez,
1885. Collection:
Instituto Moreira
Salles.

In 1839, shortly before the first photograph was taken in Brazil, it took around fifteen minutes of exposure under strong natural light to obtain a photographic image. Reason why it was impossible to make portraits of people in movement. But only a few years later, in the 1840's, image stability and plate sensitivity were improved, lowering the required exposure time to about one minute. Later, larger, and brighter lenses were developed, which improved the process; to produce portraits, however, people still remained seated or bolstered by a support that enabled them to remain still for long periods of time. Images like the one of D. Pedro II, therefore, were quite common. And depending on the photographed subject, some people used to end up being decontextualized or even exoticized.

One of the first photographs with ethnographic features to be made in Brazil was taken by Arsênio da Silva, a photographer and painter from the state of Pernambuco. His image of a *Congado*⁴ performance was taken in Rio de Janeiro in 1865, presenting a staged scene with a well-organized composition.

4. The Congado, or Congada, is a traditional ritual celebration that dates to the 17th century which combines African and Catholic elements.

FIGURE 3
Congada. Photo:
Arsênio da Silva,
1865. Collection:
Biblioteca
Nacional.



Several photographers, Brazilian and foreign, registered scenes of 19th century everyday life in the big cities of Brazil. Enslaved Africans and indigenous peoples in their “natural habitat” were also registered. These images of slavery and of indigenous peoples in the forest – made in photography studios, as well as *in loco* – sparked great curiosity abroad and were sold as “*cartes de visite*”.

Several expeditions were conducted to better know the countryside and its peoples – mainly indigenous ones. In 1875, for example, Marc Ferrez acted as photographer of the Empire Geographic and Geologic Commission. In that position, he traveled and documented several different regions of the country, crossing great part of the São Francisco river, the coast and bay of Bahia, Pernambuco and some regions of the Amazon. On this journey, Ferrez photographed some Botocudo people, using tools of anthropometric measure.

FIGURE 4
Botocudo group
from Southern
Bahia. Photo:
Marc Ferrez,
1875. Collection:
Instituto Moreira
Salles.



In his photography studio, and on the streets, Ferrez registered portraits and scenes of turn of the century Brazilian everyday life. He photographed the imperial family and Rio's urban renewal project carried out by mayor Pereira Passos. During that same time, Militão de Azevedo opened a studio in São Paulo and photographed personalities like Castro Alves, Joaquim Nabuco, D. Pedro II and the empress Teresa Cristina. He also came to be known as a photographer who documented São Paulo's black population – not as slaves, but as regular citizens. Augusto Malta, another photographer of the period, was named official photographer of the Federal District (Rio de Janeiro at the time) in 1903⁵. He made several images of Rio's urban life, its architecture, cultural practices and of the transformations the city was undergoing. He documented the demolition of Morro do Castelo⁶, the Vaccine Rebellion⁷, the inauguration of Avenida Central (now Rio Branco Avenue), and of Christ the Redeemer statue, among others.

A few years before, between 1867 and 1868, German photographer Christoph Albert Frisch, on an expedition to the province of Amazonas, took around a hundred photographs – the first ever taken in the region. To take these, Frisch brought his studio to the forest so he could document the indigenous peoples in their environment. To overcome the technical limitations of the time, especially the long exposure time, he photographed the background separated from the portrait subjects, which were taken with a neutral background. Later, he would bring the pictures together and 'correct' them to present credible scenes.

The strategies adopted by Frisch, like photo staging, the use of multiple exposures and photomontage can be seen in many of present-day visual artists' works. Photographer Claudia Andujar, for instance, has produced several staged portraits of the Yanomami people for her work "Marcados". Sebastião Salgado, on a recent project in the Amazon, photographed the Korubos people against a black backdrop in a studio assembled in the forest, where he directed and used light to detach them from their surroundings. Highly edited portraits – with paintings inscribed over the images – were also frequently made by popular photographers in the Northeast region of Brazil.

During 1889 and 1900, Germans Herman Meyer and Theodor Koch-Grünberg went to the Xingu region and extensively documented their expedition. Their photographs showed objects of everyday use and special artifacts, all photographed against a white backdrop from different angles.

5. Brazil became a republic in 1889.

6. Morro do Castelo was a hill in the central region of Rio de Janeiro. Its demolition caused some controversy because it was one of the places where the city was founded.

7. Available from: <<https://library.brown.edu/create/fivecenturiesofchange/chapters/chapter-5/modernization-in-rio/>>.



FIGURES 5-7
Photos by
Christoph Albert
Frisch, 1867-
1868. Collection:
Instituto Moreira
Salles.

Some indigenous people were depicted in daily scenes or in group photographs taken to show their village. Koch-Grüntenberg's images were published as a typological atlas in *Indianertypen aus dem Amazonasgebiet* (*Types of Indian in the Amazon region*), in 1906, and in the fifth volume of *Vom Roraima Zum Orinoco*, in 1923. Some of his narratives about indigenous myths ended up being referenced by Mário de Andrade in his *Magnum Opus* "Macunaíma" (1928).

The most important expeditions organized in the country, though, were the ones commanded by Marshal Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon. Starting in 1890, they became iconic for the amount of ethnographic and iconographic material amassed, besides establishing the first indigenist policy initiatives in Brazil, such as the inauguration of the *Serviço de Proteção aos Índios* (Service for the protection of Indigenous peoples – SPI), in 1910.



FIGURE 8
Self-portrait with
the Paresi. Photo:
Major Thomaz
Reis. Collection:
Museu do Índio.

THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY

The leading photographer and filmmaker in the Rondon Commission was Major Luiz Thomaz Reis, who coordinated SPI's film and photography sector (Tacca 2001). On an expedition to Serra do Norte, along Marshal Rondon and anthropologist Edgard Roquette-Pinto, in 1912, he made a series of photographs about indigenous peoples that ended up inspiring the work of important anthropologists, like Luiz de Castro Faria and Claude Lévi-Strauss (Faria 2001).

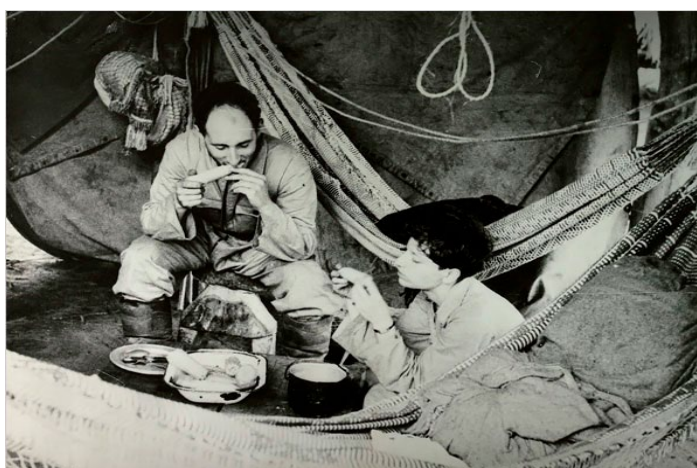


FIGURE 9
Claude and Dina
Lévi-Strauss, in
Mato Grosso,
1935-1936.
Collection: Musée
du Quai Branly.

Two years after Thomaz Reis, Castro Faria and Lévi-Strauss went on an expedition to Serra do Norte in 1938, a journey that became known as Expedition Lévi-Strauss. The expedition was extensively photographed by the couple Claude Lévi-Strauss and Dina Dreyfus, besides Castro Faria himself. From Lévi-Strauss, we came to know few photographs, some of them published in *Tristes trópicos* (1955). His theoretical work was completely separated from his visual production.



FIGURE 10
Kadiwéu Woman.
Photo: Claude
Lévi-Strauss,
1935. Published
in Lévi-Strauss,
Claude. *Tristes
Trópicos*. São
Paulo: Companhia
das Letras,
1996 [1955].

Castro Faria's photographs were recently published in the book *Um outro olhar: diário da Expedição à Serra do Norte* (Another look: journal of the expedition to Serra do Norte) (2001). In it, we discover that on journeying to Serra do Norte, Faria sought to follow in Roquette-Pinto's footsteps, who had documented the region decades before.

Castro Faria was, at the time, an intern at the National Museum in Rio de Janeiro, of which he would become the director decades later. It was thanks to Heloísa Alberto Torres, director of the museum, that he joined the expedition. She had introduced him to Rodrigo de Melo Franco and Mário de Andrade, who was director of the Department of Culture of the State of São Paulo. Close to the Lévi-Strauss couple⁸, Andrade acquired the government's approval for their expedition and negotiated Castro Faria's participation in it. His relationship with Mário de Andrade and Rodrigo de Melo Franco would, in the following decades, have great influence on Brazil's cultural heritage policy (Simão 2009).

8. Dina Dreyfus worked with Mário de Andrade at the Society of Ethnography and Folklore, as described later on.



FIGURES 11-12
Photos by
Castro Faria na
Expedição à Serra
do Norte, 1938.
Collection: Museu
de Astronomia e
Ciências Afins -
MAST/MCTIC.



FIGURE 13
Claude Lévi-
Strauss taking
pictures at Serra
do Norte. Photo:
Castro Faria, 1938.
Collection: Museu
de Astronomia e
Ciências Afins -
MAST/MCTIC.

Faria's photographs taken on this expedition showed objects and how they were made, their everyday and ritual uses, life in nature, etc. As photography was still seen as a documentation of reality, discussions about language, perspective or camera angles were nonexistent. The images were, themselves, museum artifacts.

The photographs taken by Castro Faria, Roquette-Pinto and Major Reis influenced the representation of indigenous peoples in Brazil, who were documented to preserve their memory and vestiges on the condition of endangered groups. These images, and those produced by Darcy Ribeiro, Heinz Forthmann and Harald Schultz between 1949 and 1951 for the SPI, shaped Brazil's idea of indigenous groups and anthropological photography (Costa 2016a).

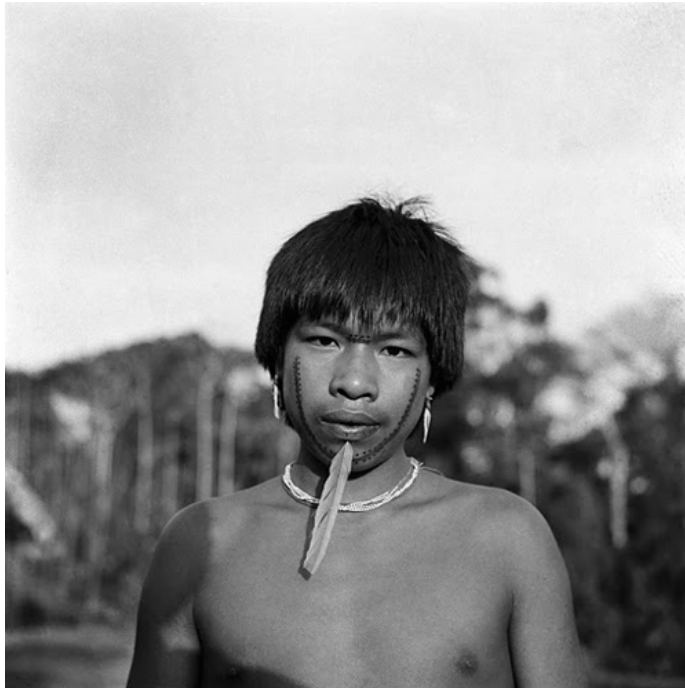


FIGURE 14
Urubu-Kaapor
group, Maranhão.
Photo: Darcy
Ribeiro, 1957.

In 1948, ten years after the Lévi-Strauss expedition, Darcy Ribeiro joined the SPI and married Berta Gleizer. That same year, both embarked on an eight-month fieldwork journey among the Kadiwéu, Kaiwá, Terena and OfaiéXavantes of southern Mato Grosso. According to Gleizer, on top of her university training, she learned Anthropology from Darcy Ribeiro in this trip and from typewriting his manuscripts from 1948 to 1974. (Fundação Darcy Ribeiro, 2009).



FIGURE 15
Berta Ribeiro.
Photo: Darcy
Ribeiro. Collection:
Museu do Índio, RJ.

Besides typewriting Ribeiro's manuscripts, according to anthropologist Roque Laraia,⁹ Berta Gleizer also photographed a lot, even more than Darcy himself. Most of her photographs, however, remains closed to the public, stored in the Darcy Ribeiro Memorial, at the University of Brasília. Some pictures from the trip integrate the collection of the *Museu do Índio*, in Rio, but their authorship is questionable. A picture of Darcy Ribeiro that is clearly not a self-portrait, for instance, is shown as being of his authorship.

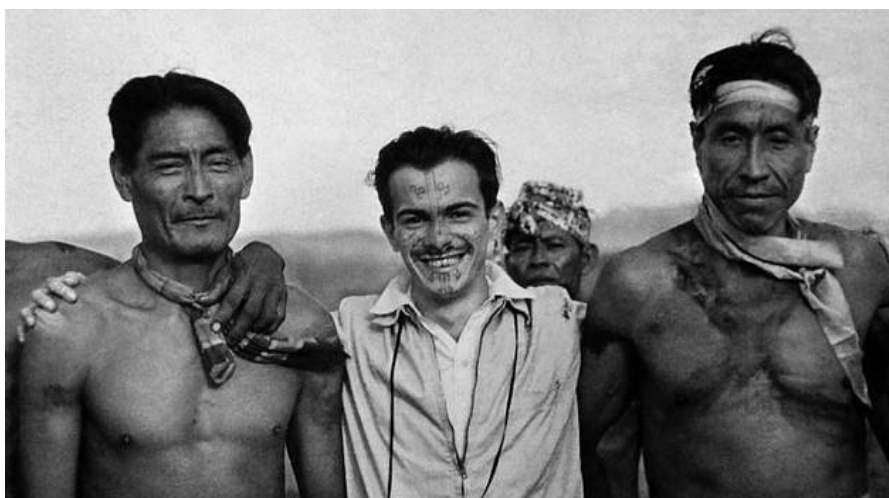


FIGURE 16
Darcy Ribeiro
with Kadiwéu
indigenous.
Photo: unknown
authorship.
Collection: Museu
do Índio, RJ.

Berta Ribeiro's books – filled with images of varied types and authors – present only a few of her photographs, but they clearly support the importance of using images in research.

The absence of references to authorship in photographs taken by women who traveled with their husbands, as with Dina Dreyfus and Berta Ribeiro, seems reflect the lack of references to works made by women anthropologists in general, as pointed out by Corrêa in "*A natureza imaginária do gênero na história da antropologia*" (1995):

Having the history of Anthropology in Brazil as background, this text suggests that the trajectory of some female characters of this story cast doubt on the inflexibility of the categories masculine/feminine in the system of gender classification. When someone who is socially defined as belonging to the private sphere is found marking presence in the public one, the ambiguity of this position puts this someone in an anomalous category, as a member of a certain "imagined nature". (Corrêa 1995, 109)

9. From an interviewed given to me on November 10, 2017.

The text begins with Dina Dreyfus' case, who photographed, filmed¹⁰ and offered a course on using images for research in Brazil:

For four years we looked for Dina Lévi-Strauss who was, if not a celebrity in the history of Anthropology, far from being a stranger. I think the first to mention her was Egon Schaden, and we later found references to her in the book by Lélia Gontijo Soares and Suzana Luz about the Society of Ethnography and Folklore, created by Mário de Andrade, and of which she was a secretary. In this book are reproduced in facsimile the bulletins of the Society, and there is a mention to Dina's arrival to the Society and to one of her books - *Instruções práticas para pesquisas de antropologia física e cultural* (1936): "Dina Lévi-Strauss, *professeur agrégée* of the University of Paris and formerly part of the Museum of Man team. She accompanies her husband, Claude Lévi-Strauss, in Brazil, who was hired as professor of sociology at the University of São Paulo" (cit., p.7). In Mário de Andrade's correspondence, she is rarely mentioned, being referred by some of his correspondents as simply part of the "Lévi-Strauss couple", when not as "Lévi-Strauss' wife". That is how she is also mentioned by the French philosopher Jean Maugué in his biography "Lévi-Strauss et sa femme". (Ibid.)

This same issue is addressed by Portela (2019) in a recent article:

Dina Dreyfus is known in Brazil – when that happens – for having been the wife of Lévi-Strauss and – even more rarely – for being a member of the Mission for Folklore Research and for creating, with Mário de Andrade, the Society of Ethnography and Folklore in Brazil, in the 1930's. Little is known about her trajectory after she had returned to France. At the beginning of my research about Dreyfus, I had access to information about her time in Brazil. Information gathered by researchers who, like Mariza Côrrea, Luísa Valentini, Mariana Sombrio and Luis Donisete Grupioni, contributed to inform us about the relevance of her work and about her paradoxical invisibility, forged by the historiography of social sciences. (Portela 2019, 331)

This barrier is even greater regarding women who assumed their husbands' last names due to marriage:

Last name changes are peculiar to women scientists, and this tradition was responsible for their invisibility and for the devaluation of their professional trajectories. A new name made these women, first and foremost, wives and that is how they were viewed by their contemporaries. In the 1930's, there was a great influx of foreign researchers arriving in Brazil accompanied by their wives, when before it was more common for them to travel alone (Sombrio 2018, 91).

10. Some of the films made by the Lévi-Strauss couple are available online, in platforms like Youtube.

Dina Dreyfus taught, in 1936, an Ethnography course at the Department of Culture of the State of São Paulo, whose purpose was training folklorists for future missions. Aimed at “initiating folklorists in field research” (Lima 2004), the course was “organized as practical training” (Shimabukuro, Botani and Azevedo 2004, 6) and Dreyfus taught, in addition to ethnographic techniques, photography. About the course, Mário de Andrade said in its inaugural class:

We have not chosen Ethnography by chance. Rather, it imposed itself on us. Whoever decides to, even amateurishly, dedicate oneself to ethnographic studies and use the Brazilian bibliography to look for the knowledge about the cultural formation of our people will often be discouraged when faced with the hateful levity and lack of scientific guidance present in Brazilian pseudo ethnography [...]. And it is precisely at the gathering of folk documentation that most of our ethnographic books are false [...]. To gather, to scientifically gather our customs, popular traditions, our racial features. That must be the watchword of our ethnographic studies; and on a chiefly practical path the works of this Ethnography Course will follow. (Andrade 1936 *apud* Shimabukuro, Botani and Azevedo 2004, 6)

The course aimed at offering resources to “scientifically gather” Brazilian intangible cultural heritage, that is, gather data with as much objectivity as possible. These instructions follow the standard of what Andrade would propose to the SPHAN (National Service of Historical and Artistic Heritage) a few years later. Dreyfus also published monthly, between 1937 and 1938, the “Instructions of Folklore” in six issues of the Bulletin of the Society of Ethnography and Folklore. They were organized for “teaching the gathering of information process and of calling attention of new researchers to material culture and social life” (Ibid., 8).

I will later return to this subject. For now, I would like to underline that, despite her efforts to train new researchers to produce images about the culture, folklore and artifacts in Brazil, the images made by Dina Dreyfus, as the ones made by Berta Gleizer and many other female anthropologists, remain obscure.

FIRST EDUCATIONAL INITIATIVES, FOLKLORE, CULTURAL HERITAGE, AND CULTURAL PRACTICES

Regarding the subjects of folklore and intangible cultural heritage, Mário de Andrade was an important researcher who “dynamized” the field. A prominent figure in the Brazilian modernist movement, beginning in 1927 he realized two ethnographic expeditions to the country’s north and northeast. He went first to the Amazon and then to the northeast region, photographing local dances and music.

On these journeys, he developed a kind of “journal of images” where he would register data for every picture – date, place, people, situations, time, and aperture. This data was later complemented by information written on the back of the pictures when they were processed in São Paulo. Andrade took 902 photographs, 529 on his first trip and 373 on the second. These are images of historical and artistic heritage, both tangible and intangible, besides physical features, and modes of work; with some of them forming a sequence.



FIGURES 17-18
 “O tapuio de Santarém/31 de maio, 1927” e “Salinas/Macau, 1929”. Photos: Mário de Andrade. Collection: Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros, Universidade de São Paulo (IEB-USP) [Available at CD-Rom Mário de Andrade “Os Diários do Fotógrafo”. Published in: Andrade, Mário de. *O turista aprendiz*. Brasília, DF: Iphan, 2015.

Thanks to Brazilian modernism, folklore was heralded as the essence of “Brazilianness”, and it became a subject of interest to the country’s fledgling social sciences. In 1936, the year he helped to write the draft for creating the National Service of Historical and Artistic Heritage – SPHAN, Mário de Andrade invited Dina Dreyfus to teach the ethnography course at the Department of Culture of the State of São Paulo (1936-1939). Following that, they established the Society of Ethnography and Folklore (1936-1939), which would send researchers to the north and northeast of Brazil in 1938, the same year the Lévi-Strauss couple went on their expedition to Serra do Norte, on a five-month mission that would later be dubbed Mission of Folkloric Researches.

Directed by Luís Sala, a former student of Dreyfus, the mission aimed at gathering documents and clothing, recording traditional celebrations, sacred rites like *coco* and *bumba-meu-boi*, their music and dances, in addition to indigenous ceremonies. Between February and July 1938, the expedition stopped by over thirty places in the states of Pernambuco, Paraíba, Piauí, Ceará, Maranhão and Pará.

From that mission emerged a pioneering documentation of Brazilian cultural practices: 33 hours of audio recordings, 853 objects (musical instruments, clothing, statues etc.), around 100 pages of fieldnotes on music, dances, architecture and local traditions, and over 600 pictures and 15 movies.

FIGURES 19-22
 Images from the
 Mission of Folkloric
 Researches.
 Unknown author,
 1938. Collection:
 Instituto de Estudos
 Brasileiros (IEB-
 USP) [Available at
 CD-Rom Mário de
 Andrade "Os Diários
 do Fotógrafo".
 Published in:
 Andrade, Mário
 de. O turista
 aprendiz. Brasília,
 DF: Iphan, 2015.5



The mission was born out of other travels where Mário de Andrade traveled the country searching for a national identity. Looking for a genuine Brazilian art and with that in mind, Andrade studied Ouro Preto's architecture and Aleijadinho's works in the state of Minas Gerais, a place he first visited in 1919 and was especially interested in.

Like Aleijadinho (Minas Gerais), Andrade considered Mestre Valentim (Rio de Janeiro) and the sculptors Chagas and Domingos Pereira (Bahia) to be examples of an art that was original and unbowed to Portuguese influence.

Sharing the same interests as Mário de Andrade, a group of modernists traveled to Minas Gerais, in 1924, to watch the celebrations of the Holy Week and investigate the "fundamentals of Brazilianness". As part of this mission, which became known as Travel of Discovery of Brazil, were Oswald de Andrade and Tarsila do Amaral, prominent figures of the influential Modern Art Week of 1922. On this trip, Mário de Andrade took as many pictures as he did before on his travels to Minas Gerais, and on his Ethnographic Travels between 1927 and 1929. On the latter, he documented his impressions on the landscape, the people and the culture of the regions he visited.

FIGURE 23
Ver-o-Peso
Market, Belém
(Pará). Photo:
Mário de Andrade.
Collection:
Instituto de
Estudos
Brasileiros,
Universidade
de São Paulo
(IEB-USP), 1927.



These travels and the modernist movement deeply influenced Brazilian photography and the ideal representation of the national heritage. We see this influence, for instance, in the work of photographer Marcel Gautherot. According to Turazzi, it was Mário de Andrade who established at SPHAN “what could be called ‘a policy of photographic documentation’ of cultural, historical, and artistic practices, popular and erudite, tangible and intangible, all of which edifying Brazil’s identity and, therefore, forming an iconographic view of its heritage” (Turazzi 1998, 14).

According to Segala (2005, 78),

In letters to Rodrigo Mello Franco (1936-1945), Mário de Andrade underlines, many times, the importance of photography as evidentiary documentation on the processes of heritage inventory and of classification and restoration of “artistic heritage”. He points out the necessity of the institution being able to rely on a “intensive service of photography”, a professional, well-trained work that could offer accurate information for comparative studies that seek to “restore the nation’s monuments”. He insists upon the idea of a cumulative collection – “a single, central archive of photographic negatives” – that substantiates, by operations of selection and transcriptions, the valued repertory of the country’s cultural heritage.

In 1940, after working in projects linked to the Ethnographic Museum of the Trocadéro and at establishing the Museum of Man, Marcel Gautherot settled in Rio de Janeiro where he met Rodrigo Mello Franco de Andrade, director of the recently created SPHAN, became acquainted with the modernist intellectual society and started to work for that institution.

Between the 1940's and 1950's, he was hired by SPHAN, and the Campaign for the Defense of Brazilian Folklore, to establish the documentation of their research, preservation, and propaganda projects (Segala 2005). With a background in architecture and influenced by the modernists, as a photographer, he

looks to the landscape, to celebrations and the everyday life, to stories that gain life on the streets, in search of a careful balance of forms, of a play between movement and depth of field and looks for a calculated capture of lights. He previews the precise moment when the disposition of the frame synthesizes the event in the forms of a graphic device and of representation. (Segala 2005, 74).

Gautherot's photographic education, however, was forged at the Museum of Man, under Paul Rivet's direction (1937-1938), where he was part of the project to reorganize ethnographic exhibitions. Motivated by the debates that happened at the museum on the relations between art and ethnography, Gautherot traveled to Mexico in 1936 to develop a photographic project. In the same year, Pierre Verger also photographed the country, and both published their photographs in France. In 1939, back in Brazil, Gautherot sought to explore features of the people and the landscape to send images to the collection of the French museum: "He defines his own work as 'scientific photojournalism', given his attention to details of the observed social life, and to the guidelines of ethnographic research" (Segala 2005, 77).

With Verger, who arrived in the country in 1946, Gautherot photographed Brazil's diverse regions, depicting its architecture, its "social types" and the works of Aleijadinho, like *The Twelve Prophets*, *the Passion of Christ*, and the votive chapels.



FIGURE 24
Prophet Isaías.
Sculpture by
Aleijadinho.
Congonhas (MG).
Photo: Marcel
Gautherot,
1942. Collection:
Instituto Moreira
Salles.

FIGURE 25
Way of the
cross. Passion
Steps. Sculpture
by Aleijadinho.
Diocesan do
Bom Jesus de
Matosinhos
Sanctuary.
Congonhas (MG).
Photo: Marcel
Gautherot,
1947. Collection:
Instituto Moreira
Salles.



FIGURE 26
Profeta Habacuc.
Sculpture by
Aleijadinho,
Bom Jesus de
Matosinhos
Sanctuary,
Congonhas (MG).
Photo: Marcel
Gautherot,
1947. Collection:
Instituto Moreira
Salles.



To produce an inventory of the visible world, photographs ordered by SPHAN were thoroughly coordinated by its direction: they prescribed exactly what, and how, should be photographed. According to Segala (2005, 79),

Gautherot used to travel across the country building, in addition to records of colonial and modern architecture, a collection of images that, according to Human Geography back then, could be known as “types and aspects” of the country, where social features were linked to the landscape, and the spaces were redefined as cultural borders (Figure 1).

A highlight in these compilations were the “human overviews” – ethnographic metonymies – that showed, exclusively, work related scenes, as shown by Heliana Salgueiro. This consecrated perspective that epitomizes social groups was broadened by Gautherot with the inclusion of new “types” from the streets, arts and popular festivities, either holy or profane (Figures 2 and 3).

Here are the pictures referred by the author:



Figura 1 – Vaqueiro, Ilha Mexiana/PA, c. 1943. Colheita de carnaúba, Messejana/CE, 1950-1952. Limpeza de café, Itaquera, São Paulo/SP, c. 1943-1948. Garimpeiro, Tocantins/PA, c. 1944-1948. Vaqueiro, Ilha Mexiana/PA, c. 1943. Processamento de látex, Ilha de Marajó/PA, c. 1967-1970. Fotografias de Marcel Gautherot. Acervo do Instituto Moreira Salles.

FIGURES 27-29
 Photos: Marcel Gautherot
 [Published: Segala, Ligia. A coleção fotográfica de Marcel Gautherot. *Anais do Museu Paulista: História e Cultura Material*, vol. 13, no. 2: 73-134.



Figura 2 – Procissão de Nossa Senhora dos Navegantes, Salvador/BA, c. 1940-1945. Fotografia de Marcel Gautherot. Acervo Instituto do Moreira Salles.



Figura 3 – Carnaval, Salvador/BA, c. 1965-67. Fotografia de Marcel Gautherot. Acervo do Instituto Moreira Salles.

A selection of these images was published in 1950 in Paris, in a book titled *Brésil*, to which Gautherot and Verger contributed. The series about folklore were particularly important to Gautherot, especially the ones about *bumba-meu-boi* in the state of Maranhão and the *Reisado* and *Guerreiros*¹¹ in Alagoas, according to Segala (2005). Thanks to these series, and to Edison Carneiro, a sociologist and folklorist who directed the Campaign for the Protection of Brazilian Folklore in 1958, Gautherot got close to the folklorist movement and to studies on this subject.

11. *Bumba-meu-boi*, *Reisado* and *Guerreiros* are all, with their respective characteristics, folkloric celebrations that date back to colonial times, being developed and influenced by elements from Catholicism on local contexts.

Carneiro created the *Revista Brasileira de Folclore* and sponsored technical courses in universities where he encouraged the production of phonographic and photographic documents in the country (Segala 2005):

Edison Carneiro himself, in his recommendations for folklore research, insists upon the importance of these “mechanical registers” for ethnographic construction, for they “constitute a living document of the observation. [...] The illustrative photography showing aspects of folklore should be dynamic – a movement, an action, and not a pose”. Asserting on this argument about image – already stated by Mauss –, Carneiro defends an idea of folklore that opposes to dull compilations, and to the reaffirmation of what is archaic and traditional. (Segala 2005, 85)

On his travels, Gautherot also photographed the *Cavalhadas*, the *Carnival* and the *Círio de Nazaré*. His pictures of figureheads fixed to the bows of boats in the São Francisco river were published in *O Cruzeiro* magazine, decisively contributing to the dissemination and appreciation of the work done by those boatmen. From then on, these figureheads came to be known as *carrancas*.



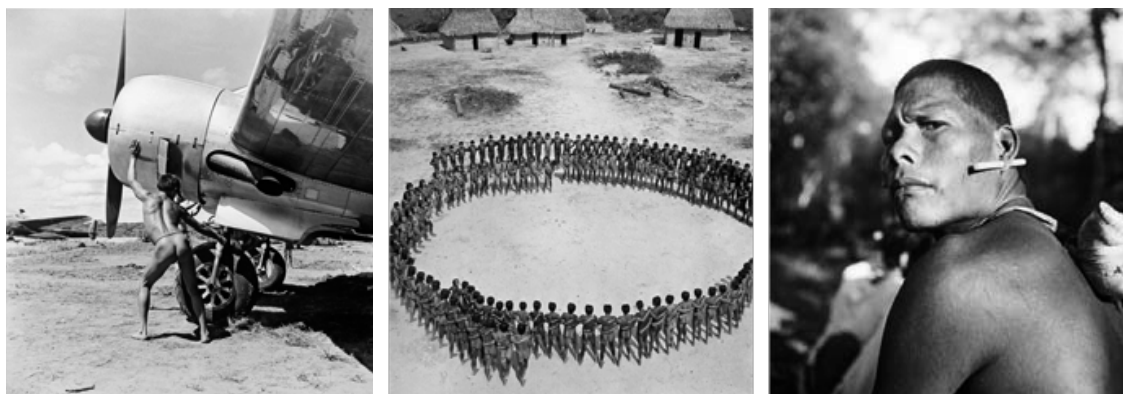
FIGURES 30-33
Photos: Marcel
Gautherot.
Collection:
Instituto Moreira
Salles.

These pictures about Brazil in the 1930's and 1940's, taken by Gautherot and other photographers with the support of public institutions, “re-created and consolidated representations that had been chosen and normalized since the 19th century in textual and iconographic descriptions” (Segala 2005, 92). The “regional types”, popular festivities, and relations between man and landscape were inspired by representations found in emblematical works like *Os Sertões*, by Euclides da Cunha (1902), and *Rondônia*, by Roquette-Pinto (1917). In addition to expositions from the National Museum (Segala 2005).

Although Pierre Verger had only sporadically worked with SPHAN, he had a unique influence on the photography, and visual identity of the institution. Hired by them to register the cultural heritage, Verger photographed mainly in Bahia during the 1940's and 1950's. His images, along with ones taken by Erich Hess, Marcel Gautherot, Herman Graeser and Harald Schultz comprise most of the photographic collection of IPHAN's Central Archive, in Rio de Janeiro.

O Cruzeiro magazine was an icon of photojournalism for introducing a new photographic language in Brazil by mixing textual and visual narratives. And just like Gautherot, Verger published in it, with his pictures about the Candomblé in Bahia, and the Xangô in Recife (1946-1951), becoming very influential. The magazine had in its team figures like José Medeiros, who documented the Expedition Roncador-Xingu in 1949, which originated a report that would influence the formation of several anthropologists, like Roque Laraia.¹²

FIGURES 34-36
Images of
Roncador-Xingu
Expedition. Photo:
José Medeiros.
Collection:
Instituto Moreira
Salles, 1949.



12. In an interview given to me on November 10, 2017.

The expedition Roncador–Xingu sought to officially identify the areas occupied by indigenous peoples, map Brazil’s central region and open new roads to connect it to the rest of the country. It was headed by Orlando, Cláudio and Leonardo Villas Bôas, with Rondon’s support who, at the time, presided the National Council for the Protection of Indigenous Peoples (1939). Its most important accomplishment was the creation of the Xingu Indigenous Park in 1961.

THE 1970’S AS A TURNING POINT AND THE FEMALE PHOTOGRAPHIC GAZE

Beginning in the 1970’s, there is an expansion in the use of photography in ethnographic research in Brazil. Anthropologist Sylvia Caiuby Novaes (Laboratório de Imagem e Som em Antropologia da Universidade de São Paulo – Lisa/USP) registered the Bororo; anthropologist Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (Museu Nacional da Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro – MN/UFRJ) and photographer Milton Guran¹³ took a series of photographs in the recently founded Xingu Park.

FIGURE 37
Velho Mario and his son, Meruri village.
Photo: Sylvia Caiuby Novaes, 1972.



FIGURE 38
Children playing with tires, Meruri village.
Photo: Sylvia Caiuby Novaes, 1972.

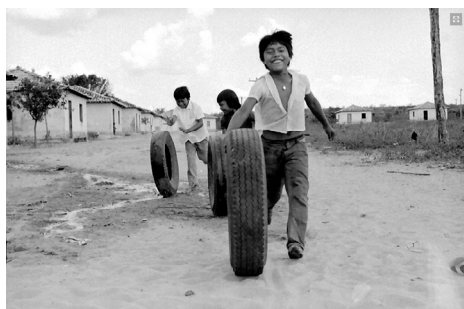


FIGURE 39
Bokojeba, character of the funerary rites, private of the *Kie* clan and represented by the men of the *Aroroe* clan. Córrego Grande village. Photo: Sylvia Caiuby Novaes, 1973. [Published in *Women, Men and Heroes*, 1986, 188]



Caiuby Novaes became one of the most influential figures in this area. A rare case of a female anthropologist/photographer who achieved recognition before the institutionalization of Visual Anthropology in Brazil. She ended up creating the largest research and education center for Visual Anthropology in the country, Lisa, linked to the Department of Anthropology at USP. As pointed out in an interview (March 2012) to Peixoto (2019, 138), she is an exception:

13. Some decades later, in 1996, Milton Guran earned a PhD in Anthropology from the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), in France.

I got my first photographic camera when I was five or six years old. All my life I've taken pictures, and I've always liked cinema. I've always liked photography more. [...] I took a master's degree in 1980 and a PhD in 1990. Both my master's and PhD have a lot of pictures. And since I started to research the Bororo, in 1970, I've always photographed during research. A lot! I quickly realized that photography was a fundamental element to connect and talk with the Bororo about the themes that were not in discussion. That is, I would bring them a picture containing, in a way, what I wanted to talk about, and the picture itself would bring up that theme for discussion. In field research you can't abstractly discuss something that's not happening. But photography creates the context for the theme you want to discuss. [...] In September 1993 I went to Manchester to take my postdoc. I took this master's in Visual Anthropology at the Granada Center, even though I already had a PhD, because they didn't offer PhD courses there.

Her work reveals a transformation in the relation between Anthropology and Photography in Brazil, and in the position held by women in this field: by incorporating images into her academic research, Caiuby Novaes brings to the Brazilian Social Sciences reflections about the use of image in anthropological research. Along other female anthropologists and sociologists, she would take part, in the following decades, in creating several image education and research centers (Eckert and Rocha 2016).

A few years prior, in the 1950's, two foreign photographers settled in Brazil: Claudia Andujar and Maureen Bisilliat extensively documented indigenous population. In the Arts field, Andujar registered the Yanomami. Sponsored by the Guggenheim Foundation, she lived among them between 1971 and 1974, returning in 1976 with a Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo (Fapesp) scholarship.



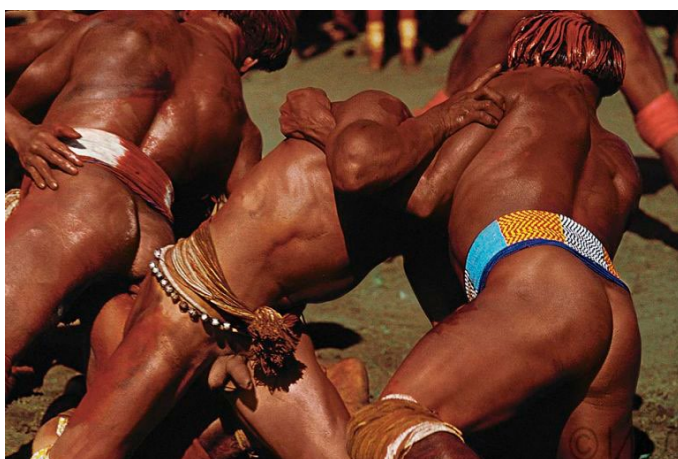
FIGURE 40
Desabamento
do Céu/Fim do
Mundo (Sonhos
Yanomami Series).
Photo: Claudia
Andujar.¹⁴

14. Published in *A vulnerabilidade do ser*, 2005. Itaú Cultural de Arte e Cultura Brasileiras Enciclopédia, 2017. Available: <<https://bit.ly/37pM8Ye>>. Access: 12 nov. 2017

Inspired by her time living with the Yanomami, Andujar took a series of photographs of their dreamlike, symbolic world, by creating images with strong contrasts and visual effects (Andujar 2005). Andujar also integrated, alongside anthropologist Alcida Ramos and Davi Kopenawa Yanomami, the NGO Commission for the Creation of the Yanomami Park (CCPY), known nowadays as Commission Pro-Yanomami.

An important figure who galvanized ethnographic photography in the country was Darcy Ribeiro. He inspired photographers like Claudia Andujar and Maureen Bisilliat, who photographed the people of Xingu, to engage in the documentation of indigenous populations and popular art. Encouraged by their encounter in 1958, Andujar first documented the Karajá from central Brazil, where she stayed for a month – a work that was well-received by both the Anthropology community and the international photography market.

As for Bisilliat, she visited the Xingu Park for the first time in 1973, invited by Orlando Villas Bôas, and produced a photographic series called “Cenas do dia-a-dia” (1975).



FIGURES 41-42
Photos by
Maureen Bisilliat.
Collection:
Instituto Moreira
Salles.

Alongside her husband, Jacques Bisilliat, and the architect Antônio Marcos Silva, Maureen Bisilliat founded O Bode¹⁵ Gallery of Popular Art in 1970, and then traveled across the country searching for works that could be added to the gallery collection. In 1988, Darcy Ribeiro invited the trio to create the collection of Latin-American art of the Latin American Memorial Foundation, in São Paulo. Maureen Bisilliat became the curator of the Memorial's Creativity Pavilion.

Bisilliat, Caiuby Novaes and Andujar are rare examples of women whose pictures of ethnographic features gained recognition in the country in the mid-20th century. From the 1980's onwards, cameras became cheaper and several laboratories of image research and education were created, changing and diversifying the profile of ethnographic photography in the country.

CONCLUSION

Several articles on the formal institution of Visual Anthropology in Brazil and its different centers of research and education have been published (Costa 2005, Samain 2005b, Eckert e Rocha 2016, Peixoto 2019). An analysis of the photographic production of these centers, however, remains to be made. Although a task that poses some difficulties given the quantity, quality, and diversity of their production, a systematization of this works could help those who venture into Visual Anthropology to better understand how photography is used in Anthropology.

That is not, however, the aim of this article. Here we sought to systematize the history of the relation between Photography and Anthropology in Brazil from the early registers up to the 1970's. The production mentioned here does not encompass the whole history but are rather representative of the practice. Given our focus on the most relevant works, requiring short mentions of each work as to establish an ample perspective of all these productions, a lot has been left out.

The historical perspective focused on the period prior to the establishment of this area in universities, in the 1980's, when production in Visual Anthropology was entrenched. The analyzed period was chosen with the intention of organizing a history that, so far, has been told in a disjointed manner, by different authors (Ferrez 1953, Azevedo and Lissovsky 1988, Faria 2001, Tacca 2001, Angotti-Salgueiro 2014, Espada 2014, Segala 2005, Costa 2016b, Grieco 2016, Portela 2019). My aim, therefore, was to outline the history of the consolidation of Visual Anthropology in the country to help those interested in this field understand its development. What might also help them imagine new possibilities on the use of Photography in Anthropology.

15. Portuguese for The Goat.

This effort, however, revealed a limitation that had not been anticipated: the shortage of references to works made by women during this period. This is not due to a lack of image production by women Photographers and/or Anthropologists, but rather to the difficulty in accessing these images, or even in knowing they exist.

Some evidence suggests that when these women traveled accompanied by their husbands, their authorship was ignored, or their photographs were credited to their partners. Although they took part in important expeditions, for instance, I found almost no photographs taken by Charlotte Rosenbaum, Dina Dreyfus or Berta Gleizer.

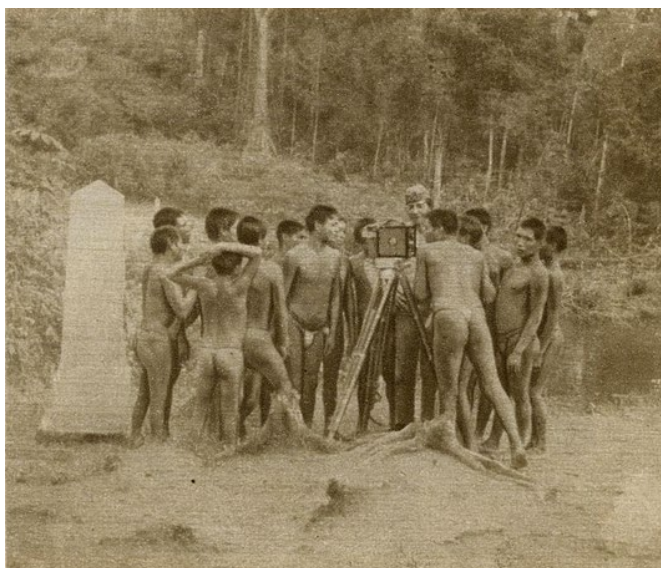


FIGURE 43
Major Reis/
Rondon
Committee.
Photo: Charlotte
Rosenbaum.

Apparently, during the early ethnographic expeditions there was no incentive to credit authorship to the work done by women. Photography, seen back then as a technical, secondary job was not always recognized as an ethnographic product. Consequently, a lot of photographs were stored under the names of the research coordinators, all men, or under no name at all.

Another relevant fact of this period refers to the “reality” depicted in these images. Although the lack of technology in the turn of the century might lead us to believe that photographs taken during this period were authentic representations of that reality, their analysis show that depictions seen in documental photography have always been staged. That was not, however, a peculiarity of image, since ethnographies were also constructions, but photography usually raises certain expectations.

By exhibiting visible indications of reality, photographs tend to mislead audiences who are not used to reading and analyzing them. How people are set in frame, what is shown or left out of it, what is focused etc. have always been the result of choices made by the people holding the camera. People who were often directed by the institution they worked for (museums, public institutions dedicated to cultural heritage conservation or to the protection of indigenous peoples). Institutions that sought to portrait their policies through images of Brazilian “social types”, their celebrations and folklore.

These images not only present an idea about who those portraited people are, but also about what their social groups and regions are. These photographs served frequently as a reference to imagine other groups and to elaborate policies aimed at assisting them, whether by recognizing and preserving their cultural practices, or by demarcating their territories (Costa, 2016b). Therefore, the study of these iconographic endeavors allows us to comprehend not only the aesthetics applied, but also their political contexts. They also certainly inform us about Anthropology itself – both academic and practice.

TRANSLATION
Lindolfo Sancho

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