

SEX, POWER AND SLAVERY

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GENDER, SEX, AND POWER

Images of Enslaved Women's Bodies

ANA LUCIA ARAUJO

Over the twentieth century, the work of European artists who traveled to Brazil during the nineteenth century greatly influenced the reconstruction and renewal of the memory of slavery among Europeans, Africans, and Brazilians. The representations of slavery and slaves developed by European artists, especially French painters Jean-Baptiste Debret (1768–1848), Johann Moritz Rugendas (1802–1858), and François-Auguste Biard (1799–1882)—whose works are specifically examined in this chapter—are still considered as important sources of historical and ethnographic data today. Although these paintings and engravings do not always offer an accurate portrait of the life of enslaved men and women in Brazil, the watercolors, wood engravings, and lithographs the artists produced allow us to understand certain dimensions of the experiences and living conditions of Brazil's enslaved Africans, as well as how Brazilians and Europeans perceived slavery at the time.

Although these works were originally intended for a European audience, their scope is much broader today. The images have circulated and still circulate not only in South America and North America but also in Africa. In Brazil, representations of enslaved Africans and slavery in the

work of Debret and Rugendas have become significant points of reference for historians and anthropologists. In the nineteenth century, however, Debret's work was criticized by the Brazilian monarchy and local elites, who did not appreciate the attention that slavery and slaves thus received, especially the few plates representing physical punishments endured by the enslaved population.¹ At the time, it was unusual to see these subjects represented in either European or Brazilian academic painting. Biard's work was criticized by the local elites as well because in his book *Deux années au Brésil* (1862), he provided a negative portrait of Brazilian slave society. Little known in Brazil, Biard's representations of Brazilian daily life and slavery were a source of shame for Brazilian expatriates living in France.² His caricatural representations of the Brazilian court and the scenes of Rio de Janeiro urban daily life helped to disseminate through France a very negative and sometimes humorous image of Brazil.

Wide reproduction of these artists' works popularized the images, and today, we find them illustrating websites, textbooks, museum facades, posters, and book covers. Reappropriated and reinterpreted, they have helped not only to develop a specific vision of Afro-Brazilians in Europe and Africa but also to reinforce or transform the vision Brazilians have of themselves today.

This chapter focuses on how wood engravings and lithographs published in the travel accounts of Debret, Rugendas, and Biard reveal the vision that male European artists had of black and mulatto women.³ I seek to understand how their representations of black women's bodies express both gender relations and the sometimes subtle, sometimes explicit power relations between masters and female slaves. The first part of this chapter establishes a preliminary genealogy of these images, in which nudity clearly shown or subtly evoked reminds us of the ways in which European travelers have exhaustively represented Brazilian indigenous women's bodies since the sixteenth century. The second part gives a brief overview of the biographies of Debret, Rugendas, and Biard in order to introduce the analysis of some lithographs and wood engravings published in the travel accounts and albums produced by the three artists. I explain how their representations of the cordial relations between masters, slaves, and *feitores* (overseers) helped to nourish the idea of Brazil as a country of racial harmony. Finally, the chapter demonstrates that these images

are part of a larger trend visible in films and television series focusing on slavery in the Americas in general and Brazil in particular. I argue that the contemporary images of Brazilian black and mulatto women have a close association with these early representations of enslaved African women.

FIRST EUROPEAN IMAGES OF ENSLAVED WOMEN'S BODIES

The texts and illustrations of the first European travel accounts in Brazil, especially those by Jean de Léry, André Thevet, and Hans Staden in the sixteenth century, repeatedly described and depicted the naked bodies of the native populations.⁴ The woodcuts illustrating these first travel accounts very often showed scenes of daily life and described the Brazilian natural landscape, fauna, and flora. In these representations, the indigenous men and women appeared with well-built bodies and were completely integrated into the natural setting. The representation of their bodies was idealized and frequently inspired by classical tradition. These early depictions of indigenous peoples tell us far more about Europe than about the Americas.

At the time, the traveler was often not the artist who produced the images illustrating the travel accounts. Instead, an artist who likely had never visited the Americas would draw the sketch according to the oral description given by the traveler. The same artist or an illustrator would then transfer the sketch to the block of wood, carving the areas that should be white and leaving at the original level the areas to show in black. Following this stage, the block of wood was covered with ink, which would then be removed from the surface to appear in white. The image was sometimes printed separately or along with the block containing the text. In other print techniques, such as lithography—which emerged at the end of the eighteenth century and was extensively used during the nineteenth century to reproduce artistic works—the process of reproducing images was similar. Initially, the artist or the traveler would draw the first sketches or watercolors. Then, typically, another individual would redraw these sketches on lithographic limestone by using an oil-based medium. The printer would then cover the lithograph limestone with a solution containing substances such as gum arabic, in order to coat the pores of the stone in all the zones that should not absorb ink. After this preparation process, the surface that was drawn with greasy material, which was to form the image, absorbed the ink; the parts that

were covered with gum arabic, to appear in white, rejected it. This long and complex process, which relied on the collaboration of traveler, artist, illustrators, engravers, and printers—most of whom knew nothing or very little about the American continent—gave rise to idealized representations of the Americas. As a result, it is not surprising that in the different stages of the process, the various individuals in charge of producing these images sometimes intervened by adding or removing elements from the original drawings. Particularly in the images produced in the sixteenth century, it was not uncommon for illustrators depicting landscapes and peoples they had never seen to make analogies between the Americas and its populations, on one hand, and the paradise described in the Bible, on the other. Moreover, because Europeans sailed the West African coast and were in contact with Africans before conquering the Americas, the first images representing Brazilian native peoples and enslaved Africans in European travel accounts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries often contained very similar features.

The Dutch artist Albert Eckhout (1607–1666) lived in Brazil from 1637 to 1644, during the Dutch occupation of Pernambuco (1630–1654). While in Brazil, Eckhout produced dozens of sketches that gave birth to still-life paintings depicting the fruits and vegetables found in Brazil. Eckhout also produced large-scale oil paintings representing Brazilian landscapes, as well as portraits of Brazilian natives, enslaved Africans, and even African ambassadors from the Kingdom of Congo who were visiting the northeastern region to negotiate the terms of the Atlantic slave trade. Housed in the National Museum of Denmark in Copenhagen, these full-body portraits of Brazilian inhabitants remain rare examples in which enslaved Africans are portrayed as primary characters in painting. Over the next two centuries, Europeans who traveled to Brazil represented the slave world through watercolors, drawings, lithographs, and wood engravings, but slavery was not considered a noble enough subject to be represented in oil painting. Indeed, the collections of French museums, such as the Louvre and the Museum of the Château de Versailles, confirm that French painters privileged European landscapes, official portraits, and historical themes.

Albert Eckhout's first paintings of enslaved Africans in Brazil, in the seventeenth century, were very similar to the portraits of native Brazilians that he produced during the same period. In the two full-body portraits,

African Woman and Child (figure 20.1) and *Tupinamba/Brazilian Woman and Child* (figure 20.2), both the indigenous woman and the African enslaved woman are bare-breasted. Both are also set in the exotic space of the sugarcane plantation, and both carry a straw basket containing calabashes, yams, and tropical fruits that evoke the luxuriance of nature, the fertility of the soil, and female sexuality. Reinforcing the exoticism of

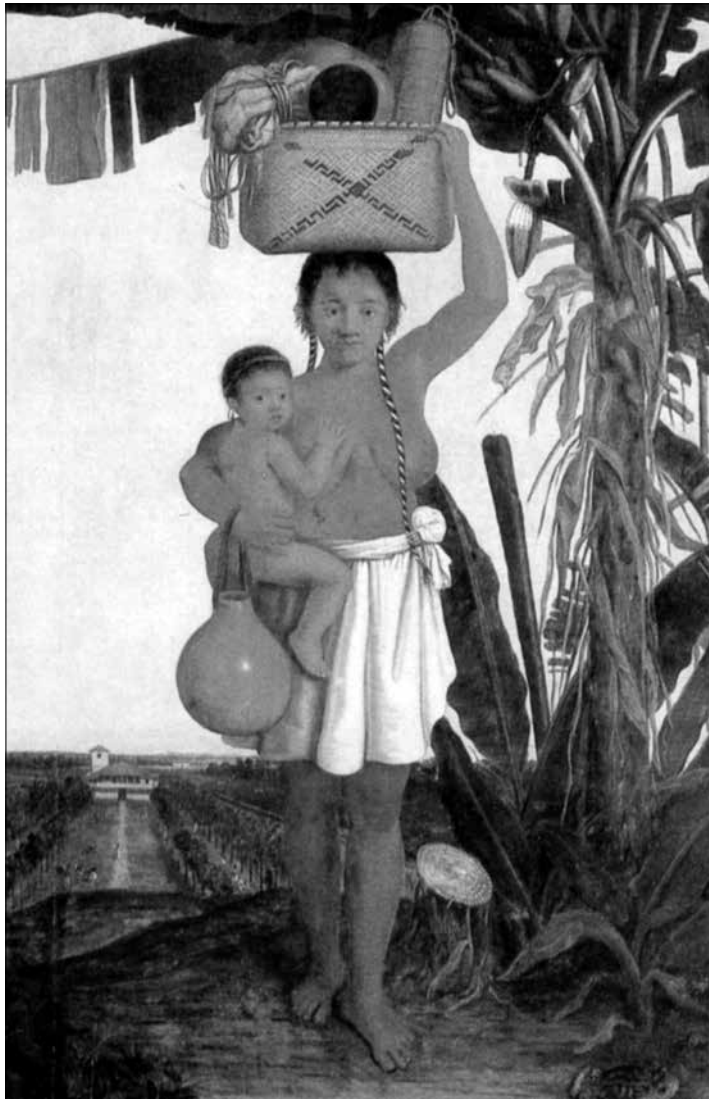


FIGURE 20.1 Albert Eckhout, *African Woman and Child* (1641), oil painting (courtesy of Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen).



FIGURE 20.2 Albert Eckhout, *Tupinamba/Brazilian Woman and Child* (1641), oil painting (courtesy of Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen)

the scene, to the left of the enslaved woman one can see a large palm tree, and to the right of the Brazilian woman is a huge banana tree. Unlike the indigenous woman's body, the body of the enslaved African woman is very strong, with well-defined muscles, indicating that she performs hard physical work. Each woman holds her child, but the skin color of the enslaved African woman's young child is much lighter than that of his mother. The difference between the boy's skin color and his mother's is an explicit reference to the miscegenation resulting from sexual intercourse, usually forced, between African female slaves and the masters of sugarcane plantations and sugar mills. As with other images of children during this period, the young boy is represented as an adult in miniature form. In one hand, he holds a small parrot, and in the other, an ear of corn. The pale, phallic-looking corn pointed toward his mother's vagina can be seen as a clear reference to the sexual role of female slaves in the plantation and in the Brazilian slave society.⁵

In the next centuries, representations of naked breasts were widely disseminated in the imaginary surrounding African and Afro-Brazilian enslaved women. Very often, these women were employed as wet nurses in the families of white masters because of the belief that black women were physically stronger than white women and could better endure Brazil's hot tropical weather.⁶

After the Portuguese expelled the Dutch from northeastern Brazil in 1654, few European travelers left illustrated travel accounts.⁷ This context would change in 1808, when the Portuguese court moved to Rio de Janeiro, encouraging European travelers to visit Brazil. Representations of the female's or male's enslaved body developed by artists such as Debret, Rugendas, and Biard are, to some extent, indebted to the first images of native Brazilians made by European travelers beginning in the sixteenth century. In the majority of the images of the nineteenth century, the bodies of the enslaved men and women continue to be completely idealized. However, these engravings tell us much more about the gender relations in the Brazilian slave society than the images produced in the previous centuries.

DEBRET, RUGENDAS, AND BIARD

Jean-Baptiste Debret was a cousin of Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825).⁸ He studied at the Collège Louis-le-Grand, and after attending David's

classes, he followed the illustrious artist to Italy to help him execute the painting *Le serment des Horaces*.⁹ From 1785 to 1789, Debret attended the Fine Arts Academy of Paris. In the Prix de Rome competition, his painting *Regulus partant pour Carthage* received the second prize. During the French Revolution, he abandoned painting in order to attend civil engineering classes at the École de ponts et chaussées, the future École polytechnique, where he was later appointed professor of drawing, replacing François Gérard. He took up his artistic activities again at the time of the Salon of 1798, in which he received a new prize. Under the empire (1804–14), he accepted several official commissions and participated regularly in the Salons, showing historical paintings that featured Napoleon Bonaparte as the main character. After the fall of Napoleon and the death of Debret's only son, the official commissions decreased, and he accepted Joachim Lebreton's invitation to participate in a French artistic mission to Brazil, commanded by Dom João VI. In Rio de Janeiro, Debret taught historical painting at the Academy of Fine Arts. He continued to develop his own work in the genre and produced numerous portraits of the Portuguese court. He returned to France in 1831, at a time when the regulations of the Fine Arts Academy were undergoing reform and a series of political crises provoked the abdication of Dom Pedro I.

From 1834 to 1839, Debret published in Paris, at Firmin Didot Frères, the three volumes of *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil*. Charles Pradier, his former colleague on the French artistic mission, made the lithographs (based on Debret's watercolors), which were later printed by Thierry Frères.¹⁰ Historians, art historians, and anthropologists developed an interest in the *Voyage pittoresque*, especially because of its representations of Brazilian native populations as well as enslaved Africans and Afro-Brazilians.¹¹

Johann Moritz Rugendas was born in Augsburg into a family of artists. He studied at the Academy of Munich and became a disciple of Lorenzo Quaglio (1792–1869). He traveled to Brazil in 1822 with the Langsdorff expedition but soon abandoned it to pursue his journey alone, accumulating sketches of the Brazilian inhabitants and landscape. When he returned to Augsburg, he published his *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil* between 1827 and 1835.¹² This illustrated travel account includes one hundred lithographs based on his drawings. The text was probably

written by Victor-Aimé Huber,¹³ who developed his descriptions from Rugendas's accounts.¹⁴

François-Auguste Biard studied at the School of Fine Arts of Lyon before becoming a professor of drawing in the French navy. Between 1827 and 1828, he traveled to Cyprus, Malta, Syria, and Egypt. After leaving the navy, he visited England, Scotland, Germany, Switzerland, Spain, Italy, and North Africa. In 1834, he established his studio in Paris and became an official painter under the July Monarchy (1830–48). In 1839, he was in charge of decorating the Palace of Versailles, and his work became very popular. Between 1839 and 1840, Biard and his young wife, Léonie d'Aunet, participated in a French expedition to the Arctic in the corvette *La Recherche*. From these several travels, he accumulated a number of sketches that led to the paintings he exhibited in the Salon in Paris. As an official artist, Biard largely relied on the revenue obtained from the paintings commissioned by King Louis Philippe. As a result, the end of the July Monarchy had a significant negative impact on his career. In 1858, when he was almost sixty years old, he traveled to Brazil using his own resources, and he remained in the country until the beginning of 1860. He was a former official artist, and once he was in Rio de Janeiro, the Emperor Dom Pedro II sponsored his work. Yet despite the support of the Brazilian monarchy, the artist decided to leave the urban environment to undertake an adventure in the jungle. He went first to Espírito Santo and later to Amazonia. During his journey from Rio de Janeiro to the distant regions of Amazonia, Biard produced many portraits of Brazilian native populations but also of people of African descent, enslaved, freed, and free. In 1861, he published a short version of his travel account in the illustrated journal *Le tour du monde*. One year later, the book *Deux années au Brésil* was published by Hachette in Paris. His account, illustrated with 180 wood engravings drawn by Édouard Riou and made by different engravers, is marked by its humorous vision of Brazilian daily life.¹⁵

ENSLAVED BODIES

European travelers who went to Brazil during the nineteenth century saw the country as the black continent of the Americas. Africans and their descendants were regarded as the engine of a society that relied entirely on slave labor. In this context, Brazilian exoticism was perceived by

Europeans primarily as African exoticism.¹⁶ And quite often, this exoticism was associated with the almost-naked bodies of enslaved women. Portuguese officials and European travelers frequently referred to the presence of bare-breasted female slaves in the streets of cities such as Rio de Janeiro and Salvador. The Count of Resende wrote a letter, reproduced by Silvia Hunold Lara, describing Rio de Janeiro urban daily life, and he mentioned that enslaved women remained in the streets idling or selling “insignificant things.” Even worse for Resende was the behavior of the mulatto women. According to him, these freedwomen, who lived close to the households of their former masters, became pernicious because of their bad behavior and gossip. However, according to Resende, it was worse still when they resided alone or with other mulatto women because they lived scandalous and libertine lives.¹⁷ Before becoming a renowned painter, Édouard Manet traveled to Brazil in 1848 aboard the *Havre-et-Guadeloupe*, and he spent some months in Rio de Janeiro.¹⁸ In his letters to his mother, the young man described the city as follows:

In the streets one only meets male and female negroes; Brazilian men don't go often outside and Brazilian women even less. . . . In this country where all negroes are slaves; all these unfortunate men seem stupid; it is extraordinary the power that the white exert on them; I saw a slave market, it is a revolting spectacle for us; the negroes wear pants, sometimes a jacket in fabric, but as slaves they are not allowed to wear shoes. The majority of female negroes are naked to the belt, some wear neck scarves falling to the chest, they are generally ugly, however I saw some pretty ones; they dress very gracefully. The ones make turbans, the others arrange their crisp hair very skilfully and almost all of them wear underskirts decorated with ugly flounces.¹⁹

Travelers were ambivalent about the almost-naked bodies of enslaved women they saw in Brazil, sometimes expressing admiration, sometimes expressing repulsion. Although Manet initially perceived the exoticism of women of African descent as a “hideous” spectacle, he was also able to identify some beautiful “negro women.” His attraction for black women was justified not only because of their stylishness and their naked breasts

but also because they were the only women “available” in the streets of Rio de Janeiro. Indeed, so-called Brazilian women—which in the nineteenth-century travel accounts meant white women of Portuguese origin—did not go outside very often.

But the presence of Africans and people of African descent on the streets of the Brazilian cities such as Salvador and Rio de Janeiro was frequently a source of disappointment, especially for those travelers who went to the country in search of Amerindian exoticism. After arriving in Brazil, François-Auguste Biard clearly expressed a desire to go to the rain forest in order to paint indigenous groups: “I wanted to have some by any means; I had already seen negroes in Africa.”²⁰ When he arrived in Bahia,²¹ he noticed the massive presence of slaves and people of African descent in the streets of the city. In the engraving *Une rue de Bahia* (A street in Bahia) (figure 20.3), based on a Biard sketch, one can identify the narrow streets of Salvador’s lower town. In the foreground, five black men are seated at the bottom of the staircase, in a position expressing a certain lassitude. In the middle ground, another man wearing a hat descends the staircase, and in the background, at the top of the staircase, are two women. The cut and pattern of their clothes are represented in detail. In the background, a palm tree announces the stereotypical “tropicality” of the landscape in the city’s neighborhoods. One can observe a certain orientalizing tendency in the manner in which the architecture and the Brazilian inhabitants are represented.

In the accompanying text, the painter, despite expressing a certain dislike, remarks on the beauty of the African and Afro-Brazilian women:

Arrived at the ground, nothing picturesque: the negroes, always the negroes, shouting, pushing; their costumes were not unexpected, dirty trousers, dirty shirts, grubby feet, often enormous, the sad result of this dreadful disease named elephantiasis, caused almost always by depravity. I have heard that if you want to see beautiful female negroes you must go to Bahia. Indeed, I saw several who were not bad, but all them were swarming in the narrow streets of the low town, where French, English, Portuguese, Jewish and Catholic merchants lived in an insalubrious atmosphere. I hastened to leave this anthill, while climbing with difficulty, as in Lisbon, the main street that leads to the high town.²²



FIGURE 20.3 François-Auguste Biard, *Une rue de Bahia* (A street in Bahia), lithograph from *Deux années au Brésil* (1862), 39

The comment about the beauty of black women in Bahia is followed by a warning concerning the city's ambience of depravity. For Biard, as for other European travelers, the image of slaves was almost always associated with degeneracy, explicit sexuality, and consequent disease, even though the elephantiasis mentioned in this excerpt is transmitted by mosquitoes rather than by sexual contact. However, the association between disease and degeneracy did not emerge solely from the travelers' prejudices. As Gilberto Freyre points out, it was in the "voluptuous environment of the master's house, full of children, baby negroes, small female negroes, *mucamas*, that the venereal diseases were easily disseminated, by the domestic prostitution—always less hygienic than that of the brothels."²³

Usually, enslaved women in the domestic urban environment had better living and work conditions than enslaved women who performed other kinds of work in the plantation environment. However, sexual abuse by the masters was not excluded. These enslaved female maids, often mulatto women, performed domestic services in their masters' households. As Mieko Nishida explains, they were "mistresses or common-law wives of the owners, served as supervisors of other slaves, washerwomen, cooks, housekeepers, and wet nurses (*amas de leite*) for the owners' legitimate children."²⁴ The French traveler Charles Expilly observed that owning a wet nurse was also an indicator of social status: "The luxury of the wet nurse indicates how prosperous is the household."²⁵ This idea is confirmed by Sandra Lauderdale Graham, who explains that especially the *mucamas*, who were in permanent contact with their masters and mistresses, "could expect finer clothes, perhaps a more varied or ample diet gleaned from the family's table, earlier attention to illness, and the small, sought-after protections a proper mistress or master was supposed to provide."²⁶ Expilly described the wet nurse as a woman who was able to manipulate her masters sexually: "She [the wet nurse] enabled them to satisfy their sensuality and momentarily to live according to their fantasies without fearing being punished."²⁷ However, as Graham notes, enslaved domestic servants such as the *mucamas* were expected to be loyal, and they lived under constant surveillance. In this context, loyalty also meant passive acceptance of sexual abuse, often beginning in childhood and sometimes under the promise of receiving manumission by their masters.²⁸

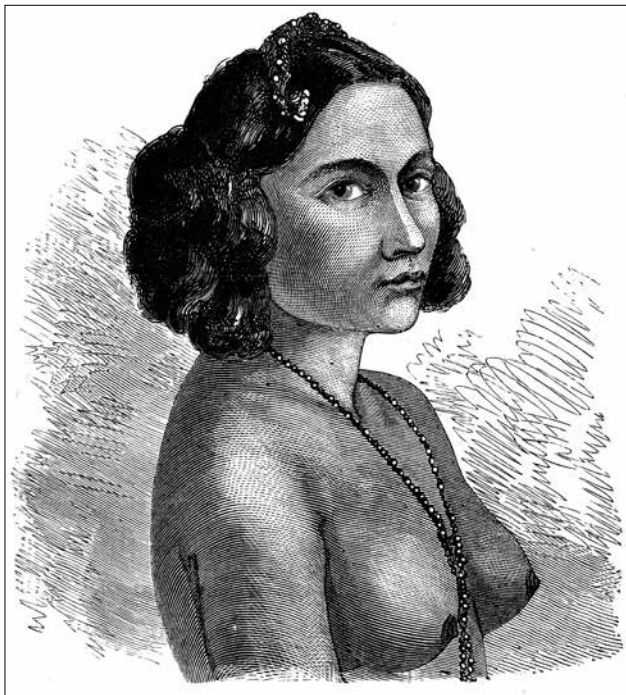


FIGURE 20.4
François-Auguste
Biard, *La Mulâtresse*
(The Mulatto
woman), engraving
from *Deux années
au Brésil* (1862),
348

Apart from ethnographic portraits representing “civilized” Brazilian natives, Biard produced only one engraving of a young female whom he clearly identified as a mulatto. The portrait *La mulâtresse* (The mulatto woman) (figure 20.4) is based on a drawing he produced when he was in Manaus (Amazonas). It emphasizes the model’s beauty and delicate physiognomy. She has dark skin and curly hair, she is naked above the waist, and she is giving a sensual glance to the spectator.

This close-cropped portrait is different from the other compositions depicting indigenous women. Here, the artist’s model is represented alone. To emphasize that she is not an indigenous woman living in the wilds or an enslaved African woman recently arrived in Brazil, Biard identifies her as a *mulato*, a word that designated a Brazilian-born slave, free, or freed person of white and African ancestry. In some cases, the adjective *mulato* was also employed to differentiate the status of a free or freed black person from that of an enslaved individual. Portraying the mulatto woman as bare-breasted is not naturalistic but part of the *mise-en-scène* intended to convey exoticism. The image suggests the painter has developed a more intimate relationship with his model. If the engraving accentuates the

beauty of the mulatto woman, the text insists on her vivacity and her lack of integrity. During a walk, some thorns stuck in the bottom of Biard's feet. The mulatto woman represented in the image helped him to remove them: "A female mulatto did the operation correctly; only one of the fifty thorns inserted under the skin of my feet remained. Little by little she pulled them out without making me suffer. I regret having to add that this mulatto woman who was so skillful, was also a little robber. Few days afterwards, I had the pain to see her being whipped while the other women of color, less pretty than she, applauded. She was probably used to this kind of situation and it did not affect her very much. Two hours later she came to my room to pose, with all her talents and with flowers in her hair."²⁹ Explaining the differences between black and mulatto women, Biard assumes that miscegenation is a positive feature, at least from his aesthetic point of view. At the same time, he considers the mulatto woman as the "degenerate" portion of the white and black "races." Not only was she a thief, she also accepted physical punishment as something natural, and once her whippings were over, she was ready to adorn herself to take part in the posing sessions organized by the painter.

Images emphasizing the sexuality and sensuality of Afro-Brazilian women were widely disseminated in nineteenth-century travel accounts. In *Casa-grande & senzala*, Gilberto Freyre refers to a libidinous mulatto woman "who initiated us into physical love and transmitted to us . . . the first complete feeling of being a man."³⁰ He reveals how young Brazilian men of Portuguese origin developed what he calls a genuine "obsession" for black women during the colonial period. He reports that these white men, always surrounded by "easy mulatto women," could come to orgasm only with black women. In the description of these sexual relations between masters and female slaves, violence is totally evacuated.

Gender relations between masters, mistresses, and slaves are also visible in several nineteenth-century engravings. In one, the only lithograph in which Debret uses humor, a government employee is shown taking a walk with his family. The text accompanying *Un employé du gouvernement sortant de chez lui avec sa famille* (A government employee leaving his house with his family) (figure 20.5) reminds the reader that the streets of Rio de Janeiro were full of people of African descent but that it was uncommon to see white women outside the domestic space. The point is unsurprising.



FIGURE 20.5 Jean-Baptiste Debret, *Un employé du gouvernement sortant de chez lui avec sa famille* (A government employee leaving his house with his family), lithograph from *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil* (1834–39), vol. 2, plate 5

In 1823, the slave population of Rio de Janeiro was 150,549, and the free population (including freedmen and freedwomen) was 301,009.³¹ Further, Debret states that Brazilian white women did not have any taste; they dressed in an odd way and wore colored clothing according to the Anglo-Portuguese fashion.

Describing his lithograph, the artist explains that the line is led by the husband, the head of the family, followed by the children, from the youngest to the oldest, and then his pregnant wife. After that, one sees a *mucama*, a domestic enslaved woman, the black wet nurse, a younger female slave, the master's male slave (who is wearing a top hat and holding an umbrella), and finally a young male slave. At the end of the line comes a new "negro," who has recently been bought and who is "the slave of all the others, whose intelligence, more or less vivid, will be developed by blows of whip."³² The satirical engraving illustrates in a simple manner how complex Brazilian society was. Owning slaves was more than an economic need; it was an issue of social prestige. The position of each character in the line and their sizes in relation to one another show the gender

and hierarchical relations inside the family and among slaves themselves. If the domestic slave seems to be integrated into the family, the new slave's position is that of a commodity. The white male master, dressed in black, is visibly distinct from the other members of the group. The two young girls are dressed exactly like their mother, and their hairstyles are identical. The mucama, who is usually a mulatto enslaved woman and has a form of intimate contact with the mistress and obviously with the master, occupies a prominent position in the family's hierarchy. She wears a dress and a coat very similar to those of her mistress. However, as slaves, both the mucama and the wet nurse wear no shoes. Toward the end of the line, the slaves have darker skin and are younger. Their clothing and attitude are more modest than those of the slaves who precede them.

Debret's line constitutes a precise portrait of the nineteenth-century Brazilian family and slave society. Male white masters and female white mistresses have the highest position. A free male mulatto has a more important position than a free female mulatto, and both have more rights than freed mulatto men and women. Lower in the social and racial hierarchy, one can find mulatto female and male slaves and then black female and male slaves. Female and male Africans who had bought their freedom continued to be considered foreigners. In this socially and racially hierarchized society, skin color and physical features have a major impact on social mobility.

The wood engraving *Dames brésiliennes à Rio de Janeiro* (Brazilian ladies in Rio de Janeiro) (figure 20.6), published in Biard's travel account, was probably inspired by *Un employé du gouvernement sortant de chez lui avec sa famille* (figure 20.5). It shows a Brazilian white woman walking in the street, followed by a line of slaves. In the text, Biard simultaneously exalts the French fashion in evidence in Rio streets and criticizes Brazilian women both for their dress and for their custom of always being accompanied by slaves:

I still didn't go walk in the splendid street of Ouvidor; however, it seems that this street is the meeting place of all the most elegant people spreading out their toilets in the lights of the shops. One can see the beautiful Brazilian women, who according to the custom are always followed by one or two mulattos, two or three



FIGURE 20.6. François-Auguste Biard, *Dames brésiliennes à Rio de Janeiro* (Brazilian ladies in Rio de Janeiro), engraving from *Deux années au Brésil* (1862), 85

negro women, some young female and male negroes. The group walks gravely, the husband at the head of the line. In these colorful costumes, I could have recognized the spirit of economy and order that our Frenchwomen don't have all the time.³³

Biard ridicules Brazilian women in the text and the image. The Brazilian white lady, her son, and the slaves who follow her are represented as caricatures: their physical features are deformed, and their traits are exaggerated. To complete the comical quality of the scene, the painter has added a dog at the end of the line, reminding the reader that the living conditions of slaves in Brazil are very close to those of animals.

Some ten years earlier, before visiting Brazil, Biard had painted *Traite d'esclaves dans la côte ouest de l'Afrique* (Slave trade in the West Coast of Africa), *Capture d'un bâtiment négrier par un navire français* (Capture of a slave ship by a French vessel), *Proclamation de la liberté des Noirs aux colonies* (1848) (Abolition of slavery in the colonies [1848]), and *Emménagement d'esclaves à bord d'un négrier sur la côte d'Afrique* (Slaves' transportation in a slave ship on the African coast).³⁴ Although he emphasized not only the horrors of the slave trade and the physical punishment associated with it but also the role played by France in that commerce, the painter was far from being an

abolitionist. As a result, because of his relations with the Brazilian monarchy, the only possible way he would criticize Brazilian slave society was by using a humorous approach. Biard is careful in his text never to condemn slavery directly: "The life of a negro in Brazil is much far preferable to that of the most part of the unfortunate European immigrants. The authorities never fulfill the promises they made to them."³⁵

This kind of discourse distorted the atrocious living conditions of slaves in Brazil and later corroborated the idea that Brazilian slavery was mild, especially in comparison to that of the United States. Today, even though 45 percent of the Brazilian population self-identifies as black (*negro*) or brown (*pardo*), the idea that slaves and nineteenth-century European immigrants to the country were in some way comparable still circulates in Brazilian society, especially among those opposed to affirmative action projects.³⁶

Debret's idealization of black bodies is related to the neoclassical ethics that marks his work. Such an idealized image of slaves is present in his lithograph *Marchand de fleurs, à la porte d'une église* ("Flower Vendor at the Door of a Church") (figure 20.7), representing urban slavery in Rio de



FIGURE 20.7 Jean-Baptiste Debret, *Marchand de fleurs, à la porte d'une église* (Flower vendor at the door of a church), lithograph from *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil* (1834–39), vol. 3, plate 6

Janeiro. It shows an enslaved man in front of a church, selling flowers to a Brazilian lady who is followed by a line of women slaves. The main character of this scene is the wage-earning slave, a street vendor who makes his living selling flowers and fruits and who, despite his greater autonomy, must give a large portion of his income to his master. The body of the enslaved man is drawn according to neoclassical conceptions of balance and proportion. He is well proportioned, and his stance is statuelike. Despite being barefoot, the character looks like a dandy because of the refined appearance of his clothes. The dresses of the women slaves in the image are embroidered, and their hairstyles combine aspects of local fashion with the French and Portuguese styles of the time. Although female slaves wore clothing that was modest in comparison to that of their mistresses, slave owners were concerned about the way their domestic slaves were dressed.³⁷ Owning slaves who wore refined clothes in European fashion and sometimes even jewelry was one way to show wealth.

Despite the theatrical poses of the Brazilian lady and the male slave in the lithograph, Debret insists in his text that his portrayal is realistic. Even if his intention of being objective can be questioned, the artist depicts in detail the clothing, the hairstyles, and even the specific location where the scene takes place. Nevertheless, the image has a symbolic dimension as well. The gesture of the slave in offering a carnation to the white lady underlines the gender relations between blacks and whites in nineteenth-century Brazilian slave society, at the same time suggesting that these relations are cordial. The image is almost the only one in existence to show a white woman in the street having direct contact with a black man. Hence, the slave's gesture evokes for the first time sexuality expressed between a black man and a white woman.

Representations of enslaved Africans inside slave ships, in the streets, and in the slave markets almost always refer to promiscuity, but European artists such as Debret and Rugendas also portray the slave family. These images depicting the daily lives of couples of enslaved men and women, expressing affection, contest the idea that Brazilian slaves did not follow the social norms of family and sexual life.³⁸ Debret depicts many scenes of slave labor and the daily life of slaves, but these images rarely evoke sexual relations between masters and women slaves—an issue obviously relegated to a zone of denial.

Violence, rape, and the control exerted by slave owners over the bodies of female slaves are nevertheless evoked in a few lithographs of Rugendas's travel account, in which he shows the sensuality of female slaves through nudity. The lithograph *Préparation de la racine de mendiocca* ("Preparation of the Manioc Root") (figure 20.8) presents a group of three women slaves preparing cassava. Another bare-breasted female slave has her back turned to the spectator, and a fifth is giving attention to her child. In the background, one sees the silhouette of two slaves enveloped by smoke. In the foreground, seated on the ground, are two male slaves and one female slave peeling manioc roots. Behind them, a male slave on his knees is trying to protect his face from the smoke coming from the cauldron in which the roots are being cooked.

But the two central elements of this image are a slave woman in profile and the *feitor*, or overseer. The *feitor* is the only white character in this scene. Dressed in pants, a white shirt, and a vest, he wears a hat and a scarf around his neck. He is in the position of an inspector: his right hand is behind his back, and his left arm rests on his left thigh. He is slightly



FIGURE 20.8 Johann Moritz Rugendas, *Préparation de la racine de mendiocca* (Preparation of the manioc root), lithograph from *Malerische Reise in Brasilien*, vol. 2 (1835)

turned to the woman slave, at whom he looks with interest as he talks. The woman slave, whose shoulders and back are revealed, holds a basket with both hands. She is looking at the *feitor* with wide-open eyes. Here, the relations of gender and power are expressed not through explicit hostility but through the suggestion of control and the threat of violence. Although the *feitor* is neither gesticulating nor punishing the enslaved woman, his glance indicates that he is in control of the situation.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, authors such as André João Antonil mentioned the abuses perpetrated by the *feitor* against enslaved women. According to him, “they could “attach and whip with a liana until running blood, and putting in the *tronco*³⁹ or attached in a chain for months (when the master is in the city), the slave woman who did not agree to commit the sin.”⁴⁰

In the plantation environment, where women were numerically inferior, enslaved women were subjected to harder work conditions than men and to sexual abuse as well. A similar situation is depicted in the engraving *Nouveaux nègres* (“New Negroes”) (figure 20.9). The scene is set in the slave quarter of a Brazilian plantation. The work portrays the nostalgia of three Africans who have just arrived from their homeland. At the center of the composition is a bare-breasted slave woman wearing a hat and earrings. Standing up and looking directly at the spectator, she appears unashamed, but she covers the bottom of her body with a shirt, probably influenced by the glance of the *feitor*, who is observing the scene with a mixture of interest and reprobation. Once again, the image reinforces the idea that the *feitor* controls the situation, as his role was to “break” the new slaves from Africa. Especially in the large plantations where the masters were not able to exert close control over the slaves’ activities, one can suppose the *feitor* was also in charge of sexually “domesticating” the African female slaves.⁴¹

MOVING IMAGES, RENEWED MEMORIES

Slavery was abolished in Brazil in 1888. However, representations of the slave past continued to be disseminated throughout the twentieth century, especially in films and on television. In the early 1900s, a wave of films was inaugurated with *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*,⁴² and since the 1960s, many Brazilian and North American films and telefilms have depicted slavery. Among Brazilian productions are the films *Sinhá moça* (1953),



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FIGURE 20.9 Johann Moritz Rugendas, *Nouveaux nègres* (New Negroes)

Ganga Zumba (1963), *Xica da Silva* (1976), and *Quilombo* (1984) as well as the soap operas *A cabana do Pai Tomás* ("Uncle Tom's Cabin," 1969); *A escrava Isaura* ("The Slave Isaura," 1976), produced by the Globo television network; *A escrava Anastácia* ("The Slave Anastácia," 1990), screened at Rede Manchete; and *Xica da Silva* (1996), screened at SBT (Sistema Brasileiro de Televisão).

A cabana do pai Tomás—which was broadcast from July 7, 1969, to March 1, 1970, during the military dictatorship (1964–85)—was based on the novel

Uncle Tom's Cabin. Sérgio Cardoso (1925–1972), a white actor, played the role of Uncle Tom by using blackface theatrical makeup. In the soap opera *A escrava Isaura*, the main female slave character was also a white actress.⁴³ A second version of this soap opera was produced in 2004 by the Record television network. In the opening of both versions of this production, one sees an animation conceived with Jean-Baptiste Debret's watercolors, representing slave life in nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro.⁴⁴ *A escrava Isaura* was a huge success not only in Brazil but also in eighty countries across the world, including Romania, Hungary, the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, Israel, Nigeria, Portugal, Kenya, Ghana, Mozambique, and South Africa. By watching the soap opera's opening, the international audience became familiar with Debret's representations of slavery.

These Brazilian television and film productions showed various elements of slave life in Brazil: resistance, punishments, *quilombos*, marriages, and manumissions. With the exception of *Ganga Zumba* and *Quilombo*, most of these productions shed light on the numerous strategies used by enslaved women to try to get their freedom. In *Xica da Silva*,⁴⁵ a former slave, Francisca da Silva (played by Zezé Motta), uses her sexual appeal to ascend socially. As Mariza de Carvalho Soares has pointed out, Xica's story gave a new interpretation to the work of Gilberto Freyre.⁴⁶

In 1987, Werner Herzog directed *Cobra Verde*, an adaptation of Bruce Chatwin's novel *The Viceroy of Ouidah*.⁴⁷ The film depicts the life of Francisco Félix de Souza, a Brazilian slave merchant who settled in the Bight of Benin during the first decades of the nineteenth century. Herzog added a humorous touch to Freyre's vision of the relationship between masters and enslaved women. In the first part of the film, set in a sugarcane plantation in Pernambuco, the slave owner proudly affirms that he maintains sexual relations with the young enslaved women and that he likes when they become pregnant (figures 20.10 and 20.11). In the film, the beautiful domestic slaves do not give the impression of having a violent or conflictual relationship with their master. In one scene, a beautiful slave woman with bare shoulders walks slowly, slightly swinging her hips, toward the bedroom of her aged master. This caricatural and humorous vision of the master-slave relationship is largely attributable to the idea that slavery was milder in Brazil than in the United States.⁴⁸



FIGURE 20.10 AND 11 From the film *Cobra Verde*



The notion that libidinous enslaved women enjoyed sex with their elderly and hideous masters is absent from the North American films and television programs. In the telefilm *Roots* (1977), an adaptation of Alex Haley's novel of the same name, published one year earlier, the slave Kunta Kinte has a young daughter named Kizzy. Separated from her family and sold to a master who beats and rapes her (figures 20.12 and 20.13), she never succeeds in having a family as her parents had done. Unlike the lascivious slave woman of *Cobra Verde*, Kizzy has no pleasure in



FIGURE 20.12 AND 13 From *Roots*



sexual relations with her master and never takes advantage of her sexual qualities to obtain better living conditions or win her freedom. In North American films, the potential threat presented in Rugendas's image of the *feitor* who looks attentively at the female slave (figure 20.8 and figure 20.9) is now a violent and accomplished act.

The images in the travel accounts of Debret, Rugendas, and Biard that represent the bodies of enslaved women and the gender and sexual relations between masters and slaves are indebted to the first European representations of Brazilian native women. Those sixteenth-and seventeenth-century works showed bare-breasted women living in harmony with nature. They also conveyed an idealized image of a cordial relationship between masters and slaves. That said, by including mulatto children in the images or evoking the control exerted on the female slaves by the *feitor*, Eckhout, Debret, Rugendas, and Biard also suggest the existence of violence and sexual relations between white men and enslaved women. However, in many of the illustrations and accompanying texts, Brazilian enslaved women seem to be completely integrated into the master's family. These representations of Brazil's slave society, later confirmed by Gilberto Freyre's work, therefore helped to produce and disseminate an unrealistically "generous" interpretation of Brazilian slavery.

Over the past thirty years, Brazilian and North American historians have deconstructed the myth of Brazilian slavery as somehow softer than that in the United States, but depictions of the female slave and the black domestic servant still persist. The cultural production developed over the last fifty years through advertising, films, and soap operas has helped to propagate a certain image of Afro-Brazilian women associated with nudity and heightened sexuality. At the same time, however, it has also helped to perpetuate the myth that Brazil is a country where one can find racial harmony.

NOTES

This chapter relies on the research I developed in "Le romantisme tropical: Les illustrations de la relation de voyage *Deux années au Brésil* (1862) de François-Auguste Biard (1799–1882)" (Ph.D. diss., Université Laval, 2004). This work also gave rise to two articles and one book I authored: "Encontros difíceis: O artista-herói e os índios corrompidos no relato de viagem *Deux années au Brésil* (1862)," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 42, no. 2 (2005): 15–39; "Les représentations de

l'esclavage dans les gravures des relations *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil* (1834) de Jean-Baptiste Debret (1768–1848) et *Deux années au Brésil* (1862) de François-Auguste Biard (1799–1882),” *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 30, no. 59 (2005): 161–83; and *Romantisme tropical: L'aventure illustrée d'un peintre français au Brésil* (Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2008). I wish to thank Elizabeth Elbourne for her enlightening comments and for carefully editing the chapter.

1. More information about the reception and the impact of Debret's work in Brazil can be found in Daryle Williams, *Culture Wars in Brazil: The First Vargas Regime, 1930–1945* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2001), 165–76.

2. “Folhetim do Jornal do Comércio,” *Jornal do comércio* 199 (July 19, 1882): 1.

3. In Brazil, a mulatto is usually considered to be a person of both Portuguese white and African ancestry. The word *mulato* constantly appears in nineteenth-century sources and is still widely used in Brazil.

4. For more recent editions of these travel accounts, see Jean de Léry, *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil*, 1557, preface and epilogue by Frank Lestringant (Montpellier, France: Max Chaleil, 1992); André Thevet, *Le Brésil d'André Thevet: Les singularités de la France antarctique* (1557) (Paris: Chandeigne, 1997); Hans Staden, *Véritable histoire et description d'un pays habité par des hommes sauvages, nus, féroces et anthropophages* (Marbourg: André Kolben, 1557); and Staden, *Nus, féroces et anthropophages* (Paris: A. M. Métailié, 1979).

5. See Rebecca Parker Brien, *Visions of Savage Paradise: Albert Eckhout, Court Painter in Colonial Dutch Brazil* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007), 34. Zacharias Wagener (1614–1668) made annotated copies of Eckhout's paintings for his *Thierbuch* that includes a watercolor depicting this painting entitled “Molher negra” (ca. 1641). See Brien, *Visions of Savage Paradise*, 134.

6. Robert Conrad, *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), 133–40.

7. One of the few exceptions is Carlos Julião (1740–1811). Born in Piedmont (modern-day Italy), he was employed by the Portuguese army. Julião traveled to Brazil in the second half of the eighteenth century. Later, the watercolors he produced during his stay there were published in an album titled *Noticia summaria do gentilismo da Asia com dez riscos illuminados: Ditos de Figurinhos de Brancos e Negros dos Uzos do Rio de Janeiro e Serro do Frio: Ditos de Vazos e Tecidos Peruvianos*. About Julião's work, see Silvia Hunold Lara, “Customs and Costumes: Carlos Julião and the Image of Black Slaves in Late Eighteenth-Century Brazil,” *Slavery & Abolition* 23, no. 2 (2002): 125–46.

8. Marie-Monique Bernard, “Jean-Baptiste Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil* (1834),” in *L'œil aux aguets ou l'artiste en voyage*, ed. François Moreau (Paris: Klincksieck, 1995), 167, and Alfonso de E. Taunay, *A missão artística de 1816* (Brasília: Editora da Universidade de Brasília, 1983), 217.

9. Mario Carelli, *Cultures croisées: Histoire des échanges culturels entre la France et le Brésil de la découverte aux temps modernes* (Paris: Nathan, 1993), 62–63.

10. Wilson Coutinho, “Et les Français arrivèrent . . .,” in *Missão artística francesa e pintores viajantes: França-Brasil no século XIX, la mission artistique française et les peintres voyageurs: France Brésil au XIX^e siècle*, ed. Jean Boghici (Rio de Janeiro: Secretaria de Cultura do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, Instituto Cultural Brasil-França, Fundação Casa França-Brasil, 1990), 48. But according to Carelli, Debret drew the lithographs with the assistance of the Viscountess of Portes. See Carelli, *Cultures croisées*, 67.

11. See Bernard, “Jean-Baptiste Debret,” 167–76; Jeanine Potelet, *Le Brésil, vu par les voyageurs et les marins français, 1816–1840: Témoignages et images* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1991); Xavier-Philippe Guiochon, “Le Brésil face au regard artistique français: Debret et la mission artistique de 1816,” *Cahiers du Brésil contemporain* 23–24 (1994): 39–58; Rodrigo Naves, “Debret, o neoclassicismo e a escravidão,” in Rodrigo, *A forma difícil—Ensaio sobre a arte Brasileira* (São Paulo: Ática, 1996); and Alejandra Mailhe, “Les limites du visible: Réflexions sur la représentation picturale de l'esclavage dans l'œuvre de Rugendas et de Debret,” *Conserveries mémorielles* 2, no. 3, “Passé colonial et modalités de mise en mémoire de l'esclavage,” special issue edited by Ana Lucia Araujo and Anna Seiderer (2007), http://www.celat.ulaval.ca/histoire.memoire/no_3.htm.

12. See Johann Moritz Rugendas, *Malerische Reise in Brasilien* (Paris: Engelmann, 1835). The first edition was published in the same year both in French and German and comprises six parts.

13. See Tekla Hartmann, *A contribuição da iconografia para o conhecimento de Índios Brasileiros do século XIX* (São Paulo: Fundo de Pesquisas do Museu Paulista da Universidade de São Paulo, 1975), 75.

14. Unlike Debret's travel account, few studies were developed about Rugendas's travel account. The recent scholarly works about Rugendas include Robert W. Slenes, “African Abrahams, Lucretias and Men Sorrows in the Brazilian Anti-slavery Lithographs (1827–1835) of Johann Moritz Rugendas,” *Slavery and Abolition* 23 (2002): 147–68.

15. See Araujo, “Romantisme tropical”; Araujo, “Encontros difíceis”; Araujo, “Représentations de l'esclavage”; and Araujo, *Romantisme tropical: L'aventure illustrée*.

16. Jeanine Potelet, *Le Brésil*, 166.

17. Letter from the Count of Resende to Luís Pinto de Souza Coutinho, April 11, 1796, cod. 69, vol. 13, fol. 39–42v, Correspondência do vice-reinado para a corte, Arquivo nacional do Rio de Janeiro, quoted in Silvia Hunold Lara, *Fragmentos setecentistas: Escravidão, cultura e poder na América Portuguesa* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2007), 13–14.

18. Manet left the Havre on December 9, 1848, and returned to France on June 3, 1849.

19. Édouard Manet, *Lettres du siège de Paris: Précédées des lettres du voyage à Rio de Janeiro* (Paris: Éditions de l'Amateur, 1996), 23–24. All translations from French are mine.

20. François-Auguste Biard, *Deux années au Brésil* (Paris: Hachette, 1862), 114.

21. Called “Bahia” by many travelers, the city of Salvador in the province of Bahia was founded in 1549 and was the capital of Brazil until 1763.

22. Biard, *Deux années au Brésil*, 38.

23. Gilberto Freyre, *Casa Grande & Senzala* (São Paulo: Global, 2003), 401. All translations from Portuguese are mine.

24. Mieko Nishida, *Slavery and Identity: Ethnicity, Gender and Race in Salvador, Brazil, 1808–1888* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 19.

25. “Le luxe de la nourrice dira la prospérité de la maison.” Charles Expilly, *Le Brésil tel qu’il est* (Paris: Arnauld de Vresse, 1863), 204.

26. See Sandra Lauderdale Graham, *Caetana Says No: Women’s Stories from a Brazilian Slave Society* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 25.

27. “Elle leur permet de satisfaire leur sensualité, et de vivre momentanément à leur fantaisie, sans avoir à redouter une dure répression.” Expilly, *Le Brésil*, 206.

28. See the case of Rosa Egipcíaca, an African enslaved girl bought when she was six years old and molested by her master until the age of fourteen, discussed in Luiz Mott, *Rosa Egipcíaca: Uma santa africana no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand do Brasil, 1993), and Mott, “Rosa Egipcíaca: De escrava da Costa da Mina a Flor do Rio de Janeiro, in *Rotas atlânticas da diáspora africana: Da Baía do Benim ao Rio de Janeiro*, ed. Mariza de Carvalho Soares (Rio de Janeiro: Editora da Universidade Federal Fluminense, 2007), 135–55. See also the story of the enslaved girl Liberata examined in Keila Grinberg, “Manumission, Gender, and the Law in Nineteenth-Century Brazil: Liberata’s Legal Suit for Freedom,” in *Paths to Freedom: Manumission in the Atlantic World*, ed. Rosemary Brana-Shute and Randy J. Sparks (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2209), 219–34. In addition, see the case of Honorata, a young slave girl raped by her master at the age of ten, described in Conrad, *Children of God’s Fire*, 273–80.

29. Biard, *Deux années au Brésil*, 348.

30. Freyre, *Casa-grande & senzala*, 367.

31. See Katia M. de Queiros Mattoso, *Être esclave au Brésil, XVI^e–XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1979), 70.

32. Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique*, 129.

33. Biard, *Deux années au Brésil*, 83–84.

34. See the paintings titled *Traite d’esclaves dans la côte ouest de l’Afrique*, exhibited at the Salon of 1835; *Capture d’un bâtiment négrier par un navire français*, exhibited at the Salon of 1846; *Proclamation de la liberté des Noirs aux colonies* (1848), exhibited at the Salon of 1849 (Musée national du château de

Versailles); and *Emménagement d'esclaves à bord d'un négrier sur la côte d'Afrique*, exhibited at the Salon of 1861.

35. Biard, *Deux années au Brésil*, 98.

36. According to the Instituto brasileiro de geografia e estatística, 45 percent of Brazilians identify themselves as negro (black) or pardo (brown). See Abdias do Nascimento and Elisa Larkin Nascimento, "Dance of Deception: Race Relations in Brazil," in *Beyond Racism: Race and Inequality in Brazil, South Africa and the United States*, ed. Charles V. Hamilton et al. (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2001), 109.

37. See Juliana Monteiro, Luiza Gomes Ferreira, and Joseania Miranda Freitas, "As roupas de crioula no século XIX e o traje da beca na contemporaneidade: Símbolos de identidade e memória," *Mneme: Revista de humanidades* 7, no. 18, "Cultura, Tradição e Patrimônio Imaterial," special issue edited by Helder Alexandre Medeiros de Macedo (2005): 395–414.

38. See Robert W. Slenes, *Na Senzala uma flor: Esperanças e recordações na formação da família escrava—Brasil Sudeste, século XIX* (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 2000), 29.

39. The *tronco* (trunk) is a wood stem with holes for the neck and wrists.

40. André João Antonil, *Cultura e opulência do Brasil por suas drogas e minas* (1711; São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 2007), 91.

41. Ibid.

42. Based on the Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin, or Life among the Lowly* (Boston: John P. Jewett, 1852), the first version of the film is from 1903. Other versions followed until 1927.

43. The soap opera *A escrava Isaura* was based on the abolitionist novel by Bernardo Guimarães, *A escrava Isaura* (Rio de Janeiro: Casa Garnier, 1875).

44. The opening of the telenovela *A escrava Isaura* (1976) is available on YouTube, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c7XpRLtc9wo>.

45. The film was based on João Felício dos Santos's novel *Xica da Silva: O romance* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1976), inspired by the book written by his great-uncle, Joaquim Felício dos Santos, entitled *Memórias do distrito diamantino da comarca do Serro Frio*, in 1868. For a more recent work on Chica da Silva, see Júnia Ferreira Furtado, *Chica da Silva: A Brazilian Slave of the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

46. Mariza de Carvalho Soares, "As três faces de Xica," in *A história vai ao cinema*, ed. Mariza de Carvalho Soares and Jorge Ferreira (Rio de Janeiro: Record, 2001), 61.

47. Bruce Chatwin, *The Viceroy of Ouidah* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1980).

48. See Manolo Florentino, *Em costas negras: Uma história do tráfico de escravos entre a África e o Rio de Janeiro* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1997), 51–52.