



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

By  
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### **Abstract**

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

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

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## Introduction

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

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

The MEU developed a mixture of nation-building ethnology and imperial anthropology, which often characterised Portuguese anthropology (Viegas and Pina-Cabral 2014), conducting field research into both aspects on an unprecedented scale.<sup>2</sup> With the 1974 carnation revolution in Portugal, everything connected to its former colonies was relegated to the background (Branco 2014), and thus work on what was, by then, a substantial field-based photographic archive was abruptly abandoned. It has also ever since remained largely overlooked by

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

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

To undertake an empirically-based excavation of this grand institutional legacy of aggregated visual resources collected in the field by the team that consolidated the MEU, I concentrated on the most dynamic period of its operations and on Angola, the largest territory under Portuguese colonial control, and the one with the most extensive foundational collections of field photography and material culture. Seeking to shed light on some of the original agendas and practices of the MEU's foundational research programme, I focused on a series of metropolitan missions to Angola (1965-69) conducted by the same fieldworker,

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

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

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

The MEU was driven by post-World War II ideas of sociocultural anthropology within a declining colonial regime. This paradox somewhat mirrors the achievements and failings that emerge when summarizing in retrospect the trajectory of Carreira's career or the convoluted objectives of his late field



experiences in Angola for the MEU, as part of its short-lived programme focused on the colonies that was abruptly extinguished. The suspended state of the MEU's colonial programme in the decades following democratic rule highlights striking parallels between its thwarted ambitions and those of Carreira's missions to Angola.

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

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

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

Carreira has been retrospectively recognised as "the most prolific ethnologist-administrator in the territory" (Ágoas 2020, 12; cf. also Costa 1996, 3), which fitly describes only a part of his career. Many of his writings certainly relate to Portuguese Guinea and deal with ethno-social aspects. Still, occasionally Carreira also wrote historical overviews, and later became an historian of Cape Verde and of the transatlantic slave trade. He authored many articles and a few books on these subjects, particularly during his later years in a democratic Portugal, which

remain his most remembered legacy.<sup>5</sup> In his overall scholarly career, Carreira moved between various fields of knowledge, with his focus shifting from a specific subject within a Portuguese colony, particularly Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde, to topics interconnecting territories in which he had specialised to varying degrees.

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

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

Epistolary correspondence between the MEU leadership has given insights into the project's intellectual dimension within the history of Portuguese anthropology (Leal 2008). The published correspondence from Dias to Carreira, written in 1967 while Carreira was preparing for his third mission to Angola, reveals an additional, previously absent, dimension of the inner workings of the MEU project. It shows, for instance, the tense balance in the latter's multitasking as a field researcher and as an administrative manager for the museum-in-the-making (cf. Filho 2015).

While on a prestigious fellowship at Stanford, USA, Dias wrote to Carreira, asking him to prioritise the administrative procedures of the research-based museum over the mission he was preparing. Dias stressed that bureaucracy was the wheel that moved it forward (2015, 245, 247). Dias' letters give a sense of his interlocutor's apologetic attitude, and as Carreira proceeded with the mission, one may assume that he succeeded in completing both tasks. One may also wonder, however, what compelled Carreira to take on, for the third time, the demanding challenges of conducting fieldwork in a huge, faraway and destabilised colonised territory, while his superior was actually asking him to prioritise his managerial tasks in Lisbon. Highlighting Carreira as a motivated fieldworker on yet another mission to a turbulent colony, Dias' letters also establish him as one of the metropolitan administrators of the museum-in-the-making, in charge of managing what nowadays is a large part of MNE's historical archive. In other words, a multi-tasker.

Dias' vision of a research programme encompassing all the colonies made it heavily dependent on both multi-tasking and teamwork for gathering and processing field data. This warrants the mention of another member of MEU's formative team, Fernando Rogado Quintino (1905-76), who was important to Carreira's Angolan missions because he managed the field photography archive on non-European cultures under Dias' direction, from 1963 up to its abandonment, in 1974. As an archivist, a field officer, and a scholarly author, Quintino shared multi-tasking with all the other MEU members. Quintino also shared with Carreira a curious set of biographical traits: Quintino was born in a colonised territory - in his case Goa -, had extensive field and administrative experience as colonial official, namely in Guinea and was a metropolitan graduate in colonial administration before working regularly on the MEU project.<sup>6</sup> Except for an educational exhibition on Guinea-Bissauan and Cape Verdean fabrics (MNE 1996), which was based on the collections gathered during the MEU's formative period, and included mapping their overall published scientific production and, in Carreira's case, a (sanitised) biographical version, both became secondary figures in the postcolonial history of the MNE. That is, after the democratic transition in Portugal the ambiguous dimensions that surrounded their lives and work during and for the colonial regime turned them into a sort of "excluded ancestors". Their role in the MEU's history becomes evident only when viewed "from below", with a particular focus on field photography being especially relevant.

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

data from the colonies. The exception of autonomous work was the administrative archive led by Carreira, a competent expert in the state bureaucracy.

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

Fifty years after its decade of consolidation and abrupt cancellation, the historical photography archive has largely retained its original design. It has persisted like a “living dead” archive, with its structure and contents frozen in time since the revolution: no new records were added; and no significant cataloguing was done afterwards. Similar to Silva (2003: 33), my approach to the photography archive involved engaging with the inspiration it drew from the post-World War II North American project, the *Human Relations Area Files* (HRAF), created in 1949 in New Haven, Connecticut, USA. Nonetheless, I concluded that understanding all the implications of the archival architecture implemented is not straightforward today.<sup>7</sup> The HRAF is a universalist databank that organises comprehensive data for cross-cultural comparison and, to facilitate this, uses categories based on cultural groups rather than countries. Its structure must have sounded attractive to Dias, who had German culturalist training, and he used it as a guide for achieving the MEU’s purpose of a combined study of various colonies.<sup>8</sup> Further suggesting the relevance of the underlying specialist rationale of the HRAF, particularly its potential for cross-referencing data, the photographic archive dedicated to Portuguese ethnography, which was established earlier, appears to have only a generic catalogation system (see Saraiva 2024 for examples of field cards showing signs of [simple] cataloging).

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

In contrast with the dismembered field collections of Northcote Thomas (1868-1936), the first anthropologist hired by the British colonial administration in early XX century (Basu 2021: 49-50), the re-structuring that took place in the MEU in the 1980s, left most of Carreira’s field materials in the same building – by

an historical chance, the building created for the MEU was only terminated in 1974, and the democratic revolution caught them recently reunited there. About fifty years later, locating the original images from Carreira's Angolan missions involved searching through multiple archiving devices stored in various cabinets in a single room. To discover his Angolan photography, I had to sort through both photographic material generated in the field (35mm and 6x6 b/w negatives; and 35mm colour slides) and copious material engendered by the subsequent archiving process (accessioned 10x15 paper copies from the b/w negatives; two incomplete catalogues dedicated exclusively to Angolan materials, and partial aids for finding the slides). The field material had been stored and accessioned by format. Negatives and slides from all the missions to various colonies coordinated by the MEU, had been stored together.<sup>10</sup> The paper copies, designated field cards (*fichas de campo*) by the formative team, were intended to make the data more manageable for research across or within the colonies. Through this archival device, collections of images with shared geographical provenance were formed, with captions handwritten along their frames indicating the authorship of many of them.

With about 4,000 annotated images sourced from the b/w negatives, kept in two dedicated drawers, the most extensive collection of field cards is for Angola. Each field card also has two accession numbers: one for the card and the other for its negative. The Angolan field cards assigned to Carreira helped to locate their negatives, stored in four dispersed single-format albums, and intermixed with images from other sources, whether by place or contributor. Both the original catalogues for the field cards and for the slides dedicated to Angola, prioritised top-down predefined categories, which had not been applied to all of the thousands of individual records.

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

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

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

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

Neither Carreira's exquisite field practice in Angola nor his records from each mission were immediately accessible in the archive, but analogue photography made both retrievable to a certain degree. This retrieval depended on understanding the various opportunities and obstacles embedded in the multiple archives of Dias' abruptly terminated project to develop a sociocultural anthropology programme

on the Portuguese colonies. As the photographic archive refused to give straightforward answers about its many sources, I undertook dynamic readings of two archival devices at the MNE along and against the grain (Zeitlyn 2012). Thus, in the following sections, I describe how I critically navigated the MNE's historical photographic and administrative archives to frame a few preliminary ethnographic impressions about Carreira's Angolan missions, particularly in the context of Dias' short-lived project. To address the paradoxical constraints of a structurally unfinished universalist archive covering various Portuguese colonies, I interlink Carreira's Angolan photography with a range of materials from these historical archives, establishing balanced two-way connections between them.

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

To make sense of António Carreira's systematic practice of field photography in Angola, whose archiving was fragmented, I inspected the historical administrative archive, which holds the bureaucratic remains of this museum-in-the-making. This included reports on planned and past activities, as well as other revealing documents such as authorisations, telegrams, letters, bills, and invoices. This device was also genealogically linked to Carreira, as the experienced administrator of Dias' ambitious project. Engaging with two autonomous yet related archival systems at the MNE, I reassembled various constellations of historical administrative records and photographic materials; disparate but precious fragments that, pieced together in differing ways, brought intriguing glimpses of Carreira's work in Angola.

The historical administrative records had been recently re-organised, and I selected about 30 boxes, which were briefly described by the MNE, to review. By navigating another set of fragmented data, I began to grasp the broader institutional context of Carreira's fieldwork in Angola and, primarily based on administrative sources, developed a preliminary overview of the MEU's missions to Portuguese colonies (Diagram 1). Although containing significant gaps in the overall dynamics of fieldwork for the museum-in-the-making, it does illustrate the broad scope of its work in the colonies. It offers a valuable snapshot of the MEU's rarely-discussed research programme in which field photography played a major role.<sup>11</sup> The diagram graphically conveys how the first-hand field experiences in those geographies can be divided into two periods: a pre-formative one, that includes the official "Research Mission on Ethnic Minorities" (1956-1962); and a formative period (1963-74), during which the "MEU's Organising Mission" (1962-1965) transitioned to the dynamic "MEU" (1965-74). At a macro-level, the beginning of the liberation wars in 1961, which by 1964 had turned into a three-front colonial conflict, also separates these two periods.



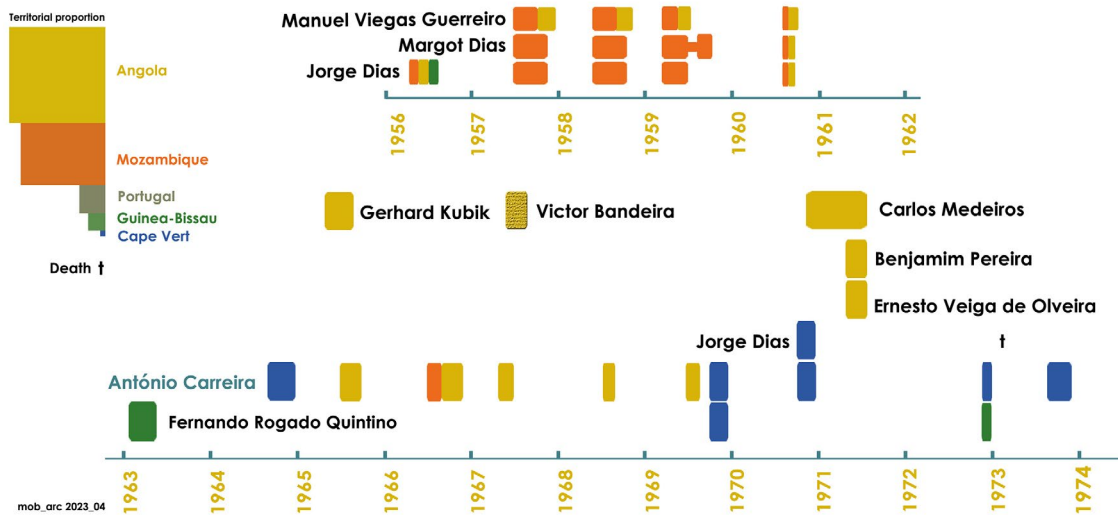


Diagram 1: Thick lines show field missions to Portugal's African colonies during the MEU's pre-formative (1956-62) and formative periods (1963-74).

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

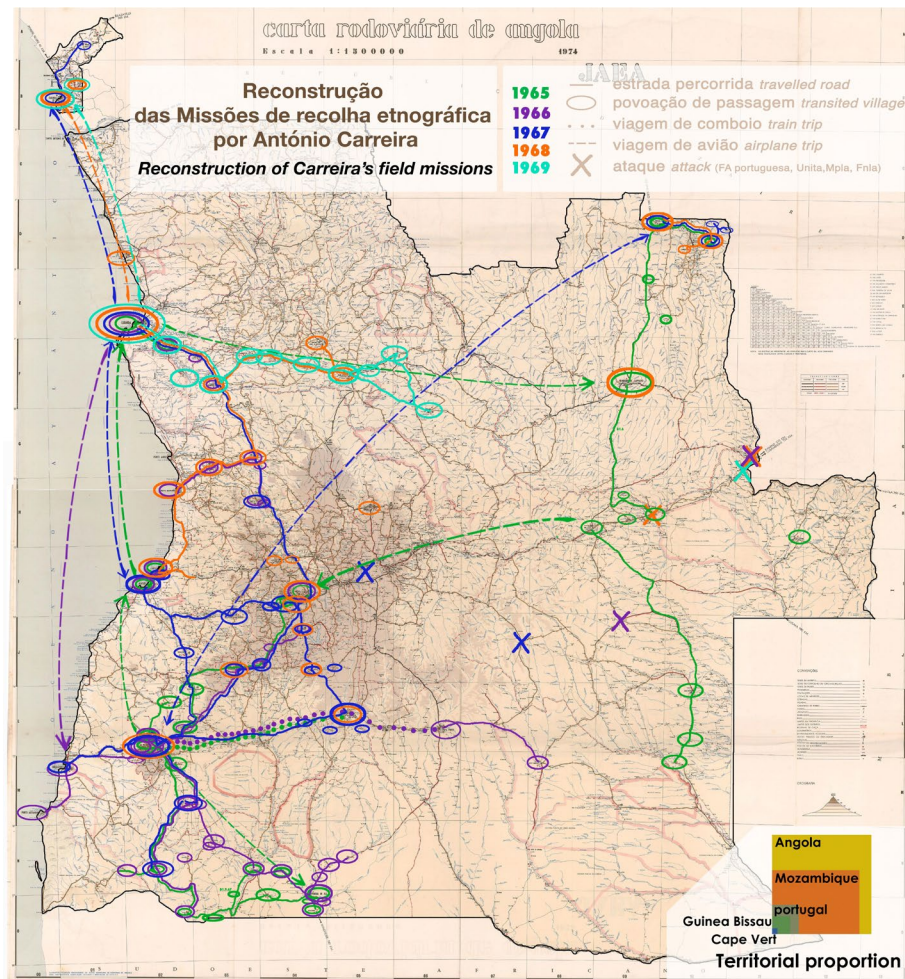
The archival condition of Carreira's Angolan contributions to the MEU's field photography of the Portuguese colonies, made me interpret diagram 1 as revealing three internal dynamics that occurred during the project's consolidation and that reflect on its dedicated archive at different scales. Firstly, the b/w Angola collection features multiple authors, with even minor contributors producing hundreds of field records. Identifying images by other authors helped establish reference points for a more precise evaluation of Carreira's 5-episode contribution. Secondly, Carreira's photographs from Angola are also interspersed with his Cape Verde and Mozambique images. This geographical diversity of a single author within the archive attests to the extent of the project's territorial ambition and of its limited human resources. Thirdly, while the diagram shows the chronology and duration of the missions, and not their photographic results, it is still helpful to invoke the tremendous amount of manual processing and management of the analogue materials produced by various contributors. This process culminated in the primary accession of items into geographically-classified collections based on b/w printed material and into muddled collections of negatives and colour slides.

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

## **Mapping Carreira's Angolan missions and his photographic practice**

Assessing each of the annual missions and creating a counter-memory of them (Cross & Peck 2010: 128) required resisting the MEU's archival rationale. In the historical administrative archive I followed the trail of dated and located records of every type on the missions (official and informal correspondence; expense invoices; mission reports and telegrams), to formulate a tentative sketch of their geographical range (Map 1). With varying degrees of reliability and completeness,

the resulting map gives a sense of the route of each mission and shows how occasionally they intersected. Considering Carreira's prior field experiences, it should be noted that Angola is more than 30 times larger than Portuguese Guinea and 14 times larger than continental Portugal. Besides the vast geographical scope of Carreira's field trips to Portugal's largest colonised African territory, the map also highlights specific areas that he repeatedly visited over the five years. The deceptive archival process used fragmented a photographic practice that sometimes made various visits to the same place and often involved double photography-making.



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

The administrative trail clarifies with exceptional precision that each of the five missions Carreira conducted in Angola consisted of a stay of roughly two months and combined the collection of material culture with photography. The MEU's annual reports from the period set out the missions' intentions and results in a general fashion. Although conducted in consecutive years, they convey the idea that each mission was devised for a particular year, with no long-term plan in mind. A published letter from Dias to Carreira during his first mission to Angola, in 1965 illuminates how its agenda was developed when he was already in the field (Filho, 2015, 241), with Dias advising on the kind of material the MEU was interested in. Dias' reply resulted from Carreira having encountered private collections in the field that were potentially available for purchase, for which Dias sets a dual criteria for evaluating them. Second-hand collected items often lacked field information, but if artefacts had been used (rather than made to be sold) and their price was low, it could be worth acquiring them. Dias, however, preferred collecting everyday artefacts first-hand from a variety of cultural groups, and specifically cited some from the southern region with whom he had become acquainted in previous visits to Angola (in 1956 and 1961).<sup>13</sup> To do this, Carreira's only obstacle was finding transportation suitable for the bush areas to be surveyed.

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

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

off-road locations, while occasionally detouring to visit private collections he had heard about.

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





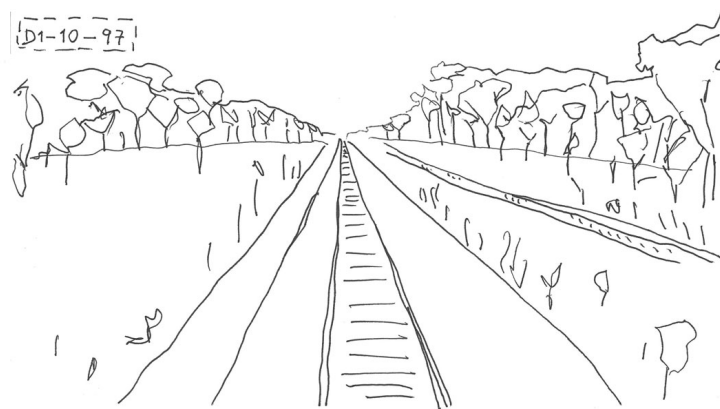


Figure 1. *Fieldwork on the move*. Drawings based on Carreira's slides (from 1965 and 1966), by the author.

## Universalist and social readings of Carreira's Angolan field photography

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

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







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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## **Photography in the Angolan missions: two-camera field-work**

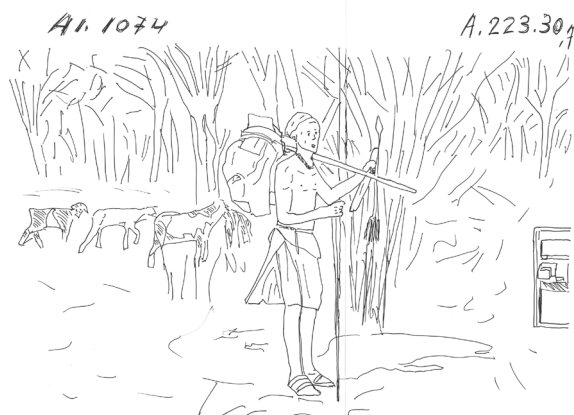
Guided by tentative reassemblies of António Carreira's missions from the Angolan field cards, I now address in more detail his intensive photographic practice during fleeting encounters in the field, which implied a complex use of two cameras. Budget constraints limited the MEU's film usage for fieldwork, prioritizing b/w format for archival consistency. However, Carreira's 1967 mission report indicates an institutional intention to use slides for teaching - which explains the typewritten guide for the colour records from some of his Angolan missions. Beyond these specificities, the three photographic formats assigned to Carreira in the archive translated into two largely parallel sets covering all five of his Angolan missions; one of (6x6 or 35mm) b/w negatives and one of (35mm) colour slides. This revealed that he always used different cameras for colour and b/w photography

during these five missions and further indicated the simultaneous use of two cameras.

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

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

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



## Later epistolary tales: drumming narratives from the field

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

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

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

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

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

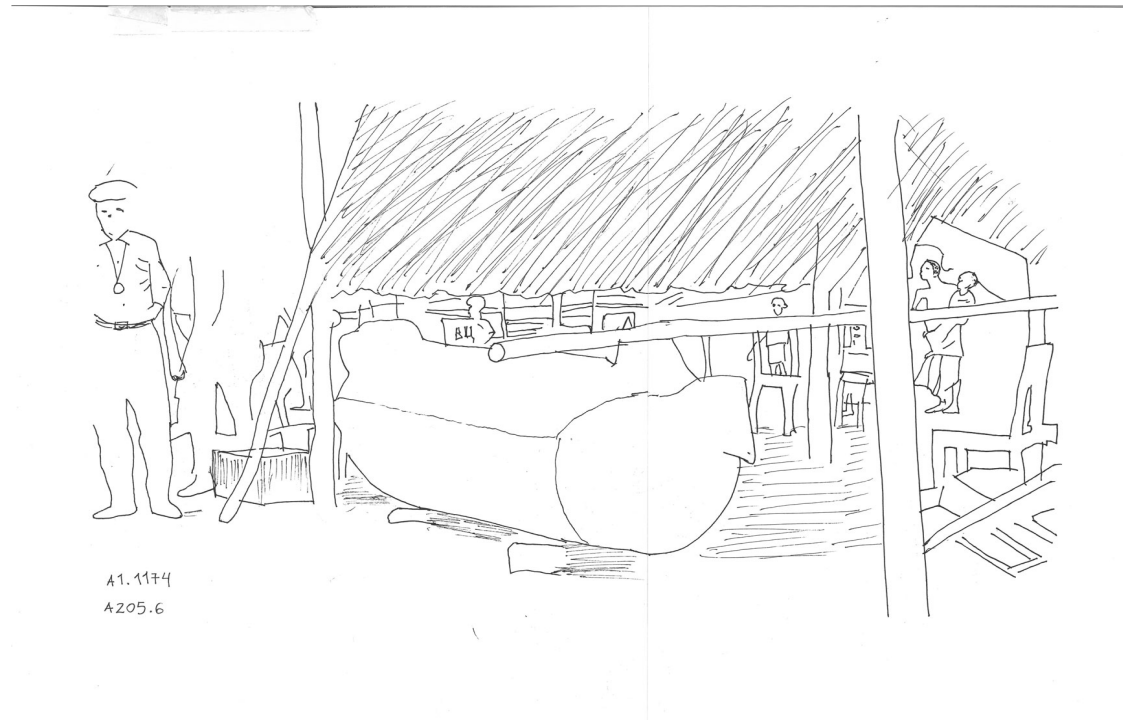


FIG. 4. *Hidden echoes of a war-front*. Drawing based on photography field card, by Lino Damião.

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

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

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

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

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

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



## Conclusion

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

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

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

articulated systematic usage of photography that involved two cameras and its divided agenda, split between first- and second-hand collecting.

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

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

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## Endnotes

- 1 A decade prior to the museum's formal establishment, Dias began directing various research missions to the colonies; so that field data was collected during almost two decades and processed into the MEU's archives during its final decade.
- 2 For glimpses of its institutional life and various research agendas, see Branco (2014) and Pignatelli (2014).
- 3 On the project's use of film in the colonies before the war, see Alves Costa (2016).
- 4 As the liberation movements in Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau united, the Bissau docks incident also made Carreira a persona non grata in Cape Verde for some time. After his death in Lisbon, in 1988, his personal archive was donated to Cape Verde's National Archive (Filho 2015).
- 5 Perhaps as an effort to secure a job in the metropolis, he published on biological anthropology while affiliated with a metropolitan centre specialising in the field (e.g. Carreira 1963). For an extensive bibliography of his scholarly work see Costa (1996: 7-21).
- 6 People born in the colonies shared the same rights in the colonial administration only when considered legally equal to European Portuguese, i.e. as descendent of metropolitan parents with no other native predecessors (article 9, Decree Law 34:169/1944; and article 8, Decree Law 29:244/1938); Carreira (1947) is his formal request for recognition as of European descent.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

22 Many of the other missions by MEU members that also contributed to the Angolan collection, both before and during the war, include both colour and b/w images, and involved varied durations.

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