THE RETURN TO PORTUGAL: 
PARATRANSLATING THE SPACE ‘IN-BETWEEN’ 
THE LOCAL INHABITANT AND THE “BRASILEIRO” 
IN THE PORTUGUESE TOWN OF FAFE.
I would like to thank

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INTRODUCTION

Adjacent to a conception of a town as defined by forms or facts, we suggest an alternative version, that of understanding a town in terms of consciousness and experience. A town is not only experienced or regulated through architecture, urban planning, large social and economic frames, it is also formed by individual impressions, mental maps and spatial exercises. It is in the streets that we understand, test and explore the urban space, and with the advantage of photography we are able to acknowledge and disclose features of the town.

Our aim in this study is not to draw attention but to show that the objects and symbols brought to Portugal by the Brazilian returnees between the 18th and early 20th centuries has been, throughout this time and up until the present, maintained as the solid base of the local urban, social and economic spheres as a result of translation processes. We concentrate on the public dialogue we find within the town; what was built by “brasileiros” and why there is restraint in further development; does this collide with the aim to protect old buildings? Is there only one area considered as important in the town? We observe the parks, the squares, the streets, the extent of civic engagement in the town; do we notice a culture of entrepreneurs and the intention to innovate?

We are analyzing objects and issues from a totally different era and are interpreting them in a new light, that of the present. The reason for and the origin of these objects and symbols are learned and translated against the present interpretation; this interpretation is only rendered possible while paratranslation is involved since all information surrounding each issue is important for us to understand and translate it further in time.

We explore the reasons why a particular type of architecture was developed in such a desolate and solitary place, how and why it was introduced and the way in which it
expanded and totally dominated the urban and social space, and we also analyse the
evolution of some families since early settlement in Brazil. Thanks to a number of
experiments we have carried out we can confirm the importance of this historical past
and that a town relies almost entirely on its “Brazilian” echoes and background in the
present day.

Our field of study is the Portuguese town of Fafe situated in Minho, where we will
concentrate our research on the very particular architecture brought into Portugal by
the Brazilian returnee who will from now on be referred to as “brasileiro de torna
viagem” or “brasileiro”. The history which is revealed as we look at the architecture,
the lay-out of the town and the abundant and detailed symbolism affects the overall
atmosphere and mechanism of this space.

We must clarify that we are not doing research in architecture, literature,
anthropology or graphic arts but we are doing it from a (para)translational point of
view as a paradigm that is used here to explain cultural exchanges and adaptations
that take place through different media other than textual.

In order to explain the connection between paratranslation and this project we will
resort to Yuste Frías’ perspective concerning the way in which certain symbols are
‘seen’ and perceived which illustrates the concept of Paratranslation coined in Vigo in
2005:

El concepto de paratraducción, creado en Vigo, quiere devolver a la imagen y a
todo aspecto visual de los paratextos el lugar que merecen en la construcción de
sentido simbólico en traducción. Leer e interpretar la imagen resulta esencial a la
hora de traducir el texto que la acompaña en un mensaje publicitario: pensar en
traducir la imagen en publicidad supone ser consciente de que hay que
(para)traducir bien la imagen para traducir mejor el texto. La mirada del
traductor, mediador entre diferentes culturas de la imagen, interpreta la
dimensión semiótica de la construcción del sentido elaborada en la relación
intersemiótica de la pareja texto/imagen de todo mensaje publicitario.
(2008:169)
Although this study of Yuste Frías explores paratranslation applied to advertising, we clearly experience the same senses, lines of thought, experiments and conclusions while we paratranslate the visual identity of places, photographs and symbols related to urban, social and cultural issues studied throughout our research. The fact that very different objects and related issues such as the relatively recent Carrefour logo and a 19th century ceramic decorative tile are being paratranslated today makes no difference when we focus on translating the image; “pensar en traducir todas y cada una de las unidades icónicas y verbo-icónicas que conforman las entidades iconotextuales donde lo no verbal es tan importante, o más, que lo verbal”. (Yuste Frías 2008:141)

This is an example in which we have objects that exist side by side today but belong to very different eras; however, they are interpreted and read on the same level and they are analysed by using exactly the same tools.

While observing and interpreting the decorative tiles used on the exterior of 19th and early 20th century residences built by “brasileiros”, we focus initially on the colour which is what first catches our eye. These particularly bright colours must be interpreted against the traditional Portuguese background in which the tile has muted tones as well as the difference in motif and the flat or relief effect on the tile which must be deconstructed and questioned; we draw attention to the fact that while handling colour in translation we are translating from our society and cultural background to another, the one receiving and it is they who will build their own colours:

Tal y como sucede con el símbolo, el color es un fenómeno esencialmente cultural que se vive, se define y se traduce de forma diferente según las épocas, las sociedades, las civilizaciones. Como en todos los casos de elementos simbólicos en traducción, el único discurso posible sobre la traducción del color es de naturaleza social y antropológica. Cada cultura tiene sus colores preferidos, sus referencias plásticas que constituyen otras tantas fuentes de complicidad, placer o rechazo. Cada sociedad, cada época ha creado su propia simbología de los colores y el traductor lee, interpreta y traduce los valores simbólicos
otorgados a cada color por una sociedad dada en una época determinada. (Yuste Frías 2008:150)

As we belong to a Portuguese cultural background we are familiar with the use of tiles, their designs and tradition; therefore we easily understand, accept and adapt to the Brazilian changes and understand the reasons for certain very particular characteristics. However, if a viewer from a different cultural background observes a decorative tile it must not be expected to be seen as a familiar object, neither will this viewer apprehend the difference between a Portuguese and a Brazilian tile unless all that surrounds the tiles is placed in perspective and explained. For this process to unfold we must challenge what is understood as being the dominant order, we must destabilize what is traditionally imposed and generate dynamic interpretation of objects from different cultural backgrounds in specific epochs. There is an intermediary zone in which paratranslation generates transition but it also implies a transaction in order to present a more favourable outcome for the reader or viewer.

Desconstruir en traducción es dar vida a los textos y paratextos, iniciarlos en un nuevo juego de sentido que vuelva a abrir nuevas perspectivas en lo que hasta entonces eran puro pensamiento fijo o fosilizado porque no se había planteado la posibilidad de la traducción del texto ni mucho menos del paratexto. (Yuste Frías 2008:154)

While we walk in the town we find many clear examples of paratranslation; one of them is the skylight which is a traditional Portuguese object constructed on the roof of large houses in order to permeate the inside with a consistent stream of light due to the absence of windows in the main staircase. In Fafe we find a myriad of these skylights but they have ceased to be plain useful glass objects, they have acquired an elaborate look destined to attract attention, taking advantage of their position high up on the roof. The useful object has become a symbol of ostentation since it has been adorned with bright colours, an elaborate weathervane, intricate ironwork and a look of European architecture followed in Brazilian towns, influenced by glass and iron. It is now seen as a symbol of “brasileiro” influence rather than a traditional Portuguese
object. Each component individually represents and maintains an identity, a language, a way of living and a social code, now they are united forming a new figure with a new identity and meaning. Both original parts still retain their characteristics but we now have a new object.

It is in this light that we will focus our analysis on objects and symbols such as buildings, decorative tiles, colours and plants; our position is that of a mediator who is at the same time an historian and a translator. During this process we are using not only our own norms, beliefs, values and ideology but those of a social and cultural sphere at a specific time. In order to stress the importance of the translator we would like to refer to Garrido Vilariño, who, in his work on translation and paratranslation of literature of the Shoah, points to different perspectives through which translation may be considered and produced, and the positive or negative outcome of that same translation which will depend on the capacity the translator has to act as a mediator between cultural issues, language and the object:

A tarefa da tradução é pois conseguir que se estabeleça um espaço de complementaridade, de harmonia, entre os modos em que cada comunidade cultural organiza o seu sistema simbólico. Por um lado, a tradução contribui para a sobrevivência do original, o que poderá ser visto como a sua acção positiva. Por outro lado, a tradução é um documento de cultura. Vista sob esta perspectiva, a tradução pertence ao vencedor da história, já que faz eco da sua ideologia. Sob este prisma, a acção da tradução teria um carácter negativo. A questão que se coloca é, pois, a seguinte: Será que a tradução carrega consigo o germe da barbárie? (Garrido Vilariño 2009:5)

This is but a glimpse of how we can interpret objects, symbols, images and ‘text’ in the social, historical and cultural context that we defined at the beginning of this chapter.

We will now refer to the work done before beginning our analysis based in Fafe. In 2006 we were invited to participate in a seminar on slavery in the Portuguese colonial empire. This event involved delegates from various countries, namely Brazilians descending from Swiss and Italian families that colonized Brazil. We were made aware
for the first time that there had been a consistent participation of European settlers in white slavery in Brazil and we decided to research Portuguese emigration to Brazil. Having reread some Portuguese classics and authors on the subject we realized that it was an extremely poignant issue in the north of Portugal, Minho. We also walked through the residential area of the eastern side of Porto, and confirmed that it was through analyzing architecture, symbolism and literature that we could connect with this emigration. The next step was visiting Fafe since we had heard there was a specific museum concerned with this subject there. It turned out that the museum was not a traditional one but a virtual museum that we could have clicked into from home. The visit to Fafe however, brought an unexpected pleasure, meeting Miguel Monteiro who was our host to show us around the town.

In 2007 in June a group from the University of Vigo formed by students and some teachers representing T&P visited Fafe. We had been asked to take these visitors for a walk around the town; as we did so we pointed out some of the most characteristic landmarks and it was then that we became aware of the many angles from which a visit to this place could be tackled and how important it was to inform foreign visitors of details that may seem obvious to us but not to them.

It is when we are explaining things to other people, things which seem natural to us, that we realize how much background information should be provided at that moment so that the visitor can contextualize and apprehend the full meaning of what is being observed. In order to sustain this full meaning we must maintain a permanent dialogue not only with language but with cultural and historical issues and also with different epochs being translated within our own. There is a permanent exchange between the original and the differences that have been acquired in time; while we explain and in an attempt to elude barriers in understanding we are enhancing what is for us the original and presenting it to our listener as a result of our interpretation, in an intelligible light.

Having taken a number of photographs during a few months we proceeded to organize these and it was at that moment that we noticed that so many different themes and approaches could be attached to them.
Later on when we came back to the town a few more times it was difficult to limit our ‘seeing’ to only one issue such as architecture, or emigration, or a comparison of past and present. This was when we decided to take several ‘walks’, each one translating the town in a different perspective from the previous one.

Throughout this work we expand on different ways of walking through a town; what was initially planned as a perspective on 19th century architecture applied to a contemporary translation of this town soon spread out into history, art, literature, mobility, power and language to mention only a few themes. The town was not only seen from within but from the outside, from above and from below; these distinct approaches felt very different from each other.

We used a number of tools that allowed us to tackle the visual element in many forms other than the traditional ones, and this experiment has opened a number of doors into researching methods that we had never expected. This exercise is based mostly on Photography; the majority, a photographic corpus made of images produced by ourselves and others which have been kindly provided by various sources.

Our methodology is also based on the example of work carried out by authors such as Charles Suchar, John Fiske and John Collier. From these authors we borrow certain concepts and tools: the shooting script, audiencing and photo-elicitation, adding our own methods which have developed further as research progresses, and we devise an original framework suitable for our specific aims. A more detailed account of the concepts and tools that we use is given in the chapter on Methodology.

Our analyses have been carried out while we take a walk through the town and register specific types of houses and buildings both private and public, the gardens and plants and objects of decoration and signs of ostentation on the outside of buildings representing the threshold to the interior and to the identity of the dweller who exhibits these symbols, drawing the attention of the passer-by and observer, thus communicating, interacting and establishing a dialogue. On this issue we would like to refer to Fernández Ocampo’s work on the importance of reading and interpreting signs
on thresholds, in which this phenomenon is studied in detail although referring specifically to a rural region in northeastern Galicia:

Il convient néanmoins de distinguer deux usages différents dans l’aménagement des signes: d’un côté, des pratiques mimétiques de confort et d’économie esthétiques qui trahissent un souci de cohésion identitaire. C’est le cas de symboles stylisés repris presque à l’identique sur des maisons dans un même système culturel et qui créent l’illusion des origines: on y laisse ainsi entendre que le symbole est particulier à ce territoire. D’un autre côté, des habitants qui placent des signes sans vouloir se les approprier comme s’ils étaient une création originelle locale. Au contraire: ils vont les rendre plutôt discrets, ils vont appliquer à ces formes une variabilité étonnante. Ces pratiques procurent elles aussi un réconfort esthétique, mais elles n’ont un sens que dans la mesure où les acteurs du lieu, les visiteurs ou les passants rentrent en dialogue avec elles. (2010:§4)

As we walk we take photographs as a common visitor will and we also collect printed data such as local newspapers and flyers as well as news bulletins. We then organize these items according to the coding system we have created and developed specifically for this study. In this coding process we create distinct categories in which we place and organize our items, this coding process enables us to access information on a precise subject and to assess our overall collection of data as our research progresses. With most of the items we have collected we proceed to compare them with historical accounts found in the local press, with accounts of the past and present obtained through interviews and information published on the site of the virtual museum on emigration www.museu-emigrantes.org; we also use the material for interviews in which we take these items as a base for inquiry or discussion depending on the degree of involvement that the interviewee has with the proposed theme. The social groups and ages we selected are varied and these contacts have taken place in Fafe.

The structure of the work is composed of four different sections:

We begin with a presentation of the methods we will use for our analysis, introducing the authors we have followed and explaining how we have used these methods in our fieldwork.
We continue with a contextualization of the emigration phenomenon mainly in the 19th century, in which we cover the social frame and the situation in Portugal which generated this demographic movement. We also contextualize geographically since Minho was the Portuguese region from which people departed most and in particular Fafe as the village where most emigration to Brazil was recorded. We present some examples of the routes and experiences that these emigrants took and lived through and we draw attention to the way in which the emigrant was described in Portuguese traditional literature.

In the third section we concentrate our attention on the signs and symbols we encounter in the process of translating myths and history. We also draw attention to the returnees’ chosen identity and to the strategies of persuasion and elements of power connected to the image that the “brasileiro” projected of himself as opposed to the image others presented of him. We will draw on Álvarez Lugris focusing on the abundant Celtic symbolism in Galicia and conclude that in order to build the image of themselves that they wished to project, the returnees in need of defining their identity and legitimacy would appropriate certain myths from cultures considered as being superior. This phenomenon is patent not only in literature but, following our line of research, in popular culture and in public exhibition and can be carried out not only by the returnee but also by the interpreter or viewer:

The borrowed narration is then paratranslated to fit into the receiving culture and to better fulfill its function. Paratranslation details may be deleted, promoted or demoted in order to paint a specific image. The myth of the Celtic origin of Galicia was imported and manipulated in this way. Presented to Galician society and accepted firstly by nationalist intellectuals and then in the long term accepted and assumed by the whole of the people who today take it for granted. (2009: 7.50“)

Although the example quoted above refers to a completely different time and space from that of our research, the means by which myths are manipulated and appropriated remain the same in their essence.
In the fourth section we mainly use photography to illustrate our view of the town and the local landscape as we proceed on our walk around the town centre and draw attention to the obvious hybridization of two cultures. We are not looking out for specific objects or particular signs, but as we encounter them we comment as we walk; they are as varied as houses, plants, skylights, colours, fountains, stone lions and iron gates, all symbols from the past with great social value which we translate. One of the objects which we encounter most and which most catches our eye during our walk through town are the decorative tiles on the buildings. Through tiles many generations have expressed themselves and here we are particularly interested in the way the “brasileiro” used them. Colour is the strongest point when the aim is that attention be attracted. In a work written and illustrated by Fernández Ocampo and Yves Bergeret we find such examples:


As we reach the end of this section we consider a new perspective as we visit the very recent Museu das Migrações e das Comunidades Portuguesas installed in the Casa da Cultura where we take a tour and wonder at the forms of displaying a collection which is an attempt to define an identity while enhancing its ‘difference’.

Throughout this work our writing has focused on difference which we have observed and confirmed as we walk on the streets and mingle with the local system maintaining a consistent dialogue on multiple fronts; it is later on, while we write, that we realize
we are amplifying this difference which is enhanced by the fact that we have kept a
distance, we have first observed and then we have retired to write; we quote
Laplantine:

À l’instar de la traduction interlinguistique (d’un langage dans un autre),
interculturelle (d’une culture dans une autre), interhistorique (d’une époque
dans une autre), l’observation ethnographique, née d’un mouvement de va-et-
vient ininterrompu entre la proximité et la distance, entre le même et l’autre, ne
saurait être le point de départ d’un décalque ou d’une copie de l’original qui
viserait à égaliser – c’est-à-dire à saborder – les différences et à neutraliser
l’étrangeté. C’est au contraire un travail de médiation sans fin qui cherche à
rendre compte linguistiquement, culturellement et historiquement du fait que
cet écart ne pourra jamais être totalement comblé. (1996:39)

The results of our research show that the main attraction Fafe has to offer visitors
today is precisely the architectural and cultural legacy of “brasileiros” enhancing and
confirming the designation “a Sala de Visitas do Minho” (Minho reception hall for
visitors). It was coined in the mid 19th century and it is today still proudly printed on
the official logo of this town and on the front pages of local news bulletins, municipal
sites and on the Museum webpage. All the exotic aspects of this legacy, the bright
colours, the unusual lines of the buildings, the names of streets and philanthropic
tradition, a museum celebrating the “brasileiro” founded as recently as 2009 and the
local press confirm the fact that the emigrant is still being celebrated in 2011. This
strengthens our view that in the present day Fafe relies on its past and what used to be
a golden age involving myths which were absorbed and led to mixed identities. Since
the image of the past and its inherent prestige is not strongly felt, remembered or
marked nowadays, Fafe returns to its memories and to its remaining urban examples
recalling the “brasileiro”, the continuity of a protagonist from the past through whom
an identity is reconstructed.
1-METHODOLOGY

Analysing the discursive construction of the centre of Fafe, under the influence of “brasileiros” from the mid 19th century to the early 20th century, we have worked with an assortment of images, texts, interviews and practices in order to explore how residents were affected and to show how truthful this account of construction actually was. By gathering photos, texts and maps we may observe how institutional interventions worked towards a thorough change influencing local life. There were strategies, for instance, to allow that the high level of poverty should be replaced, in the opinion of those operating institutions, by a possibility of rendering human life better through technical and social development. The technical development which was centred mainly on the novelty of textile factories was certainly an important means of development; agriculture also flourished and the locals found better jobs thus improving their way of life; by building new roads and bridges connections with other localities were increased; these constructions were usually based on projects already built in Brazil, in most cases exact copies (Monteiro 2000). In the town there were philanthropic developments such as institutions to aid the poor, as well as many novelty cultural developments. Curiously, the initial intention did not prove to be completely true since bourgeois living developed for the better, leaving many of the poor still poor.

In order to illustrate our discourse analysis, we made a selection of sources which we will focus on: Contemporary newspapers and pamphlets (mainly local press); accounts of visitors and philanthropists; travel diaries; paintings; novels; council documents and reports; illustrations; cartoons; magazine and newspaper cuttings; advertisements; photographs; past and present exhibitions.
Through the exercise of open-coding, these sources can also branch out into other themes such as: language, architecture, genre, journalism, art, religion, travel, literature, family, social life and politics among many others hoping to gather information that will generate discourse. As N. Green (1990:3) says, discourse is ‘a coherent pattern of statements across a range of archives and sites’.

Among this wide selection of sources, it was necessary to determine which of them would be most useful for our research. Here we may be relying on work previously done by others, or we shall be using existing, but still unused materials. When we select a map of the centre of town dated 1866, we shall be using a map drawn up in the past but still unused for specific research. Any information that we may find concerning the origin of this particular map will lead us to other ‘archives’ containing images and texts. The range will widen further and further so that previously unrelated issues will be drawn together. A good way of managing and exploring this kind of expansion is by interviewing people and obtaining verbal material. This process of research could go on and on since new findings generate more material, so it was necessary, at a certain stage, to stop collecting.

We will now illustrate how our work developed in the following chart:
1- FIELDWORK RESEARCH STAGES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research stages</th>
<th>Time scale</th>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Tools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EXPLORATORY STAGE</td>
<td>2 months - 2/2008 to 4/2008</td>
<td>Inquiry, confirmation of the theme for research and field of study</td>
<td>documents, bibliography, analysis, personal communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>walk 1</td>
<td>photography, intensive observation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>delineation, defining categories for analysis</td>
<td>shooting script</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REGULAR ACTIVITY</td>
<td>18 months - 9/2008 to 5/2010</td>
<td>initial field</td>
<td>gathering documents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>walk 2, successive walks</td>
<td>classification of data, photography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>domestic interior, interviews</td>
<td>foto-elicitation, gathering documents, further photography, interviews and transcription</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFORMULATION</td>
<td>3 months - 9/2010 to 12/2010</td>
<td>(re)defining the object, new suggestions</td>
<td>logbook, new hypotheses, provisional writing, further reading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATA COLLECTION</td>
<td>4 months - 3/2011 to 7/2011</td>
<td>examination, confirmation</td>
<td>bibliography, confirming interviews, observation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WRITING-UP</td>
<td>6 months - 1/2011 to 8/2011</td>
<td></td>
<td>re-writing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. I Adapted from Beaud and Weber (2003: 133-134) and Fernández Ocampo (2011)
Our research was developed between the beginning of 2008 and August 2011 in five different stages: exploratory stage; regular activity; reformulation; data collection and writing-up. During the exploratory stage we observed and made enquiries both in Porto and Fafe in order to confirm our theme for research; our interest in emigration had already begun in 2007 while studying some documents concerning European emigration to South America in the 19th century. Over two months we read documents and literature as well as communicating with people, not necessarily scholars, who in one way or another had knowledge, personal experience or a family background concerning emigration and who were eager to share this with us. By taking a first walk in the eastern part of Porto, we observed the streets and façades of buildings and we took the first photographs; initially we concentrated on the number, size and structure of the front doors and windows and the colour of the decorative tiles; as we continued our walk we also took photographs of the roofs and the ornaments in stone placed high on the corners of the buildings, the glass skylights and the elaborate weathervanes; we then gathered all the pictures on our worktable. The result of these images linked with former reading of Portuguese classics encouraged us to define categories for analysis and we began to write our shooting script.

For the following eighteen months we performed a regular activity; we defined our initial field in Fafe, the Portuguese region from where the greatest number of emigrants left for Brazil, and we took a first walk around the town observing the streets and architecture and gathered documents; we then took several more walks observing the town from different angles and as we walked we took photographs confirming the outline for our analysis. We organized our documents and photographs and proceeded to interview elderly people who had lived in Fafe since childhood and were keen to share their family memories with us and to welcome us into their houses. During these visits and conversations we gathered more documents, usually related with the family history, we photographed the interior of the houses and exercised photo elicitation thus expanding our notes.
During three months we concentrated on reformulating and redefining our object, adding new suggestions obtained through recent material gathered in our logbook as well as fresh hypotheses that we had defined concerning which routes we should pursue and those that we should save for future projects; we started writing and read further.

We were now in 2011 and examined all the data we had gathered as well as the bibliography, we confirmed interviews and in many cases expanded former conversations that took us deeper into the lives of returnees; our interviewees were now younger, people who live in Fafe and who are familiar with the town’s history; we also confirmed our data through further observation; we then proceeded with writing.

Although we collected many photographs we chose to use our very first photographs of Fafe because they were taken during a first walk in the town when we were not yet aware of where they would lead us. We were told by a professional that they were not very good photographs but, nevertheless, we used them in chapter 4 as images taken by a visitor without a defined aim at that stage. Photographs of the same subjects which were taken later were directed at a particular angle of study and involved gathering more information and detail based on knowledge gathered in the meantime. (Guimarães and Langford 2008). In order to illustrate and confirm our work we created both a photographic and a textual corpus as follows:
2- CORPUS

a) PHOTOGRAPHIC CORPUS
   400 photographs

1) THE PUBLIC SPACE SW
   photograph of street or square SW01
   photograph of building in a public place SW02
   photograph of monument in a public space SW03
   photograph relating Brazilian construction with public space SW04
   photograph of an institutional image of Brazilian construction SW05

2) CONSTRUCTION and EXTERIOR
   As a spatial device EY
   photograph of façade EY01
   photograph of courtyard EY02
   photograph of garden EY03
   photograph of singular tree EY04

   An opening negotiating the inside and the outside EW
   photograph of skylight EW01
   photograph of window EW02
   photograph of door, gate EW03

   As a delimitation FY
   photograph of decorations FY01
   photograph of decoration in stone FY02
   photograph of decoration in cement FY03
As a superimposition of elements FX
photograph of coating FX01
photograph of structural elements FX02
photograph of placed objects FX03

Inscribed heritage EF
photograph of names of houses EF01
photograph of initials of proprietor EF02
photograph of dates EF03

3) INTERIOR

Layout LY
photograph of room LY01
photograph of stairs LY02
photograph of well of light LY03

Decoration YX
photograph of plaster YX01
photograph of exotic wooden floors YX02

Object SL
photograph of furniture SL01
photograph of altar SL02
photograph of instrument SL03

Cultural inventory JX
photograph of walls with images JX01
photograph of domestic tables and altars JX02
photograph of photographic landscape background JX03
photograph of photographic archive JX04
**Interior of Museum MS**

photograph of object MS01

photograph of case MS02

b) **TEXTUAL CORPUS**

(taped material, photographs and annotations in logbook between 9/2008 and 5/2010.)

**Shooting script**

transcription of students’ register

**Interviews and personal testimonies**

transcription of taped registers (photo-elicitation)

**Illustrations CX**

reproduction of paintings CX01

reproduction of postcard CX02

reproduction of newspaper CX03

reproduction of maps CX04

**Printed heritage**

souvenirs and paraphernalia
The photographs we selected for our corpus represent samples taken from groups of photographs which we had divided into different categories: the public space; construction and exterior; interior. For the category representing the public space, for example, we include pictures of a street, a square, a monument in a public space, a photograph relating Brazilian construction with the public space which we are observing. Each category is divided into subcategories such as: ‘construction as a spatial device’ in which we show the photograph of a courtyard or a garden; ‘an opening negotiating the inside and the outside’ in which we show photographs of windows, doors, gates and skylights.

Concerning the textual corpus, we collected the interviews, photographs and annotations registered in our logbook between 9/2008 and 5/2010; we created our shooting scripts and registered the results of audiencing experiments made with groups of students; we transcribed taped registers of photo elicitation; we selected illustrations of paintings, postcards, news bulletins and maps; also some elements of printed heritage such as souvenirs and paraphernalia provided by our interviewees.

Having gathered this material of which we will include samples in this work, we were ready to write.

Our field of study is the local architecture, the houses, buildings, squares and the way in which they are adorned and built with the intention of being noticed and attracting as much attention as possible as well as drawing our attention to the particular position they take in the town. There is a great variety of buildings and depending on what the owner intended, they were built in the town centre or just outside the town or in some cases new streets were created to hold new buildings, thus modifying the existing lay-out of the town in no random way. We will be studying four varieties of houses: “palácio”; “palacete”; “casa apalaçada”; “chalé”. The scale of these houses varies from larger to smaller and we will concentrate on the tiles and colours, the names used on the façade as well as the ostentation demonstrated in the
form of architectural adornments on the outside of each house, and explain them in
detail, bringing us to why they were represented in such a particular way in the first
place.

The meaning of an object is not a fixed one, it is constructed culturally and will
change within different historical contexts just as a translation carries a particular
reading of a text, in some way different from its original meaning and objective.
As a visitor taking a walk around the town we cross and connect with the human
landscape and rapidly become aware of varied forms of appropriation, be it symbolic
or spatial. Fernández Ocampo, on the implication of the observer as a part of what is
being observed, follows and analyses the Portugese Route to Santiago in this way:

...a experiencia sensorial do espazo atravesado – marcado pola exposición
constante a estímulos colocados na paisaxe por autores de natureza variada –
volve visible o contraste entre a construción institucional do Camiño e a acción
continuada consecuente a unha apropiación do espazo e dos usos dese
espazo. Ademais, a paisaxe non éunicamente un espazo de construción da
identidade senón de construción dunha relación cos observadores. Dito doutro
xeito, calquera que atravese un espazo convértese en observado. (2007a:202)

In order to collect, analyse and register our findings we have taken photographs of the
items we have considered as representing our object of study. Howard Becker (2004)
sustains that there is no clearly established methodological framework in which to
discuss the uses of photography in social research; this is quite liberating for us
because we can mix methods or change them as our research progresses; it also
encourages researchers to eagerly establish their own framework for their research
projects. These photographs which have been organized under codes and categories
form the starting point of our analysis.

Some of the tools we will use have been borrowed from certain authors and
have been adapted to our original framework in the way that we will now explain.
One of the main tools that were used to build a structure for our enquiries and
research is the ‘shooting script’ developed by Charles Suchar (1997), who suggests it as
a method of improving the use of photographic information during field work. Through
this method we create a selection of questions which we have asked ourselves
concerning a specific object and the reason for taking a specific photograph; we then attach a short descriptive label, usually more than one, to each photo. These ‘shooting scripts’ are lists of questions, based on specific topics that can be explored through photographic information. This process will naturally originate a continuous readjustment of the original ‘shooting script’ that we have created; all these questions will be the basis for a comparative analysis. The intention in using this form of methodology is asking and answering questions about a particular subject which will then lead to multiple discoveries as the interrogatory process develops; in this way the ‘shooting script’ will help us to select, gather and organize our photographic data.

I believe that the photography’s documentary potential is not inherent in photographs, but rather lies in an interactive process whereby photographs are used as a way of answering or expanding on questions about a particular subject. I call this interrogatory principle of documentary photography: A photograph is documentary to the extent to which information within it can be argued as putative facts that are answers to particular questions (Suchar 1989:52).

When we are looking at a set of photographs of a specific subject we are often impressed by the quantity and quality of information they may contain in a particular setting and which we would not readily notice in a less precise observation. These questions are guidelines and will be constructed and reconstructed many a time during one particular stage of field work.

We must base our judgement on what we already know about the field we are exploring; the frame of questions we shall use will help us develop photographs that provide specific answers. We begin by photographing architecture in general and then concentrate on specific details we have also noticed. We then find the reason why this type of architecture exists and in what way it changed the urban landscape as well as the extent of its influence therein. Taking a step further we wonder about the people who inhabited Fafe and feel curious about the interior of their houses, their personal objects and their private memories. We will then proceed to producing a ‘shooting script’ which could begin like this:

(1) Why was this house built in this place?
(2) Who *imagined* this house?
(3) Are there more, *similar houses* close by?
(4) Who were/are the *inhabitants* of this house?
(5) What is the *interior* like? Does it match the *exterior*?
(6) Who actually *built* this house and do we know anything about the stonemasons, for example?
(7) Why are there two *palm-trees* in the front garden?
(8) What strikes us most in this photograph?

Throughout our analysis questions in the ‘shooting script’ will appear randomly, not following a numerical order in the context but the questions will be identified by their initial number. By placing these questions we are expecting different interpretations from the viewers; some reactions unintentionally revealed a sensitive point or a shock in viewing habits as in Barthes’s *punctum*. Based on these questions and on the answers they generate we will write labels supported by our observation and divide our photographs into categories or take fresh photographs if necessary to illustrate our findings. Each photograph will have several labels, allowing us to register answers to more than one of the questions, or illustrating different characteristics of the subject that is being observed. Not only similarities will be registered but also the differences we have detected are important; in this way, an initial coding method will generate more specific codes as the work progresses. The more narratives, codes and photographs we register the more representative the data base will be for an additional comparative analysis.

This method adapts well to what we aim at in this research on paratranslating and understanding the town of Fafe; we can work with this same ‘shooting script’ for some time and collect responses, in the form of photographs, to the questions we have asked. Based on our observations and fieldwork, we will log the photographs and write descriptive narratives allowing different interpretations of visual representations to be registered. According to Suchar:

> There is seldom as rigorous and systematic an analysis of photographic images as there is of non-photographic field data. This deprecates the potential
documentary value of photographic data. Seeing is thus largely a latent quality; it needs to be enhanced, developed, extracted, and given greater acuity through a rigorous application of methodology and the systematic interaction of the analyst with the data. By these comments I do not mean to divorce seeing from its aesthetically rooted manifestation in the visual arts. Seeing also has much to do with a kind of vision that reveals form, pattern, essential nature, and underlying organization of the observed (and in art, imagined) world. (1989:35)

If we concentrate on one of our questions from the previous example of a ‘shooting script’ we will draw attention to the way in which paratranslation is applied:

(7) Why are there two palm-trees in the front garden?

Whether this tree had been noticed or not by the viewer is not really important because it is at this moment that the viewer will concentrate on the palm-trees. The fact that there are two trees will probably not strike the viewer as being important, but it is since there is also a reason for that number (in literature there are several allusions to ‘at least two palm-trees in front of the house’). Faced with this question the viewer will concentrate on the type of tree and we will learn what that person knows about palm-trees, a thought that may not have occurred before since it is a familiar type of tree found in front of many modern buildings in Portuguese towns, usually residential buildings. While the viewer observes the object and considers the question many issues that surround the object and this particular question will be drawn into the process of paratranslation; this process, focused on the visual aspect of paratexts enables us to construct and develop the symbolic senses, a poignant issue while translating in which text and image complement one another. We may dwell on the example of the palm-tree, one of the many examples we have selected in Fafe; it is interesting to note that when we draw attention to objects and images that are familiar to us in our daily life we are taken by surprise because we had never considered that these objects could actually be translated. We begin by realizing that it is not a native wild type of tree and it has to be planted, however it is a very common tree in our country in a residential frame. Many times at a first glance it is associated with Africa perhaps because of its exotic atmosphere, which also has a strong connection with Portugal’s past. Since the local atmosphere is not in the least exotic, it
stands out and has to be explained and understood and then Brazilian exoticism will gradually materialize in our minds, drawing in numerous issues such as the colour of the building, its size, the number of doors and windows.

Although we are working with symbols related to the Brazilian influence they cannot be analysed and explained in one identical way; on the contrary, each example is explained by taking distinct paths in history, social and cultural backgrounds; our methods of analysis are maintained for all examples in order to confirm that different views and findings are possible. In the particular case of the palm-tree we also have to consider its size; the palm-trees left by the “brasileiros” are large since their objective was to attract attention; while taking photographs of the houses we found it difficult to fit the tree into the frame of our picture horizontally because of its verticality and volume and also because it is presented at the front of the building; the palm-tree is a significant element of the Brazilian urban visual expression.

In our experience when interpreting or explaining some of these symbols to a visitor using a foreign language we resort mainly to paratranslation instead of translation. The filling in of what is not in the ‘text’ but surrounds the ‘text’ is easier to explain and apprehend when we are speaking to somebody who does not come from a Portuguese cultural background. In the Portuguese culture we know that tiles came to Portugal through Arabian influence and that they were used, especially in the north, on the exterior of buildings in order to protect these from humidity. They were discreet in tone, colour and structure. In Brazil they were mainly used on the inside of houses in order to preserve a cool atmosphere but the subtle shades would not appeal to Brazilian taste so they became very colourful in bright tropical tones. On returning to Portugal and building an ostensive house, these colours would attract more attention if they were in relief, in contrast to the original flat tile; it would also be a more expensive tile fitting in with the overall ambition to impress and proclaim wealth. This is an example of how by paratranslating the iconic peritext we can guarantee that the message is received, in this case, concerning cultural and social issues.
We will now give an example of a provisional note for a specific photograph. The setting in this case could be identified as a residential house in Rua do Major Miguel Ferreira. This particular photograph is centred on a residential house with a warehouse on the ground floor; if we apply a code to this photograph it will be specifically as a house of trade; it will also be logged for comparative purposes as a family house and we will register the date on which it was built and refer that it belonged to a middle-class family; the fact that it has a shop or warehouse on the ground floor for a family business is also relevant when comparing it with other types of residential buildings; we add a reference to a notice in the window advertising low prices and log it as out-dated commerce, for further research on these topics.
A provisional note for a specific photograph: a method to use photographic information during fieldwork to a greater advantage.

Fig.II

Although in the photograph we only focus on the shop, this label has been influenced by our interest in a further topic, local trade, at present, in the centre of the town. Many traditional buildings have been neglected and several streets in which trade was once the main activity are beginning to look deserted. We wonder what measures the Town Council will take in order to promote traditional commerce:

“Residence belonging to a family in trade that has been on this location for some time; it sells groceries to a reduced number of clients belonging to the local population; signs in the shop windows inform us that prices are low, therefore sought after by clients with a low purchasing capacity; several local hypermarkets will be preferred by most buyers; survival of this shop is threatened: who shops here and why? We must Interview manager on strong competition from hypermarkets.”
In this labeling process we have branched out illustrating different characteristics of the subject; not only is the building in the photograph a traditional building but, apart from architectural references, it also involves issues such as ‘family’, ‘traditional trade’, ‘location’, ‘more recent developments in commerce’, etc.

From our experience we totally agree with Suchar (1989) who affirms that predetermining topics for a shooting script does not mean that the conceptual development or inductive process of discovery is in any way limited and also that the practice of interrogating images and examining field notes provides a clear path to interact intellectually with documented observations; it is a creative and thought provoking process.

If, for example, we want to observe the specific characteristics of ostentation on the outside of houses belonging to “brasileiros”, using a ‘shooting script’, it is possible to obtain dozens of pictures concerning each detail: the difference between the back of the house and the façade, the plants chosen for the front garden, the shape and colour of the skylights, the structure and colour of the tiles, the symbols, icons, the gates and the stone urns. We can collect much information on architectural and decorative issues but also on the reasons why these characteristics are there, which take us back to the tales of “brasileiros de torna viagem” and the Brazilian influence in Portugal, namely in Fafe. We find values referring to social differences, we find the influence of different epochs and we find important values of cultural influence. All this exceeds the initial question which was aimed at observing the symbols of ostentation we find in many houses in Fafe. The concept of ostentation is recurrent in this work and we explain that we are considering it against a particular background; it is ostentation from the point of view of the returnees’ ambitious display and spectacle in general which is visually exhibited through distinctive architectural and symbolic features all over the town; we consider it as a parade intended for applause but which may be taken as a sign of arrogance, or, from a different perspective, as a sign of pride in a new, different and chosen identity.

Naturally, many questions arise: how do we codify this information, where do we find a yardstick? Should we give each picture a temporary code and then compare the
different codes? During this comparative analysis new perspectives on symbols and ostentation will arise. If we observe the labels that have already been written, we now have fresh groups of picture/label concerning the presence of specific symbols and the influence of Freemasonry on Portuguese emigrants in Rio de Janeiro, for example. This will lead to a new line of study, more specific on this theme and other associated issues and we can branch out onto a never ending path on Brazil, iconography, Freemasonry, architecture, emigration, Portuguese architecture, romantic gardens, specific plants, the use of tiles, social status, etc. We will not study these themes in detail but will refer to their connection with our analyses whenever this need is justified. This process of labeling will be used throughout our walk around the town.

We will now refer to another tool that we have used during this research which has proved to be very effective since we are working with photographs, objects and signs and we are moving on the terrain. Although these photographs and objects we ‘see’ in the centre of this town are first interpreted by us, we are also considering them as having another audience, different from ourselves, an audience which will present its own different ways of looking at and interpreting the same picture or object. This audience may be the local inhabitants, visitors and tourists.

Some of the photographs have been taken with the precise intention of being shown to an audience and here a new process is developed, a process by which the sense of a picture is renegotiated and will here be referred to as ‘audiencing’. We would like to refer that the final effect of a picture is influenced by many components and each picture or object has a different effect on each spectator; so we conclude that a picture or the representation of an object can be produced in a specific way in order to influence the viewer and therefore obtain a specific reaction. In our practice we have preferred not to direct a viewer in a specific direction; our main interest lies in the variety of reactions that can be obtained from one photograph; however, in advertising, for example, the main objective is to guide the viewer’s attention to the product that is being promoted; this is done in many different and quite devious ways but it is not an issue that we want to pursue in the present analysis. By using questions once more we will exemplify the process of audiencing and we have selected photographs which are also part of our coded items, but these are
photographs taken in the past, in the late 19th century or early 20th century; this photograph was not taken by us, it was found among many others in the photographic archives belonging to the Town Council. This photograph involves a time lapse which will lead to a wider variety of results, generated by the audience, between what is presented and what is actually ‘seen’ since we do not know what the intention of the photographer was when taking this picture. We may assume that the photographer formally arranged the elements in the picture with the intention of guiding the way in which it would be interpreted by the audience.

Fig. III

CX02003, Arquivo Fotográfico, Casa da Cultura, Rua Serpa Pinto, Fafe.

(9) Who were the original viewers?
(10) What was the objective of the picture?
(11) Who are the more recent viewers of this picture?
(12) How do different audiences interpret this picture?
(13) Can there be more than one interpretation?
(14) What is the difference between each audience in terms of social class, gender, etc.?
(15) Where is the viewer placed, physically, socially, culturally, concerning the different components of the picture?
(16) What is the meaning of all the symbols represented on the exterior of this house, would they be identified by all the viewers?
(17) Would some of the icons represented in the picture be associated, by someone, with Freemasonry, for example?
(18) Are symbols the way in which the owner of the house communicates his social status?

‘Audiencing’ is referred to by John Fiske (1994) as the process by which a visual image has its meaning renegotiated by particular audiences watching in specific circumstances. When we show a picture to an audience, its compositionality, the formal arrangement of the elements in the picture, will impress the viewer in a way that will dictate how this image is ‘seen’. While testing this process on ourselves as well as on other people our/their reaction becomes almost more important than the picture itself; we must therefore also attend to the technological mode answering questions such as these:

(19) What is the photograph centred on?
(20) Does the viewer connect with the theme?
(21) Is the audience controlled by technology?
(22) Does the meaning differ according to the contexts? (looking at the object/looking at a photograph of it).

Here we have produced an example based on a photograph but these steps in ‘audiencing’ may of course be adapted to any other object or sign such as a town square, a house or a wrought iron gate.
The social mode is also critical in ‘audiencing’ since the social practices of watching and the social identities of the spectators will dominate the way in which a certain picture will be seen in particular places.

(23) Are you looking at the photo in an exhibition, in a gallery, in a classroom?
(24) Are you concentrated or distracted?
(25) Are you listening to music, are you eating?
(26) Are you alone or with another person?
(27) Are you comparing it with other pictures?

What is also very challenging in this exercise is to grasp whether the audience connects with the underlying feeling or message, does it identify with the dominant order and comply with the prevailing social power relations as they are presented through an image or does the audience react by resisting it even if in a subtle way? Some visual signs can stress the presence of the institutional structure and induce this meaning by presenting what Stuart Hall (1980) refers to as a ‘preferred meaning’. In this process we can clearly sense the dominant meanings and values of a society which can be more or less apparent, often very subtle but nevertheless present. We must, however, also allow for the fact that audiences don’t always take in messages as they are intended to be read but they construct their own meaning; in this case we would have an example of a ‘preferred reading’.

Now that we have mentioned the audience we will introduce the viewer, who can also be referred to as spectator or receiver, and we will start by stressing the great difference between how a photograph is shown and the way in which it is interpreted by the audience. The audience is made up of viewers and these viewers will most probably base their interpretation of an image on their individual background or on previous knowledge of the subject. The viewer can be quite taken by surprise and have no knowledge of this subject but will still have a specific social and cultural standing;
thus when we expect a viewer to ask ‘why?’ the direction of the meaning made will change completely if the question asked is ‘how?’ instead.

If we choose to show a particular photo to a viewer and draw his/her attention to certain details, we will be making him/her see it in a certain way. A question arises: What is the position of the author regarding the viewer? Gillian Rose (2007) suggests that if it were a postcard we were using it would look different to each person; each person would in the first place look on the back for information concerning the picture on the front, but if it had been sent by someone, you would look for a connection between the hand-written message and the image. This is a simple example of the process of making meaning.

This kind of study has been applied to television audiences mainly but not often in cultural studies, so this is what we chose to do. We experimented with different groups of viewers who we had expected would interpret images and symbols in very different ways owing to their different social identities, age group and gender, among other issues. For each group the first experiment included a viewing of photographs without any comment on our part but during the second viewing we drew attention to certain details and gave some background information.

This particular experiment was carried out with different groups of viewers who were in no way connected with cultural or translation studies; we showed them some photographs without any previous explanation concerning what was being shown and what we expected as an outcome. Concerning those who were local inhabitants of Fafe we sensed a brief moment of discomfort and uncertainty concerning our interest in these particular pictures as they recognized the buildings on the screen.

While performing the same experiment with groups of viewers who did not know Fafe we noticed that when shown the photographs on the screen they reacted agreeably and we could feel they were preparing for some sort of challenge since the photographs were unknown and unrelated to any issue we had ever discussed together.
The way in which the questions and answers evolved was also distinct; whilst the viewers from Fafe were nervous about not really knowing what to say about the photos, the other viewers, from Porto, were eager to present their answers and asked for further sets of photographs and similar exercises to be repeated.

This was a very effective way of testing the process of paratranslating visual material; the reaction, the attitude and the performance of the viewers that we registered was very different between the two main phases of the experiment, the one before and the one after being given an explanation of what surrounded each photograph leading to a final and full meaning.

Having now expanded on the function of the audience and the viewer we will introduce another tool which concerns both, it is ‘photo-elicitation’ (Collier 1957). This process consists in introducing a photograph during an interview, thus adding image and text to words. Until this tool is actually tested it is not easy to grasp its importance for research covering many fields, but in our particular case when applied to investigating a collective past or events that occurred earlier we became aware, while exchanging ideas with our interviewees, that the steady flow of conversation would instantly be interrupted or would take a sharp turn whenever a picture was shown. These pictures may be used to guide an interview as we investigate social, cultural and behavioural realities and we must understand that these additional and different insights would not be achieved by relying exclusively on oral and written data. Douglas Harper in his work on photo elicitation writes:

The difference between interviews using images and text, and interviews using words alone lies in the ways we respond to these two forms of symbolic representation. This has a physical basis: the parts of the brain that process visual information are evolutionarily older than the parts that process verbal information. Thus images evoke deeper elements of human consciousness that do words; exchanges based on words alone utilize less of the brain’s capacity than do exchanges in which the brain is processing images as well as words. These may be some of the reasons the photo elicitation interview seems like not simply an interview process that elicits more information, but rather one that evokes a different kind of information. (2002:13)

By using photo-elicitation we not only elicit more information but we stimulate a different kind of information and we need not necessarily use photographs but we
can use other objects or any visual image. During the interviews with Maria Eduarda Leite Castro Fernandes and Francisco Leite Castro, great-grandchildren of emigrants in Brazil, at their home in Fafe (2009,2010), our attention would often turn to family matters in Portugal while we talked about and remembered records of the life on a rubber plantation that their ancestors had experienced in Manaus, Brazil. This shift in the conversation would take place if a portrait of an ancestor was randomly taken out of a yellowing envelope holding old photographs, postcards and paper cuttings. This ancestor would be identified as the brother of the emigrant, who had returned to Fafe and got involved in local politics and held a high position in the local social and cultural sphere. Many a time the original theme would be left behind and a totally fresh conversation would emerge. The elicitation interviews covered themes such as change in families and their development, in which our photographs will alternate with others taken by members of the informants’ family.
Another example occurred when the catalogue of the Paris Exhibition in 1900 was taken out from under a pile of magazines placed on a chair. While the conversation had been centred on how popular travelling around Europe was in the past, it suddenly changed to the origin of the dining-room furniture which had been purchased in Paris at the time of the Exhibition. This is one more example of how photo-elicitation triggers the connection of an individual to experiences or epochs that may not be the immediate subject of our research, sounding out and stimulating the informants’ memory, producing reactions and emotions.

The evolution of the family since early settlement in Brazil will be followed up to the present and all the details captured in photographs will be precious ingredients in aiding us to follow the social, domestic and organizational history of the same family. This line of research will be part of a future study on kinship and social identity and we will follow yet another concept developed by Collier which is the ‘cultural inventory’. This photographic inventory does not only list personal objects or material goods but it goes far beyond that, exploring the way in which people use their space and how they place their material objects and family property, thus revealing how they relate to each other within the family and social sphere.

The tools we have introduced above are applied to our object of study in a conscious way and many times subconsciously as we walk around the town. We intend this walk to be taken as if by a tourist or a visitor who is not familiar with what he is about to encounter, so we have followed steps we think would exemplify this situation. Most of our photos were taken during one first walk using a basic digital camera, photos taken by an amateur aiming at capturing what one sees when looking at an object or building at eye-level and then lifting our eyes to explore the rest of the object. This walk was taken without a prepared route drawn out on a map, there were a few main locations such as the hospital, the town hall or the house where we visited our interviewees that we wanted to see, but that fact did not present the need for organizing a route. Our photos were taken and the walk progressed according to questions which sprang up in our mind and the need to answer those questions as new ones occurred while we looked at the objects in more detail. Here a network of themes and objects was rapidly created and it was with some difficulty that we
mentally logged each photograph and theme in a form that would be adequate for further research. In the first stages of photographing it was we who produced pictures, selected objects, asked questions and took the position of an audience and viewer. Having taken a second walk, this time without a camera, we noticed how many more objects and details had escaped our attention during the first walk. Neither of these or other future walks were intended to be final concerning the gathering of information but there was a turning point when we decided to connect the photographs and objects to the people with whom we mingled on the streets. We then felt an urge to rummage in the past in order to find answers to our questions and explanations for facts that we could not quite translate and explain. Another form of connecting the space with the local inhabitants was to observe the people going about their daily routines, the way in which they walked past imposing and colourful buildings or walked in and out of modern shops placed on the ground floor of early 19th century buildings without having a second thought about all the history surrounding them.

If we intend to look at the development or evolution of a particular town we will notice the natural landscape, the icons of progress, the particular mood of a building, the financial aspirations; then we shall be able to understand the theories of urban planning; we will understand that the city is built in the image of Man. A comfortable strategy would be to look at a building, a street or a town and tell the story backwards; to a certain extent that is what we have done throughout this work.
We shall now use some instruments of interpretation and narrative and will begin by looking at a map which introduces a recent inventory of the town’s most representative buildings and we will interpret it in order to find how and when the town consolidated its building plan as we concentrate on the most important institutional and residential references.
This map introduces a recent inventory of the town’s most representative buildings. We immediately recognize the main streets and confirm that in the early 20th century the town expanded in a new direction due to the introduction of the railway and its influence in the town.
ESPAÇOS E EDIFICAÇÕES DE INTERESSE HISTÓRICO E PATRIMONIAL DA CIDADE DE FADE

LEGENDA

1. Paços do Concelho – 1913 (edifício alterado na década de sessenta).
2. Igreja Nova de São José – 1895 (primeira iniciativa de construção).
4. Igreja matriz – século XVIII.
6. Hospital de São José ou da Misericórdia – 1860.
14. Centro de Saúde – Antigo Asilo de Infância Desvaliado da primeira década de 1900 (este edifício foi alterado na década de setenta).
15. Antigo Hotel Fontelo – Finais do século XIX.
16. Antigo Hotel Central – Finais do século XIX.
18. Antigo Hotel União – Primeira década de 1900.
22. Casa de José Alves de Freitas – 1895 (classificado como imóvel de interesse local).
24. Casa do Leonor Alves de Freitas – Finais do século XIX.
27. Casa de Bernardino Moniz (Ibleio) – Finais do século XVIII e início do século XIX.
30. Casa de José Florencio Soares – 1895 (classificado como imóvel de interesse local).
32. Casa de Bernardino da Cunha Mendes – Finais do século XIX.
34. Casa de João da Cunha Mendes – Primeira metade do século XX.
35. Casa de José Maria Mendes da Araújo – Mendas do século XIX.
38. Casa de Fortunato José de Oliveira – 1892 (classificado como imóvel de interesse local).
40. Casa de José Luís Mendes de Oliveira e Castro – 1895 (classificado como imóvel de interesse local).
41. Casa de António José de Bastos Azvedo – Finais do século XIX.
42. Casa de António José de Bastos Azvedo – 1899.
43. Casa de António José de Bastos Azvedo – Século XIX.
44. Casa de António José de Bastos Azvedo – Séculos XVII e XIX.
45. Casa de João da Família Mendes da Costa – Finais do século XIX.
47. Casa de António Joaquim da Silva – Finais do século XIX (classificado como imóvel de interesse local).
48. Casa de Abílio Leite Campos – Finais do século XIX.
49. Casa de Abílio Leite Campos – Finais do século XIX.
50. Casa de Abílio Leite Campos – Finais do século XIX (classificado como imóvel de interesse local).
52. Casa de Eustáquio Sequeira Mendes – 1921 (edifício já demolido).
53. Casa de António Dias Gonçalves – Séculos XVIII e XIX.
55. Casa de Maria Albertina Gonçalves do Carmo Bolteirão – Finais do século XIX.
57. Casa de M. C. M – 1896 (local dos antigãs corredores) (edifício alterado na década de oitenta).
58. Casa de Constância Lobo – Finais do século XIX (classificado como imóvel de interesse local).
59. Casa de Andrade – século XIX (classificado como imóvel de interesse local).
60. Casa de J. B. C. – 1897 (Pertence à família Summerville e classificada como imóvel de interesse local).
62. Casa com data de 1927.
64. Casa do Dr. José Maria Leite Campos – 1896.
65. Palácio de la Companhia de Fiação e Tecidos do Ferro – Princípios do século XX (classificado como imóvel de valor conceitual).
67. Praça da Feira Velha (classificado como conjunto de interesse local).
68. Atual Praça de 25 de Abril (classificado como conjunto de interesse local).
69. Casa de José Rodrigues Formiga – princípios do século XX.
70. Escola do Conde de Ferreira – 24/3/1886.
71. Casa do Dr. Manuel Leite Marinho (século XX).
We immediately recognize the main streets, the main square and the number of ancestral buildings which is vast. These were built close to the centre but cutting new angles and forcing detours in a small town expanding according to the choice of the returnees who usually named each house after their family or after themselves. If we read the list of names and dates provided with the map we can easily see where the main buildings were erected and how they branched out in different directions according to the date on which they were built. If we take the main square as the point of reference, we confirm that buildings from the 18\textsuperscript{th} and 19\textsuperscript{th} centuries were built south from the square but from the very beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century the most important buildings were built north from the square and there is a simple reason for this. The first buildings were erected around the main square and when the town first expanded with 18\textsuperscript{th} and 19\textsuperscript{th} century private houses, these were built in a new area of the town, not planned for urban building until then and certainly making a detour in the traditional planning; at the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, however, the town expands in a different and opposite direction because a railway station was built. When in 1907 the railway finally came to Fafe, a grand occasion registered in detail in the local press and including a visit from the king D. Carlos I, it became necessary to provide this new entry to the town with an adequate street. Fafe was known at the time, and still boasts the title, as ‘a sala de visitas do Minho’ (Minho reception hall for visitors); the new street, at the time named Avenida da Estação do Caminho de Ferro, underwent many changes through time; as a consequence of this, a grand avenue was built leading from the station directly into the main square. It was a sort of red carpet for visitors coming to Fafe and many hotels and restaurants were built in that area to welcome them. The Town Council is placed halfway between the station and the main square, a most suitable position for the main organ of the town. Close to the new imposing Town Council we find the great private houses now preferring this side of town: the house of Comendador Albino de Oliveira Guimarães was built in 1908; Casa de Miquelina Alves de Sousa was built in the first decade of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century; Casa de José Rodrigues de Formigal was built at the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century and are good examples. Here we feel ‘movement’ in the way streets and buildings emerge and
curve, and the way in which there is a balanced effect produced by this activity in opposition to the rather clustered former preferred building area. As usual, alterations and development were related to the wealthy “brasileiro” prepared to invest in Fafe and having, in return, his name given to the object of his generosity as we can confirm by this record at the town archives:

Bernardino da Cunha Mendes, pelo seu feliz regresso do Pará, saudamo-lo afectuosamente, enviando-lhe os cumprimentos de boas vindas. Animados por o termos entre nós, como membro da Câmara pobre que tem muito a fazer, excitamo-lo a um melhoramento qualquer de sua iniciativa – ex: o da frente da estação do caminho de ferro – a que se poderia dar com satisfação o seu nome. (Arquivo Municipal de Fafe; Deliberação municipal, Livro de Actas nº 16 de 1.5.1907)

This novelty increased trade in Fafe and we stress ‘increased’ since trade had long been a characteristic of the village. Fafe was located between several villages and became a well known place for its trade fairs and due to its location served many surrounding villages in terms of trading opportunities. Local trade fairs were held in
different locations according to what was being sold; these fairs were extremely important for the economy of the town as well as for surrounding villages. For example, pottery and onions would be sold in different squares on different days of the week and the main local trade fair, specifically for trading animals, was held in an ample square between the centre of the town and the station and directly across the road from the Town Council. Since the square was so close to the newly built street and station, there were several plans to develop it and adapt it to the impressive surrounding environment. Its name has changed many times, for some time it was named Praça do Brasil, and this is the reason why:

Ficaria-nos mal, a todos nós que tanto devemos ao Brasil, a nós todos que vemos a nossa terra engrandecida por uma grande parte dos nossos concidadãos lá terem ido ganhar as suas fortunas e depois virem edificar aqui as habitações, dotando a vila com casas de caridade, etc. desejarmos que a um dos nossos principais largos ou ruas se não desse o honrado nome de Largo ou Rua da República do Brasil?
Quem nos representa deve tomar essa iniciativa, que, como homenagem ao Brasil, é merecidíssima. (O Desforço, 6/12/1912)

Considerando que:
Fafe muito deve ao Brasil, pois foi lá onde muitos dos nossos concidadãos apanharam o dinheiro para tornar esta terra encantadora;
O Brasil é um país irmão, amigo e republicano e ainda lá trabalham muitos dos nossos queridos patrícios;
Fafe tem por obrigação de não olvidar os filhos a quem mais deve, nem deixar de os honrar convenientemente.
Proponho que ao ‘Largo do Santo’ se dê a designação de Praça do Brasil.
(Arquivo Municipal de Fafe; Deliberação municipal, Livro de actas nº 21 de 24/2/1917)

This early beginning as a place of trade and attraction for visitors, specifically for developing trade, was the starting point which placed Fafe on the map as a compulsory stopping place for passers-by and a wide time span passed before it became a solid urban location. There was much news and bustle around Fafe in the late 18th and early 19th centuries and we shall now turn our attention to imagining the town at that time through urban moments with multiple as well as alternative interpretations.
Dumidio, médico celebrado que viveu em tempos de Luís XVI, quando estava para morrer e se achava recolhido as refúgiados dos seus mais distinto colegas de Paris, observando a chã em todos manifestado, pelo estado em que o aperto, disse assim expressão de confiança:

— Minha amiga, não lamento a minha morte, porque em meu lugar devia ter sido eu, porque em meu lugar devia ter sido eu, porque em meu lugar devia ter sido eu...

Cada um dos presentes acene, um a um, como se um dos compadres falasse e de um dos recitadores de uma mantíase o distinto enfermo; mas ficaram todos desaparecidos, quando Dumidio, instado para que desse um quarto era o que que haviam dito, e que nome iam dizer do elevado convite, respondeu:

— Estes medicos são o aqua, o exercito e a dieta.

TRES GRANDES MEDICOS

Para que vás ter seguida a construção da nova egeria, cuja escadarias são não só a necessidade, mas a necessidade de um trabalho, para serem resguardadas das interrupções das inúmeras chuvas. Um esforço generoso do meu pessoal, desistindo de alguns médicos, com a saúde dos meus estudantes.

O Governo, o meu amigo, sabe disso.

Bombeiros Voluntários

Indicações úteis

Caminhos de Ferro Portugueses

Declaração política

Para os decretos e a todos aqueles que estão interessados em desenvolver a política e nas questões de interesse ao país, considero que desta forma, o país não se aproveitará.

O bombeiro, o meu amigo, sabe disso.

Ama de 1.ª leite

No campo

Primavera

E disse assim concordando, saindo-se do piso, indo-se do piso, indo-se do piso.

Bíblica de capacidade.
COMPANHIA REAL DO PACIFICO

Migalhitas paquetes da carta do Brasil, conhecendo a sua eletrizante, dando acentuado destaque e renda ao comércio.

PAISAGEM-CONJUNTO A "AMOR DE LAMPEJO"

Ortega

Chama-se a escultura ao nosso principal objetivo, o do meio político e social de nosso país.

O extra-ordinário poder de inspiração e de criação, aliado ao nosso vasto campo, vai, assim, se adaptando a um novo estatuto.

O que é o amor de lampião?

O amor de lampião é a paixão pela beleza e pela liberdade.

Kendall, Pedro Basta e C.

Correspondente em Fafe, Jose de Farias Fernandes

Abril


MOVIMENTO FAMILIAR

Vinda de Manões, chegando ao país por seu rumo e seu chefe, Eduardo Fernandes, o excommandante da matriz de Manços, filho do sr. José Alves de Freitas, que está para falecer, não só se diverte assim como em seu exército, seu lar de batalha e futebol. A família vai a um lugar, para o futebol, então estou.

Para evitar desavenças e para que nenhum jogador seja prejudicado dos jogos desta noite, o treinador.

O ensino agrícola

De quando em quando, de quando em quando, a educação de uma nova geração, de como devemos fazer para progredir a cultura e a economia do país.

A fama e o respeito, os honras e os troféus, os logros e os triunfos, a sua grandeza, com a sua grandeza, são todos os que ela nos interessam por ela. 

Ainda que os esforços sejam às vezes um tanto mais difíceis, não impede que o ensino agrícola seja uma das nossas principais conquistas.

O benfeitor

O cometa Halley

Desde a descoberta de seu ciclo da lua, de 19, para 19, o cometa passará na zona do cometa. Desde então e que poderá ver, com todo o seu espírito, toda a sua luz e toda a sua grandeza.

Glyconesia

Camões e Castelo


Para evitar desavenças e para que nenhum jogador seja prejudicado dos jogos desta noite, o treinador.

DEPÓSITO-GERAL

Pharmacal, Filmpjes

Rede de Comunicação 2,1 - 8007177
In the same way that we could listen to a radio broadcast we shall read a news bulletin compiled in 2010 bringing together news published locally in 1910 and use this flyer as a mobile map to explore a spatial sequence and peripheral spaces and lives. Now we can feel mobility which can instantly return to static when we look into a tunnel or a courtyard, a gap where the speed of the city has stopped. On the ground, we experience urban networks, social life and the performative nature of the built environment. Here we are faced with the public and the private space; we may look into a doorway or an archway and feel a live experience; we experience narrative, an urban drift, mobility and temporal flow amid the fabric of the town, a dynamic urban space.

While reading the “Boletim”, we do feel movement, and it is finally human movement. We experience the stretching of frontiers, out of the window into the street, the table and chairs outside the front door in the summer placing the living-room on the outside of the house. Among the circle of gentry, it was usual to sit outside the house while continuing a discussion on the news or on politics; men were not in the habit of remaining indoors so after their meal they would walk in the town centre and when returning to one of their houses they would order the maids to bring chairs into the street just outside the imposing front door. (Maria Eduarda Leite Castro Gonçalves and Francisco António Leite Castro 2010).

We experience an immediate reaction from the language of the flyer. This is a route led by human language, through which we not only follow the streets, the houses, the places where the news comes from but also the people, the customs and the culture that we sense around the corner or behind the window or within a building. News would be international, from Europe or overseas, such as Tolstoy’s death; we would also have news about the new church, the Town Council, the Fire Brigade, the railway station, news concerning public or private health episodes, trials,
the agricultural calendar, the press, local politics, social accounts about prominent citizens just arriving or departing for a holiday by the seaside, etc.

By looking at the “Boletim” representing the month of April 1910, which is a compilation of news gathered in the local press of the time and published in 2010, its structure follows that of the local news in *Almanach de Fafe* and other magazines but this time distributed in the form of flyers. On the front, in the centre, we have news coming from the Town Council. This “Boletim”, presented in twelve flyers, one for each month, gives us an alternative route through the town, almost like a radio broadcast revealing streets, squares and buildings, also news on the Fire Brigade, one of the most important institutions in the town since early days and sponsored by “brasileiros”. The Fire Brigade Headquarters are still, in many Portuguese villages, the only meeting place for local social and cultural activities usually associated with music and boasting a complete brass band.

While reading the news we go inside the buildings, inside the houses and behind doors. Information about a negative personal episode can take us towards the lower classes, usually when a crime is committed; we are now inside a poor house where
someone has committed a hideous crime by murdering a neighbour with a pickaxe; this would be mentioned on the back page. A calendar usually giving information about agriculture, telling us the best time to plant melons or to sow corn, would take us not only to the poorer houses but also to the boundaries of Fafe, to the fields, to the outskirts far away from the elegant town centre where we find a different type of population. This information would also be printed on the back page, where the information on and for the lower classes would be expected to figure. Further information takes us to international news concerning Halley’s Comet portrayed from a distinctly scientific view but also involved in a certain atmosphere of mystery and fear; for some, the superstitious, probably announcing the end of the world; this piece of news would involve both the upper and lower classes. We also have news about the volcano on Mount Etna, the description of the effect of lava, the vast destruction and terror it generated and the consequent presence of the clergy and the authorities at the location in order to evaluate the situation or to aid the population. There are twelve such publications, edited in 2010 to mark one hundred years of the Republic and to remind us of the news in a vibrant town in 1910.

Fig. VIII

CX04003, Arquivo Municipal de Fafe, Map of Fafe drawn in 1866.
In 1866 a plan of the town was drawn up and new structures planned; the plan did not progress but some time later it would be followed as we may confirm today. We have seen that the town expanded in opposite directions, first south and then north for the reasons we referred; innovation was abundant.

In order to show the remaining and marked influence of the past on the present day we will turn to some examples of the way in which Fafe is offered to the visitor, today.

While browsing on the Internet we enter the page concerning news from the Town Council and here we immediately see the symbol of Fafe, a skylight; completing the design of this symbol we find modern graphics. There is a contrast between the skylight and the graphics, an elaborate architectural and decorative object in iron and glass according to the European tendency at the time, an object which is no longer built as the version in the design shows, but there is a need not to appear outdated so the modern graphics step in to fill that gap. We are now looking at the page concerning Fafe in general and we have recurrent references to local dated information like municipal names used as far back as 1840 as well as information concerning the increase of population since the year 1801; we also find the coat of arms featuring several symbols referring to the past but also applicable to the present. What was in the past essential to the survival and development of the region, were the rivers represented by water and a wheel; these rivers allowed agriculture and the economy to foment industry which developed the town enormously; we have three ears of corn representing agriculture and grain in particular, another pillar represents the increase of economic status; the grapes are a reference to the production of wine in the region, a very particular sort of smooth Vinho Verde; the sun, an ingredient associated with Fafe and its pure and healthy air that visitors took for their well-being; the sun is also important for agriculture; all these symbols celebrate life.
The coat of arms features symbols referring to the past but also applicable to the present. What was in the past essential to the survival and development of the region, were the rivers; these rivers allowed agriculture and the economy to foment industry which led to the development of the town. We can see three ears of corn representing agriculture and grain in particular; the grapes are a reference to the production of wine in the region; the sun, an ingredient associated with Fafe and its pure and healthy air and also important for agriculture; all these symbols celebrate life.
There is still a very close connection with the Brazilian town of Porto Seguro, Fafe’s twin town, the reason dating from the past when Portugal and Brazil where extremely close in many ways; at the entrance to Fafe there is a public park named Porto Seguro and in December 2009 in a publication released by the town council we read about a public contest to select the best proposal for a monument to the emigrant which would be erected on a newly built roundabout in Av. de S. Jorge; we have obtained information that this plan has not yet been developed but that it features a symbol of the sea (Fernando Mota 2011). On opening the most popular daily newspaper of Porto on the 1st of August 2011 we were pleasantly surprised by a large advertisement inviting the reader to visit Fafe’s Museu das Migrações e das Comunidades Portuguesas featuring small icons like the already mentioned skylight and a section of elaborate artwork in stone taken from a well known building in the centre of the town.

We confirm that in order to promote the present there has always been the need to remember and to stress the importance of the past.

Nowadays tourism has developed and Fafe is usually visited for being included in a circuit of surrounding towns and religious locations. Having visited the local tourism office, situated in the main square, we asked what would be suggested to a tourist arriving in Fafe for the first time. The reply was as expected; the local “Brazilian” architecture would be the main attraction, the food and the wine, several churches and religious places of interest, as well as fishing, shooting, arts & crafts and several walks to be taken in the surrounding areas. Once again we have flyers and maps to attract the visitor in which we find a twofold combination of the old and the new, past and present, side by side, in one word, balanced.

We have come to the Museu das Migrações e das Comunidades Portuguesas and as we examine its contents and draw our conclusions we would like, at this stage of our work, to think of visual materials less as texts to be decoded for their meaning, and more as objects with which things are done. We can look at objects and not try to interpret them but, instead, to think of what happens when something is actually done with specific visual materials; the personal objects that were most frequently
transported by emigrants are musical instruments such as concertinas or guitars; when explaining these objects we must not only point out that they are very close personal objects used daily in the emigrants’ homeland, and as the instruments are played they are maintaining a connection and keeping close to a previous life, and in this way comforting the player or, his family and community; we must also refer that these instruments were useful upon arriving since they could be played in order to make money while a job or an occupation was not yet secured.

In a photograph, for example, more than merely interpreting its meaning, we would now be concerned with the social practices and the effects of those practices. Obviously by interpreting an object of photography we are generating a practice but we would like to go further and see what actions an image or an object might provoke. We have mentioned that while exercising photo elicitation, an interview will become more alive when a photo is produced, but the opposite also happens when a photo may originate silence as the interviewee pauses to ‘digest’ the image.

In exhibitions we find objects, documents and photographs all united under a certain theme or displayed in an intentional form in order to suggest or to establish a meaning. Choices are not innocent, and objects do not just appear in a museum, they are collected and selected carefully. The system of representation or method of display adopted for that particular exhibition produces a preferred meaning, which can be achieved very simply by displaying the objects in a particular way.

Before developing this idea further, we would like to take a little time to think about objects: what they are, their use, their meaning and their role.

When we consider that exchange relations have always been so vital to generating and understanding social life we should then concentrate on the objects that are, or have been exchanged. We usually pay special attention to the material qualities of things because what is being exchanged is usually what matters most and therefore that is what they focus on. In a particular reference to objects of art and the way in which they are perceived, brought to us through Alfred Gell’s (1998:6) work, this author says that art objects in particular are ‘intended to change the world rather than encode symbolic propositions about it’; Gell is particularly interested in the practical mediatory
role of art objects in the social process, rather than the interpretation of objects ‘as if’ they were texts. It is precisely this mediatory role of objects in society that can take many forms such as that of exchange as a gift or in trade, which will generate different relations between those who give and those who receive.

In order to illustrate the above mentioned suggestions we will select some family photographs which in fact are most frequently portraits. These are very different from family snaps, which at the time were unusual. Snapshots were taken during outings or family gatherings but always out of doors. We may observe that people of lower social classes were very seldom photographed whereas people in upper classes often had photos taken of themselves and of their families to keep or to send abroad, with a very specific intention.

This “brasileiro” emigrated to Pará in 1870 and was a very successful tradesman in rubber. Upon his return to Fafe he built a house in Rua Monsenhor Vieira de Castro, the same house where we have visited Maria Eduarda Leite Castro Gonçalves and her brother Francisco Leite Castro. The photograph was taken by a high quality photographer: F.G. Marques, Phot. Nacional da C. Real, Braga.

(photograph courtesy of Maria Eduarda Leite Castro Gonçalves)
Portraits were, as portraits usually are, very posed and unnatural. Not only do we have the family at its best, clothes-wise, but also the positions chosen as well as the objects in the background are by no means random.

A portrait of children would not be set in the elaborate background as were those of adults. Wealth would be shown in their clothing; a natural expression of the face would be permitted; the chair the younger child is standing on is a plain one with a straw seat and the plant on the left is by no means an elaborate one. This portrait was not set on cardboard. (Photo courtesy of Maria Eduarda Leite Castro Gonçalves)
Apparently this is a rule that we may find almost anywhere in the world and we would like to quote Deborah Poole in her work while photographing families in the southern highlands of Peru:

The poses they chose were remarkably uniform. They stood stiffly, with their arms down at the side, facing the camera, with serious faces. Photographs with smiles were usually rejected, as were the unposed, or what we would call ‘natural’, photographs I took on my own. My subjects were also committed to being photographed in their best clothes. I did a good deal of my interviews and other fieldwork while hanging around houses waiting for them to wash and braid their hair, scrub the baby, and even trim the horse’s mane in preparation for the family portrait. (1997:5)

We wouldn’t find many differences in the description of a photographer capturing Portuguese emigrants’ portraits, except for the horse which would probably be replaced by the automobile, or earlier by a particularly striking piece of furniture or object of art. Conventions and rules are permanent and even photos taken during a picnic gathering would reflect a studied and rehearsed relaxed pose.
These photos which are taken for a specific use, mainly to be sent to family and friends or published in the local press, express the social identity of those involved. According to Nicholas Thomas:

It is what is done with an image, rather than its inherent meaning, that gives it significance. Objects are not what they were made for but what they have become. An image may have a range of material qualities, but it is only when someone uses the image in some way that any of those qualities become activated, as it were, and significant. It may have a range of possible meanings, but they are latent until mobilized in a specific context. (1991:4)

A recontextualization of an object or photograph occurs during its social life, its different uses and when it travels. If we follow it we can observe its effects and significance, the meanings and values attached to it.
Plate 5

CX02002, A relative in America (postcard).

Photo courtesy of Maria Eduarda Leite Castro

This is a portrait of a relative, an emigrant in America. The photograph is made by a Portuguese photographer, M.B.Pereira based in Water St. The objects in the background are typical of Brazilian portraits: the vases on stands, the wicker chair, the landscape in the background and the innovation of colour in red and green blotches. As usual, the photograph is set on a good quality cardboard base.
Family photographs travel, and there are some conventions that should be considered in this mobility. Usually, photos are sent to relatives to keep in touch and to show how children are growing or how the elderly are keeping healthy; in other words, to extend identities. In the past, these particular photos would undoubtedly carry the message that the family was well, wealthy as well as rather imposing. Rose (2004) mentions the term ‘togetherness’ as being what these exchanges of photos represent within family relations nowadays, but in the 19th and early 20th centuries we believe ‘togetherness’ was not really the objective since ‘difference’ and boasting one’s position seemed to be the main goal.

Fig. XII  CX02010 This is a portrait of an unidentified relative belonging to the Leite Castro family; however, the portrait has not been discarded. We note the posed attitude, the formal dress and traditional background; this photo is set on a good quality cardboard. (Photo courtesy of Maria Eduarda Leite Castro Gonçalves)
There is also the question of how and where, and why they are displayed in specific ways as well as what size of photo or what type of frame is used. Photos are often located amidst old forgotten objects and family albums; they are also found in archives, where many of those we are using were found; photos may also become unidentifiable after the owners’ death or when families are divided. It was our intention to follow the routes of some family photographs as well as observing the way in which they are displayed at home but we realized during our conversations with Maria Eduarda Leite Castro Gonçalves that this would be work that would take some time; we did not, however, wish to leave these themes untouched during our present work.
How and where are the family photographs displayed? For each photograph a specific size, position and frame.
We would like to include a sample of our findings while carrying out an experiment with viewers and we have composed a chart which displays the categories we have registered and the analysis of five components: Kinship, Architecture, Economic reasons, Location and Aesthetics. We selected these variable components after reading extensively in preparation for our thesis and after we had completed the exercises with a ‘shooting script’ in order to confirm and register these categories; we confirm that returnees express their activity in these terms. The ‘shooting script’ allows us to demonstrate the categories which viewers mobilize when they interpret pictures and places. We have verified that when referring to the “brasileiro” the viewer’s imagination evokes these five categories which can be compacted in three dimensions: economic ostentation, aesthetic ostentation and the social footprint, which is the (re)insertion of the family frame in the location of Fafe. These will be the axes of our description on the migratory movement in Fafe, as we explain in the corresponding chapter.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinship</th>
<th>(1) Why was this house built in this place?</th>
<th>(2) Who imagined this house?</th>
<th>(7) Why are there two palm-trees in the front garden?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A family with many children; a returned emigrant.</td>
<td>It was traditional in rich families.</td>
<td>A Brazilian architect; Maybe a Brazilian architect trying to implement the style adjusting it to Portugal.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Architecture</th>
<th>(1) Why was this house built in this place?</th>
<th>(2) Who imagined this house?</th>
<th>(7) Why are there two palm-trees in the front garden?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I’ve no idea, maybe because it is near the old library that has the same architecture.</td>
<td>A Brazilian architect; Maybe a Brazilian architect trying to implement the style adjusting it to Portugal.</td>
<td>To make it more similar to Brazilian houses; Because the palm-tree is used in Portuguese gardens; Because it is usual to plant palm-trees in the garden of such houses.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic reasons</th>
<th>(1) Why was this house built in this place?</th>
<th>(2) Who imagined this house?</th>
<th>(7) Why are there two palm-trees in the front garden?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Because this place has good land for building; Because it is near the city centre which means the people who built it had a lot of money.</td>
<td>Somebody with a lot of money at the time; Maybe a returned emigrant with money; A businessman.</td>
<td>The owners were very rich people.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>(1) Why was this house built in this place?</th>
<th>(2) Who imagined this house?</th>
<th>(7) Why are there two palm-trees in the front garden?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Near the city centre; A good site to live in.</td>
<td>The owner of the farm;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aesthetics</th>
<th>(1) Why was this house built in this place?</th>
<th>(2) Who imagined this house?</th>
<th>(7) Why are there two palm-trees in the front garden?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Because the place is beautiful; Because the spot is nice and it is on a high area so they had a good view.</td>
<td>Idealized by a “brasileiro”; It is in the style of the 19th century.</td>
<td>To remember Brazil; Because they look nice; To make it look exotic, like we see on beaches; They match the house.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. XIII Audiencing (chart)
2- CONTEXTUALIZATION: GEOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIAL FRAME.

2.1 – The reasons for emigrating in the 19th and 20th centuries.

2.2. - The situation in Portugal: looking back at the past.

2.3. - Mobility: routes and detours; the translated New World as a place of promise.

2.4. - The “brasileiro” in Portuguese literature.

2.1. The reasons for emigrating in the 19th and 20th centuries.

As far back as the year 1500, Pero Vaz de Caminha wrote to the king of Portugal describing the birds they had first seen, then the hills, the vegetation and finally the land that had been ‘found’, Brazil. This man came from Porto and it is probably a coincidence that later most emigrants to Brazil would leave mainly from Porto, at the docks on the River Douro. Brazil was formed from the north downwards, Pernambuco and Baía, and it was colonized and organized with the help of the northern Lusitanian energy. This colonization was not achieved so much through individuals but through families, and in the 1700s these families came from Viana do Castelo in the north of Portugal (Alves 1994).
Brazil was formed from the north downwards, Pernambuco and Bahía, and it was colonized and organized by the northern Lusitanian energy. This colonization was not achieved so much through individuals but through families, and in the 1700s these families came from Viana do Castelo in the north of Portugal.

Bahía was the first capital and around this area much commerce and many sugar and coffee plantations developed. Later on, these plantations and commerce, including slave trade, turned southwards positioning their centre in Rio de Janeiro. Of course the rubber plantations were located in Amazonia and all the commerce this product generated took place in Manáus and Belém do Pará. Cattle were raised in Rio Grande do Sul and a leather trade developed; this product was transported to Rio de Janeiro where it would be sold in shops, which were often run by Portuguese emigrants.
Baía was the first capital and around this area much commerce and many sugar and coffee plantations developed. Later on, these plantations and commerce, including the slave trade, turned southwards, positioning their centre in Rio de Janeiro. Of course the rubber plantations were located in Amazonia and all the commerce this product generated took place in Manáus and Belém do Pará. Cattle were raised in Rio Grande do Sul and a leather trade developed; this product was transported to Rio de Janeiro where it would be sold in shops, which were very often run by Portuguese settlers. By the mid 18th century, because of the attraction Brazilian mines had for the Portuguese men, the district that would later be known as the River Bank in Porto, became a place where only women and children lived (the women would be called ‘widows of the living’), the result of a demographic haemorrhage.

Julio Dinis, in his classic novel *Uma Família Inglesa*, refers to the city of Porto as being divided in three parts: The central area belonged to the citizen of Porto, the eastern side belonged to the “brasileiro” and the western side belonged to the English. As early as 1764, in Porto, there were references to several dozen “brasileiros”, emigrants, gone to Brazil and returned, who would live in the higher, eastern part of Porto. Would this part of the city always be the place the “brasileiro” would choose to live in, or was it the place where he was allowed to live? Why in the eastern part of the city, far from the river and the sea? The river as well as the coast would be taken over by the British residents, connected to the Port wine trade, and trade in general.

Leaving from the docks on the River Douro, an average of 30 ships per year would sail to Rio de Janeiro, Baía, Pernambuco and Maranhão taking linen cloth, hats, china, buttons, wine, olive oil, silk, thread and several brass objects and returning with cargoes of sugar, cotton, aguardente, wood, leather, rice, cocoa, coffee as well as other minor articles. Tobacco, gold and diamonds would be delivered through customs in Lisbon first, and were then transported to Porto. But trade with Brazil would fade. There is not one main reason for this but the independence of Brazil in 1822 would have certainly affected trading relationships (Alves 1994).
2.2. The situation in Portugal: looking back at the past.

Our interest lies in the history of people leaving from the north of Portugal, who began to emigrate in the 17th century. This part of Portugal, in particular, was a region where land was divided into very small plots. The economic situation in the middle of the 19th century made it impossible for anyone from the rural north, for example, to achieve a comfortable socio-economic situation. Families were generally large and the lands were split up. Each family only had the right to a small amount of land and with the advent of phylloxera the situation became worse (Monteiro 2007). This state of affairs was one of the reasons for emigration. In an attempt to find employment which would give them the chance of a decent life, thousands of Portuguese people would eventually emigrate to Brazil. Indeed, Brazil was attractive not only because of the labour market but also because of the added benefit of a common language. Living in extremely poor regions, families would not be able to provide for themselves nor divide their plots much further. In a poor family with four male children, for example, (girls would not be mentioned since they would either be married or spend their lives running their brothers’ homes), the rule which would be adopted was the following: the older son would inherit the land, the second son would become a priest, the third son would be expected to migrate to a town and go into trade, probably working as an apprentice, and the last son would have no choice but to emigrate. There are records of desperate situations such as this one: A father would see his young son off on his way to Brazil and would give him his blessing, usually for the last time: “meu filho, não me venhas envergonhar, ou volta rico, ou ... não voltes” (João Pereira Azevedo “Emigração portugueza para o Brazil” O Comércio do Porto, de 13 de Setembro de 1872). The fact that people preferred not to return to their hometown if they were unsuccessful in Brazil will be discussed further on.

As the slave trade had been abolished in Europe, many politicians and Brazilian landowners realized that the time had come to import non-slave workers from other countries. The Portuguese emigrants in Brazil fell into two groups: those who went to work in agriculture, usually in dreadful conditions, and those who worked in commerce, in towns. Those who were already settled in Brazil invited their relations to take positions of responsibility, such as that of counter clerk. Any emigrant who had
arrived in Brazil with a letter of recommendation would have found it much easier to get a job and would undoubtedly have had a better beginning to a new life than those who had no support on arrival.

Those who emigrated from the villages – here we are referring to the Minho region in particular – were mainly very young men (Monteiro 2000). They had to be available for military service from the age of sixteen, for a period of six years, but since many left before they reached the age of sixteen, in 1859, the age for military service was lowered to fourteen. Exemption from military service was possible through the payment of a sum of money, and so the rich avoided the army by paying the poor to substitute them, and for this reason the latter began to emigrate at an even younger age, usually at 13.

In the 19th century, trade generated jobs in which the main traders would have correspondents in distant places so that they could distribute their goods and exchange other products, for which they would charge a small commission. These agents in most cases would come from a village to work in a shop in Porto. What they really wanted would be a letter of recommendation which would open certain doors and offer some kind of protection as well as an opportunity for learning the trade. News appeared about migration, newspapers published announcements about ships which were leaving for Brazil and appealing leaflets were distributed outside churches on Sunday. Emigration agents also appeared. They looked for settlers all over Europe and in Portugal they went to the remotest villages, to the least informed people, to whom they presented the idea of Brazil as the promise of an easy solution for all their problems. These agents charged exorbitant amounts of money and often the documents that they presented were not even legal. Clandestine departures were made from Vila Praia de Âncora and from the mouth of the River Minho (Monteiro 2007).

In 1845 it is registered that a total of 1706 people from Porto left for Brazil, followed by 1284 from The Azores and 125 from Lisboa. In the case of The Azores, many people fled from the local poverty not knowing or even considering what to
expect on arrival. On board, trapped, they would sign documents they did not understand, and finally they would be auctioned in Brazil.

We may wonder how such people, poor and illiterate, could succeed in crossing the Atlantic, a journey which was not only adventurous, but also expensive. There was, however, a mechanism behind this kind of emigration that promoted it and managed to keep clear of the State’s restrictions on emigration; it was obviously clandestine. The Brazilian emigration policy was different to the Portuguese one, and if it was difficult to leave Portugal it was no easier to stay in Brazil, so it was in this context that a network of direct agents was involved. The emigrant was neither favoured nor protected, no such moral values were present, the only party who would gain by enabling emigrants to travel to Brazil were the agents known as “engajadores”. These agents would travel to the very remote villages in Portugal, convince the poor peasants that Brazil would solve all their problems and make it as easy and brief as possible to get them onboard. This network would stretch from the village parson, maritime and local authorities, as far as the Brazilian consular authorities based in Porto, Lisboa and Vigo, that would provide false documents for sale which would cover up the clandestine emigration (Monteiro 2000).

When arriving in Brazil, travellers were faced with unexpected and dramatic situations. Because the attitude of the land owners in Brazil had not changed since slavery, concerning the way they treated their workers, those who emigrated to work in agriculture were badly treated and returned poor. However, many managed to free themselves from this situation and were able to create wealth and in these cases they never gave up the idea of returning to Portugal, marrying late and having children. The preferred destination would be a town such as Rio de Janeiro, Baía or Manáus. If the emigrant was fortunate enough to have a relative or friend of the family to meet him he would have an enormous advantage. Not only would that emigrant have accommodation and meals guaranteed but would also be welcomed into a Portuguese atmosphere of family and friendship. These communities would partake in local life and development but rarely mix with the local Brazilians. Their trade would be mainly in leather goods and groceries if they owned or worked in a shop. They would also live
by crafts they practised in Portugal such as carpentry and stonemasonry or go into service as domestic workers. There are records of the professions of those leaving Portugal (farmer, stonemason, vendor, servant, seamstress, cook) which would in some cases continue in Brazil, but in most cases people would adapt to what the new land or generous relatives could offer (Alves 1994). The location for these jobs would usually be restricted to the port towns where they disembarked or relatively close to these; the ties between the Portuguese emigrants in Brazil were strong, and it was natural to offer help to fellow emigrants. The duration of their stay would vary greatly, some would stay for as little as was necessary to acquire some wealth; others would have a difficult start and stay for many years before they could return to Portugal in a more comfortable situation; there are cases of those who would return to Portugal and then go back to Brazil in order to acquire yet a little more wealth so they could provide a better dowry for a daughter or niece, pay off a few debts or consolidate their social position in a more visible way in their home town.

Curiously, we have not many accounts of women’s positions in emigration. Young Portuguese women usually stayed in Portugal and married the “brasileiros” when they finally returned. They would be young and subjugated to their husbands, and their function would be to bear many children, ensuring that there would be a male heir to manage the amassed fortune. Those Brazilian returnees would no doubt build a better house than the traditional Portuguese type. They chose to build well-located ostentatious houses which were large and spacious, with verandas, skylights, many windows and doors as well as a vast garden where they would plant one or two palm trees among other exotic plants (Monteiro 2007).

Apart from building their own house, these returning ‘Brazilians’ offered large amounts of money for improvements to be made in their hometowns, e.g. building schools, bridges, churches, theatres and gardens and providing generous contributions for charitable organizations run by the Church, both in Portugal and in Brazil, which would offer shelter to orphans, illegitimate children and the children of single mothers.
2.3. Mobility: routes and detours. The translated New World as a place of promise.

Emigration in Portugal started to cause alarm when the mainland became seriously depopulated as early as the 16th century: this situation began due to a policy of colonization of the islands of Madeira and Azores, and later on India and Brazil, which was supported by the State. However, there was another kind of emigration, and that was when people decided to leave their country, as a personal choice, without official support or permission and many times against the State’s rules. Very strict rules were therefore applied to emigration in an attempt to prevent people from leaving. Most emigration took place by crossing the Atlantic towards Brazil and this achieved gigantic proportions in the 18th century when gold and precious stones were discovered. These precious goods would adorn the reign and court of the Portuguese king D. João V and of his son D. José, who would ostentatiously erect statues, build palaces, churches and monuments using gold in every possible way.

In the mid 19th century the reasons for emigration were quite different. Since slavery had diminished and later, in 1888, abolished, the developing continents would import labour from Europe, and this exodus to America would continue until the Second World War (Monteiro 2004).

Throughout Europe there were many people eager to go to Brazil and try to have a better life. Not all were influenced by the same reasons as the Portuguese but countries such as Italy, Germany and Switzerland saw many of their people leave and head towards Brazil. We would like to refer to an essay, by Maria Helena Guimarães (2008) who explains, in detail, the migratory flood from Switzerland to Brazil. The main reason for leaving was the fact that there was a deep economic crisis in the country as a result of the fast development of the British textile industry, which made it difficult for the small local craft industries to survive, a problem which was critically worsened by the so called “potato famine” and the starvation of the population due to the outbreak of the potato blight in the mid 1800s.

The dreams, expectations and final disappointment as well as the recruiting methods they experienced, were common to all the settlers. In the same essay, the description
of how life evolved in Brazilian plantations concerning Swiss settlers applies to all emigrants at that time and in that place:

...Senator Vergueiro, the owner of the rich Plantation of Ibicaba, had become one of the main defenders of the so called ‘Parceria System’ (sharecropping contract), followed mainly by coffee growers of the State of S. Paulo who were against the concession of land to immigrants, because they considered it unfair, as Sérgio Buarque de Holanda states, that ‘se conceda a estrangeiros aquilo que se nega a nacionais’. The fundamental terms of the sharecropping contracts consisted of the payment of the immigrants’ expenses concerning both the trip by sea to Brazil and ultimately their transport from the port of Santos to the coffee plantation regions of the State of S. Paulo. These expenses were, however, considered by the landowner as a money advance given to the new settler, who received in advance a certain amount of money for his subsistence as well. According to the contract, a certain number of coffee plants were conceded to each family. However, from the profit on the crop, the settler received only half the amount (sharecropping) and a small piece of land where the family could plant some essential goods. The plantation owners charged interest of 6% on all advanced money, including the transport of the settlers, an interest calculated from the very first day when the advance was conceded and for which all the colonists of the same settlement were jointly responsible. (Guimarães 2008: 166)

As in many countries, the people leaving Portugal for Brazil were hoping for the ‘new world’ and imagining something similar to a ‘promised land’ where fortunes would be easy to come by (www.museu-emigrantes.org).

With the Liberal Revolution in 1820, the independence of Brazil in 1822 and the abolition of slavery in 1888, conditions for the Portuguese emigrant in Brazil changed completely: instead of being landowners and proprietors, they would have to take jobs in factories, shops or plantations.

While in Brazil, the myth of wealth and luxury was rapidly dissolved; however, emigrants would never inform their families about the privations they were undergoing and prefer to die in Brazil than to return to their homeland penniless. When in the mid 19th century the slave trade was prohibited and slavery abolished this led Portuguese emigrants’ social status to a point of unimaginable degradation, and instead of maintaining an established comfortable social position they were treated with hostility (Monteiro 2004). Portuguese traders were assaulted, their flag destroyed
and their shops vandalised, there was a movement demanding that they should be expelled from Brazil in such proportion that many Portuguese tradesmen asked the Portuguese government to authorize their settlement in Africa.

We have news from settlers in Brazil as early as the 17th century. A wealthy emigrant from Fafe who paid for the reconstruction of his parish church, for example, but it is in the 19th century that we can ‘feel’ the influence of the emigrants not only through news in the local press but also through great architectural examples and exotic gardens that appeared in almost all the boroughs.

In the mid 19th century, Fafe is a land of wealthy “brasileiros”, people who dress formally, wear jewelry and educate their children in foreign European countries. Many families whose names are still present today, around the town, were influential in all that concerned Fafe; they built elaborate houses and public buildings and preserved the exotic character they had absorbed while emigrants. Many emigrants that came back to Fafe had added Guimarães to their family names while in Brazil, Guimarães being the largest town nearest Fafe. During their stay in Brazil they assimilated habits concerning education, fashion, living in the best hotels, visiting the best theatres and travelling in Europe where they were influenced by elegance and art. Inside their houses in Fafe, elites of close relations held elaborate receptions, they spoke French because it was ‘dignified’ and magazines and literature would also be French as well as many pieces of art; there would be a piano as well as other expensive instruments, and mementos from visits to Switzerland and Italy on display; gold glittered everywhere. Today we can still sense this architectural and social atmosphere.
During their stay in Brazil families assimilated habits concerning education, fashion, literature and art; Inside their houses in Fafe, elites of close relations held elaborate receptions, they spoke French because it was “dignified”, there would be a piano as well as other expensive instruments and pieces of art; mementos from visits to Switzerland and Italy would be on display; European influence in fashion and literature would be a strong ingredient for this way of life.
These wealthy “brasileiros” would live between Fafe and Brazil, and while in Portugal they travelled frequently to France, Italy and Switzerland; usually they owned a second residence in Lisbon, Porto or Póvoa de Varzim. By building palaces and adopting exotic animals such as the parrot or a small monkey, they were looked up to by the locals.

At the end of the 19th century Fafe underwent its greatest development not only concerning luxurious residences and property and the creation of industry but also in an explosion of philanthropic development. Initially, these “brasileiros” were originally poor and of a low social status, sons of small land owners or traders who sought support from relatives already living in Brazil, but at the end of the 19th century this new country seduces people from all social status, even the local aristocracy. Amazonia and Rio de Janeiro were the preferred destinations; in Amazonia they would trade in timber, rubber and maritime transport while in Rio they would develop commercial activity trading in various goods. (Monteiro 2004)

The descriptions of life in Brazil are many and differ mainly in what concerns the type of position the emigrant would hold on arrival. When working on coffee or rubber plantations, emigrants would endure extremely difficult conditions and very rarely manage to pay for their trip from Portugal let alone become wealthy. While aiming at a position as a clerk in a town and when being met upon arrival by family members already established in Brazil, the possibility of building a comfortable life would be more promising.

«Vêm para conseguir certa quantia e voltar a Portugal. Adoptam por divisa trabalhar de qualquer forma até conseguir o fim desejado.» (Consulado Geral de Portugal 1921:3-4)

The myth of making a fortune in Brazil is closely entwined with the myth of returning. Both are a result of the highly hierarchic society of the time which prevented people from having social mobility. Emigration appeared as a solution for many in this situation. By making money the aim of the emigrant was to return and achieve a more prominent position in society. This myth also leads us to think that
money was come by easily and quickly. This was based on the colonial past when mines and sugar plantations generated wealth. However, this idea is not quite true, since emigrants would leave their country in order to earn money and then save their gains for some time before deciding they had enough and return, or not return at all when they did not manage to earn enough to save any amount. The evaluation of the success or failure of an emigrant’s position was made in his home town by his own people and not according to his new position in the Brazilian social circle, as we confirm when we examine the following excerpts of the story of Francisco Leite Lage who left Fafe at the usual age of 13:

I was born on August 15th, 1814, and I was baptized on the seventeenth day of the same month.

I left my parents’ house for Porto on May 28th, 1827 and on June 4th, I boarded the brigantine Invencível for Rio de Janeiro.

The ship was captured by Argentinean pirates from Cabo Frio on July 26th and on 27th along with other passengers, I was transferred to the galley Principe Real and it was aboard that ship that we entered the bar of Rio de Janeiro on August 1st 1827.

On that same day I went to the house of my cousin, José António de Castro Leite, who had set up a leather shop at number 4, Rua da Quitanda, to whom I took my letter of recommendation. I stayed there as a guest until I managed to find a position.

On 18th October, 1827, I went to work as a clerk for Francisco José da Silva Braga who had a shop selling dry provisions and liquids at number 175, Rua do Sabão. Braga sold his business on 20th May, 1828, to Jorge de Oliveira, who had been a soldier.

I went to work as a clerk for João José da Silva Vieira, who had a warehouse of dry and liquid goods, in Rua do Rosário, number 98, on the corner of Rua dos Ourives, and I stayed there until the end of 1830. However, as I did not like that business and as I was given the chance of a job in a leather shop, I resigned my position and settled up at the end of December, 1830, receiving the rest of my salary 6$419 (six thousand, four hundred and nineteen reis). That was the sum total of my fortune after three years and four months of suffering and privation in Rio de Janeiro!

On January 1st, 1831, I started working as a clerk for my cousin José António de Castro Leite, in his leather shop at number 40, Rua das Quitandas, on the corner of Rua do Cano. The partners of the firm were Joaquim José Ribeiro Lima and my brother, António José Leite Lage who, when I
started working insisted that we should not treat each other as brothers: I was to call him Sr. António and he was to call me Sr. Francisco.

On 4th April, 1831, I was arrested along with my employer, Castro Leite, his partner, Lima, and five neighbours who were in conversation in the shop, because we were Portuguese and because someone had falsely denounced my employer for sending for men from Portugal to take arms against Brazil. We were held in the guardroom until 9th April, when the judge, on discovering that the denunciation had been false, gave orders for our release. The guard charged each of us 100$000 (one hundred thousand reis) for having allowed us to stay in the rooms (and not inside the prison). Luckily for me, this money along with other expenses I incurred was paid for me by the shopowner, as I had been arrested behind the counter. At the end of 1833, my cousin and employer, José António de Castro Leite, sold the leather shop to my brother António.

I became my brother’s clerk and he promised to give me a partnership when he could, which I supposed he would do after three or four years, but I had to wait nine years.

Towards the end of 1841, I was offered a partnership in a leather shop that a certain Bernadino, from Rio Grande do Sul, wanted to set up. Due to this, to stop me from leaving, my brother had no choice but to give me the partnership he had promised nine years earlier. On January 1st, 1842, I became a partner with a third part in the business.

I put what remained of my salary into the society’s funds, which, because I had followed the system of spending only half of what I earned, and in spite of my savings and the great privation I lived in, and all the troubles I had been through, only came to 1,201$550 which was not much after 14 years work as a clerk.

As my father died on May 2nd, 1842, my brother, António, decided to go back to Portugal.

As I had full responsibility for the business, we agreed I should have half the profits and half the losses. This was to start in January, 1843.

My brother stayed in Portugal for three years, coming back in 1846. We kept the partnership going until the end of 1849. I was my brother’s partner for seven years.

At the end of 1849, I bought the leather shop from him, with no reduction either in debts or goods, and I gave him what he asked for, which was 12 promissory notes on the Bank of Brazil. On January 1st, I began to work alone and with the help of God and the protection of my cousin, Fortunato, who lent me the money I needed to buy the 12 promissory notes which I had to give to my brother and also the money I needed for my commercial transactions.

I carried on with the protection of this true friend, and the help of God who gave me health and intelligence to manage my business interests, always following the sensible system I had
adopted when I was a salesman, of only spending half of my income, putting the rest aside for my children, my wife and my successors.

In 1853, the owner of number 40, Rua da Quitanda, where my shop was located, Senhora Dona Leonor de Mascarenhas, died. In her will, she left the two halves of the building to two different people. I bought the first half on August 31st, 1857.

It was 30 years and 30 days since I had arrived at the shop with a letter of recommendation for the owner, my cousin João António de Castro Leite, with a new cruzado in my pocket and a small bundle of clothes, since my box had been left behind on the ship taken over by Argentinian pirates in 1827. At that time, little did I imagine that the leather shop and the building where it was located would all be mine.

The building brings in money enough for me to live decently for the rest of my life. That’s how things are in this world! Only God is great.

On 8th October, 1857 I bought the other half of the building. The price I paid for it is registered in the scribe’s document. I bought it for that price because it was in danger of being demolished for the road to be widened.

The expropriation would have been for 12 contos and as fortunately it didn’t happen because the construction company was dissolved, I can now say that it is worth double what I paid for it.

In 1858 I came to visit my family in Portugal and decide if it was in my interest to stay here indefinitely.

I left the counter clerk José da Silva Souto in charge of the shop, offering half of the profits.

In 1859, I returned to Brazil with the intention of selling the shop and settling in Portugal. On 31st December, 1860, I liquidated all my debts and sold the shop to my partner, José da Costa Ferreira Souto. After the reductions I made because of the debts of some clients and some goods he ended up owing me $9,600, for which amount he wrote and accepted 16 promissory notes of 600$00 each, payable monthly (which he paid promptly), and in this way I closed my accounts with him.

In 1861, after liquidating all my business interests I handed over to my cousin Fortunato a letter of attorney enabling him to receive the rents from my building, and the promissory notes when they were paid, and I came to Portugal in the company of my cousin, and ex-employer João António de Castro Leite.

We boarded the French steamship Navarra on 25th March, and arrived in Lisbon on April 15th. We left the ship in the Terreiro do Paço on April 22nd. We stayed at the Pedro Alexandrino, in the Rua da Bestega, opposite Praça da Figueira, long enough to visit Lisbon, Sintra, Mafra, etc.

(Arquivo da Misericórdia de Fafe, 2010), Our translation.
Leite Lage goes on to describe his very pleasurable trip through various parts of Portugal, in great detail, on his way back to the Minho.

In 1862, he started building his own house in Fafe, and four years later he began to build houses for his sisters and for the farmhands.

The building was finished in 1870, when he was 56 years old. This was, therefore, an example of success as he attained his objectives: to make money, to return to his native land, marry and have children.

In contrast to this experience we would also like to present a short example of an emigrant taken to work on a rubber plantation.

The Portuguese writer Ferreira de Castro (1898-1974), emigrated and worked on the rubber plantations and as a counter clerk; his experience in emigration was not a success. Ferreira de Castro was born in 1898 into a family of poor peasants in Oliveira de Azeméis. On the death of his father and after taking his primary school exam he left on a steam ship for Belém do Pará, which was experiencing “rubber fever” (Dicionário de Literatura, 1987).

As he had not obtained the support he expected, he was dispatched to the “Paraíso” rubber plantation. He lived in the middle of the jungle working as a clerk and at the same time writing chronicles which he sent to newspapers. After three years, the owner of the rubber plantation pardoned his debt, making it possible for him to return to Belém do Pará, taking with him his first novel *Criminoso por Ambição* [Criminal by Ambition]. There he published his novel, in instalments, which he sold from door to door. (Langford 2008: 182)

After a lot of hardship he returned to Portugal in 1919, poor, with 400 escudos in his pocket.

However, in 1928 he published his novel *Emigrantes* [Emigrants] which, like many other of his novels, was later translated into various languages. It is in this book
and others that he portrays the unimaginable life that emigrants endured on the rubber and coffee plantations.

Based on his own experience and on that of other travelling companions, or of his fellow countrymen, Ferreira de Castro portrays the emigrant to Brazil in a very personal and different light. (Langford 2008: 182)

We shall proceed with a selection of excerpts from Portuguese literature and as we read them we shall retain a vivid description of the “brasileiro” and of what surrounds him and become familiar with the form in which literature portrays this character who is underlying in the issues developed in our work.

2.4. The “brasileiro” in Portuguese literature.

Having read Leite Lage’s and Ferreira de Castro’s accounts of a difficult beginning in life in Brazil, we must draw attention to the fact that literature and art have not been kind or fair to emigrants.

On reading Portuguese classics, we frequently come across the figure of the “Brazilian”. This character was a “returnee” and was always described in depreciative terms. As an example we cite here some passages by Portuguese authors and offer a translation. Since we know the “brasileiro” as a character, and are therefore prejudiced, we first asked a native English speaker to translate some of these passages; the final translation is ours.

While choosing the words in English we became aware of the aggressive, blatant and critical original words which seemed to be more offensive and unfair when written in English; this we attribute to our social and cultural background since in Portuguese we have been acquainted with expressions such as: ‘... ele é o pai achinelado e ciumento dos romances românticos: o figurão barrigudo e bestial dos desenhos facetados: o maridão de tamancos, sempre traído, de toda a boa anedota.’ (Eça 1978:87-89)
Translated into English: ‘he is the slipper-clad, jealous father of romantic novels: the great, big-bellied caricature of the clog-clad husband, always cheated on in every joke.’

In order to avoid any change or adaptation in the description of the character for the reason mentioned above we asked a native speaker to translate the same text and confirmed that without the Portuguese cultural background in which this character is familiar it was rather daunting for the English speaker to translate without some hesitation and wondering who was being described in that way and why. When we explained the reason for such a harsh description of a character in traditional Portuguese literature we had to resort to historical, cultural and social issues; we needed to complete the information which was missing around the portrayal of this character. It is necessary to place the subject within a specific context in order to understand it and the most striking way we have of realizing this is when we attempt to explain it to somebody coming from a foreign background. It is not sufficient to find the equivalent word in a new language, we must resort to paratranslation and involve the information that surrounds the text; this exercise is necessary for both the translator and the reader.

Eça de Queirós (1845-1900) wrote the following:

Grosso, trigueiro com tons de chocolate, pança ricaça, joanetes nos pés, colecte e grilhão de oiro, chapéu sobre a nuca, guarda-sol verde, a voz adocicada, olho desconfiado, e um vício secreto. É o brasileiro: ele é o pai achinelado e ciumento dos romances românticos: o figurão barrigudo e bestial dos desenhos facetados: o maridão de tamancos, sempre traído, de toda a boa anedota.

Fat, as swarthy as dark chocolate, the paunch of a wealthy man, bunions on his feet, waistcoat, and a chain of gold, hat slung on the back of his neck, green sunshade, dulcet tone of voice, a suspicious look and a secret vice. This is the Brazilian: he is the slipper-clad, jealous father of romantic novels: the great, big-bellied caricature of the clog-clad husband, always cheated on in every joke.

Eça de Queirós (1978: 87-89)
The description of the “brasileiro”, his particular character and clothes, is closely connected with the description of what surrounds him in terms of social atmosphere and architecture:

Camilo Castelo Branco (1825-1890) excelled at biting comments on the peculiarities of “Brazilian” architecture:

Vão-se os olhos naquilo! Esta maravilha arquitectónica devem-na as artes ao gosto e génio pinturesco de um rico mercador que veio das luxuriantes selvas do Amazonas, com todas as cores que lá viu de memória e todas aqui fez reproduzir sob o inspirado pincel de trolha.

You can’t take your eyes off it! The arts owe this architectural wonder to the taste and peculiar genius of a rich merchant who returned from the luxuriant jungle of the Amazon, with all the colours that he saw there engraved in his memory and reproduced here by the inspired brush-stroke of the builder.

Camilo Castelo Branco (1966:23-24.)

In his work Eusébio Macário, Camilo Castelo Branco once again does not spare “Brazilian” taste:

[…] mandaria edificar um palacete de azulejo côr de gema de ovo, com terraços no tecto para quatro estátuas simbólicas das estações do ano, e dois cães de bronze sobre as ombreiras do portão de ferro com armas fundidas, de saliências arrogantes, entre os dois colossos de dentaduras anavalhadas, minazes, como todos os bichos de heráldica.

[…] he would have a mansion built with tiles the colour of egg yolks, with terraces on the roof with four statues symbolizing the seasons of the year, and two bronze dogs on each side of the metal gate with the coat of arms engraved, with arrogant sialiencies, between two great creatures with razor-sharp teeth, threatening, like all heraldic creatures.

Camilo Castelo Branco (n.d.: 50)
In As Memórias do Cárcere [Memories of Prision], Camilo continues to direct ironic criticism at the “Brazilian” style:

A Quinta do Ermo está situada no ponto mais despoético e triste do mapa-múndi. A casa é magnífica; mas os caminhos que a ela vos conduzem são algares, barrocais, trilho de cabras, vielas tortuosas, e aspérrimos desfiladeiros. Os pinhais e arvoredos, que orlam parte da quinta, são enfezados e desgraciosos. Os largos pontos de vista, assim mesmo monótonos, é preciso ganhá-los com grande fadiga de subida. A vizinhança do Ermo são casinhas de jornaleiros, que vieram ali procurar a sombra do afidalgado edifício.

The Quinta do Ermo is situated in the least poetic and most miserable point of the world map. The house is magnificent, but the paths that lead to it are rutted gullies, goat paths, sinuous alleys and hostile gorges. The pine forests and woods, which border part of the farm, are stunted and unattractive. The wide but monotonous views can only be seen after a tiring climb. In the vicinity of the Quinta are labourers’ cottages seeking the shade of such a noble building.

Camilo Castelo Branco (1862)

In his novel Morgadinha dos Canaviais, even Júlio Dinis (1839-1871) could not resist the singular colourfulness of that architectural style:

Veio edificar uma casa no sítio em que nascerá, uma casa grande de cantaria e azulejo com três andares e varandas, jardins com estátuas de louça e alegretes pintado de verde e amarelo, o qual tinha mais fama que os jardins suspensos da Babilónia.

He came to build a house in the place where he had been born, a great stone house with tiles and three floors, with verandas, gardens with china statues and green and yellow flowerbeds, more famous than the Hanging Gardens of Babylon.

Júlio Dinis (1964:137)

Since we are so familiar with the character of the “brasileiro” we can easily imagine and practically visualize the figure through these descriptions. The words have
been carefully selected to transmit a totally negative and ridiculous account of these people who really existed and were not fictional as might easily be thought by foreign readers. Not only are the characters made to seem ridiculous but the atmosphere that surrounds them is also exaggerated in terms of a specific dimension in ‘bad taste’. Nowadays, the expression “brasileiro” is still used usually to refer, in a negative tone, to an attitude such as exuberance or ostentation in dress or possession, it has become a very clear visual image of a character that has inherited a negative connotation from the classics (Monteiro 2006).

We will refer to Martin Urdiales’ interpretation of iconographic elements in Art Spiegelman’s comic «MAUS», although in a totally different context from the one we have been referring to, and confirm that the visual image of characters is very clearly constructed and produced through paratranslation. The fact that a fictional text or even a translation of it can manouvre the identity of the characters takes us to Urdiales’ analysis of the graphic novel depicting the Holocaust as a comic. In this graphic novel that revolutionized the world in the 80s and 90s, the author does not present issues concerning the linguistic translation of several translations of the same story but centres the presentation on iconic references throughout the different translations and also on the graphic representation of the not super-heroes but super-victims. Whilst men, Jewish men, were represented as mice, Nazi guards as cats and Poles as pigs, according to Spiegelman’s interpretation of their identity in the story, there is a selection of designs that the author produces very briefly while considering the best way in which to represent the double identity of Françoise, his French wife, who was also Jewish, hesitating and suggesting that perhaps a French animal would be adequate, but the mouse prevails in the end (‘coelliño francés’ or ‘rato xudeo’, in Galician). The fact that the mouse (rato xudeo) is how she is represented throughout the comic, stresses the importance of the author’s will to include if but one brief graphic reference to a possible alternative. It reminds us of how differently a character can be portrayed in a text or in a picture according to the way authors or viewers apprehend what surrounds them. (Urdiales 2009)
Returning to our analysis of the character “brasileiro” in Portuguese literature we do, however, have a more truthful approach by the Portuguese writer, Ferreira de Castro, who emigrated to Brazil in 1911 and worked on the rubber plantations as a counter clerk, therefore contributing with his very personal experience. In 1928 he published his novel *Emigrantes* [Emigrants], it is this novel that we are now going to talk about, in which he portrays the emigrant to Brazil in a very different light, in the person of Manuel da Bouça, from S. João de Madeira.

Manuel was already forty when he left for Brazil; his aim was to provide a better dowry for his daughter, Deolinda, and to buy a small plot of land next to his house. He left behind his wife, Amélia, who died while he was away. This is the drama of the women who were left for years with almost no news. As well as caring for their children and the house, these women also had to work on the land and substitute the men in a number of tasks. (Langford 2008: 182-183)

Describing the situation of Manuel da Bouça, Ferreira de Castro wrote:

But on the other side of the wall, Manuel da Bouça’s eyes could with great satisfaction already see the flat well-watered fields which stretched up to near the old church. To possess them, to be their owner, to sow and harvest the corn which grew golden in the first strong heat ...(...). All the plans he formulated depended on this, from Deolinda’s marriage, not to a penniless nobody, but to a worthy man of possessions, up to his peaceful old age in a big house, with French tiles, up there among the willows – a house in which he would cure in salt two Alentejano pigs.

*Ferreira de Castro* (1986: 21-22)

He continued:

He could picture himself on his return, in one of Santiago’s victoria or in Carrelha’s automobile, bringing him there from the town, with two cases, good clothes and good hats such as had never been made in S. João da Madeira.

“He would go! What a pity that he had not resolved to do so earlier, when he was a bachelor and full of life. In that case, he would still have had many years to work and with luck he could even laugh at the Moradais, because he would
not only offer the village a school, but also the new bridge that the priest was always talking about.”

(Idem: 23-24)

He mortgaged the land he owned to Carrazedas, a friend of the agent Nunes. Carrazedas lent money to those who wished to emigrate and kept their lands as guarantee. Nunes, the contractor, sold passages to Brazil at high prices and ended up building a mansion on the lands Manuel da Bouça wanted to buy.

So you want to board a ship for Brazil, don’t you? (…)
You’re going to try your fortune? That’s a good idea! That’s a really good idea! Brazil is a great country. Over there they know how to appreciate a man’s work. For ten years now, I have helped many people go there, and up to now, to my knowledge, no one has got on badly.

(Idem: 46-47)

Alone, Manuel da Bouça went over his misfortune in his mind; he was not upset by his fate, which he had time to think about, and which appeared as something hazy on the other side of the Atlantic, but by the train to Lisbon, and Lisbon itself, which he always saw as amazing confusion, where dazed men got lost.

(Idem: 68)

Manuel, who had worked on the coffee plantations and in the city, returned poorer than when he had left and lost his lands. Embarrassed, he hid in Lisbon, where he hoped to live and die anonymously as he had not lived up to the desired model.

In Lisbon, nobody knew him, and if he died of starvation or if he told the truth there, what did it matter? How could it matter if they were not aware who he was, where he came from and where he was going?

(Idem: 283)
And the book ends in this way:

The only thing that remained haughty, flashy and proud was the mansion of Nunes, who got rich without ever going to the Americas – who made money out of those who had gone there and stayed, left to their destiny, or those who had come back poor, disappointed or worn out, like Manuel da Bouça.

(Idem: 290)

If we review the process of planning and travelling, experiencing and returning, emigration may present similarities whichever country or cultural background we are dealing with. In our research we have focused on Portuguese emigrants, on why they decided to emigrate, how these people were introduced to the idea, how the process developed and finally, their return. It is not until the stage of their return that we can detect, both in literature and art, the humorous descriptions and caricatures. We have already looked at examples in literature and if we look at the pictures that follow we will find a sort of traditional routine.

Pictures exemplify the moment when emigrants leave home in their villages, surrounded by their also poor neighbours, tearful relations and friends. In spite of the fact that leaving for a different country means that a better life is in store, in the first stages of departure, the atmosphere is quite sombre.

Having researched the Portuguese emigrant both in literary description and in art, and owing to the barriers we experienced while translating and explaining iconography in the literary descriptions to another person we were encouraged to verify how other countries portrayed their emigrants. By accessing the webpage for A.E.M.I. (The Association of European Migrant Institutions) we found a link to a specific collection of artwork on this subject under the title: The Art of European Migration. Here we were confronted with a variety of images from different backgrounds and epochs offered by contributors from different countries and very conveniently logged so that comparative analyses could be made; we present but a few examples in this work:
In plate 11 (Irish Emigrants Leaving Home – the priest’s blessing) the most prominent figure is a priest. The fact that this character is facing the viewer and is the only one whose face presents detail is obviously intentional; this presence can be interpreted in various ways since the village priest may be present at such an important occasion to give his blessing to the travelers on their hopeful voyage, or he may be there to perform a rite as they leave since this departure could also be interpreted as a kind of death, and the new world would represent a rebirth. In our research concerning the Portuguese case, the priest is usually and officially involved in convincing the poor to emigrate, but not always for the best reasons so his position would be in the background, invisible. We have mentioned that the network involved in clandestine emigration included many people and organizations that would charge a considerable amount of money and send them off into an unpredictable future.

In plate 12 (Irish Emigrants Leaving Queenstown Harbour) the crowd of poor emigrants waiting in the harbour is a traditional scene. Many women and children with baskets and belongings seem unfamiliar with their whereabouts and anxious concerning what is to come. This is another stage of departure, they are no longer in their village close to their home, family and neighbours, they are already in strange surroundings although they are among people in the same situation; this is one step further towards their arrival in a different continent. Again their sombre looks and gloomy atmosphere remind us that they are about to leave the only country they have ever known.
In this picture the most prominent figure is a priest. The fact that this character is facing the viewer and is the only one whose face presents detail is obviously intentional; this presence can be interpreted in various ways since the village priest may be present at such an important occasion to give his blessing to the travelers on their hopeful voyage, or, he may be there to perform a rite as they leave since this departure could also be interpreted as a kind of death, and the new world would represent a rebirth.

A crowd of poor emigrants waiting in the harbor is a traditional scene. Many women and children with baskets and belongings seem unfamiliar with their whereabouts and anxious regarding what is to come.
In plate 13 (Departure, A Tale of the Golden West) Irish travelers look back at the land in the distance and comfort each other; again, the huddled and forlorn figures make us understand how daunting the situation would have been. This is a departure towards a better life but we sense the longing for the return; in the title of this picture the words ‘Tale of the Golden West’ convey a promising message since a tale is usually a story of wonder in a magical sense and whatever is golden has always attracted human beings. The title and the clear colours of this picture, especially the intense blue sky, are combined to pass on a positive message of hope although the travelers’ expressions transmit apprehension, anxiety and despair.

In plate 14 (Possible Remedies: The Emigrant) we have the image of an Irish man, alone with the usual stark belongings; in this picture he is close to a railway track, he could be leaving or returning, in this case as poor as he had left; on the right we can see eye-catching posters announcing voyages to the ‘new world’. Again the title conveys a message, that of a remedy which is no less than leaving, the only possibility for most emigrants.

In plate 15 (The American Letter) we see a family whose relatives have already emigrated and they receive news in the form of a letter. Here, again, the house is modest, people seem out of spirits and worried and the letter is being read to the family that is most probably illiterate, by a clergyman. The contents of this letter are certainly dismal since the family is listening but not joyful.
Irish travelers look back at the land in the distance and comfort each other, again, huddled and forlorn figures make us understand how daunting the situation would have been. This is a departure hopefully towards a better life but we sense the longing for the return; in the title of this picture the words ‘Tale of the Golden West’ convey a promising message since a tale is usually a story of wonder somewhat magical and whatever is golden has always attracted human beings. The title and the clear colours of this picture, especially the intense blue sky, are combined to pass on a positive message of hope although the travelers’ expressions transmit apprehension, anxiety and despair.
Plate 14  CX01004, ‘Possible Remedies: The Emigrant’ (aem.qub.ac.uk).

The image of an Irish man, alone with the usual stark belongings; in this picture he is close to a railway track, he could be leaving or returning, and then as poor as he had left; on the right we can see eye-catching posters announcing voyages to the ‘new world’. Again the title conveys a message, that of a remedy which is no less than leaving, the only possibility for most emigrants.

Plate 15  CX01005, The American Letter (aem.qub.ac.uk).

The picture of a family whose relatives have already emigrated receive news in the form of a letter. The house is modest, people seem out of spirits and worried and the letter is being read by a clergyman. The contents of this letter are certainly dismal since the family is listening but not joyful.
In this brief sequence of pictures reflecting the sad departure of emigrants, departing against their will, we find a myriad of feelings and symbols expressed by artists that have prevailed throughout emigration until today when we are very often confronted with art deploying a vast number of extremely shocking and very moving photographs.

There is a considerable difference in the pictures illustrating departure and those focusing on return; in the latter we find that emigrants are displayed in a form intending to provoke amusement but which is directed at rendering them ridiculous; we have included plates 16 and 17, focusing on the return, in which we confirm the negative caricature of the emigrant.

These pictures portray mainly Irish emigrants and some Swedes. The caricatures show the returnees in a very arrogant posture, it is not only their clothes but also the admiration and submission of those who had stayed behind and not changed or progressed at all, they are now welcoming the returnee as a hero. The viewer may focus his attention on the returnee’s hat, the striped trousers, the fur collar, the cigar and the expression, but if we look further, the attitude of the fellow countrymen renders the position of the returnee even grander and more distant from those of their hometown. As usual, caricatures exaggerate all the detail and in plate 16 we notice that the man coming to meet the returnee who is stepping off the ship has removed his cap and is bowing close to the modest wooden cart he has brought, perhaps in a first gesture to transporting the newcomer but obviously used solely for the luggage, as the passengers on the ship look on, the two officials stand in awe. In plate 17 the returnee, returning from America wearing expensive clothes and shiny shoes does not even turn his head and look at the beggar in shreds as he gives him a bag containing dollars; in the background a woman is killing a calf, probably her only possession, to make a feast in honour of the returnee in order to convey admiration.

From our position as viewers we mock the returnee and it is easy, without a caption, to identify caricatured images or even very slight details that refer to emigration. We are offered two very different ways of considering emigration, the dark and desperate departure and the exposed and arrogant return. The Portuguese
have registered their emigrants in a very similar way; in the next two chapters we will see how these returnees left their mark in their homelands.
Plate 16  
CX01006, The Return of the Swedish-American (aem.qub.ac.uk).

The viewer may focus his attention on the returnee’s hat, striped trousers, fur collar, cigar and expression, if we look further, the attitude of the fellow countrymen renders the position of the returnee even grander and more distant from those of their hometown.

Plate17  
CX01007, The (Danish) Prodigal Son (aem.qub.ac.uk).

Returning from America and wearing expensive clothes and shiny shoes, the returnee does not even turn his head to look at the beggar in shreds as he gives him a bag containing dollars; in the background a woman is killing a calf, probably her only possession, to make a feast in honour of the returnee.
From our position as viewers we mock the returnee and it is easy, without a caption, to identify caricatured images or even very slight details that refer to emigration.

We are offered two very different ways of considering emigration, the dark and desperate departure and the exposed and arrogant return.

The Portuguese have registered their emigrants in a very similar way.
3 – SIGNS AND SYMBOLS OF A CHOSEN IDENTITY.

3.1. – Paratranslation of myths and History.

3.2. - Cultural manipulation; Power and ostentation; Strategies of persuasion.

The parish of Santa Eulália is situated in the southern part of the borough of Fafe and its extension is 624,49 ha. Its population reaches approximately 12 000 inhabitants and its status has evolved from ‘Julgado’ (judicial district) in 1835, to ‘Vila’ (village) in 1840 and finally, to ‘Cidade’(town) in 1986. There are two important rivers, Vizela and Ferro, that flow in this region and which contributed a lot towards the development of local agriculture and industry; it is in this way that Miguel Monteiro describes the beginning and development of Fafe (2000:30). From the second half of the 19th century onwards, the village of Fafe expanded considerably, initiating and developing a new urban structure marked by new streets and squares as well as having original locations chosen for new buildings. These buildings were characterized by a mixture, in architecture and decoration, of both the ‘Brazilian taste’ as well as Art Nouveau. The most obvious marks of these are the multiple architectural details, such as the frequent use of mezzanine on these new buildings, the façades usually painted white or covered with elaborate coloured tiles mainly in yellows and greens, verandas running horizontally across the buildings to give them a broader dimension, with ornate iron railings, and the façades finished by a pillar in stone reaching to the very top of the building, giving the illusion of it being taller. To complete this very particular look, symbolizing Brazil, the country that welcomed the emigrants from Fafe, there would be large, colourful and elaborate skylights and weathervanes. (Monteiro 2000:30)
Buildings were characterized by a mixture, in architecture and decoration, of both the Brazilian taste as well as Art Nouveau. In this detail we can see tiles and coloured glass.

Music was among the most popular cultural issues developed by “brasileiros” and a bandstand in a public garden was a familiar sight. Many bands were created throughout Minho and today we can still find them during local festivities. Built in iron, the delicate lace-like trimming was used on many buildings including private houses and public buildings.
3.1.- Paratranslation of myths and History

The restructuring of Fafe and its urban development are closely linked to Liberalism (1820) and to the Republic (1910) since liberal capital generated financial resources, attracted people and commerce, originating new roads and means of communication. The financial resources in Fafe became particularly important since they materialized almost exclusively from capital belonging to “brasileiros”, those who built palatial residences, developed industry, and according to their philanthropic spirit, founded hospitals, schools and homes for the poor and disabled, developed the local press, divulged music and built public romantic gardens.

From the year of 1860 onwards, Fafe would progress extraordinarily, sponsored by wealthy returnees, as these chronological random examples can confirm:

1859-1863 - Hospital de São José also known as Hospital da Misericórdia was begun in 1859 and was an exact copy of another ‘charity building’ in Rio de Janeiro. It was commissioned and conducted from Rio de Janeiro by José Florêncio de Soares as well as Luis António Rebelo de Castro, Leonardo Ribeiro de Freitas, António Gonçalves Guimarães, Albino de Oliveira Guimarães and José António Vieira de Castro.

1866 - The primary school was built, close to the main square and named after its patron Conde de Ferreira, an active philanthropist who had become extremely wealthy in Brazil in connection with the slave trade. This “brasileiro” built more than one hundred schools in the north of Portugal along with several other charitable institutions.

1875 - The telegraph was inaugurated. The returnees were extremely careful to be connected with the rest of the world.

1875 - Fábrica do Bugio, a textile factory, was founded by José Ribeiro Veira de Castro, José Florêncio Soares and Eustáquio Sequeira Mendes, who were also
the founders of other industrial units: Companhia de Fiação e Tecidos do Ferro, Fábrica Fafense de Gasosas e Refrigerantes e Laranjadas and Empresa Têxtil do Rio Ferro.

1886- Fábrica do Ferro, a textile factory, was founded.

1888- Assent to a project for the main market and fish market to be built in Praça D. Pedro V, sponsored by returnees. This fish market is now used as the parish council.

1888- Assent to the project for a new military headquarters, sponsored and conducted by returnees.

1889- Assent to budget for a Public Garden which was built and concluded in 1892. This garden has a magnificent view of the town as well as of the hills that surround it. It was sponsored by Albino de Oliveira Guimarães and by a generous contribution from José Cardoso Vieira de Castro.

1892- Five new lamp-posts for the Public Garden are sponsored by returnees.

These are but a few of the many improvements made between 1860 and 1930, in Fafe, by “brasileiros” (Monteiro 2004:39-40).

As the town expanded, commerce and hotels developed enormously owing to the immense capital coming from Brazil and also because Fafe had, in the meantime, acquired much prestige for being a very agreeable leisure centre. What is now the main square, Praça 25 de Abril, boasted the best shops selling high quality goods, as well as the two most sought after hotels, Hotel Fafense and Hotel Central. (Monteiro 2004)

At the same time, industrial activity soars as it does in other parts of the country, namely in Guimarães, the nearest city; the first industry was founded and factories were built, Fábrica do Bugio (textiles) in 1875, Companhia de Fiação e Tecidos de Fafe (textiles) in 1886, Fábrica Fafense de Gasosas, Refrigerantes e Laranjadas (soft drinks) in 1918 and Empresa Têxtil do Ferro in 1930. The strong commercial and industrial
activity, associated with the development of building and the promise of a pleasant site, well known for its fresh air, led many people from neighbouring boroughs such as Beira Interior, Viana do Castelo, Guimarães, Porto and Trás-os-Montes to make their homes in Fafe. (ibid.)

The local press developed, and from 1883 to 1930, we can count four printers as well as 39 newspapers/magazines: O Rubro; Correio de Fafe; O Calvário da Granja; O Progresso de Fafe; Jornal de Fafe; Gasete de Fafe; A Folha de Fafe; O Noticiarista; O Desforço; O Jornal de Fafe; Ecos de Fafe; O Povo de Fafe; Propaganda Católica; Almanaque Ilustrado de Fafe; Justiça de Fafe; A Troça; A Tagarela; Pica Alegre; O Espadarte; A Ideia; A Gritaria; Recreio; O Progresso; O Folião; A Tesoura; Tradição; O Ramboia; Política; O Chanfalho; A Primavera; Jornal de Fafe; A Luz Vermelha; A Democracia; A Luz da Verdade; A Nova Ordem. (Monteiro, 2004:126-127).

Political debate became quite intense and among other news, the press informed the community about the Portuguese colony in Brazil such as this poetic text written by Artur Pinto Bastos (Miguel Monteiro, 2004:38-41):

«Da Amazónia pedem-me o retrato; do Pará, de Pernambuco, de Sergipe, de Alagães, mandam-me o busto em borracha; da Baía, escrevem-me lindas morenas enchendo-me de bons charutos; do Rio Grande do Norte, de Goiás e de Mato Grosso, os próprios sertões me enviam serenatas e luares mágicos; de Minas gerais, telegrafam-me, traduzindo o delírio que o meu aniversário inspira desde Diamantina a Belo Horizonte, Ouro Preto e Juiz de fora; do Paraná, recebo mil papagaios e mil macacos menos pelados do que os meus inimigos; de São Paulo, chovem as mensagens, cantantes como o grito do Ipiranga: enfim, do Rio de Janeiro... (muito em segredo) até cartas de namoro me escrevem, julgando-me muito mais idoso pelas aparências do corpanzil que tenho já deitado até aos sete anos. [...] No Brasil, acabará a crise da borracha, triunfará o negócio do café, e tornará a reverdecer a ‘árvore das patacas’, há tantos anos seca [...]» (Almanaque de Fafe, 7º ano 1915, pp 6-10).

In this short text giving the reader an idyllic picture of life in Brazil we find many expressions that refer to a place close to paradise in which the individual is practically venerated: «Pedem-me o retrato; mandam-me busto de borracha; escrevem-me lindas morenas; enchendo-me de bons charutos; me enviam serenatas e luares mágicos; traduzindo o delírio; cartas de namoro me escrevem; triunfará o negócio do café; reverdecer a ‘árvore das patacas’.»
We draw attention to the fact that all the accounts of Brazil were designed for male emigrants since the emphasis is always on women and sex and we relate it to the analysis of the ‘oratório’ in the following chapter where men adapted easily to life in Brazil and were seduced by the local women whereas their Portuguese wives recoiled more and more into the four walls of their house, nostalgic for the life they had left behind in Portugal.

This type of text was frequently found in the local press, praising Brazil and making it sound quite a blissful place. The way in which these texts were written and fed to the public was by no means innocent; our senses are filled with an exotic ingredient which would be very welcome and appealing to the social upper classes but totally unknown and dangerously misinterpreted among the inhabitants of a rural region in the rather desolate life peasants lived in Minho. These reports of exotic life in Brazil were the cause of much enthusiasm among the informed classes who could afford to extract the magic words and exotic images and be amused by them but on the other hand they were very misleading for the illiterate who dreamed of a way to change their poverty-stricken lives and would willingly leave their country for an uncertain future. How could one same message be interpreted in such different ways? The introduction of an attractive difference is here beckoning to the reader or viewer, but why is there a fascination with ‘otherness’, why is it so irresistible and powerful? This compulsive belief that everything which is different or foreign is positive and superior to what is familiar and local is more often than not exploited by and linked to questions of power.

Frantz Fanon (1967) in his investigation of the psychology of colonialism, elaborates on and demonstrates how the ‘exotic’ both provided a source of fascination and fear, evoking contradictory emotions of desire and dread; according to Edward Said (1978), ‘the Orient’ as a cultural construction, has provided Europeans with their deepest and most enduring sense of the Other. Constructions of ‘otherness’, as extensions of the dominant impression, raise essential questions about ‘positionality’.

Having followed and confirmed the great influence of “brasileiros” in the development of the town of Fafe, we realize that there is always a political implication in (para)translation, which can be more or less obvious. In many cases, such as colonial domination, this power is felt and the nature of the interpretation is affected. Control
and domination walk hand in hand and what is translated or interpreted under these circumstances will be represented according to the political or social references of the day. In order to justify certain powerful political and social positions, the object of the ‘translation’ must then be represented in a specific manner, it must convey an intended meaning.

There is a clear example of this in Fafe and it is not transmitted through the press. The main square, Praça 25 de Abril, reminds us of the recent past, the revolution of 1974. The changes in name have been many; it started off by being Largo de Fafe in 1866, then changed to Largo Municipal e de D. Carlos I in 1889, Praça da República in 1910, Praça Dr. Oliveira Salazar and finally Praça 25 de Abril. The name of this square followed every national political change, its face varied with time reflecting the difference of those who guided its destiny. In this square, in 1706, we could find the main references to local power, like a small building which was the town hall and the prison when Fafe had but one street. In 1866 Fafe had two or three streets and two squares, and this particular one was referred to as being the main square, the place where the town clock stood.

The changing of names is frequent and there are many examples such as this one which apply to all the main streets and squares in Fafe. Many monuments, streets, gardens and squares were named after “brasileiros” since they were also sponsored by them and represented their will to figure as patrons of their once modest hometown. Foreign influence was everywhere and whenever Brazil was mentioned there seemed to be magic in the air, but if we strayed a little from this prosperous centre of Fafe, reality proved to be quite different.

We will, therefore, concentrate on the following questions:

(28) Why is ‘difference’ so compelling a theme, so contested an area of representation?

(29) What is the secret of the fascination of ‘otherness’, and why is popular representation very frequently drawn to it?
(30) What are the typical forms and representational practices which are used to represent ‘difference’ in popular culture today, and where did these popular figures and stereotypes come from?

(31) Have the repertoires of representation around ‘difference’ and ‘otherness’ changed or do earlier traces remain intact in contemporary society?

These questions are placed by Stuart Hall while expanding on what he refers to as “the spectacle of the “Other”” (Hall, 1997:225).

3.2. Cultural manipulation; Power and ostentation; Strategies of persuasion.

We are once again confronted with the relations of power that exist between those who are portrayed and those who do the portrayal. The emigrant is portrayed as being ostensive and arrogant by those who represented them, in fiction, for example. The same emigrant most probably considered that the local inhabitant in his hometown was ignorant and in need of an injection of culture. The power we feel here is exercised by the writer but also by the returnee himself.

The “brasileiro” is one such example, this character is represented, as mentioned in Chapter 2, in the Portuguese classics, as being a brute, a ridiculous and embarrassing figure. Although in historical terms this character has been subjected to a difficult start in an uneven life, then, he has been brave enough to return to his homeland and to promote cultural, social and political issues, however ostentatious that may have seemed. At this moment those people belong neither to Portugal nor to Brazil, they only become “brasileiros” when they are back in their hometowns and are considered Portuguese only while they are in Brazil, here ‘difference’ prevails and it is the positive link to the country these people are in at that moment. However, ‘difference’ does not always enhance only positive aspects; the ‘negative’ images usually concentrate on ethnic and racial differences but in the present study we apply them to emigrants.

We refer not so much to the characters but to the visual representations, the architecture they chose, developed and implanted. Hall explains that representation is a complex issue especially where ‘difference’ is concerned, engaging feelings,
attitudes, and emotions which will mobilize fear and anxiety in the viewer, and continues by asking: How do you ‘read’ the picture - what is it saying? (1997:226). Here, we look at the shooting scripts we produced while selecting specific photographs and realize that they certainly generated and reflected a mixture of feelings and attitudes:

(1) Why was this house built in this place?
(2) Who imagined this house?
(3) Are there more similar houses nearby?
(4) Who were the inhabitants of this house?
(5) What is the interior like? Does it match the exterior?
(7) Why are there two palm-trees in the front garden?
(8) What strikes us most in this photograph?
(18) Are all the symbols the manner by which the owner of the house communicates his social status?

At this stage, further questions arise:

(32) How should we portray the “brasileiro”?
(33) How do people incorporate ideas and forms which come from the outside?
(34) What knowledge do readers have of what surrounds the meaning the author intends to transmit?
(35) How can you even be critical of something that is offered to you as a reality?
(36) How would a translator tackle an issue such as this?
We are reminded of Niranjana’s opinion that by representing the ‘Other’ in a certain way, the colonized acquire a status of object without history, translating being a specific way of representation:

...the practices of subjection implicit in the colonial enterprise operate not merely through the coercive machinery of state, but through discourses of philosophy, history, anthropology, philology, linguistics and literary interpretation, the colonial ‘subject’ – constructed through technologies or practice of power/knowledge – is brought into being within multiple discourses and on multiple sites. One such site is translation. (Niranjana 1992: 1-2)

Among so many meanings that we can obtain from ‘reading’ and translating pictures, and in particular, the extreme positive/negative approaches they produce, we wonder, which is the intended, preferred meaning?

This brings us to an important and recurring issue, the representation of difference and power, the establishment of what is considered and accepted as ‘normal’ by the ruling groups. Social hierarchy is fashioned according to a dominant view of the world, value system and ideology, and it seems to be so natural both to the rulers as well as to the others that if it proves to be successful an hegemony is established. This hegemony applies to the influence of “brasileiros”, their regime of representation and leadership in a series of activities, its authority imposing extensive assent which appears natural and unavoidable.

According to Stuart Hall (1997:261) “power also involves knowledge, representation, ideas, cultural leadership and authority, as well as economic constraint and physical coercion” and that power seduces, induces and wins consent, which is exactly what happened with the influence brought to Fafe by the “brasileiros”, while including the dominant and the dominated within the same circular path. The same author also stresses that power does not only constrain and prevent but also produces new discourses and a new kind of knowledge and refers to Said (1978) while discussing Orientalism concerning arguments relating power and knowledge; a discourse produces through different practices of representation (scholarship, exhibition,
literature, painting, etc), a form of *racialized knowledge of the Other* (Orientalism) deeply implicated in the operations of *power* (imperialism).

By looking back at the Portuguese returnees we do not denote a violent imposition of power, rather a double-sided nature and representation that this character must accept; once local, now foreign; once poor, now rich; once a native, now a returnee; in other words they are divided between two extreme opposites. In order to understand this foreign influence upon a once familiar homeland we must translate the way in which they are represented and confirm that they are often represented as being both at the same time.

Translation is about boundaries, creating, transforming and crossing them. As we will see further on, a translation will always imply a paratranslation, which will bring in our background and sensibility, which will then aid each one of us to interpret and detect a certain meaning in a ‘text’, a kind of threshold. There are several domains involved in understanding a text: discourse, communication, an instance or an utterance, such as art, religion, gender, that have in the past been kept together; now we may separate them and one of them is architecture.

Taking architecture and iconography as our ‘text’ we look around and interpret it. There are many Brazilian symbols throughout Portugal but Fafe is a consistent example of a place to find samples of these: cafés and shops (Café Brasil, Café Brasuca, Confeitaria Brasileira, Mini-mercado Brasileiro, Restaurante Guarani); the names of the streets and squares (Avenida Brasil, Praça do Brasil); the gardens (Jardim do Calvário; Comendador Albino de Oliveira Guimarães); the colours, the tiles, architecture, literature and culture. Portugal and Brazil have been entwined for a very long time and for so many reasons, not only because of the language, but in Fafe, a remote place, far from the influence of anything foreign we find that from the mid 19th century to the early 20th century, symbols reminding us of Brazil were reproduced everywhere. Paratranslation enables us to interpret the past as well as the architectural representation and also to identify those specific symbols. We must also interpret the “brasileiro”, in this case the hero, for there is always the figure of a hero, a founder and in a way, the performer of heroic deeds. Here, the advantage is only that of
coming from a foreign country and culture, often interpreted as being of a ‘superior sort’. There is some ambiguity here since this figure may also be ‘read’ as being a villain depending on what surrounds him and on how he belongs in cultural terms, his traits of ‘difference’ and ‘otherness’. When people are quite different from the majority they are open to extremes, they can be seen as being both at once, good and bad, hero and villain.

We say that Brazil is evidently dominant in all that surrounds us in Fafe and although there have been commercial relationships in the past as well as fraternal and blood ties, there is not always agreement among scholars if this was or was not a chosen identity.

We would like to quote and agree with Álvarez Lugrís:

> Cultures and nations choose, from a repertoire of symbols, myths and historical facts, those items which are then used to manipulate and build images of themselves and what they want to project. Narratives are translated, invented or adapted so as to form a founding myth, an ethnological myth. (2009:6.45")

One such choice, as we mentioned before, is the influence of Freemasonry in Fafe which is very obvious since an emigrant living in Brazil was strongly connected to this Brotherhood. Upon arrival in a strange country the connection with friends and relations was a precious way of becoming integrated in active social life represented by committees and of being initiated in Masonic activity, its codes, rules and conduct. (Monteiro 2007)

We would, at this point, like to refer to Brian Lambkin (2007); we notice that there are common issues as well as great contrasts in the preparations for departure in both Portuguese and Irish emigrants and although there are some issues we referred to in the previous chapter, there is a passage that confirms that masonry was also embracing emigrants arriving from Ireland in a ‘new world’:

...they might be more likely to keep faith with their church, becoming active members of it in their ‘new world’, and sending their children to church schools. In this way parents and priest or minister represented the interest of home and church in the success of the emigrant enterprise. Also entering into the
relationship, although this is not so much written about, were the representatives of political and social organizations like the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the Masonic Order and the Orange Order who had a vested interest in emigrants establishing or joining local branches in the ‘new world’. (Lambkin 2007)

All this influence crossed the Atlantic and was quite visible in Portuguese hometowns. The names of these Masonic lodges were quite suggestive: ‘Caridade’; ‘Luz Brasileira’; ‘Caridade e União’; ‘Perfeita Amizade’; ‘Amor no Trabalho’; ‘Trabalho e Honra’ (Museu da Emigração, website 12.08.2011); these lodges provided an important means of social intercourse not only in business but also in daily private life both in small and larger towns. New cultural practices were developed and the latest interesting issues in Brazil were eagerly discussed. Masons believed that it was merit and not lineage that mattered as the base of social and political order. This was appealing to the emigrants since their origin would not have been a strong enough argument for their integration, but in developing social action, philanthropy and progress they achieved merit which would be valuable in those particular circumstances. Through active political debate and the press, Freemasonry presented itself as a school where fundamental virtues were taught and learned: Free thinking, independence of reason and mutual help. (www.museu-emigrantes.org, our translation).

As we follow the progress and the construction of a chosen identity we must draw attention to the importance of Freemasonry as a strong component of at least part of that choice. A significant number of symbols identified with Freemasonry exist in Fafe and in Brazil and we may conclude that most emigrants in Brazil, at least among the returnees, were connected to Masonic Lodges, associated with social welfare and literary clubs in Brazilian towns, and some of the wealthiest would generously participate in philanthropic activities. The first initiatives in Fafe were the building of Cais da Arcada in 1838, the cemetery in 1855 and other important public developments such as piped drinking water in the town. Also the prison and the urban planning of the Feira Velha, the main public space for local commerce, and the hospital have a strong mark of the Masonic returnee. The municipal documents concerning
new developments in the town of Fafe and surrounding region are very obviously influenced by local Masonic ideals. We find most of these symbols on façades, skylights, tiles and floors, cemeteries and ceilings, these Masonic ideological expressions were brought by “brasileiros”.

In the cemetery the tombs of masons are located in the northern section, they are different from the others and easily identified because they display tall columns topped with a sculpture or a bust, obelisks, spheres and other symbols expressing free thinking and the independence of reason. The position they occupy in the cemetery is not random, each position corresponds to distinct symbolic meanings of the cardinal points and the weathervane.
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Another example is the structure of Praça da Queimada, at present named Praça de José Florêncio Soares, which shows three buildings forming a triangle within another geometric figure, the square, with obvious Masonic symbolism: the angles of the triangle symbolize Faith, Hope and Charity, each correspond to a different building: the new Church of S. José; the Court house; the town Hospital (Guimarães and Langford 2008).

In this study, focused on Fafe, we have found that images reflect specific views of the social world, and so visuality definitely becomes an important topic of research. The images (re)construct a social world and it is interesting to understand whether they have been socially produced or created by individuals and formerly accepted and taken for granted.

According to R. Gill (1996), all discourse is organized to be persuasive, and it is natural that a discourse analyst would focus on these strategies of persuasion. Rose (2007) stresses that discourse analysis pays attention to the more socially constitutive forms of discursive power, looking at the social construction of difference and authority, for example. Discourse analysis is thus concerned too with the social production and effects of discourse. But it is not only power that constructs differences and identities. We wonder in what way and which strategies of persuasion were exercised through the Portuguese classics, the Press, the locals and perhaps, more recently, through the Museu da Emigração.

If we concentrate on iconography which is abundant in Fafe we may, at first, be intrigued by the form of symbols and signs, but rapidly also by their meaning.

Rose refers that iconography, as an intertextual method, is most often applied to Western figurative images and to architecture (2007:153). These symbols would be ‘understood’ and used by both artists and their patrons, although a profound knowledge of their meaning would be necessary. In Fafe, however, this did not always happen, symbols were randomly used, and there are various examples of this.
Panofsky suggests (1957:38) that “it would be necessary, that the artist had not only
depth familiarity with the ‘texts’, both visual and written, and that this might have to
extend beyond the published guides to symbolism, as well as common sense or a
‘synthetic intuition’”. Here, this author refers that this second quality was important
because, “while various texts could provide important information and clues about
iconographic and iconological meaning, they could never provide full explanations for
a particular image, and their relevance thus had to be judged by the critic on the basis
of his intuition”.

We are reminded of William Morris and how he encouraged the medieval tradition of
giving artists freedom to use their creativity, in this case stonemasons, to decorate
façades with their own interpretation of symbols and to leave their personal mark on
buildings.
Iconographic symbols, in this case lions, are frequently and randomly used; we assume that they were 'understood' by both artists and their patrons, a profound knowledge of their meaning, however, would be necessary if they were to be used in the 'traditional' form.

In these pictures, a lion painted white with fleur-de-lis motif and snake is found at the gate of a modest house; the lion in stone with its left claw resting on a sphere is placed at the gate of a rather imposing residence.
Plate 25  

FY03002, A yellow stone lion.

A lion in cement, painted yellow the left claw on a green ball representing the popular Portuguese football club, Sporting Clube de Portugal. The official colour of this club is green, however, the lion has remained yellow as a compromise with tradition. In other regions of Portugal we have seen the lions painted green. This property presented a vast selection of symbols related to the football club which are placed in the front garden. The entire wall of this property is trimmed with similar lions.
In our research on the echoes of “brasileiros” in Fafe, whereas visual material is undoubtedly what first attracts us to this theme, there is also an enormous component of institutional practices and issues of power.

Fran Tonkiss, however, reminds us, that:

Language is viewed as the topic of research (…) Rather than gathering accounts or texts so as to gain access to people’s views and attitudes, or to find out what happened at a particular event, the discourse analyst is interested in how people use language to construct their accounts of the social world. (1998: 247-8)

Languages, and here we make a distinction between verbal and non verbal language, will be everything that we can understand from the visual representation, and the interpretation obtained by each person in connection with their own social world. Stuart Hall refers:

Any sign is potentially transformable into more than one connotive configuration. Polysemy, however, must not be confused with pluralism … Any society/culture tends, with varying degrees of closure, to impose its classifications of the social and cultural and political world. These constitute a dominant cultural order, though it is neither univocal nor uncontested. (…) The different areas of social life appeared to be mapped out into discursive domains, hierarchically organised into dominant or preferred meanings. (1980: 134, emphasis in original).

And here we must, once more, consider the position of the audience and their interpretations, and it would be pertinent at this stage to mention the concepts of ‘preferred meaning’ and ‘preferred reading’ (Hall, 1980). When these preferred meanings are interpreted by audiences in ways that retain ‘the institutional/political/ideological order imprinted on them, they become preferred reading.

How are preferred readings produced? Again, Rose (2007:98) suggests two ways:

a) Focusing on the visual and textual relation between an image and its viewer.
b) Emphasizing the social modalities of the reception of an image.

The audience or viewer is of the highest importance here, since it is they that will be making sense of the image. Without a viewer, the image will not be decoded.

(37) How are the same images so different intelligibly to various viewers?

(38) Which different processes do they use?

(39) How are preferred readings encouraged?

There are many different views and theories concerning interpretation by an audience and we would like to mention Judith Williamson in an exercise concerning the interpretation of advertisements, one of the most current areas of study and example:

... [adverts] invite us ‘freely’ to create ourselves in accordance with the way in which they have already created us. These adverts depend on codes and referent systems which precisely delimit our interpretative powers. [The individual] is not a simple receiver but a creator of meaning. But the receiver is only a creator of meaning because he/she has been called upon to be so. As an advertisement speaks to us, we simultaneously create that speech (it means to us), and are created by it as its creators (it assumes that it means to us). (1978:41, emphasis in original).
We are often attracted by puzzles that make us stop and wonder what is actually going on. An example of this is when we look at a building that has mixed different types of architecture, heraldic and Masonic symbols, exaggerated in the number of chimneys and turrets that only adorn the building and do not have any practical use, also the astonishing shades of bright colours chosen for the façades.
Obviously this recognition is not obtained instantly but goes through several stages, some of which could be as suggested, in advertising, by Williamson: Spatial organization; Visual absences; Puns.

These stages, as well as others, can also be followed and recognised in the urban space:

When we look at a specific house, the frame is projected in a certain way to affect the spectator. There is a relationship between the elements of this frame: the architecture of the building, the site chosen, the imposing weathervane, the colour of the walls/tiles, the palm-trees, the size of the garden, the elaborate gate, the statuettes and symbols are displayed to the public in what can be explained as being the spatial organization.

Some houses do not display all the ingredients the viewer would expect while recognizing a particular visual frame and the viewer is therefore invited to fill in these visual absences. Let us take an example of the outside of a house used as a family residence and also for trade. We recognize the ground floor with the tall doors and we also recognize the first floor and mezzanine as family residence and servants’ quarters. We would expect some signs of wealth since this building would have belonged to a family in trade, therefore a wealthy family. We will know that inside the building there will be a wide staircase made of exotic wood, a large skylight will light up the stairs and the ceilings on the upper floor will be decorated with floral plaster work.

We are also very often attracted by puns or puzzles that make us stop and wonder what is actually going on. An example of this is when we look at a building that has mixed different types of architecture, heraldic and Masonic symbols, exaggerated in the number of chimneys and turrets that only adorn the building and do not have any practical use, also the astonishing shades of bright colours chosen for the façades.
All these views will produce a specific meaning for the viewer and we know that images are powerful in producing certain ways of preferred reading; here is where we place the following question:

(40) How can a composition produce a preferred meaning?

Of course these readings are based on ideology and the viewers’ interpretation, as always, includes issues concerning the institutional order, social differences and hierarchy.

When Fafe was developing, as far back as the 1800s, social sciences had not been a particularly explored issue. Since the 1970s, however, this changed and Culture became essential for scientists to study social processes, social identities and social change and conflict. Studying Fafe today, when social sciences are consolidated, developed and interested in exploring further, we must always bear in mind that what we are interpreting is a social process experienced during the early 19th century.

Stuart Hall, one of the major supporters of new developments in social science, wrote:

Culture, it is argued, is not so much a set of things – novels and paintings or TV programmes or comics – as a process, a set of practices. Primarily, culture is concerned with the production and exchange of meanings – the ‘giving and taking of meaning’ – between the members of a society or group... Thus culture depends on its participants interpreting meaningfully what is around them, and ‘making sense’ of the world, in broadly similar ways. (1997:2)

This giving and taking of meaning, these representations, in whichever form they are conveyed, will determine how we behave in our daily lives. They need not be explicit or conscious or conveyed through high art but each person will make sense of them in a different way. This is obviously much debated and many different views are offered on the subject but the visual is essential to the cultural structure of social life in contemporary Western societies. Nowadays we are completely immersed in varied technologies that practically force us to concentrate on the visual. Any image shown in a photo, a painting, a video or a newspaper, to mention but a few agents, offers a sight
which is never quite pure thus the construction of knowledge has become more and more based on images rather than on written texts.

Many authors agree that the visual is the most important sense. Gordon Fyfe and John Law (1988:2) claim that ‘depiction, picturing and seeing are ubiquitous features of the process by which most human beings come to know the world as it really is for them’ and John Berger (1972:7) suggests that seeing comes before words; the child looks and recognizes before it can speak. Douglas Harper (2002), whose photo-elicitation techniques we have used throughout our research, reminds us that our visual memory goes back much farther than our knowledge of words, therefore pictures elicit more information than texts do.

Chris Jenks argues that ‘looking, seeing and knowing have become perilously intertwined’ so that ‘the modern world is very much a “seen” phenomenon’, this author continues:

We daily experience and perpetuate the conflation of the ‘seen’ with the ‘known’ in conversation through the commonplace linguistic appendage of ‘do you see?’ or ‘see what I mean?’ to utterances that seem to require confirmation, or, when seeking opinion, by enquiring after people’s ‘views’. (1995:1-3)

Having decided to proceed with a research based mostly on image and our interpretation of it as well as others’ interpretation, we have worked with our interviewees rather than on them. These informants will have their own understanding, different to the researchers’ and we must be open to these differences. Exploring knowledge in collaboration with these people naturally involved a negotiation of the final meaning which we accept as we sum up the steps involved in the making of a chosen identity. We have concluded from our analysis that as the town expanded and the space became more permeable to change there was a boost in urban, social, cultural and industrial development totally based upon external influence, that of the returnees. From the advance of hotels and buildings in the centre of town, the development of industry on the outskirts, to the boom in the press, local as well as foreign, and the multifaceted character of the “brasileiro”, the way in which
it was represented, by himself and by others, we conclude that difference was the propeller of change and it was a non-stop process. By using the shooting-script we ‘read’ the signs and pictures, interpret them and expand on their meaning. In order to do this we have relied on what architecture shows us, how these buildings and sites aid us in paratranslating the “brasileiro” who can be presented in a different light to that of the literary classics, that of a hero and a benefactor, the performer of heroic deeds. When we revert to the institutional practices fuelled by power relations we concentrate not only on verbal but also and in a large degree on visual language used as a means of producing intended meanings and preferred readings; in their visual nature we follow and interpret the social process and do so as an audience. ‘Otherness’, which can so often be seen as being negative as well as being positive, is in our analysis confirmed as being a permitted and attractive issue; the abundant symbols related with freemasonry confirm the freedom, influence and supremacy of a ‘colonizer’ who arrived in a poor village to erect a substantial and imposing town.

We will end this chapter by concluding, as our experience has permitted, that ethnographic writing amplifies the difference between seeing and writing since the writing is done after the process of observation has taken place, when we retire to our writing table and sit down to write about what we have observed. Discourse has the characteristic of memorizing and part of the material we are using has memory as its subject: a historic memory, the memory of a dweller, of a local inhabitant and the author’s memory. By writing we are contributing towards this, we are reporting memory and this is an unavoidable consequence, voluntary or not, of our work. We agree with Laplantine:

La description serait plutôt de l’ordre de la contemplation, alors que la narration, qui peut d’ailleurs consister en une série de descriptions articulées dans le movement de la temporalité, est, elle, résolument du côté de l’action. On ne peut se demander si, dans ces conditions d’opposition au temps, caractéristique, lui, du langage, du discours, de l’écriture, mais aussi de la lecture – parler, écrire suppose une continuité, un enchainement de propositions, une succession, bref une syntaxe - la description ne relèverait pas de l’utopie. Peut-on décrire sans raconteur?

(...) Il existe bien effectivement un temps de la description qui est celui d’un parcours énumératif, d’une contemplation dans la longue durée du regard. L’œil s’attard, intensifie et amplifie la vision. C’est bien l’espace qui est appréhendé,
mais avec patience, à travers la durée de l’observation et, nous y reviendrons, le différé de l’écriture. (1996:32-33)

The circumstances of the author as an observer does not mean that we can avoid being involved with the theme we are working on, we must admit it and use it to our advantage. It is this fact, that we are thus involved, that allows us to observe something which is part of a system; nevertheless we remain outsiders and this situation brings us the necessary space allowing reflection and observation; we are looking from a distance.
4. LOCAL LANDSCAPE AND VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS FROM THE PUBLIC SPACE

4.1.- A walk through the space ‘in-between’ the local inhabitant and the “brasileiro”.

4.2.- Moving objects and their renegotiation: the question of reciprocity.

4.3.- Museu das Migrações e das Comunidades Portuguesas: a contact zone traversed by people and things.

4.1. A walk through the space ‘in-between’ the local inhabitant and the “brasileiro”.

There are many records of wealthy “brasileiros” returning, but not nearly as many concerning the unsuccessful cases. However, being a wealthy returnee did not guarantee an easy social reintegration. We should not forget that there was an implicit common principle behind the decision to emigrate, which was to work in Brazil in order to generate or increase one’s wealth. There were, however, many differences between emigrants, when leaving, such as age, social status, economic status and the individual reason why emigration was necessary. When returning there would also be noticeable differences in the way these people would evaluate and understand the degree of success or failure of the entire enterprise. These differences were much more noticeable in the social sphere. Being accepted, or not, back in their hometown would certainly define the degree of success they had achieved, thus propelling, or not, the possibility and wish of generating local and highly visible innovation and development, which was the supreme intention of a wealthy returnee eager to proclaim personal prosperity.

We have many examples of social improvement and development as well as promising political careers taken up by triumphant returnees. In unsuccessful cases most returnees would tend to avoid the public eye but others would consider the Brazilian adventure as merely an individual experience that would simply be forgotten.
So, there are cases of returnees who do not show the typical signs of having experienced life in Brazil; their aim would naturally have merely been that of improving their financial situation but also, and mainly, to broaden their views and to make a change in the type of professional activity they were used to. Some of these who were still rather taken with what they had experienced would, upon their arrival in Portugal, find and develop their own successful ‘Brazilian world’ in Portuguese cities. There are cases of re-emigration, when young and active returnees would decide to go back to Brazil and try their luck once again, or to increase their wealth further, or simply because life in Brazil was more appealing than what they had returned to at home. In some cases, returning to Brazil would be only for a short period of time depending on the reason why they were returning. In this case the objective would not imply rupture with their social or economic situation; they would usually have in mind a better dowry for their daughters or nieces, or an intention of investing further in land, paying some debts, starting a business or just strengthening their situation socially (Alves 1994).

This brings us to another issue that is connected with emigration, that of a conservative return. In one family of carpenters with two children, for example, one of them would go to Brazil while the other stayed behind working in the family trade. Upon the return to Portugal the new family house would be built close to the road but the family trade would be taken up again thus confirming that in many cases the will was to continue family tradition and not to break free from it.

Marriage was also an important issue when connected to returnees; it became a sort of market. Whilst marriage among rural families was frequent, in order to maintain land within the same kinship order, there was now a new type of candidate, who may have originated from an extremely humble family but who would have a considerable dowry to invest in a convenient marriage. Dowries, as well as property prices were in these circumstances enormously inflated. Marriage alliances with “brasileiros” enabled families to maintain large properties intact since they would then have enough money to compensate other heirs and family members for their share of the property, thus avoiding the dreaded fragmentation of large family estates. These enlarged properties would not always survive in time; some returnees would not have heirs or their heirs might not be wealthy enough to maintain the large properties, so it was common that
houses and farms would degenerate in time. In many cases a grand and ornate gate would be built indicating the entrance to the property but the enclosing wall would be left to be built in the future; often the wall would not be built and the gate would be left to stand on its own (Monteiro 2007).

We must not forget to mention the frequent cases and situations of those who fell ill during their lives in Brazil owing to former bad health or bad climate, poor working conditions and bad nutrition. These people would want to return to Portugal to recover their health in a more favourable climate, or to die, in the most extreme cases of illness. In this way, diseases such as tuberculosis were brought to the regions these returnees came home to, usually in the north of Portugal. The emergence of healthy and salubrious conditions, brought on by new buildings and organization within the family quarters, presented a great contrast with traditional unhealthy housing. Although the houses built by the “brasileiro” brought an extravagant look, it was these buildings that brought a healthy change to houses in general. The use of windows for bringing light in and for airing the house was an idea imported from Brazil and the use of running water which returnees would seek by digging wells, in this way avoiding the use of unhealthy public water troughs, are revolutionary methods not until then known to the local inhabitants.

It was in such a small, bare place as Fafe, that consistent changes would take place.

Fafe was, in the 19th Century, remote and vulnerable but nevertheless an ideal space open to development and to absorbing novelty and foreign influence. The imagery of Freemasonry had found a perfect spot to impregnate with lessons, symbols, social grandeur and imposing buildings. A quiet and extremely modest social and spatial structure was totally disrupted by the arrival of the “brasileiros de torna viagem” and all the novelty that came with them. There are many signs and symbols we would like to refer to as we take a short walk through Fafe.

It has not always been easy to refer to this space in the present tense since we are also focusing on the past and the reasons why these buildings and streets were designed and built, and also why so many books and accounts were written. It is important to consider the time factor when we discuss conflict between a variety of different interpretations. At certain stages in our walks, during our descriptions and
also in a previous chapter when quoting Portuguese literary classics, it was difficult to situate the ‘before’ and ‘after’, since we were describing culture in the process of change or in many cases, the decline and destruction it has endured through time. We are here giving accounts of another culture and society in the present tense and would like to consider Fabian’s (1983) expression “the present tense ‘freezes’ a society at the time of observation” to refer that we had the continuous task of having to remind ourselves to interpret the town, the spirit of the other culture and the foreign, in the present tense. We will quote and agree with Laplantine:

Si nous mettons l’accent sur le fait que la description ethnographique n’est jamais un simple exercice de transcription ou de «décodage», mais une activité de construction et de traduction au cours de laquelle le chercheur produit plus qu’il ne reproduit, si nous insistons sur le fait que cette opération s’effectue non pas malgré, mais grâce au langage (la description ethnographique s’effectue dans une langue, elle est une langue particulière en action), c’est pour mettre en garde contre la tendance encore aujourd’hui largement objectiviste du discours anthropologique (1996:37, emphasis in original).
Before we begin our walks we would like to stress that most of the names of streets we will be walking along refer to prominent local people and in most cases successful and influential “brasileiros”; these are but a few examples:

- Rua Major Miguel Ferreira (ex. Rua Henrique Cabral) Officer in the army, fought against the monarchy and later against the dictatorship.

- Rua Ferreira de Castro (ex. Albino de Oliveira Guimarães, one of the wealthiest “brasileiros” in Fafe, his name is connected with the hospital and the public garden.) Ferreira de Castro was a 20th century writer who emigrated to Brazil while he was very young and worked on a rubber plantation. Having returned poor, he became a prominent Portuguese writer with many books on emigration, some of which have since been translated into several languages.

- Rua de Montenegro, “brasileiro”, patron of the poor; while in Rio de Janeiro, Montenegro contributed with large sums of money towards the hospital, school and asylums for the poor in Fafe.

- Praça José Florencio Soares, “brasileiro”, very active in developing the urban space in Fafe, founded the first textile factory. His name is given to the square where we can find the hospital and the new church. His own house was a magnificent palácio urbano, example of a “brasileiro’s” house.

- Rua do Dr. José Summavielle Soares; his name is tied to the imposing Teatro – Cine in Fafe, he built a primary school and contributed towards the edification of the new church by supplying the stone free of charge and employing a stonemason to work the stone for this building.

- Rua Monsenhor Vieira de Castro, a priest and politician involved in the building of the hospital and Fafe’s development in general.
- Rua José Ribeiro Vieira de Castro, “brasileiro”, founded Companhia de Fiação e Tecidos de Fafe, one of the largest factories in the region which generated much employment as well as financial and social development (Monteiro 2000).

All the names mentioned above belong to influential “brasileiros” who contributed generously towards the development of their hometown many times, sending instructions from Brazil to builders of institutional buildings and of their own residences. However, there is quite a mesh of names if we stop to concentrate on the names of streets and squares today; the days of “brasileiros” are mixed with former as well as the latest political events.

By using our ‘shooting script’ and based on questions, we shall obtain and collect responses; according to our observations and fieldwork we log the photographs and write descriptive narratives allowing different interpretations to be registered. Most photographs we will use in this chapter have been presented in “Uma Antropologia do espaço urbano: Um passeio em Fafe”. (Guimarães and Langford 2008)
Map of the town centre – The centre is small, approx. 3,000 m². Our walk starts in Av. do Brasil continues along Rua dos Bombeiros Voluntários, Av. das Forças Armadas, Rua Serpa Pinto, Praça 25 de Abril, Rua 5 de Outubro, Rua António Cândido, Rua de Montenegro, Jardim do Calvário, Rua Monsenhor Vieira de Castro, Rua João XXIII, Jardim da Queimada and back to the main square.
Walking down Avenida do Brasil, a wide modern street unlike any other in the centre of the town, to our right, is Café Brasil.

(10) What was the objective of this picture?

(13) Can there be more than one interpretation?

Most people would not give these two names, Avenida do Brasil and Café Brasil, a second thought, but it is precisely these designations that connect us to the ever-present phenomenon in Fafe: the very obvious hybridization of two cultures – the Portuguese and the Brazilian and their relation with other European cultures – which are mainly revealed through the marks left behind by the golden age of Portuguese emigration to Brazil. This café is placed in the main surrounding road when arriving in Fafe, Avenida do Brasil; a little way before the café we have the Fire Brigade Headquarters and a little way further along we find the local coach station for people arriving or departing from Fafe; this is the only way to travel apart from using a car since the railway station, a very important local innovation at the beginning of the 20th century, is inactive. Café Brasil, although presenting a look which is common to Portuguese cafés draws our attention by its name which might at first glance be associated with the name of the street; directly across the road we have a palm-tree, another object that has become common to Portuguese urban landscapes. If the visitor entering Fafe through this road has no former knowledge of what awaits him in the town centre or of what the town history has to tell, he will not give it much thought, and although the surrounding space presents no further clues it may lead to an association of ideas; there is a message but not a code.
Café Brasil, Avenida do Brasil. It is precisely these designations that connect us to the ever-present phenomenon in Fafe: the very obvious hybridization of cultures, which are revealed through the marks left behind by the golden age of Portuguese emigration to Brazil.

Pastelaria “A Brasileira” is another shop close by, in Rua Monsenhor Vieira de Castro. This photograph was taken to confirm the use of the ground floor and first floor today as in the past, trade and residence.
In this particular landscape’s content, Av. do Brasil, Café Brasil and the palm-tree, there is a composition, a supplementary message, and it tugs at the receiver’s specific cultural background; the form in which it is being communicated by society and the form in which it is being received compose this message. The objects and their compositionality are apprehended in a more or less complete way but what is being asked and thus transmitted is: do these objects, Café Brasil, Avenida do Brasil, the palm-tree and the fire brigade headquarters in some way alert the viewer to unfamiliar surroundings? Does the composition of these objects alert the viewer to a particular meaning? Does the aesthetic and ideological element appeal to the viewer or is it overlooked or ignored? There is not only one but a continuous message and as we describe it we are joining the different links and provoking changes in a structure. By producing it and commenting on this photograph we are enhancing something which is not shown or perceived but which is implicit.

When leaving this town by the same route, this name, Café Brasil, will present a different meaning, a second meaning. In the analysis of this particular photograph we have touched several categories under which it can be logged such as: Portuguese, Brazilian and European cultures; a Golden Age; Emigration to Brazil; palm-trees; travel; urban landscape. We proceed with our ‘shooting script’:

(19) What is this photograph centred on?

(20) Does the viewer connect with the theme?

(22) Does the meaning differ according to the contexts? (looking at the object/looking at a photograph of it)

When submitting this photograph to an audience in the process of ‘audiencing’ we do not include the caption; our intention is to have the meaning of this photo renegotiated by an audience; when we show this picture its compositionality will impress the viewer in a way which will determine how this image is ‘seen’ and the audience’s reaction becomes more important than the photograph itself. What is stimulating in this process of ‘audiencing’ is to find out if the audience connects to the
underlying message or if it reacts by resisting signs of an institutional structure? Throughout this exercise we have confirmed that audiences make their own meaning and don’t necessarily take in messages as they are intended. In order to exercise ‘audiencing’ we used questions taken from a shooting script; most of these questions were used by the researcher during the exploratory stage while we were deciding on a field of study; the questions would take us further in our observation; other questions were directed at a viewer; depending on the answers we were able to understand how differently the same issue is interpreted by each viewer and how an audience can generate diverse meanings, thus eliciting the negotiation of a final meaning.
Palm trees are placed in front of “palacetes” as well as recent buildings. A pink “palacete” built in 1912 shows interesting architectonic objects which disobey the classic norms of building. This type of building was considered a country house and would not be built within the town limits. The examples found in Fafe have now been embraced by the town centre as it has developed. We shall permanently come across palm-trees which were brought to Portugal by the “brasileiros” endorsing their taste and turning them into a symbol of their recent past. On returning to Portugal there would not be one “brasileiro” who would not plant a palm-tree or two right in front of his house. We have found them in the front gardens, always in the front, of recently built houses; we have even seen them in pots in apartment building verandas. These trees reflect the past of their residents and a new tradition for modern dwellers.
We have now turned right into a wide street which is Rua dos Bombeiros Voluntários, an important institution that was in the past funded by “brasileiros” and by the Portuguese community in Rio de Janeiro, and then we turn left into Av. das Forças Armadas. In the distance we see the rear view of a “palacete”, a grand house built in 1912, which will in the near future hold the Music Academy of Fafe. This decision follows tradition since “brasileiros” financially supported local music bands, of which there are many in the north of the country. We see ample façades, with numerous windows and doors; its lines are broad and horizontal and it has three floors and a supplementary floor for the servants, this is masked by architectural artifacts; we also find elements of the Baroque and Art Nouveau; such “palacetes” were painted in bright colours, pink, blue and yellow, a reminder of the Brazilian exoticism. The quantity of doors and windows in this building is also a Brazilian feature as tropical weather required much ventilation in a house but in Minho there would be no reason for that, on the contrary, the humidity in this region would present a problem in this case. The owner was João Alves de Freitas, a successful tradesman in Manaus, brother to José Alves de Freitas to whom we refered in Chapter 1.

(7)Why are there two palm-trees in the front garden?

We can see two tall palm-trees, immediately reminding us of the Brazilian influence; we stress the word ‘tall’ since the palm-trees chosen by “brasileiros” were this type of tree; as the years passed and tradition maintained palm-trees in the Portuguese urban landscape they were no longer tall but rather bulky as we can see in the photograph showing a modern building. Throughout the entire walk we shall permanently come across palm-trees. This tree was brought to Portugal by the “brasileiros” who made it into a symbol of their recent past. On returning to Portugal there would not be one “brasileiro” who would not plant a palm-tree or two right in front of his house. In our corpus we registered pictures of palm-trees which we see in the front gardens, always in the front, of recently built houses; we also see them in pots in apartment building verandas. These trees reflect the past of their residents and a new tradition for modern dwellers; they bear today the same meaning.
(1) Why was this house built in this place?

A “palacete” was considered as being a country house and would not be built within the town limits; the examples we find in Fafe have now been embraced by the town centre as it has since developed, but would originally have been built away from or on the fringe of the town; the town centre is today typically “brasileiro” except for a few uncharacteristic buildings that were erected when traditional architecture was demolished. The categories in which we have logged these pictures are: palm-trees, symbols, tradition, modern buildings, gardens, urban landscape.

The photographs we are analyzing have all got captions and we were not always satisfied with this option. When we add a text to one of our photographs we are transferring our attention or the viewer’s attention from the image to the text, it might even echo the image; the inclusion of text is intended merely as an accessory but it may easily affect the form in which we expect meanings to be formed. In this work we have included captions since a dialogue between the author and the viewer does not take place; our experiments with audiences on the terrain have mostly been performed with photographs without captions.

Along the same path in Av. das Forças Armadas to our left there is a “palácio”, built in 1869.

(2) Who imagined this house?

(4) Who were/are the inhabitants of this house?

This building belonged to an aristocratic family and both the capital and the architectural styles were provided by two members of the family, who were returnees from Rio de Janeiro, Bento de Castro Abreu e Leite and Fernando de Castro Abreu Magalhães. The house and farm used to take up a vast area which is now occupied by the entire western part of the town. This is a true example of the “palácio”, showing a broad façade with blue and white tiles and a great number of windows and doors; however, the rear view is plain and shows no effort towards decoration; it would be used only by servants or suppliers so there was no need to impress whoever passed by. It is a solid house, originating in a powerful social class, confirming a legitimate
aura of prestige and dominion. There is a wide space at the front of the house which used to include a warehouse for grain and other agricultural produce; today this space is taken up by a garden; this building has many windows following the Brazilian tradition. Built to hold a large family as well as many servants, the house has three floors and its own chapel, the rooms are tall and large and there is a small theatre with a stage where family plays were performed. Bought by the local council, it was used as a county school, later on it became a secondary school, and nowadays it hosts the Casa da Cultura. If we look at it from the main gate, which opens on to Rua Major Miguel Ferreira, it is an outstanding building that presents an elegant front garden inspired by the geometric detail of the tiles which cover its façade. The front of the building is adorned to reflect the wealth of its residents. There are only tiles on this side of the building, as well as a garden and a gate, but if we look at the back view, it is painted plain white.
The rear view of such buildings was usually plain and showed no effort towards decoration. It would be used only by servants or suppliers, so there was no need to impress whoever passed by. In the past, this particular property was vast so there would have been a back garden with fruit trees that would hide the back of the house, as well as a kitchen garden close to the house.
This is a solid building, belonging to an aristocratic family, built in 1869. The house and farm used to take up a vast area which is now occupied by the entire western part of the town. This is a true example of the ‘palácio’, showing a broad façade with traditional Portuguese blue and white tiles and a great number of windows and doors.
FX01002. Blue and white tiles. Geometric pattern followed in designing the front garden of the “Palácio”.
Among many signs of proprietorship these houses often boasted the owner’s monogram in iron, in stone or on tiles. In the front of this building, an elaborate gate, in wrought iron.
The “palácios”, imposing buildings, are numerous, they are urban mansions placed close to the street, exerting an evident power over this particular part of the town.

In the front of this building, the elaborate gate in wrought iron has a column on either side topped with two great stone urns, among many signs of proprietorship these houses often boasted the owner’s monogram in iron, stone or tiles.

We draw attention to the verticality of the symbols we find representing position, wealth and identity: palm-trees, columns, tall gates, even windows and doors which give houses a stonger appearance of height. This verticality serves the purpose of imposing a difference especially if we note that in contrast the traditional houses and the village plan are dominated by horizontality.

The categories in which we logged these photographs are: architecture, family, ostentation, ornamentation, decoration, decorative tiles, monograms, façade.
The fish market. This building built at the beginning of the 20th century following the fashion of elaborate ironwork is used as the parish council, today.
The initials (Boaventure Rodrigues de Sousa) and sometimes the date were placed on the façade of the building either in stone or on tiles.
A primary school offered to the town by Conde de Ferreira, a very wealthy "brasileiro" who was successful in slave trade; this man built over one hundred schools in Portugal.
What is the interior like? Does it match the exterior?

Inside the house we find a main staircase which is topped by a large central skylight; these staircases were often built with exotic wood brought back from Brazil and the skylights, frequent features, enhanced the effect of the grand staircase but were also necessary to provide light for the interior of the building, the glass would usually be coloured. The ceilings are delicately decorated in plaster; in the main rooms such as the dining-room, the decoration of the ceilings may include designs of grape-vines, animals and flowers; in some residences the plaster would be painted in rich colours imitating the effect of exotic wood from Brazil. Photographs logged as: Brazil, nature, forests, exoticism.
Inside the “palácio”, the main staircase is topped by a broad skylight. The main staircase would be broad and built in stone or exotic wood, often brought back from Brazil for this purpose. The skylight, a frequent feature even in more modest houses, enhanced the effect of the grand staircase but was also necessary to provide light. The fine work in plaster would be found on the ceilings throughout the house, in the main rooms, such as the sitting-room and dining-room, and the designs would relate to each room, according to its use.
Ceilings decorated in plaster. Delicate plaster-work is seen on the ceilings in the main rooms. In this case, the dining-room, a design including fruit and flowers was chosen. In drawing-rooms, the decoration of ceilings may include designs of grape-vines, animals and flowers. In some residences the plaster would be painted in rich colours imitating the effect of exotic wood from Brazil.
We may find many curious objects inside but a particular one drew our attention: the “oratorio”.

(20) Does the viewer connect with the theme?

This is a portable family altar, an object which the emigrant always carried when he left his country. These objects were reserved for domestic use and were placed in a prominent position in the home; they were used for collective prayers. There were also the “oratorios” which were for private use and these were placed in the bedrooms; the decoration would vary depending on the owner’s wealth. It is interesting to learn that when Portuguese couples went to live in Brazil it was common for husbands to adapt to local life quite easily; they would admire and get involved with “mulatas”, they would also appreciate local gastronomy; their wives, on the other hand, would remain even more attached to Portuguese habits, especially religious ones. Husbands would provide them with portable altars so that they would not be expected to go to Mass with their wives who would then stay at home. Two very different paths were followed when we consider the use of the “oratorio” in Brazil; by providing their wives with these objects the husbands would indulge in sex, “mulatas”, and an open public life in Brazil while their wives would follow the religious, private lives as they did in Portugal. There are similar objects in Brazil inspired by the Portuguese examples but they show different motifs, more geometric, cosmological, or related to Nature, very rich in symbolic elements such as coins, saints and flowers. Regarding the altar and the elements we can associate with this object we note the following oppositions: inside/outside, spirit/nature, tradition/modernity, wife/man.

We have logged this picture in these categories: family, religion, nature, local habits, social activity, symbolism.
Portuguese and Brazilian “oratorios”. The “oratorio”, a portable family altar that was often taken to Brazil by emigrants. This was one of the few personal objects carried by emigrants when leaving Portugal.

There are similar objects in Brazil inspired by the Portuguese ones but they show different motifs, more geometric, cosmological, or related to nature, very rich in symbolic elements such as coins, saints and flowers.
In this painting we can see a family waiting for the boat that would take them to Brazil. The most common objects carried by emigrants are present: the trunk, an "oratorio", a guitar and a black shawl.
We are on our way and heading for the town centre; however, before arriving, there is a house with a shop that used to be a warehouse on the ground floor, the example of a bourgeois “brasileiro’s” house.

What is the photograph centred on?

This question can elicit many different answers and this depends entirely on the viewer or receiver; there is a big difference between how a photograph is shown and the way in which it is interpreted by the audience. The viewers will base their interpretation of the picture on their previous knowledge of the subject but always based on their individual background.

These houses were used as a family residence on the first floor with the servants’ quarters above whilst the ground floor was used for trade. There would be two doors or more, sometimes as many as six, to access the residential area and the shop; indoors there would also be a connecting door between both sections of the building. Many windows would practically cover the walls from end to end and at least three iron verandas would characteristically adorn them; the outside walls would be painted in bright colours, pink, yellow or blue. This type of building was common until the mid 20th century in Portuguese villages and towns, belonging to families involved in most types of business in Portugal, mainly in local commerce. In Fafe we can find many houses that were used for both living and trading. Photograph logged as: architecture, residence, trade, family.

How can you even be critical of something that is offered to you as a reality?

We are now in the main square, Praça 25 de Abril. This square is crossed by a stream of water that in the centre bursts into a fountain, an element so characteristic of romantic gardens, making a kind of bridge between the antique and the modern town, surrounded by specific vegetation, as mentioned before, to the taste of the returned “brasileiro”. This site has always been the centre of the town but also a passage; in the
past, when there were only two streets in Fafe, this is where the town clock stood; the buildings and vegetation clearly portray Brazilian influence.

In this square there are many “brasileiro” buildings, in almost all of them we can find façades painted white or tiled; there are narrow wrought iron verandas across the whole width of the façades to make the building appear wider, also artistic ironwork and richly adorned stonemasonry; tiled courtyards, windows ornamented with scallops, stairways made of exotic Brazilian wood, doors richly paneled and interior window panes made of colourful stained glass that the Portuguese, probably influenced by literary works, got used to referring to as being in the ‘Brazilian taste’. All this was designed to exhibit grandeur. Photographs logged as: square, public space, architecture, garden, decorative tiles, ornamentation.

(33)How do people incorporate ideas and forms which come from the outside?

From this spot we have a fair view of many roofs with skylights and turrets so much in the Brazilian taste; from a distance these announce the presence of a wealthy home. The skylights, made of iron and glass, symbolize hybridization with European architectural currents in which iron had been introduced. The architectonic and decorative innovation in these houses represents a blurred reproduction of a certain architecture that was adopted in Brazilian residential buildings from the mid 19th century onwards, thanks to the activity of both architects and European building companies. To our right is the Clube Fafense, an imposing and colourful building that inevitably draws everybody’s attention. It was in this building that all prominent figures in Fafe would meet socially. Men only were allowed and the symbols which adorn the building inform us that freemasonry meetings were held. This building was the reception hall for all grand events, and here, political discussions would flow and projects on social improvement would originate.
Bourgeois “brasileiro” house. These houses were used as a family residence on the top floor and as a shop or warehouse on the ground floor. There would be two or more doors to access the residential and trading areas separately, there would also be an inside door connecting both sections of the building. This kind of building was erected until the mid 20th century in Portuguese villages and towns, belonging to families involved in most types of trade, mainly in local commerce. In Fafe we can find many houses that were used for both living and trading.
Elaborate ironwork on a broad veranda. This building does not have tiles, instead, there is much elaborate work in stone, the windows are gothic and we can see Masonic symbols such as the scallop and the cord.
An example of broad verandas in ornate iron with yellow and white camellia haut-relief tiles. This particular motif and colour can be found in many towns in the North of Portugal. The number of windows and doors on these buildings was vast, according to Brazilian taste. The camellia motif was a favourite in decoration, the white flower representing virtue and perfect beauty. Camellias are found in many objects such as door knobs and ironwork.
Plate 56

FX01004, Decorative tiles: camellia motif, Fafe.
Plate 57

EY03001, Garden: camellia (detail), Fafe.

Plate 58

FY01003, Decoration in iron: camellia motif (detail), Fafe.
The main square, Praça 25 de Abril. This site has always been the centre of the town but also a passage. In the past, when there were only two streets in Fafe, this was where the town clock stood. The main square is crossed by a stream that rushes into a fountain, an element so characteristic of romantic gardens. The buildings and vegetation clearly portray Brazilian influence.
The yellow, blue and green used on the decorative tiles represent the colours on the Brazilian flag; the fleur-de-lis motif included in the tiles is the symbol of Rio de Janeiro freemasonry; the relief on the tile is characteristic of the Brazilian version since the original Portuguese decorative tiles were flat and less colourful.

(17) Would some of the icons represented in the picture be associated, by someone, with Freemasonry, for example?

(31) Have the repertoires of representation around ‘difference’ and ‘otherness’ changed or do earlier traces remain intact in contemporary society?

Many “brasileiros” were initiated in the practice of Freemasonry in Rio de Janeiro. This is explained by the fact that, having arrived in a foreign country, with no friends and longing to have connections, they became attached to such clubs, not so much due to what Freemasonry represented but mainly as a much desired social link. The use of these symbols on the outside of the Clube meant that in that building Freemasonry meetings were held. Although Freemasonry implies a certain degree of secrecy, these symbols are present everywhere in this town; they would, however, be recognized by members only (Monteiro 2006); the fascination and the attraction towards ‘difference’ and ‘otherness’ continues and even if the original explanation is not present or obvious a different representation is accepted; today these same symbols are usually recognized simply as symbols of ostentation and wealth. Photographs logged as: architecture, freemasonry, symbols, ‘difference’, wealth, ostentation.
The Clube de Fafe is an imposing and colourful building that inevitably draws everybody’s attention. The skylight made of iron and glass, symbolizes hybridization with European architectural currents. It was in this building, as we can confirm by José Augusto Vieiras’s text, below, that all prominent figures in Fafe would meet socially. Men only were allowed and the symbols which adorn the building inform us that freemasonry meetings were held. This building was the reception hall for all grand events, and here, political discussions would flow and projects of social improvement would originate.

"O club não falta em Fafe também, elemento de civilização que agrega em sociabilidade intima os naturais e os adventícios, centro de recepção, onde chegam as novidades do mundo, que à noute são discutidas entre um volte de copas e um cálix de genebra. Neste meio assim preparado o jornal da terra brota espontaneo, como um nenuphar nas águas dormientes d’um lago: o club, o asilo, o município, o hospital, o passeio, a política, formam os fios d’essa pequeña lâmpada de incandescência, com artigo de fondo e sala de visitas para o high-life da terra, que mão ousada levanta para allumiar com intermittencias hebdomadárias o caminho do progresso em que vae encarreirado o espírito local”. (José Augusto Vieira, O Minho Pittresco P. 567-568).
Three-coloured decorative tiles, fleur-de-lis.

This is the decorative tile which covers the walls of the Clube de Fafe. The three colours, yellow, blue and green, are the colours of Brazil, the fleur-de-lis motif symbolizes Rio de Janeiro’s freemasonry. The relief in the tile is characteristic of the Brazilian version, since the original Portuguese tiles were flat and less colourful.

The use of tiles in Portugal goes back to the time of our occupation by the Arabs. At first, panels were made to imitate geometric carpet designs, later changing to small square tiles painted in blue on a white ground. Taken from Portugal to Brazil, they were used to cover interior walls in convent cloisters, and verandas and courtyards in noble residences.
Large and colourful skylights representing wisdom, strength and beauty.

Decorative turrets were placed on the roof in order to attract attention from a distance.
The camellia, brought back from Brazil was and still is a very popular tree. Splashes of pinks and red can be seen all over town, in private and public gardens. These trees are tall and provide an agreeable shade which would have been very welcome in the Brazilian heat. This is another symbol of a past in Brazil which similarly to the palm-tree has become a part of Portuguese favourite urban plants.
The main source of colour in buildings comes from decorative tiles; the use of tiles in Portugal goes back to the time of the occupation by the Arabs and has stayed on as a legacy of artistic Arabian ceramists. At first the panels made with tiles would imitate geometric carpet designs, later changing to small square tiles painted in blue on a white ground. Taken from Portugal to Brazil, they were used to cover interior walls in convent cloisters, and verandas and courtyards in noble residences. Here we can understand the reason why we find modern buildings in Brazil covered in tiles on the outside. As a decorative element or only as covering walls in modern buildings, this is a consequence of its traditional presence in Portuguese architecture. Particularly in the north, use of tiles on the outer walls was a form of preserving buildings from the negative effects of dampness whereas in Brazil inner walls were covered in tiles to keep the houses cool on the inside.

In observing so many buildings side by side, there is a considerable difference in the tiles they exhibit. Some have the traditional blue and white imitating the old blue relief tile, others still maintain the original Brazilian haut-relief tile with the camellia motif in bright yellow and white. The camellia is by no means a typical Portuguese plant; in older, private and public gardens, the red, bright pink and white flowers produce bright colourful blotches; this flower represents a certain European ‘culture’ which the “brasileiro” was eager to relate to in order to show he was a worldly man, a traveler and a knowledgeable person. The camellia motif was used frequently in those days for decoration and it is possible that its representation in tiles is related to its symbolism, the white flower representing virtue and perfect beauty. We find camellias in many other objects such as door knobs, decoration in stone and on iron railings. Photographs logged as: symbols, colour, tiles, ornamentation, plants.
Turning left into Avenida 5 de Outubro, we see a more recent house with modern tiles that show the colours of Brazil, yellow, blue and green; these are not easily related with past influence by those passing by today; this design and colour imitate older tiles, and are somewhat similar to the tiles at the Clube de Fafe. Decorative tiles have been since the beginning of our research the decorative object that attracts most attention when we concentrate on the architecture of the “brasileiro”. By looking at one single tile we can tell if it is of foreign influence or not, what kind of a building it was used on and the atmosphere it was part of. In the case of the two tiles presented in the picture and although they show the same three colours, yellow, green and blue, both have a geometric floral design and are both found on buildings located only one street away from each other; we can instantly tell that one of them is many years older than the other and that it follows the concept of a “returnee” decorative tile. These photographs were logged as: decorative tiles, colour, design, ‘difference’.
Here we have an example of a recent house with modern decorative tiles that show the colours of Brazil, yellow, blue and green, that are not easily related to past influence, to those passing by today. This is a flat tile, its design and colour imitates older tiles, such as the example below.
Continuing our walk we now look across the street. We have mentioned the “palácio” and the “palacete” and now we turn to one more type of building, the “casa apalaçada”.

These buildings are again recognized by their broad façades, and great number of windows and doors; some are painted in warm colours while others are covered with coloured decorative tiles. These houses that were built close to the street were not as elaborately decorated as the “palácios” and “palacetes” and although they are still very imposing buildings they are quite discreet in terms of exterior adornment. The number of doors and the fact that those on the ground floor match those on the first floor both in size and outline tells us that the ground floor was not used for trade in this case. Because they are broad buildings their main feature would be the colour of their walls or the decorative tiles they show; this particular one has deep green coloured relief tiles, a reminder of Brazilian lush vegetation. While the façade faces the street directly, the side doors and the rear open onto a stone patio and garden sometimes extending to a farm; we immediately find the palm-tree as a symbol from past times in Brazil. Photographs logged as: architecture, façade, windows, colour, decorative tiles, garden.
An example of one more type of building, the “casa apalaçada”. These buildings are again recognized by their broad façades, sometimes painted in plain but vibrant colours, while others were covered with tiles. These houses were built close to the street, this particular one has deep green coloured tiles, a reminder of Brazilian lush vegetation. While the main façade faces the street, the sides and rear open onto a patio, garden or farm where we immediately find the palm-tree as a symbol from the past in Brazil. “Casas apalaçadas” were often referred to as “Villa” by their owners who would then add their wife’s name.
Across the street there is a “chalé”, yet another type of house built by “brasileiros”. This house, with a traditional Brazilian garden and with a slanting roof and no tiles on its walls, displays a grand gate in artistic iron, flanked by two pillars topped with enormous vases with cactus plants inside; the final effect looks like a pair of pineapples, another reminder of Brazil. We can see a camellia tree but the palm-tree we can see in the foreground is not the typical tall traditional plant chosen by “brasileiros”; the colour in which the walls are painted are a discreet tone of off-white telling us that it has been adapted to modern taste although maintaining the architectural structure unaltered. “Chalés” can also be referred to as “palacetes” since both have a cubic structure, are individual buildings, and in many cases have a gothic touch, so particular to country houses; although they are not small, they are the smallest while the “palácios” are the largest. Photographs logged as: architecture, colour, garden, ornamentation, palm-tree.

Having referred to the different types of houses, we will refer to the private gardens that most of these houses have but that are usually hidden by walls. The gardens might surround the buildings or in the case of the “casa apalaçada” and some “palacetes”, the garden would stand at the side of the building. Behind elaborate iron gates, it would have many imposing trees and colourful bushes, would be richly ornamented with ponds, fountains, panels of coloured decorative tiles and statuettes; these would represent mythological figures or the four seasons, usually imported from France and promoted by “brasileiros” as a symbol of progress and of modern times.
The “Chalé”, yet another type of house built by “brasileiros”. This house, with a traditional Brazilian garden and with a slanting roof and no tiles on its walls, displays a grand gate in artistic iron, sided by two pillars topped with enormous stone vases with cactus plants inside, the final effect looks like a pair of pineapples, another reminder of Brazil. “Chalés” can also be referred to as “palacetes” since both have a cubic structure, individual buildings and in many cases have a gothic touch so particular to country houses.
Still in Avenida 5 de Outubro and walking towards the railway station we have now arrived at Restaurante Guarani, the name of a Brazilian Indian tribe, which has a menu of exclusively Brazilian food. Brazilian food is popular in Portugal and this restaurant, property of modern “returnees”, is located close to the railway station, a place where many restaurants and inns served the travelers arriving in Fafe at the beginning of the 20th century. Brazilian food is often referred to in literature and Portuguese emigrants praised and quickly adapted to it. Opposite this restaurant we can see what used to be an inn. This inn which is the closest to the station has a patio at the entrance that shows quite a few elements we associate with a Brazilian atmosphere; the colour of the walls is a bright pink and the plants are placed on stands and are of a tropical type; there is shade and a relaxed atmosphere which welcomes the traveler. Photographs logged as: architecture, tradition, colour, plants, railway station, hotels.

In 1909 there were five hotels, three inns and nine restaurants in Fafe, many of them were located in this street, (Monteiro 2000) but as early as 1886 the Portuguese traveler José Augusto Vieira referred to and commented on the hotels in Fafe (Vieira 1886:568). Since traveling by train was quite tiring in those days travelers could rest and taste a famous dish of very tender veal which is still Fafe’s pride and favourite. There is no railway in Fafe any longer but when it was first built in 1907 it was extremely important; Av. 5 de Outubro was built as “the avenue” to welcome visitors arriving by train. The inns were cool and restful, large potted plants and comfortable seats would be placed in the courtyard imitating a Brazilian atmosphere.
Restaurante Guarani, the name of an Indian tribe, serves a selection of Brazilian dishes. Close to the railway station, in the past, there were inns and hotels. This inn was famous for its menu of tender veal, still a traditional and favourite dish in Fafe. It provided an inviting shelter for travelers. This courtyard imitates a Brazilian atmosphere.
What knowledge do readers have of what surrounds the meaning the author intends to transmit?

On our walk we have often passed houses that have a gate in ironwork fitted between the front door and the pavement. These may seem of no use, simply decorative or even awkward to use; however, they are a constant feature in “brasileiro” buildings. The first reaction is to understand them as one more element of adornment but there is a reason for these gates. There seemed to be a need to clearly mark property and identity, to determine the difference between what is private and what is public, verticality is again used to enhance this difference. These front doors were large and heavy so they would be kept ajar during most of the day but the small iron gate signaled that free access to the building was prohibited. The fact that in Brazil houses had to be aired against the heat and the tropical humidity was not relevant in Portugal but having such heavy doors would make opening and closing them quite awkward every time somebody had to walk in or out of the building. It is our opinion that these were there, to, in a subtle way, impose limits and a frontier for different social groups, they often display the initials of the owner intertwined in the elegant ironwork. In the two photographs that we present here, the first shows a contrast between the colour of the door and that of the gate which blends into the colour of the stone allowing the imposing brown door to stand out while the delicate iron gate contrasts enhancing its own delicacy; in the second case we have a bright green colour for both the door and the gate; neither the door or the gate are enhanced by a contrast but the bright colour is what attracts our attention; both these examples are found frequently within the same urban space so there is no apparent reason for the distinction, it is purely an aesthetic option of the proprietor. Photographs logged as: architecture, ornamentation, colour, property, threshold.
Iron gates separating private property from public domain as well as dividing social groups.

We often walk past houses that have a gate in iron, fitted between the front door and the pavement. These are constant in "brasileiro" buildings and there was a need to clearly mark property, the difference between what is private and what is public. As the front doors were massive in height and weight, they would be kept ajar during the entire day but the small iron gate signals that access to the building is prohibited. In Brazil, the reason for open doors would have been quite different, the house would have to be aired against the heat and the tropical humidity.
On our way to the public garden, Jardim do Calvário, also named after Albino de Oliveira Guimarães who contributed generously towards the development of the town, and situated on the highest part of the town with an extremely good view of the main square, we pause before climbing the steps. This romantic garden was designed to complete the final lay-out of the main square, the imposing stone steps (there is also an elevator now) climb high above the square and give us a grand view of the overall effect of the streets, shops, plants, fountains and the neatly placed buildings as well as the familiar bustle of everyday life. The green bandstand although taking the centre of the garden is discreet and mingle with the vegetation which is dense providing a refreshing shade. Placed on a high spot, in the past it would have a view in every direction, today there are blocks of flats on either side of the garden but the view is free over the main square and the countryside. We find not only the traditional plants but also the pond with a stone bridge and the animals we expect to see, ducks and swans. Photographs logged as: public garden, plants, bandstand, ornamentation, location, tradition.

From the rear of this public garden, where the frontier between town and countryside is very clear, we see a house and farm. There is a large gate with two tall pillars that, in the past, were topped with two imposing lions that have in the meantime been stolen. There is a specific characteristic here and a frequent one, such houses are made of two different sections. Usually the original house, a modest one, was built on the farm; when the owner became rich he would build another house directly connected to the first but it would be close to the street in order to show off his increased wealth. In these cases, the addition would be made horizontally, using the existing house. In the second example, the original house was not adapted to the look of the new house, this part is usually made into a kitchen. Photographs logged as: architecture, wealth, rural landscape.
The public garden, placed in a high spot with an extremely good view of the town centre as well as the rural landscape that surrounds Fafe. Here we find all the ingredients typical of romantic gardens, the bandstand, the pond, the stone bridge, the tall trees, colourful flowers.
When returning from Brazil, rural estates would be expanded by further investment in property, a wall would then be built around the enlarged property. In some cases a first floor would be added to the existing family house and the ground floor would no longer be used for keeping the cattle that would now be housed in buildings built specially for that purpose. In the past, in all Portuguese northern villages, the family would live above the cattle in order to benefit from the warmth they generated; the animals would practically dominate the house on the ground level, and kitchens would be unhealthily placed directly next to the cattle stalls. Families would huddle in small, windowless and unaired spaces while the animals would occupy most of the building. Separating the space for humans and animals contributed enormously towards health issues. These architectural differences in rural houses were not extravagant, they were discreet and effective. Gradually the transformed rural house became a common building and blended easily with the local landscape.

(18) Are all the symbols the manner by which the owner of the house communicates his social status?

Walking a little closer to the edge of the town, we unexpectedly found a modest house with a small low gate exhibiting two stone lions on either side. In the garden, among cabbage and tomatoes there was the inevitable palm-tree. We wonder what led the proprietor of this house to place the two lions on such a modest gate. Was it a gesture imitating those grand houses he could see in the town centre or was it just his taste to adorn the entrance to his house? We know that lions have always been considered the symbol of justice and bravery; as a symbol of knowledge and power it may also be connected to the image of pride, domination and in some representations of royalty, it has a vast symbolic meaning open to many different interpretations. On this gate symbolism was used as an imitation by the residents but was the symbol recognized? This arbitrary gesture of imitation was possibly a wish to be equal to those who exhibited them in the past. Photographs logged as: rural landscape, ornamentation, symbols.
When “brasileiros” returned, they would not all decide to build new houses. In most cases they took their family rural home and added space to it, they would add horizontally towards the street. In rural areas the house would be placed within the farm, in this way, by adding horizontally, apart from being a less expensive option, this house would show passers-by that the proprietor was now wealthy. The older building would be used as a kitchen.
Lions in stone, statuettes or heraldic symbols are frequently found on imposing pillars when we enter a property. The lion is a symbol of justice and bravery and is connected to the image of power; this symbolism was imitated but unknown, or perhaps not, to the residents.
While visiting a social institution for the elderly, we saw a painting representing a welfare committee, showing several distinguished men, most of whom would be “brasileiros”. Most of their names are those mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Again we encounter symbols of freemasonry such as the black and white floor, the ruler, the square and the compass placed on the table in the foreground.

Masonic symbolism is everywhere carved in stone on buildings and tombstones. Masonic rituals have used architectural symbolism to teach moral and ethical lessons, the principles of Brotherly love, Relief and Truth. There are lessons of conduct such as this to be learned from the symbolism we find in architecture: “square your actions by the square of virtue”. We review the symbols used by the freemasons that abound in Fafe: Greek columns, symbol of Masonic work; the black and white floors, symbol of the diversity of the globe and its different races, also the opposites, good/bad, spirit/body, light/darkness; the cubic stone symbolising perfection in humanity are some of the most frequently used. Even after death, the “brasileiros” felt entitled or obliged to be ‘different’; in the cemetery in Fafe we can see a great example of funereal architecture connected with these wealthy emigrants, which reminds us of their affirmation and prestige in life and after.

On our way back to the town centre we pass by streets that used to host traditional trade; today the buildings are broken down and in need of urgent repair; these houses had, in most cases, a shop or warehouse on the ground-floor to keep agricultural produce; in other cases the ground floor would be used for trade and the first-floor would be the family residence. The sumptuous skylights and weathervanes that can be seen from quite a distance draw our attention to the vast number of remaining houses of “brasileiros”. There is one particular family house in the centre of town that has opened its doors to researchers, the press and some visitors. This house situated in Rua Monsenhor Vieira de Castro was built in 1885, it is catalogued under “Casa apalaçada vertical urbana”; this type of house was built in rows next to others along a street, following the roots of medieval burgs. There would, as was usual, be a shop or
While visiting a social institution we came across a painting representing a welfare committee, showing several distinguished men, most of whom would be “brasileiros”. When confirming their names we realized they were prominent people in the town and most had streets and squares and buildings named after them. A large part of emigrants in Brazilian cities were apprentices, officers or Master Masons in the Masonic Lodges of Rio de Janeiro. We encounter Masonic symbolism in the town, mainly on the exterior of buildings and in the cemetery. Here we observe the black and white floor, the ruler, the square and compass.

Hospital da Misericórdia was built in Fafe according to a plan drawn up in Brazil. There is an exact replica in Rio de Janeiro. This hospital is built on the higher part of town close to the Church and the Court House, the line drawn to connect these three buildings makes a perfect triangle, one more obvious Masonic symbol.
warehouse on the ground floor and a family residence on the first, second and third floors with an attic for the servants usually camouflaged by decoration so as not to be noticed. This is a popular bourgeois house boasting two identical front doors, one accesses the residence; the other accesses the warehouse. Inside, far from the public eye, there is another door that connects these two sectors. This domestic layout lasted until the first decades of the 20th century.

Some houses had followed a different trend in the 19th century, when trading activity ceased and the house would function exclusively as a residence. This kind of house would be found slightly distanced from the traditional town centre, usually when new streets were created as well as gardens and public walks, in this way originating new urban centres.

This particular house was built in 1885, by José Alves de Freitas who was extremely active in local public and municipal life. This man emigrated to Brazil where he developed a successful business in rubber plantations in Manaus. He became a wealthy man and also owned a ship, the *Alves de Freitas*. Having travelled to Europe frequently he visited the Paris Exhibition in 1900 where he bought many beautiful decorative objects still present in this house today.

Visiting his great–grand-daughter today, still living in the same house among the family furniture and decorative objects, we realise that this house had been shared by many members of the family, such as grand-parents, parents, children, uncles and the governess. Usually an average of 10 people would sit down to daily meals in the main dining-room.

We interviewed two people who are over eighty years old and live in this house. Sitting around a table we discussed at length matters concerning daily family life and social events, we took photographs of the different rooms, rummaged in old boxes filled with pictures, letters, magazine cuttings and commented on particular personal objects which always tell a story. The inside of this house will be studied in a future project focusing on the difference between country houses and town houses in Minho. Photographs logged as: interior, furniture, Paris Exhibition, family, exotic wood.
Brazilian returnees would ship exotic wood to Portugal in order to build staircases, ceilings and floors in their new houses.

The dining-room furniture was bought at the Paris Exhibition in 1900 and has served the house ever since.
The route we chose to illustrate this chapter was by no means a random choice. While deciding on which photographs to take and which streets to visit, we were confronted with quite a few options.

We could have followed a touristic route idealized by ourselves or one recommended by the local tourism authority; in this route we would have chosen the most striking, attractive and colourful buildings, the gardens and the restaurants and cafés that represent Fafe’s tradition in good food and attractive architecture. A philanthropic route would have been an exhaustive task since there is much history and tradition involved and many spots which in the past hosted philanthropic initiatives; today many of these buildings are used for other purposes; this route would have been directed at a specific audience, one who already knew Fafe as a town of returnees and searched for further information on their legacy. A cultural route would have given us a reasonable amount of freedom to decide which sites to select and visit; the tradition in promoting cultural activity today still persists in Fafe; we would visit the town in search of these initiatives but not focusing so directly on the visual signs of the past. A route revealing the contrast between the old and the new would also have been a challenging choice since there is a noticeable contrast between the buildings of the past and those erected in more recent times.

Having decided on this particular path we focused on a selection of spots to which we would have drawn attention in the other routes, a route involving spots common to all the previous routes we considered such as: the striking central buildings, gardens and cafés; a review of what was the philanthropic tradition in the 19th century and some visual references such as the fire brigade headquarters; the bandstand in the public garden; the theatre which was recently modernized; the streets and squares where we find past signs and present initiatives based on a traditional social activity interested in hosting local and foreign cultural events; the town buildings now presenting a considerable contrast with modern buildings and the particular architecture erected by “brasileiros” in the past and protected by the local authorities today.
Our aim has been to get a flavour of the town as we find it today by including and explaining a selection of details which would be found in the diverse initial possibilities we considered; this selection of sites draws attention to the importance of and the legacy left by the “brasileiros” in Fafe; we have illustrated the signs of ostentation and identity that make this particular urban space so unique.

4.2. Moving objects and their renegotiation: the question of reciprocity.

Going back to the question of the importance of objects and their recontextualization, we would like to refer to Brian Lambkin’s study (2006) in which the migrant objects function as ‘icons’ of connection with the original ‘homeland’.

By analyzing migrant objects found in three major films, and also by following the path taken by a needlework sampler from Ireland to Australia, Lambkin stresses how important it is that personal objects taken abroad by emigrants should be collected, cherished and exhibited in museums so that more knowledge on migration can be acquired and then shared with so many people who are not even aware that this precious heritage exists.

We shall concentrate on this text since it focuses on many arguments and examples of how we can interpret objects and trace them back to their origin taking many unexpected routes. Many points are common to Portuguese travelers to Brazil such as passenger lists and reports on the type of luggage, boxes or chests, musical instruments and family treasures these modest travelers would take onboard, usually very little, often, none at all.

In the first film, *Titanic* by James Cameron (1997), ‘iconic’ objects would be found among the most modest travelers onboard the ship. Here, music and popular entertainment were important features and the musical instruments, as opposed to those played in the First Class quarters, were humble instruments, commonly played by the folk in their homeland, fiddles, accordion and tambourine. These were interpreted as having two uses, they were tokens brought from home but ‘considered
similarly as “tools” of the trade for their owners, useful for earning a livelihood in the new world... they also represent a connection with the migrant’s old world’. In Portuguese emigration we find the guitar and the accordion to be the main musical instruments and the most important objects among other personal possessions such as silver and jewelry.

In the second film, *Far and Away* by Ron Howard (1992), a film focusing on the theme of Irish migration, two particular objects are brought to our attention: a collection of ancient spoons made of silver and a handbill advertising free land. Both of these were brought from Dublin and became “migrant objects”, ‘the ancient spoons stand for the sending society of Ireland and the handbill advertisement for the receiving society of the United States’. The handbills are frequently found among documents belonging to emigrants. They were the starting point of the journey, usually taken too seriously by the illiterate in their homeland, advertising opportunity, employment and an easy life in the new world; silver and jewelry would also be taken abroad.

The third film, *The Quiet Man* by John Ford (1952) featuring John Wayne portrays a returned emigrant, Sean Thornton, arriving at his hometown with two pieces of luggage, a suitcase and a rolled-up sleeping bag. Lambkin explains that the sleeping-bag ‘ functions in the film as a window on the conflict between “modern” and “traditional” social norms in which Sean is caught as a returned adult emigrant trying to settle back in his old homeland’.

Among the successful Brazilian returnees we would always find an elegant suitcase and a white suit or hat as well as an awaiting coach or automobile to transport them from the station to their village centre, the equivalent of a hero’s homecoming.
Some of the most frequent objects that emigrants carried when leaving their hometown were a dark and heavy cape, a guitar, a concertina, a cloth bag or a cardboard suitcase and documents which would have cost a great deal of money.

Each object has its biography and to dwell on how these objects travel is important because when things travel their values and meanings are enhanced or reinterpreted according to their re-contextualization.

An outstanding example of this is the story and trajectory of the needlework sampler that in 2003 Lambkin traces as far back as 1850 in Ireland. Curiously it is through a photo shown to a grandson of one of the proprietors that it is identified as having been hung ‘on the drawing room wall. The dresser that’s in our front room... that was hanging on the wall right next to it.’ This example of photo-elicitation confirms that an image is more easily recognized and remembered than words would be and that our visual memory is so much richer than our verbal memory.

Lambkin explains the process of “ethnic fade” while following the trajectory of this sampler: ‘in tracing the handing of the sampler down the family we find evidence of
what has been called “ethnic fade” in each generation. In the case of material fabrics such as the sampler:

...there may be a natural tendency to “fade” in the ways in which immigrants and their descendants construct their ethnic identities. By ‘fade’, here, we mean a decline in the ways of behaving by which individuals demonstrate their connection with a particular ethnic identity. (2006:30)

We agree that this is a recurrent process during emigration particularly concerning migrant objects. Many objects were crucial to the delimitation of certain boundaries and assertive of specific views in a home:

The Irish nationalistic portrait in Australia obviated the need for words. It was a signal from those who exhibited it to those who viewed it, which let them know where they were: it, like the holy picture in a Catholic house, defined the ground on which one stood, located one, and spared the need for explanatory inquiry or embarrassment. For some Irish, to exhibit such portraits was an aggression, but for most it was a reminder to themselves and a courtesy offered to others: in a mixed society, such pictures said to the casual caller, the visitor, the family itself, here are my sensitivities, my allegiances. (2006: 29)

In chapter 3 we have referred to other signals such as these in architecture and Masonic symbols exhibited by “brasileiros” in Fafe. By showing these signals to passers-by or visitors they would be deliberately defining their identity and boasting of their “difference”. In Fafe these signals were exhibited on the outside of buildings. The question of interpretation of symbols continues and we would like to mention an example James Clifford refers to concerning the Rasmussen Collection at the Portland Museum of Art. According to Clifford (1997) this exhibition on Northwest Coast Indian Tribes, was displayed in a not very appealing form, however, it would be changed and reinstalled soon. When the directors of the museum prepared to discuss these changes it was decided that they should invite a group of prominent elders from important clans to take part in the discussions. Some of the objects belonging to this collection were then brought from the basement of the museum. There was a raven mask, a carved rattle, a killer-whale drum, a headdress representing an octopus, a beaded jacket and many more curious objects. It was expected that the use and story of each object would be told; the elders, however, showed appreciation and respect towards
the objects, but used them only as prompts to tell a story or to sing a song. These gestures brought moments of deep emotion, profound silences as well as much laughter. It was not the objects that were the central attraction, instead, it was what came from them that made the difference, the stories, the songs, the emotions and reciprocity. The directors of the museum were astonished because it seemed clear from the elders’ point of view, that the objects in the collection did not represent art above all, but the registry, history and law which was not dissociable from the myths and stories that expressed moral lessons. The museum staff was informed that the voices of the elders should be presented to the public at the same time as the objects were exhibited. Some questions arose: “Could they reconcile the kinds of meanings evoked by the Tlingit elders with those imposed in the context of a museum of “art”? How much could they de-center the physical objects in favour of narrative, history and politics? Are there strategies that can display a mask as simultaneously a formal composition, an object with specific traditional functions in tribal life, and as something that evokes an ongoing history of struggle?” (Clifford, 1997:191). We can understand from the example above that a museum, any museum, is much more than a space where unusual or interesting objects are exhibited within a boundary. These objects do not really belong to the museum, it is the site where they are brought to life by the connection and translation they undergo. It would be better defined as a contact zone, paraphrasing Mary Louise Pratt (1992:6-7), “…the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict.”

4.3.- Museu da Emigração e das Comunidades Portuguesas: a contact zone traversed by people and things

The best place to find objects like the ones we have been referring to is the Museu da Emigração e das Comunidades Portuguesas (www.museu-emigrantes.org). What most attracted us was the fact that it is a ‘virtual’ project and is visited by
hundreds of visitors from many parts of the world, for different reasons. One of these reasons is that it has played an important role in enabling people to find relatives who had emigrated or families that had simply lost touch.

This is a museum that has no walls and wishes to make the town its space of exhibition. It is probably a simple way to convey a meaning, and this is done not only through the vast quantity of information we can find on the website but also by organizing exhibitions and seminars in various places, by recovering buildings in cooperation with their owners and the local authorities, in preserving public gardens and documents of all sorts of great sociological interest like letters written by emigrants and their relatives. This is hopefully done by taking care to always show the various faces of emigration, the accomplishment of those who returned rich and those who remained poor. Here we are not confined to a limited space in which we must select what is considered most important in order to convey a specific meaning.

This Museum has recently acquired a physical space at the Casa da Cultura in the centre of Fafe. We observed the way in which the museum represents this other culture, that of the “brasileiro”, through an exhibition using objects, photographs and texts in a specific form to convey and in many cases produce an intended meaning. They are displayed like this to represent a precise historical meaning; this display and collection is obviously not an innocent activity.

By blending the ‘museum’ with the town, the aim is to lead people to look around and to ‘see’ both in a different way, to take time and to think about their roots.

We wonder about this museum, now with “walls”; Who is it aimed at? What does it contain? Is it an exhibition within an exhibition? Some of these questions are answered by the curator of the Museum in an interview (Alves 2010) and registered at the end of this chapter.

Fafe is a museum in itself; while walking in the streets we are naturally blending with history and records from the past. We use objects, architecture and public space to mobilize representations of that world, past and present, social distinctions are enhanced and located historically. The inhabitants of Fafe no longer notice the
“Brazilian” characteristics in their daily routine. We may consider the buildings and symbols as our objects, their physical presence and their meaning should be understood and interpreted but it has become necessary to create a microcosm, a miniature of what can be found outside the walls. If we view the town as a palimpsest of meaning we will then allow the complex social history to emerge in a contemporary analysis. Questions such as: by whom?; why?; from where?; for what purpose?; who was the maker?, are placed and an attempt to decode will naturally take place.

Should it be necessary to displace/display physical objects that the inhabitants no longer ‘see’ and make a space for them to remember and experience stories and emotions? By displacing objects we render them unfamiliar and a reading must be established from one conceptual world to another. While visiting the Museum within its walls, there were a number of objects that drew our attention: a guitar, a black shawl, a suitcase, a walking-stick, a portable altar; further along, in a window case, there is a selection of documents related to emigration, some photos and some handwritten letters. How can these objects take on more importance by the simple fact that they are enclosed in a glass case and that attention is directed to them alone? Without a guide or any other kind of explanation, understanding these items would be very difficult and indeed, limited (Alves 2010).

In a future project we propose the Museu finds out, beforehand, how much visitors know about the subject when visiting the exhibition; historically, socially, politically and if they are somehow involved personally. We will then visit the exhibition and at the end a discussion will take place. There will doubtlessly be many versions of the same idea.

We now concentrate on the concept of ‘museum’ and if we look up a dictionary definition we find: “a building in which objects of artistic, cultural, historical or scientific interest are kept and shown to the public.” (Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, O.U.P., 2000); we wonder if this is a traditional definition and if the idea and concept of museums have varied in time. If we remind ourselves of Tradescant’s Collection of Curiosities, a cabinet of curiosities dating from as far back as the early 17th century, we confirm that this dictionary definition fits it perfectly since it was a
collection of rare and curious objects displayed in a certain form to be shown to the public. The base of this Collection consisted of objects derived from nature such as eggs or feathers. They became transformed into ‘artificial’ when changed through human effort, and this occurred when the objects were mixed with others from different provenances such as natural specimens from Brazil being placed together with others from Continental Europe, as a whole. Medleys of uncommon objects created a great and general category, one of Curiosities.

This is not only about the origin of the objects and their specific details but how they relate to others and how humans associate them following many different points of view and how definitions are established and meanings negotiated. The meaning of an object is not a fixed one, it is constructed culturally and will change within different historical contexts, just as a translation interprets one particular reading of a text, in some way different from its original meaning and objective. It is different due to a time or space lapse, so a museum may be seen as an instance of translation. Not only the museum: in fact the very objects exhibited may be seen as instances of translation from the moment they are exhibited and not used for their original purpose. Museums are the place where these translations happen.

There are countless examples of collections and museums that we could present and consider, but the question of what is exhibited and how it is exhibited will inevitably vary. When considering the essence of museums we must take into account how representation is produced, looking at what is assembled and how it is presented; concerning the question of classification, we ask how the objects are separated in different categories. Bearing in mind that a representation is aimed at scholars and the public in order to convey meanings and also to teach, there will obviously be different interpretations. We are aware that museums acquire, conserve and display objects; those objects will mobilize representations of the world past and present as specific exhibitions and will not just demonstrate natural distinctions but also formulate cultural ones. We will not only find a reflection of cultural differences but a constitution of this difference classified according to a particular view of the world at a distinct historical moment within a specific body of facts, and this reminds us of Stuart Hall’s (1992) expression ‘The West and the Rest’ when referring to the struggle for power in specific contexts.
When we attribute a meaning to a specific object we must consider that any ordinary object may change its meaning over time or acquire different layers of meaning; therefore, we ask if we can find a certain degree of stability, attributed to it, by the fact that it is placed in a museum? The physical presence of the object tends to guarantee a specific meaning and within a certain context it may conserve that meaning, but aren’t meanings ever changing?

Viewing objects as palimpsests of meaning allows one to incorporate a rich and complex social history into the contemporary analysis of the object. Contemporary curatorial practice does attempt to chart the flow by attempting to establish when objects were collected, by whom, from where, for what purpose, what the originating culture was, who the maker was, what the maker intended, how and when it was used (was it strictly functional or did it have other purposes?) and what other objects were used in conjunction with it. (Lidchi 2000: 167)

These objects and symbols have been our ‘text’; they have their own story but each person will bring his/her own background, beliefs and general knowledge and will also be influenced by how the objects are shown, what is offered to the visitor and how he/she is expected to ‘see’.

Some of those questions mentioned above and suggested by Lidchi, have been placed to Isabel Alves, the curator of the Museu das Migrações e Comunidades Portuguesas in Fafe, and registered in an interview (Alves 2010).

“Fafe e a Emigração” was the first exhibition centred on 19th and 20th century emigration from Fafe to Brazil and to France hosted by Casa da Cultura since this ‘palácio’ became the physical space of the Museu das Migrações e das Comunidades Portuguesas in 2009. We asked Isabel Alves how objects had been selected for this Exhibition and the reply was that the exhibition was built based on the material they had at the time; through the objects, a discourse was created so that a reading of the causes and the process of emigration as well the consequences when returning, could be made. Another of our questions was, whether there is an established preferred reading of the exhibition and the reply was affirmative, there was always a pre-established dominant discourse behind the objects, and also in the way that a visit would be conducted. A neutral discourse does not exist, there is always an intention,
never just an ‘empty box’; the conception of the rooms is intended to show how important emigration really was and its impact that remains until today. On asking if visitors should complete a full circuit in order to become aware of the whole meaning of the exhibition we were told that the 19th century room should be visited from the beginning to the end; that is what makes more sense, but it would also be recommended for the 20th century room. Each room ought to be seen in its totality, they are not very large; without a guide it would be a limited view, random inputs would give an undefined and incomplete perception. To our question if visitors know what to expect beforehand, Isabel Alves replied that the majority of visitors came to the museum without a perception of what they were visiting; visits depended on the time of year; there were people passing by who decided to visit but also many visits from schools and from mature students; geography and history teachers had an idea of what the exhibition held, they usually came back with different groups of students. Tourists came to find traces of emigration but the vast majority did not really know what to expect; the theme is interesting and attractive, we think that is why they visit; the exhibition also receives visitors from universities who are doing research on subjects related with migration. When asked how important this exhibition is for the town of Fafe concerning changes and continuity, Isabel Alves replied that it makes sense for all of us since the exhibition focuses on the experience of life. The impact that the return of “brasileiros” had on the north of Portugal was enormous, without them these villages and towns would never have been built, economy would not have developed and we must not forget the educational and cultural ingredient as well as the connection with Europe that they also brought; things would have been very different. Our last question: Could you define this exhibition in one or two words? Yes, the words are memory and identity.

There is a reason for ending this work with a section dedicated to the Museu da Emigração e das Comunidades and that is because it has been our starting point for this research, it was what first drew us to Fafe. It is possible that many visitors will come to the Museu first and then look around the town with different eyes, but it is sure that whoever already knows the town will re-visit it in a very different light after a tour in the Museum; and why does this happen?
Several local students were interested in the miniature of this “palacete”, looking at it in detail and commenting on the quantity of windows and doors it had. The “palacete” stands in the property at the side of the Museum, they pass by it every day but only when it was placed within four walls did it stir their interest.

Inside the Museu da Emigração we showed small scaled popular building in Fafe to local students and we were surprised by the time and concentration they took while looking at it. Although these people live in Fafe they do not notice these buildings but when confronted with an object which is a representation of the building therefore allowing an easier analysis. When we have an object that may represent any object of analysis we have an immediate overall view, if one is not available we must start from the very beginning by searching for an angle by which we will look at the object as well as a scale.
Plate 87  MS01002, Museu das Migrações e das Comunidades Portuguesas, Casa da Cultura, Fafe. (Photo courtesy of Manuel Meira)

The meaning of an object is not a fixed one, it is constructed culturally and will change within different historical contexts.

Plate 88  MS01003, Inside the Museum (Photo courtesy of Manuel Meira)
The objects and stories that we find inside the Museu provide a new environment and setting for culture, there is a new discourse to be interpreted and a different representation of the power relations of society. In spite of being considered obscure places by many, museums do render visitors capable of critique depending on how they actually ‘look’ in museums. Surprisingly, there is much research and work done on museums’ institutional apparatuses and practices of collections but authors hardly ever write about the reactions obtained from their visitors; we shall develop this line of research in the future since we have registered some very curious reactions while we lightly touched on this subject during our research.

The way in which museums exhibit their collections contributes immensely to the form in which visitors are drawn to the objects and how they magnify them as they observe, revealing much information that was not until then associated with such familiar objects; when the display includes an example of how the object was actually used there is a confirmed authenticity and truth which is appealing and comforting. The visitor is someone who sees, interprets and apprehends in specific ways and we must bear in mind that while visiting a museum the visitor brings knowledge, experience and practices which are very different from that institution’s knowledge, experience and practice; this fact is many times overlooked or even ignored by the institutions and we must consider that a very different and dynamic social interpretation can be thus wasted with each visit as well as an opportunity for reflection. For this reason also, our work has been centred on how a receiver translates and interprets and not so much on what the author intends to transmit; we focus on questions and meaning, we avoid dominant effects and values, we do not wish audiences to absorb messages, to be passive, in other words we would openly welcome reflexivity.
CONCLUSION

Emigration in the 19th and 20th centuries has been a recurrent issue in accounts of Portuguese History and today we live our lives based upon pillars that were erected many years ago; most of the time we are not aware of this. By concentrating on Portuguese emigration to Brazil we have confirmed that there is a strong legacy in our villages, towns and cities which is present although not always ‘seen’.

In this work we consider image as our strongest tool, however, we have never lost sight of the network of intertextuality in which each image is placed and it is because of this interconnection of discourse and meaning that our research has progressed and expanded in many directions. Although visual material has a particular and individual way of imparting information we have provided written contexts to confirm and enhance their effect and evidence. Once again we encounter the recurring issue of the possibility of different interpretations and as a starting point for future work we are mostly interested in assessing what is actually the significance of these diverse audience interpretations.

The intention while selecting photographs during our research was mainly to enable others, the readers, to look at the image and to see for themselves while simultaneously an analysis is presented. We have since the beginning of our research been interested and intrigued by the way in which pictures are interpreted in such varied ways by different viewers and audiences. If we have a photograph and a caption for that photograph as well as an analysis of the photograph we are quite aware that the writer is ‘interfering’ with the way the viewer ‘sees’. We would have preferred to present photographs on their own without any further information, and we
experimented in some cases, but the requirements for a work such as this one are different, we need to present a structured form of all the information we collect and of all that we elicit.

In order to present a consistent analysis based on a collection of approximately four hundred photographs which we have taken during the last three years we selected the most objective samples and catalogued them as our corpus for this work. We start by explaining the methodology we have followed and we stress that this methodology was an original mixture of methods which we chose to borrow and which we reshaped and readapted as research progressed. In a chart displaying different stages of our research, photography and intensive observation have been present since the very beginning. This chart covers three years of research and explains how our methods progressively aided in the elicitation of what we want to transmit to our reader.

As we proceed and display our photographic corpus our intention is that the reader obtains a full view of what our pictures are actually covering and illustrating; since this study is focused mainly on the urban landscape and specific signs deployed therein, the majority of our photographs refers to the exterior space: the ‘public space’ where we concentrate on images of the streets, squares and the construction of institutional buildings; when we specify ‘construction’ we are displaying images of façades, courtyards, trees and gardens; when we draw attention to the ‘inside and the outside’ of buildings we cross boundaries in the form of skylights, windows, doors and gates; once ‘inside’ the buildings we show the ceilings decorated in plaster, the wooden floors and the layout of the house, the rooms and furniture; since much information lies on the decorative coating of the buildings we draw attention to the colours painted on the exterior walls and to the decorative tiles; these elements illustrate many forms by which the “brasileiro” exhibited a new identity and comprise some of the most interesting outcomes and examples of symbolism mentioned in this work.

In our textual corpus we have a selection of collected articles such as maps, a news bulletin, postcards, reproductions of paintings, family souvenirs as well as registered
interviews and exercises performed with students exemplifying the use of some of our methodology.

Our methods were not used simultaneously until the last stages of our work in which we redefined and confirmed our findings.

We consider these methods and the form in which we mixed them to be one of the strong points of our analysis since we did not follow a premeditated course, but we were inspired by the methods borrowed from different authors adapting them to our needs in an original form. Having looked back at how our methodology progressed we are confident that it will be usefully repeated and utilized for further work in the near future.

Our field of study, based in Fafe, comprises local architecture in the “brasileiro” style including the different types of residence that were built as well as the most effective forms of ostentation and of attracting attention devised by the proprietors. While we photographed the most obvious aspects of ostentation such as the lively shades of walls and of decorative tiles we became aware of the size and dimension of all that was part of the building, one example being the great number of windows and doors that were placed there for exhibition since climatic issues were obviously ignored by the proprietor and the builder.

It was when we began using the ‘shooting script’ in the exploratory stage that our view expanded as we raised our eyes from the street level to the first floor and to the roof. The development of our findings concerning signs of ostentation, as we asked questions and sought for answers, confirms the accuracy of these methods that we have used according to our own intention and objective.

We were previously involved with the background of the “brasileiro’s” character through literature but it was when we actually walked in the town that our need to observe, take photographs and log them became a pressing task. As we mention during our analysis we were drawn to many different issues quite unintended beforehand while our analysis progressed; we refer to the fact that while concentrating on the palm-tree as a particular object identified with this specific type
of architecture this would lead us to issues that were not originally present. The fact that each question generated more questions is one of the main objectives of this method and as we look into the identity chosen by the “brasileiro” upon returning to Portugal, we become aware of many of the elements that are enclosed in that identity and why and where they were obtained and why they were adopted and how they were displayed.

We have, as the research stages progress, worked with viewers and confirmed that audiences transmit a preferred meaning by constructing their own ‘meaning’ and that they don’t necessarily read messages as we would expect or as they are intended by influence of dominant values of society or by the presence of an institutional structure. When we presented a specific issue or a particular photo we were very easily, although unintentionally, guiding the meaning or the message within; having realized that this occurred frequently we took care that our audiencing and photo-elicitation sessions did not carry that influence on the viewer. We did carry out many experiments, most of them in the form of conversation, at times including our English language students, other times by contacting local inhabitants in Fafe; we have registered these and we reproduce samples to better illustrate the effectiveness of our methods. There was a considerable difference in the information we elicited from various sources; we decided to give no background information beforehand so people were surprised at the beginning of the experiment; those who did not live in Fafe showed curiosity towards the photographs and maintained a relaxed and eager attitude; for those living in Fafe the reaction was quite different, viewers expressed a sense of uneasiness and recoiled; we understand this attitude because they felt that by recognizing the objects they would be expected to elaborate on them. We confirmed not only that reactions and meanings differ according to the different background of each viewer but also that those living among the objects we were concentrating on had no particular notion concerning their origin or reason.

Still concentrating on our textual corpus we use maps of the town to show how it developed and why, concerning the influence of “brasileiros”; we also include a news bulletin with news from 1910 gathered from the local press giving us a very real picture of what actually took place within the public space which is our field of work.
From the beginning until the final stages of our work we have relied on our walks around the town to register and illustrate signs and symbols that confirm the ostentation that the “brasileiro” implanted in Fafe confirming his character and his chosen identity. This identity was the way in which “brasileiros” intentionally exhibited their difference and deliberately maintained a distance from what was local; these returnees were strangers in Brazil and in Portugal and we may say that they had two homelands or none at all, they lived beyond limits both in Brazil and in Portugal, setting their own boundaries and living according to their particular statute, a choice of personality.

We walked along the older narrower streets where trade was done, along the wider grander avenue leading to the railway station and we stopped for a while in the squares and the public garden; the identity that characterized the “brasileiro” was intentionally present everywhere.

Gathered in our corpus we include reproductions of postcards and of photographs taken in the past: the Fire Brigade headquarters, the main square, the main fair for trading cattle; family photographs taken at home or received from abroad, all of these confirm the presence and the importance of the “brasileiro” in Fafe.

By using our mixed method of ‘shooting script’, audiencing and photo-elicitation we have concluded that visual material and its analysis has enabled us to show that ostentation is the representation of a specific posture exposed through foreign elements. The examples of ostentation can be apprehended as a common territory and we are in the presence of a spatial dimension of translation, we are handling a trans-cultural question that needs to position itself in a space and in common discourse while we observe the marks of ostentation created as a sign of identity.

During the exploratory stage of our work and in search of representations, visual or otherwise, although only literary descriptions were available at first, we selected the Portuguese authors who vividly portrayed the character of the “brasileiro”; remembering our impressions of these authors, on this same subject years ago, and having studied the story of the emigrant to Brazil, we were now in a position to apprehend much further detail in the surrounding history and information.
concerning this particular identity. Episodes of “brasileiros” involved in Portuguese society are presented to the reader through elaborate vocabulary and detailed descriptions involving not only the personality of these characters but also an entire account of the social and cultural environment of the time.

Since the city of Porto is the site of some of these literary productions we set about walking through the streets where the “brasileiro” mostly lived; in the eastern part of the city we have entire residential districts of Brazilian urban expression. The “brasileiro” adopted this part of the city to reside in and display his difference; his own different world, one based on all the influence acquired and appropriated while living in Brazil. We walked along the streets and not only did we notice the grand architecture, the decorative tiles, skylights, turrets and the work of stonemasons but we also noticed that the trees and plants used to line the streets and to adorn public and private gardens were not those to be found in other parts of the city. By taking this walk in a part of town that we had frequently visited before we were aware of what it represented, in a different way and as if for the first time we were receptive to and aware of a new perspective.

We took photographs of façades, roofs, decorative tiles and trees and later when we had assembled these on our worktable we were able to obtain a clear vision of a very particular atmosphere; over the last two or three decades this part of town has aged and is in need of restoration, which has not yet been provided or programmed; the local population has also aged as a cursory look at public spaces and at passers-by in the street confirms. Not only is this a semi-abandoned section of the city in terms of new construction work and innovation but it definitely holds a particular identity which is now visually decadent if we consider its wealth and glory in the past.

We entered several buildings and were confronted with a variety of issues such as colour, size, layout, ornamentation and kinship, social and cultural life; another field of research no doubt to be pursued in future work.

Returning to our worktable and having assembled the photographs we then proceeded to label them in different categories: façades, doors and windows, stonemasonry, decorative tiles and plants; this was a moment of recognition: we looked at this
collection of photographs and realized we had a very specific identity before us. As we did so we could recall the literary passages we had reread and recognized the urban atmosphere described in detail therein; “brasileiros” would return to Portugal and create their own world enhancing components they had chosen to adopt as part of their character.

The photographs were taken in a section of the city of Porto but similar urban spaces are frequently found in other large cities; these cosmos built by “brasileiros” are also found in the north of Portugal in rural areas. We associated the photographs with our memory of literary images and then proceeded with the translation of excerpts of literary texts describing characters and architecture.

Concentrating on the representation of emigrants we then proceeded to select some images of emigrants in foreign countries and were surprised to find that they were all portrayed in much the same way; when the emigrants are leaving we confirm that the frame is one of gloom and looming danger; while on board we found frames expressing hope and others expressing fear; when returning, the emigrant is depicted as a caricature, paradoxically both an object of contempt and of admiration as a consequence of their will to be different and prominent.

As we analysed both text and images we created shooting scripts in which we included questions such as these:

(10) What was the objective of this text/picture?
(12) How do different audiences interpret this text/picture?
(15) Where is the viewer placed, physically, socially, culturally, concerning the different components of the text/picture?

When considering an audience for these text/picture questions we are presented with different ways of looking at and interpreting the same object since the final effect of a subject is different for each spectator.

The emigrant is translated in literature and art and also by his legacy and footprint in the urban space; each time this character is interpreted by the writer, the artist, the observer or the reader he is being described and identified according to each of
those people intervening in different epochs and according to their different beliefs, ideology, aesthetic preferences or prejudice. We conclude that many outcomes can be expected, many different translations will be made and the final meaning apprehended by the viewer will depend on many factors; we agree with Álvarez Lugris.

From within the contact zones between Translation Studies, Ethnography and Anthropology increasingly fruitful and productive, translation has been defined as a dynamic process that rests upon the networks established between the different actors involved. Translation thus is not simply an expression of the norms of a society or of the idiosyncrasy of a translator but expression of a set of forces and pressures arising from different and complementary power relationships that hold among the various elements that make up the translation process. Either people, authors, illustrators, translators, receivers, critics, authorities, either political, cultural or religious, institutions or any other entity that may have an input on how a translation is done or presented or sold. (2010: 0.13”)

If we think of history backwards we are aware that in order to produce such a grand urban, social and cultural sphere there was the need to emigrate and to pursue a dream that was not easy to achieve. The myth of a promised land, so present throughout history and attracting many people looking for a better life, was entwined with the myth of returning and here the myth of luxury and wealth was also present. Travelers nurturing the hope that the long voyage would bring wealth were seen as being reborn whereas those dreading it were portrayed as embarking on a certain death; the myth of fortune is closely connected with the myth of rebirth as well as the myth of returning; in returning and so lavishly exhibiting a new identity the “brasileiro” is reborn in his homeland confirming that myths do create the environment of a city.

During our research and while we collected and analysed images, texts and oral statements, we were quite aware that our work was open to different readings and interpretation but our aim is to build an interpretation, not to disclose the truth. Our interpretation enables us to conclude that “brasileiros” very freely gathered elements
in order to display a chosen identity; these elements were used to (re)construct the character of a returnee at ease to project a dominant image of himself and to defy an image that others held concerning emigrants; we have confirmed that there is a political implication in every translation and this is one more example of that; we agree with Yuste Frías:

La noción de paratraducción resulta idónea para intentar describir y definir esa zona imprecisa e indecisa en la cual se sitúa todo traductor ante un encargo de traducción. Con el concepto de paratraducción se quiere expresar la necesidad de un posicionamiento ético, político, ideológico, social y cultural ante el acto nada inocente de traducir porque lo que está «cerca de», «al lado de», «junto a», «ante», «frente a», «en», «entre» o incluso «al margen de» la traducción resulta ser la propia vida que late en los márgenes, en los umbrales, en la frontera de todos y cada uno de los textos que traducimos. (2011: 421)

By concluding that national myths create the environment of a city, we identify the icons of progress, and confirm the role of myth in designing or redesigning a city, usually based upon a glorious past heading towards a glorious future; here there is an explosive and generative power and the city is developed according to symbolic language.

We have, from the beginning, drawn attention to the importance of objects and symbols brought to Fafe by the Brazilian returnees and after our analyses and experiments we confirm the importance of these elements of the historical past; we have no doubt that the visual and the non verbal issues supplant, by far, the immaterial and the verbal. These signs and symbols where chosen and placed here by “brasileiros”, this is not an interpretation or a description made by somebody else, it is there to be seen, noticed and admired, in practice eliciting an interaction and a serious dialogue with the passer-by, the interpreter. In Fafe and through these signs and symbols we have such serious issues as history, art, mobility and power defining the existence of different parts of the cultural and social background which were brought together in the past to create a new identity, a chosen identity, by the returnee. This character that originated in Portugal, emigrated to Brazil and there developed a different identity, and because he was neither Portuguese nor Brazilian, absorbed
much influence during that stay, appropriated all the different components and then exhibited this new identity when returning. All the original parts involved retain their characteristics but we have a new identity. We point out that by importing these elements, at the same time adapting them to their new situation and keeping them foreign, is a process of paratranslation intended to create a new identity.

Our walk through Fafe has been illustrated by a series of photographs representing the issues and symbols of “brasileiro” identity which we gathered while analysing the signs of hybridization of cultures; when we refer to hybridization we explain that the Portuguese emigrant left Fafe to live in Brazil where much local influence was absorbed; upon returning to Portugal, this once rural space was used specifically to install an identity which had been chosen and would then and there be exhibited. It was through these visual representations that the “brasileiro” projected an image of himself. It was done in a way that reflected the return of a hero, coming from an unknown but exotic place, in the eyes of the local inhabitant; the returnee was considered by himself as well as by others as being of a superior sort, in every possible way. Although the “brasileiro” returned between the late 18th century and the early 20th century we have confirmed that today the town centre in Fafe is “brasileiro”.

We began by drawing attention to the palm-tree, a very visible symbol reflecting the past of residents which has become a traditional symbol for modern inhabitants of the city who in order to follow tradition place this tree in the front garden; this has extended to many parts of the country in rural and urban spaces; the palm-tree is a symbol taken for granted in Portugal even though its meaning has been lost in time. The different types of architecture we have illustrated within such a limited area as the centre of Fafe have been explained and have translated and confirmed a chosen identity, the myth of the “brasileiro”; the “palacete” is a visible example of ostentation in terms of size, colour, ornamentation and history and the question of architecture has been presented in both its positive and negative terms.

This walk takes us on a viewing of architectural examples but also of the social and political issues that prevailed. When we concentrated on the “palácio”, for
example, we were presented with a construction of a specific type of house but all the ingredients involved reflected the proprietor’s character, the character he had chosen and was at liberty to impose. To remember but a few elements we may refer to the elaborate front of the building with blue and white tiles, the front garden based on the geometric design shown on the decorative tiles, the iron gate containing the usual monogram, the stone pillars and urns, all of these elements facing the street; however, the rear view was bare and plain since there was no need to demonstrate ostentation for those who used the back entrance of the building. These characteristics are still patent in Portugal, we observe much ornamentation in the front garden while the rear is bare and unadorned. When returning to Portugal “brasileiros” would frequently choose and adopt new surnames, more imposing names related with wealth, prominent families and developed towns (Monteiro 2006). The question of a monogram placed on the iron gate, in the decorative tiles on the façade of the building or carved in stone were another mark of ostentation, stating that the proprietor was not only rich but intended that his name should be connected with this spectacle of wealth.

The way in which buildings were ornamented on the exterior is perhaps the most immediate form that the “brasileiro” used to attract attention and locally define a social status; we have drawn attention to the example of decorative tiles as one of the most important signs of “brasileiro” identity. We were told and later confirmed through written data (Monteiro 2000, 2006) that many houses were built in Fafe while the proprietor was still living in Brazil; instructions were sent to a relative in Portugal, usually a brother, who was in charge of the construction and as the “brasileiro” became wealthier he would instruct this relative to place a few more turrets on the roof, to expand the size of the skylights and to excel in the number of windows and doors, for example. Most of these symbols were exhibited in order to represent position and wealth, and we must also consider the question of verticality; not only did the “brasileiro” impose his identity through large and loud buildings but all detail was concentrated on stressing the vertical effect of these buildings through the use of pillars, high gates, ornaments placed on the roof and an exaggerated number of turrets and skylights with elaborate weathervanes which gave houses a stronger
appearance of height. This effect of height would intentionally clash with the traditional plan of the village, itself dominated by horizontality; again we note the need to mark a ‘difference’ from what was local, property became identity.

The fact that the emigrant in Brazil was keeping his attention focused on what he would exhibit in his hometown upon his return, confirms the fact that a new identity, a chosen identity was the ultimate aim of this person.

When visiting the interior of buildings we were not surprised to find a reflection of its exterior in terms of identity and grandeur. The main staircase made of stone or of exotic wood brought back from Brazil on a ship is the imposing image that greets us and the elaborate and large skylight is the most striking feature for the visitor, existing to produce the desired effect, that of ostentation. The dimension and the lay-out of the rooms devised for a family structure of the epoch was observed and better understood during conversations with the owners and dwellers of such houses. The objects which we found inside the houses, when supported by texts explaining their origin, were proof that the proprietors traveled considerably in Europe, had religious beliefs, and were eager to display wealth and to boast a superior way of life. We observed the furniture, the ceilings decorated in plaster, the silverware, portraits of prominent family members, the way in which ornaments and photographs were displayed on the sideboards. The social life of families with a connection to Brazil were influenced by tradition as well as by novelty, by local habits as well as imported social behaviour, all of this was chosen and selected to integrate a new identity.

The public and private gardens are visible examples of Brazilian influence; during our walk the choice of plants was always noticed as being particular to the urban space we were observing; palm-trees, camellias, rhododendrun, tall imposing trees, ample bushes with splashes of vibrant colour were visible in the public garden, private gardens, in the main square and in every possible space in the town. No doubt these gardens complemented the exotic atmosphere and the ‘difference’ that was so sought after and admired in the past and that has prevailed until today.

During our walk and as we analyse architecture and symbolism we cross several domains that must be understood and researched in detail in order to provide us with
a meaning for these visual representations; in order to understand and to explain these representations that were created in this particular place we have approached political, social, cultural and literary issues which have been essential to the development of our work.

Having re-read this work we are aware that there are a number of questions that have been asked and that many were left unanswered. Research, in our opinion is all about questions, there are those that we ask in order to begin our research but also many more that appear as our investigation progresses; many more have appeared since we have ceased to write. There is no last question.

Based on photographs, interviews, maps, documents and several walks, there were moments when certain issues appeared quite detached from the whole but others would easily fall into place. Organizing material and inserting it into our text was quite a complicated task and our initial plan was abandoned, and reshaped as research progressed, letting the information we gathered design the final outcome. The selection of photos followed by coding and categorizing led us to choose those that were more appropriate for this work, many that were not used are ready to be included in further research. When choosing images for examples throughout this work we preferred to use new photos every time but in some very few cases we have intentionally repeated two or three images in order to demonstrate how the same picture can have different uses.

We have become aware, in our last stages of writing that our position throughout this work has been an articulation of several ‘characters’; in advance we defined and circumscribed the interpretative parameters of the research, we selected the environment, the localization and where the camera would operate, we were the observer who assembled the key parts of the interpretation which can be multiple within a living milieu, we were the interviewer, the analyst who validates and refines the interpretation, the writer and up until now, the reader; after this experience we agree with Paillé in his particular assessment of interpretation:
It has also been fundamental to keep a distance from our object of study in order to analyse, interpret and evaluate what is foreign to us; being an observer allows us to go further, to understand our actions among foreign social realities, to take on a relativist attitude. We agree with Fernández Ocampo concerning the implications of the observer’s subjectivity:

...esta característica clásica da antropoloxía lévanos precisamente ó punto de contacto máis evidente entre a persoa tradutora e a persoa investigadora: as dúas participan dende fóra, ou mellor dito entre o sistema observado e o sistema para o que traducen ou informan. Neste aspecto existe un paralelismo interesante co personaxe de estranxeiro, sempre considerado de fóra, e sempre obrigado a interpretar. (2011:4)

While looking at “Brazilian” architecture we perceive something that is unusual, singular, exotic; something that we find should be pointed out, something which is different; Velasco defines this stage of distancing ourselves:

...una consecuencia inmediata del extrañamiento es que el etnógrafo se interesa por conocer las circunstancias que hacen que las prácticas sean naturales para los sujetos de la sociedad estudiada, a pesar de ser anómalas para el investigador. El modo de estudiar esas circunstancias es acercarse, con voluntad analítica, a la forma de vida en que se producen, depurando así al máximo los estereotipos iniciales y entrando en diálogo con los agentes de la cultura investigada. (2003:217)

We have deconstructed the “brasileiro” through what is a visible legacy that conveys exuberance and success. If we take the example of the Clube de Fafe, the central building of the town, we may see a nice house with decorative tiles but it takes on another meaning as we translate the tile; it is no longer simply a very nice house but a symbol of our history and of an identity. These symbols must be reconstructed in order to acquire a new meaning touching all factors such as the economic, social or linguistic,
this enables us to understand, accept and maintain an identity. The myth of life abroad and the ambition of wealth is at the base of the new identity when it was chosen by the “brasileiro”; since they were neither Portuguese nor Brazilian, and having no definite identity, they felt free to choose only what they wanted to exhibit, they appropriated what they preferred.

Fafe still lives under the returnees’ influence; we would have little to show if there had not been the return of the “brasileiro”, certainly no town in this area, no architecture, no industry, no hospital, no theatre, none of the main pillars of society. One more question arises:

(41) Could we interpret the town as one single building?

Questions are a very good excuse to take a moment to pause and think. They also provide a good moment to sum up what has been said. What could be better than a question to introduce a new perspective or an alternative? We have never aimed at exhausting an argument or a particular issue; instead we prefer to ask a question. Each question will be understood and considered according to the viewers’ background and their previous familiarity with the subject; isn’t that what interpreting is all about?

In order to create an identity and to promote the present there is a need to remember the past; in the same way, in order to create their identity, “brasileiros” remembered and enhanced their immediate Brazilian past making it present, it became their present identity. This work has focused on interpreting a spatial and temporal representation of the question of Brazilian architecture in Fafe as an integral part of identity; creating a sense of difference is part of an identity, it is not only a form of creating but of extending one’s identity.

During our research we have had the privilege of receiving a first-hand testimony through the great grand children of José Alves de Freitas, an emigrant in the rubber plantations of Manaus in the mid 19th century and a most prominent public figure in Fafe. On several occasions while conversing in a cosy sitting room at the house built in 1885 in Rua do Monsenhor Vieira de Castro, listening to our hosts who are over eighty years old telling us about their ancestors’ life in Brazil, their family life in that house,
stories of different generations up until today, surrounded by furniture bought at the Paris Exhibition in 1900, in the presence of silverware used on the ship ‘Vapor Alves de Freitas’, while handling old family photographs, postcards and local newspaper cuttings, walking on floors made of exotic wood brought specially from Brazil and savouring a glass of Port we genuinely felt enveloped in the past, a part of history and of a very particular identity.

At the time we conducted three years of fieldwork almost two centuries had passed since the arrival of “brasileiros”. The purpose of our work benefitted from that time lapse since one of the objectives of our research was to interpret our findings according to the concepts and minds of the present. It was necessary to bridge a certain disconnection between our discourse and that of those we worked with and with whom we interacted; in a specific environment we found different meanings, some of them only discernible in terms of a particular discourse but while we interpreted and negotiated meaning, language was being used to do practical things.

We agree with Hirsch (1995) who says that there is the landscape we initially see and a second landscape which is produced through local practice and which we come to recognize and understand through fieldwork and through ethnographic description and interpretation. Our intention in Fafe has been to draw an outline of the history of a specific place from a perspective of migration. We have seen the landscape through local practice in two different epochs, through our fieldwork we have analysed the space in the 19th century and we extend our analysis until today; we consider landscape in this work as a distinct cultural idea and analytical concept and difficult to isolate from related concepts, including place and space; inside and outside; image and representation.

Keeping our position as an outsider, an observer, and following the experience gained from this work, in the future we intend to apply the same methods we developed herein to pursue research and to develop intensive fieldwork on how visual images have their meaning renegotiated by distinct audiences in particular circumstances. We also intend to add another tool to our methods of research; this tool which was but briefly exercised in the present work is ‘the cultural inventory’ a concept presented by
John Collier in 1986 which allows the researcher to observe how objects are placed in people’s homes expressing the way in which they are used and ordered in a particular space; this method provides an insight into the present character of people’s lives but it can also describe acculturation as well as tracking cultural continuity and change; based on photography, the cultural inventory will enable us to expand our analyses to other Portuguese villages and track other migrants and their family history by following the routes of family photographs and objects as well as eliciting emotions, stories and memories from the past.
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