

## DONA FOLÔ'S CLOTHING: A NON-FREE CREOLE, WHO DRESSED JEWELRY AND FINE FABRICS<sup>1</sup>

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### Abstract

This article dialogues with the concept of design and transience through the dress of Dona Folô in the period of Imperial Brazil. That she was an enslaved black woman who occupied a prominent social role at that time. And to fulfill this role, she dressed in Creole jewelry and fine fabrics, it was a costume that displayed power and a hierarchy in relation to other black people who lived in the same enslaved condition. The objectives are: a) to understand the social role played by Dona Folô; b) whether Creole Jewelry, understood by Factum<sup>4</sup> as resistance design, could be considered as an object of transience that marks an era in the history of the black population in Brazil; c) the body dressed as Dona Folô – the jewelry and clothing – could it be considered as design objects that would configure an Afro-Brazilian fashion? The theoretical foundation is documentary. The methodological analysis was carried out through the figurative and discursive semiotics of Greimas<sup>5</sup> and the semiotics of appearance and the dressed body of Oliveira and Kaiser<sup>6</sup>, based on two images – one of Ferrez<sup>7</sup> showing enslaved workers on a coffee plantation, and the other of Dona Folô extracted from the thesis by Factum. Because this article is part of an ongoing research, in the conclusions we present the reflections found so far.

**Keywords:** design and transience, black Woman in brazil, crioula jewelry, textiles.

### INTRODUCTION

In the period of Imperial Brazil (1822-1889) there were great political and economic transformations. It was a time marked by the resistance of black people in the conquest of their freedom. During the four hundred years of the enslavement process of black bodies in Brazil, what is understood is that the European colonizer, denominated 'slave sir' –one who proprietary the enslaved person–, imposing "control mechanisms by means of lease agreements", this mechanism made life even more difficult for enslaved people who struggled to gain

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their freedoms. "They were setting free, formerly formally enslaved women who engaged in service contracts as a way of financing the acquisition of their freedom".

About lease agreements, according to Machado and Alzira<sup>8</sup>, it was a modality used by enslaved people who took a loan from another person to pay their manumission to the proprietary. With that, this enslaved person passed from the condition of ex-enslaved to freeing. That is, an almost free person, because the latter, by borrowing money to pay for his freedom, contracted a debt. And in order to pay this debt, the ex-enslaved had to sign the contract for the lease of his body to provide services. The parties involved in this contract were between the ex-enslaved and the guarantor. This contract defined the work that the ex-enslaved should do for many years without the right to a salary, just food and living in the guarantor's house. In the end, the ex-slave changed one exploitation regime for another.

These control mechanisms determined the social relationships between white and black peoples. Among the enslaved blacks, there were some who had a certain affinity with their contractors, such as assimilating their culture and customs. This behavior yielded to the assimilated a position of prestige in relation to the other blacks. They were considered trusted maids as quoted by some people. These black men and women were denominated as "Crioulos" by their proprietary, to differentiate them from the other blacks. The Crioulos ended up controlling the larger group of enslaved people in service of the colonizer. This fact has established a hierarchy among the blacks, as the Crioulos became the colonizer's "eyes" in the senzalas, in the fields, in gold ore exploration mines among others. The women were in charge of supervising household duties – taking care of the house, cooking, washing, ironing, sewing and breastfeeding.

Studying social and work relations between whites and blacks in the Imperial period, we define as objective, understand the social role occupied by Dona Foló, the Florinda Anna do Nascimento. This is because, according to Factum, Dona Foló was not a slave, and even so, it was of property by Colonel Joaquim Inácio Ribeiro dos Santos and his wife Ana Maria do Nascimento. For this family, Dona Foló was considered a "Crioula" kept as a trusted maid. From Factum's research, we present a photograph of Dona Foló wearing clothes in fine fabrics and a large amount of jewelry, such as: necklaces of different types, as well as bracelets, rings and earrings.

The object of this study concerns a possible temporal demarcation of an Afro-Brazilian fashion present in the imperial period as a matter of material culture. In order to analyze Dona Foló's dress and appearance, we will rely on the approaches of (1) Kaiser who consider symbolic interactionism and cognitive social psychology to understand appearance interactions between the user and the observer; (2) Oliveira who proposes a reflection on the semiotics of modes of appearance and the dressed body; (3) Greimas and Greimas and Courtés<sup>9</sup> who address the effects of meaning in the figurativeness of plastic semiotics; (4) Carmo<sup>10</sup> on the transience of the object "Penca de Balangandã"; Factum which presents a discussion on the permeability of Creole Jewels; among other authors.

Departing from the hypothesis that Dana Foló occupied a transient social and political role in a society in full transformation, the question that we raise in the study proposed in this project is what the analysis of her clothes and jewels reveal about her social and political insertion in this society. How design objects

represent ideologies, describe power relations and attribute meaning to questions of gender, race and social insertion? We seek, therefore, to explore the material production and the symbolic meanings embedded in these dress objects and in D. Foló behaviors of dressing.

The methodology will be documentary based on the theoretical framework presented above, and with a semiotic analysis of two photographs that we mentioned earlier, aiming to understand the hierarchy that existed between black people and social relations.

The *Creole Jewelry* has already been studied by Factum, Cunha<sup>11</sup> and Araújo<sup>12</sup>. Factum describes Crioula Jewelry as a *Design of Resistance* – and justifies that these jewels configure and materialize the confrontations of black women against racism in the Imperial period, historically becoming objects of use and adornment exclusively for black women. When analyzing each piece of the Creole Jewelry collection in gold and silver, from the Carlos Costa Pinto Museum, Factum realized that the design of each piece originates from techniques and technologies that are similar to what we call today the creative process and the development of a design project. Inserting the analysis of the design of Jewel Crioula in the social, political and cultural context at the time of Imperial Brazil. And that in addition to the concrete object itself, the habits and customs of black women remained permeated in these jewels throughout the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. She also observed the work of black goldsmiths, those who made Creole Jewelry, and characterized them as excellent masters of goldsmithing, mastering techniques and technologies that transformed gold ore into raw material. To then go through all the stages of making Creole Jewelry. Another point he addresses is the racial crossings that black goldsmiths faced, they were prevented from working according to decrees of laws of the Portuguese Court. And that even so, they subverted that imposition.

According to Cunha the Creole Jewel was the jewelry that black women wore, especially those who lived in cities. Another group of black women were those who developed activities of selling goods from their owners - known as "blacks of gain" as they said at the time. These women sold the goods for a higher price, and with that surplus they saved until they were able to buy gold jewelry. These jewels functioned as a monetary reserve, to buy their freedom or that of other enslaved people. Cunha explains that the trusted enslaved black women who worked as maids in the colonizer's house used Creole Jewelry to show off the colonizer's wealth. And that these jewels were made by black, Jewish and Portuguese goldsmiths in goldsmith workshops. And that there was a social code that established what who could wear and why. And that there was a law that said that impure hands could not work with such noble material, and that referred to the hands of black goldsmiths. And that the main techniques used in the manufacture of Creole Jewelry were filigree, granulation and stamping. A mold was developed for each part.

For Araújo the term "Crioula" needed to be re-signified, because it was a term used by the colonizers to name the enslaved people they trusted, those who did domestic chores in their homes, and those who took care of and gave orders to others slaves. So, this term was used to refer to black people who had a relationship affinity with the colonizer. In the exhibition at the Museu Afro Brasil in São Paulo, Araújo called the Creole Jewelry "Jewelry of Black Women from the

Recôncavo Baiano”. For being jewelry used by black women who lived in this region of Bahia in Brazil.

Between the colonial and imperial periods, the term “creole” was widely used to name the children of Africans born in Brazil.

In addition to a vast amount of jewelry, Dona Folô also wore distinctive clothes for the social and political context in which she lived, and in relation to other enslaved people. The fabrics of her clothes, such as blouses, shawls, gowns and round skirts, were made of nobler fabrics. Researching, we found that many of these textiles were fabrics imported from Great Britain<sup>13</sup>, at a time when, according to Prado<sup>14</sup> in Brazil, raw cotton was produced on a large scale for the standardized clothing of people in the condition of slaves.

This article is divided into four parts plus the introduction and final considerations. The organization is as follows: Introduction; 1. Dona Folô; 2. Appearance, dressing and visual semiotics; 3. Semiotic analysis of Dona Folô's dressing and appearance – 3.1 Expression plan of figure 1, 3.2 Content plan of figure 1, 3.3 Creole Jewelry; 4. Enslaved black in Imperial Brazil – 4.1 Expression Plan of figure 3, 4.2 Content Plan of figure 3; and Final Considerations.

## 1. DONA FOLÔ

Little is known about Dona Folô. Her image is widely explored in books and magazines that address the topic of Creole Jewelry. And they don't say anything about her, they just use the image. This is exactly what caught our attention. Several interpretations are made from this constructed image, which relate to the corporeality of this black woman dressed in a large amount of jewelry. The history of social relations between whites and blacks in Imperial Brazil shows that among blacks there were several possibilities for coexistence, within that social, political and slavery context.

According to Factum, the name of Dona Folô was Florinda Anna do Nascimento. She was a maid of Bom Sucesso farm, in the city of Cruz das Almas (Bahia), owned by Colonel Joaquim Inácio Ribeiro dos Santos and Ms. Ana Maria do Nascimento. “Folô was a Creole and wore the typical clothes of the women of her condition, but she was not a slave”.

According to Monteiro *et al.*, Dona Folô was born Florinda Anna do Nascimento. The date of her birth is unknown. She took care of Dr. Ribeiro dos Santos, born in 1851, when she was the maid of Colonel Joaquim Inácio Ribeiro dos Santos and owner Ana Maria do Nascimento, at Bom Sucesso farm, in the city of Cruz das Almas (Bahia). For a certain period, Dona Folô was asked to work at the residence of Ms. Isaura Ribeiro dos Santos Diniz Borges and Dr. Otaviano Diniz Borges, deceased in 1931. It is not possible to affirm the location of this residence, whether or not it was in the city of Cruz das Almas. From this context that involves the costumes of Dona Folô, the discussion arose about the clothes worn by Black men and women, according to their condition as a Creole or African – freed, free-born, emancipated and/or enslaved.

A group of researchers from the Afro-Brazilian Museum/CEAO, from the Federal University of Bahia – UFBA, researched a collection of Creole costumes at the Costume and Textile Museum in Salvador, Bahia, and published an article telling the story of four costumes that were worn by Dona Folô in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The text approaches the Creole costumes in a museological and globalizing perspective, chaining it within the relationship that the human being established with the real, the materialized in the objects. By being part of the Museum's collection, these costumes become part of the Brazilian Material Cultural Heritage.<sup>15</sup>

Four costumes that belonged to Dona Foló were auctioned in 1946 in Bahia and bought by Dona Henriqueta Martins Catharino (1886-1969). Catharino was an educator, feminist and activist. Since the 1930s, she had been looking for costumes and textiles for her project, which was to create a Costume and Textile Museum. This project was interrupted when she died, in 1969, and returned only in 1997, that is, 28 years later. The museum was inaugurated on November 19, 2002, and since then has been named after Henriqueta Catharino, becoming the first museum of its kind in Brazil.

About the exhibition of these pieces at the Henriqueta Catharino Museum, Carmo makes a criticism, claiming that the clothes and jewelry were exhibited in a museum that belongs to the elite of Salvador in Bahia, without giving due importance to the social and political context of Black women. She stresses that the struggle for a freedom invented by Black women is tied to the permeability of these objects.

In February 2023, we were in Salvador, Bahia, for field research, aiming to access the pieces that belonged to Dona Foló's costumes and documentation in the museum's collection. Unfortunately, the museum was closed for refurbishment and there was no timetable for when it would reopen. There was no notice on the museum's website that it was closed for renovations. As a result, access to the collection was not possible.

## 2. APPEARANCE, DRESSING AND VISUAL SEMIOTICS

Dressing and appearance are intertwined in the subjects' corporeality. They are visual codes that communicate a time, a culture, a certain group, a social position. Dressing speaks of someone to someone. It establishes a communication between the wearer and the perceiver. For Kaiser when analyzing the ways of dressing and the appearance of a certain subject-object to consider two aspects, one is the symbolic interactionism and the other the cognitive social psychology. This will make it possible to assess the situational and dispositional characteristics of the subject-object in relation to the observer – that subject who looks at and analyzes the object. Kaiser presents symbolic interactionism as a dominant school of thought in sociological social psychology to understand through dress and appearance the dress codes and identities of this subject who is being observed. As well as the interaction that this user provokes in the observer. And in the field of cognitive social psychology, the predominant perspective in psychological social psychology.

As it is an image and not a subject in action, we are interested in the observer's approach. In relation to this, Kaiser explains that symbolic interaction from the observer's perspective, emphasizes the need to assume a role or effort to identify the user's appearance. And cognitive social psychology from the observer's perspective, the emphasis should be on the need for consistency between perceptions of dressing, in the following way: a) in user behavior (cognitive



consistency theory); b) emphasis on interpreting user behavior and the situation (attribution theory). And that being so, an investigative summary will allow clothing researchers to consider the social and cognitive factors that influence the attribution of meaning to clothing symbols. Kaiser emphasizes at the end that "The goal of contextual clothing researchers should be to understand the richness of meanings attached to clothing symbols within and between situational contexts".

According to Oliveira<sup>16</sup> "the simulacrum of appearance is the set of qualifying traits that define the subject in the world, his behavior and social performance". And that through the theoretical and methodological paths of semiotics, we carry out the purpose of improving the understanding of dressing as one of the most laborious strategies of society. He states that "clothing and body are productions of meaning that have been transformed according to the choices of regent addressers in order to delineate the appearance of the subject in society".<sup>17</sup>

Oliveira explains that the clothing artifact is confused with human history, the clothes that wear the body are registered in countless manifestations, from funerary urns, paintings, statuary, drawings, among other visual modalities, crossing the centuries. In its figurativeness and plasticity, animated by the rhythmic movement in complex overlapping, clothing carries, in its interaction with the body and in the most diverse societies, the very history of people in the world through the knowledge and, even more, through the senses that it puts into circulation. The languages of the body and clothing create articulations with other constitutive languages of the plane of expression, such as kinetics, with the displacements that form the rhythmic dynamics, the gestures with which the dressed body expresses itself visually in the three-dimensional space of the scenes in the act of assuming poses, postures, attitudes that build the subject's being in the presence of others.

From the articulations of these constitutive languages, we defend that the plasticity, following the rhythm of the mode, of the arrangement of the plane of expression, materializes the plane of content from how the translation into languages of the world operates, that is, how this relational process between rhythmic plasticity (expression) and figurativeness (content) supports the relations between the plane of expression and that of content. The constitutive semiotics of the dressed body, with the types of syncretic articulation intertwined between them, will provide wide possibilities for the dressed subject to discover himself beyond the mere practical, symbolic, aesthetic and aesthetic use that constitute the significant uses of a given dressing.

A reflection of Greimas "[...] it is in the act of communication, in the event-communication, that the meaning finds the signifier". Greimas<sup>18</sup> (1984) called visual the expression perceived in a given support, and since then, he starts to think about what he will call *Visual Semiotics*, which is presented through figurativeness. "The semiotics of the visual or semiology of the image - is often nothing but a catalog of our perplexities or false evidence". He explains that the semiotics of the visual is artificial, and is opposed to natural languages and natural worlds. Greimas defines visual semiotics by its planar support, that is, its plane of expression, delegating the speaking surface to the speaker as the subject of the action, the three-dimensional space, and the expressions manifested

through a painting, a drawing, a a photograph, and so on, come together as a basis for a mode of presence in the common world. In the semiotization of a figurativeness, the planar signifier presents bundles of visual traces, of variable density, which Greimas called figurative formants where the meanings of the visual figures are transformed into object-signs. Figurativeness is understood as a way of reading and a way of producing constructed surfaces. To make a figurative reading of a certain planar object, it will be necessary to cut out each plastic formant that makes up the object. The formants elaborated by Greimas are: topological (spatiality), plastic – defined by the categories chromatic (color) and eidetic (shape, feel) –, and typological.

### 3. SEMIOTIC ANALYSIS OF DONA FOLÔ'S DRESSING AND APPEARANCE

This is Dona Folô (Fig. 1), Florinda Anna do Nascimento, who lived in the region of Recôncavo Baiano, in Cruz das Almas in Bahia. She lived in the Imperial period. This research is in progress and therefore we do not have more information about it. Next, we will make a semiotic analysis of Dona Folô's appearance and dress.



Fig. 1. Dona Folô. Source: Factum (2009, p. 239, 289). Photograph from the collection of the Costume and Textile Museum of the city of Salvador. Pictured: Florinda Anna do Nascimento.

In figure 1, the addresser is the photographer, the subject who made this image. We still can't find information about the authorship of this image. We do not know the name of this professional, nor the place and date on which he made

this record. In the image, there is the plane of expression and the plane of content, where Dona Folô is an acting subject, who sits on her side and looks to the other side. She doesn't look at the sender's camera. It is an image produced in a photography studio. According to Greimas and Courtés, Addresser is the one who communicates to the recipient (target audience, observer) not only the elements of modal competence, but also the set of values at stake.

### 3.1. Expression plan of figure 1

The *Destinador* is the photographer, the subject who made this image. We still can't find information about the authorship of this image. We do not know the name of this professional, nor the place and date on which he made this record. In the image, there is the plane of expression and the plane of content, where Dona Folô is an acting subject, who sits on her side and looks to the other side. She doesn't look at the sender's camera. It is an image produced in a photography studio.

In the plane of expression in figure 1, we have the form, based on a rectangular image in black and white. In the framing, in the foreground, there is the actante Dona Folô sitting in an armchair and in the background a dark-colored curtain half open. After the curtain there is another lightly textured background. Dona Folô rests her feet on a rug with voluminous hair in a light color. According to Kaiser, when describing the dress of an object subject, one should start from top to bottom and from the inside to the outside, that is, from head to toe. And after the pieces below, if it is apparent, then the pieces above.

With that, in the plastic formant – also called *materico*, from the “clothed body” the turban is visualized in light color and intertwined in the center of the forehead. On her face, Dona Folô presents a serene countenance, a distant look and a facial expression with wide and closed lips expressing a half smile. Because she is sitting on the side, it is possible to visualize the earring in the form of a rosette. Next, you can see the light colored blouse with open shoulders, the dark colored skirt with a texture reminiscent of small creased pleats. Over the blouse a rectangular shawl, in a shiny fabric and dark color. The shawl appears to have been sewn together and/or mended by a few strips of fabric. The shawl molds itself to Dona Folô's body, placed over her right shoulder, occupying the entire front of her body, with a length below the knee. Above the shawl you can see the chains. On the neck, in front of the bust, there are several types of large necklaces with pendants. There are ball necklaces, ring necklaces, chain necklaces with crucifix pendants, a rosette, a scapular of Nossa Senhora do Carmo. Dona Folô's arms are resting on the arm of the chair. On both wrists are several large bracelets with embossed filigree, roses and other details. On the fingers, several large rings. On the right hand, the rings occupy all visible fingers. On her waist, you can see hanging a little fish and another blurry amulet. These pendants are part of the traditional balangandã bunch pendants. And on the right foot, the tip of the shoe appears in light color on the plush rug.

In the chromatic formant, there are several nuances of dark tones and light tones, we cannot say that this photograph was in black and white. Because we do not have precise information about Dona Folô, nor about the colors of the clothes and fabrics. In the topological formant, the rectangular image is vertically framed.



And in the eidetic formant one can feel the effects of light and dark on Dona Folô's face and hands.

### 3.2. Content plan of figure 1

In terms of content, the statement presents the narrative of the black woman who holds a power, a social position, a hierarchy. The Crioula Jewels are arranged on Dona Folô's body to be seen and observed. In the semiotics of the “modes of appearance” of this “clothed body” comprises the “symbolic interactions” of the presence of the black corporeality of Dona Folô, who presents in her dress a custom, a practice of religiosity bearing Christian symbols such as crucifixes, scapulars and rose windows.

But who really was Dona Fulô? Was she a black woman who had possessions or not? And why was it owned by the colonizer Joaquim Inácio Ribeiro dos Santos and Ana Maria do Nascimento?

### 3.3. Creole Jewelry

Below we present some images of Creole Jewelry that we recorded when visiting the Carlos Costa Pinto Museum in Salvador, Bahia, in February 2023.







Fig. 2 (A,B,C,D). Creole Jewelry Source: records of the authors visiting the Carlos Costa Pinto Museum in Salvador, Bahia, in February 2023.

When visiting the Carlos Costa Pinto Museum in Salvador, Bahia, in February 2023, we had the opportunity to discover the Creole Jewelry collection, which comprises 130 pieces of gold (necklaces, bracelets, earrings, brooches,



pendants, etc. ) and 27 “Pencas de Balangandãs” in silver. Figure 2.a shows the large necklaces with balls and rings, the crucifix pendants, the rose window and the dove of the Divine Holy Spirit. Figure 2.b shows the bracelet at the bottom with the effigy of the monarchy and at the front the plate bracelet with the effigy of another monarch. Figure 2.c shows other typologies of plate bracelet, bracelet bracelet, rosette earrings and ball necklace with crucifix. And in figure 2.d we have the “Penca de Balangandã” that was worn around the waist of black women, and in the image of Dona Folô you can see some of the pendants, such as the fish.

From this context that involves the costumes of Dona Folô, the discussion arose about the clothes worn by Black men and women, according to their condition as a Creole or African – freed, free-born, emancipated and/or enslaved.

#### 4. ENSLAVED BLACKS IN IMPERIAL BRAZIL

Marc Ferrez (1843-1923) was a Brazilian photographer born in the State of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Ferrez produced a wide variety of landscape photographs in Brazil, and is regarded as one of the pioneers of Brazilian photography. He took thousands of photographs across the country over more than 50 years of his professional career, between 1867 and 1923. He toured the Northeast, North and Southeast regions as the official photographer of the Geological Commission of the Empire of Brazil (1875-1878), and the South and Southeast regions as a photographer of the main railways under construction and modernization at that time. Ferrez also intensively documented the capital of the Empire and its surroundings.



Fig. 3. People enslaved on a coffee farm in 1885. Source: Marc Ferrez (1843-1923).

Historian Ynaê Santos Lopes makes a commentary about the works of Marc Ferrez for the documentary video of the exhibition *Marc Ferrez: Territory and Image* in 2020 for Instituto Moreira Salles<sup>19</sup>. In an analysis of it, Marc Ferrez<sup>20</sup> is presented as a photographer hired by the government in the imperial regime to demonstrate through the image that that slave society would be an ideal model of society. She explains that these images were all strategically thought out to make it look like a developing society. In which black people in the enslaved condition passively accepted that situation. In the video in which she narrates the exhibition, she also comments that it is possible to analyze the hierarchy between enslaved black people based on clothing.

In 1885, photographer Ferrez took figure 3 on a coffee farm. It features a group of enslaved black people. We chose this image for semiotic analysis, based on the theoretical framework that we presented in the course of writing this text.

Also in the Imperial period, according to Prado (2019) there was in Brazil the technique of serial production with standardized models, to make loose clothes in raw cotton fabrics to dress Black people – especially those in the condition of enslaved (as seen in Figure 3, authored by Ferrez).

And in the case of Creole women who received a differentiated treatment for being considered as maids – a person who was closer to the family of their owners, taking care of domestic services – those were graced with noble fabrics and jewels in gold and silver. And the masters wore their Creoles to show off their wealth within that colonialist slave society:

[...] although the use of cotton fabrics was originally intended for the manufacture of simple and loose clothes for the daily work, in plantations or even in domestic service, it was not long before the slave masters started to order, for some goldsmiths of the cities, certain gold jewels for some of their slaves, as well as cotton garments that extrapolated simplicity, as a form of flaunting of their own wealth (MONTEIRO; FERREIRA; FREITAS, 2006, p. 293).

#### 4.1 Expression Plan of figure 3

On the plane of expression, we will start here with the topological formant that presents the image horizontally and the Destinador framing transmits in six planes the amplitude of the place, the large area of the farm, many enslaved black workers, the roof of the huge house and the trees and mountains in the background composing the local landscape.

The chromatic formant is perceived by the shades of light and dark, a color chart that predominates nuances of aged gray. The eidetic formant stands out for the play of light that composes the scene that makes it look like a cloudy day.

In the *materico* formant in the foreground, a wide dirt terrain is visualized. In the background, a huge line of black people, made up of women, men and children. In the third plane there is an immense mansion, where the roof is sloping towards the blacks. In the fourth plane it is possible to visualize the entire foliage of some trees. In the fifth plane, the mountains can be seen. And in the sixth plane the sky. What interests us here is the dressing of the actants in the background,

where men and women, children can be seen – some of them still babies in their mothers' arms. Viewing the image from top to bottom, the hoe is an instrument for weeding the earth, the bush is present intertwined with the bodies of these people. Then, on the heads, hats in dark tones and scarves in light colors – as an accessory to protect from the sun, present among all actors, and also on the children's heads. We noticed a predominance of a light color among shirts and blouses, pants and skirts in dark colors. Only three men in the foreground and on the left are dressed differently: with a coat over a shirt and with shoes. And among these, one, the first, stands out for wearing a dark coat. These men seem to demonstrate that they have a position, a hierarchy over others. The other black people are barefoot – men, women and children. Some women and children can be seen holding the large, round basket – which was used to harvest coffee. The Destinador/photographer intentionally guided these actants to position themselves in this way and to look at the camera. Because it is a photo from the end of the 19th century and in black and white, we cannot specify the color or texture of the fabrics used in these subjects' clothing. And yes, it is possible to perceive a nuance of light and dark tones.

#### 4.2 Content Plan of figure 3

On the plan of content, the statement presents the daily life of black families enslaved in Brazil in 1885. A black man in a dark coat stands out in front, demonstrating that he is different from the others. It makes it seem that there is a calm acceptance of the condition of being enslaved. As seen in history, this difference was marked by a hierarchy, someone who had a position of command over other blacks. In this image, we identify the presence and appearance of black corporeality and the different social relationship between black people themselves that is identified in dressing, as studied by Machado and Ariza, Kaiser and Oliveira. It is in these differences, through dress and social relations, that we seek to understand the social role played by Dona Foló.

#### FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

It is within this context that the clothing and jewelry of Dona Foló enters the history of Afro-Brazilian fashion as a resistance design. And, by adding this symbolic memory, it becomes part of the Brazilian material cultural heritage, being exposed in the Costume and Textile Museum of the Women's Institute of Bahia.

From the theoretical framework that we present throughout the text, we were able to expand a discussion on social relations between blacks and between blacks and whites based on dressing. The modes of appearance of the dressed bodies of the actants in figures 1 and 3 show us a bit of what daily life was like in the period of Imperial Brazil. We still know very little, because in Brazil the history of black people has been made invisible over time because of racism. It is racism that has erased the history of black people.

Dona Foló's appearance in figure 1 has become a powerful fashion image, as it is present in the 21st century among the pages of catalogues, magazines, theses, dissertations, monographs and articles. As this image is repeatedly explored, it



sparked our interest in the search for its history. To be able to give visibility to this woman. And understand the social role she occupied.

Design and transience, design was present in Dona Folô's appearance, in her body dressed in jewels and fine fabrics. With that, we present two fields of design – jewelry and fashion. Transience is permeated in the uses and customs of black women like Dona Folô who left their image of subversion of a regime of oppression and enslavement imprinted on the timeline of Brazil's political and social history. So gold and fine fabrics were for the exclusive use of the ruling class. However, blacks with resilience knew how to leave their marks of confrontation and resistance in print. And they dared to dress in gold and fine fabrics, as Dona Folô showed us.

We bring the protagonism of Dona Folô in an attempt to draft the story of her life, to take her out of a past of invisibility, because she is part of the syncretic symbolism that permeates each piece that characterizes the Crioula Jewelry as a Resistance Design.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> This expanded text addresses the discussion presented to the *Design History Society Annual Conference (DHS 2022, Design and Transience)* that took place in September 8<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> 2022 at the Izmir Technological Institute, in Turkey.

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<sup>4</sup> Ana Beatriz Simon Factum, "Jewelry Escrava Baiana: the historical construction of Brazilian jewelry design" (PhD Thesis in Design and Architecture, School of Architecture and Urbanism, University of São Paulo, 2009).

<sup>5</sup> Algirdas Julien Greimas, *Structural semantics*, translation by Haquira Osaka and Izidoro Blikstein (São Paulo: Cultrix. Ed. from the University of São Paulo, 1973).

<sup>6</sup> S. B. Kaiser, "Toward a Contextual Social Psychology of Clothing: A Synthesis of Symbolic Interactionist and Cognitive Theoretical Perspectives", in *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal*, no. 2(1) (1983): 1–9, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0887302X8300200101>.

<sup>7</sup> "THE GREAT PHOTOGRAPHERS by Marc Ferrez (1843-1923)", accessed Dec. 14, 2022, <https://losgrandesfotografos.blogspot.com>.

<sup>8</sup> Marília Bueno de Araujo Ariza and Maria Helena Pereira Toledo Machado, "Slaves and freed women in the city: experiences of work, motherhood and emancipation in São Paulo (1870-1888)," in *Blacks in Brazilian cities (1890-1950)*, org. by Ana Barone, Flavia Rios. Preface by Mônica Junqueira de Camargo. (São Paulo: Intermeios/FAPESP, 2018).

<sup>9</sup> A. J. Greimas and J. Courtés, *Dictionary of Semiotics* (São Paulo: Context, 2008).

<sup>10</sup> Sura Souza Carmo, "The transitoriness of an object: the balangandãs of the 17th and 19th centuries and their resignifications in contemporary times," in *Mosaic*, v. 9, no. 2 (Jul./Dec. 2016): 189-200.

<sup>11</sup> Laura Cunha and Thomas Milz, *Creole jewelry* (São Paulo: Third Name, 2011).

<sup>12</sup> Emanuel Araújo, *Art, adornment, design and technology in the time of slavery* (São Paulo: Museu Afro Brasil, 2013).

<sup>13</sup> Thales Augusto Zamberlan Pereira, "Tariffs and the textile trade between Brazil and Britain (1808-1860)," in *Estudos Econ.*, vol. 51, no. 2 (Apr.-Jun. 2021): 311-342.

<sup>14</sup> Luis André do Prado, "Clothing and fashion industry in Brazil from the 19th century to the 1960s: from copying and adaptation to subordinated autonomization" (PhD Thesis in Economic History, College of Philosophy, Literature and Human Sciences, University of São Paulo, 2019).

<sup>15</sup> These studies result from the classes FCH044 - *Laboratory of African and Afro-Brazilian Material Culture*, and FCH335 - *Decorative Art*, organized by PhD Professor Joseania Miranda Freitas – Department of Museology, Graduate Program in Education and Afro-Brazilian Museum - ECOAO/UFBA. Also, from the class FCH177 - *History of Culture I*, taught by PhD Professor Gabriela dos Reis Sampaio, attended in 2003 and 2004 at UFBA (MONTEIRO; FERREIRA; FREITAS, 2006).

<sup>16</sup> Ana Claudia de Oliveira, "Semiotics and modes of appearance. Interrelationships", in *dObra[s]: revista da Associação Brasileira de Estudos de Pesquisas em Moda*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2008): 51-53. Portuguese language.

<sup>17</sup> Ana Claudia de Oliveira, "Body dressed in the social: contributions of semiotics to the study of appearance and identity", in *dObra[s] – magazine of the Brazilian Association of Research Studies in Fashion*, [S. l.], no. 31 (2021): 13–40, doi:10.26563/folds.i31.1282. Available at:

<https://dobras.emnuvens.com.br/dobras/article/view/1282>. Accessed on: 5 Jul. 2023.

<sup>18</sup> Algirdas Julien Greimas, "Figurative semiotics and plastic semiotics", in *Meaning: Journal of Audiovisual Culture*, (4) (1984): 18-46, <https://doi.org/10.11606/issn.2316-7114.sig.1984.90477>

<sup>19</sup> IMOREIRASALLES. "Marc Ferrez: Territory and Image" by Ynaê Santos Lopes. Documentary Video [39 min 31 s]. 19 Aug. 2020. Available at: (368) "[Marc Ferrez: Território e Imagem](#)" por Ynaê Santos Lopes - [YouTube](#) . Access: Jul. 2023.

<sup>20</sup> IMS. Marc Ferrez Territory and image. Exhibition, 2019-2020. Available in: [Marc Ferrez: Território e imagem \(IMS Rio\) - Instituto Moreira Salles](#). Access. jul. 2023.

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