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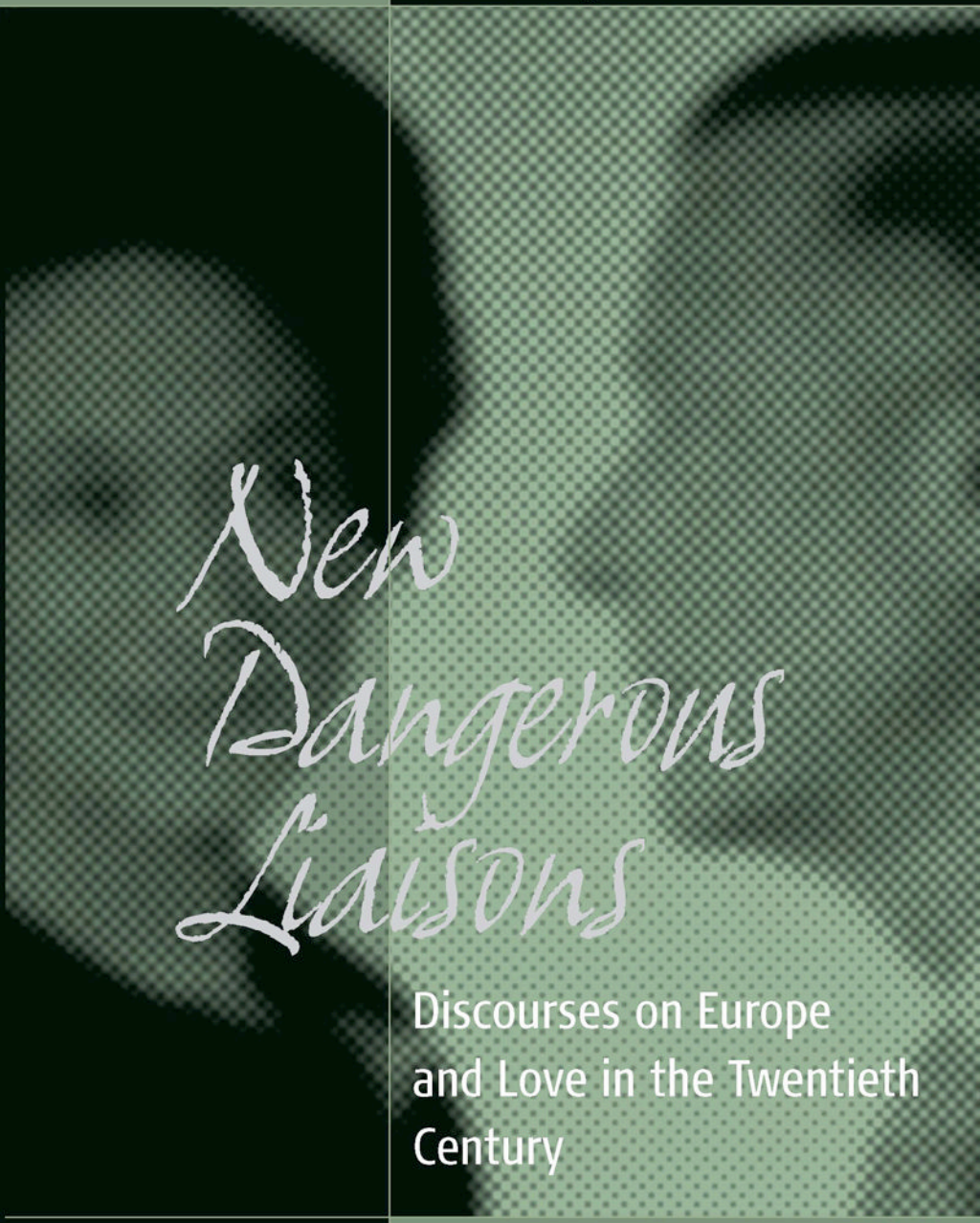

New Dangerous Liaisons

Discourses on Europe and Love in the Twentieth Century

Edited by
Luisa Passerini, Liliana Ellena
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Between Europe and the Atlantic

The Melancholy Paths of Lusotropicalism

MARGARIDA CALAFATE RIBEIRO

Between Europe and the Atlantic: Portugal as Semi-Periphery

An overview of the history of Portuguese expansion and imperialism shows that Portugal tended to define itself simultaneously as the centre of a colonial empire and a periphery of Europe: in the words of Boaventura Sousa Santos, as a semi-periphery.[1] Portugal's ambiguous position was, early in its history, inscribed in frequent references to the country's geographical location. In his first chronicle of the expansion (1449–1450), Gomes Eanes de Zurara states: 'here on one side the sea hems us in and on the other we face the wall of the Kingdom of Castile'.[2] The notion of a siege implied by this definition was developed by Luís de Camões, the national poet, who wrote in the sixteenth century. In his epic *Os Lusíadas* (*The Lusiads*), Camões elevates a confining geographical condition into the identity of an expanding homeland. He describes the 'Lusitanian Kingdom' as a borderland 'where the land ends and the sea begins'.[3] The fact that Portugal shares a border with the hitherto unexplored ocean means that a large part of its history has taken place outside of European circuits. In *The Lusiads,* Portugal is the 'head of Europe', which may be defined more widely as the head of the world given the poem's Eurocentric parameters. This founding discourse of national identity is elaborated from its inception as a journey that unites origin, that is, the West with the unknown world of the East. To cite Camões' poem: 'We Portuguese are from the West, / We come in search of the lands of the East'.[4]

A further foundational notion contributes to Portugal's sense of identity: its pioneering role as a mediator between worlds. This turns its frontiers into

Notes for this section begin on page 228.

arbiters of communication and thus also arbiters of control over the worlds on either side. Such a notion is driven by a doubly centrist image of Portugal: in relation to Europe, Portugal was the discoverer of new worlds, spreading news of their existence throughout the European nations; in relation to a variety of Others, Portugal was the representative of Europe. Thus, Portugal is perceived as a Janus-figure facing both Europe and the Atlantic.

However, besides celebrating Portugal as centre of the world, *The Lusiads* also depicts Portugal's 'fragilities' in its attempt to retain its central position. This explains why the poet, who starts his epic by beseeching the ancient Muse to stop chanting because 'another higher valour is rising up',[5] ends it on a melancholic note, referring to the 'dark and vile sadness'[6] into which his homeland has plunged. Through its artistic elegance, the subtle, ambiguous discourse embodied in *The Lusiads* provides a complex image of the Lusitanian Kingdom. This image swings between celebration of the nation as the vanguard of Europe and consideration of the threats that would cause its decline, turning it into a backwater of Europe as foretold in the epic.

Lusotropicalism: Romance at the Semi-Periphery

The Lusiads is an epic about a small nation on the western edge of Europe that traversed the open seas in search of universal status. The poet's perspective is infused with a notion of universality mediated through romantic love. It is out of love that Tethys opens up the seas and the 'gates to the East' to Vasco da Gama, the heroic Portuguese navigator celebrated in the epic. Nymphs repeatedly save the Portuguese sailors from the dangers of the unknown, from strong winds and from the boundless ocean. Finally, it is through romance that the Portuguese celebrate their empire on the famous Island of Love (Island of Venus) in the epic's ninth canto. The island represents the warriors' reward and regeneration through love. Following Helder Macedo's analysis, for Camões, love is an existential process and the ultimate goal of human endeavour.[7] Camões was one of the first European poets to weep for the death of a lover from the East, his Chinese Dinamene, with her 'meek and pious gaze', whose virtues (gentleness, gravitas, modesty, goodness and serenity) were those traditionally associated with the European model of the *donna angelicata*. In addition to oriental beauty, Camões celebrates 'blackness of love' for the slave Bárbara, 'so sweet that the snow vows to exchange its colour for hers', whose revitalising serenity, shy smile and gentle sweetness are described in terms very similar to those used by the poet to describe his '"heavenly" Circe'.[8] Macedo notes that to have sexual relations with native women is one of the perks of empire, but what is unusual is the way the poet dignifies the racial aspect of his dark mistress, who 'seems strange but not barbarous'.[9] As Macedo observes: 'The onomatopoeic non-word "barbara" is derived from the Greek term used to mimic the sub-

human non-intelligibility of languages spoken by other peoples and is a form of denial of their different human identity. By using it as the beloved's name in a poem celebrating her blackness, Camões transforms it into an affirmation of identity for his strange, but certainly not barbarous servant-mistress.'[10]

Nevertheless, the same poet who elevates love for the Other, recognising it as an independent identity, writes in a letter to a friend from Goa about the lack of beauty and dignified courting among local women, begging for white European women to come from Portugal:

> So what about the women of the country? Apart from being the colour of brown bread, just suppose you try Petrarchan or Boscanesque gallantries on them: they answer you in language as coarse as vetch, which tastes bitter to the palate of one's understanding and dampens one's ardour, be it the most fervent in the world. Just imagine, sir, the feelings of a stomach accustomed to resisting the false charms of the adorned little face of a Lisbon lady, being confronted now with this loveless salted meat.[11]

This double standard manifest in Camões's love for the Other parallels the double positioning that marks Portugal's long colonial presence in the world. The duplicity, or at least ambiguity, inherent in Portugal's relationship with the Other and in Portuguese colonialism itself has undoubtedly marked Portuguese imperialism, just as, in a different context, it allows the nation to be classified as semi-peripheral, even in today's changed context. Boaventura de Sousa Santos follows the earlier historian Charles Boxer in classifying Portuguese colonialism as a semi-peripheral colonialism, a colonialism enacted by a country that was imperially deficient.[12] For Sousa Santos, Portugal failed to colonise effectively and at the same time induced an excessive degree of colonisation, since its colonies were subjected to a double colonisation: by Portugal itself and, through Portugal, by the more powerful European players on which Portugal was often dependent. This accounts for the distinct nature of Portuguese colonialism. Sousa Santos's interpretation is premised on a hierarchy of models of colonisation, with the British model, from the nineteenth century onward, being normative. While British imperialism maintained a precarious balance between colonialism and capitalism, Portuguese imperialism was marked by a precarious imbalance between excessive colonialism and insufficient capitalism.[13] This helps to explain the self-representation of the Portuguese coloniser as positioned somewhere between colonised and coloniser; to use Sousa Santos's metaphor, between Prospero and Caliban. In Portugal's African empire, established at the end of the nineteenth century, the need for the Portuguese to view themselves as colonisers was directly proportionate to their proximity to the colonised. From very early on, this situation created alternative models of colonial society, based on the mixed-race relationships resulting from the fact that the colonising group was overwhelmingly male and poor, and from the fact that men who had relations with native women would often take the mulatto offspring of these liaisons into their homes, so that they could be brought

up to be 'civilised'. Such children were called 'mulattoes of the colonial house', normally begotten by a male coloniser before or during his marriage to a white woman. Many so-called 'old colonials' in Portuguese Africa were ostracised by their peers because they took up with native women and brought up mulatto children. With a few exceptions, such as the famous case of Ana Olímpia from Luanda who became the subject of an inter-racial love story at the end of the nineteenth century,[14] most mulattoes were born as a result of rape or similar abuses in which the power relationship was fundamentally unequal. To use the anthropologist Christian Geffray's term to sum up this kind of Portuguese colonial love, it was an '*amour dans la servitude*',[15] a perfect instance of the precarious positioning of the Portuguese somewhere between Prospero and Caliban. The socio-political, scientific and literary discourses of the twentieth century barely analyse these inter-racial relationships as such, preferring instead to focus on their product, the mulatto. The result is that the relative value of the mulatto oscillates wildly, depending on the interplay between changing geographical and historical factors within the Portuguese Empire. This situation is reflected in the co-existence of two types of discourse in the Portuguese inter-racial collective imaginary: one almost epically glorious and the other ruinous.

In 1892, as Portugal began to adopt an European colonial model in Africa, the Portuguese explorer and scientist Henrique Carvalho wrote in his book *Expedição Portuguesa ao Muatiânvua. Meteorologia, Climatologia e Colonisação* (*A Portuguese Expedition to Muatianvua. Meteorology, Climatology and Colonisation*):

> As you undoubtedly know, two evident principles distinguish colonising nations as they function in the Tropics: the first replaces the native with a white individual as a means of transforming the territory they occupy, and the result is the extinction of the black race; the second takes advantage of the native as a natural component of the task hand, preparing through him the acclimatisation of the white race so that eventually the bloods of the two races mix, for the resulting benefit of humanity.[16]

Henrique de Carvalho summarises the two epistemological positions of his era: the first, politically popular and based on 'the survival of the fittest', imposed racism as the cornerstone of colonisation; the second, in his view on a sounder footing, was based on a vibrant hybridity, which he saw as the most promising evolutionary path for humanity. Far from the pre-lusotropical colonialism expressed by Henrique Carvalho, who foresaw a fusion of the races that would be to the benefit of all humanity, at around the same time (1873), António Ennes, a high-ranking colonial official, sought to blame black women for what he saw as the degeneration of the human race, referring to the mothers of mulattoes as follows:

> Africa has charged the black woman with wreaking vengeance on Europeans, and the vile black woman – for all black women are vile – has subdued the proud conquerors of the Dark Continent, reducing them to the sensuality of monkeys, the ferocious jealousy of tigers, the inhumane brutality of slave-traders, the delirium of alcoholism, all the brutalizing effects of inferior races.[17]

In the 1930s, Germano Correia, a Goan doctor and scientist, and author of numerous books on Portuguese colonisation, shared this racist vision. Cristiana Bastos enjoins us to read his work in order to revisit the ghosts of racism present in the history of Portuguese colonisation, in relation to the identity of Luso-descendants in India. Germano Correia endowed this racial group, born of mixed Indian-Portuguese parentage, to which he himself belonged, with an immaculate pedigree based on physical anthropology and anthropometry, and the concepts of blood purity, genealogy, class and whiteness of skin – thus denying their indigenous component.[18] At around the same time, Mendes Correia, a driving force behind physical anthropology in Portugal, began his address to the First National Congress on Colonial Anthropology in Oporto (1934) – entitled 'Mulattoes in the Portuguese Colonies' – by citing passages from the novel *Ana a Kaluanga* (*Ana the Kalunga*), by Hipólito Raposo, in which the mulatto is referred to as 'an unexpected being in the grand design of the world, an unhappy experience of the Portuguese'.[19] A little later, in a nation that had emerged from the same empire – Brazil – Gilberto Freyre developed radically different theories on the adaptation of the Portuguese to the Tropics and the results of this contact. In the words of the author, this 'new civilisation', generated in the 'contact zone', is the luso-tropical. What Germano Correia, in Portuguese India, tried to ignore, and what Mendes Correia criticised as proof of colonial failure – the mulatto – was elevated by Gilberto Freyre in Brazil as proof of the superiority of Portuguese colonialism. According to Freyre, the Portuguese were a people caught between Europe and Africa, with a unique aptitude for living in harmony with peoples from the Tropics and for playing a mediating role:

> The Portuguese man is great for the following magnificent peculiarity: he belongs to a lusotropical people. Every time he has tried to be a European in the Tropics, like the English, Belgians, and French, a white lord among tropical peoples of colour, he has been reduced to a ridiculous caricature of those imperial nations. Imperial nations which are today in rapid disintegration.
>
> For there are no longer people of colour who are inclined to be a forever defenceless reserve of labour, almost an animal in the service of white exploiters.[20]

What had been viewed as a weak point in Portuguese colonialism – from the nineteenth century European (and particularly British) imperialist perspective, which saw Portugal as a country that had failed to modernise, just as it had failed in its colonial mission – was, in Freyre's model, elevated to an original status that legitimised a new world order: the lusotropical order.[21] The new concept that he introduced was an ennoblement of inter-racial sexual relationships, using the traditional framework of the sugar plantation system as his reference point. This was the system in which he had been born, and which he studied in landmark publications such as *Casa Grande & Senzala* (*Slaves & Masters,* published in 1933), which analyses the patriarchal rural society of the sugar plantations that resulted from the slave trade. There, slaves and masters, blacks and whites, lived together, around the hearth, and it was this environment that

produced the mulattoes comprising the dominant element in Brazil's racial make-up. As rightly pointed out by several of the authors who have prefaced his works,[22] Freyre looks at the sugar plantations from the *Casa Grande* – that is, from the master's perspective – and not from the *Senzala* – the slaves' point of view.

On the other hand, it is important to stress that Freyre was trained in cultural anthropology of the time, and was in fact reacting to a social anthropology from the North (particularly from the US where he studied) that considered the southern hemisphere, and particularly his Brazil, as a 'little world of no importance'.[23] At the same time, he was reacting to some of the foundational narratives of the Brazilian nation that associated mulattoes with racial degeneration, and viewed their 'bleaching' as the only possible redemption.[24] As Cristiana Bastos shows, in Brazil, scientific racism was interpreted in a *sui generis* fashion to argue that it was possible to diminish the supposedly harmful effects of mixing the races by promoting marriage between whites and mulattoes; for that reason, immigration from Europe was encouraged.[25]

Freyre rejects this notion, preferring instead to see Brazil's mixed racial make-up as its strength. According to Freyre: 'the product of that hybridity was no longer deemed to be the fruit of an original sin and condemned to marginality. Rather, it became the happy result of a fertile and creative hubris, destined to spawn an entirely new civilisation.'[26] For good or ill, Brazil is probably the most racially mixed country in the world, and Luanda the most hybrid city in Africa. This may explain how this geographical region, united by the Atlantic and an experience of Portuguese colonisation, has given birth to the dangerous, if reassuring, concept of a 'cordial colonialism' that stands at the heart of the theory of lusotropicalism. This theory views miscegenation as an absence of racism, when in practice, it was a different kind of racism.[27] The *Estado Novo* (New State), which took power in Portugal after the military coup of 1926 and was headed by Salazar from 1932 until his death in 1968,[28] was based on nationalist policies, grounded in the concepts of national unity and empire. The cornerstone of the intended national resurrection was a return to the original values of the Portuguese imperial adventure. These shored up, within an imperial ideology, the notions of the ecumenical Christian vocation of the Portuguese and an unconditional unity between the metropolis and its colonies. Salazar's foreign policy was based on the conviction that Europe only 'conspired against Portugal'. During his long rule, Europe marginalised Portugal, and Portugal, in turn, marginalised itself from Europe. The resulting isolation, grounded in an uncompromising belief in the territorial integrity of Portugal and its colonies, was ideologically rooted. It assumed that the uniqueness of Portuguese identity could be fulfilled only from within the history that had helped to shape that identity.[29] After the Second World War, following the emergence of the Asian and African liberation movements, the status of Portugal's colonial territories was called into question in international in-

stitutions such as the United Nations. The Constitutional Revision of 1951, provoked by foreign pressure but also by some internal pressure, changed the surface appearance of Portuguese imperialism. Thus, a 'history of five centuries of colonisation of which we should be proud' was – overnight – rewritten as 'five centuries of relations between different cultures and peoples', to quote an important Salazar cabinet minister, Caeiro da Matta.[30] A colonial society became 'pluriracial'. The nation that had been imperial suddenly became 'pluricontinental', and the colonies were renamed 'overseas provinces' – a term that had, in fact, been used in the past. Portugal's special civilising mission became the equally special mission of 'integration in the Tropics'. The adaptation of the theories and discourse of Freyre was swift and so was their ensuing promotion via the media, providing a philosophy to support and lend credibility to the 'changes' of 1951. Freyre's work made it possible to continue to claim that Portuguese colonisation was unique, while at the same time making it appear scientific and modern.

The element allowing for the adaptation of the Brazilian discourse of lusotropicalism by Portuguese discourse under Salazar is the messianic tone that proclaims the 'new order' through which Portugal could be reborn.[31] At the time, Europe was engaged in the decolonisation process and caught between the economic hegemony of the United States and the 'communist threat' of the USSR. In foreign policy, lusotropicalism, appropriated by the *Estado Novo,* would first be used to defend the concept of an 'Iberian bastion'[32] suspicious of a democratic Europe. It would subsequently be used to articulate a defence of the whole of Europe, whose survival was threatened by the emergence, at the end of the Second World War, of the two superpowers. It claimed that the future of Europe and of Western Christian civilisation could only be guaranteed through the creation of a Euro-African space. Portugal, the pluricontinental nation and creator of multiracial societies – Brazil being Freyre's paradigm – was once again at the centre of the world. It signalled the creation of a 'Euro-Africa', and skirted round the problem of de-colonisation.

The long-lasting Salazar regime co-opted Freyre's lusotropicalism as a 'magic formula'[33], in response to increasing international criticism of its continued support for colonialism in the late 1950s and 1960s. In fact, there was more to this image of racial harmony, based on inequality, than Salazar's mainstream racism. Appropriating Freyre's lusotropicalism for political expediency, when in 1961 armed resistance movements rose against the Portuguese in Angola, Salazar ordered the immediate, brutal crushing of the liberation movements without even a hint of an inclination to negotiate. So began a thirteen-year war fought on three fronts, as Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau quickly followed Angola's example. However, according to the regime, Portugal was not at war but merely exerting its sovereignty since Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau were integral parts of Portugal. Concomitant with the regime's view of 'cordial colonialism', this was also a 'cordial war'. Thus, in a very informal way, Portugal

encouraged the wives and families of military officers serving in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau to accompany them – something that was unheard of in other colonial wars in Africa. In its publications, the National Women's Organisation declared full support for the role of those women who went to Africa with their husbands, normally spending two years there during which time they were charged with the mission of 'improving the black woman'.[34] Such a mission, conceived in the traditional corporatist terms of the regime's ideology, combined service to the family with the nation's civilising mission, in what can be viewed as an attempt to provide support for the Portuguese military.

By transferring the family unit to Africa, the *Estado Novo* seems to pursue its policy of colonising through the family, at the same time offering greater stability to those whom it displaced from Portugal to fight a war, by allowing them to share their day-to-day experiences with their families. While this strategy helped to stabilise populations, particularly in the capitals and main cities, it triggered a policing of the moral and political values to which the *Estado Novo* subscribed, and so inter-racial liaisons began to be avoided, at least among the elites. It also gave a younger Portuguese generation the chance to experience Africa, not as a distant place where one went to war, but rather as a place where one lived with one's family, where one worked, where one's children were born and educated and where opportunities for work not available in the metropolis could be enjoyed. It encouraged people not just to go to Africa, but also to stay in Africa; in other words, to fuse emigration, colonisation and waging war. Today, when many of these military wives discuss this episode in their lives, they claim to have been unaware of the manipulation of which they may have been agents. They rarely feel that there was a deliberate, thought out policy – and, in fact, we cannot state that there was a deliberate policy to that effect – but they recognise that their presence gave an air of 'normality' to a highly abnormal situation, that is, to a colonial war.[35]

The discourse of lusotropicalism, which continues in some quarters to this day, never really signposted a cultural end to the Portuguese Empire. However, literary texts steeped in the experience of this colonial war did herald an end, even if they were generated by the ideological intolerance of a regime that supported and relied on war. Of course, official discourse was cloaked in a lusotropicalism that converted the war into a sovereign mission, and for which mutilation or death was a heroic gesture in defence of the homeland. But the experience of war undid that officially sanctioned fiction, and initiated a textual and literal journey home to Portugal. Indeed, the military coup of 25 April 1974 was a simultaneous liberation for Portugal and its colonies, directly attributable to the military's experience of war in Africa. The 'romantic' result of those thirteen years of war, which had taken nearly one million Portuguese to Africa, is registered on the skin of the many mulattoes distributed throughout Portugal as well as the former colonies, as well as in the many literary works that are usually classed as 'literature of the colonial wars'.

Luso Love in a Time of Colonial War

In *Jornada de África* (*African Journey*), a novel from the 1960s colonial wars in Africa, Manuel Alegre[36] evokes a revised version of Camões's love affair with the slave Bárbara. The Bárbara in *African Journey* is in the process of becoming free, as she is a member of an Angolan liberation movement (MPLA – Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola)[37]. However, she is in love with a rebellious officer of the Portuguese colonial army. To quote the novel, she is free, but is 'colonised by love', while he is 'captivated' by love.

The book's title, *African Journey,* signals an immediate intertextual link to the 1607 text *African Journey* by Jerónimo de Mendonça. Mendonça's text was an account of the 1578 military expedition to Alcácer Quibir in North Africa, where a dramatic battle lost Portugal its King D. Sebastião and a large part of its nobility and middle class, leading to its annexation by Spain and its loss of status among the nations of Europe. This shared title activates an allegory extensively deployed in Portuguese literature and in Manuel Alegre's own poetry, which fuses the historical and mythical image of Alcácer Quibir with the territories in conflict during the colonial wars. Such an equation confirms the poet's vision of this war as the marker of an end. In the novel, Sebastião, the hero, and his companions in arms, whom Manuel Alegre renders perfect inheritors of the tradition of Camões, are fighting a colonial war in Angola. This revisitation of the mythical space of Alcácer Quibir was already explicit in Alegre's poems,[38] where it takes on a double meaning encapsulated in the myth. First, it makes the territory at war into a symbolic space of national loss with no possibility for recuperation. Second, it opens up the archetypal place of rebirth through the return of the king. Through the use of this allegory, an ambiguous time is represented, as was indeed lived in Luanda and Lisbon during the years of the colonial wars. The subversion contained in this strategy of intertextual intersection of times, spaces and personalities in the fabric of Alegre's poetry[39] takes on a greater and more prominent role in the novel, due to its narrative structure in the form of a prose chronicle written by a poet. The poet's style opens up a rich texture of polyphonic meanings, in a novel in which several personalities are rolled together, and where they also dissolve into other characters (e.g., Sebastião and the Poet). Furthermore, the amalgam of several times and spaces allows for the dramatisation of a jigsaw puzzle of subversive identifications between Sebastião and the king who disappeared on the shores of Alcácer Quibir, the Angolan Bárbara who is a militant of the MPLA, and Camões's Bárbara; between planes and boats, steeds and jeeps, troop carriers and cavalry loads; and between Luanda and Alcácer Quibir.

In addition to its strategy of textual fragmentation combined with historical reference, *African Journey* also contains textual fragments in parentheses, as a way of communicating to the reader the opinions of the movements on the other side of the war. These textual fragments relay the thoughts of Domingos

da Luta, an MPLA guerrilla fighter. Related to these fragments are the letters between Sebastião and Bárbara that reveal, through their intimacy, the impossible love and disintegration of Sebastião. He seeks a precarious grounding in textual quotations from poets and novelists, whose voices prolong his interrogation of this anti-epic time when love is lacking. Added to these contemporary voices, which plot out alternative discourses to the authoritarian master narrative through which the nation's identity was conceived, are clippings from newspapers, which Sebastião reads to keep up to date.

This textual alignment of multiple voices not only tries to counter the monoglossia of the regime, but it also tries to create an alternative decentred discourse located in a 'somewhere' where all of the action seems to be taking place, revealing the emptiness at the centre (that is, Portugal, which ordered the war). Thus, Manuel Alegre's *African Journey* repeats the book previously written by Jerónimo de Mendonça, the chronicler of the battle of Alcácer Quibir, but in a different mode.[40] It is no longer just the chronicle of an expedition to restore empire that led to death, but also the chronicle of a struggle for liberty.

In Alegre's *African Journey,* Sebastião is not a sovereign destined to create a myth, but a rebel officer sent to Angola, destined to deconstruct the myth.[41] Similarly, the writer Jerónimo de Mendonça, the homonym of the writer of the other *African Journey,* is an anti-colonialist resident of Luanda, destined to write a different chronicle. Sebastião's companions – Jorge Albuquerque Coelho, Alvito, Duarte de Meneses, Vasco da Silveira, Miguel de Noronha and other names associated with the battle of Alcácer Quibir – are reincarnated as protagonists in another fatal battle, and are destined to be the heroes of another epic. In this way, personal and national identities are interrogated and are confronted by the experience of lived realities. The narrator undertakes a voyage from self to Other, and, following Camões's example, he does it through the love of a woman. Throughout his wanderings in Africa, Sebastião falls in love with the Other, with whatever Portugal designates as barbarous – to draw again on the onomatopoeia which in Greek tradition signals sub-humanity, a sub-humanity that Camões had already denied in his *Endechas a Bárbara Escrava* (*Lamentations for a slave called Bárbara*). Bárbara, in *African Journey,* is the sister-in-law of the writer Jerónimo de Mendonça who introduces Sebastião to the world of Angolan poets and explains to him the position of whites in Angola, caught between the heritage and privilege associated with their colonial side and an African identity. Bárbara is a 'daughter of the empire', with a Goan father and a Cabo-Verdean mother, while self-identifying as an Angolan woman and member of the MPLA. Sebastião describes her through the eyes of someone from the metropolis who has been seduced, in a discourse fraught with lusotropicalism. She is the one who confronts him with his unsustainable double position, as a member of the colonial army and an anti-colonialist, telling him that coincidences do not cancel out differences and that history does not repeat itself but rather evolves:

> Mixed blood, Sebastião thinks, only the greatest of mixing could achieve such beauty; Europe, Africa, Asia. Long live the great Lusiad journey.
>
> 'Our culture is a culture of miscegenation.'[42]

Manuel Alegre refashions in his MPLA member, Bárbara, Camões's *cativa* (captive), who centuries before had seduced and rendered *cativo* (captivated) the poet Camões, inducing him to write the verses cited by Sebastião. In another strategic echo of Camões, in Alegre's novel love is the guide to knowledge, giving 'understanding to things that did not have it'.[43] As they discuss their identities in the their first encounter, Sebastião, despite being anti-colonialist, is blatantly confronted with his position as a lieutenant in the fascist colonial army. In their dialogue, not only are the political and geographical camps of both of them defined, but also their different memories of a history in common, which determine the different centres of their identities. Sebastião is a European Portuguese, who fought against the regime. Bárbara, the daughter of empire, was fighting for a country.

In wartime, Bárbara was the Other. But in the time frame within which Sebastião insists on recuperating her for himself – the time of Sebastião the rebel and fighter against the dictatorship, now more or less adrift in this conflict-ridden land – Bárbara's love is transformed into hope for a possible regeneration, saving him from his doomed position. However, the time in which they live and over which they have no control is still one of division, and the exit to different destinations imposes itself. Bárbara will leave for exile and Sebastião for Nambuangongo/Alcácer Quibir. Only the son of Sebastião, desired by Bárbara, might bring the sign of a new time, sought by both – a transnational time. Bárbara wanted to create such a time in the midst of the barracks where Sebastião was on duty – a barracks she invades with her love and her subversive power. That power shows both the fragility of the Portuguese forces, who, in the middle of Luanda, allowed themselves to be penetrated by the enemy represented by her, and also the greater subversion of wartime by love. However, Bárbara's desire was not realised against the troubled backdrop of a war between opposing sides, which immediately interrupts them with more deaths, amputations, persecutions and departures in this 'time to which we are condemned',[44] as Bárbara writes in her last letter to Sebastião. Through it, the last chance to save Sebastião and, along with him, the country seems to be denied.

However, the love of Bárbara, through its alchemic power, came to transform 'appetite' into 'reason', to draw on Helder Macedo's interpretation of Camões's lyrical poetry,[45] giving meaning to Sebastião's mission, and leading him to transpose the lack of logic underpinning a futile war into the logic of a war for liberation. Through the narrative, Bárbara emerges as the symbol of Sebastião's confrontation with himself and with his own history. The deep meaning of the love between Bárbara and Sebastião is a symbol of the lesson for all humanity learnt from the conflict, and a call for reconciliation, love and

peace, and to oppose division, lovelessness and war, as indeed was inscribed in *The Lusiads:* Camões had clearly shown that it was Tethys's love for Vasco da Gama, and not conquest, that made the Portuguese sea the *mare nostrum*.

We learn in the novel that Sebastião 'entered alone deep into the forest, god knows in the direction of what'. But as the poet continues 'There is still the sea (Dom Sebastião will appear in a large boat behind the islet in Vila Franca do Campo)'.[46] It is on this sea, which unites rather than separates, that the imaginary of the future nation will be constructed, a nation that, following Camões, only love will bring about, as Alegre later wrote in *Com que Pena – Vinte Poemas para Camões* (*Twenty Poems to Camoens*):

> From Barbara came that missing difference
> After her, language was no longer just one colour
> From Barbara a being herself she was the Other
> Lady of ours sacred blackness
> Before Barbara Europe was so little
> We are the captive, not Barbara.[47]

Europe and the Shadow of Former Empire

The literature of the colonial wars that appeared after 25 April 1974 is a literature of return and not of departure, of loss and not discovery, of emptying rather than replenishment, of guilt and remorse instead of exaltation and heroics. The image of Portugal emerging from this literature is one of Portugal disintegrating bit by bit in Africa. This explains the obsessive recourse by some poets and prose writers to issues of personal identity and the rediscovery of the Portuguese subject, against a backdrop of violent physical, psychological and social rupture inflicted on all sides: Portuguese and African. Contrary to the time of Camões's Bárbara, the inability to consummate relationships between African women and Portuguese men is the dominant note in the literature of this period. Likewise, an intransitivity that echoes the zeitgeist into which the characters were born and the war that separated them haunts the diversity of literary relationships.

After 25 April 1974, Portugal changed from a 'colonising nation to a country that created new nations'.[48] This transformation provided the necessary foundation to redeem Portugal's young democracy as, in Portugal, post-colonialism is intimately linked to post-Salazarism, the birth of the democratic process and Portugal's European dimension. Unlike the nineteenth century, when the Portuguese exorcised the loss of one empire (Brazil) by recourse to another (Africa), the key image of the 25 April movement was the end of Portugal as an imperial nation. This new image of the nation quickly found expression in the first post-Revolution works on the colonial wars, where we can read 'For me, Portugal is over'; 'Guinea has disappeared. It has been wiped off the map'; 'Mozambique is finished'; 'Angola has ceased to exist'.[49]

Portugal's entry into the European Economic Community, in 1986, may initially have been viewed as the volte-face necessary for rapid relief from imperial traumas; it neutralised the vague dream of reconnecting with that emotive, cultural geography linking Portugal to the image of its former empire. It was also the political mechanism through which Portugal could quickly pass into the European, post-colonial era. Lourenço has noted that it was not merely a case of the Portuguese going into Europe; Europe had also arrived in Portugal. The famous slogan of the time – 'Europe With Us' – highlights this subtlety. By changing the direction of the search, which for centuries had originated in the periphery and been toward the centre, the Portuguese were able to sit comfortably at the table of European nations. As Sousa Santos emphasises, the slogan contained the promise that Portugal could 'construct a democratic and stable society, a society like those in Western Europe'.[50] Europe nurtured Portugal's fledgling democracy, ensuring that it followed the Western model. Concomitantly, Portugal projected a European identity, which it reconciled with its nostalgia for the empire. Manuel Alegre sums up well Portugal's position as a country with no empire and on the geographical, cultural and economic periphery of Europe. That position could be sublimated by emphasising the nation's different relationship to Europe, a difference seen as a value based on a unique imperial experience:

> We have something to take to Europe too, our own historical experience, and the great richness we have – our culture and our extraordinarily special relationship with other peoples and other continents – and we are going to take to Europe a conceptualisation that is open to the world, that respects others, rather than being Eurocentric, along with the capacity to understand the differences of others. At the end of the day, that is the special singularity of our identity and of our culture; that is the contribution that we must take to Europe.[51]

If this sublimation were to be realised, would other dreams remain suspended between the image of that distant empire and Europe? After Portugal's integration into Europe, in the late 1990s, the concept of lusophonia, manifested in the Community of Officially Portuguese-speaking countries and in Portuguese official discourse, became the founding myth for this particular 'post-lusotropical'[52] European democracy. Literature, architecture, art, European cultural programmes established in Portugal, exhibitions (such as Expo98 in Lisbon), the names of new developments and shopping malls all register the memory of the Portuguese seaward drift and of the contacts to which it led, as the hallmark of Portugal in Europe.[53] This is 'lusotropically' embodied in the 'particular aptitude of the Portuguese to contact with the tropical peoples', as evidenced in the exemplary legal text that instituted the school inter-exchange programme, *Entre Culturas* (Between Cultures), promoted by the Ministry of Education and financed by the European Community.[54]

Portugal's peripheral geographic position led it, in the sixteenth century, to be the first European empire. This frontier geography had been poetically

elevated to an identity in Camões's famous verses, which put the Lusitanian kingdom at the head of Europe, in what was the first European modernity, one with a markedly Iberian flavour. Its peripheral position in Europe from the 1950s to the 1970s allowed it to be the last European empire. The colonial wars, to which this peripheral condition led Portugal and its empire, sought to defend the fiction that Portugal was a centre. However, at the same time, 'Africa becomes a mirror in which the unspoken and undisguised face of Portugal is reflected.'[55] Therefore, the war would also undo the fiction and initiate the journey home to Portugal and to Europe.

Taking up a suggestion advanced by Eduardo Lourenço, one can wonder whether, for the Portuguese of today, lusophonia might not be the new Portuguese 'Rose-coloured map', where all of the real empires of the past continue in Portuguese dreams, shining as both fantasy and phantom in Portuguese souls.[56] Bárbara, the historic image of a conquered Africa and of Portuguese love for the continent, continues to raise its head among us in the space between the fantasy and phantom of an empire under whose shadow the Portuguese still live. But in fact, and as Isabel Castro Henriques argues, 'without the remotest recourse to lusotropicalism', the consequences of the colonial enterprise can never expunge the demands of prolonged cohabitation, something that alters the past, while sketching out the future.[57] The future would be a politically, socially, economically and culturally European one, but historically and culturally anchored in the South Atlantic, as metaphorically encapsulated by José Saramago in *Jangada de Pedra* (*The Stone Raft*), which imagines Portugal and Spain splitting off the European landmass and drifting toward the South Atlantic.

Notes

1. Boaventura de Sousa Santos, 'O Estado, as relações salariais e o bem-estar social na semiperiferia: o caso português', in *Portugal. Um Retrato Singular,* ed. Boaventura de Sousa Santos (Porto: Afrontamento/Centro de Estudos Sociais, 1993), 17–56, here 20.

2. All translations from the original Portuguese are my own, unless otherwise indicated. '*Ca da ua parte nos cerca o mar de outra havemos muro no reino de Castela*'; Gomes Eanes de Zurara, *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta* (Mem Martins: Publicações Europa-América, 1992), 52. See also Luís Filipe F.R. Thomaz and Jorge Santos Alves, 'Da Cruzada ao Quinto Império', in *A Memória da Nação,* eds Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto (Lisbon: Sá da Costa, 1991), 81–164.

3. Luís Camões, *Os Lusíadas* (Lisbon: Instituto Camões, 1992), 3: 20.

4. Ibid., 1: 50.

5. Ibid., 1: 3.

6. Ibid., 10: 145.

7. Helder Macedo, 'Love as Knowledge. The Lyric Poetry of Camões', *Portuguese Studies* 14 (1998): 51–64, here 51.

8. Ibid., 60.

9. To quote the 'Lamentations for a slave called Bárbara'. Cf. Luís Camões, 'Endechas a Bárbara Escrava', in *Lírica* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1980), 82 and 85.

10. Macedo, 'Love as Knowledge', 61.

11. Quoted in Clive Willis, 'The Correspondance of Camões (with Introduction, Commentaries and Translation)', *Portuguese Studies* 11 (1995): 15–61, here 61.

12. Boaventura de Sousa Santos, 'Entre Próspero e Caliban. Colonialismo, pós-colonialismo e inter-identidade', in *Entre Ser e Estar – Raízes, Percursos e Discursos da Identidade,* eds Maria Irene Ramalho and António Sousa Ribeiro (Porto: Afrontamento, 2001), 23–85, here 26.

13. Ibid.

14. Ana Olimpia Vaz de Caminha was a late nineteenth-century Angolan woman of the Creole bourgeoisie of Luanda, Angola. She was born a slave and became one of the country's richest women by marrying a slave trader. She is the main female character in the novel *Nação Crioula* (Creole) by the Angolan writer Jose Eduardo Agualusa.

15. Christian Geffray, 'Le lusotropicalisme comme discours de l'amour dans la servitude', *Lusotopie* (1997): 361–372.

16. Henrique Augusto Dias de Carvalho, *Expedição Portugueza ao Muatiânvua 1884–1888. Meteorologia-Climatologia-Colonisação* (Lisbon: Typographia do jornal 'As Colónias Portuguezas', 1892), 2.

17. António Ennes, 1946, 192, quoted in Santos, 'Entre Próspero e Caliban', 67.

18. Cristiana Bastos, 'Um lusotropicalismo às avessas. Colonialismo científico, aclimação e pureza racial em Germano Correia', in *Fantasmas e Fantasias no Imaginário Português Contemporâneo,* eds Margarida Calafate Ribeiro and Ana Paula Ferreira (Porto: Campo das Letras, 2003), 227–253, here 230f.

19. Quoted ibid., 244.

20. Gilberto Freyre, *Aventura e Rotina. Sugestões de uma Viagem à Procura das Constantes Portuguesas de Carácter e Ação* (Lisbon: Livros do Brasil, n.d.), 10. See also on the same page:

> This is the aspect of Portuguese greatness that particularly attracts me: they are almost an entire nation of precursors to the French Rimbauds, or the British Lawrences of Arabia, or the American Lafcadios or even the German Humboldts, in their realization of a vocation that has in its sights the destiny of an entire transnational civilization: the lusotropical civilization of which Brazil is a part. Through my contact with the Portuguese Orient and with Lusophone Africa, with some of the main Portuguese islands in the Atlantic, with the Algarve which is almost Africa, with the Alentejo which is half-Moorish, with a Portugal that from Trás-os-Montes to Minho, not to mention the Beiras, dreams of the tropics, of the sun and the heat, and disenchanted Moorish girls through women of colour, I was able to confirm a reality that I had only guessed at years ago, and predicted in some studies and contemplations.

21. See Cristiana Bastos, 'Tristes Trópicos e Alegres Luso-Tropicalismos. Das notas de viagem em Lévi-Strauss e Gilberto Freyre', *Análise Social* 33, nos. 2–3 (1998): 415–432; Bastos, 'Um lusotropicalismo às avessas'; Cláudia Castelo, *'O Modo Português de Estar no Mundo' – o Lusotropicalismo e a Ideologia Colonial Portuguesa (1933–1961)* (Porto: Afrontamento, 1998).

22. Cf. Gilberto Freyre, *Casa Grande y Senzala. Formacion de la familia brasilena bajo el regimen de la economia patriarcal,* Prologue and Chronology by Darcy Ribeiro (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1977); and Gilberto Freyre, *Casa-grande e senzala. Formação da família brasileira sob o regime da economia patriarcal,* presented by Fernando Henrique Cardoso, 50th ed. (São Paulo: Global Editora e Distribuidora, 2005).

23. Bastos, 'Tristes Trópicos e Alegres Luso-Tropicalismos', 427.

24. See Euclides da Cunha, *Os Sertões. Campanha dos Canudos* (Rio de Janeiro: Francisco Alves, 1957), especially the chapter 'Um Parênteses Irritante'; Aluísio de Azevedo, *O Mulato* (Rio de Janeiro: H. Garnier, n.d.). On lusotropicalism see Déjanira Couto, Armelle Enders, and Yves Léonard, eds, 'Lusotropicalisme. Idéologies coloniales et identités nationales dans les mondes lusophones', dossier in *Lusotopie* (1997) (Paris: Karthala): 195–478; Castelo, *'O Modo Português de Estar no Mundo'*; Bastos, 'Tristes Trópicos e Alegres Luso-Tropicalismos'; Yves Léonard, 'O Império Colonial Salazarista', in *História da Expansão Portuguesa,* eds Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri, vol. 5 (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1999), 10–30; Yves Léonard, 'Salazarisme et lusotropicalisme, histoire d'une appropriation', *Lusotopie* (1997): 211–226; Miguel Vale de Almeida, *Um Mar da Cor da Terra. Raça, Cultura e Política da Identidade* (Oeiras: Celta, 2001).

25. Bastos, 'Um lusotropicalismo às avessas', 249.

26. Ibid., 250.

27. As the British historian Charles Boxer pointed out in the 1960s in his book *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415–1825* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963) and recently Boaventura de Sousa Santos showed in 'Entre Próspero e Caliban', here 41.

28. Salazar died in 1970 and his successor, Marcello Caetano, failed to live up to early expectations of reform and was overthrown by the military coup of 25 April 1974.

29. *História de Portugal,* directed by José Mattoso, vol. 7: *O Estado Novo (1926–1974),* ed. Fernando Rosas (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1994), 297.

30. Quoted in Castelo, 'Congressos e conferências culturais' in *Dicionário de História do Estado Novo,* eds J. M. Brandão Brito and Fernando Rosas (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1996), 191f. José Caeiro da Matta was a diplomat and a minister in Salazar's regime: Minister for Foreign Affairs from 1933 to 1935 and from 1947 to 1950, and Minister for Education from 1944 to 1947. In 1960, he was the director of the Commemorations of Henry the Navigator, and in charge of all publications regarding the event.

31. See Castelo, 'O Modo Português de Estar no Mundo', 37.

32. See António José Telo, 'O fim do ciclo africano do império', in *Portugal na Transição do Milénio. Colóquio Internacional,* eds J. M. Brandão Brito and Fernando Rosas (Lisbon: Fim de Século, 1998), 327–355, here 335.

33. Ana Calapez Gomes, 'Aspectos da ideologia na época das descolonisações', *Vértice* 13 (April 1989): 70–75, here 70.

34. Quoted by Irene Flusner Pimentel, 'Movimento Nacional Feminino', in *Dicionário de História do Estado Novo,* eds J. M. Brandão Brito and Fernando Rosas, vol. 2 (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1996), 639.

35. These considerations are based on a study the author is undertaking about the presence of Portuguese women in Africa during the years of the Colonial War, which includes interviews with women who experienced such a situation. Cf. Margarida Calafate Ribeiro, 'África no Feminino. As mulheres portuguesas e a Guerra Colonial' and 'Depoimentos: a presença e a participação feminina na Guerra Colonial', *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais* 68 (April 2004): 7–29 and 129–166, respectively.

36. At the time Manuel Alegre published *African Journey,* 1989, he was an irreverent Socialist Member of Parliament. However, in the memory of most of his generation, who had been condemned to war and to exile, he was the poet who had published *Praça da Canção* (1965) and *O Canto e as Armas* (1967). In these poems that were read, copied and chanted by so many Portuguese, we find an accentuated rhythm and the sense of an epic, the voice of a collective sense of national damnation that the poet tried to reverse. It had been a charismatic call to arms from a poet with outstanding credentials as an opponent of the fascist regime. Manuel Alegre was the first student from Coimbra University to articulate a public discourse against the Colonial Wars. He was also the first army official to be arrested by the Portuguese secret police (PIDE) as a result of a failed uprising in Angola. He was an important exile in Paris and Algeria, where he ran 'Rádio Liberdade'. Furthermore, he was the only Portuguese person to speak at the funeral of Amílcar Cabral.

37. The MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) was, with UPA (Union of the Peoples of Angola), later FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) and UNITA (National Union for Total Independence of Angola), one of the three liberation movements in Angola. After the 1975 independence, the MPLA was internationally recognised as the representative of the Angolan people. An almost 30 year civil war started soon after independence, which was fought between the MPLA government and UNITA. After a peace agreement and particularly the death of Jonas Savimbi in 2002, the MPLA shares power with UNITA in the government.

38. See, for example, the poems in the sections 'Nambuangongo meu amor' and 'Três Canções com Lágrimas e Sol para um Amigo que Morreu na Guerra' from *Praça da Canção,* and the poems in the sections 'Continuação de Alcácer Quibir', from *O Canto e as Armas,* in Manuel Alegre, *Obra Poética* (Lisbon: Dom Quixote, 1999), 125–136 and 173–183, respectively.

39. This strategy was already used in Manuel Alegre's poetry in 'Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta', in which a personal account of his departure for Angola is juxtaposed next to the departure of the Portuguese for Ceuta at the beginning of colonial expansion. Similarly, in 'Crónica de El-Rei D. Sebastião', the experiences of damnation lived by the poet in the ambushes between Quipedro/Nambuangongo are juxtaposed to the damnation of the Portuguese army on the beaches of Alcácer Quibir. Cf. Alegre, *Obra Poética,* 382–387 and 414–418, respectively.

40. Roberto Vecchi, 'La guerra coloniale tra genere e tema: *Jornada de África,* di Manuel Alegre', in *Dalle Armi ai Garofani. Studi sulla letteratura della Guerra Coloniale,* eds Manuel Simões and Roberto Vecchi (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1995), 51–58, here 55.

41. Ibid.

42. The dialogue continues:

'Our father was Goan, our mother was Cape Verdean, and on our father's side, we even have a Chinese grandmother.'
Sebastião could not contain himself
'That captive who has captivated me'
'Without doubt. Because of her, my father called me Bárbara'…
'It's all the same chronicle' Sebastião replied…
'I am Angolan, and the liberty of Angola will be won by Angolans.'
'I am Portuguese, and I tell you that there will be no liberty in Angola while there is no liberty in Portugal.'
'Angolans are not just struggling against a regime. They are struggling for the right to independence.'
'MPLA.'
'Victory or death', Bárbara replied
'And I am the enemy, even if I am anti-colonialist.'
'You are a soldier.'
'And a resister.'
'That is a problem among the Portuguese. Here, you are part of the colonial army.'

Cf. Alegre, *Jornada de África,* 156f. and 162f.

43. Camões, *Lírica,* 462.

44. Alegre, *Jornada de África,* 198.

45. Macedo, 'Love as Knowledge', 61.

46. Alegre, *Obra Poética,* 551.

47. Ibid., 605.

48. Eduardo Lourenço, 'Da ficção do Império ao império da ficção', *Diário de Notícias. Suplemento 10 Anos de Democracia* (24 April 1984), 26.

49. Augusto Abelaira, Sem Tecto, *Entre Ruínas* (Lisbon: Sá da Costa, 1979), 199; Álamo Oliveira, *Até Hoje. Memória de Cão* (Lisbon: Ulmeiro, 1986), 73; António Lobo Antunes, *Fado Alexandrino* (Lisbon: Dom Quixote, 1989), 19; Rocha de Sousa, *Angola 61 – uma crónica de guerra ou a visibilidade da última deriva* (Lisbon: Contexto, 1999), 498.

50. Boaventura de Sousa Santos, *Pela Mão de Alice. O Social e o Político na Pós-Modernidade* (Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 1996), 49 and 58.

51. Alegre interviewed by Brito Vintém, 'Sou um filho da língua de Camões', *Notícias do Interior* (July 1991), 16.

52. The expression is from Almeida, *Um Mar da Cor da Terra – Raça.*

53. For a long historical perception of this question see Francisco Bethencourt, 'A Memória da Expansão', in *História da Expansão Portuguesa,* eds Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri, vol. 5 (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1999), 442–483.

54. The quotation continues:

Portuguese culture, characterised by a deliberate universalism and by the multiple civilisational encounters which allowed the welcoming of the diverse, the understanding of the Other and the universal embrace of the particular, is an open and miscegenated culture, enriched by the wandering of a people set in a search of its whole dimensionality

> beyond its borders … Having achieved a fascinating pilgrimage of centuries, Portugal returns to the folds of the European continent and integrates itself in its original cultural space, contributing with its worldliness to the construction of an open, ecumenical Europe.
>
> Despacho Normativo n. 63/91, Ministry of Education.

55. David Robertson, 'The Vision of Colony and Metropolis in Portuguese Colonial wars Literature', in *Literature and War,* ed. David Bevan (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1990), 119–140, here 156.

56. Eduardo Lourenço, *A Nau de Ícaro seguido de Imagem e Miragem da Lusofonia* (Lisbon: Gradiva, 1999), here 177.

57. Isabel Castro Henriques, 'A sociedade colonial em África. Ideologias, hierarquias, quotidianos', in *História da Expansão Portuguesa,* eds Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri, vol. 5 (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1999), 216–274, here 274.