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**Sexual/Textual Empires: Gender and Marginality in
Lusophone African Literature**

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Lusophone Studies emerged in December 2000 as an offshoot of the Bristol *Occasional Papers*, which have been published by this Department since the 1980s. Opportunities for specialists in the field of Portuguese to publish and disseminate their research in this country are still relatively limited by comparison to other disciplines. In the English-speaking world, there are as yet only a handful of academic journals dedicated to the literatures and cultures of Portugal, Brazil and other parts of the Portuguese-speaking world. While it is not intended that *Lusophone Studies* should become another journal, it is hoped that it will develop into a regular themed series of publications, which will afford an opening for scholars, particularly younger scholars, to publish in an appropriately peer-reviewed environment. *Lusophone Studies 1*, entitled 'Luso-Asian Voices', focused on Portuguese writing which had India, China and Sri Lanka as its context. This second edition of *Lusophone Studies*, for which we are delighted to have Hilary Owen and Phillip Rothwell as guest-editors, is devoted to the literatures of Portuguese-speaking Africa, a field that has attracted a considerable degree of interest in recent years from scholars on both sides of the Atlantic. The number of contributors to this edition attests to the quality of scholarly work being carried out in Lusophone African literature, and hopefully signposts future lines of research in this emergent field of study.

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Luso Love in the Time of War: Camões's Barbara Recast
in *Jornada de África*, by Manuel Alegre

One of the first things that comes to mind when we talk about the process of colonization is the metaphor of rape. The rape and penetration of the land of others stands in for the abuse of its local population; the rape and penetration of a culture is achieved through the imposition of another culture; the rape and penetration of indigenous bodies is carried out by the swords that impose the new order – the result of battles – or by the phalluses of the warriors and colonizers eager to cash in on the spoils of their victory. The scars on the bodies of the colonized are thus an ideal metaphor through which to interrogate the social relations that characterize the colonial experience.

It was certainly not by chance that nineteenth-century Western science chose to present these colonized bodies 'scientifically' as different, bearing in that difference the mark of subalternity, the external proof of a mental inferiority, ripe for civilization at the hands of Western colonizers. In the context of war, the inferiority of an enemy, or of a potential enemy lurking in the midst of the population, as is typical in guerrilla warfare, compounds the status of racial inferiority mandated by the colonial order.

Paula Rego's 'The First Mass in Brazil' painted in 1993 provides a suitable framework through which to think, within the lusophone heritage, about colonization and war – the two complementary aspects that build and defend empires – and also contemplate the role of local women in the process. In the picture's foreground, there is a pregnant woman lying on a bed with her head on top of a sailor's outfit, watched over by an excited turkey. On top of the turkey, there

is the small figure of a woman attired in a bloodstained white dress. In the picture's background, Victor Meirelles's 1860 picture, which portrays the first mass in Brazil referred to in Paula Rego's title, is reproduced. In her reading of the painting, Memory Holloway establishes a symbolic link between the colonization of the land and the colonization and fertilization of the female body, an emblem of so many bodies that have been raped, abused and impregnated over voyages, colonizations, migrations and wars.¹

In colonial literature related to Africa, we find references to interracial unions in the 'contact zones' that characterized areas of long-term cohabitation – with a degree of privileging for the inside of houses, or the always already hybrid spaces of the colonial ranches and stoops.² We also come across the human product of these contacts, namely in the mulattos of the colonial houses. Against the backdrop of open warfare, these colonial contacts become further problematized, compounding relationships that are already unequal by nature.

The dislocation of thousands of men weaned on military culture has always led to two stereotypes of women in the areas to where the soldiers are deployed. The first is of those women from Antiquity who followed armies in an informal and never publicly controlled fashion as a consumer good especially appropriated to satisfy the sexual appetites of the warriors. The second is of the victims of rape, at the hands of the soldiers, the ultimate trophy of the humiliation of the enemy translated into the possession and fertilization of female bodies that supposedly belong to the victor. Lamentably, even today, this situation has scarcely been studied, or else it has been broached with inexcusable complacency as if sexual violence were 'endemic to military culture'.³

¹See Holloway, 1999: 7-25; 2000: 697-705; Lisboa, 2003: 32-33; Bethencourt, 2003: 76-77.

²See Padilha, 1999: 351-363.

³See Lorentzen and Turpin, 1998: 6.

The sense of guilt without resolution or pardon associated with an indiscriminate and racial rape of African women is conveyed in the words of Mário Brochado Coelho in his journal of the war – *Lágrimas de Guerra* [Tears of War] – when he speaks of the Quioca women of Angola raped by soldiers he knew. In many novels and poems from the literature of the Colonial War, sexual contact between soldiers and African women is a key component. Usually, the women are prostitutes, or else raped trophies of a partial victory or prisoners of war held because of their political activities.⁴

A voice that comes to mind is that of the poet from São Tomé e Príncipe, Alda do Espírito Santo who, speaking of those who share her pain and skin colour, writes:

[...] sigo passo a passo a mulher de pele bronzeada — que é a minha história, das avós dos meus avós e da geração futura [...]

[a mulher é] a última que é a última entre os negros que já são últimos na concepção dos demais povos da categoria civilizada [...] A sua voz não se levanta. Morre na distância. Ela nem voz tem. É escrava. — É mulher negra [...] é vítima de todos (Santo, 1949: 13-15).

[I follow step by step the woman with the tanned skin – she is my story, and the story of my grandparents and of the future generation ... The woman is the lowest of the low among the blacks who are already the lowest in the conception of other civilized peoples ... Her voice is never raised. She dies in the distance. She does not even have a voice. She is a slave. – The black woman ... is the victim of everyone.]⁵

To the mind of this woman poet, African women are double victims of oppression. First, they are oppressed by the colonized African society, into whose chauvinistic patriarchy they are cast. Second, a white colonial society, which is also patriarchal and

⁴See for example the prostitute/political commissar Sofia, raped by the PIDE, in António Lobo Antunes's *Os Cus de Judas* or the woman raped as part of 'Operation Clean-Up' in *Nó Cego* by Carlos Vale Ferraz.

⁵All translations into English are my own unless otherwise stated.

patronizing to all, oppresses them. War rendered these markers of feminine colonization more patent. As Laura Padilha demonstrates, liberation poets attempted to give succour to their exploited sisters. The sister in the countryside had the ideals of liberation projected onto her body, ideals that liberation itself would not deliver. Girls at the dockside, who sold their bodies were elevated to sisterhood. Washerwomen, whose bodies were violated, became objects of solidarity. Roadside and brothel-based prostitutes were sisters too, as were those who sold fish on the streets of the poorest districts. In the poetry of the time, 'they are all always sisters and always black' (Padilha, 2004: 127).

The body of the African woman, fascinating for its sexual mystique or for its lusotropical beauty, which is both idealized and feared for its unknown quality even on the surface, is the most unfathomable colonial body to the European soldier. Used and abused through forced labour or as a sexual object, it is however through that body that the future nation will be born, a nation heralded by the war against the colonizer. Thus, the image of colonial spaces as uterine in nature, where white colonizers exercise political and racial power, impregnating local women,⁶ furnishing a colonialism of 'breeding', an image invoked by Paula Rego's painting, is profoundly unsettled against the backdrop of the liberation war. There have been several studies and some fictional work about the liberation wars that have shed light on the role of women, not just as active combatants, but as an essential support group for the fighters (Lorentzen and Turpin, 1998: 10). Their importance to both liberation fighters and those in the colonial armies has been recognized, so often vacillating between the traditional image of passive women and the inevitable recognition of their future actions through the actions of their enemy. Thus, the editor of *Coração Forte*, Licínio Azevedo, in the introductory note to his volume, outlining the theme of the book – a collection of witness accounts by Mozambicans about their liberation

⁶See Luís Madureira's study of Lobo Antunes, 1995: 17-29.

struggle – terms his protagonists as 'fighters, women, children and the elderly', showing a people in conflict, where an active role is taken by women in the unravelling of history (1995: 7). As the Angolan historian Carlos Pacheco states:

Elas eram bastante activas; apoiavam os presos políticos sem levantar suspeitas; levavam e traziam directrizes dentro de bolos e pãezinhos; faziam circular mensagens entre Angola e o ex-Congo Belga (Pacheco, 2000: 24).

[The women were quite active; they helped political prisoners without raising suspicions; they brought and took instructions hidden in cakes or bread rolls; they circulated messages between Angola and the ex-Belgian Congo.]

In the colonial context, the product of sexual relations between black women and colonials was often the embryo that would go on to call for change, forming the mulatto elites, as we see in the fictional work of Castro Soromenho. In the context of colonization and war, the colonized women themselves are awakened and become part of the liberation struggle. They may sleep with the enemy, but they pass information on to the guerrillas. They eke out a living as best they can washing the clothes of the soldiers or prostituting themselves, but they reject the smell of death of the whites and breathe for the lives of their black men. They exhibit their sex organs, but their vaginas are 'contemptuous guernicas'. They transport supplies to the fighters, pilfering tins of food from the nearest colonial barracks. They are the raped prisoners, but they never abdicate their status as an integral part of the liberation struggle. In that struggle for independence, they can still be 'colonized by love', even love for whites, as is the case of Camões's Bárbara, recast in Manuel Alegre's novel *Jornada de África*, a novel to which we will now turn our attention.

At the time Manuel Alegre published *Jornada de África*, 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) [Fortress of Song] and *O Canto e as Armas* (1967) [The Song and the Arms]. In these poems that were read, copied and chanted by so many Portuguese, we find an accentuated rhythm and the hues of an epic, the voice of a collective sense of national damnation, which 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.⁷

In an interview granted to Clara Ferreira Alves in 1983, Manuel Alegre announced his first novel *Jornada de África* in the following terms:

No fundo, é um romance que mistura o real e o fantástico e, como em boa parte da minha poesia, com uma ligação à História e também com uma grande carga autobiográfica. É um romance sobre a guerra, a jornada de África, a batalha de Alcácer Quibir ... mas é mais do que isso (Alves, 1983: 17).

[In essence, it is a novel that mixes the real with the fantastic and, like a good deal of my poetry, it has a link to history, and contains a large portion of autobiography. It is a novel about war, the expedition to Africa, the battle of Alcácer Quibir ... but it is more than this too.]

This declaration, reiterated by the author in another interview granted to the same journalist in 1989, to mark the release of the book, forms an immediate intertextual link, a link signalled in the book's title, to *Jornada de África* by Jerónimo de Mendonça, and published in 1607. Mendonça's text was an account of the expedition to Alcácer Quibir. Through the shared title we find ourselves

⁷Manuel Alegre was the first student from Coimbra to articulate a public discourse against the Colonial War. He was also the first army official to be arrested by the secret police 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.

confronting a metaphor extensively deployed in the poetry of Manuel Alegre, which fuses the historical and mythical image of Alcácer Quibir with the territories in conflict during the colonial war. Such an equation confirms the poet's vision of this war as the marker of an end. In another public statement about the book, Manuel Alegre added details that reinforced that vision, speaking of *Jornada de África* as 'uma espécie de crónica de fim de Império, o fechar de um ciclo onde está presente o sopro de Alcácer Quibir' (J.C., 1989: 17) [a type of chronicle of the end of Empire, the end of a cycle in which the sigh of Alcácer Quibir can be heard]. 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. The revisitation of the mythical space of Alcácer Quibir was already obvious in Alegre's poems.⁸ It acquires the double significance that the myth encapsulates. First, it makes the territory at war into a symbolic space of national loss with no possibility for recuperation. Secondly, 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 lived in Luanda and Lisbon, during the years of the colonial war. The subversion contained in this strategy of intertextual intersection of time, space and personalities in the fabric of Alegre's poetry,⁹ gains in the novel greater prominence and a greater role due to the

⁸See, 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 Alegre, 1999: 125-36 and 173-83 respectively.

⁹This 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 with 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 with the damnation of the Portuguese army on the beaches of Alcácer Quibir. See Alegre, 1999: 382-87 and 414-18, respectively. This strategy was also used by Lobo Antunes in his 1988 novel *As Naus*.

narrative structure of a poet who writes in the prose narrative of a chronicler. His style opens up a rich texture of polyphonic meanings, inherent in a novel in which several personalities are rolled together, and where they also unravel into other characters (for example, Sebastião and the Poet). Furthermore, the amalgam of several times and spaces allows for the dramatization of a jigsaw puzzle of identifications (or rather, subversive identifications) between Sebastião and the king who disappeared on the shores of Alcácer Quibir, the Angolan Bárbara, the MPLA militant, and Camões's Bárbara, between planes and boats, between steeds and jeeps, troop carriers and cavalry loads, Luanda and Alcácer Quibir.

Alongside the strategy of textual fragmentation combined with historical referencing, *Jornada de África* 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, following the thoughts of Domingos da Luta, an MPLA guerrilla. Related to these fragments are the letters between Sebastião and Bárbara that reveal through a degree of intimacy the impossible love and disintegration of Sebastião. He seeks a precarious base in the textual off-cuts of 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 fragments from newspapers, which Sebastião reads to keep up to date.

This textual alignment of multiple voices tries not only to respond to the monoglossia of the regime, but also to create an alternative discourse which, in decentralizing to this 'somewhere' where everything seems to be happening, reveals the emptiness at the centre that is a Portugal that ordered the war. Thus, Manuel Alegre's *Jornada de África* was destined to repeat the book already written by Jerónimo de Mendonça, the chronicler of the battle of Alcácer Quibir, but in a different way (Vecchi, 1995b: 55). It is no longer the

chronicle of an expedition to restore empires that only led to death, but of a struggle for liberty.

In Alegre's *Jornada de África*, Sebastião is not a sovereign destined to create a myth, but a rebel official, sent to Angola, and destined to deconstruct the myth (Vecchi, 1995b: 55). Similarly, the writer Jerónimo de Mendonça, the homonym of the writer of the other *Jornada de África*, 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 – reincarnate in their present protagonism in another fatal battle, and are destined to be the heroes of another epic. In this context, personal and national identities are interrogated and confronted by the experience of lived realities. The narrator undertakes a voyage from self into Other and, following Camões's example, he does it through the love of a woman. Throughout his wanderings through Africa, Sebastião falls in love with the Other, with whatever Portugal designates as barbarous, to draw on the onomatopoeia, which in Greek tradition signals subhumanity, a subhumanity that Camões had already denied in his 'Endechas a Bárbara Escrava' [Laments to the Slave Barbara], who 'Bem parece estranha/Mas bárbara não' [indeed seems strange/but barbarous not], as Helder Macedo has highlighted in relation to Camões's poem (Macedo, 1998: 61). Bárbara, in *Jornada de África*, 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 member of the colonial army and

anti-colonialist, telling him that coincidences do not cancel out differences and that history does not repeat itself, but rather evolves:

Sangues cruzados, pensa Sebastião, só as grandes cruças são capazes de uma tal beleza, Europa, África, Ásia, viva a grande peregrinação lusíada.

'A nossa cultura é uma cultura de mestiçagem. (...)'

'O nosso pai é um português de Goa, a nossa mãe cabo-verdiana, pelo lado paterno temos ainda uma avó chinesa'.

Sebastião não se aguenta:

'Aquele cativa que me tem cativo'

'Sem dúvida. Por causa dela é que o meu pai me chamou Bárbara. (...)'

'É tudo a mesma crónica – responde Sebastião. (...)'

'Eu sou angolana e a liberdade de Angola será conquistada pelos angolanos'.

'Eu sou português e digo-lhe que não haverá liberdade em Angola enquanto não houver liberdade em Portugal'.

'Os angolanos não lutam apenas contra um regime, lutam pelo direito à independência'.

'MPLA'

'Vitória ou Morte', responde Bárbara (...)

'E eu sou o inimigo, mesmo sendo anticolonialista'.

'Você é um soldado'.

'E um resistente'.

'Isso é um problema entre portugueses, aqui você faz parte do exército colonial' (Alegre, 1989: 156-157; 162-63).

[Mixed blood, Sebastião thinks, only the greatest of mixing could achieve such beauty; Europe, Africa, Asia. Long live the great Lusíad journey.

'Our culture is a culture of miscegenation' ...

'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 freedom of Angola will be won by Angolans'.

'I am Portuguese, and I tell you that there will be no freedom 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'.]

Manuel Alegre refashions in his MPLA member, Bárbara, Camões's 'cativa' [captive] who centuries before seduced and rendered 'cativo' [captivated] the poet Camões, inducing him to write the verses quoted by Sebastião. In another strategic echo of Camões, in Alegre's novel love is the guide to knowledge, giving 'entendimento às cousas que o não tinham' (Camões, 1980: 462) [understanding to things that did not have it]. As they discuss their identities in the dialogue cited above, 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 the 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 the empire, was fighting for a country.

In wartime, Bárbara was the Other. But in the time in which Sebastião insisted on recuperating her for himself, the time of Sebastião the rebel and fighter against the dictatorship, now more or less adrift in this land of a conflict-ridden fate, Bárbara's love is transformed into hope for a possible regeneration in the process of his own damnation. 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 Nambuagongo/Alcácer Quibir. Only the son of Sebastião, desired by Bárbara, might bring the sign of a new time, sought by both, a transnational and transitory time. Bárbara wanted to create it in the midst of the barracks – where Sebastião was on duty – a barracks she invades with her love and with 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 greatest subversion of wartime by love. However, Bárbara's desire was not realized against the troubled backdrop of a war of others, which immediately interrupts them with more deaths, amputations, persecutions and departures in this 'tempo a que estamos condenados' (Alegre, 1989: 198) [time to which we are condemned], 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 (Macedo, 1998: 371), 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. From that moment on, the texts always presented in parentheses that relate the activities and thoughts of Domingos da Luta, open up as a space of dialogue that weaves together what is Portuguese and what is Angolan, both in the terrain of Nambuagongo, following the same guiding light, and probably the same paths. Sebastião is in the sights of Domingos da Luta's rifle, but this sniper, well known among the Portuguese officers, always misses the shots he takes against the life of Sebastião:

'Foi por um triz', diz Sebastião sacudindo-se. (...) (Já Domingos Da Luta vai a correr (...)) Tem a certeza de que errou mais uma vez, só naquele é que não acerta, anda aqui concerteza qualquer feitico (Alegre, 1989: 190-191).

['That was a narrow escape', said Sebastião, shaking ... (Domingos Da Luta has already scarpereed (...)) He is sure that he has missed again, it's only that particular one that he never hits, without doubt he is charmed.]

Perhaps no one can kill the image of his own death. Both Sebastião and Domingos da Luta are suspended in time, each waiting for the other, like characters in transit between scenes. But the times are absurd, and so, what could have been a dialogue of love, making up a story of dialogue and love, turns into a dialogue with death 'sem cabeça, sem nome, sem tempo' (Alegre, 1989: 228) [without head, without name, without time], and the novel into a book of death in which myth interrupts for a rebirth to be harvested.

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 *Os Lusíadas*: Camões so clearly had 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 'entrou sozinho pelo mato dentro, sabe-se lá em direcção a quê' [entered alone deep into the forest, god knows in the direction of what], but as the poet completes "Ainda há mar" (D. Sebastião aparecerá numa grande nau por detrás do Ilhéu em Vila Franca do Campo)' (Alegre, 1999: 551) ['There is still sea' (Dom Sebastião will appear in a great ship behind the islet in Vila Franca do Campo)]. It is on this sea that unites rather than separates that the imaginary of the future nation will be constructed,

a nation that, following Camões, only love will bring, as Alegre later wrote in *Com que Pena – Vinte Poemas para Camões*:

De Bárbara a diferença que faltava
E nunca mais na língua uma só cor

De Bárbara o ser só ela sendo a outra
Senhora nossa santa pretidão

Antes de Bárbara Europa era tão pouca
Cativos somos nós Bárbara não (Alegre, 1999: 605).

[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 our sacred blackness

Before Barbara Europe was so little
We are the captives, not Barbara.]

Colonial War literature was a literature of loss and not discovery, of emptying rather than replenishment, of guilt and remorse instead of exaltation and heroics. The image of Portugal to emerge 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 identity and the rediscovery of a personal face, and of the Portuguese subject, against a backdrop of violent physical, psychological and social rupture inflicted on both African land and African woman.

The inability to consummate relationships between African women and Portuguese men marks the relationships that appear in literature about this period. Likewise, an intransitivity that echoes the *Zeitgeist* to which the characters were begotten and the war that separated them haunts the diversity of literary relationships. However, 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 which alters the past, while sketching out the future (Henriques, 1999: 274). An understanding of those demands very much resides in the texts of Manuel Alegre.

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