

How to cite this article: Garraio, J. (2019). Framing Sexual Violence in Portuguese Colonialism: On Some Practices of Contemporary Cultural Representation and Remembrance. *Violence Against Women*, 25(13), 1558–1577. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801219869547>

FRAMING SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM:
ON SOME PRACTICES OF CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL REPRESENTATION AND
REMEMBRANCE

Júlia Garraio

Centre for Social Studies, University of Coimbra

Colégio de S. Jerónimo, Apartado 3087, 3000-995 Coimbra, Portugal, +351 239 855 570

juliagarraio@ces.uc.pt

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS: I thank the participants of the conference *International Cultural Responses to Wartime Rape* for the stimulating papers and discussions. My gratitude also goes out to Katherine Stone for her valuable suggestions on an earlier version of this text and for her editing work. I also thank the reviewers for their remarks and suggestions. Finally, I would like to thank the research group SVAC - International Research Group »Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict« (<http://warandgender.net/about/>) for their inspiring workshops and conference.

FUNDING: This essay goes back to the conference *International Cultural Responses to Wartime Rape* (Maynooth University, 19th June 2017), which I attended with the support of a scholarship of the project MEMOIRS—Children of Empires and European Postmemories, funded by the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation program (grant agreement No 648624).

KEY WORDS: colonialism, Portuguese literature, António Lobo Antunes, Aida Gomes, Lusotropicalism, “Return”

ABSTRACT

This essay examines two Portuguese novels about colonialism and its legacies: António Lobo Antunes's *Fado Alexandrino* (1983) and Aida Gomes's *Os Pretos de Pousaflores* (The Blacks from Pousaflores, 2011). While *Fado Alexandrino* perpetuates the use of black women's raped bodies as a plot device to represent colonial violence, Gomes's narrative empowers racialized victims of sexual abuse and challenges dominant public memories of the Colonial War. A close reading of these novels, contextualized against the background of scholarly debates about the representation of sexual violence, exposes both the perils and potential of cultural works to preserve the memory of rape in armed conflict.

In the context of a debate about racism that erupted in Portugal in 2017,¹ anti-racism activists, artists, and scholars argued that there was a link between contemporary anti-Black social attitudes and the legacies of the country's colonial past.² They confronted the pervasiveness of Lusotropicalism, a term coined by Gilberto Freyre (1900-1987) to describe Portuguese colonialism, proposing that it was defined by pro-miscegenation attitudes and hence "more human". Journalist and writer Alexandra Lucas Coelho rebuked a widespread narrative viewing sexual contact between Portuguese men and colonized women as proof that the Portuguese were less racist than other Europeans. She asserted that:

As for miscegenation, which underlies the theory of Lusotropicalism, let us begin by thinking about this: it was a mass rape. The Portuguese took fewer women than other Europeans to the New World and raped far more, Indians and Blacks. Even when it was not a sexual relationship imposed by force, it was a relationship of power, domination, subjugation, not a free choice. (Coelho, 2017)³

In this inversion of Lusotropicalism, sexual encounters do not exculpate the Portuguese from racism; on the contrary, they expose them as sexual exploiters who benefitted from a system of structural racialized inequalities and abused colonized women. Indeed, a wide range of contemporary intellectuals, activists, and artists situate sexuality at the core of Portuguese colonial violence. Consider, for instance, "Atlas", a 2015 composition by Joana Oliveira consisting of 600 photographs from private albums, which was part of *Retornar: Traços de Memória* [Return: Traces of Memory, 2015-16],⁴ the most important exhibition to date about the "return." This term refers to the arrival in Portugal of more than 500,000 people holding Portuguese citizenship following the Carnation Revolution in 1974 and the independence of the country's colonies in Africa. Oliveira assumed that colonial photos suggesting sexual contacts between Portuguese men and black women would signify abuse to the viewer. She used four pictures of a soldier groping black women as a means of rupturing the nostalgic remembrance that otherwise dominates her composition. Perceiving the sexual power joyfully enacted by the soldier for the camera as an expression of the

perversity of colonial power, she used the photos as a rhetorical device to denounce colonialism (Garraio, 2016).

The present article maintains that the work of António Lobo Antunes (b.1942, Lisbon) helped popularize this understanding of sexual contacts in the colonial context and its use as a rhetorical device to expose colonial violence. Lobo Antunes is among the Portuguese authors who “wrote extensively on the 1961-1974 colonial wars” in the 1970s and 1980s (Gould, 2008, p. 183). Following the success of his second novel, *Os cus de Judas* (1979; South of Nowhere, 1983),⁵ he became one of the most read, translated, and acclaimed Portuguese writers.⁶ Just like his other war novels, *Os cus de Judas* addresses the Colonial War from the perspective of war veterans, as is common in cultural remembrance of the final phase of Portuguese colonialism.⁷ The fact that Lobo Antunes served in the Portuguese Army as a doctor in a military hospital in Angola between 1971 and 1973 lent credibility to his representation of the rape, torture, sexual abuse, and exploitation of black women for labor. My analysis of his novel *Fado Alexandrino* (1983[1990])⁸ addresses the potential explanatory value of the trope of rape, namely for reevaluating Lusotropicalism and consequently discrediting the myth of soft colonialism in the Portuguese context. At the same time, I critically discuss some implications of turning the sexually abused body into a symbol of a historical process.

The last section of this essay examines *Os Pretos de Pousaflores* [The Blacks from Pousaflores] (2011), a novel by Aida Gomes (b. 1967, Huambo province, Angola) that situates sexuality and intimate violence at the center of the depiction of Portuguese colonialism, without silencing racialized women nor reducing their bodies to signs of an oppressed community. Inspired by Wieser’s (2017) intersectional approach to the novel’s representation of violence against racialized women, I examine how its multiperspectival narration places victims of sexual abuse at the core of the text’s approach to colonialism and its legacies. It grants them a voice and, crucially for contemporary politics of identity, situates these women as part of the postcolonial Portuguese

social fabric. Consequently, the novel challenges the pervasive idea that the Colonial War is *the* historical locus of Portuguese colonial violence.

A comparative analysis of the two novels, published thirty years apart, illuminates the expansion of cultural remembrance of colonialism in Portugal. Their differing loci of enunciation are also influenced by the authors' differing ages, genders, and cultural contexts. Lobo Antunes, a doctor, war veteran, and member of the Portuguese urban elite, offers an emblematic military approach to the colonial war, which is male-centered. Aida Gomes is a black daughter of the "return," the migration process triggered by the end of Portuguese colonialism. In her novel, she adopts a more multifocal approach to Portuguese colonialism and its legacies, not only regarding time (the plot spans the 1930s to the end of the 20th century) and space (the novel addresses the impact of colonialism in the deprived Portuguese province), but also in terms of who "gets to tell the story." Her novel depicts the experiences and subjectivities of colonized women and children born of colonial encounters.

This essay contributes to the vast bibliography that examines how, once "transported into discourse, rape turns into a rhetorical device, an insistent figure for other social, political, and economic concerns and conflicts" (Sielke, 2002, p. 2). It was inspired by research that addresses the rape of racialized women as historically and politically framed by gendered legacies of colonialism (see Deer, 2015), as well as by Sara Suleri's conviction that "the geography of rape as a dominant trope for the act of imperialism" is no longer "culturally liberating": "the obsolescence of the figure of rape is too naked in its figuration to allow for a sustained reading of the valences of trauma that the sexual symbolism of colonialism indubitably implies" (1992, pp. 16-17). This essay contributes to the scarce bibliography about representations of sexual violence in Portuguese literature (see Ribeiro, 2006), and more generally to research on Portuguese women's writing about colonialism (see Martins, 2011). The analysis of Gomes's *Os Pretos de Pousaflores*, a novel which has been object of limited analysis so far (see Ferreira, 2015; Fonseca, 2013-14), also adds to research about the literature of the "return."

The selection of novels as objects to help us to understand the problem of sexual violence in armed conflict is correlated to the assumption that literary fictions are constructions of meaning produced by historically situated individuals. Understood as representations resulting from social processes and as performative interventions in the public sphere, novels and their analysis can illuminate cultural perceptions of sexual violence and national practices of remembrance. I argue that *Fado Alexandrino* exemplifies how the inscription of wartime rape in public remembrance tends to operate through the transfiguration of sexual violence into a metaphor for collective situations of oppression, with little or no space to formulate the emotional damage experienced by real victims of rape. This essay shares Stone's concern with "listening to or ethically responding to the victim," as well as her belief that literature can offer "a model for a 'mnemographic ethics' that foregrounds the victims of historical violence and their experiential realities, matters that are all too easily suppressed or transfigured in the production of cultural memory" (2018, p. 709). Taking advantage of the potential of polyphony and internal focalization, literature is well suited to formulate rape victims' point of view, to address the complexities of their subjectivities and agency. Hence it may also challenge dominant rape scripts and expose the sometimes-fragile boundaries between peace and war in terms of women's experiences of sexual abuse.

I argue that *Os Pretos de Pousaflores* exemplifies a model of literature that is indeed better equipped to respond to the needs of victims of sexual violence, by discrediting perpetrator's narratives of rape and, more broadly, by exposing gaps and biases in the cultural remembrance of wartime rape. Therefore, by examining how Gomes's novel exposes the intersectionality of gender, class, and race as sources of vulnerability in colonial and postcolonial Portugal, this study valorizes aesthetic strategies that foreground the voices of sexually abused women and their agency, while representing sexual violence as a gendered, racialized, embodied experience framed by power structures. In this sense, this article is indebted to the vast range of feminist literary studies that stress the importance of addressing narrative perspective when examining the ethics of representing rape (see Higgins & Silver, 1991; Horeck, 2004; Tanner, 1994). Drawing on the key question,

“What does it matter who is speaking?” this essay assumes that “who gets to tell the story and whose story counts as ‘truth’ determine the definition of what rape is” (Higgins & Silver, 1991, p. 1). This does not imply a focus on authorship nor an assumption that the legitimacy to speak derives from personal experiences and/or from social and racialized identities. Narrative perspective is understood here as a matter of giving literary form to imagined experiences by constructing fictional perspectives. This essay focuses on Gomes’s novel not because the author is a Portuguese black writer with Angolan origins, because the text’s aesthetics empower characters subjected to racialized sexual abuse and reclaim for them Portuguese postcolonial identities. Works of fiction like *Os Pretos de Pousaflores* contribute to a better understanding of sexual violence and its long-term impact on victims and their communities, thus paving the way to new forms of recognition and empathy. In sum, this essay argues that texts such as *Os Pretos de Pousaflores* can contribute to the creation and circulation of more complex narratives about sexual violence and illuminate the ambiguities in national memory scripts.

WOMEN’S BODIES AND COLONIAL IMAGINARY

The performance of colonial power through the hypersexualization of colonized women’s bodies has been examined in-depth in several contexts. The concomitant representation of colonial conquest as a process of imposing order by an imperial European masculinity is likewise well-established. The sexual dimension of colonial rhetoric, not least the erotization of the Empire as a place of sexually available women, is clear in the case of “Rosita,” a Bantu woman who was brought to the 1934 Oporto Colonial Exhibition in a group of “indigenous” people from Guinea-Bissau. Photos of her almost naked body circulated widely in the conservative, catholic, and fiercely moralistic Portugal of the time. “Rosita” is part of an iconography in which colonial control converges with the male gaze, and the erotization of women’s racialized bodies with the submission of the colonized (see Carvalho, 2008; Vicente, 2012, 2013).

While other European overseas empires use similar iconographies and discourses, the pervasiveness of Lusotropicalism is particularly important to ideas about Portuguese

exceptionalism. Freyre interpreted miscegenation as a productive force, capable of diluting the asymmetries of the colonial situation (Cardão, 2015, p. 270). He overlooked the historical background of slavery in Brazil, the society that inspired his thesis, and in other colonial spaces of Portuguese miscegenation. Nor did he examine its correlation with the racial, economic, and class inequalities and systemic racialized gendered violence that persisted in these countries after the abolition of slavery. Also absent from the sociologist's analysis was the fact that miscegenation in the colonies was framed by patriarchal norms and conservative plots (Cardão, 2015, p. 271). It also operated through racialized sexism that normalized contacts between white men and colonized women, while stigmatizing sex between white women and colonized men (Santos, 2002, p. 17). After World War II, in a context of international pressure to decolonize, Portugal renamed its colonies "overseas provinces" in 1951 and seized the potentialities of Lusotropicalism to present the country as a multicultural, multiracial, and pluricontinental nation (Ribeiro, 2004, p. 155). As the "basis of a nation-building project, centered on representing the (imperial) nation as racially inclusive and tolerant", Lusotropicalism (and the concomitant myth of Portuguese soft colonialism) permeated the administration, as well as academia and mass culture (Cardão, 2015, p. 271). Popular events, such as "the beauty pageants held in the early 1970s, which included contestants from all Portuguese colonies," and celebrities such as Mozambican football icon Eusébio, "offered constant reminders of national identity, fueling everyday life with allegories of Portuguese exceptionalism" (Cardão, 2015, p. 259). Photos and postcards of (half-naked) black women also performatively shaped social attitudes towards the colonial situation. Their circulation both in the private and public spheres assumed (and normalized) the accessibility of colonized women's sexuality as part of "overseas" gender relations.

Alongside the erotization of black women, there was at least one other trope surrounding women's bodies that informed the Portuguese colonial imaginary. From the Portuguese perspective of the time, the Colonial War was deeply associated with images of sexual violence (Ramos, 2014). The massacres of white settlers and their workers in Northern Angola in 1961—the events that,

according to the Portuguese government, triggered the war—were exhaustively photographed by embedded journalists and army officers. Photos of the corpses of raped white women and dead babies were reproduced in national media. The Lisbon Society of Geography organized an exhibition to expose a selection of the pictures to the public, which was quite successful. This wide circulation of the photos in Portugal was intended to justify the deployment of troops abroad and to delegitimize anti-colonial movements and communism. The Portuguese ambassador to the UN used the images to denounce the “savagery of terrorists who cross the northern border of Angola to behead, rape and mutilate our women” (Ramos, 2014, p. 406). These images, where the white woman’s body symbolizes white innocence threatened by African savagery, functioned to construct a retaliatory narrative of Portuguese wartime victimhood. As a call to arms embedded in incendiary words, their circulation was intended to prevent any empathy with anti-colonial movements and hence legitimize any form of violence employed against them.

RAPE AS A METAPHOR OF COLONIALISM

Ribeiro (2006) points out that black women have a subsidiary presence in Portuguese literature about the Colonial War and their role as liberators of their nations tends to be ignored. However, references to their sexual abuse are frequent. She inscribes the pervasiveness of these representations in the symbolic dimensions of rape:

When we speak about colonial order in a land, the metaphor of rape is immediate. Violation and penetration of a foreign land by default of its local population; violation and penetration of one culture by the imposition of another; violation and penetration of the bodies of these populations. (p. 132)

In her analysis of Lobo Antunes’s successful novel *Os Cus de Judas*, Ribeiro interprets the wartime sexual experiences of Portuguese men (castration, failed penetration, masturbation, sexual aggressiveness) as signifiers of the intransitivity and impotence of the nation. She identifies the gang rape of the protagonist’s black lover as a plot device aimed at exploring the war trauma of the Portuguese soldier (Ribeiro, 2004, p. 273). This novel is emblematic of some problematic elements

in the functional use of rape in Portuguese anti-war narratives. However, for this essay I will focus on a later novel by Lobo Antunes, *Fado Alexandrino*, which, although also male centered, adds complexity to the discussion of sexual violence. I argue that the binary oppositions that characterize traditional rape narratives (perpetrator/victim; power/vulnerability; agent/recipient of violence) favor the representation of the inequality that characterized colonial power relations. However, as this novel exemplifies, when wartime rape is articulated as a symbol of something larger, the sexually abused body rarely exists as an individualized voice expressing subjective experiences.

The protagonists of *Fado Alexandrino* are veterans of the war in Mozambique who reunite for an alcohol-fueled dinner, in a night of unexpected revelations leading to the murder of one member of the group. The chapters, centered alternatively on each of the four male protagonists, combine narrative techniques such as stream of consciousness and third-person subjective narration with unfolding dialogues. In the veterans' stories of sex and love, lust is often experienced by them in connection with abuse and control. Misogyny, paid sex, and the objectification of women's bodies are pervasive in their worldview and the social fabric they navigate. It is no accident that they hire prostitutes to continue their late-night reunion. As the lieutenant-colonel's plea "To the whores like before..., to the whores to remember the war" signals, women's commodification was a crucial part of their war experiences (Antunes, 2007, p. 148).

The lieutenant is of major interest for my analysis. The first reference to this character in the novel describes him awakening from a nightmare related to the war and feeling stifled by the body of Inês, his wife sleeping against him (p. 65). This chapter (Part I, 4) skillfully juxtaposes the unhappiness of his marriage upon returning from the war with three moments further back in the past: a date with his girlfriend Inês in the woods before the war; then, after discovering that she has become pregnant, the degrading introduction to his future mother in law, who treats him like a loser looking for social ascension through marriage; and the bargaining over a black girl in war-torn Mozambique. He speaks about himself as a victim, but the actions he describes make the reader perceive him as a sexual perpetrator. Consider how his memories of having sex with Inês in the

woods unveil a date rape. He describes “the fight to lift up your skirt in the pine forest, to get rid of your pants... (You animal, you asshole, I don’t want, let me go) and the small blood stain on the ground, your tears” (p. 71). His sense of his own victimhood is not limited to the repeated humiliations at the hands of his rich wife and her family, who persistently ignore his will and even his presence. As the affair with Ilda later stresses, his sense of helplessness is related to the acknowledgement that sex does not grant him empowerment. Bishop-Sanchez refers extensively to the lieutenant when she examines how women’s empowerment challenges the protagonists’ “view and expectations of a phallogocentric economy of sexuality” and hinders their efforts to “re-establish the hegemonic ‘center’ of heterosexual satisfaction and male dominance” (2011, p. 99). For the lieutenant, sexual possession and impregnation, which patriarchal heteronormative scripts value as signs of masculinity and power, are followed by a loss of self-esteem, loneliness, and sense of social irrelevance. He painfully resents the fact that Inês despises his humble origins, enjoys having sex with an older woman (and consequently loses interest in him), and that he ceases to exist for Ilda, who starts treating him like a stranger, as an “unpleasant and sad thing” from her distant past, when he (unsuccessfully) suggests that she have an abortion (Antunes, 2007, p. 217).

Any examination of a general pattern of abuse in the lieutenant’s interactions with women must address also the impact of racism on his sexuality. Consider his reactions to his children born out of wedlock. While he carelessly mentions that he must have a nine-year-old “bastard” in Mozambique (p. 87), Ilda’s offspring is referred to as a child who keeps on haunting him (p. 218). Furthermore, female agency is a key element in identifying the specific constellations of abuse generated by the Colonial War. Though the narration clearly links the rape of the black girl in Mozambique to the rape of Inês in the Portuguese woods (p. 79), other discursive strategies throughout the novel prevent an equivalence between the two moments. While Inês is represented throughout the novel as an agent (she speaks, protests, engages sexually with him, rejects him), the black girl remains quiet, apparently deprived of agency.¹⁰ Toxic masculinities and class inequalities are represented as constitutive forces of Portuguese society that are essential to understanding

wartime rape; however, the formulation of the entanglement of sexuality and violence in the Colonial War is made more complex by the depiction of race as a source of vulnerabilities. The lieutenant remembers the black girl as a “10-year old barefoot child” (p. 73) with “round, unexpressive, oblivious neutral pupils,” a “belly swollen from hunger” (p. 74), and “nonexistent buttocks” (p. 75), who persistently held a wooden doll during the rapes. War and colonial structures exacerbate her gendered vulnerability while empowering the lieutenant as a sexual aggressor. The forced penetration of Inês makes him a rapist, while his abusive words about Ilda make him a villain, but the use of the black girl as a commodity makes him a pedophile.

Considering social attitudes towards pedophilia as the uttermost sexual crime, the novel’s insistence on the girl’s childlike traits is intended as more than a graphic image of the horrors of war. The role of her community in her trafficking (a collusion between local patriarchy and colonial violence in the oppression of colonized women) touches a raw nerve of Portuguese colonial rhetoric, namely its claim about “christening the savages” as part of its civilizing mission. Since it is precisely the black catechist who acts as a facilitator for pedophiles, the subplot with the black girl expresses paradigmatically the hypocrisy and perversity of the colonial endeavor. Moreover, it suggests that, despite its extreme brutality, the occupier had no control over colonized people and would be inevitably defeated. The lieutenant understands that her muteness was an act of resistance:

She never talked to me.... I could never get a word out of her. She clung to the doll all the time, looking at the mud walls, the shutters, the ceiling, the usual indifference, as if I were transparent, you see, as if I were dead, as if I did not exist. (p. 89)

The attempts to terminate her pregnancies indicate that her assumed passivity contained an insurmountable hatred for the Portuguese occupier, which was shared by her community, including those who flattered the colonizer:

She refused to give birth to a child of mine, child of a Portuguese, child of a white... And the catechist always so kind, so nice, so subservient, bowing, he hated me too, only his mouth smiled, his eyes, sir, they remained sour and hostile. (pp. 90-91)

By representing the sexual abuse of black women and girls as intrinsic to the economy of war, Lobo Antunes' work challenges Lusotropicalism and complicates Portuguese memories of the Colonial War, disrupting the centrality of the massacres of white settlers in 1961 in the dictatorship's practices of depicting and remembering wartime rape. Nonetheless, the role of wartime rape in the author's work remains limited as one of many devices to expose colonialism and its evils. Bishop-Sanchez's (2011) compelling examination of the representation of sexual encounters and gender roles in *Fado Alexandrino* does not even mention the black girl. Perhaps because the depiction of wartime sexual violence is no more than a minor subplot in this 700-page novel that essentially serves the formulation of two pervasive themes in Lobo Antunes's work: the impact of war on (toxic) Portuguese masculinities and the delusion of Portuguese power over colonized people.

Despite the functional character of wartime rape in these passages, the novel does open up space for discussing the trauma endured by rape victims. It does so, however, through a character who is unrelated to the colonial context. The penultimate chapter, the only one not centered on the four male protagonists, is a first-person narrative by Esmeralda, an old woman who, until that moment, had only been randomly mentioned as the old housemaid of the murdered veteran's godmother. Her inner voice, addressing mostly events which took place long before the Colonial War, unveils a desolate existence doomed by childhood experiences of rape by her stepfather in the Portuguese hinterland. A close reading may detect a subtle link between her rape many years before the war, and the rape of the black girl during the war in Mozambique: both were raped at a very young age; both remained silent during the abuse; and no-one in the community came to help them. Esmeralda's understanding of male sexuality as violence and exploitation of women's bodies, which is strategically placed by the end of the novel, inevitably informs the reading of the previous chapters, namely the depiction of the veterans' wartime sexual experiences and the collapse of their phallogocentric expectations after the 1974 revolution. Male violent sexuality emerges as a primordial substrate underpinning the society where the veterans were socialized before going to

war. Hence, the formulation of Esmeralda's trauma reinforces the link between sexuality, heteronormative masculinity, and violence in the novel's depiction of Portuguese culture. Ultimately, the novel remains open to exploring subjectivities of victims of sexual violence, albeit according to a universal narrative of rape as part of heterosexual male dominance.

SEXUAL VIOLENCE AS A GENDERED RACIALIZED EMBODIED EXPERIENCE

A thematic enlargement in the representation of colonialism operated in the Portuguese literary production of the 1990s, as authors

shifted their attention to the long presence of the Portuguese in the colonies and the legacies of that presence, to the identity and worldview of colonizers (and especially the viewpoint of those born and raised overseas), to the issue of belonging to Africa, and to the disintegration of Portuguese colonial families at the end of empire. (Gould, 2008, pp. 183–4)

The 1990s are also the period when the actual protagonists of the “return” and their children started writing, offering accounts of their experiences and the subjective consequences of the end of Portuguese colonialism in their lives, thus adding other, more complex/differentiated interpretations of that historical period (Prata, 2014, p. 70).

Women played an important role in the enlargement of authorial voices writing about Portuguese colonialism. Their writing contributed decisively to complicating scripts about sexuality and patriarchy in the colonial period by shifting the focus from male needs and war trauma to women's subjectivities and experiences in the colonies. Martins's (2011) analysis of Wanda Ramos's *Percursos (do Luachimo ao Luena)* (Routes (From Luachimo to Luena), 1981), Lúcia Jorge's *A costa dos murmúrios* (The Murmuring Coast, 1988), Teolinda Gersão's *A árvore das palavras* (The Tree of Words, 1996) and Isabela Figueiredo's autobiographical *Caderno de memórias coloniais* (Notebook of Colonial Memories, 2009) exposes some blind spots in the texts' approaches to gender and colonialism. Despite their radical critique of the Empire and their attention to class, race, and gender inequalities, these texts are essentially Eurocentric narratives about upper and middle-class, white colonial societies that conflate sexism with patriarchy, without

exploring in-depth white women's role as agents of colonialism. Martins argues that, by stressing white women's gender subalternity, by assimilating racial oppression with gender oppression, and, in some cases, by idealizing the sexual liberty supposedly enjoyed by black women, the texts not only silence the double oppression of colonized women; they can even be viewed as acts of symbolic appropriation. Nonetheless, *Cadernos de memórias coloniais* contributes important insights into the way women's bodies function as a battleground for competing masculinities. Figueiredo's remark, "Black women fucked, they were the ones who did it, with everyone and with some more, with black men and with the husbands of white women, for a tip, certainly, for food, or out of fear" (2009, p. 21), sums up not only the social context that made the sexual abuse of black women pervasive in the colonies, but also suggests how this abuse could be made invisible by redefining it as promiscuity, barter sex, and seduction. By examining her father, the author denounces the fact that access to black women's sexuality was a cornerstone in subjugating black men and establishing racialized gendered hierarchies. Moreover, upon arriving in Portugal, her refusal to denounce the rape of white women, as her family had asked her, expresses her awareness (and rejection) of war narratives' figurative appropriation of women's bodies to signify national victimhood. Figueiredo's text certainly addresses the entanglement of sexuality, race, class, and toxic masculinities in the oppression of women in colonial contexts; however, it is another "daughter of the return," Aida Gomes, who brings sexual violence as a gendered racialized experience to the core of literature.

Gomes's 300-page polyphonic novel *Os Pretos de Pousaflores* consists of 79 chapters distributed across the six main characters: Silvério, who, after 40 years in Angola, returns to his birthplace in 1975; his sister Marcolina, who never left the Portuguese hinterland; Justino, Belmira, and Ercília, the three mestizo children he brings from Angola; and Deodata, the mother of the third, who joins them later as a civil war refugee. Their inner voices convey disillusioned depictions of the Portuguese province, its poverty, and rigid social hierarchies, the experiences of poor whites and

black women in the colonies, and the discrimination endured by racialized youth in postcolonial Portugal.

Ferreira (2015) praised the novel for exposing Portuguese racism and the country's difficulty in integrating the racial diversity of its former colonies. The novel also challenges narratives about the successful integration of the "returnees" in Portuguese society through its focus on a social segment that tends to be ignored by the hegemonic memories of the "return," namely, black and mestizo "returnees". Ferreira frames her analysis with previous research that examined how black and mestizo "returnees" were outcast from the imagined Portuguese nation and from the imagined community of the "return": They were often perceived as immigrants, marked as "racial others," who were "re-ascribed to conform to a conception of Portuguese national identity in which race, nation, and increasingly location would be seen to coincide" (Lubkemann, 2005, p. 266). Less attention has been paid to other aspects that make for the novel's originality, namely, how its gendered voices challenge hegemonic Portuguese memories of colonialism and address racialized gendered discrimination as a colonial legacy in postcolonial Portugal. Well-established Portuguese literature tends to address colonialism and its legacies through the prism of the Colonial War and/or the "return," which are represented as singular traumatic events (loss of innocence and/or loss of the home) that stand for the end of the Empire. Gomes's protagonists provide a more complex understanding of the end of the Empire as a traumatic event per se. Consider the beginning of the novel: Belmira remembers her separation from her mother Geraldina. National imaginary tends to romanticize Portuguese men's attachment to the children that resulted from their sexual liberties in the colonies. The novel, however, represents the case of Silvério, a white father who brought his mestizo children to Portugal, as violence against the women who were forced to give away their children, children who were hence deprived of their mothers. Belmira experiences the process of adjusting to her father's home in Angola as an expulsion from paradise, as the key rupture framing her life. The later flight to Portugal simply reinforces her sense of rootlessness.

The novel's beginning signals how its approach to the "return" revisits the conquest and loss of Angola through the perspective of the deprived. Consider Silvério's path. At a young age, he fled the desolateness of the Portuguese hinterland to escape poverty and the power of the Catholic church and national elites. In 1939, he moved to Angola, where he soon joined an indigenous contingent in the "pacification of the interior," a euphemism employed to refer to a devastating war to punish a local tribe that resisted colonial order (blacks who refused to work for whites and ignored the borders with the Belgian and British colonies). In the novel, war does not refer to the Colonial War, Portugal's national trauma. Contradicting the narrative of the "500-year presence in Africa" that is anchored in the Portuguese imaginary, the text represents Portuguese rule in some parts of its colonies as very recent and as a war-like process of continuous violence. Silvério's obsession with Silva Porto,¹¹ an iconic personality of Portuguese colonialism, and his encounter with Livingstone, situates the Portuguese colonial empire in relation to late 19th century European rivalries framing the violent seizure of the continent. Most importantly, Silvério's military experiences signal that war did not start in Angola in 1961. Violence, massacres, enslavement, and wars, often exploiting local rivalries, are represented as hallmarks of colonial rule. Portuguese victory against the rebels is followed by the seizure of their cattle and the imprisonment of 7000 people, who are put to work in the colonial economy (mines, settlers' farms, colonial administration) in a system of bondage that masks situations of slavery. Silvério receives the "rests" that not even the assimilated indigenous wanted, a group encompassing an old man, three women, and four children. Having nowhere to go, he orders them to take him to their village. Once there, one of the children, Munueme, gives birth to a mestizo baby that resulted from the repeated rapes she endured in captivity at the hands of several officers and soldiers. She, the sole descendent of an extinguished tribe of collectors and nomads, made Silvério "doubt truth and justice" (Gomes, 2011, p. 242).

The novel not only refers to the massive dimension of sexual violence in the conquest of the territory, thus hinting at the rapes behind the birth of many mestizos, but also addresses the

collusion between local powers and colonial power in the abuse of women. Silvério describes how Munueme “had no other choice but living with him” after the birth of her baby and an order by the local chief (pp. 242-3). Later, after the birth of her second child (Justino), Silvério, haunted by suspicions of infidelity, murders her. He escapes punishment, however. The local chief then gives him his own 15-years old daughter, Geraldina, who will bear Silvério’s second child, Belmira.

While Munueme’s fragile body perpetuates the tradition of using silenced raped bodies to signify colonial violence, other characters add more complexity to the novel’s approach to sexual violence. Consider the different forms of abuse in Deodata’s existence. In colonial Angola, Silvério treated her as a sexual and labor commodity. She was part of the merchandise he left behind in 1975 when he fled to Portugal with his three children. Immediately after having her daughter taken away, the violence of the Angolan civil war engulfed her: black men attacked the house, robbed the merchandize, and, it is suggested, violently raped her: “See the blood on my legs. They pointed a gun. Have you ever felt the barrel of a shotgun in your face? You don’t know if you’ll stay alive? If they will kill you right here?” (p. 52). Her inner voice bears witness to black women’s vulnerability throughout colonial and postcolonial Angola. Later in Portugal, as a refugee living in a shelter, she escapes a rape attempt.

Belmira and Ercília add further dimensions to the representation of sexual abuse, the manner of their representation confirming the potential of rape narratives to deconstruct the naturalization of sexual violence. Their first sexual experiences are with the same man, Mário, the son of a well-off landowner, who boasts about his many girlfriends and intention of “trying mulattos.” In a perpetrator narrative, his sexual encounters with the sisters would certainly have been signified as seduction. Telling the story from the girls’ perspective resists such a reading. By listening to their inner voices and by being confronted with the impact of these events in their lives, the reader perceives both sexual encounters as experiences of abuse and exploitation.

Belmira’s laconic words suggest a case of date rape: “Yesterday in the dark, Mário asked me to stop with the bullshit (He deflowered me, that’s how you say it, right?)” (p. 189). The forest,

which had previously been experienced by Belmira as a place of belonging and magic, is the setting of this sexual encounter. Du Toit argues that sexual violence transforms “the physical surroundings of the rape victim” into an “hostile place in which she is reduced to an object amongst other,” a place where she becomes homeless (2009, p. 94). The morning after the date rape, Belmira leaves the village for good, working initially as a housemaid, and later survives as a prostitute on a path that is signified as degradation and abuse. Her suffering and the commodification of her body are represented as a “spirit injury.” Du Toit proposes this concept to describe how rape, by turning women into “pure flesh” in two senses—“flesh as mortal” and “flesh as sexual thing, sex object” (2009, p. 83)—can destroy one’s sense of self in relation to the world. This process, as well the context that led to the date rape, is framed in relation to the legacies of the objectification of racialized women in postcolonial Portugal. One of Belmira’s regular clients is a veteran from the Colonial War, who boasts about his killings of African leaders before and after the Independences. He exemplifies not only the continuity of western military interference in the continent, but also the embeddedness of violent sexualities in (neo)-colonial attitudes: “The colonel spent many years in Africa and sometimes he misses shouting loudly and spanking blacks, that’s why he likes me so much” (Gomes, 2011, p. 256).

The novel glosses over the sexual encounters between Ercília and Mário. It exclusively addresses their outcome, a pregnancy, which is used to revisit (and test) Portuguese lusotropicalist celebrations of miscegenation. 15-year-old Ercília is apparently in love with the popular Mário and is willing to carry on her pregnancy. Yet apart from her mother, no-one in Pousaflores wants her to keep the baby. Mário calls the fetus an aberration that does not result from dating, but from a mistake. He threatens to kick it out of her belly because blacks “are angry and there are enough angry people coming to the world to provoke wars and terror attacks” (p. 251). Ercília’s traumatic abortion is followed by depression and lasting aversion to sexuality, symptoms which tend to be associated with the trauma of sexual abuse. Though class plays an important role in the sexual exploitation endured by the sisters, their degrading experiences during dating (not being lovable;

being treated as objects of fetishization; having their racialized body reduced to its corporeality) recall what Clarke (2011), in a study about college-educated Black-American women, terms as “inequalities of love” resulting from a system of racial discrimination that echoes the long colonial tradition of commodification of black women’s sexuality. While the sisters are desired as exotic sexualities, Justino’s attempts to romantically engage with (white) Portuguese women are frustrated. The siblings’ traumatic coming of age experiences expose not only how Lusotropicalism’s racialized sexist constellations persist in postcolonial Portugal, but also how hybrid identities are condemned to be experienced as sufferance and rootlessness in a social environment framed by racism. Silvério, their father, reproduces persistent essentialist ideals of nation when he describes the mulatto as “an unforeseen being in the creation of the world,” “an unfortunate experience of colonialism,” “the longing for what it is not, neither black nor white” (p. 259). Growing up in such a hostile environment, one that casts him as a stranger, Justino returns to Angola and advises his sisters to follow him.

The novel, however, represents the sisters’ sense of alienation and exclusion through tropes deeply rooted in Portuguese culture and relates their oppression to the persistence of traditional gender roles in the Portuguese province. Facing repeated racist abuse, Ercília embraces Catholicism and, as a young catechist, she is very active in the church’s activities (pp. 107-11). She is an obedient, hardworking girl who learns housekeeping and farming from her aunt, Marcolina. Previous readings of the novel—focusing on Marcolina as a symbol of conservative, illiterate, authoritarian, superstitious, racist, and backward Portugal (Ferreira, 2015, p. 111)—have not discussed how compliance to certain gender roles enables the racist woman to regard Ercília as her natural heir and to bequeath her half of the family’s humble property: “Fake race, only Ercília, poor girl, is obedient, she resembles me” (p. 143). The information given about Marcolina’s youth is vague: late in life, she married an alcoholic and never had children. Despite her deep Catholicism, she favors an abortion that will spare Ercília from the social ostracism endured by single mothers. Is it the case that the novel depicts how naive Ercília is transformed into a bitter woman, just like her

catholic aunt? Are both women victims of a patriarchal way of thinking, embracing one of its main traditional promoters, Catholicism?

The link between Marcolina and Deodata, Ercília's black mother, suggests further points of convergence. Marcolina's increasing affection for her black sister-in-law is due to more than self-interest. Certainly, hard-working Deodata takes over most of the farm work, but, in the last part of the novel, Marcolina truly sees her as family and as someone who resembles her. Though framed by different cultural landscapes, they easily find common ground: their interest in the healing potentialities of herbs; their closeness to nature and folklore; their allegiance to a patriarchal ideology that equates women's value with obedience to tradition (and elders) and capacity to work and provide for the family. The gender roles that Deodata learnt from her family back in Angola, and which she tried to transmit to Ercília and Belmira in Pousaflores, certainly converge with Marcolina's beliefs: "Women have to accept their husbands.... If a woman has food on the table and clothes on the body, her children go to school, it is her duty to stay with her husband" (p. 186). It was Geraldina, Silvério's second wife, who could not conform to them: forced by her father to marry Silvério, and later to hand their daughter over to him (a subplot that reinforces the novel's depiction of collusion between local patriarchal systems and colonial order in the oppression of women), she resented his jealousy and accused him of violence. Deodata, however, described her as a bad wife who "wasn't able to bear the suffering of living with whites" (p. 89). Though Deodata invokes ethnicity (tribes from the coast versus tribes from the interior) to explain her differences from Geraldina, the novel suggests their rather different personal attitudes towards patriarchal oppression.

Belmira resembles her mother in her attempts to resist patriarchal gender roles. From early childhood, she is a storyteller, a sensitive child whose invented stories combine Angolan folklore with Portuguese legends. The ancient tradition of Portuguese and Galician fairy-tales about enchanted *mouras* (very beautiful women under a spell who dwell in the forest) helps her to formulate her own traumatic separation from her mother (pp. 129-131). From an early age, she

reads poems by the Portuguese poet Florbela Espanca (1894-1930). Inventing fairy-tales, reading literature, writing poems, dancing, and engaging in romance are her way of trying to negotiate a home and an identity in Portugal. Such behaviors are, however, object of repeated criticism: Marcolina criticizes her for not doing her household tasks properly; her teacher complains about her interest in poetry instead of engaging with “useful” knowledge. As Deodata sums up: “Belmira was born to be on the wrong track” (p. 262). Belmira’s date rape can be seen precisely as a punishment for breaking the conservative catholic rules of the Portuguese province, a transgression that casts her as a “whore”, the social role attributed to women who transgress sexual norms. Later, when she survives as a prostitute, she tells the colonel that she would have liked to be a poet and that she probably suffers from neurasthenia, just like Florbela Espanca. Indeed, the novel constructs Belmira as a soul mate of this famous Portuguese poet who suffered from extreme social prejudice because of her sexual life and erotic writing, both considered scandalous by the conservative society of the Portuguese province where she spent most of her life. Other subplots reinforce the novel’s feminist approach to sexual violence. Consider the meetings of the association of women founded by Justino’s community of outcasts. Using a humorous register, these chapters suggest the deep traumas of women, who as prostitutes are subjected to repeated violence. Black Genoveva proposes Slaves of Pain as the best name for their association and would like it to finance whips and Swiss army knives, because “men treat women as if they were at war” (p. 250). Asked about why men seek women, she replies:

To humiliate them. ... Despise them. Undress them. Spank them. Mistreat them. Piss on them. Whip them. Men are insurgents. Maniacs, when they get the chance, they only do crap to women, burn them with a lighter, force them to stand up and play the statue, dress them like an angel. (p. 238)

FINAL REMARKS: WHOSE STORY IS TOLD?

By the end of the novel, Belmira, on her way to Switzerland, resents that she and her siblings were her father’s luggage when they came to Portugal. She clarifies her problem thus:

Can the luggage tell its story? They took me there, I went there, I came back, they carried me, and they left me there? No, the luggage has no way to tell its own story. The luggage never controls the voyage. (p. 284)

Considering how the novel constructs Silvério as embodiment of (certain) Portuguese colonial experiences, the text's polyphonic structure entails a shift in the approach to Portuguese remembrance of colonialism: the voice of the colonizer is represented alongside the voices of the colonized and those who were affected or produced by colonialism. Women's voices gain audibility in this process. The novel's stream of consciousness, monologues, and dialogues are essential narrative strategies for empowering these figures as narrators of their own stories. Their voices are certainly not alone in pointing to racism as a major legacy of Portugal's colonial past. The novel's originality lies partially in the way it overcomes some deadlocks inherent in the metaphor of colonialism as rape, above all by representing sexual violence and exploitation as gendered experiences by racialized bodies. Although any examination of sexual violence in colonial contexts must address how sexuality is framed by cultural imaginaries, power relations, and political-economical pressure, sexual violence is inevitably experienced by individualized bodies whose diversity and complexity cannot be fully accounted by a unifying metaphor. *Fado Alexandrino* exemplifies precisely some of the metaphor's shortcomings. *Os Pretos de Pousaflores* also frames sexual violence in relation to colonial power structures and inequalities, but racialized women, instead of having their bodies signified as a rhetoric device, have a voice and display agency in navigating hostile political and cultural environments. They expose the way that sexual violence, deeply entangled in patriarchal structures, was multilayered and pervasive throughout the colonial period and persisted both in postcolonial Angola and postcolonial Portugal. By narrating their own experiences, they challenge a Portuguese imaginary that remembers the Colonial War as *the* locus of colonial violence. At the same time, they reveal the absences in both white women's writing on colonialism and the hegemonic memory of the "return" as a white experience. After reading Gomes's novel, the trauma of the Colonial War, for which Lobo Antunes's work stands, emerges as

a male Eurocentric experience; the stories of the “return” which permeate the media, popular culture, and even memoirs that are critical of colonial societies, like Figueiredo’s, sound incomplete and centered on urban wealthy (or at least non-poor) segments of that population. Instead, Gomes brings to the foreground experiences that tend to be absent from Portuguese hegemonic memories: the violent conquest (and not discovery) of the colonial territories; sexual and labor exploitation as the pillars of colonial economy; the commodification of black sexualized bodies in postcolonial Portugal. Finally, Gomes seizes the polyphonic potentialities of literature to challenge rigid rape scripts, to question common-sense assumptions regarding the boundaries between sexual violence and seduction, between sexual abuse in war and in peace, and, most importantly, to formulate rape as “spirit injury,” thus encouraging new forms of empathy with victims of sexual abuse.

ENDNOTES

1 The debate, initiated by black activists, was partially triggered by police violence against black youths in Lisbon and by the refusal of the President of the Republic, Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa, to apologize officially for the role played by Portugal in the Transatlantic Slave Trade when he visited the Isle of Gorée (Senegal) in April 2017. The debate was also fueled by the discussion of the law of nationality and several cultural events such as the exhibition “Racismo e Cidadania” [Racism and Citizenship] shown at the Padrão dos Descobrimentos in Lisbon from May 6 to September 3 in 2017. The Portuguese newspaper *Público* played an important role in the debate.

2 The conquest of Ceuta in 1415 is usually assumed to be the beginning of Portuguese colonial expansion that led to an Overseas Empire with outposts and possessions in several regions of Africa, Asia, and America. In the context of the late 19th century European conquest of Africa, Portuguese late colonialism focused on imposing its rule in the territories that are now Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. Portugal resisted post-1945 pressures to decolonize. The Portuguese Colonial war (1961-1974) was fought in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau, where it is remembered as the War of Liberation. The 1974 Carnation Revolution in Portugal paved the way for cease-fire agreements with the African liberation movements. Mozambique became independent on June 25, 1975, Cape Verde on July 5, 1975, São Tomé and Príncipe on July 12, 1975, and Angola on November 11, 1975. Guinea Bissau had unilaterally declared independence on September 31, 1973.

3 All translations in this article are mine.

4 The exhibition was shown at the Galeria Av. da Índia in Lisbon, from November 4, 2015 to February 27, 2016 and curated by Elsa Peralta.

5 The novel was published in English translation in 1983 as *South of Nowhere* (translated by Elisabeth Lowe) and 2011 as *The Land at the End of the World* (translated by Margaret Jull Costa).

6 Lobo Antunes was awarded several prestigious literary prizes and nominated for the Nobel Prize. In 2018, it was announced that his complete works are to be published in the prestigious collection Pléiade by the French editor Gallimard.

7 Other forms of artistic expression also focus on the suffering of Portuguese colonial combatants. Consider film, for instance. Whether we are talking about so-called auteur cinema (João Botelho's *Um Adeus Português* [A Portuguese Farewell], 1986) or commercial cinema (Joaquim Leitão's *Inferno* [Hell], 1999 or Ruy Guerra's TV movie *Monsanto*, 2000), some of the most emblematic movies about the war focus on the suffering experienced by Portuguese combatants and on veterans' war trauma.

8 The novel was published in English translation by Gregory Rabassa in 1990. The translation kept the complex Portuguese title. "Fado" means destiny as well as denoting a traditional form of music from Portugal. The word "Alexandrino" derives from the name Alexandre but can also connote "alexandrine," that is, a verse form that was popular among some canonical writers of the Portuguese expansion.

9 A discussion of homoerotic transactions and homosexuality would be beyond the scope of this essay. Bishop-Sanchez (2011) examines in-depth how the novel challenges expectations of the masculinity/femininity binary and gives visibility to non-normative sexualities, denaturalizing heteronormativity.

10 The soldier's brief reference to his rapes of black men suggests a similar pattern of silent victims in the war scenario.

11 António Francisco Ferreira da Silva Porto (1817-1890) emigrated to Brazil at the age of 12 to escape poverty. At the age of 22 he began a 50-year career as a merchant and explorer in the interior of Angola. He developed contacts with tribesmen and had several children with a local woman. He provided information to famous European explorers, among them Livingstone. His despair with the British Ultimatum led him to suicide. See <http://km-stressnet.blogspot.pt/2008/02/silva-porto-do-brasil-frica.html>.

REFERENCES

- Antunes, A. L. (2007). *Fado Alexandrino*. Lisbon: Dom Quixote.
- Bishop-Sanchez, K. (2011). Post-imperial Performativities: Sexual Misencounters and Engenderings of Desire in Antonio Lobo Antunes's *Fado Alexandrine*. *Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies*, 19/20 (Facts and Fictions of António Lobo Antunes, ed. V.K. Mendes), 97-120.
- Cardão, M. (2015). Allegories of exceptionalism: lusotropicalism in mass culture (1960-1974). *Portuguese Journal of Social Science*, 14, 257-273.
- Carvalho, C. (2008). "Raça," género e imagem colonial: representações de mulheres nos arquivos fotográficos. In J. Machado et al. (Eds.), *O visual e o quotidiano* (145-174), Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.
- Clarke, A. Y. (2011). *The Inequalities of Love: College-Educated Black Women and the Barriers to Romance and Family*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.
- Coelho, A. L. (2017, July 27). Portugal não foi colonizador brando. Há inúmeras situações de racismo. *Notícias ao Minuto*. Retrieved from <https://www.noticiasao minuto.com/vozes-ao-minuto/836272/portugal-nao-foi-colonizador-brando-ha-inumeras-situacoes-de-racismo>.
- Deer, S. (2015). *The Beginning and End of Rape. Confronting Sexual Violence in Native America*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Ferreira, P. M. (2015). O conceito de "retornado" e a representação da ex-metrópole em *O Retorno e Os Pretos de Pousaflores*. *Ellipsis*, 13, 95-120.
- Figueiredo, I. (2009). *Cadernos de Memórias Coloniais*. Coimbra: Angelus Novus.
- Fonseca, A. M. (2013-14). (Pós-)Memórias de África—as narrativas dos "retornados." *Dedalus. Revista Portuguesa de Literatura Comparada*, 17-18, 654-670.
- Garraio, J. (2016). Perdidas na exposição? Desafiar o imaginário colonial português através de fotografias de mulheres negras. In A. S. Ribeiro, M.C. Ribeiro (Eds.) (pp. 279-303), *Geometrias da memória: configurações pós-coloniais*. Porto: Afrontamento.
- Gomes, A. (2011). *Os Pretos de Pousaflores*. Alfragide: Dom Quixote.

- Gould, Isabel Ferreira (2008) Decanting the past: Africa, colonialism, and the new Portuguese novel. *Luso-Brazilian Review*, 45, 182–197.
- Higgins, L. A., & Silver, B. R. (1991). *Rape and Representation*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Horeck, Tanya (2004). *Public Rape: Representing Violation in Fiction and Film*. London/NY: Routledge.
- Lubkemann, S. C. (2005). Unsettling the metropole: Decolonization, Migration and National Identity in Postcolonial Portugal. In C. Elkins, S. Pedersen (Eds.), *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century: Projects, Practices, Legacies* (257-270). New York: Taylor and Francis.
- Martins, C. (2011). “Deixei o meu coração em África.” Memórias coloniais no feminino. *Oficina do CES*, 375. Retrieved from <https://ces.uc.pt/pt/publicacoes/outras-publicacoes-e-colecoes/oficina-do-ces/numeros/oficina-375>
- Prata, Ana Filipa (2014). O cronótopo do hotel e a formação da memória em O retorno, de Dulce Maria Cardoso. *Navegações*, 7, 69–76.
- Ramos, A. (2014). Angola 1961, o horror das imagens. In F. L. Vicente (Ed.), *O Império da visão. A fotografia no contexto colonial português (1860-1960)* (399-434). Lisboa: Edições 70.
- Ribeiro, M. C. (2004). *Uma história de regressos. Império, Guerra Colonial e pós-colonialismo*. Porto: Afrontamento.
- Ribeiro, M. C. (2006). Lusos amores em corpos colonizados: as mulheres africanas na literatura portuguesa da guerra colonial. *Ellipsis*, 4, 131-147.
- Santos, B. S. (2002). Between Prospero and Caliban: Colonialism, Postcolonialism, and Inter-identity. *Luso-Brazilian Review*, 39, 9-43.
- Sielke, S. (2002). *Reading Rape: The Rhetoric of Sexual Violence in American Literature and Culture, 1790-1990*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Stone, K. (2018). The mass rapes of 1945 in contemporary memory culture: The (gender) politics of metaphor and metonymy. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 21, 707–723.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549417718207>.

Suleri, S. (1992). *The Rhetoric of English India*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Tanner, Laura E (1994). *Intimate Violence: Reading Rape and Torture in Twentieth Century Fiction*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

du Toit, L. (2009). *A Philosophical Investigation of Rape: The Making and Unmaking of the Feminine Self*. New York & London: Routledge.

Vicente, F. L. (2012). *A arte sem história. Mulheres e cultura artística*. Lisboa: Athena.

Vicente, F.L. (2013, August 25). Rosita e o império como objecto de desejo. *Público*. Retrieved from <https://www.publico.pt/2013/08/25/jornal/rosita-e-o-imperio-como-objecto-de-desejo-26985718>.

Wieser, D. (2017, September). O cabelo crespo dos “retornados”: raça e género na literatura sobre identidades mestiças em Portugal. Paper presented at the 12th meeting of the Congresso Alemão de Lusitanistas, University of Mainz.