Transnational Memory of the Atlantic Slave Trade Today: Modes of Remembering in Three Lusophone Nations

Masterarbeit

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by

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Abstract

From the 15th century up until the 19th century, millions of enslaved Africans were forcibly taken from their homes to the Americas and, to a lesser extent, to Europe. The remnant effects of slavery have persisted in these societies and remain evident today. This paper examines the transnational Memory of the Atlantic slave trade today and its modes of remembering through palimpsests of Memory in three Lusophone nations: Angola, Brazil, and Portugal. Using Astrid Erll's outline (2010) on Memory studies, this thesis argues that there are different modes of remembering the past according to the distinct positions occupied within the world system. This thesis thereby proposes the notion of *palimpsests of Memory*, as a parallel with Pierre Nora's (1996) *Lieux de mémoire*, as mediums of remembering that elicit those modes. To this end, three cases are compared: Angolan poetry, capoeira practice in Brazil, and the urban toponymy in Lisbon (the capital city of Portugal). The double structure of the palimpsest presented by Sarah Dillon (2005) will be used for this analysis. The following three modes of remembering are analyzed and discussed from a transnational perspective: the defiant, the heterogeneous and the nostalgic. This juxtaposed analysis demonstrates how Memory constitutes a representation that is affected by diverse social and cultural frameworks in which it is situated.
Keywords: Atlantic slave trade, Lusophone countries, Memory, modes of remembering, palimpsest of Memory.

Resumo

Desde o século XV até ao século XIX, milhões de africanos escravizados foram levados à força das suas casas para as Américas e, em menor escala, para a Europa. Os efeitos remanescentes da escravatura têm persistido nestas sociedades e continuam a ser evidentes hoje em dia. Este documento examina a memória transnacional do comércio de escravos atlântico de hoje e os seus modos de recordar através de palimpsestos de memória em três nações lusófonas: Angola, Brasil, e Portugal. Usando o esboço de Astrid Erll (2010) sobre estudos da memória, esta tese argumenta que existem diferentes modos de lembrar o passado de acordo com as distintas posições ocupadas dentro do sistema mundial. Esta tese propõe assim a noção de *palimpsestos de memória*, como um paralelo com a de Pierre Nora (1996) *Lieux de mémoire*, como meios de recordar que suscitam esses modos. Para este efeito, são comparados três casos: A poesia angolana, a prática da capoeira no Brasil, e a toponímia urbana em Lisboa (a capital de Portugal). A estrutura dupla do palimpsesto apresentado por Sarah Dillon (2005) será utilizada para esta análise. Os três modos de recordação seguintes são analisados e discutidos numa perspectiva transnacional: o desafiante, o heterogéneo e o nostálgico. Esta análise justaposta demonstra como a memória constitui uma representação que é afectada pelos diversos quadros sociais e culturais em que está situada.
Palavras-chave: Comércio de escravos do Atlântico, países lusófonos, Memória, modos de recordar, palimpsesto da Memória.

Contents

Introduction

In 2017, Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa became the first Portuguese president to visit Senegal. There, he visited the House of Slaves, a museum and memorial to the Atlantic slave trade on Goree Island, an infamous departure point for slave ships, and delivered a speech. As, some years earlier and on the same island, Pope John Paul II and Brazilian President Lula da Silva apologized for slavery, Rebelo de Sousa was expected to do the same. However, he only recognized the injustice of slavery and emphasized Portugal's humanist pioneering spirit in the abolition of slavery by the Marquis of Pombal in 1761. These words, "marcadas por uma inquietante imprecisão histórica", provoked controversy and public outcries, prompting an open letter in which more than 50 scholars criticized the fact that the president had reignited the "branqueamento da opressão colonial implícito na visão do projeto colonial português como 'missão civilizadora', [...] que é inerentemente paternalista e particularmente atentatória da dignidade e da pujança cultural dos povos colonizados" ("Um regresso ao passado em Gorée", 2017). To top off the debate, at the end of that year, the *lisboetas* voted to construct the first memorial to slavery in the city of Lisbon (12 years after the initial proposal was made).

Other people responded to this controversy by minimizing Portugal's role in the trade. Some, such as António Barreto, a Portuguese political commentator employed by the newspaper *Diário de Notícias*, contended that the idea of creating a memorial was good and legitimate, but only if it was not limited to condemning the Portuguese people as if "o colonialismo dos portugueses foi mais cruel do que o dos outros, que o racismo dos portugueses é pior do que o dos outros, que a escravatura dos portugueses foi mais hedionda do que a dos outros" (Barreto, 2017). Not in vain, the nation is "the least racist country in Europe" (Epifânio, 2017). This self-imposed title, says Afro-Portuguese activist Beatriz Dias, exists as the result of the "good colonizer myth", the idea that Portuguese colonization was benign. This myth comprises the root of Portuguese denial of racism and racial discrimination (Navarro Fernandes, 2020). Angolan artist Kiluanji Kia Henda, the designer of the memorial in Lisbon, recognized that the memorial would confront people with a tragic and catastrophic historical period that cannot be silenced, and stressed that the protection and awareness of this Memory belongs to the Portuguese State ("Reconciliação", 2020). This debate surrounding the role and the collective cultural Memory of Portugal in the Atlantic slave trade was the starting point of this research paper.

Before continuing, a crucially important clarification must be made. The fact that English offers the same word, "memory", for the faculty by which the mind stores and remembers information, and for something remembered from the past, is problematic. This contrasts with other languages which separate these notions into different nouns, e.g., *la memoria - el recuerdo, a memória - a lembrança, la mémoire - le souvenir, das Gedächtnis - die Erinnerung*. Thus, it is necessary to distinguish between these two meanings: in this thesis, the first one will be referred to as "Memory", with a capital letter, and the second will simply be termed "memory".

That said, this work refers to a transnational Memory, namely, a Memory that moves in space across national borders and along the Atlantic Ocean. The African diaspora that the Atlantic slave trade caused made inevitable that other pieces of that Memory exist: in, for example, Angola and Brazil. Thus, these three countries were chosen because of their distinct roles and positions in the slave trade and also because of the distinct positions they occupy within the world system, which allows us to see the different "pasts" of this past. Today, these countries are connected not only through their common language, but also through the legacy of this dark business. The ways in which the countries were affected by it, however, were immensely different in all aspects of society and, as a consequence, the resulting Memories differ, too. **The present thesis attempts to analyze the transnational Memory of the Atlantic slave trade today, and its modes of remembering through *palimpsests of Memory* in three Lusophone nations: Angola, Brazil, and Portugal.** To achieve this objective, this paper is divided into two main parts: the first part is dedicated to developing the theoretical basis, and the second will concern the case studies presented in the three countries in question.

Although there are several papers addressing the topics covered here, to the best of my knowledge the present thesis is the first to propose a transnational approach of this type. This is why this research does not adhere to one specific and strict theory, but rather constitutes a fusion of concepts and thoughts in order to formulate a comprehensive analysis. I am aware that the present work contains and depicts diverse notions and ideas that consequently will lead me to refer to different authors and their respective works. Nonetheless, it is important to keep in mind that this thesis is interested in the different modes of remembering in a transnational context; therefore, all of the notions raised will be relevant to this subject and will serve to fulfill this objective. Thus, the first part of the present paper deals with the

main concepts that will hold this study together, meaning that some of the key terms in Memory studies will be presented. These pages follow Elizabeth Jelin's (2002) argument that there is no such thing as *the* Memory, neither a unique vision nor interpretation of the past that can be shared by an entire society. Instead, there exist Memories, visions, interpretations, and stories (p.18). In this sense, there is no such thing as a single perspective from which Memory can be studied, understood, and narrated, because Memory inextricably encompasses a wide range of aspects, notions, approaches and experiences. Disciplines as varied as literary studies, psychology, social anthropology, sociology, and history study Memory in distinct ways (the theory of Memory examined here is situated closer to the latter two disciplines). In recent decades, the interest in Memory has increased within both academia and society at large, and therefore, presenting a complete overview of the extant literature and the diverse points of view that have been published in this field is a task beyond the scope of this work. Regardless of the approach adopted, it will inevitably be fragmentary, just like Memory itself.

The first part is thus divided into three chapters. The first chapter will deal with the interplay between the present and the past, not without first presenting a general overview of the past event of interest, the Atlantic slave trade. Although throughout this paper when necessary, this theme will be resumed. This initial chapter aims to highlight the key discussions related to the most fundamental concepts present in this paper: Memory, its shapes, as well as its relationship to history and the present. Therefore, in this chapter, we must first refer to how Memory is shaped within social and cultural frameworks; to do so, Maurice Halbwachs' (1992) ideas on collective Memory will be taken into consideration. Moreover, in order to offer a general overview of the different Memories referred here, and to understand why this is a transnational Memory, this chapter will focus mainly on the proposals provided by Jan Assman (2011), Aleida Assman (2010), and Astrid Erll (2011) regarding the different "types" of Memories, their "travels" and their global circulation (or lack thereof).

The second chapter will explain why we talk about cultural representations of the past through the "triad of past", as has been previously studied by Paul Ricœur (2010): Memory, history, and forgetting. Ricœur's theory of forgetting and forgiveness will be of foremost importance to this chapter. This triad will establish the route that opens the way to the *modes of remembering* as established by Astrid

Erll (2010), which are considered as fundamental components for this paper. It is my hypothesis that it will be possible to distinguish three different modes of remembering the Atlantic slave trade. Therefore, to clarify these three modes, the underlying conceptual foundation related to all three will be described in this chapter. This foundation is fundamentally predicated upon the notions on *subalternity* from Walter Mignolo (2005), *heterogeneity* from Cornejo-Polar (1978), and *nostalgia* from Patricia Lorcin (2018). In the second part of this work, the consideration of these terms will be resumed and further illustrated.

As the modes of remembering need *mediums of remembering* (namely, conceptual elements that deliver or facilitate these modes), chapter three will be dedicated to these concepts. In this chapter, the mediums of remembering will be divided in two distinct categories. This work will establish a parallel between Pierre Nora's proposal, *Les lieux de mémoire* (1996), as canonical and premeditated mediums –that is, elements for Memory– and my proposal for this thesis, *the palimpsests of Memory*, which refer to ambivalent and fortuitous mediums –elements of Memory– that allow us to find spontaneous modes of remembering. This chapter attempts to describe and illuminate the need for the palimpsest of Memory for this thesis, whereas the second part will exemplify them. Contrary to the *lieux de mémoire*, in this paper I propose not only a medium of remembering, but also a methodological way to analyze and understand them. Employing Sarah Dillon's (2005) double structure to understand the figure of the palimpsest, the *palimpsestic* and the *palimpsestuous*, we will come to see all of the layers of the past that lead us to understand this Memory.

This thesis will subsequently move onto its second part, which concerns the case studies. The analysis proposed here will be conceptually triangular, much like the historical event that connects these nations: Angola, Brazil and Portugal (they will always be mentioned in alphabetic order). In this vein, this part will consist of three chapters, each of which will be dedicated to one nation. In this second part, all of the chapters are structured in the same way. First, a general introduction of the country will be provided, then a brief recounting of the Atlantic slave trade and the country's involvement in that dark business; this will be followed by a consideration of the trade's aftermath and the construction of collective Memory within the society in question. Three mediums of remembering in the form of palimpsests of memory are proposed; thus, here, we will dedicate ourselves to contextualize the palimpsest

of Memory and the reasons for its choice. The double structure (Dillon, 2005), the *palimpsestic*, will allow us to understand the past layers that constructed this element as a palimpsest of Memory, and the *palimpsestuous* will show us how these meanings have superimposed, creating new Memories and modes of remembering. It must be said that the objects being taken under consideration are broad and complex. For this reason, this thesis will not (and indeed cannot) cover all of the aspects related to them. This thesis will focus mainly upon the most important aspects that allow us to show, prove, and exemplify our objective. At the end of each chapter, then, it will be possible to see the different modes of remembering in which the same past can be remembered.

The fourth chapter will thus be dedicated to Angola, where the palimpsest of Memory is Angolan poetry. Here, our focus will be on the poems *Adeus à hora da largada* (1974) by Agostinho Neto and *Subpoesia* (1997) by José Luís Mendonça. These poems will help demonstrate the defiance of Lusophone African literatures, its involvement in denouncing, its contribution to counter-Memory, and will thus conclude with the analysis of a *defiant mode of remembering*. Chapter five will be dedicated to Brazil, in which the palimpsest of Memory is capoeira. This chapter will explore, through the capoeira movements *ginga* and *aú*, how body Memory can hold historical Memory, and how African heritage enabled a *heterogeneous mode of remembering*. Chapter six will concern Portugal, where the palimpsest of Memory is the urban toponymy of the city of Lisbon. Our attention will largely focus on two neighborhoods of the city, *bairro das colónias* and *bairro Parque das Nações*, in order to see the incomplete narrative displayed, and thus discuss a *nostalgic mode of remembering*. Finally, a conclusion will be presented at the end of the paper. This thesis attempts to join the "International Decade for People of African Descent" initiative and contribute to the on-going debate on racism, while also offering insight about how Memory can be understood.

Part I: Theoretical Basis

1 Dialogues on Past and Present

1.1 A Triangular Business

In this first section of the chapter, it is necessary to move away from the present and explore the past that has brought us here. Slavery existed long before Portuguese ships started to arrive on the Western coast of Africa in 1444. Since antiquity, slavery had been a major institution in Christian and Muslim societies. The trans-Saharan slave trade, between West and North Africa, is believed to have begun as early as 1000 B.C.E. (Thomas, 1997, pp. 21-48). However, Portuguese involvement in the slave trade in Africa, though it occurred relatively late within this historical context, had an outsized impact on the history of this enterprise. Prince Henry of Portugal, known as "the Navigator" and honored today with memorials in various Portuguese cities and towns, is recognized as the foremost pioneer in this endeavor. This resulting from his commercial interest in the Atlantic islands of Madeira and the Azores, for which he even received a papal blessing due to what was presumed to be a Christianization mission on the islands, as well as the enslaved[1] people themselves (DuBois, 2009, p. 36). Not many years later, Europeans reached the Americas and the dimensions of the slave trade changed. For more than 350 years, the provision of Africans enslaved for the New World was a lucrative source of profit for merchants, as well as for the European crowns (Thomas, 1997, p. 103). This historic relationship united these three continents, establishing a bond that endures even today. The *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database* (https://www.slavevoyages.org) from Emory University estimates that more than 12 million captive Africans were transported across the Atlantic, and at least a third of them would never even make it ashore.

While different nations around the globe were involved in the trade, their roles and relative impact were clearly different. Since the transatlantic slave trade ended long ago, the nations involved –and, more importantly, their people– have faced wars, dictatorships, and revolutions in the intervening period. These events are

[1] In this work, the adjective "enslaved" is used over the noun "slave" in order to indicate an involuntary status rather than an internal or inherent condition. More on this discussion can be found in Waldman, K. (2015, May 19). Slave or Enslaved Person? *Slate Magazine.* https://slate.com/human-interest/2015/05/historians-debate-whether-to-use-the-term-slave-or-enslaved-person.html

typically understood to be more immediately present in each nation's collective Memory. Furthermore, the enslaved Africans, both those directly affected and their immediate descendants are no longer alive. The questions, then, arise as to who should tell their story, and what story is being told, if any?

The theory presented here revolves around the Memory of the Atlantic Slave Trade (hereafter referred to as AST). This paper will attempt to make clear the specificity of this past and its Memory, while acknowledging that there is no prescribed way to examine or understand Memory. This research paper defends the idea that the event, around which Memory revolves, influences the way in which Memory can be approached and studied. Therefore, this event cannot be compared with events that are still occurring, nor with those events whose victims are still alive and able to tell their story. Nor can it be compared with the events that received a different ending, namely, an ending with proper international recognition. This is a factor that must be considered to understand this Memory and the approach proposed here. In the same way that every society treats the past differently, so too does every epoch. In this chapter, we will see that the present has as much to do with the past, as the past has to do with the present.

1.2 Cultural Frameworks of the Past

1.2.1 Collective Memory

Contemporary society tends to favor a traditional notion of time, which proposes that a straight line exists between the past (which is behind us and already gone) and the future (which lies ahead and points in a direction). Thus, when deciding to write about the past, one must inevitably ask why, how, and what it has to do with the present and the future. This paper positions itself outside of this linear conception of time and, therefore, it should be said that studying the past does not mean that our sight is only looking backwards and ignores the present or future; rather, their relationship is indivisible and inextricable. In the same sense, as has been suggested by Argentinian sociologist Elizabeth Jelin (2002), the past should not invade the present, but should inform it. Therefore, it is important to put distance between them in order to remember that something happened, while at the same time recognizing present life and future projects (p. 69). For what concerns us, namely, Memory studies, it is possible to say that the future can be affected by the way the

present uses the past. In fact, the purpose of Memory studies might ultimately concern the present and the future (Gutman, Sodaro, & Brown, 2010). Memories, then, should be seen as constructed and narrated from the present.

The importance of society in our present understanding of the past is, in fact, what the theory of collective Memory recognizes. Recent memories fuse with one another because "they are part of a totality of thoughts common to a group, the group of people with whom we have a relation at this moment, or with whom we have had a relation on the preceding day or days" (Halbwachs, 1992, p, 52). The past will not change but, as society transforms, so too may our perception and understanding of the past. This is the primary reason why it was only at the end of the twentieth century that we began to see the development of public recognition, physical memorials, and museums that deal with the crime of slavery[2] because, as Jelin contends, before this time the culturally available interpretive frameworks did not have the symbolic resources to locate and make sense of the events that were happening or that had occurred (2002, p. 83). Put another way: as the present changes, so does the meaning of the past. This is also why we cannot yet offer a resolution because society keeps transforming and our awareness of historic responsibility and human rights likewise (hopefully) keeps increasing.

Since the idea of collective Memory[3] was popularized during the second half of the twentieth century by French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, who still today is the best remembered founding father of Memory studies, it has become an essential term in the field. Halbwachs established the notion that individual Memory is shaped within social frameworks, *les cadres sociaux*, which create a common collective Memory in the individuals who share these frameworks. In this way, then, the past might not be remembered in the same way in different societies, because they do not share the same social frameworks. This idea is a critically important principle that guides the present study, as three different social frameworks are juxtaposed over the course of this paper. However, in this thesis, these frames are not understood as meticulously sealed structures, nor "the tight-knit and relatively stable relations

[2] Such as the International Decade for People of African Descent proclaimed by UNESCO that began in January 2015.

[3] It has been pointed out that the term was used long before Halbwachs did. For more information see: *On the banality of forgetting* (2018) Nowak, J., Kapralski, S., & Niedźwiedzki, D., where they claim that "the concept of collective memory was first introduced into academic discourse over two decades earlier by Hugo von Hofmannsthal. […] reflections on memory studies can be found in the works of the classic thinkers of sociology" (p. 27).

between social group, collective memory and place", because now "new media string social ties out across time and space" (O'Connor, 2019, p. 2), as will be discussed later on in this chapter. Contemporary times have made these frames more flexible and have also provided the possibility of de-territorialized formation. That is, today Memory "flows across territorial and social boundaries and is continually transformed in the process; […] memories are hybrid and polyphonic and betray many different cultural influences even when they are central to the identity of a group" (O'Connor, 2019, p. 2).

Tragically, Halbwachs was deported to a concentration camp during World War II and did not have a chance to finish his proposal. *La Mémoire collective* was thus published in 1950, posthumously and incomplete. This notion, although widely used, has also been widely refuted. As a result, multiple differing conceptions of collective Memory have appeared to fill presumed "gaps"; nonetheless, they all stem from Halbwachs' initial proposal. Among these permutations, we find *cultural Memory*, *communicative Memory*, *transnational Memory*, *global Memory*, *transcultural Memory*. As Jelin (2002) reminded us at the beginning of these pages, there are different visions and interpretations of the past; therefore it is not possible to talk about just one, singular Memory. Thus, this work, in addition to collective Memory, will also refer to cultural, transnational, and hegemonic Memory.

1.2.2 Cultural Memory

Cultural Memory may be one of the most popular notions in the field; in fact, it is believed that "many of the 'hard facts' of what we encounter as 'economy', 'power politics' or 'environmental issues' are at least partly the result of 'soft factors', of cultural processes grounded in [*cultural Memory]*" (Erll, 2011, p. 5). Its clear delimitation would not be possible without its counterpart, *Communicative Memory*. Drawing upon different disciplines, Jan Assman and Aleida Assman sought to understand how collective Memory functioned, and this was how they discovered[4] *Cultural Memory* as one of its forms. They proposed understanding it as an artificial Memory because, as J. Assman (2011, p. 37) explains, it is "a matter of

[4] As written by Jan Assman in *Cultural memory and early civilization: writing, remembrance, and political imagination* (2011): "Twenty-five years ago when Aleida Assmann and I discovered 'Cultural Memory' […] we embarked on what was then a small river of discourse. Today, the river has grown into a sea" (Foreword, xi).

institutionalized mnemotechnics", whereas its opposite, *Communicative Memory,* is that of "natural growth" that depends upon social interaction.

These two forms –cultural and communicative in the Assmans' sense– refer respectively to an "absolute" foundational past and a "recent" past. Thus, when there is no one who has experienced this past firsthand and can keep it alive, Memory can do nothing other than rely upon institutions, ceremonies, and festivals to exist. A living, organic, informal Memory that arises from everyday interaction (2011, p. 41) is only possible for past events that people can still remember from firsthand experience. In rough terms, J. Assman distinguished them as a "festival" Memory and an "everyday" Memory (2011, p. 38). This determines a fundamental aspect about communicative Memory, that is, without the support of any kind of institution, its lifespan is usually limited to three interacting generations, approximately eighty years, although "the durability of memory depends on the durability of social bonds and frames" (J. Assman, 2011, p. 111). As a result, when these memories do not belong to anyone, they would no longer be part of everyday life. In this sense, then, for the event that concerns this present paper, namely the AST, we are examining a period well beyond that of three generations. Thus, if we follow Assman's affirmations, the conclusion should be that there is no communicative Memory possible for the AST, and that in order for this event to exist in the present collective Memory, there should be institutions that guarantee its persistence. This is a statement that I partially support, as will be further explained later on in this paper.

Cultural Memory, according to J. Assman (2011), "is shared by a number of people and […] conveys to these people a collective, that is, cultural, identity", it subsumes the realm of traditions, transmissions, and transferences (p. 110). This is why J. Assman also refers to it as "the province of specialist" (p. 42), because it requires special care in order to exist, that is, special kinds of sign systems: texts, dances, images, rituals, and ceremonies, as well as shamans, priests, teachers, and others. It is emphasized that this kind of Memory depends strongly upon these external elements, because its past is so far receded, that the possibility of shared living testimony is not possible. This Memory "is not biologically transmitted, it has to be kept alive through the sequence of generations" (J. Assman, 2011, p. 72) and somehow an institutionalized plan. Therefore, cultural Memory relies upon the organized and coordinated structures of cultural frameworks in order to exist:

> This […] serves to keep the foundational past alive in the present, and this connection to the past provides a basis for the identity of the remembering group. By recalling its history and reenacting its special events, the group constantly reaffirms its own image; but this is not an everyday identity. The collective identity needs ceremony –something to take it out of the daily routine. (J. Assman, 2011, p. 38)

This is the Memory that creates regional or national identity. Thus, it must be said that J. Assman's distinction between communicative and cultural memory is clear-cut and coherent. Organized and institutionalized Memory is, in fact, distinct from that which develops spontaneously and in an everyday sort of way; what is produced in festivals and ceremonies differs from what is produced through regular interactions. The name assigned to them, however, is problematic.

As such, these notions suggest that culture is not communicative, and that communication is not a relevant aspect in the construction of culture. This strict naming and division, and somewhat "over-simplifying notion" (Erll, 2011, p. 6), imply that culture is static, limited to a canonical fixed past, and created artificially, which undermines its evolution, and the role humans play in its construction. By saying that cultural Memory is "only" a matter of institutions –and imposed traditions, rituals, and customs that did not emerge naturally through a combination of different social, financial, historical, and human factors– any kind of cultural manifestation closer to the so-called communicative Memory implicitly remains outside of culture. It is true that Memory has also been used as a political tool (this will be further discussed), and that some traditions may not be spontaneous[5], but this does not apply to all civilizations. The preservation and evolution of these *kinds of sign systems*, as J. Assman refers to culture, undoubtedly involves social interaction and communication.

The Memory, here, is cultural, not just because institutions are necessary to keep the Memory of the AST alive, because biologically, direct Memory, testimonial[6] Memory, and communicative in terms of the Assmans is not possible. But also, because the relationship between society and culture has been reciprocal,

[5] For more information see: *The invention of tradition* (2010) where Hobsbawm, E. J. suggests that in order to create a national identity and promote national unity some traditions are invented.

[6] It must be clarified, that although there are some testimonies, letters and books written by African and African-descendent enslaved people, they were written before the twentieth century. This study is positioned in the twentieth-first century and its current understanding of that time, therefore although here it is mentioned that there are no testimonies, it is not with the intention of ignoring the previous ones, it is merely to point out that none can be written now.

these cultural frameworks have shaped the Memory of society, but Memory has likewise shaped the culture of society. Here, the notion of *Cultural Memory* will be used, due to the recognition of the importance of culture as a creator of Memory and vice versa, that is, Memory as a connecting link that strengthens cultural identifications. Thus, *collective* is understood as the largest category that recognizes the role of social groups but, in the same way, culture underlines the uniqueness of those groups. Hence, the adjective *cultural* is chosen in order to highlight the interest and the place from which this study is written: cultural studies.

1.2.3 Transnational Memory

Memory, according to Astrid Erll (2011), "fundamentally means movement: traffic between individual and collective levels of remembering, circulation among social, medial and semantic dimensions" (p. 15), as the Memory in question here also supports. In Erll's view, even though it may look static and bounded (temporal, spatial, or social), in reality Memory is unstable, dynamic, and constantly in motion (2011, p. 14). This is why she proposes the concept of *travelling memory*, which recognizes both communication networks and migratory mobility in today's world. Similarly, Aleida Assman (2014) notes that the prefix "Trans" stands not only for "transit", emphasizing "movement in space across national borders, but [that] it also stands for 'translations', [which means] the cultural work of reconfiguring established national themes, references, representations, images and concepts" (p. 547). Although this work is embedded within the movement beyond borders, it is clear that it cannot be limited to it, because Memory moves beyond cultures, societies, and eras. The Memory of the AST should be considered as transnational because it has migrated beyond the cultural frameworks of the nation-state, and these processes of migration are and have been fundamental to understanding it.

Memory necessarily migrates when humans migrate. Individuals exist as what Erll has distinguished as the *carriers* of Memory, one of the components of the travelling Memory. They are those who "share in collective images and narratives of the past, who practice mnemonic rituals, display an inherited habitus, and can draw on repertoires of explicit and implicit knowledge" (Erll, 2011, p. 12). The enslaved Africans who were taken from their continent, like all migrants, carried "their heritage, memories and traumas with them, these [were later] transferred and brought into new social constellations and political contexts" (A. Assman & Conrad, 2010, p.

2). Thus, by bringing their past with them, this past became part of the new host country's past, too. In this way, the people, namely, the carriers of memory, the transnational entities, then become instigators of change in and of the social order (Ban-Rafael & Sternberg 2009, p. 2), producing a transculturation process, in the sense of Ortiz (1940), giving life to new forms and cultural contents.

Given the organization of this study (and to avoid suggesting that culture is constrained within national frames), we will be considering *transnational Memory* (instead of *transcultural Memory*), because, on the one hand, it reaffirms the interplay between Memory and the nation-state, and on the other hand, it points out beyond it, to what Erll has referred to as the transnational networks of memory. These are the connections that are established through the world's religions, political movements, global diasporas, but also through football, music culture, and consumer culture (2011, p. 8). Transnational Memory "stimulates new perspectives on the larger political and cultural contexts in which memories are selected, constructed and contested" (Assman, 2014, p. 547), and, at the same time, it "recognizes the dialectical role played by national borders in memory practices and in memory studies" (Cesari & Rigney, 2014, p. 4). This is the case because, in fact, the nation-state plays a major role in the creation of Memory politics. Cesari and Rigney have even claimed that the recently increasing interest in Memory studies may be related to an awareness of nationalism "as a specifically historical formation based on a questionable congruence between cultural, political and territorial borders that was articulated through the cultivation of the past" (2014, p. 1). What are nations anyway, if not socially constructed communities? Memory, then, can serve as a link that helps facilitate this construction, much like J. Assman's (2011) notion of "institutionalized Memory".

However, Memories are no longer stable and clearly demarcated. In fact, it may even be possible to argue that Memory "must 'travel', be kept in motion, in order to 'stay alive', to have an impact both on individual minds and social formations" (Erll, 2011, p. 12). In this sense, Aleida Assman and Sebastian Conrad (2010) have recognized that "nations no longer construct their past in a totally self-contained fashion. Instead, they find themselves increasingly under the observation and subject to the criticism of other nations" (pp. 4-5). For this reason, national Memory practices (or a lack thereof) are influenced on a global level. The idea of a strict, national framework in which all of a nation's inhabitants are ruled by a single

narrative is no longer possible (if indeed it ever was). Within the contextual backdrop of contemporary globalization, nation-states are more connected than ever before, sharing narratives and contributing to a comparatively global age.

Certainly, the time during which the migration of peoples was the only means of forming transnational memories is long gone. A. Assman and Conrad (2010) identified two other Memory transporting agents along which memories move. The first is the political actors in the form of transnational networks and corporations, on an institutional and official level (p. 3). For instance, UNESCO's joint project *The Slave Route: Resistance, Liberty, Heritage* involves more than 20 countries around the world, connecting diverse stories related to this Memory[7]. The second Memory transporting agents are the satellites of telecommunication, such as channels of mass media, and the internet, on an informal and global level (A. Assman & Conrad, 2010). One example of this second agent could be the use of *hashtags* that have become viral on the internet, allowing people from all over the world to engage and connect regarding the same issue; *#blacklivesmatter* is one of the most well-known examples. Another example of the power of these channels can be found in the micro-blogging and social networking site, Twitter (http://twitter.com); when users write *#slaveryarchive* on this platform, they can find and share discussions and published books related to slavery and the Afro-Atlantic world, thereby expanding and sharing Memories.

These examples show how Memory today is moving both further and somehow faster. Considering the discussion of AST Memory, it is possible to say that its deeper examination began only a few decades ago, because these last two Memory transporting agents did not exist at the same scale before. We have now realized that they have turned out to be fundamental in the preservation of this memory. It may thus be possible to say that the individuals who perpetuated the AST, the wrongdoers, had no intention of preserving this memory, and those who suffered, namely the enslaved Africans and their direct descendants, did not have the proper tools at their disposal to have their stories heard. Yet, as Erll points out, it is important to keep in mind that each memory around the globe will not necessarily become a cosmopolitan, an ethical, or an empathetic memory:

[7] For more information visit: https://en.unesco.org/news/slave-route-breaking-wall-silence

> much of the actual semantic shape that travelling memory takes on will be the result of the routes it takes in specific contexts and of the uses made by specific people with specific agendas. […] The global circulation of mnemonic media, such as movies, may indeed effect a change of perspective in viewers from other parts of the world, lead to empathy, and trans-ethnic solidarity. But there is of course also the option of misuses, the hijacking, or distortion of transcultural memory – and, perhaps more often than we think, its 'idle running': travel without effect. (Erll, 2011, p. 15)

This is why we must question what factors determine the effect and impact of Memory. Though not strictly connected to the main objective of this research paper, it is nonetheless important to refer to what has been identified as the benchmark that moved the traditional lines of Memory beyond the national frame. This benchmark, an important turning point in the field of Memory Studies, is the Holocaust Memory and its vow of *never again*.

The now popularized phrase was adopted as a promise that genocides such as the Holocaust would never happen again; despite the fact we have seen how this promise has already been broken time and again. Within the message of *never again* lies the implicit premise that there is a duty to never forget the atrocities being memorialized. It has been used in the commemorations of many genocides, including the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda and the 1976 Argentine coup. This vow is often identified as an inflection point for Memory studies in the sense that maintaining respect for the memory of tragic events and the propagation of human rights became part of a new world order, in which the idea of a sustained global Memory culture is fundamental (Cesari & Rigney 2014, p. 3). However, this promoted the widespread (yet disputed) idea that the Memory of the Holocaust is a "global and universal memory": a universal signifier against the systematic violation of human rights and prevention of present and future horrors (Poole, 2010, p. 31). The fact that this horrendous episode reached such an extent and sense of universalization, while other equally horrendous examples of genocide did not, leads us to an important discussion.

1.2.4 Hegemonic Memory

The sense of this universalization comes from the fact that the Holocaust has become "common property of everyone [...] a free-floating signifier of suffering and evil" (Poole, 2010, pp. 31-32), but at the same time the "symbol of global solidarity" (Levy & Sznaider, 2006, p. 54). The wide reach of the memory of the Holocaust is furthered by its frequent depictions in film, television, and popular media. As a result, claims about its "universality, therefore are received in many parts of the world as a form of Euro-American imperialism in the field of memory" (A. Assman & Conrad, 2010, p. 9). In the collective Memory of the United States, the Holocaust and Americans' perceived role as the "heroes" seems to play a central role: its "cultural and political influence is at least commensurate with that of African-American slavery, and much greater than that of Native Americans, two issues that one might have thought to be more central to American national memory" (Poole, 2010, pp. 40-41).

To claim that there is a hegemonic Memory is not to ignore the notion that the universalization of Holocaust Memory "does not necessarily imply the displacement or erasure of other memories but, on the contrary, can also lead to [emphasizing] and enhancing them, [providing] a new focus, framework and language for other historical traumas" (Assman, 2014, p. 551). According to this line of thinking, then, such a focus, framework, and language promote mutual recognition between victims rather than resulting in a competition of victimhood[8]. However, it is important to draw attention to the fact that, in Memory, there is also a complex set of power relations that cause hegemony between different collective Memories. This is a discussion that cannot be ignored, as we have seen that the past can be utilized as a tool of political interest and that Memories and forgetting can be controlled, wielded, and operationalized. Memory cannot escape the hegemony that exists in the world system; therefore, some Memories are more widespread than others.

The following questions: *Of what* are there memories? *Whose* memory is it?[9] might help us better understand this hegemony. The development of Memory studies in Latin America has been strongly tied to the fight against state violence.

[8] This idea is summarized by A. Assman (2014) from *Multidirectional Memory. Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization* by M. Rothberg (2009), where he introduces the notion of "multidirectional memory" showing how victimhood memories "can be productively connected, rather than remaining fixed in a polemic opposition" (p. 551).

[9] Questions made by Ricœur at the beginning of his book *La Mémoire, l'histoire, l'oubli* (2010).

Notoriously hidden by dictatorship, political parties, and governments in power, state violence has required victims and society at large alike to be involved in the resistance of Memory and in a process of truth seeking, reparations, and justice. If we look again at the questions above, in the light of the Memory practices in this context, we might say that the answer to the second question shapes the input of the first. When the state is the bearer of Memory, then it can control and decide what there is a predominant memory of. When the state is the wrongdoer, citizens must fight to keep certain memories and engage in a process of keeping the Memory alive. On a global scale, too, those in power tend to control the official memory, which inevitably leads to the necessity and the discussion of a *counter-memory*. First mentioned by Michel Foucault, likely in relation to his concepts of power and resistance, the term counter-memory was adopted and further expanded upon by other scholars in the field of Memory studies. Now, it is conceived as a counter-hegemonic form of resistance against the dominant vision of the past. This orientation essentially considers political expediency in the present as leading to the invention, omission, or construction of the past (Levy, 2010, p. 15). The resistance to this official Memory, then, is referred to as counter-memory.

Institutional support often means that some Memories can be shared and transmitted in larger Memory communities (and therefore across national boundaries), which may lead to the concept of a *global Memory*, in the terms coined by A. Assman and Conrad. The power of hegemony in Memories, as previously discussed, is evident in the fact that some Memories become global, while others remain at a local level, and some still receive little or no media attention. The route from local to global is a path that only those in power can facilitate. Beyond the notion of the Holocaust as a sort of "universal Memory", the hegemony of Memory can also be seen in other domains, such as in representations of the past in published history textbooks, in which European history plays an important, outsized role within academic curriculum. This, in turn, informs individuals' understanding and representations of social history. Several studies highlight the Eurocentric character of history curricula[10] that promotes "the colonizer's model of the world" (Blaut, 1993), and in which Western civilization is depicted as more exceptional than others.

[10] For more information see: Araújo, M., & Rodríguez Maeso, S. (2010). Explorando o eurocentrismo nos manuais portugueses de História. *Estudos de Sociologia, 15*(28), 239-270; And Osorio, L., & Balbuena, C. (2013). Latinoamérica vista desde el paradigma eurocéntrico: Un análisis de los textos escolares de historia universal. *Tiempo y Espacio, 23*(60), 39-58.

Accordingly, then, non-Westerners should learn about the West, its past and its history, but not necessarily the other way around. Thus, the history of Western societies tends to be generally privileged and positioned above the history of other civilizations. For certain non-Western civilizations, the memory of their own past is one that tends to be characterized by forgetting. Subject that we will deal with in the following chapter.

2 Cultural Representations of the Past

2.1 Forgetting

As the past must be constantly re-presented and re-constructed, certain things tend to be omitted or left out. Frequently, the latent reasons behind this omission can tell us more than the now-skewed presentation of the past itself. This is one primary reason why forgetting is considered to be an important dimension of Memory studies, as at the end of the day what is remembered is what has resisted forgetting, either accidentally or intentionally. This notion is of fundamental importance to the present paper, as the case studies swing between remembering and forgetting, a point that will become clear in the following section. For French philosopher Paul Ricœur, forgetting is complex and should not merely be understood as the opposite of remembering. In fact, Ricœur sees forgetting as part of a sequence – memory/forgetting/history– the triad that concerns the past, just like the title of his book: *La Mémoire, l'histoire, l'oubli* (2010). Although these three notions will be discussed here, the order will be inverted. We will first dedicate our attention to forgetting.

Extracting a single, leading thesis from Ricœur's proposal is not easy, as the task undertaken in his abovementioned work is comparable to that undertaken by an encyclopedia of philosophy, in which theories and postulations from more than 200 authors are quoted and discussed. Although Ricœur emphasizes that the core idea of the book might be how the problematic representation of the past depends upon the dialectical relationship between Memory and history, this representation is threatened by forgetting. Yet forgetting can be considered one of the necessary pre-conditions to remembering. Indeed, forgetting is a necessity of Memory because total memory is not possible. At the same time, memory is selective in that every narrative of and from the past implies a selection (Jelin, 1994, p. 29) meaning that forgetting is part of this narrative.

Nonetheless, Ricœur warns that forgetting, like Memory, has different forms, uses, and meanings and expands both vertically and horizontally in institutional structures and in political decisions, according to its multiple levels of depth, traces, and motivations. Therefore, in Ricœur's terms, the past should be defended against being *blocked*, *manipulated*, and *commanded* by official histories and stories. For instance, we could think when in 1890 the then-Finance Minister of Brazil, Ruy

Barbosa de Oliveirato, authorized several government records related to slavery to be burned, thus eliminating an opportunity for Brazil's past as a slave society to be remembered, which may have offered a tangible possibility of a politics of reparation and reconciliation. The construction of national Memories, Aleida Assman reminds us, has always pursued to enhance heroic deeds and heroic suffering; everything outside this perspective "is conveniently forgotten", and as concerns traumatic or uncomfortable events, "national narratives provide effective protection shields against those events that a nation prefers to forget" (A. Assman, 2014, p. 553).

This is precisely the type of forgetting that Ricœur warns us about: institutionalized forgetting. This may ultimately be the reason why the field of Memory studies was established. Furthermore, Ricœur contends that the denial of Memory prevents forgiveness, a subject that he recognizes as pivotal. Forgiveness "constitutes the horizon common to memory, history, and forgetting" (Ricœur, 2010, p. 457), and for this thesis, offers a better perspective for understanding the AST Memory.

2.1.1 Forgiveness

While the notion of forgiveness is not directly related to this research paper, it is nonetheless applicable because, as discussed by Ricœur, it raises certain issues that are central to the memory referred to here. For Ricœur, forgetting and forgiveness find each other in the appeasement of memory, though forgetting deals with "the problematic of memory and faithfulness to the past; [and] forgiveness, [with] guilt and reconciliation with the past" (2010, p. 412). He points out how the etymology and the semantics of the word "forgiveness", just like the action itself, indicates a sort of gift: "*don-pardon*, gift-forgiving, *dono-perdono*, *Geben-Vergeben [don-perdón]*" (Ricœur, 2010, p. 480). To Ricœur, this is why forgiveness should be offered without an expectation of getting something in return. Therefore, there should not be any type of conditionality (that is, giving to receive), but giving should occur without expecting anything in return. Ricœur contends that forgiveness requires breaking the rule of reciprocity and adhering to a "love your enemies" (2010, p. 482) approach, because forgiveness should not imply commitment. Even so, this paper argues that, in fact, we can indeed talk about commitment for the situation in question here.

In June 2020, different British institutions apologized for their ties to slavery after the global protests sparked by the killing of George Floyd. Only a few years before, the British delegation at the World Conference against Racism had refused to do so. In 2001, EU officials planned an apology during the event, which ended only in an unemphatic "we regret it". Delegates from Portugal, Spain, and the Netherlands, with Britain taking the lead, opposed an open apology, fearing that they would have to assume responsibility that would eventually lead to financial commitments. In the same year, the British newspaper *The Guardian* wrote that, "EU delegates [agreed] that they are not prepared to call slavery a crime against humanity, because it could have legal implications and force them to pay reparations" (McGreal, 2001).

As Brazilian sociologist Myrian Sepúlveda dos Santos (2008) has questioned, who exactly can be blamed or held accountable for these actions? As it seems that the enslaved people were victims of nobody in particular: "The inheritors of this past are left to carry this tremendous burden: victims of nobody, they cannot even forgive someone, since forgiving requires that the other ask for forgiveness. In this history, there are no perpetrators, just victims" (p. 165). We will return to this topic in the next section. Without the wrongdoers' recognition and responsibility, this Memory will never find reconciliation. It is necessary, as Jelin suggests, to close the dialogical void, the double gap in the narrative –there is no speaker and no listener– by opening the path to dialogue between the different social agents implicated (i.e., survivors, wrongdoers, descendants) in order to begin to name, understand, and build memories. This interaction between the agents involved is necessary in order to construct Memory (Jelin, 2002, p. 84).

Although there have been attempts to minimize the ramifications of the AST, we now know that it has had a major impact on the industrialization process as well as on the development of banking systems, port towns, welfare and educational institutions, and other aspects of life in most European trading nations (Schmieder, 2018, p. 33). Although more recent generations –including people living today– are not the ones who committed the crimes involved in the AST, the relative material well-being these nations enjoy today should be enough reason to admit their privileged position in the world. This is the type of commitment mentioned above because there is no doubt that:

> Individuals derive an understanding of their status and place in the world from the history of their group. If the history of their people is one of subjection and oppression, this is likely to have an adverse effect on their view of themselves and their relationships. Citizens who take pride in their nation's history should not be surprised when those who have suffered from a history of oppression ask then to face up to the injustices it has done. (Thompson, 2018, p.14)

The memory of the AST requires institutional participation, international attention, official commitment(s), and the discussion of actual economic reparations, or at least an "acceptance of responsibility […] when there is no compensation that can repair the wrong done" (Thompson, 2018, p. 11). As Nobel Peace prize winner Elie Wiesel (1986) taught us, "the executioner always kills twice, the second time through silence"[11]; the battle against silence is the battle of Memory. This silence needs to be broken in order to be able to forgive and not forget. This reconciliation with the past is of a different variety than more standard forgetting processes and must be done on a major scale. For some time, this discussion about reconciliation was limited to academia, but its incorporation into national and regional stories and histories is an important milestone.

2.2 Memory and History

As we have seen thus far, understanding the past is an arduous task, so the study of it needs to be multifarious. Memory and history, the two missing parts of Ricœur's triad, are essential tools that help us to understand the past. Even though both of these instruments seek to construct the past, they have been placed in different corners as if they exist as contrary disciplines. Memory and history have long been in conflict with each other because scholars attributed binary opposition to them: "good vs. bad, organic vs. artificial, living vs. dead, from below vs. from above […] Methodologically unregulated and identity-related memory vs. scientific, seemingly neutral and objective historiography" (Erll, 2010, pp. 6-7) to the point where they seem to be opposites or mutually exclusive. Paradoxically, we must remember that Memory and history have not worked far from each other. The first studies that discussed the concept of Memory characterized it mainly as the practice of gathering information that served as a basis for historians to construct truth

[11] Written in 2000 in an open letter against the Turkish denial of the Armenian genocide.

(Acuña, 2014, p. 63). This might be due to an indispensable attribute that has been ascribed to Memory, and from which its distinction from history is derived: Memory "requires a bearer. If there are social or cultural memories [...] there must be groups, that is, collective subjects, to which the memories belong" (Poole, 2010, p. 33). Witnesses provide faithfulness; without survivors, descendants, and communities – bearers of the past– some memories will be lost and thus some *presents* will never be understood. For this reason, some scholars emphasize the importance of testimony in the field of Memory, not just to gather information but to enable the possibility of understanding their truth. As has been implied, this is a dimension that this thesis cannot include. Thus, it must be acknowledged, in the words of Jelin, this creates a black hole of personal experience, an historical hole that marks a limit of the ability to narrate, yet it is this hole and this human impossibility that imposes a "duty of memory" upon us (Jelin, 2002, p. 81). Even though it is not possible to talk about firsthand witnesses here, it is possible to talk about bearers.

It can be said that, due to the African diaspora, the bearers of the AST can be found around the world. There are millions of Africans and descendants of Africans living today who can be considered bearers of this Memory; however, they should not be the only ones who can legitimately claim "bearer" status. In other cases, like the Holocaust, bearers have had different attributes. The fact that some clear roles were established –that of the victims, the heroes, and the wrongdoers– allowed them all to become bearers of this Memory in distinct yet similar ways. Nonetheless, defining the roles played within the AST remains difficult. The Iberians initiated and controlled the slave trade during its first centuries of existence, but the involvement of other European nations consolidated its organization as a business system. Not only the bourgeoisie in Europe and the Americas collaborated and benefited from it, but also African kings, merchants, and noblemen. Following the abolition of slavery, monetary compensation was often given to slave owners for their loss of "property", while freed enslaved persons did not receive any compensation and remained in similar labor conditions. The roles played during the AST and following its abolition are evidently complex. There was no single person or group to be held responsible and enslaved people "were victims of a mistaken regime from the past. The following generations have inherited the identification with the victims, but have found no way to escape this position, since there is no one to blame apart from the regime itself" (Sepúlveda dos Santos, 2008, p. 167). As long as all of the bearers of

this Memory do not recognize their involvement (as tangential as it may seem), the possibility of restorative or social justice will not exist.

In these pages, the battle between Memory and history has reached an impasse. It has been stated so far that the past is a reconstruction. Therefore, this thesis argues that Memory and history must no longer be seen as opposites, but as different cultural representations of the past, contained within different frameworks and with diverse objectives that determine(d) its shape. Instead of continuing with this dead-end discussion, German researcher Astrid Erll (2010) proposed considering different *modes of remembering.* Instead of focusing on what the best way to remember the past is, this view enables the possibility of focusing on how it is remembered. Following Erll's train of thought, it is argued here that the Memory of the AST has different modes of remembering, and that these "help elucidate the integrative dimensions of cultural memory within different social and temporal contexts" (O'Connor, 2019, p. 3).

2.3 Modes of Remembering

To this point, this research paper has attempted to establish that the way in which the past is understood and represented is derived from the present. Now, the modes of remembering are presented as the way to reaffirm this, "from the perspective of how they create meaning" (O'Connor, 2019, p. 1) through the available frameworks. In what Erll has described as an outline for Memory studies in her paper, *Towards a Conceptual Foundation for Cultural Memory Studies* (2010), she attempts to provide insight into the different foundations and concepts of the field, because the interdisciplinary nature of Memory studies has created multiple concepts and approaches. Thus, Erll is seeking to accrue some of the basic definitions and conceptual differentiations in the field in an attempt to mitigate its growing disjointedness. Among these, Erll suggests thinking about different cultural representations of the past, as different *modes of remembering*:

> This approach proceeds from the basic insight that the past is not given, but must instead continually be re-constructed and re-presented. Thus, our memories (individual and collective) of past events can vary to a great degree. This holds true not only for what is remembered (facts, data), but also for how it is remembered, that is, for the quality and meaning the past assumes. As a result, there are different modes of remembering identical past events. (2010, p, 7)

For instance, Erll explains that there can be mythic and traumatic modes stemming from the same past event. In this delimitation, this thesis finds its guiding framework, as it allows us to reiterate the different meaning-making possibilities that the present is able to attribute to the past.

Nevertheless, it is important to highlight that, in Erll's work, these modes of remembering are fundamentally elicited by literary works as the medium –the mediums of remembering will be explained in greater detail in Chapter 3– which is contrary to the plurality of the mediums selected here. Nonetheless, Erll recognizes that other mediums exist, because the modes "need not necessarily be established by verbal, literary, and narrative forms" (2010, p. 392). In this thesis, then, as will be expanded upon later, the mediums are proposed through the lens of the *palimpsests of Memory*, which are varied in their characterization. As a result, the modes here are not the same as those she identified; this thesis thus supplements Erll's work by proposing new modes. Following this conceptual line, this research paper seeks to understand the modes of remembering in a transnational context. This thesis argues that they are contained within the different cultural and social frameworks of the countries of concern for this paper (Angola, Brazil, and Portugal). The modes of remembering answer the question regarding "how" is the past reconstructed. This answer will be threefold, as three modes of remembering are proposed, one for each of the nations that will be analyzed. These exemplify, respectively, a *defiant mode*, in which the representation of the past confronts the hegemonic conception of Memory of the past; a *heterogeneous mode*, in which the past is created through a process of collision by different social agents; and a *nostalgic mode*, in which the past exists through the myth of (lost) greatness.

In a work titled *The unanchored past: Three modes of collective memory* (2019), Paul O'Connor refers to these modes as Memories too, because they can also be understood as different forms of collective Memory. O'Connor would thus call the modes here: *defiant Memory, heterogeneous Memory, and nostalgic Memory.* In this paper, they will be called *modes* in order to maintain a direct relationship to the notion of the mediums of remembering. These modes will be further clarified in the analysis of each of the countries. However, a brief conceptual section will be devoted to the most important aspects associated with each of them.

2.3.1 Defiant

This mode derives its name from the fact that it suggests resistance to authority or to another's control. Through this mode, it is possible to demonstrate what has been previously discussed: namely, that a hegemonic representation of the past exists. At the same time, this mode attempts to show the *Other* past, the representations of the past that are far from the hegemonic visions. The *defiant*, here, is the *subaltern* that is trying to tell its past and its view[12]. The term "subaltern" was first coined by Antonio Gramsci but later adapted and developed in post-colonial studies as a form to designate specific people and social groups excluded and displaced from the socio-economic institutions of society through cultural hegemony. Argentinian scholar Walter Mignolo (2005) compares the category of subalternity to that described by the French psychologist Frantz Fanon's, *damnés de la terre*, the wretched, the dispossessed, the condemned, of the earth:

> The *damnés* is a category that described all those whose dignity has been and continues to be stripped away by the logic of coloniality; that is, the de-humanisation and devaluation of human beings, and human lives that do not correspond to the criteria of humanity established by the rhetoric of modernity […] The conceptualisation of the *damnés* comes not from the experiences and thoughts of European history, but from the experiences of slavery and other historical forms of colonization. (pp. 388-389)

Mignolo has observed that "la subalternidad no es únicamente una cuestión de clases, sino una cuestión social más amplia enmarcada en la colonialidad del poder y en la formación moderna y colonial del orden mundial" (Mignolo, 2001, p. 158). The Argentinian scholar makes use of Anibal Quijano's concept of the coloniality of power, which is based upon the imposition of a racial and ethnic classification of the world's population as the cornerstone of power (Quijano, 2014, p. 285). He situates the subaltern in this context; subalternity is thus a state that has been designed for those who do not belong in the economic, social, and cultural world hegemony (often Western and white but that can be found everywhere).

As Mignolo (2005) explains, "subaltern is not just a category that affects given sectors of the population of one single nation-state, but a category of the imperial and modern/colonial world that affects people and regions in a global

[12] Or in Spivak's terms showing he can speak. As in *Can the subaltern speak?* (2008)

distribution of wealth and meaning" (p. 386). Some communities, countries, or even continents, are therefore left out of this wealth. This position, and their fate, does not only refers to class, but applies in particular to race, as well. For Mignolo, one cannot theorize about the subaltern without referring to its racial foundation in the sixteenth century: the conquest and exploitation of American civilizations and African slave trade (2005, p. 383). Both positions –hegemony and subalternity– are extended to different sectors of society, not just that of economics, but also social, political, cultural, and educational realms. Thus, some populations have been condemned to this state: kept in silence, without a space of enunciation within society. The defiance comes from the fact that these peoples have decided to defy this space, and what is known about it, in our terms, to a given representation of the past.

The defiance thus stems from the subaltern and its fight against epistemological violence, which addresses the importance of knowledge in the context of global asymmetric relationships of inequality, power, and domination. This defiance comes from the fact that the subalterns act against this position and dare to change the narrative imposed upon them. This mode is the one that transforms the way in which the past is represented and understood.

2.3.2 Heterogeneous

Another mode that this thesis proposes will be termed *heterogeneous*, because it represents an ambivalent mode of understanding the African legacy in the Americas and the "agitated" cultural encounter that took place there. The interest in studying the encounter of cultures has assumed a central position in the field of literary and cultural studies. As Peter Burke (2009) explains, this has caused "the process of cultural interaction and its consequences" (p. 34) to be described through various metaphorical concepts. Burke collected the most used terms to describe this phenomenon, clarifying that the identification of right or wrong terms might be useless, and that, in fact, some terms may simply offer a different focus on this encounter. Some of these notions suggest imitation: appropriation, borrowing; others suggest a bilateral process: acculturation, despoiling; others still indicate adaptation: accommodation, exchange; another category imply absorption: assimilation, anthropophagy; some others propose a mixture: syncretism, *mestizaje*, creolization; others imply awareness and selective process: translations, negotiation, dialogue; some other words signal spontaneity and unawareness: transculturation, hybridity,

cross-fertilization. All of these terms, however, are united in that they seek to explain the encounter of two cultures, no matter what they indicate, inevitably there is an implicit recognition that new meanings and places are emerging in the encounter between different cultures.

However, as Peruvian scholar Antonio Cornejo-Polar (1997) highlighted, metaphors like *mestizaje* or hybridity drastically falsify the condition of Latin American culture, as they offer "imágenes armónicas de lo que obviamente es desgajado y beligerante, proponiendo figuraciones que en el fondo sólo son pertinentes a quienes conviene imaginar nuestras sociedades como tersos y nada conflictivos espacios de convivencia" (p. 341). For the context of this research paper, the concept of *heterogeneity* (*heterogeneidad*) proposed by Cornejo-Polar characterizes the conflictive relationship that cultural encounters bring about, which this work likewise attempts to highlight. Although, as Cornejo-Polar himself recognizes, his proposal is limited in that it was always thought from and for literature and, in order to try to define the vast sectors of Latin American literature (1994, p. 370), this thesis will go beyond the literary space and examine other aspects of culture, as well.

The Peruvian scholar focuses intently on the Andean area; however, his ideas can also be applied in other contexts too, as this thesis attempts to show. The heterogeneity proposed by Cornejo-Polar is opposed to the circulation within one social space indicated by the term *homogeneity*, and it is characterized by "la duplicidad o pluralidad de los signos socio-culturales de su proceso productivo" (1978, p. 12). This is a process with at least one element that does not coincide with the affiliation of the others, and according to Cornejo-Polar, "crea, necesariarnente, una zona de ambigüedad y conflicto" (1978, p. 12). It is the ambiguity born from this cultural encounter that this work attempts to refer to. Likewise, the term heterogeneity denotes a conflict between the different social groups. In heterogeneity, contends Cornejo-Polar, discontinuous discourses configure stratifications that verticalize and fragment the history (1994, p. 370), revealing that power is another factor of heterogeneity that distorts and hinders the relationships in these societies (Cornejo-Polar, A. & Paoli, R., 1980). Heterogeneity arises from the social inequalities and divisions that comprise Latin American societies and is unthinkable without a clear awareness of them (Kokotovic, 2000, p. 290).

Heterogeneity allows us to highlight not just the diversity of this society (diversity resulting from the encounter of these civilizations), but also the conflictive relationship and subsequent ambivalence of meanings and dynamics within this society. A heterogeneous mode of remembering is therefore one with a plurality of socio-cultural meanings.

2.3.3 Nostalgic

This last mode is labeled *nostalgic* in order to highlight how the present yearns for the past. This mode allows us to emphasize what is gone and its "reactionary slant, glossing over the past's iniquities and indignities" (Lowenthal, 1989, p. 21). It may nonetheless appear paradoxical to claim that someone (or a group) misses the past when contemporary society displays a clear appetite for innovation. However, there are people who are committed to certain kinds of change and new ideas, while at the same time clinging "to traditions and values that embody personal and collective memories of a former way of life from which they are loath to be wholly sundered, and to some aspects of which they even yearn to return" (Smith, 1988, p.174). A good way to understand this phenomenon may be to think that:

> Nor does nostalgia necessarily connote despairing rejection of the present. Few admirers of the past would actually choose to return to it-nostalgia expresses longings for times that are safely, rather than sadly, beyond recall. Nostalgists' desire to get out of modernity without leaving it altogether; we want to relive those thrilling days of yesteryear, but only because we are absolutely assured that those days are out of reach. (Rosenblatt R. "Look back in sentiment", New York Times, 28 July 1973, p. 23, as cited in Lowenthal, 1989, p. 28)

Considering that the event of interest here is the AST, talking about nostalgia might sound odd, as it is hard to believe that anyone would yearn for this era. Although it has also been stated that many people, ergo their nations, benefited from the trade, the approach here does, of course, not directly refer to a nostalgic feeling or a longing for the trade itself, but for this epoch and its benefits. The nostalgia that will be discussed in this context is the one that refers "to the various forms of longing for a nation's colonial or imperial past" (Lorcin, 2018, p. 269).

Historian Patricia Lorcin has established two different forms of nostalgia: a colonial and an imperial nostalgia. For Lorcin (2018), imperial nostalgia "is related to a decline of international stature associated with the power politics of economic and political hegemony" (p. 269), that of those who were an empire, that yearn for the times of European "expansionism", while "colonial nostalgia is associated with the loss of sociocultural standing or, in short, the colonial lifestyle" (p. 269), that of those who were part of the empire, namely the citizens of former colonies. In the case of Portugal, which has even been identified as the first global empire in history[13], the nostalgia that will be analyzed is that of imperialism, and is linked "to an elitist, escapist perspective designed by the wealthy and powerful to justify their control of the present, to palliate its inequities, and to persuade the public that traditional privileges deserve self-denying support" (Lowenthal, 1989, p. 25).

There is an important point of divergence within Lorcin's proposal. For Lorcin and other scholars, Memory and nostalgia are two distinct entities: "one a response to the traumas of the past, the other to the malaise of the present" and as "two of the ways in which the present seeks to bridge the gap with the past" (Lorcin, 2018, pp. 271-272). Here, nostalgia is considered to be a part of Memory. In fact, the present thesis argues that it is possible to find a nostalgic mode of remembering.

[13] For more information see: *Conquerors: How Portugal Seized the Indian Ocean and Forged the First Global Empire* (2015) Crowley, R.

3 Cultural Production of the Past

3.1 Mediums of Remembering

A few pages ago it was mentioned that unlike Erll's work in which the modes of remembering are established through works of literature as the main medium, the mediums proposed in the present thesis have a varied characterization, as the societies studied here are likewise varied. In order to understand what this thesis has proposed to name *palimpsests of Memory* as mediums of remembering, it should first be explained in greater detail what these mediums are and why they are needed.

We have observed so far that the past is represented and produced. While the modes of remembering answer the question of *how* it is done, the question of *through what* is answered via the *mediums of remembering*. Therefore, the study of one of these elements inextricably involves the study of the other. Erll (2010) has identified that the mediums of remembering are, as the term implies, those that convey memories and externalize the past. They nonetheless take different forms despite the fact that they all share the capacity to produce and shape cultural Memory by creating and molding collective images of the past. For Erll, "Cultural memory hinges on the notion of the medial, because it is only via medial externalization […] that individual memories, cultural knowledge, and versions of history can be shared" (2010, pp. 12-13). A past event can have different mediums and different modes, as an example provided by Erll nicely shows. The Vietnam War as represented through Ford Coppola's movie *Apocalypse Now* (1979) mythicizes the historical events and thereby presents a *mythical mode of remembering*. An oral representation of the war, on the other hand, say, an anecdote told by someone who participated and lost his family in the war, shows us a *traumatic mode*. Thus, the mediums of remembering can convey memories and create different modes of remembering.

Here, two ways of understanding these mediums of remembering are proposed. The canonical ones that are instrumentalized, politicized, or have a conscious intention to develop specific modes of remembering; and, conversely, those mediums that develop spontaneous modes of remembering, the settings in which memory is a real part of the everyday. The first kind of mediums are those that have been assigned the duty of Memory, while the second are instinctively bearers. This research paper will focus on the second ones, namely the spontaneous and

quotidian (what is termed here as the *palimpsests of Memory*). We must first, however, refer to the first ones: the *Lieux de Mémoire*.

3.1.1 Lieux de Mémoire *as Mediums of Remembering*

The *lieux de mémoire* as mediums of remembering offer a mythical narration of the past, which, in our terms (as in Erll's), will be a mythical mode of remembering. Their purpose is to stop time in order "to inhibit forgetting, to fix a state of things, to immortalize death [...] all in order to capture the maximum possible meaning with the fewest possible signs" (Nora, 1996, p. 15). Positioned between history and memory, they are neither the one nor the other; *Les lieux de mémoire*[14] is one of the most influential concepts in the field of Memory Studies. French historian Pierre Nora named his *lieux* as such because he wanted to encompass its hybrid characteristic; mutants, in a sense both natural and artificial; simple and ambiguous; concrete and abstract; the immaterial materialized; compounded of life and death, of the temporal and the eternal (1996, pp. 14-15). He strived to understand the management of the past in the present through its most significant fixation points, these are so-called *lieux de mémoire*.

Divided into seven volumes that were published between 1984 and 1992, the collection presents the work of more than a hundred historians under Nora's direction. Their objective was to study French national history (its representations, symbolisms, and myths) in different realms in which collective Memory was rooted and defined by the importance that the present had assigned them. "Lieux de mémoire were primarily part of the identity politics of the French nation and functioned to imprint the key notions of national history on the *outillage mental* ('set of mental tools') of the French citizens" (Den Boer, 2008, p. 21). This became the archetype of the works that support how nationalism can utilize Memory for its own benefit. Nora's enterprise was first intended for the French context, but his objective and the notion developed therein have already been exported to differing degrees to other countries.

[14] Although is often translated into English as *Realms of Memory* or *Sites of Memory*, the original French notion tends to be chosen over them, as according to Nora, the notion is a neologism that comes from Latin, from Cicero and Quintilian, who to fix the order of discourse, advised associating an idea to a place, a *locus memoriae*. Neither English nor German offer a satisfactory equivalent (Nora, 1998, p. 27). Similarly, Den Boer discusses the problems, beyond definition, of translating the concept into other languages (2008, pp. 22-23).

However, his work has been criticized for being a covert criticism of the handling that France gives to the representation of its past. Some even argue that Nora's body of work functions to establish a canonical work of French Memory and presents an "old-fashioned concept of national culture and its puristic memory" that "binds memory, ethnicity, territory, and the nation-state together, in the sense of 'a (mnemonic) space for each race'" (Erll, 2011, p. 7), and leaves aside important factors, such as colonialism. Another major criticism of Nora's work is that his concept was extended to the point that almost anything could be a *lieu*. Indeed, his conception is broad, they can be geographical places, historical figures, monuments, buildings, literary and artistic objects, emblems, commemorations, and symbols. Nora intentionally left the concept quite open to interpretation, but the characteristics he determined to recognize one are clear-cut. There are three essential aspects that a *lieu de mémoire* must have in order to be one: materiality, symbolism, and functionality. However, and maybe due to their ability to metamorphose, for Nora these aspects are large, so that even such notion as *historical generation* (namely, a group of individuals born and living contemporaneously) can be one. For instance, we need to understand materiality in a demographic sense: the actual people; the symbolic by the definition: the transmitted traditions and beliefs; the functional by hypothesis: the role of these people in society (Nora, 1996, p. 14).

Nonetheless, Nora highlights an indispensable criterion that needs to be considered: a will to remember. The French historian argued that "without an intent to remember, *lieux de mémoire* would be *lieux d'histoire.* Yet if history –time and change– did not intervene, we would be dealing [...] with simple memorials" (1996, p. 15). The *lieux* are canonical mediums of remembering that are designed and instrumentalized fundamentally with the objective of transmitting a specific idea from the past, in which the citizens can find the source of their collective and national identity. However, as the objective of this research paper is to analyze different modes of remembering in a transnational way, the selection of *lieux de mémoires* would have led to an identical mode of remembering: namely, a mythical one.

In this sense, the mediums of this study are Angolan poetry, Brazilian capoeira, and Lisbon's urban toponymy and, while they all coexist in the three senses mentioned previously (materiality, symbolism and functionality), they are not *lieux de mémoire.* This is the case because there is no conscious will to remember, and this

is precisely the reason why they were chosen. Therefore, this thesis proposes a counterpart to Nora's idea: mediums of remembering that allow us to explore different and spontaneous modes of remembering, what has been referred to as *palimpsests of Memory*.

3.1.2 Palimpsests of Memory as Mediums of Remembering

The attempt here is neither to study the conscious desire to create symbolism, a regulated past, nor the canonicals elements associated to national Memory, as Nora did. Instead, this paper seeks to understand the opposite: the unplanned, the inadvertent, and yet it lives in the everyday, it interacts with people and at the same time it reveals a past and a way of living. The different layers of Memory, in which the oldest layers coexist with the evocation of the most recent, superimpose and construct new narratives and allow us to observe and understand the imprint of past in the present. Although the present seems to want to cover up past stories, Memory eventually makes it evident that forgetting is not possible, in terms of Sarah Dillon (2005), that "erasure and death, even if they appear permanent, can always be reversed – that nothing can properly and truly 'die'" (p. 246). For these reasons, the present thesis proposes a new term: *palimpsest of Memory*.

In their literal meaning, palimpsests were ancient manuscripts reused or altered with visible traces of their earlier text. The word comes from the Greek *palímpsēstos*, literally translated as *rerubbed*, *rewiped*, or *rescraped* (Thomas, 2010, p. 6). The "palimpsest is an involuted phenomenon where otherwise unrelated texts are involved and entangled, intricately interwoven, interrupting and inhabiting each other" (Dillon, 2005, p. 245). This is the primary characteristic that this thesis wants to underscore. The figure of the palimpsest has functioned as a metaphor since the mid-nineteenth century[15] in diverse areas of study, as it supposes a voluntary forgetting resulting in an imperfect erasure (Labarthe, 2014, p. 248). This metaphor is undeniably suitable for Memory studies, as it captures not only "dialectic between Memory and forgetting" (Thomas, 2010, p. 6) but also involves the complexity of past and time on multiple levels:

[15] As Sarah Dillon (2005) has pointed out, Thomas De Quincey publication, *The palimpsest*, in 1845, introduced and initiated the subsequent and consistent process of metaphorization of the notion (p. 243).

> The 'present' of the palimpsest is only constituted in and by the 'presence' of texts from the 'past', as well as remaining open to further inscription by texts of the 'future'. The presence of texts from the past, present (and possibly the future) in the palimpsest does not elide temporality, but evidences the spectrality of any 'present' moment which always already contains within it 'past', 'present' and 'future' moments". (Dillon, 2005, p. 249)

The paper *Reinscribing De Quincey's palimpsest: the significance of the palimpsest in contemporary literary and cultural studies* (2005) written by Sarah Dillon highlights certain fundamental points about the meaning of the figure of the palimpsest, which prove to be pivotal for the proposal that is being attempted here.

Establishing a parallel with Nora's framework, the idea of the *palimpsest of Memory* is that of entities –material or not– in which the multiple and ambivalent meanings of the past inhabit, and at the same time the impossibility of separating one from the other. The palimpsests of Memory are vast in essence, as they can be contained within different forms, just as the small sample here can evidence: a literary style, a battle-dance, a city; literature, motion, and space. These palimpsests of Memory can be placed between Nora's *lieux d'histoire* and *lieux de mémoire*: they are instinctive past bearers, yet they have not reached a canonical position as such. In a way, they are waiting for this "will to remember" to be assigned, and for their historical importance to be recognized. That is, the historical value and significance for cultural Memory has not yet been bestowed. The purpose of the palimpsest of Memory is to show that the past cannot be reduced to a single narrative because it contains various layers, different meanings, fragmentary pieces. It is the sum of all of this that provides us a glimpse of the meaning of the past. At the same time, the proposal of the palimpsest of Memory allows us to see how the past interacts with (or exists within) the present because new layers are being written as time changes, its meaning is not yet fixed. The figure of the palimpsest enables us to highlight the fact that there is no definitive Memory, it is never "ended", there is no "final past", no "final Memory"; as oddly as it may sound, the past is always changing. Through the past layers whose meanings changed, we can observe to some extent that new layers might come in the future, new narratives, new Memories.

Sarah Dillon (2005) defends the notion of an entwined and encoded structure of the palimpsest, in which different "discourses are interwoven, each affecting, infecting and inhabiting the other" (Dillon, 2005, p. 255). The palimpsest occurs

because different texts inhabit it together, simultaneously. This is why Dillon focuses on the text as a whole; their union is what gives life to it. Dillon's understanding of the palimpsest allows us to see it as a figure with a double structure: "Where 'palimpsestic' refers to the process of layering that produces a palimpsest, 'palimpsestuous' describes the structure with which one is presented as a result of that process, and the subsequent reappearance of the underlying script" (Dillon, 2005, p. 245).

The *palimpsestuous.* In the palimpsest, you cannot "focus solely on the underlying [content], for to do so would be to unravel and destroy the palimpsest, which exists only and precisely as the involution of [contents]" (Dillon, p. 254). The palimpsest exists because of these layers are together, these different meanings form a whole new element; thus, the *palimpsestuous* implicitly emphasizes this "inseparability". For this reason, focusing on the palimpsestuous enables us not to wonder about the "what if", but allows us to see the outcome and to embrace it by revealing its ambivalence. Dillon suggests that, in order to understand the palimpsest, we must be able to focus on the *palimpsestuous* instead of the *palimpsestic.*

The *palimpsestic.* This structure, as proposed by Dillon, focuses specifically and distinctly upon the layers that made this a palimpsest. In a way, the *palimpsestic* helps us discover how it became such. Contrary to Dillon's point, in the processes that bring these layers together (that is, the *palimpsestic*), it is possible to find important aspects that have established our current palimpsests, which allows us to understand the current meaning. This is why, here, some historical aspects believed to be relevant will be told: those are the "layers" behind our palimpsests, as they are considered to be important for the objectives of this research paper.

Understanding the figure of the palimpsest is similar to the experience of admiring a painting: you should see it both from far away and close up. If you look at it from too far afield, you will miss all of the details; if you look at it too closely, you will lose the general figure. In Memory, it is the individual pieces that facilitate an understanding of the whole puzzle. In this context, this is what the double structure – the palimpsestuous and the palimpsestic– allows us to do. Thus, each of the palimpsests of Memory in the present paper will be analyzed through the lens of this double structure and will thereby present itself as a methodological framework.

The dialectic between the visible and the erased, proper to the palimpsest, would therefore be able to be transposed into an interplay between the present and

the past (Labarthe, 2014, p. 252). The case studies that will be analyzed shortly swing between memory and forgetting, in that they represent a Memory that is waiting to be embraced; they were chosen because their story and history are entangled. In the next chapters, the double structure of the palimpsest will be described and exemplified with each of the chosen palimpsests of Memory in the countries of interest: Angola, Brazil and Portugal. Three distinct palimpsests of Memory will unveil the different modes of remembering positioned within the different frameworks in which Memory can be constructed.

Given the magnitude of these case studies, it would be impossible for this thesis to provide a complete history of the selected objects and cover them in all of their complexity. The palimpsestic will be conducted as a historical recount, where some key "layers" will be presented, whereas the palimpsestuous will cover what they are because of these superimposed layers. Our starting point is the AST; all of these palimpsests of Memory have in common that this act interrupted their societies and altered their course. The Atlantic slave trade itself created a global palimpsest of structural racism, in which race, gender, and colonialism superimposed, resulting in an amalgamation that is impossible to separate and that allow us to understand part of the current world order.

Part II: Case Studies

4 Angola

Os filhos de Eva não tem a memória do Éden.
Foi com o silencio que a serpente se fez pagar.
—Maria Alexandre Dáskalos, *Lágrimas e laranjas*

Located on the Western coast of Central Africa, Angola is a multicultural, multiethnic, and multilingual country. Although Portuguese is considered the official language, many Angolans speak it as their second or even third language. Currently, there are approximately one hundred ethnic groups and dialects in the country: the *Ovimbundu*, *Mbundu* and *Bakongo* are the three dominant ethnic groups, but there are others, e.g., the *Lunda-Chokwe*, *Nganguela*, *Ovambo*, *Herero*, nomadic herders and hunters (António, Santiesteban-Labañino & Bravo-Rodríguez, 2019, p. 476). Nonetheless, in this complex cultural and linguistic scenario Portuguese serves as the *lingua franca*, so that all of the people who share this land can share a narrative too. The Portuguese occupation that began in the sixteenth century lasted until the end of the twentieth century, when the country became independent. Throughout these centuries, the Portuguese failed to establish themselves as the homogeneous dominant culture. Today, Angola is a transculturation of the native peoples, originating from the Bantu –which consists of more than 400 ethnic groups in sub-Saharan Africa– and the Portuguese. Nevertheless, the various ethnic communities have managed to maintain their own distinct traditions and dialects (António, Santiesteban-Labañino & Bravo-Rodríguez, 2019, p. 473). This complex, rich, and original Angolan cultural universe is the one that the word *Angolanidade* highlights.

This chapter is situated within the land of multiple voices, Angola, where the structure for the upcoming chapters will be set. First, a short overview of Angola's history with regards to the AST will provide the introductory setting for this chapter, allowing us to discuss how this past has been handled. The focus will then be the medium of remembering: Angolan poetry as a palimpsest of Memory. For the present analysis, the double structure of palimpsests of Memory, as proposed in the previous chapter, will be used: the palimpsestic and the palimpsestuous. This will further enable us to explore the narrative tradition in the country. Finally, it will be discussed why it is possible to talk about Angolan poetry as a defiant mode of remembering.

4.1 Angola and the Atlantic Slave Trade

Although by the second half of the fifteenth century the Portuguese were already trading goods and enslaved people with other communities in West Africa, it is believed that the first contact between Portugal and those in what is today Angola was established by Portuguese explorer Diogo Cão in 1482-3 (Thomas, 1997, p. 81). Following that point, the country was under Portuguese influence, except "for a relatively brief period of Dutch occupation between 1641 and 1648" (Ferreira, 2014, p. 7). By 1623, "Luanda [was] the largest European settlement in Africa, and the main source of Brazil's slave labor" (Thomas, 1997, p. 169). African enslaved people were obtained by the European traders through purchase or negotiation with local rulers, merchants, or nobleman. Generally in the region of Luanda, *pombeiros,* a name for those who would find people to enslave and negotiate with African monarchs, were initially Portuguese, but with the time they were usually Luso-Africans or Africans (Thomas, 1997, p. 168). In Angola, enslaved people were also obtained directly through war. The best remembered face of such warfare was that of Nzinga Mbandi, one of the most remarkable leaders and women in all of Africa. She was the female monarch who stood up against the Portuguese (and to whom we will return in the next chapter).

In the Americas, enslaved people completed different tasks, but generally worked in agriculture, farming mostly sugarcane and coffee. However, as labor in the gold mines increased in the first half of the eighteenth century, so too did the amount of enslaved labor in mining. Ironically, according to historian Hugh Thomas, the Brazilian gold pieces mined by enslaved Africans, "were ideal goods to exchange for slaves in Angola" (1997, p. 256). At the end of the eighteenth century, as the trade was already a vital institution for the Portuguese economy, they "established protectionist policies to bolster metropolitan commercial supremacy in Angola" (Ferreira, 2014, p. 8), which were reinforced after the Independence of Brazil, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, these policies largely failed, due to "the deep commercial, cultural, and social connections [that] developed across the Atlantic" (Ferreira, 2014, p. 8). The fear of Angola joining the new empire in the Americas, however, never came to fruition. Even though the trade of enslaved people was outlawed in 1836, there was little interest shown in stopping the practice. Consequently, an anti-slave-trade agreement between Lisbon and London was drawn up in 1842, in which the British and Portuguese Navies were required to patrol the

Angolan coast to capture illegal "vessels which were still attempting to carry slaves to the Americas" (Birmingham, 2015, p. 4).

4.2 A Crowded Past

The trading of enslaved people came to a halt due to international pressure, applied particularly by the British, who feared that rival colonies with enslaved forces would put them at an economic disadvantage. Nonetheless, without the slave trade the Portuguese empire started to consider other ways of making money from this colony. In Angola, many people continued to be treated as slaves despite the end of the trade. Throughout most of the twentieth century even, torture and forced labor remained part of the reality of African life. In 1884, the Congress of Berlin reaffirmed Portugal's presence in northern Angola, and in the years following the borders of the country were negotiated with other European nations in Africa. Angola became an overseas territory in 1951, whose independence was proclaimed only in 1975 after a long war with Portugal. However, this did not result in immediate social calm for the country, as a civil war between two former anti-colonial guerrilla movements broke out and lasted until 2002. The civil war was waged between the MPLA (*Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola*), who were supported by the Soviet Union and Cuba, and UNITA (*União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola*), supported by the USA and South Africa (the war is considered by most scholars as an effect of the Cold War). Since independence, the MPLA has remained in power and the country has had only three presidents. Although the country still struggles with corruption and massive social inequality, the wealth provided by oil has led the country to be considered an African economic force. Paradoxically, during the 2008 Portugal crisis, several Angolan businessmen hired Portuguese guest workers (*Gastarbeiter*), who came to the country in search of better economic opportunities.[16]

For nearly five centuries, Angola's economic development served to benefit Portugal and impoverished the African nation. The economic structure brought about during the colonial era never really changed; borders, hierarchies and modes of administration are all results of the country's colonial heritage (Cardina & Martins, 2019, p. 128) and still are reflected in the contemporary nation-state. This is why,

[16] The outline of the historical context is grounded in Birmingham D. (2015).

according to David Birmingham (2015) “the complex reality of post-war Angola can only be understood by referring to its past” (p. 119). As mentioned in the first chapter, it is more likely that the previously mentioned events –those related to the recent past– are more immediately present in the country’s citizens’ collective Memory compared to the Atlantic slave trade. In Assman’s terms, there is no communicative Memory possible for the AST, because its lifespan is longer than three or four interacting generations and there are no contemporary witnesses (J. Assman, 2001, p. 41).

Thus, cultural Memory is necessary to keep this Memory alive; however, it is supported by a sole institution: The National Museum of Slavery (*Museu Nacional da Escravatura*), which was founded in 1977 in the *Capela da Casa Grande*, a place where enslaved people were baptized before they were forcibly taken to the Americas. This is a small museum, almost one hour from Luanda, that is best known for its picturesque view rather than for the historical events it displays. Its director, Vladmiro Fortuna, acknowledged that much work remains to be done to gain an in-depth understanding of the history of slavery in Angola, since “a memória da escravatura em Angola ainda não é suficiente conhecida” (Marques, 2015). Yet, it is important to keep in mind that the installation of museums tends to be twofold. On the one hand, they have an important pedagogical role within society, yet they also represent a “checked box”, often being assigned with all the work of Memory, even when they have insufficient resources to depict this history. There is no other institution in Angola that deals with this topic. Further, in the country there are not many records, documents, or studies on the Memory of the AST; in general, this field has not been explored in the country (at least not at the time that this thesis was written).

One exception is the project *Africa to America - The Odyssey of Slavery* (2019), led by the international broadcaster funded by the United States Congress VOA (Voice of America), that revives the AST memory. The project determined that “Angola’s curriculum at every grade level has only one chapter on the slave trade” (de Lassalette, 2019), which might be one reason why when a group of school students were asked about it, they concluded that slavery existed long before it was done by the Portuguese, and that it might have even been necessary for the progress of the nations involved. The project concluded that slavery remains a fraught subject in Angolan classrooms.

Although often encompassed within the field of Memory studies, the complex study of trauma goes beyond the scope of the present thesis. It is nonetheless worthwhile to address it, even briefly, because it could help us elucidate what the VOA project revealed about the AST. The difficulty in integrating memories into the collective has been associated as one of the dimensions of a traumatic experience. A silent Memory might be the result of a long, troubling path towards processing the inhumane commerce of slavery, the subsequent colonization that resulted in a long fight to accomplish political independence, and was followed by an internal struggle for power, a civil war, and the current corrupt system that reaffirms high levels of inequality. For sociologist Myriam Sepúlveda dos Santos (2008), silence is often the result of the impossibility of understanding what happened. She explains that:

> Researchers who investigate the victims of traumatic experiences assert that compulsive and self-destructive behaviour is maintained across subsequent generations, not because of an acknowledgement of what took place, but precisely because of the absence of any full comprehension of what they suffered. The victimisation passes through the generations, as the latest identifies with the previous one. (p. 167)

The historical burden that post-colonial societies carry has an inescapable weight in their colonial past, though it has frequently been devalued in prior analyses and public perception of the present in these countries (Cardina & Martins, 2019, P. 115). According to Birmingham (2015), even though a large part of Angola's population has never known peace, democracy, nor the rule of law, following centuries of colonial exploitation people are at last in a position to visualize a stable and prosperous future (p. 122). It is within this relatively peaceful and stable context that the recovery of the past –the work for and of Memory– may transpire.

Angolan scholar Luís Kandjimbo (2007) has noted that the Angolan literary system remains under a strong Portuguese influence. Internationally, for example, Lusophone African literature is insignificantly known compared to Brazilian and Portuguese (p. 25). The country was under Portuguese political and cultural influence for centuries and the official knowledge production and history was controlled by Portugal. For this reason, when looking at this country, it is important to highlight its legacy of knowledge production, its narrative tradition, and its literary production. Therefore, epistemological production needs to be made visible, examined, and

strengthened. Recognizing and listening to African voices allows for more stories to continue to be told. With such a turbulent history and social environment, it is possible to observe both a crowded past and a crowded Memory of that past. The construction of the past might focus on events more immediately present, which are even still being understood. Yet, through Angolan poetry as the palimpsest of Memory, it may be possible to see that the memory of the more distant past is still, and has always been, part of society.

4.3 Angolan Poetry as a Palimpsest of Memory

Due to Western epistemological hegemony and the world's hegemonic order, black Africa has been condemned to certain stereotyped ideas, which includes the belief that their skills are limited to physical work and that they lack the capacity for intellectual work. This applies to the notion that they are incapable of writing, for example, their own history or constructing their own narrative: "when people are objects, they are located in a subaltern position, sociologically as well as epistemically" (Mignolo, 2005, p. 396). Yet this palimpsest of Memory wants to challenge this position. As was stated in the first part of this paper, each palimpsest was chosen for a particular reason. In this chapter, it is fundamentally an epistemological reason. Although Angola as a nation-state is relatively young, Angolan society and culture is unquestionably mature; the purpose here is to highlight the importance of African knowledge production and contribute to the fight against hegemonic narratives and hegemonic Memories.

Thinking of literature as a palimpsest might be the most evident of all cases presented here, not just because *the* original palimpsests were written pieces, but also because different notions that originally applied to works of literature have already been used in this thesis. However, what makes the present proposal different is the fact that the focus here is on the formation and development of a literary movement. That is, it is the goal to see the evolution and organic formation, as a result of the changing times, that the palimpsest of Memory attempts to show. Angolan poetry, compared to other kinds of poetry is particularly varied, complex, deep, rebellious, and daring; and it indeed must contain these features, because its verses carry Angolans' collective past and the hope for a better future.

As a detailed and extensive analysis of specific Angolan works and authors represents a task worthy of many separate theses, this chapter will only focus on two

works from two different authors, styles, and epochs. The chosen poems display an essential characteristic of the Palimpsest of Memory: namely, the impossibility to separate the present from the past. In what follows, the double structure of the palimpsests of Memory will be described. As previously explained, the palimpsestuous can be read in the current integration of the palimpsest of Memory within society (i.e., Angolan poetry role and importance for the country), while the palimpsestic is the process of layering that produces it (i.e., how did Angolan poetry reach this position). Therefore, the next section will be dedicated to the "peeling" process that unveils these layers.

4.3.1 The Palimpsestic: From Griots *to Poets*

The original layer of this palimpsest of Memory resides in the spoken word. When we talk about narrative tradition in relation to African literature, we must instinctively refer to oral narrative tradition[17]. Although "Angola had a tradition of literature written in the Portuguese language going back to the mid-nineteenth century" (Chabal, 1995, p. 19), in West Africa there has always been a strong tradition of oral narratives. Even today, Kandjimbo argues (2007), Angolan literatures consists "of three segments. i.e., oral literature, or orature; literature written in indigenous languages; literature written in Portuguese" (p. 18). *Orature* is the most ancient of them all. African societies are fundamentally based upon dialogue between individuals and communication between communities or ethnic groups (Hampaté Bá, 2010, p. 195). For this reason, those who dominate the word occupied a different position in society.

More specifically, "at the time when virtually throughout Africa there were no records, the task of remembering and narrating history had to be handed to a special social group […] the preservers of the common memory of African peoples" (Lamine Konte, 1985, p. 7, as cited in J. Assman, 2001, p. 39). This was the case of the *griots*, "espécie de trovadores ou menestréis" who animated community parties through music, lyric poetry, short stories, and also by telling the history of their community (Hampaté Bá, 2010, p. 193). This tradition still exists in certain communities in West Africa. The modern griots –the oral storytellers– have been compared to hip-hop singers in Angola. At the same time, however, the oral tradition

[17] Paraphrasing Hampaté Bá, A. in A tradição viva (2010): "Quando falamos de tradição em relação à história africana, referimo-nos à tradição oral" (p. 167)

of griots might be extended to poetic musicality more generally, because it is acknowledged that "the poetic form has the mnemotechnical aim of capturing the unifying knowledge in a manner that will preserve it" (J. Assman, 2001, pp. 41-42). Poems have even been recognized as verbal objects that are forged to remain in memory. This is why they have also been recognized as the heritage of troubadours. Rhymes and verses have the effect of staying in Memory; for this reason, poetry is closer to orality than any other written genre "por não ter que seguir regras da língua escrita e ter liberdade para criar e recriar significados" (da Silva & de Souza, 2018, p. 198).

What are Memories but narratives? The original task of the poet, J. Assman contends, was to preserve group memory (2001, p. 39). For him, griots belong to the memory specialists that cultural Memory requires. Angolan poets have played the role of the *griots*: telling stories, maintaining Memory, and re-signifying the power of the word. Their status was significantly affected by the Portuguese presence, as they came to affect their cultural project, yet their stories never ceased. Despite Portuguese influence, the *griot*'s legacy "foi ressignificado na cultura escrita, onde o escritor angolano, que agora tem sua identidade crioulizada pelo processo de colonização […], escreve na língua do colonizador mas mantém a tradição de sua comunidade viva" (da Silva & de Souza, 2018, p. 196). This idea will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

The importance of Angolan poetry in the construction of the new nation-state is the next layer of the palimpsest. Kandjimbo rightfully claims that "a still emerging nation cannot do without a sociocultural dimension [and needs to constitute a national literary canon because this is what] tends to legitimate an autonomous culture's own identity" (2007, p. 15). In Angola, it might be possible to say that this dimension has been established by poetry. Even today, the volume of poetry: *Espontaneidades da minha alma* by José da Silva Maia Ferreira and published in 1849 is recognized as the first (written) Angolan literary work –at least in Portuguese– (dos Santos, 2007, p. 32). Under the five centuries of Portuguese rule, official and accepted knowledge was controlled by the Portuguese authorities, while all other sources were not considered legitimate. The limited groups who received education "haviam estudado toda a cultura portuguesa e sabiam tudo sobre o país colonizador […] ao mesmo tempo em que desconheciam Angola quase completamente" (dos Santos, 2007, p. 33). Nonetheless, by the mid-1940s,

awareness about this deficit was growing, and a cultural movement established the plan to "discover" Angola (*Vamos Descobrir Angola!*), which encouraged young people to rediscover the country and to participate in literary production. "The negation of the colonizer's culture and the refusal of the apparent benefits of the assimilated status were obviously implicit in their proclamation. Their purpose was to achieve what Mário de Andrade calls a 're-Africanization' of the spirit" (Martinho, 1979, p. 46). In Angola, as in other African nations and regions, Martinho argues, cultural nationalism was the prelude to political nationalism (1979, p. 46).

Poetry publications and movements grew more and more common, consolidating an anti-colonial and independentist poetry. During this time, poetry was employed as a political weapon. Many intellectuals soon started to become involved in politics and anti-colonial discourses. It did not take long for the colonial regime to ban all types of anti-colonial content, particularly poetry, as it was one of the most popular genres. Many publications were therefore outlawed, and the individuals involved in political activities (mostly intellectuals and writers) were accused of "subversive activities" and sent to prison by Portuguese authorities (dos Santos, 2007, p. 37). Writer Luandino Viera, for example, spent eleven years in jail for his rebellious literary activities.

Only when the Portuguese dictatorship fell in 1974, which set the stage for the independence from Portugal among the African colonies, were several Angolan authors finally able to publish freely (Bender, 1980, pp. vii-viii). During the first year of independence, the Union of Angolan Writers[18] (UEA) published more than a thousand copies of different works by Angolan writers and poets. The years immediately following Angola's independence were generally characterized by joy and euphoria about the freedom that had been won. At least before 1985, when the war unleashed between UNITA and MPLA intensified, there was still a certain utopian vision of poetry, as it was conceived as a weapon of resistance and awareness, and, among young people, functioned as an instrument for maintaining socialist dreams promoted by the revolution (Secco, 2013, p. 12). The utopian predisposition reflected in the literary enthusiasm was seen in the creation of the

[18] Only a month after Angola's Independence was proclaimed in the country's capital, Luanda, on December 10, 1975 A União dos Escritores Angolanos (UEA), the Union of Angolan Writers, remained until today the largest publisher in the country, was created. The fact that in a still unstable civil-military climate the proclamation of the UEA took place, it "is a living testimony of role that the writer and literature played in new society in formation" (Hamilton, p.167-8 in dos Santos, p. 41).

UEA, and later in the creation of the Young Literature Brigades (*Brigadas Jovens de Literatura*) in Luanda, Lubango, Huambo, Cabinda, Uíge, and other cities (Secco, 2013, p. 13). Even after a lengthy civil war, African Lusophone literatures still exist and resist, and Angolan literature continues with its development.

4.3.2 Poems

Within the Angolan narrative, poetry thus occupies a remarkable place. It is in the shape of verses that Angolan authors represent their past. Indeed, some of the most important writers in Angola are poets: Agostinho Neto, Adriano Botelho de Vasconcelos, Viriato da Cruz, Maria Alexandre Dáskalos, Paula Tavares, José Luís Mendonça, just to name a few. Thus, the number of intellectual productions is vast and diverse. That said, we are going to focus on two Angolan poems who both serve as an example of what Angolan poetry as a palimpsest of Memory is. These poems allow us to see the profound connection with the social reality and the mastery of language. This thesis classifies these poems into two categories: an anti-colonial poetry and a post-colonial poetry (which are not so far apart). These poems belong to different periods of the country's development, allowing us to see different perspectives as well as and different layers of the past.

The poem *Adeus à hora da largada* (1974)[19] by Agostinho Neto (who later became first president of the nation) is an example of what we are designating here as anti-colonial poetry. In this type of poetry, themes of domination, alienation, exploitation, and repression of afro-population around the world are evident. Themes including the longing for Africa, for those who, like Neto, were in exile, and/or in prison are also present. Although Neto studied medicine in Portugal, he was always connected to the situation in Angola (where he returned after finishing his career) and was part of several literary and political movements. As Martinho explains, a common phenomenon during this time was that Luso-African writers "combined their literary career with an intense political activity" (1979, p. 47). As some of the verses from the poem *Protesto*[20] (1975) by Fernando Costa Andrade enlightened: *Juntei na mão / os meus poemas / e lancei-os ao deserto / para que as areias se transformem em protesto. / Sejam catanas armas ou punhais / sejam protesto*. Poems not only served as combat and weapons but as a promise of hope.

[19] A first version of the poem was published in 1958 in Andrade, M. (Ed.), *Antologia da Poesia Negra de Expressão Portuguesa* with the name "Adeus à hora da partida".
[20] This poem was part of the book *Poesia com armas* (1975) by Costa Andrade.

Adeus à hora da largada by Agostinho Neto

Minha Mãe
(todas as mães negras
cujos filhos partiram)
tu me ensinaste a esperar
como esperaste nas horas difíceis

Mas a vida
matou em mim essa mística esperança

Eu já não espero
sou aquele por quem se espera

Sou eu minha Mãe
a esperança somos nós
os teus filhos
partidos para uma fé que alimenta a vida

Hoje
somos as crianças nuas das sanzalas do mato
os garotos sem escola a jogar a bola de trapos
nos areais ao meio-dia
somos nós mesmos
os contratados a queimar vidas nos cafezais
os homens negros ignorantes
que devem respeitar o homem branco
e temer o rico
somos os teus filhos
dos bairros de pretos
além aonde não chega a luz elétrica
os homens bêbedos a cair
abandonados ao ritmo dum batuque de morte
teus filhos
com fome
com sede
com vergonha de te chamarmos Mãe
com medo de atravessar as ruas
com medo dos homens
nós mesmos

Amanhã
entoaremos hinos à liberdade
quando comemorarmos
a data da abolição desta escravatura

Nós vamos em busca de luz
os teus filhos Mãe
(todas as mães negras
cujos filhos partiram)

Vão em busca de vida.

The poem *Adeus à hora da largada* has three aspects that we want to focus our attention on: the feminine figure, the denunciation, and the revolution. The feminine figure is represented through *a mãe*, which can be assumed to refer to not only the mothers who lost their children in the war and in the slave trade, (todas as mães Negras cujos filhos partiram) but also to the mother of all, the motherland. This *Mãe*, with a capital M, is both mother-earth and mother-nation. The "Earth-Mother herself, or the Mother-Earth, the Universal Nourisher, the Tellus Mater of the symbolically universal belief of Man born from the Earth (= Mother)" (Pinheiro Torres, 1975 as cite in Martinho, 1979, p. 47). *A Mãe* is also Angola, the beginning and the end, a land that bleeds, that protected its children, and now needs protection from those children: *tu me ensinaste a esperar/Eu já não espero/sou aquele por quem se espera.* Thus, *a Mãe* is the progenitor, the origin, the future, for whom it is worth fighting, and who cannot stand anything else: *com vergonha de te chamarmos Mãe*.

Adeus à hora da largada sets "two dialectical planes which define, in the poet's eyes, Africa's position between the alienated present and the redeemed future" (Martinho, 1979, p. 47): *hoje* [today] - the denounce, *amanha* [tomorrow] - the revolution. The *hoje* condemns the colonial regime, and the position of the

population: *abandonados ao ritmo dum batuque de morte/teus filhos/com fome/com sede.* The *amanha*, through the promise of freedom, evokes the revolution, the fight, the resistance: *entoaremos hinos à Liberdade*. Nonetheless, Nelson Cerqueira has stated that, "All characters, feelings, and emotions [evoked in this poem] –African roots, feminine figure, the mothers, revolutionary friends, Angola, hope and des-hope– all of them could be accommodated on the stage of a revolutionary praxis" (2011, p. 86): *Vão em busca de vida*.

On the other hand, the poem *Subpoesia* (1997) composed by José Luís Mendonça belongs to what this thesis has recognized as post-colonial poetry, the time that came after the independence from Portugal was achieved. Like Neto, Mendonça is recognized for his involvement in the country's social reality. The utopian dreams of the early years were confronted with reality, internal problems and a lack of engagement on the world stage; exploited and shattered, Africa was on its own.

Subpoesia by José Luís Mendonça
Subsaarianos somos
sujeitos subentendidos
subespécies do submundo
subalimentados somos
surtos de subepidemias
sumariamente submortos
do subdólar somos
subdesenvolvidos assuntos
de um sul subserviente

Starting with the title, Mendonça makes the position of the poem (and his own position) quite clear. As has been implicitly stated throughout this chapter, Lusophone African literatures tend to be excluded from literary universe because they are generally considered to be "literaturas menores" (Mata, 2014). However, Mendonça takes this idea and give its an epistemological turn in the form of a denunciation and through his own mastery of the Portuguese language. This poem "evidencia as verdadeiras relações de poder que se estabelecem hoje e afirma que se a condição subalterna se internalizou com a globalização, ela se exponenciou com as desigualdades entre um norte hegemônico e um "sul subserviente" (Mata, 2014, p. 36), the subalternity African people were deemed to.

4.3.3 The Palimpsestuous: Broader Reach

Poetry carried the anti-colonial message (namely, the necessity of a national integration), which is known today as the *Angolanidade*. The role of poetry can be seen as a means through which to advance Angolan epistemological recuperation, both of the past and of their knowledge, which was altered since the initial repartition and exploitation of the country. Recognizing the power of Angolan poetry is a way of recognizing their ancient (and current) narrative tradition and resilience, and thus is recognizing both the work done by the *griots* and that of the figures involved in independence. The possibility of integrating written forms of narration into society makes it possible for more people to know these stories, for it is undeniable that access to written forms offers a possibility of wider coverage and a larger reach, thus enabling more people to listen to *Other* narratives (to counter-narratives and to counter-memories). As O'Connor (2019) explains:

> Being able to read and write 'fundamentally alters what we remember and how we remember it; societies that keep written records have a different relationship to the past than ones that do not' (Olick et al., 2011; 6). Mass literacy at once separated the past, in the form of preserved and catalogued archival traces, more decisively from the present, and provided journalists, activists and political leaders with the tools for a more deliberate reconstruction and representation of that past. It also changed the predominant social frameworks of memory from localised oral communities to the collective of those who were literate in the national language (p. 7).

J. Assman shares this belief, as for him without "the possibility of written storage, human memory is the only means of preserving the knowledge that consolidates the identity of a group" (2001, p. 41). It thus becomes fragile and risks being forgotten entirely. In this way, Angolans, using their *lingua franca*, connect one another with a narrative that allows them to construct a common past and shared future.

Portuguese presence affected not merely the country's economic structure, but the nation's cultural system by forcibly imposing their language, their customs, and their knowledge upon Angolans. Writing in Portuguese might mean, as Fanon has contended, "above all to assume a culture, to support the weight of a civilization" (as cited in Mignolo, 2005, p. 393) but, at the same time, it gives these writers an epistemological authority and legitimacy often denied to them because of their being considered an inferior non-Christian, of colored skin, and/or born speaking a

surrogate version of a European imperial language (Mignolo, 2005, p. 386), even if Portuguese is the mother language for these writers. Thus, Angolan poetry legitimizes its own Portuguese as proper Portuguese and Angolan stories as valid stories. According to Kandjimbo, the diffusion, exposure, and instruction of Lusophone African literatures depends upon the amount of knowledge produced and their capability of export (2007, p. 31). It also, however, is dependent upon the world's interest and desire in knowing their stories. This is why allowing these stories to exist simultaneously means empowering the world to know different, *Other* pasts.

The social and political past of the nation is an important aspect of its verses. As Laura Padilha (2007) states, it is difficult to separate three factors that were born together: "a moderna literatura, a consciência da nacionalidade e a luta pela libertação" (p. 175). It is important to also keep in mind that the interest in African literatures goes beyond the literacy space, because to delve into Angolan poetry does not merely mean delving into Angolan society, but also into Angolan past. It is necessary to convene other disciplines in order to better decode the texts and their contexts of creation and reception, e.g., "a antropologia, a história de Africa, as metafísicas tradicionais bantas (leia-se bantu), a sociologia, a história comparada das religiões, a história das instituições políticas, a história das mentalidades, a mitocrítica, etc." (Laranjeira, 1995, p. 9, as cited in Kandjimbo, 2007, p. 10). The structure of the palimpsest precisely embodies this relationship of ambiguity of meanings. The palimpsestuous of Angolan poetry is the fact that history, knowledge, African Portuguese, and oral narrative mixed together and gave form to this literary style. It is inextricably the result of a transculturation process, through which Angolans appropriated the colonizer's language, somehow maintaining the orality tradition, the *griots*' musicality, while also discovering the *Angolanidade*. Thus, reading these poems makes sense only when all of the layers are read together. Angolan poetry, like its other arts, works "com identidades e memórias em movimento" (Secco, 2013, p. 17). Memory lays there, in the words and in the stories. Memories, much like narratives, are always changing and are always being written.

4.4 Defiant Mode of Remembering

As has been described to this point in this chapter, Angola's history has been, to say the least, agitated. Thus, the place to store all of these memories has become crowded. Colonization remains not only as a legacy a succession of gaps in the past of these lands, but also allows these gaps to be filled by the colonizers, pushing out and silencing other stories from collective consciousness. As Mignolo (2005) has stated:

> Power and knowledge complement each other by the position they occupy in a structured and hierarchical Totality. And therefore, history is narrated according to the complicity between a given concept of society and a given concept of knowledge. People without history, in the colonial structuring of the world, are those situated […] outside the hegemonic concept of knowledge. (p. 396)

Mignolo further adds that, in non-European histories, people without history are the colonial subalterns (2005, p. 396). Breaking this "geopolitics of knowledge" is what this mode of remembering is involved in: it is the characteristic of its space of enunciation that has shown us a defiant representation of the past. There is no question that subalternity has been mediated by a European production of knowledge (Mignolo, 2001, p. 162). Nevertheless, an Angolan narrative has survived. This mode recognizes the construction of the past as one part of the broader global power system; Angolan poetry shows that *Other* narratives and other Memories are indeed possible. The defiance thus lays in the engagement of constructing personal and collective memory via the adoption of literature as a means through which Memory can be written.

There are "muitos escritores, falando de diferentes lugares e sob diferentes perspectivas, parecem assumir o papel de preencher com o seu saber esse vazio que a consciência vinha desvelando" (Chaves, 2000, p. 245). These authors are writing and constructing their own stories, their own past, and are thereby fighting against the epistemic violence provoked during the colonial time. Subalterns are taking both reason and history into their own hands, and are becoming "political actors but, more significantly, as epistemic ones" (Mignolo, 2005, p. 393). As the country lacks formal institutions dedicated to the discussion and investigation of slavery, the establishment of a literary movement represents an important milestone. As Mignolo has pointed out, epistemological production is a form "to overcome, to undo, the

colonial and the imperial differences" (2005, p. 391), as it legitimizes the being. The defiant mode, as conceived here, seeks to show an alternative vision of the past (and of the future), in which those who historically have been silenced are now able to speak and be heard. "To dwell in the coloniality of knowledge and of being means to be deprived and repressed of the potential to know, to understand and to be" (Mignolo, 2005, p. 391), meaning that breaking this coloniality necessarily involves writing their own story and history.

However, as J. Assman brings to light, in illiterate and egalitarian societies the participation in cultural memory is always highly differentiated (2001, p. 39). The memory specialists, in this case the poets, have an elevated social status. Yet it is worth considering whether this position was reached because they are the specialists, or if they became specialists due to the fact they already held a relatively privileged status within society. This is why it must be explained that identifying this mode of remembering in Angola does not necessarily mean that it applies to everyone in the country, nor does it mean that the current social problems negatively impacting the country can be ignored. As a country with more than 30 million people in which access to education is centered around the capital, it does not –and cannot– represent the totality of the country. Memory, contends Jelin, as a narrative social construction implies the study of the properties of the narrator and of the institution that grants or denies power, and authorizes the given narrator to pronounce the words (2002, p. 35). For this reason, the study of subalternity cannot be separated from hegemony. It is, of course, clear that hegemony is everywhere, even within subalternity, and that these people who have the possibility to publish literature are not necessarily subalternized people within the country. That said, there is no doubt that they can be considered a part of a subaltern class[21] within context of the world system. The subaltern, determined as such by a world order shaped through colonization, has been condemned to this position, since the partition of Africa at the Berlin Conference in 1885 (or, as this thesis holds, since the first Portuguese vessels left the continent with enslaved Africans).

It is clear that "de-coloniality cannot be enacted from the perspective of Empire [it must come from] those of us who feel the effects of the coloniality of

[21]As when Mignolo (2005) explains Gramsci's use of the word, originally thought to identify the proletariat, clarifies that "the proletariat as a social class was a particular sector of the subaltern population" (p. 381), thus we might be able to identify the writers as a particular sector of the subaltern population, still all of them are "colonials subalterns".

knowledge and of being" (Mignolo, p. 392). The subalterns must thus "dis-identify and dis-engage" from the imposed narrative, somehow as Angolan writers attempt to do so. This palimpsest of Memory seeks to highlight the role they can have in society, the opportunity they have to break a historical silence, their defiance against the Portuguese authorities' efforts to silence them, which has even meant sending them to prison because of their authorship.

While, in a society struggling to provide necessary services and ensure basic human rights, the role of education and culture tends to be secondary, in Angola, literature and narrative have both been considered priorities. This, then, is where the defiance is found. Despite the effort that has been put into constructing a narrative, there still remains much work to be done. Yet, there is a change underway now and a will to know the other side of the story of the country's past. This epistemic production is the one that enacts a defiant mode of remembering. Now, in the globalized world, different (subaltern) narratives are more readily accessible to a wide audience. Not only have stories and histories been translated and brought closer to different peoples, but the world wide web now means that people have other resources through which to narrate and tell their stories. Yet, we understad that, as Cameroonian philosopher Jean Bidima states, in African arts, "as africanidades devem ser entendidas como processo, estando sempre em travessia [...] em entrelaçamentos intermináveis que fundem e recriam, sem parar, tradições e modernidades" (as cited in Secco, 2013, p. 17).

5 Brazil

O mar vagueia onduloso sob os meus pensamentos.
A memória bravia lança o leme: recordar é preciso.
—Conceição Evaristo, *Poemas da recordação e outros movimentos*

The largest country in Latin America, Brazil, is also one of the most diverse nations in the world, characterized not just by its megadiverse ecosystems but also by its ethnic and cultural amalgamation that involves mainly Indigenous, Portuguese, and African peoples. Nonetheless, in the late nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth, immigrants from various parts of the world arrived in this country and found refuge there, contributing to the nation's multicultural character. During this time, Brazil was presented as the "Country of the Future", while the United States presented itself as the "Promised Land", where the individual lives of migrants were improved by the host country. In Brazil, foreigners were encouraged "to improve a nation burdened by legacies of Portuguese colonialism and African slavery" (Burrier, 2016, p. 168). In this country, as is already widely known, not all of the immigrants chose to migrate willingly. Estimates show that more than 5 million enslaved Africans disembarked in the country as a result of the AST. Although many Brazilians stress how Europeans contributed to the country's national identity (Burrier, 2016, p. 170), African heritage in Brazil remains evident today. In fact, the largest African-descended population outside of Africa is believed to be found in Brazil. When looking at the most recognizable symbols of Brazilian culture: samba, carnival, candomblé, and capoeira, to name a few, we discover that they are all part of the Afro-Brazilian cultural repertoire. African presence in Brazil has grown significantly in the more than 500 years since the first ships carrying enslaved people arrived in the country. Even though the footprint left by the African diaspora is perhaps most notorious, it is far from being the only one in the American continent.

This chapter is thus concerned with Brazil, a nation with a long history of migration. This chapter follows roughly the same structure as the previous one. First, the history of Brazil in relation to the AST will be recounted in order to see the different perspectives of this event. In this context, the traces of slavery existing today in Brazilian society will be revealed. The medium of remembering will then be examined: capoeira will be presented as a palimpsest of Memory. Thus, finally, it will be evident why capoeira constitutes a heterogeneous mode of remembering.

5.1 Brazil and the Atlantic Slave Trade

Not long after the arrival of the Portuguese to Brazil in 1500, sugarcane began to be planted. The Portuguese invested heavily in sugarcane in Brazil as a result of their experience in agriculture on the islands of Madeira, The Azores, and São Tomé. As a result, "by the mid-sixteenth century Brazil had already begun its long life as a producer of sugar for the European market" (Thomas, 1997, p. 123). At first, the main labor force in Brazilian plantations came from native indigenous Brazilians themselves, as Thomas has noted (1997), yet it was soon no longer sufficient to meet the demands of the expanding plantations. Further, indigenous peoples could not withstand the harsh working conditions. Even today, the cultivation and harvesting of sugarcane are considered to be extremely hazardous for workers and the industry remains associated with poor working conditions. It was in this hostile context that Portuguese and Brazilian merchants began to take an increased interest in trading enslaved people. And indeed, with time, "little by little, in the new cities of the new empire, [enslaved Africans] began to work much as they had done for a hundred years in Portugal - as servants, gardeners, cooks, seamen, and as symbols of wealth, and finally on plantations" (Thomas, 1997, p. 124).

The trade flourished to such an extent that Rio de Janeiro and Salvador became recognized slave ports in the Americas (Araujo, 2017, p. 19). The high mortality rate in Brazil played an important role in the dimension of the trade; "Seventy-five percent of the [enslaved people] died within the first three years from the extreme hardships of work" (Sepúlveda dos Santos, 2008, p. 163). This, however, certainly does not mean that in other places the conditions were necessarily better, but rather in other countries, e.g., the USA, "slave owners relied on enslaved women's reproduction capacity to increase the enslaved population" (Araujo, 2017, p. 37). As many enslaved Africans had knowledge and experience in agriculture and cattle and "proved to be admirable workers, strong enough to survive the heat and hard work on sugar, coffee, or cotton plantations or in mines, in building fortresses or merely acting as servants" (Thomas, 1997, p. 793), unfortunately, a racialized world labor order was soon established. The AST lasted until the nineteenth century. Even long after its prohibition, however, illegal vessels managed to accomplish its enterprise: enslaved people "were sometimes smuggled […] using ships flying 'flags of convenience' which made them immune to British searches" (Birmingham, 2015,

p. 4). In 1850, due foremost to British pressure, the Brazilian slave markets closed, though slavery remained legal in the country.

5.2 A Travelling Past

With the end of the AST, an extensive domestic slave trade took root in Brazil and slavery remained legal in the country until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Following a number of external and internal pressures to end slavery, the Law of Free Birth (*Lei do Ventre Livre)*, which freed all children born to enslaved parents, was passed by Brazil's Congress in 1871. 14 years later, the Sexagenarian Law (*Lei dos Sexagenários*), which freed enslaved people over the age of 60, was likewise ratified. The Golden Law (*Lei Áurea)*, which abolished slavery in Brazil, was ultimately adopted in 1888. By that time, however, most (formerly) enslaved Brazilians were already freed thanks to palliative laws, had fled, or had bought their own freedom. It is nonetheless widely believed that the end of slavery in Brazil constituted the greatest social transformation in the history of the country. Many freedmen did not receive any type of economic aid and ultimately continued working in the fields under the same conditions for their same now-former "owners", whereas some others moved to the city, which irretrievably changed the urban dynamic throughout the country. That said, racial and social inequalities largely remained the same. As the Portuguese court was moved to Brazil, the South American country became an empire. Nonetheless, the republic was proclaimed in 1889 and, despite several independence revolts, the country has managed to remain united to this day. The twentieth century in Brazil was characterized mainly by totalitarian regimes: Getúlio Vargas, for example, held power for almost 20 years and the military dictatorship lasted from 1964 until 1985.[22]

Despite significant economic growth, the black population in Brazil still lags behind in terms of socio-economic opportunities. Social ills such as community violence, discrimination, exclusion, and racism also continue to be challenging issues for Brazil to address, even in the twentieth-first century. Freedmen and their descendants were never part of a formal plan or project to repair their suffering or to integrate them into society at large.[23] That said, Africans and their descendants, as

[22] The outline of the historical context is grounded in Gilson, F. (2017).
[23] Only until 2003, more than a century after slavery was abolished, a law that obligated all schools to include in their curricula the teaching of Afro-Brazilian History and Culture was promulgated.

carriers of Memory who share collective images and narratives of the past (Erll, 2011, p. 12), have managed to preserve, adapt, and recreate their cultures thanks to their knowledge, culinary practices, music, religions, and festivals (Araujo, 2020, p. 228). This "incessant wandering of carriers, media, contents, forms, and practices of memory, their continual 'travels' and ongoing transformations through time and space, across social, linguistic and political borders" (Erll, 2011, p. 11) constitutes the 'travelling memory' to which this thesis has implicitly referred through the term transnational Memory. Of the three case studies of relevance to this thesis, Brazil perhaps best embodies this term.

Yet, as the Brazilian sociologist Myrian Sepúlveda dos Santos (2008) has warned, the mixing, integration, and acceptance of different cultural manifestations in Brazil have been employed to defend the myth of a racial democracy and suggested that race relations in Brazil are harmonious and non-conflictive. This myth, oft repeated in the country, almost holds that slavery, "beyond being an oppressive system, has been reconstructed as a period in which African-born people brought African manners to Brazil" (Sepúlveda dos Santos, 2008, p. 158), allowing the *sincretismo cultural* on which the country prides itself. Sepúlveda dos Santos explains how the myth of racial democracy negatively impacts the country's ability to combat the existence and effects of racism in the country and weakens the memory of slavery by relativizing its uniqueness and transforming it into just another monstrous episode in history. The myth of racial democracy is related to the long legacy of praising miscegenation, contrary to the binary racial ideas found in other societies such as the southern United States, the British Caribbean, and South Africa (Sepúlveda dos Santos, 2008, p. 162). In Brazil, there was never an established and organized "apartheid", but it was never particularly necessary because the society's stratification was clear, as Carlos Fausto (2020) notes:

> As time passed, slavery became a thing of the past, but at the same time it remained strongly present in each and every social interaction in twentieth-century Brazil. The myth of Brazil as a racial democracy could only be possible if we were to simultaneously forget and remember: forget the institution of slavery and remember each person's place in society, a remembering strongly conditioned by the color of one's skin. This is how a segregated society endured for decades, espousing the creed that, unlike the United States, it was not racially biased . . . as long as the blacks knew well their place (p. 251)

Fausto, a Brazilian himself, hypothesized that, "there is a deeply introjected force that makes [Brazilians] oblivious to the presence of the past in the present" (2020, p. 253). Fausto recalls how, less than two years after the abolition of slavery, the anthem of the (at that time new) republic praised how slavery never existed in the noble country (2020, p. 251). He reflects specifically on what he coins the *politics of anti-Memory* in Brazil, defining it as the selective suppression of memory rather than its involuntary absence (Fausto, 2020, p. 247). Similarly, as previously noted, Ricœur (2010) pointed out that it is the unavoidably selective dimension of Memory that enables its manipulation and ideologization. It is in this work of selection onto which the strategies of forgetting are grafted: "one can always recount differently, by eliminating, by shifting the emphasis, by recasting the protagonists of the action in a different light along with the outlines of the action" (Ricœur, 2010, p. 448). It is thus through this process of selection that the AST Memory in Brazil became blurred and obfuscated.

In 2020, following the global debate on racism sparked by George Floyd's killing, novel questions began to arise in Brazil. Some, within the Brazilian racial democracy, could not believe that such unjust events could occur within the US system. Yet, according to the BBC broadcast, in Brazil nearly 8 out of every 10 fatalities resulting from the actions of the Brazilian police are Afro-descendants, making it *the Latin American country where the police kill more blacks than in the United States*[24]. In the country, the Afro-Brazilian population is among the poorest, which generally exposes them to a greater amount of violence and crime. A study conducted in 2017 in Rio de Janeiro –the state with the highest rates of violence in all of Brazil– found that, at 21 years old (when the risk of being a victim of homicide is at its highest), a young black man is 147% more likely to be killed than young Brazilians of other races (Wallace, 2020). Acknowledging the origins of the disadvantaged position of the black population in Brazil, however, is a discussion that some sectors are not yet prepared to have[25].

Beyond their cultural repertoire, black social actors were also important agents in the abolition of slavery, the economic development of the nation, the

[24] As in the article published by BBC News on June 3rd 2020: *Muerte de George Floyd: el país latinoamericano donde la policía mata a más negros que en Estados Unidos* (Wallace, A.)

[25] As the vice-president Hamilton Mourão, who claimed that "No Brasil não existe racismo, é coisa que querem importer", on the death of an afro-Brazilian man in a supermarket. Taken from: *Folha de S. Paulo.* https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/cotidiano/2020/11/no-brasil-nao-existe-racismo-e-coisa-que-querem-importar-diz-mourao-sobre-morte-de-beto-freitas-em-mercado.shtml.

formation of political movements, and, more recently, as Araujo claims (2020, p. 230), in pressuring authorities to make slavery (more) visible in urban spaces. The representation and understanding of the AST in Brazil have been shifting in its significance in recent years (and hopefully will continue becoming more integrated into Brazilian public spaces and collective consciousness in the years to come). Afro-Brazilians are important Memory constructing agents in the country, and their position in society has changed drastically over time; this is precisely what the palimpsest of Memory attempts to show here.

5.3 Capoeira as a Palimpsest of Memory

The performance of traditions is a way of emulating the past; it is a way of portraying how the past was, but also a way of telling us the elements of the past that are worth preserving. The ability to understand and participate in these traditions or, in Erll's words, these mnemonic rituals and inherited habitus (2011, p. 12), tell us about where our roots lie, and what past we have decided to embrace as our own. As Erll puts it, "the invention of tradition leads to the creation of identities and to political legitimation" (2011, p. 4). It is in the motion underpinning traditions where this palimpsest of Memory is placed. The word "motion" here is understood as action and movement. In this vein, then, several things could be encompassed, e.g., rituals and dances, or ceremonies and festivals. Yet this palimpsest of Memory results in a mixture. Faithfully summarizing what capoeira is presents a certain complexity because it is considered a mixture of fighting, dance, sport, game, and art. Nonetheless, one of its defining characteristics is the fact that it is probably one of the only, martial arts that incorporates music. This practice is accompanied by distinctive vocal and instrumental types of music that are played in a circle (*a roda*), in which two people play to demonstrate greater mobility.

It must be clarified that the practice of capoeira is not as such a tradition, nor is it a ritual in the literal sense of the word. At least in the way that it is typically practiced today, it should be understood as a cultural practice, as Brazil's national sport, it is part of Brazilian culture and is practiced throughout the national territory, and even worldwide. This practice has survived over time, evolving while being passed through generations and (re)integrated into society. Describing this process of transferal over time is what is attempted here. Capoeira embodies the notion of how *motion* holds the past, as a mnemonic ritual and inherited habitus. Behind every

move, there is a connection to one's past ancestors. These are the reasons for its choice. Within, between, and around this motion, it is possible to see the different representations of the past, the integration of afro descendants into society, and the importance of certain physical movements for the resistance of this Memory in this society.

Palimpsests of Memory have different interpretations throughout time in society, because, as has been routinely mentioned throughout this paper, the meanings of the past are always shifting because the present changes too. This is why the meaning of traditions, rituals, and customs likewise varies, as this specific palimpsest will show. Capoeira as a palimpsest of Memory reveals the different agents that act in the construction of the past. In what follows, the double structure of the palimpsest of Memory will be explained in greater detail. The palimpsestic structure of capoeira will highlight the different roles that it has had and has taken within society. There, this palimpsest of Memory will be "broken" in order to make some of its layers visible and to understand the process of becoming what it is. While the palimpsestuous can be read in its current position, a result of the superposition of these layers.

5.3.1 The Palimpsestic: From **Malandragem**[26] *to National Sport*

The original layer of this palimpsest of Memory remains a source of debate. There are many divergences among researchers about the true origin of capoeira. Some believe it was created by the enslaved people in Brazil as a reaction to oppression, known as the "Brazilianists", while others contend it was brought to the Americas by the enslaved Africans, identified as the "Africanists" (Talmon-Chvaicer, 2008, p. 18). Nonetheless, one unmistakable point of agreement is that capoeira is a practice of Black-African origin. Just like historian Maya Talmon-Chvaicer (2008) has demonstrated, enslaved people from West-Central Africa are recognized to be among the earlier practitioners (the capoeiras) at the beginning of the nineteenth century (p. 14). According to the historian, during this period enslaved people were allowed to celebrate their own social and cultural practices in their free time; the practice of capoeira and, more generally, enslaved people's socio-cultural activities, were not relevant to their "owners". However, over time due to the

[26] Portuguese term that points out a lifestyle of laziness, fast living, and petty crime but at the same time demands dexterity, charisma, and cunning.

"increasing numbers of slaves, their masters [and authorities] became convinced that such gatherings were fertile ground for subversive activities, and outbursts of rioting sometimes caused disturbances, injuries, and casualties" (Talmon-Chvaicer, 2008, p. 12). Thus, by the end of the nineteenth century, the practice of capoeira had been deemed illegal. In 1890, only a year after the monarchy fell, capoeira was outlawed. According to the *código penal da rapública dos estados unidos do Brasil* of that year, its practice was penalized with two up to six months imprisonment (Rego, 1968, p. 292).

The designation of capoeira as "a danger to public order" is the next layer of this palimpsest of Memory. As authorities started to fear that these encounters would lead to rebellions, they were determined to abolish this practice entirely. Soon, capoeira was considered a forbidden, violent game, and capoeiras were arrested, punished, and even sent into exile[27]. Those who continued to practice capoeira were considered "um marginal, um delinqüente, em que a sociedade deveria vigiálo e as leis penais enquadrá-lo e puni-lo" (Rego, 1968, p. 291); capoeiras were associated with slaves, indigents, and rioters. Today, however, this practice is seen as a resistance movement and a means of freedom. Even though there are popular myths associating capoeiras with abolitionist and independentist movements, the truth is that, while these movements counted capoeiras among their participants, capoeiras themselves were not such. This was the case with the criminal actions attributed to capoeiras, as while there were, in fact, practitioners of capoeira who used their skills to commit crimes or those who learned it in order to do so, this was not the original purpose of the practice.

In the early twentieth century, some capoeiras were still being arrested, although they were typically charged with carrying weapons. The practice of this battle-dance started slowly to gain recognition. It soon became clear to some practitioners that capoeira needed to leave the streets and be taken into organized teaching institutions (Talmon-Chvaicer, 2008, p. 113). By this time, some capoeira schools were being opened in the country. Discontent with the negative image that capoeira had throughout the country (as it was routinely associated with tricksters

[27] As several capoerias were sent into exile to Africa, this allowed a bilateral cultural exchange, where Brazilian cultural manifestations were also exported to different African countries. Hence the difficulty of knowing where capoeira was initially practiced.

and rioting), Mestre Bimba[28] created a practice based upon the molds of society that the *Estado Novo*[29] sought to build in order to make the practice more suitable to the highest strata of society: Capoeira Regional (de Mello, 2008, p. 125). Thus, little by little, the status of capoeira transformed from "unruly conduct and hooliganism practiced by the lower classes" to "a martial art or sport taught in schools for the privileged" (Talmon-Chvaicer, 2008, p. 114). Although during the 1930s capoeira's integration in society started to change, it was Getulio Vargas' regime, the *Estado Novo,* that most significantly impacted its role in society.

This is yet another layer of capoeira: its political use[30] and its role in the construction of the nation. At this time, "intensive efforts were made to forge a national identity that would include the poor. [Thereby] the carnival, the samba, the Candomblé rituals, and capoeira [were endorsed, confirming] the legitimacy of African-Brazilian traditions and blacks" (Talmon-Chvaicer, 2008, p. 152). Getulio Vargas, searching for a way to legitimize of the state, intruded directly in the education and culture of the country, aiming to form a sense of common national identity, to produce a cultural rescue, and to simultaneously achieve modernization (de Mello, 2008, p. 124). It was during this time that, finally, capoeira was removed from the Brazilian penal code, a feat attributed to the Mestre Bimba:

> o grande pioneiro, é com êle que a capoeira é oficializada pelo goveêrno, como instrumento de educação física, conseguindo em 1937 certificado da então Secretaria da Educação, para a sua academia. Mestre Bimba foi o primeiro capoeirista, na história turbulenta da capoeira, em todo o Brasil a entrar em palácio governamental e se exibir, com seus alunos, para um governador, que queria mostrar a nossa herança cultural a seus amigos e autoridades convidados e como tal escolheu a outrora perseguida capoeira, justamente numa época em que estávamos sob um regime de ditadura violenta. (Rego, 1968, p. 315)

It is said that it was during this time that the evolution of capoeira in society began, "até se transformar num esporte nacional, tranquilo e decente como a feijoada e o samba" (Dias, 2001, p. 12). Many have claimed that the practice, in order to exist,

[28] Mestre Bimba (Manuel dos Reis Machado) is recognized as the creator of capoeira Regional.
[29] Inspired by the regime introduced in Portugal by António de Oliveira Salazar, also named *Estado Novo*
[30] Although little before its official ban, capoeira was related to politics, this involvement was "no sentido de controlar a participação dos [votantes], garantindo a fidelidade partidária por meio da intimidação e da violência explícita" (Dias, 2001, p. 114). Capoeiras served politics as agents of fear and control through their physical abilities.

had to change its original meaning, which was associated with criminality and violence. Thus, the institutionalization of capoeira was necessary in order for the sport to become a free practice, as Talmon-Chvaicer explains: "To get rid of the stigma attached to it, capoeira had to be institutionalized, nationalized, a health sport embodying both the policy of the government and the wants of the people" (2008, p. 172). Later, Talmon-Chvaicer continues, the military regime (1964 – 1985), "underscored this policy, presenting Brazil as nonracist and as a good example of racial integration. This policy gave [the country] entry into the international community and paved the way for diplomatic relations with many European and African states" (2008, p. 152). In order to support the myth of the racial democracy, African-Brazilian traditions needed to be endorsed.

These policies forced capoeira to adapt to the social model, which meant it was no longer practiced in the streets, but in sport academies; it went from physical violence to symbolic violence (de Mello, 2008, p. 125). This transition process created two types of capoeira: capoeira regional, the institutionalized, "whitened" and "Brazilianized" practice, which was a response to the changing times; and second, capoeira Angola, a more spiritual, "African" and original practice, which was a response to the "new" practice, its counterpart. It must be remembered that "these differences are more a matter of ideologies –"Brazilianists" versus "Africanists"– than skin color. Since the 1980s, and especially today, there are more white Angoleiros as well as black Regionais" (Talmon-Chvaicer, 2008, p. 158). So, through these different meanings of these two types of capoeira, this practice achieved worldwide fame. After years of marginalization, capoeira became one of the most important features of Brazil, and was recognized as the national sport in 1972, and as an intangible cultural heritage by UNESCO in 2014.

5.3.2 Body Movements

The practice of capoeira involves several elements that make it what it is, e.g., the musical instruments, the songs, the philosophy, the *malícia*, the ritual, the *roda*, the acrobatics, the techniques, and several other symbols that create this complex universe. Nonetheless, as the main characteristic of this palimpsest of Memory is its motion and given that we are aiming to highlight the importance of body memory in maintaining historical memories, since the "linguagem corporal da capoeira expressam estratégias de ação do negro para subverter estruturas de

representações presentes na sociedade mais ampla, relativas à condição do negro e seu lugar social" (Fonseca, 2017, p. 133). Thus, we are going to focus principally on the movements that might serve as the premiere example for showing the heterogeneity that characterizes this practice. Capoeira movements can be roughly divided into *effort* and *recovery*. Within the effort movements are the attack and defense, since capoeiras only contact each other at the exact moment of attacking and defending. The recovery movement gives the basis to change movement: a *ginga* (do Valle, 2008, p. 107). Thus, we will focus on two techniques in particular, *aú* and *ginga*, as they exemplify some of capoeira's most relevant features.

Ginga is the most basic movement of capoeira (see Figure 1). It literally means "to swing". It is considered the fundamental movement in capoeira: "todo movimento sai a partir da ginga, [...] serve para enganar o adversário como também para dar sua base para saltar o próximo movimento" (Mestre Cobra Mansa as cited in Fonseca, 2017, p. 127). Capoeira movements require technique, skill, acrobatics, but there also exists a non-verbal language that is being told. For this reason, the *malícia* (a sort of cunning to deceive) is frequently highlighted as an important part of this practice. The *ginga* allows the capoeira practitioner to surprise their opponent with unexpected movements, and in this the *malícia* then plays an important role. Thus, these essential characteristics of the capoeira game, surprise and cunning, are both evidenced through the *ginga* movement. Mariana Fonseca (2017), after speaking different capoeiras mestres, concluded that:

> ginga é a movimentação constante usada com o objetivo de enganar o oponente, driblar, confundir, possibilitar a fuga e ao mesmo tempo projetar um ataque, não ser um alvo fácil. Usado inicialmente para disfarçar a luta em dança; é também negociação, é diplomacia, evita o conflito direto; é o que dá beleza ao jogo, dá leveza à luta; é o momento em que o jogador mostra suas habilidades em dissimular e assim, pode fazer com o que o oponente "abra as guardas", permitindo que se vença o jogo. (p. 129)

Fonseca associates these meanings with the political and military trajectory of Queen Nzinga Mbandi, the popular African female monarch. The Angolan queen was also known by many other Kimbundu and Portuguese names, the most popular being Ana de Sousa (her Christian name), Zinga and Ginga. Fonseca points out that the

adjectives used to describe the *ginga* movement correspond to the characteristics attributed to the queen.

Figure 1: the *ginga*, a rocking step, allows a constants state of motion, preventing the capoeira from being an easy target.

Source: Sport Life[31]

According to Fonseca (2017), Nzinga, was always in a constant back and forth with regard to strategies to guarantee her political survival and command space. She therefore sought negotiation and diplomacy, deceived her enemies, and managed to escape them, or showed her strength in war through direct military confrontation when she had to. The *ginga*, in the capoeira game, likewise shows this ruse: the player gives clues that go to one side, but in fact goes to the other, conceals, and pretends to be friends, despite their true intention to attack (Fonseca, 2017, p. 132). Fonseca admits that the transmission of this story did not proceed consciously, yet "essa memória está impressa na corporeidade, no movimento contínuo e incessante de resistência negra, em nunca se entregar. Esse conhecimento está contido na movimentação da capoeira e na sua própria história, e isso sim, os mestres dominam" (2017, p. 135).

The other movement to discuss is the *aú,* the capoeira cartwheel. It is possible to execute a wide variety of moves from the *aú*. It differs slightly from acrobatic cartwheel, as far as the use of the feet is concerned, which is another main feature of capoeira: practitioners of capoeira predominantly use their lower body and their feet. This feature has resulted in a number of distinct hypotheses. As Matthias Röhrig Assunção (2005) recounts, one of the most widespread ideas is that enslaved people, capoeira's early practitioners, had their hands in chains and could only use their feet.

[31] Taken from: https://www.terra.com.br/vida-e-estilo/saude/bem-estar/6-movimentos-basicos-da-capoeira,153b7fc84f66441b1307a586d9da4fc9c4qujxta.html

Historical evidence, however, has suggested that it was actually the other way around: enslaved people "had their feet in shackles to prevent them from running away, leaving their hands free to work" (Assunção, 2005, p. 8). Another myth refers to a West African proverb that stated that hands are for building, whereas feet are for destroying, meaning that in a fight the use of Hands would not be encouraged. Nonetheless, Assunção refutes too this hypothesis, as there is not sufficient proof to support it.

Figure 2: the *aú* is a cartwheel; it is a combination of attack and defense
Source: encyclopedia rpgista[32]

The third hypothesis, the most likely according to Assunção's studies, is that this is a martial art inspired by the strength and agility of wild animals, particularly the zebra. In fact, due to the similarities found between capoeira and the *n'Golo* dance (the Zebra dance), it is widely believed that this may indeed be the true origin of the practice (Assunção, 2005, p. 23). The Angolan Zebra dance attempts to emulate how zebras fought, whereby the use of feet is a distinctive feature. In fact, some capoeira Angola schools, more connected with the African root, use a zebra as their logo. There are thus different hypotheses about the use of the feet in the practice, yet they are all related to an African origin in one way or another. The predominant use of feet is a feature that is also present in other African martial arts, such as *moringue* and *Danmyé*.

The *ginga* and the *aú* are likewise movements that highlight the African origins, both in a physical, warrior style as for the *aú*, and also in the mental resistance and strategy, as relates to the *ginga*. These are movements that keep the Memory of the past and Africans' arrival to Brazil intact. Both movements are also

[32] Taken from: http://enciclopediarpgista.weebly.com/capoeira1.html

surrounded by different myths that seek to understand the different meanings behind this practice. Thus, at the same time, their meanings have become hybridized, mixed, and heterogeneous, revealing a past that could not be expressed orally, but can be conveyed physically.

5.3.3 The Palimpsestuous: Transnational Network of Memory

Though today there are two types of capoeiras (capoeira Angola and regional), for this practice to be recognized as a national and international cultural manifestation, the existence of both turned out to be necessary. It is true that, in capoeira regional, the technical and professional aspects are more important than the African philosophies and traditions (Talmon-Chvaicer, 2008, p. 173), yet a strong spiritual connection remains in this battle-dance and mixed martial art. In fact, in both styles of capoeira, you "play" (*brincar capoeira*) rather than fighting or dancing it. This distinction is important, as it is connected to a deeper philosophical concept of how Africans understood life:

> For them, it was "play" in the African sense. In the Kongo, play is integral to a philosophy of life, a way to understand life, to prepare for it [...] Play contains all the necessary ingredients for living well, both physically and spiritually. It accustoms the body, muscles, and limbs to move flexible, steadily, and harmoniously. Joy and laughter generate positive energy [...] Thus while the authorities of that time believed the slaves were playing the game of capoeira, they were in fact preparing themselves for the trials and tribulations of slavery according to the Bantu tradition. (Talmon-Chvaicer, 2008, pp. 29-30)

Despite the different changes that the practice has undergone, its essence remains linked to its African origin. African heritage and Memory are kept alive through the practice of religions, festivities, music, dances, and even linguistic features. This practice "involves knowledge, repertoires of stories and scripts, implicit memory, bodily aspects such as habitus" (Erll, 2011, p. 14). Capoeira Angola has enhanced its African roots and supported the resistance myth. It is true that capoeira served the afro-descendants as a resistance activity (in the sense Talmon-Chvaicer described above), but not in the way that has been so widely spread (that is, as a preparation to attack their "owners"). These beliefs, however, are also an important part of this

practice, as they have helped to maintain a closer link with the early practitioners and reaffirm their connection to Africa.

On the other hand, capoeira regional also serves to somehow display its distinctive African cunning. As Luis Sergio Dias (2001) notes, capoeira resisted by its *astúcia* (a sort of ingenious and subtle craft), proved and strengthened through the overcoming of the (already mentioned) historical circumstances. Capoeira thus became an art of surviving, giving in when necessary to certain pressures and circumstances, and placing itself at the service of organized parts of society, that is, at the service of political parties (Dias, 2001, p. 112). It was this *astúcia*, what can be seen as the primary force behind the creation of the two types of capoeira and their subsequent global expansion. Capoeira should be seen more than "uma manifestação de apropriação pelas classes dominantes de uma manifestação de origem popular" (Dias, 2001, p. 147). Since a part of *astúcia* is the ability to adapt. Some features thus required adaptations in order to be accepted by society; this marginalized practice needed to be transformed to be widely accepted, "teve que abrir mão de seus valores históricos e adaptar-se as regras "modernizantes", "disciplinadores" e "civilizadoras" da modernidade, que em muitos momentos continuava a gerar mais "barbárie" do que "civilização". (de Mello, 2008, p. 137). Different social agents in society needed to participate and needed to engage in and with capoeira, which in a way resembles how the Memory of slavery requires the active involvement of several social actors in order to become incorporated into society.

Capoeira "não poderia ser analisada apenas como movimento exclusivamente de resistência negra" (Dias, 2001, 19), it was a political tool, an element of national identification. It remains a cultural battlefield and a historical sport. Nonetheless, the palimpsestuous of capoeira is the fact that it came and went back again, travelling and feeding off of these "travels". As Erlls (2011) has explained:

> Memories do not hold still – on the contrary, they seem to be constituted first of all through movement. What we are dealing with, therefore, is not so much (and perhaps not even metaphorically) 'sites' of memory, *lieux de mémoire*, but rather the 'travels' of memory, les voyages or les *mouvements de mémoire*. (p. 11)

This movement is not only seen in the practice itself, but also in its global travel. Africans brought it with them, then took it to Africa again, and then it expanded the practice through the world. This practice allows us to remember those who brought it

and why it was initially brought to Brazil. The palimpsestuous of capoeira is that it connected different people across the globe through what Erll identified as the transnationals network of Memory. As was explained in the first chapter of the present thesis, these are the ways in which Memory transcends and connects beyond nation-states, like in religions, politics, music culture, consumer culture, and sports do (Erll, 2011, p. 8). Capoira serves to generate a transnational network of Memory, as it is practiced and recognized in Brazil as well as around the world.

This practice exists in its contemporary forms exactly because of its travels, as Erll has pointed out: "'Travel' is therefore an expression of the principal logic of memory: its genesis and existence through movement" (2011, p. 11). The palimpsestuous of this practice thus exists in its ability to create a transnational network of Memory between people around the world who feel connected to its origins, its spirituality, its movements, in a way keeping alive the Memory of the forced African diaspora. There are capoeira schools in different cities across the world, which, for many, means they feel they must make a pilgrimage to Brazil. Thus, this Memory keeps moving, as people keep playing it, and participate in this Afro-Brazilian ritual performance, capable of mobilizing African memory and worldviews through their bodily movements (Fonseca, 2017, p. 124).

5.4 Heterogeneous Mode of Remembering

There are diverse traditions left by the Africans in the Americas. However, capoeira allows us to clearly highlight the plurality of socio-cultural meanings existing in Brazilian society, in slave societies, and in Memory itself, and this is why it can be understood as a heterogeneous mode. Cornejo-Polar (1994) claims that, "el concepto de heterogeneidad trataba de esclarecer la indole de procesos de producción discursiva en los que al menos una de sus instancias diferia, en cuanto filiación socio-etnico-cultural, de las otras" (p. 370). In capoeira, each of the various groups that have been historically involved in the practice are different and have held different positions in society, and, even today, understand this practice differently. In capoeira, there has always been "an obvious clash of interests between the authorities and the lower classes, who were not only trying to preserve their traditions but also had found a unique way to express their criticisms of their rulers" (Talmon-Chvaicer, 2008, p. 68). And in a heterogeneous society such as Brazil's, traditions and cultural manifestations, in general, cannot escape collision.

Thus, capoeira originated among Africans and afro descendants, was practiced by the lower classes, and then appropriated by the government and sold to the respectable classes. Now, it is practiced all over the world. Yet, all of these agents interacted in conflicting ways related to the creation, transformation, and consolidation of this practice, and are reflected in the worldwide reach of it and in the different meanings behind it. All of these agents were, however, necessary in producing its current form. The current status this practice has reached would not be such if it were not for all these processes.

Capoeira might as well be a representation of the heterogenic Brazilian society, that is, in Cornejo-Polar terms, *desgajada* and *beligerante.* This society benefited from the African cultural baggage, while at the same time neglected the social position of the African descendants' population; it feels ashamed of a slave past, while sells a "racial-democracy-way-of-life" and still denies a racist social structure. The people who benefited from it when compared to the people who suffered from it will of course not remember this past in the same way; they will likewise not see the AST with the same eyes. The AST is remembered too, heterogeneously. At the same time, the practice of capoeira shows the different meanings, involvement, and change of status of capoeira from an African, illegal, low-class practice –a threat to the empire– to the national sport of Brazil that is globally recognized and practiced. Or, as Talmon-Chavicer has noted, "capoeira, like other cultural manifestations such as samba, candomblé, and carnival had metamorphosed from an activity associated exclusively with black into a respectable and significantly Brazilian entity" (2008, p. 177). The reasons behind its practice are heterogeneous, as well. Some people feel connected to their ancestors, and see it as a form of African resistance, while others see it as a complete form of exercising or forming a community.

The involvement of different social actors and the collision of meanings is what make us recognize capoeira as a heterogeneous palimpsest of Memory itself, and simultaneously as a representation of a heterogeneous mode of remembering. According to Erll, heterogeneity is also a part of Memory. She points out that "there is the great internal heterogeneity of cultural remembering within the nation-state. Different social classes, generations, ethnicities, religious communities, and subcultures all generate their own, but in many ways intersecting, frameworks of memory" (Erll, 2011, p. 8). The heterogeneity of this practice must be seen through

the lens of its positioning, as the heterogeneity intended to highlight here is located at the conflictive intersection of two societies and two cultures (Cornejo-Polar, 1978, p. 8). In the case of Brazil, we could be referring to multiple societies and cultures, which points to a greater conflict and greater ambiguous zone. The heterogeneity proposed by Cornejo-Polar allows us to recognize that the collision of cultures he discusses can be found throughout the whole American continent, not only in the Andean region. Scholars tend to refer to the collision of local indigenous and European communities in Latin America, leaving the African imprint aside, which points out a more conflictive issue. Yet, this heterogeneity is readily evident there, too, among the African and afro descendants' communities.

6 Portugal

O mar com fim será grego ou romano,
o mar sem fim é português
—Fernando Pessoa, *Padrão*

In the almost remote, southwest corner of Europe lies Portugal, once an empire that stretched from Brazil to the East Indies. It may be possible to say that the character of the country has developed in tandem its geography, as the impossibility of expanding inland towards continental Europe forced them to focus more overseas (Jack, 2019, p. xvi) and made them skillful and tenacious sailors. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Portugal was a world power in economic, social, and cultural terms. It was recognized as the first global empire, though a brief one that only lasted 40 years. As the multiple overseas territories required a significant number of people and resources to be maintained, the Portuguese Empire gradually declined and slowly sank into history, overshadowed by the Spanish Empire and the figure of Christopher Columbus. Nonetheless, the Portuguese have continued to link their collectively held sense of national identity to being excellent sailors, adventurous and instinctive migrants.

Not in vain, it has even been said that *fado, the* Portuguese music genre, "originated at the time of the discoveries, aboard ship when sailors felt homesick" (Jack, 2019, p. 149). The most frequently repeated themes in *fado* are melancholy, nostalgia, and fate. It "is about loss and the lament of loss recalled; it is an expression of the Portuguese notion of *saudades*, that nostalgia which comes from the realization that was has been lost cannot be regained" (Jack, 2019, p. 149). Although there is also a theory that *fado* was brought to Portugal by enslaved Africans, its exact origins remain unclear. Whatever the answer, the ocean has undoubtedly contributed significantly to Portuguese culture, the relationship between the two is inseparable: modern Portugal culture is inextricably influenced by the Atlantic, its flavors and sounds. The following chapter is situated in Portugal's maritime climate. This chapter follows the same structure as the previous two. First, Portugal's history in terms of its involvement in the AST will be examined, enabling us to talk about the aftermath of this past. The urban toponymy of the city of Lisbon will then be discussed as the palimpsest of Memory, which will help us to understand the reasons behind the claim that it exists as a nostalgic mode of remembering.

6.1 Portugal and the Atlantic Slave Trade

Portugal was a pioneer in the European exploration of the coasts of Africa and India and was the first European power to establish contact with Africa. This enabled them to create "numerous trading posts along African coastal areas, opening the way to a sustained trade", thus becoming the first European kingdom that started "acquiring West Central African captives" (Araujo, 2017, p. 13). Nonetheless, the Portuguese position in the ATS is often overlooked or downplayed, in part because its leadership role is too complex to be simplified. On the one hand, the Iberian Union (which refers to the time between 1580 and 1640 when the Portuguese and Spanish crowns were unified) makes the individual role of each country during this time harder to delineate. On the other hand, the unprecedented situation of moving the empire to a colony (1815), which was not only larger but also wealthier, changed the center of the trade from Portugal to Brazil, technically making Portugal a colony. Further, although vessels carrying enslaved people were initially taken to Portuguese land to control tax payment, eventually many slave ships went straight to the Americas, due to the increasing demand for slave labor.

Nonetheless, in 1761 Marquis of Pombal released a law prohibiting the loading and transport of any enslaved Africans to Portugal, with the intent of reducing unemployment in the country and ensuring that the flow of the slave trade did not deviate from the colonies where slave labor was considered most necessary (Caldeira, 2016, p. 53). Hence, the discussion about the myth of the "pioneering abolitionist character" of the nation referenced at the beginning of this thesis. Unsurprisingly, at some point the African cities of Luanda and Benguela were managed by independent slave-owning and slave-trading merchants. According to Thomas (1997), in the mid-sixteenth century, the slave trade was the source on which the empire's economy primarily depended, and "[t]here were, naturally, more African slaves in Portugal than in any other European country" (p. 119). That said, since the seventeenth century, "Brazilian sugar farmers could afford black slaves; Lisbon noblemen could do so less and less" (p. 145). And by the eighteenth century, "the Portuguese themselves had long before ceased to be aggressive, or curious, imperial adventurers" (p. 365). With the independence of Brazil in 1822, Portugal lost its major commercial partner and therefore clung more tightly to its African colonies. The legislation related to the abolition of slavery in Portugal's colonies was

ratified by parliament in 1875, whereas in British colonies it had been outlawed nearly forty years earlier (Birmingham, 2015, p. 3).

6.2 An Overlooked Past

The Portuguese are recognized today as descendants from one of the oldest empires in world history and the longest European empire in Africa. It was, however, only after 1870 that the Portuguese empire began to consider that Africa would help maintain its preeminent status in the world, before then their main interest had been the trade of enslaved people. The idea of creating another colony the size of Brazil in Africa did not come to fruition, as Portuguese expansion, which sought to unite Angola and Mozambique, was halted by the British in what it is known as the *Ultimato britânico de 1890*. In 1910, the monarchy was revoked, and the republic was proclaimed in Lisbon. Not many years later, António de Oliveira Salazar assumed power and implemented the *Estado Novo*, a dictatorship regime that would survive until 1974 when the carnation revolution took place. This set the scene for the subsequent independence of the colonies, which had already been at war against Portugal for several years. Several Portuguese citizens who lived in the former colonies returned to the country following independence: the *retornados*. This burdened the Portuguese economy, which faced an increase in unemployment and had to grant subsidies and accommodate these new arrivals despite the fact that they had lost the markets of the newly independent African nations. Following difficult economic years, Portugal's entrance to the EEC in 1986 –what today is the European Union (EU)– marked a new era for the country.[33]

Portugal's entrance into the EEC made the country politically and economically more attractive for immigrants. However, since 1975 there had already been experiencing an increase in the immigrant population, most of whom came from Lusophone African countries, the former colonies (Padilla & Ortiz, 2012, p. 163). It should be remembered that, since the adoption of the 1761 law that prohibited the transport of slaves to Portugal, the African presence in Lisbon had been greatly reduced. Thus, as Santos explains, one of the greatest challenges that Afro Memory faces today in Portugal is the fact that most of the African presence is related to more recent waves of immigration rather than to the direct descendants of enslaved Africans. As a result, there exists a kind of discontinuity of this Memory,

[33] The outline of the historical context is grounded in Anderson, J. M. (2000).

resulting in the current "aphasia of the dark heritage" (Santos, 2020, p. 61). Thus, Afro-descendants were and are unable to integrate their memories fully into the country. Several scholars have pointed out that the collective Memory as relates to Portuguese colonialism and its role in the AST remains a work in progress (See for instance Araujo, 2020; Cardina & Martins, 2019; Santos, 2020), and still today is a point of contention in the country.

Portugal's complex, semi-peripheral condition, explains the Portuguese sociologist Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2002), caused Portuguese colonialism to be likewise semi-peripheral in itself. This implies that, in fact, the former empire was simply not efficient[34]. As a result, the country has dedicated itself to enhancing its greatest time through various policies and in order to avoid being labeled as what de Sousa Santos identified as the "colonized colonizer" (2002, p. 20). Consequently, it is possible to find two clear discourses when it comes to the past: *Lusotropicalism* and the *era dos descobrimentos*. Both ideas, of the good colonizer and the intrepid explorer, are related to a certain degree, in that both undermine the dark sides of history. During the *Estado Novo* (1933-1974), the myth of *Lusotropicalism* was spread as part of a campaign to try to legitimize the Portuguese presence in Africa. This is a theoretical construct developed by the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre during the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, which suggests that the Portuguese were somehow "better" colonizers than other European nations due to their civilizing mission and their comparatively tolerant and flexible capacities (Santos, 2020, p. 47)[35]. Likewise, the heroic time of the discoveries –roughly between the fifteenth century to the early seventeenth century– has been highlighted as the era when a nation gave "new worlds to the world" (Cardina & Martins, 2019, p. 118). The era of discovery has thus served as a way of legitimizing Portuguese colonization and its conquest of Africa, that is, as a legitimizing antechamber of Portugal's civilizing and christianizing role (Cardina & Martins, 2019, p. 118).

Thus, it seems that only one narrative has occupied the past, which highlights the greatness and kindness of these times, and allows the nation to not deal with

[34] In *Between Prospero and Caliban: Colonialism, Postcolonialism, and Inter-identity*, Boaventura de Sousa Santos discusses in more depth this topic. Contrasting the ambivalent position of the Portuguese empire, both colonizer and colonized (referring to it as an "informal colony" of England), he coins thus the notion of a "subaltern colonialism". Arguing, furthermore, that "because of lack of competence or power, Portuguese colonialism was often confused with solidarity, allowing for pockets of non-imperial relations inside the Empire itself" (De Sousa Santos, 2002, p. 35).

[35] In fact, this myth was thought to explain and promote racial democracy in Brazil, but it was strongly appropriated by the Portuguese.

other past events. In this way, when the colonial war began, it was not even perceived as such, but instead understood as terrorists attacking the nation. In Portugal, it was and still is referred to as the "Overseas war" rather than the "Colonial war" (Cardina & Martins, 2019, p. 118). The "soft colonialism" could never incite an unreasonable conflict. The topic of slavery has come to the fore in recent decades due to international pressure and new global dynamics. In the country, international pressure has functioned to finally make the issue part of the national discourse. As part of the UNESCO Slave Route Project, the city of Lagos opened a site that is dedicated to slavery, the *Mercado de Escravos*, which was inaugurated in 2016. Nonetheless, as Paula M. Santos (2020) has pointed out, the museum's rhetoric and poetics "presents the slave trade and the colonial system as early globalization" (p. 56) undermining the Portuguese role. So, as Ana Lucia Araujo (2020) puts it, Portugal's position on the Memory of the AST can perhaps best be summarized with the case of the Anel Verde Parking Lot in the Gafaria Valley in Lagos. In 2009, during the excavations that preceded its construction, what may well be one of the oldest European mass graves containing enslaved Africans from the AST era, was discovered. The grave contained the remains of 158 people. Similar sites had been uncovered in New York and Rio de Janeiro, under similar circumstances, which changed the original construction plans and memorials were built. In Portugal, these remains were extensively studied, yet "no memorial was established at the site. Instead, an underground parking lot now occupies the location of the waste dump, on top of which sits the Pro Putting Garden Lagos, a picturesque landscaped mini-golf course" (Araujo, 2020, p. 234). The human remains of the 158 enslaved Africans are still to this day stored in boxes in the city of Coimbra (Santos, 2020, p. 61).

Regardless of "Portugal's continuing refusal to face its history of slavery and its central involvement in the Atlantic slave trade, over the last decade, black citizens have played an important role in making Lisbon's slave past visible in the public space" (Araujo, 2020, p. 235). These citizens have assumed an important role in the dynamic Portuguese cultural landscape, including in the establishment of, and struggle for, an African Memory[36]. In fact, the planned memorial to slavery in the city, which was mentioned at the beginning of this paper, was initially proposed by

[36] Such as the African Lisbon Tour offered by Naky Gaglo, originally of Togo, West Africa, that seeks to spread untold African stories about the city.

Djass, an afro-Portuguese organization. This increasing political involvement of Afro movements is also reflected in the recent observation that slavery should be addressed in proposed plans to build a Museum of the Discoveries in the city (Santos, 2020, p. 60). Thus, when considering how authorities want to remember their past, it is important to look at these relatively unnoticed places that are undoubtedly part of the narrative of the city, as the following pages will seek to show through this palimpsest of Memory.

6.3 Lisbon Urban Toponymy as a Palimpsest of Memory

As one of the oldest cities in Europe, it is no surprise that Lisbon's architecture is so varied. Throughout its history, the city has been inhabited by people from diverse cultures and traditions: from the Celts to the Romans to the Moors. The construction of the *Castelo de São Jorge* reminds us, for example, of the former presence of Arabs in the city; the *Mosteiro dos Jerónimos* indicates the triumph of Catholicism; the *Torre de Belém*, constructed near Tagus river, underscores the city's deep connection with the Atlantic Ocean; and the *Padrão dos Descobrimentos* celebrates Portugal's era of exploration. These impressive buildings collectively narrate the city's past: the past that its inhabitants have decided to preserve in certain ways. Although it is interesting to understand what buildings, sites, and monuments have been deemed worthy of preservation as bearers and symbols of the past, referring to the materiality of a city nonetheless poses a dilemma. The landmarks of the city –of any city– have been established not just because of their innate meaning, but because of what meanings a given society has imparted upon (or ascribed to) them. They attempt to convey a limited narrative of what the city wants to be according to what it was. This phenomenon is exactly what Nora (1996) described in his work, *Les lieux de mémoire*. Choosing a landmark within the city of Lisbon would go against our intended aim here, as they have already reached the status that Nora describes, namely, as fixation points of Portugal's national history. As has been established previously, the goal in this thesis is to represent those elements that have not yet reached this status; therefore, this paper will refer to the space of the city. Put another way, this thesis will take the city as the place where Lisbon's residents interact, move, and inhabit, which will allow us to reveal and consider Memory in a novel way.

Toponymy, which refers to the study of names, is an important means through which to see how space is owned, as naming denotes not merely ownership but also an act of construction, an act of inventing a world for oneself. Lisbon's urban toponymy as the palimpsest of Memory allows us to understand just this. This palimpsest of memory enables us to view the different narratives of the nation in play, and how inhabiting the space reveals a way of inhabiting the world. Toponymy is an extensive topic of inquiry, meaning that taking each of the urban toponyms and examining them in-depth would exceed the scope of this thesis. Such an undertaking would be better tackled in a separate thesis. Therefore, an attempt will merely be made to understand their rhetoric and the reasons behind the decisions related to Lisbon's toponymy, as well as to focus on the toponyms of two particular neighborhoods that will exemplify what this palimpsest of Memory wants to show. In the following pages, the double structure of the palimpsest of Memory –the palimpsestic and the palimpsestuous– will be described. Through the palimpsestic, this paper will attempt to reveal the motives behind the narrative that the city tells us, layer by layer, while the palimpsestuous will delve into the more general narrative that is implicitly communicated through these toponyms.

6.3.1 The Palimpsestic: From Inhabiting the Empire to Inhabiting the World

The original layer of this palimpsest of Memory is situated in the symbolic power of naming. Historically, streets have taken names from elements associated with their surroundings. Nonetheless, the urban toponymy can be divided into two distinct categories. On the one hand, there are "neutral" names, i.e., streets named with numbers, and those that refer, for instance, to nature elements, e.g., animals or flowers. On the other hand, there is another, perhaps more colorful category that contains politicized topics, i.e., those based upon religious and public buildings, trades, geographical references, social and ethnic groups, signs, important figures, statesmen, military leaders, and writers (Milo, 1997, p. 364). It is in this second case that the study of urban toponymy uncovers the power of creating things with words (Bourdieu, 2007, p. 138). For instance, when the Portuguese monarchy came to an end at the beginning of the twentieth century, several toponyms in the city changed, creating the (then) new republic and breaking the association with the royalty in the city.

Situations such as these allow us to see the government's attitude toward naming. As historian Daniel Milo (1997) has pointed out, such situations "tell us about the *establishment*'s representations of the national memory and the nation's great men as well as about the means of promoting those representations" (p. 366). Milo situates this argument in terms similar to what is being explored in this thesis: street names represent somehow, in a silent way, the national sense of collective Memory, as any significant event for a country is reflected in cities' spaces. Milo notes that street toponyms allow us to "look beyond them to the societies that produced and used them or else ignored them" (Milo, 1997, p. 365). In this sense, then, toponymy "might perhaps serve as clues, in two respects: as manifestations of a community's collective memory and as external signs of notoriety. And that notoriety was in turn perpetuated by the fact that street names guaranteed it" (Milo, 1997, p. 365). It is this notoriety that reveals the palimpsestuous of Lisbon's urban toponymy, as will become more evident shortly.

The next layer of our palimpsest of Memory draws attention to its political use. In order to legitimize its regime, Salazar created a narrative based upon the greatness of the former empire. This narrative was reinforced in the city not just through the statuary but also through the urban toponymy. More specifically, the space of the city reminded the *Lisboetas* how great they were and how the country was closer to achieving this greatness again under the Salazar regime. Thus, since the mid-twentieth century during the *Estado novo*, Lisbon's City Council sought to "fix" the memories of places and figures related to Portuguese Expansion. As Peralta and Domingos (2019) have observed:

> After the military dictatorship in 1926, followed by the establishment of the Estado Novo regime in 1933, the development of a nationalist, integrationist and centralizing colonial policy was accompanied by the promotion of a true 'imperial mystique' related to empire. This mystique was based on the cult of heroes and the idea of a linear historical progression from the founding of the nation to the maritime empire. (p. 253)

Names related to the former empire and Portuguese expansion (including the historic figures involved) were thus integrated into the urban toponymy of the city. To this day, these names can be found in different corners of the city (e.g., Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, Dom Vasco da Gama, Dom Cristovão da Gama, São Francisco Xavier,

Dom Manuel I, among others). The inhabitants of the city thus resided in a mythical and heroic land, even while a dictatorship was installed.

Nonetheless, the nation knew how to adjust itself to changes such as these, which is the next layer of our palimpsest of Memory: supporting the myth of the friendly nation. As was previously mentioned, Portugal has long lived under the myth that the Portuguese were somehow "better", or more humane colonizers compared to other colonizers from other nations. This is also part of the narrative that is preserved by the urban toponymy: several names related to important figures of former colonies have been integrated into the city over these years. This constitutes a way of superficially recognizing their importance, while simultaneously pointing out the generosity of the Portuguese, who show themselves as a people who can recognize and appreciate international leaders (former rivals) and somehow support the myth of their innate sense of interculturalization. For this reason, it is possible to find the names of figures like Agostinho Neto, Amilcar Cabral, Eduardo Mondlane, Rainha do Congo, and Rainha das Ilhas das Cobras in Lisbon's urban toponymy. Nonetheless, a *Praça Cidade de Salazar*, apparently named after cities in the overseas territories[37] (according to the information provided by the CML) were respectively named after the Portuguese dictator. However, the cities do not hold this name anymore, after the independence they recovered their former names: N'dalatando (Angola), Matola (Mozambique), Baucau (Timor-Leste). The city of Lisbon has nonetheless maintained this name. It therefore symbolically has selected to not break the association with the former dictator and advocate for the autonomy of the former colonies.

The toponymy has adjusted itself to the new narratives and to the country's new global position, seemingly marketing itself as a friendly nation. The city has, of course, undergone new changes during the twentieth-first century, but these changes have had few implications to the dominant established narrative: "The transition to democracy did not obliterate the colonial past. Instead, it updated it to accommodate former legacies to new global languages" (Peralta & Domingos, 2019, p. 248).

[37] The cities were actually called *Vila Salazar*, however according to the official online site of *a* C*âmara Municipal de Lisboa* (CML), the name is after the village in Mozambique.

6.3.2 **Bairros**

Between avenues, alleys, paths, squares, sidewalks, holms, roads, and other types of streets, the city of Lisbon presently has about 3,658[38] *arruamentos*. This Portuguese word refers to all types of street construction layouts, essentially anything and everything that would go into a city plan. Today, these names show us what the country has decided to enhance, invent, and ignore. As it is obviously impossible to cover all 3,658 of these toponyms, we will focus on two *bairros* of the city in particular that will allow us to uncover the enduring imperial narrative promoted by and through the city: *bairro das colónias* and *bairro Parque das Nações*.

The *bairro das colónias*, was a planned neighborhood that was built between 1928 and 1932. The creation of a neighborhood seemed like a good opportunity, stated the City Council, to remember "o vasto império colonial que possuímos, e que até agora não tem sido devidamente lembrado nos vários bairros existentes em Lisboa. […] justo é que haja um Bairro das Colónias, onde cada rua tivésse o nome de uma cidade de cada colónia portuguêsa" (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1933)[39]. Thus, in 1933, the city legalized the toponyms of several of the former colonies, which allowed them to demonstrate how all of them "belong" to the Portuguese. In this way, then, the Portuguese capital's toponymy also refers to its former territories and colonies in what appears to be an excessive way (e.g., Rua de Cabo Verde, Rua de Angola, Rua de Moçambique, Rua de Timor, Av. do Brasil, Rua da Guiné, Rua da Macao, Rua da Ilha de Sao Tomé, R. Ilha do Príncipe, and Rua Cidade de Bissau, are some of the names that can be found). In Lisbon, it is possible to find the world through the international city –the city of the explorers– and locals, and visitors are constantly reminded of this globality. The only *praça* of the new neighborhood carries the same name, *Praça das Colónias*. Three months later, it was changed to *Praça do Ultramar*, yet the neighborhood kept its original name. However, since one of the proposals of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA)[40] was the end of the Colonial War (after the regime had been overthrown), in order to adjust them to the independence winds, it was decided to "homenagear as 5 novas nações nascidas no

[38] The information concerning the toponymy has been taken from the official online site of town hall, *a Câmara Municipal de Lisboa*, of the city of Portugal: www.cm-lisboa.pt.
[39] Notice (Edital) of the Lisbon City Council, of 19 Jun. 1933, found in *Câmara Municipal de Lisboa*, http://www.cm-lisboa.pt/toponimia
[40] It was an organization formed within the Portuguese army; it was responsible for instigating the Carnation Revolution of 1974.

continente africano" (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1975)[41]. In 1975, when the colonies gained the independence the *praça* became *Praça das Novas Nações*. However, only the name of the Square was changed; symbolically, the *bairro*, did not change, nor did the whole concept, as it is still possible to find within a small area all of the names of the now-former colonies.

The *bairro das colónias* is a residential area in central Lisbon. Less than 10km from it, in the peripheral area in Santa Cruz de Damaia, the *Bairro 6 de Maio* is located, one of the slum areas of Lisbon, which was illegally built in the 1970s by immigrants from former colonies, i.e., Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique. Cardoso and Perista (1994) noted that in the peripheries of Lisbon, the *bairros degradados*, are in many cases occupied almost exclusively by immigrants and, to a large extent, by people from the former Portuguese colonies. They are "profundamente afectadas por fenómenos de segregação sócio-espacial" (Cardoso & Perista, 1994, p. 103). Most of the original inhabitants of the *Bairro 6 de Maio* were migrants who arrived in Portugal after the independence of its African colonies and settled without legal documents or a proper job. Migrants continued arriving to the place, yet after the adoption of the Special Rehousing Program (PER) in 1993, several illegal neighborhoods on the periphery of the Portuguese capital have been demolished, including this residential area. Destroying the communities there established[42]. Residents of former colonies presence in the capital thus were welcome insofar as they functioned to promote Portugal's continued premiere, destination status. They were not, however, offered a suitable place to live for a long period of time. The binary between the colonizer and the colonized seemed to have thereby been adapted to the European and migrant dialectic.

The narrative of the global city has endured throughout the years. During the 1998 World Exposition held in Lisbon, for example, 500 years of Portuguese discoveries were commemorated and celebrated. The theme of the Exposition was *Os oceanos: um património para o futuro.* Thus, several toponyms of the city were altered to adjust to this specific Memory. The region where the Exposition was held was previously an abandoned industrial zone but was revitalized in 1998 to host the

[41] Notice (Edital) of the Lisbon City Council, of 17 Feb. 1975, found in *Câmara Municipal de Lisboa*, http://www.cm-lisboa.pt/toponimia

[42] More on this topic can be found in Teixeira, M. (2020, November 28). Bairro 6 de Maio: a luta ininterrupta de uma comunidade. *Sinalaberto*. https://www.sinalaberto.pt/bairro-6-de-maio-a-luta-ininterrupta-de-uma-comunidade/

event. Following the Expo, rather than dismantling everything, the place remained with all of the facilities and constructions and became the *bairro parque das Nações*. According to the City Council the streets of the event were named with toponyms related "aos oceanos, aos Descobrimentos Portugueses, aos aventureiros marítimos da literatura e banda desenhada mundial, a figuras de relevo para Portugal, a escritores portugueses ou obras de sua autoria e ainda alguns ligados à botânica" (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2009)[43]. With the conversion of the area into *Parque das Nações*, a total of 102 place names were made official. Yet since the 1940s, there had already existed toponyms that attempted to fix "as memórias dos lugares e figuras relacionados com a Expansão Portuguesa" (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1948)[44], thereby, many names were already taken. The names used could thus only refer to oceans and different nouns that likewise referred (and indeed romanticized) the era of exploration (e.g., Rua do Mar da China, Rua das Caravelas, Passeio dos Heróis do Mar). As other figures had already been used, the toponyms included globally famous figures, such as Avenida de Ulisses, Passeio Júlio Verne, or Travessa Robinson Crusoé. Thus, it seems that the city wanted to reinforce at all costs the association between maritime heroes and their land.

Today, *Parque das Nações* –constructed in celebration and perpetuation of the narrative of discovery– is one of the most modern areas of Lisbon: with futuristic architecture, street art, commercial shops and different forms of entertainment (such as Lisbon's only casino and the oceanarium), contrasting with the other architecture of the city. In this way, it seems that the city embraces its past to construct its future.

6.3.3 The Palimpsestuous: Canonical Past Narrative

The urban toponymy of Lisbon also refers, of course, to topics other than exploration, such as royalty, public figures, religious aspects, dates, events, nouns, professions, places, among other topics. However, it is not possible to ignore the symbolic message that the city clings to, as it is clear that the predominant narrative within the toponymy of the city is the myth of greatness in exploration: stories of heroic deeds, early globalization, and intercultural fraternity. The city has embraced this narrative as its official history, despite the fact that, as Ricœur warns, this

[43] Notice (Edital) of the Lisbon City Council, of 16 Sep. 2009, found in *Câmara Municipal de Lisboa*, http://www.cm-lisboa.pt/toponimia
[44] Notice (Edital) of the Lisbon City Council, of 29 Abr. 1948, ibid.

authorized, imposed, celebrated, and commemorated official past can present dangers:

> The resource of narrative then becomes the trap, when higher powers take over this emplotment and impose a canonical narrative by means of intimidation or seduction, fear or flattery. A devious form of forgetting is at work here, resulting from stripping the social actors of their original power to recount their actions themselves. But this dispossession is not without a secret complicity, which makes forgetting a semi-passive, semi-active behavior, as is seen in forgetting by avoidance, the expression of bad faith and its strategy of evasion motivated by an obscure will not to inform oneself, not to investigate the harm done by the citizen's environment, in short by a wanting-not-to-know. (Ricœur, 2010, pp. 448-449)

The collective Memory of the AST has thus been constructed through this general "wanting-not-to-know"; a passive evasion of dealing with AST in a head-on way, while nonetheless actively deciding which version of history to keep. This is what Ricœur would identify as an ambiguous form of forgetting, simultaneously semi-passive and semi-active, as what it has been told is only a part of the past. Yet, Ricœur concludes, "the responsibility of blindness falls on each one" (2010, p. 449).

When considering the names related to the AST, only the *Rua do Poço dos Negros*[45] [Well of the Blacks Street] and the *Travessa do Poço dos Negros* indicate something about this past and remind us of the city's involvement. The AST is present through its absence. Lisbon was once a point of transit for the enslaved Africans, who stopped through the city in route to the Americas. At one point in its history, it even had a House of slaves, in which all enslaved people were taken for tax control purposes. Yet, at the time this thesis is being written, the city has not paid any formal tribute to the victims of this inhume commerce, and the cultural Memory is instead constructed to neglect and/or obfuscate Portugal's role and responsibility in the AST[46]. The work of Memory is fighting against this official forgetting because,

[45] It is believed that these streets own their name to the circumstance that a well or ditch existed here where the corpses of the enslaved people were buried; the hypothesis is also accepted that the designation is a toponymic projection of any well, of the garden of the "black friars", which were those of S. Bento. Information taken from the official online site of town hall, *a câmara municipal de Lisboa*, of the city of Portugal: www.cm-lisboa.pt.

[46] An example of this position can be found in the article *Portugal e a escravatura: dois mal-entendidos* (2018), where Portugese historian and novelist João Pedro Marques refutes the accusation of Portugal's being "o recordista de negros escravizados e traficados de África para as Américas". Taken from: https://observador.pt/opiniao/portugal-e-a-escravatura-dois-mal-entendidos/

as Ricœur reminds us, the work of memory is also "a work of mourning" (Ricœur, 2010, p. 450), and there has not yet been mourning for the victims of this crime.

As mentioned previously, the future construction of a memorial has been planned, yet those plans go beyond the scope of this thesis. Nonetheless, we must refer to one prominent feature in the city that does address the history of the slave trade: the statue of the Marquis of Sá da Bandeira, defender of the abolition of slavery (see Figure 3). That said, the statue cannot be considered as a homage or memorial to the victims of slavery because the tribute is, in fact, to the Portuguese politician rather than an acknowledgment of the enslaved Africans, their suffering, or their struggles. A woman and a child are at the bottom of the statue and represent those who were enslaved. The child has a laurel wreath, the eternal symbol of triumph, and the woman points at Marquis, almost as if it belongs to him, apparently because he was an advocate for abolition, for him is the victory of abolition.

Figure 3: Statue of the Marquis of Sá da Bandeira in Lisbon
Source: Tripadvisor[47]

Lisbon's urban toponymy thus encompasses the changes that today create and construct the global city. Its palimpsestuous can be seen in its obsession with the past and simultaneously in its denial; the city's semi-passive and semi-active approach to forgetting and remembering is precisely in line with Ricœur's point. This ambiguous past, which results from the impossibility of separating the AST and the era of discovery, enhances the former while neglecting the other, and enables a nostalgic mode of remembering.

[47] Taken from: https://www.tripadvisor.de/Attraction_Review-g189158-d17710754-Reviews-Monumento_Marques_Sa_da_Bandeira-Lisbon_Lisbon_District_Central_Portugal.html

6.4 Nostalgic Mode of Remembering

As has been stated throughout this chapter, the collective and imaginary character of Portuguese national identity is inextricably connected to the country's relationship with the ocean: its journeys, its conquests, and its losses. The era of discovery has remained relevant in how the country defines its collective identity, which remains tinged with value and universalism, and regularly appears in an array of realms: in politics, sports, tourism, and advertising (Cardina & Martins, 2019, p. 118). This is when nostalgia begins to be instrumentalized politically, socially, and culturally (Lorcin, 2018, p. 284). Put simply, it is evident that such nostalgia sells. This commodification of the past occurs in different spheres and in diverse ways. Not surprisingly, there is a Portuguese word that refers to the feeling of longing and melancholy, *saudade*. The term refers specifically to a yearning for a happiness that has passed, or perhaps never even existed. Commodification, however, is not the only use of nostalgia. As Lorcin (2018) noted, "in a globalizing economy, the recycling of the paraphernalia of past empires, or colonial chic as it is sometimes called, is a reminder that the era of Western empires is still with us" (p. 273).

The politicization of certain moments or a former era of "past glory" "become tools to mask a politically suspect or unstable period" (Lorcin, 2018, p. 284). As we have seen, this narrative is often generally embraced during some of the most difficult times for the nation, i.e., the *Estado Novo*. This mode allows us to highlight the fact that, when the past is only seen through a good positive –a mythic lens– everything outside the scope of this lens is doomed to oblivion: nostalgia thus becomes "a cultural phenomenon, serving the function of silencing or obscuring past traumatic events" (Lorcin, 2018, p. 273). Similarly, A. Assman (2014) has observed this phenomenon:

> National memories are self-serving and therein closely aligned with political myths […] They are highly selective and composed in such a way that they are identity-enhancing and self-celebrating. […] When facing negative events in the past, there are only three honourable roles for the national collective to assume: that of the victor who has overcome the evil; that of the resistor who has heroically fought the evil; and that of the victim who has passively suffered the evil. Everything else lies outside the scope of these memory perspectives and is conveniently forgotten. (p. 553)

In fact, “nostalgia occludes the less desirable and highlights what is most memorable” (Lorcin, 2018, p. 274). As long as the hegemonic “grandeur” has political relevance, Lorcin contends, the echoes of former imperial power will not fall silent (2018, p. 285). As for now, however, the country sells itself as the “least racist country in Europe”, which does indicate an imminent ending. By obscuring their role in the AST, the possibility of any type of justice or reparation is denied in Portugal. Despite the fact that the AST functioned as a great source of money for the nation, the opportunity of constructing this “global city” was possible through its involvement in this lucrative and dark business. Put another way, without the money gained from the AST, the city would have not been able to become the city it is today. In fact, many of the great buildings, Jerónimos Monastery, for instance, would have not been possible without the money that the trade brought to the nation. There is a clear global narrative that the city wants to display, yet this image of the global city that its citizens seek to display is inextricable from the roots of the AST.

The city of Lisbon restricts itself to telling and showing how great it once was through its monuments, its buildings, and its urban toponymy. Nostalgia thus “becomes possible at the same time as utopia. The counterpart to the imagined future is the imagined past” (Chase & Shaw, 1989, p. 9). In Portugal, this imagined past has become a powerful tool of national identification. The fact that Lisbon has preserved the name of its former colonies in its street names appears to be a way to keep reminding the world that it was the former empire that named those places, nations that in some cases were larger than Portugal itself. There were times when the names and the narrative of the city were changed in order to adapt to the new times. However, some names have remained the same: nostalgia “not only cherishes the past for the distinctive qualities that are no longer present but also acknowledges the permanence of their absence” (Peter Fritzsche as cited in Lorcin, 2018, p. 272).

Conclusion

At this point, we must return to the beginning; this thesis' main objective was to analyze the transnational Memory of the Atlantic slave trade today and identify its modes of remembering through palimpsests of Memory in three Lusophone nations: Angola, Brazil, and Portugal. In order to accomplish this objective, it was necessary to break down some of these notions, which involved analyzing other, smaller objectives, such as contextualizing the use of transnational Memory, explaining the idea of modes of remembering, and introducing the palimpsests of Memory. For this reason, the thesis was divided into two parts. First, a theoretical part was summarized, which allowed us to respond to these purposes and set the groundwork for talking about modes and mediums of remembering in a transnational way. The second part of the present thesis was focused on the case studies in question and was dedicated to specific aspects in each of the Lusophone nations mentioned previously in order to accomplish the main objective.

In the first part of this thesis, diverse theoretical concepts were taken and in the context of Memory studies. In the first place, it was established that above all our understanding of the past is a cultural representation that comes from the present and is constructed within different cultural and social frameworks. As Memory answers the interests and desires of the contemporary moment, it works in response to the present and relates to current social and political issues. It is therefore possible to find not just different ways in which the past can be understood, but also to identify diverse cultural representations of the past. This is why writing about Memory is always an incomplete endeavor. As Elizabeth Jelin's (2002) stated, there is no such thing as *the* Memory. The realities of the countries in question are different, as is the way the memory of AST has existed in their societies. All of this inevitably led us to consider Maurice Halbwachs' (1992) insights regarding the collective Memory, which recognizes the importance of society in our current understanding of the past. Aleida and Jan Assman's (2011) notion of cultural and communicative Memory likewise contrasts institutional Memory and Memory that arises from social interaction. The present thesis has shown how, as Erll puts it, that studying Memory forces us to "look at certain mental, discursive, and habitual paradigms that were formed in long historical processes – via cultural memory, as it were" (2011, p. 5).

This work positioned itself within three different cultural and social frameworks of three Lusophone nations in question. It is not, however, limited to

them, because as Erll suggested, it is through the reconstruction of its routes (rather than its roots) that Memory can be studied (Erll, 2011, p. 11). In this vein, we followed the routes of the Atlantic slave trade, which is why we considered three different continents. This is a Memory that has crossed the borders of contemporary nation-states and can therefore be considered a transnational Memory. This denomination attempted to highlight the dialectical role that national borders play in Memory practices. Nonetheless, Astrid Erll's ideas on a travelling and transcultural Memory allowed us to reaffirm that it is not possible to refer to a "pure" Memory, because all memories produced in culture "are borrowed from elsewhere, inspired by neighbors, stolen from strangers. They are co-constructed and amalgamated" (2011, p. 6). It is thus not possible to speak of a close homogeneous representation of the past nor of closed sealed frameworks, as, with time, globalization, and technological advances, these frameworks have become more flexible. As a result, Memories are moving freely. That said, some Memories come to reach a global position, while others do not. The representation of the past also confronts hegemony, power, and manipulation, which is a characteristic that can be seen in the different nations involved in this paper. Thus, the study of Memory is always connected with forgetting, which is why it is important to question "not whether something is forgotten, but what and why" (Nowak, Kapralski & Niedźwiedzki, 2018, p. 244). Ricœur's (2010) notions about forgetting enabled us to reflect on the different types of forgetfulness that Memory faces, whereas his reflection on forgiveness allowed us to raise ethical concerns that cannot be detached from the horrendous past discussed here.

As far as the discussion of Memory as opposed to history is concerned, this thesis decided not to inscribe itself into it, but to rather follow Erll's proposal to understand different modes of remembering. In other words, it took the perspective of how they create the meaning of the past through an acknowledgment that it is continuously being re-constructed and re-presented. For this reason, the hypothesis that this thesis attempted to prove was that we can find, at least, three different modes of remembering the Atlantic slave trade: defiant, heterogeneous, and nostalgic modes. The categorization of these modes was done, respectively, through the ideas related to *subalternity* of Walter Mignolo (2005), *heterogeneity* of Cornejo-Polar (1978), and *nostalgia* of Patricia Lorcin (2018). Therefore, in order to capture spontaneous modes of remembering, it was necessary to find an element –a medium–

that allowed us to accomplish our objective. This is how the *palimpsests of Memory* appeared.

The figure of the palimpsest remains constantly open to reinscription and implies that future layers might arise, just like Memory itself; it is inevitably an incomplete endeavor, as new meaning and representations might come up. This term "determines how we view the past and the present and embodies within itself the promise of the future" (Dillon, 2005, p. 260). The *palimpsests of Memory* seek to be an alternative, a parallel to Nora's *Lieux de mémoire*, which are chosen as key notions of national history, in that they have been assigned as national Memory keepers. The *palimpsests of Memory* refer to those entities where Memory and history can be seen, but they have not yet reached a *Lieux de mémoire* status, whose meaning has also changed over time. The mediums of remembering are the elements through which the past is represented and produced. Thus, there is Memory *for* and *in* different mediums. The figure of the palimpsest allows us to see that the past lives around us, and that our Memory lies everywhere.

The palimpsests of Memory also presented their own methodology of understanding them. Sarah Dillon's (2005) conception and approach to the figure of the palimpsest and its double structure, the *palimpsestic* and the *palimpsestuous*, enabled us to develop a sort of methodological structure. Dillon proposes a more complex understanding of the structure of the palimpsest: a "more radical queer palimpsestuous reading" (2005, p. 257) that understands that the palimpsest exists because of these layers, this is the palimpsestuous. This means skipping the traditional understanding of the palimpsest that seeks only to uncover or reveal the layers behind it, focusing rather on these layers separately, this is the palimpsestic. As Dillon rightfully claims, a palimpsestic reading will mean the disintegration of the palimpsest. Yet, this thesis focused on both of these structures. Through the palimpsestic, it was possible to see the process that made it possible in the first place, that is, to observe its "becoming". Thus, despite the different characterization of our palimpsests of Memory, it was seen how power and control can invade different realms, as they were somehow, and at some point, used for political ends. Through the palimpsestuous, their ambiguity in meanings, stories, and memories was evident. Our three palimpsests of Memory were Angolan poetry, capoeira in Brazil, and the urban toponymy of the city of Lisbon.

Thus, the second part of this thesis presented the three different case studies, concerned with the three Lusophone nations, which share the same past. Studying these nations allowed us to develop and have a broader perspective on the involvement and impacts of the Atlantic slave trade in each nation and on the world as a whole. The differences in their participation, their involvement and the aftermath in each country were the reasons behind their choice. In each of these chapters, the same features were discussed and presented in the same order. Although these societies generally share the same past, they all lived a different one. When talking about the past of these nations, we noticed that their history is entangled, which makes it impossible to not refer to each individual nation in relation to the other constantly. And yet, it is nonetheless possible to find similarities between these nations. Slavery "is part of the history of the building of [these nations] and cannot be confined to one region or economic practice" (Sepúlveda dos Santos, 2008, p. 163). Therefore, it was necessary to review this past in different ways throughout the present thesis. This made it evident that "slavery is not something that happened in the past and ended with the political act of Abolition" (Sepúlveda dos Santos, 2008, p. 166), but is something that established labor and structural patterns based upon race that still persists globally.

In the chapter dedicated to Angola, we explored the country's narrative tradition. This chapter showed how this nation was exploited over centuries, which left deep marks in its society, while also contributing to the formation of a hegemonic world order. We discussed the notion of a "crowded past", as so many events had occurred in and to this nation that it has not yet been possible to stop, look back, and reflect upon their past. Nonetheless, Angolan poetry as the palimpsest of Memory showed us that the past is present in the verses. We argued that Angolan poetry played an important role in the independence aspirations, and that the production of Angola literature represents a defiant mode of representing and telling their past, one that has been controlled and influenced by the Portuguese. In the chapter, we read two Angolan poems that are both part of an anti-colonial and post-colonial poetry, in which it is possible to see the power of Angolan words. Here, using Walter Mignolo's (2005) theory on subalternity as a global state, it was possible to find a defiant mode of remembering.

In the chapter on Brazil, the practice of capoeira as the palimpsest of Memory allowed us to dig into the heterogeneity of Brazilian traditions, which resulted in a

heterogeneous mode of remembering. This mode attempted to show how different social agents within the national frameworks can be involved in the construction of Memory in distinct ways. This thereby exemplified what was explained during the first part of this thesis, namely, that the frameworks that are constructed within Memory are flexible and cannot be homogeneous. Employing the theory of Cornejo-Polar (1978) beyond the literacy space, it was possible to see how different agents of society interacted in conflicted manners in the formation of Brazilian traditions, particularly in what has been labeled the national sport. Cornejo-Polar intended to explain Andean society and its literary development, whose content, creators, audience, and main characters had their differences and yet complemented each other. By applying his theory to this work, we were able to establish a parallel in the Brazilian society and its traditions, even despite the difference of its origins, practitioners, executioners, and advertisements. In this chapter, it was described how the Africans became important cultural factors in the formation of the country, and how their position was never changed, discussed, or improved, even when its cultural contribution grew more significant. In the palimpsestic of capoeira, an historical recount was conducted, which revealed its different layers and the different changes of meanings. In this chapter, we delved specifically into two capoeira movements, which allowed us to understand how Memory can be maintained in the body.

The last chapter dealt with Portugal and its imperial nostalgia. After reviewing the nation's past and the fragile integration of African narratives into collective consciousness, it was possible to identify a canonical representation of the past, which essentially displays what is understood as their greatest era, and obscures almost all other memories. The country wanted to be recognized as a former magnificent imperial nation, but simultaneously be understood as a friendly actor, implying that their involvement in the AST and its colonial wars were just minor situations. They even suggested that their involvement was nothing but a minor consequence that occurred at the beginning of a global world. In this chapter, it was discussed how there is an imperial nostalgia that occupies the different spheres of national identity, and that leaves no space for conversations about inequity, racism, or colonialism. Using Patricia Lorcin's (2018) concepts related to imperial nostalgia, it was possible to understand how nostalgia can be commodified and politicized. Through the urban toponymy of Lisbon as a palimpsest of Memory, it was possible to see how a nostalgic mode of remembering is still present in the space of the city,

as the past is represented through its selective naming. In this chapter, we specifically uncover the toponyms of two neighborhoods of Lisbon, *bairro das colónias* and *bairro Parque das Nações*, in order to see how this imperial nostalgia is put into (and remains present in the city). As Lorcin claimed, studying nostalgia enables us to unravel "the complexities of memory and forgetting relative to empire" (Lorcin, 2018, p. 273).

As has been observed, the topics discussed here are so extensive and complex that this paper can only be an invitation; an invitation to learn and to investigate more about them, and to keep contributing to this debate on Memory. Reaching a final point in this thesis might not be possible. For, as has been stated throughout the paper, the nature of Memory is fragmentary and ephemeral. For now, however, the creation of a slavery memorial in Lisbon is proof of this inviolate fact. The memorial is planned to be completed by the end of the first quarter of 2021 and will open a whole new discussion that goes beyond the scope (thematically and temporally) of this work. The memorial, designed by an Angolan, will be placed in the heart of Portugal, and is intended to immortalize the triangle that his thesis has tried to construct. It consists of a plantation of 540 four-meter-high sugar canes, in black lacquered aluminum, reminiscent of the plantations in Brazil that the enslaved Africans were taken to work at. The Angolan artist Kiluanji Kia Henda, author of *Plantação - Prosperidade e Pesadelo* and the winner of the contest launched by the Lisbon City Council, emphasizes that "a reconciliação com o passado só pode acontecer desde que se reconheça primeiro, os erros do passado". (*Reconciliação*, 2020). It is as if he agrees with Ricœur: "The duty of memory is the duty to do justice, through memories, to an other than the self." (Ricœur, 2010, p.89)

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Deutsche Zusammenfassung

„Heutiges transnationales Gedächtnis an den atlantischen Sklavenhandel: Modi des Erinnerns in drei lusophonen Nationen“

Ziel dieser Arbeit ist es, das transnationale Gedächtnis heute an den atlantischen Sklavenhandel und seine Modi des Erinnerns durch Erinnerungspalimpseste in drei lusophonen Nationen zu analysieren: Angola, Brasilien und Portugal. Dazu ist es notwendig, damit einhergehende Begriffe aufzuschlüsseln, was weitere Untersuchungsaspekte nach sich zieht und eröffnen. Dazu zählen die Kontextualisierung der Verwendung des transnationalen Gedächtnisses, die Erklärung der Modi des Erinnerns (*modes of remembering*) und die Einführung des Erinnerungspalimpsests (*palimpsest of Memory*). Die Untersuchung gliedert sich in zwei Teile: In einen theoretischen Teil, der auf die oben genannten Aspekte eingeht und das Szenario schafft, um über die Modi und Medien des Erinnerns in einer transnationalen Weise sprechen zu können. Der zweite Teil konzentriert sich auf Fallstudien, die sich spezifisch jeder der oben genannten lusophonen Nationen widmen.

Der erste Teil greift verschiedene theoretische Konzepte auf und verortet diese im Horizont der Memory Studies. Ein Ergebnis der Analyse ist, dass insbesondere unser Verständnis der Vergangenheit eine kulturelle Repräsentation ist, die aus der Gegenwart kommt und innerhalb verschiedener kultureller und sozialer Rahmenbedingungen konstruiert wird. Da das Gedächtnis auf die Interessen und Wünsche der Gegenwart antwortet und in Reaktion auf die Gegenwart und aktuelle soziale und politische Fragen funktioniert, lassen sich nicht nur verschiedene Arten festmachen, wie die Vergangenheit verstanden werden kann, sondern auch unterschiedliche kulturelle Repräsentationen der Vergangenheit. Aus diesem Grund ist das Schreiben über die Erinnerung immer ein unvollständiges Unterfangen. Wie Elizabeth Jelin (2002) feststellt, gibt es nicht eine Erinnerung, sondern Erinnerungen, Visionen, Interpretationen und Geschichten. Die Realitäten der hier verglichenen Nationen sind unterschiedlich und damit auch die Art und Weise der Erinnerung an den atlantischen Sklavenhandel in ihren Gesellschaften. All dies führt uns unweigerlich zu Maurice Halbwachs (1992) Erkenntnissen über das kollektive Gedächtnis, das die Bedeutung der Gesellschaft für unser heutiges Verständnis der Vergangenheit anerkennt. Sowie zu Aleida und Jan Assmans (2011) Begriff des

kulturellen und kommunikativen Gedächtnisses, der das institutionelle Gedächtnis dem aus sozialer Interaktion entstehenden Gedächtnis gegenüberstellt. Die vorliegende Untersuchung zeigt, wie Astrid Erll (2011) es ausdrückt, dass das Studium des Gedächtnisses uns zwingt, bestimmte mentale, diskursive und gewohnheitsmäßige Paradigmen zu betrachten, die in langen historischen Prozessen über das kulturelle Gedächtnis gebildet wurden.

Diese Arbeit positioniert sich innerhalb drei verschiedener kultureller und sozialer Rahmen dreier lusophoner Nationen, ist aber nicht auf sie beschränkt. Denn wie Erll (2011) herausfand, kann die Erinnerung durch die Rekonstruktion ihrer Routen und nicht ihrer Wurzeln untersucht werden. Daher folgt diese Arbeit den Routen des atlantischen Sklavenhandels und erreicht so drei verschiedene Kontinente. Es handelt sich folglich um ein Gedächtnis, das die Grenzen von Nationalstaaten überschreitet. Es wird daher als ein transnationales Gedächtnis bezeichnet, das die dialektische Rolle hervorhebt, die nationale Grenzen in der Erinnerungspraxis spielen. Gleichwohl bekräftigen Erlls Ideen zu einem „reisenden" und transkulturellen Gedächtnis, dass es nicht möglich ist, sich auf ein „reines" Gedächtnis zu beziehen, da alle Erinnerungen, die in der Kultur produziert werden, von anderswo entliehen, von Nachbarn inspiriert oder von Fremden gestohlen sind. Sie sind ko-konstruiert und amalgamiert (Erlls, 2011). Es ist nicht möglich, von einer engen homogenen Darstellung der Vergangenheit und geschlossenen Rahmen zu sprechen, denn mit der Zeit, der Globalisierung und dem technologischen Fortschritt werden diese Rahmen flexibler, die Erinnerungen bewegen sich frei. Einige erreichen eine globale Position, während andere dies nicht tun. Auch die Darstellung der Vergangenheit ist mit Hegemonie, Macht und Manipulation konfrontiert. Ein Aspekt, der in den hier untersuchten drei Nationen deutlich wird. Die Erforschung des Gedächtnisses ist also immer mit dem Vergessen verbunden. Paul Ricœurs (2010) Vorstellungen über das Vergessen erlauben es, über die verschiedenen Arten des Vergessens zu reflektieren, mit denen das Gedächtnis konfrontiert ist, während seine Überlegungen zum Verzeihen es erlauben, ethische Fragen aufzuwerfen, die nicht von der hier diskutierten, grausamen Vergangenheit losgelöst werden können.

Diese Arbeit beabsichtigt nicht, sich in die Diskussion um Gedächtnis gegen Geschichte einzumischen, sondern folgt Erlls Rat, verschiedene Modi des Erinnerns zu verstehen. Die Arbeit versucht die Hypothese zu belegen, dass mindestens drei verschiedene Modi des Erinnerns an den atlantischen Sklavenhandel existieren: der

trotzige, der heterogene und der nostalgische Modus. Die Kategorisierung dieser Modi erfolgt jeweils anhand der Ideen zur Subalternität von Walter Mignolo (2005), zur Heterogenität von Antonio Cornejo-Polar (1978) und zur Nostalgie von Patricia Lorcin (2018). Um die spontanen Modi des Erinnerns zu erfassen, ist es daher notwendig, ein Element, bzw. ein Medium, vorzuschlagen, das es uns ermöglicht, das Ziel dieser Arbeit zu erreichen. Wir nennen sie die Erinnerungspalimpseste. Die Figur des Palimpsests bleibt immer offen für eine Neuschreibung und impliziert, dass zukünftige neue Schichten entstehen, auftauchen und hinzukommen können. Entsprechend dem Gedächtnis selbst, das immer ein unvollständiges Unterfangen ist, da jederzeit neue Bedeutungen und Repräsentationen sich entwickeln, herausbilden und auftauchen können. Wie Sarah Dillon (2005) anführt, bestimmt dieses Verständnis, wie wir die Vergangenheit und die Gegenwart betrachten und verkörpert in sich das Versprechen der Zukunft.

Die Erinnerungspalimpseste wollen als eine Alternative wahrgenommen werden, eine Parallele zu Noras *Lieux de mémoire* [Erinnerungsort], die als Schlüsselbegriffe in der nationalen Geschichte gewählt und als nationale Gedächtnisbewahrer eingesetzt werden. In Erinnerungspalimpsesten werden Erinnerung und Geschichte sichtbar. Ihre Bedeutung verändert sich im Laufe der Zeit und sie haben noch nicht den Status von *Lieux de mémoire* erreicht. Die Medien des Erinnerns (*medium of remembering*) sind die Elemente, durch die die Vergangenheit repräsentiert und produziert wird. Es gibt also ein Gedächtnis für und in verschiedenen Medien. Die Figur des Palimpsests erlaubt uns zu sehen, dass die Vergangenheit um uns herum lebt und dass unser Gedächtnis überall ist.

Die Erinnerungspalimpseste präsentieren auch ihre eigene Methodik. Dillons (2005) Verständnis und Herangehensweise an die Figur des Palimpsests und seine doppelte Struktur, *the palimpsestic* [die Palimpsestische] und *the palimpsestuous* [die Palimpsestuöse], erlaubt es uns, eine Art methodologische Struktur zu entwickeln. Dillon schlägt ein komplexeres Verständnis der Struktur des Palimpsests vor, nämlich eine radikalere unkonventionelle Lektüre, die versteht, dass das Palimpsest aufgrund dieser Schichten existiert. Das ist *the palimpsestuous*. Das bedeutet, das traditionelle Verständnis des Palimpsests zu überspringen, das nur versucht, die Schichten dahinter aufzudecken oder zu enthüllen und sich auf diese Schichten separat zu konzentrieren, das ist *the palimpsestic*. Zu Recht führt Dillon an, dass der reine Fokus auf eine Schicht den Zerfall des Palimpsests bedeuten würde. Daher

konzentriert sich diese Arbeit bei den drei ausgewählten Erinnerungspalimpsesten – die angolanische Poesie, Capoeira in Brasilien und die urbane Toponymie der Stadt Lissabon – bewusst auf beide dieser Strukturen: Durch das *palimpsestic* ist es möglich, den Prozess zu erkennen, der es überhaupt erst möglich macht. So wird trotz der unterschiedlichen Charakterisierung der hier behandelten Erinnerungspalimpseste gezeigt, wie Macht und Kontrolle in verschiedene Bereiche eindringen können, da sie irgendwie und irgendwann für politische Zwecke benutzt wurden. Durch die *palimpsestuous* werden ihre Mehrdeutigkeit von Bedeutungen, Geschichten und Erinnerungen sichtbar.

So behandelt der zweite Teil dieser Arbeit drei Fallstudien unterschiedlicher lusophonen Nationen, die jeweils die gleiche Vergangenheit in Bezug auf den Sklavenhandel teilen. Das Studium dieser Nationen ermöglicht uns eine breitere Perspektive auf die Beteiligung und die Auswirkungen des atlantischen Sklavenhandels. Der Unterschied in ihrer Beteiligung, ihrer Verwicklung und ihren Nachwirkungen ist der Grund für ihre Wahl. In jedem Kapitel werden dieselben Merkmale diskutiert und in derselben Reihenfolge dargestellt. Obwohl diese Gesellschaften die gleiche Vergangenheit haben, leben sie alle eine andere. Sprechen wir über die Vergangenheit dieser Nationen, stellen wir fest, dass ihre Geschichte miteinander verwoben ist, was es unmöglich macht, sich nicht ständig aufeinander zu beziehen. Ein Blick in die Vergangenheit dieser Nationen verdeutlicht, dass die Sklaverei, wie Sepúlveda dos Santos (2008) sagt, nicht etwas ist, das in der Vergangenheit geschah und mit dem politischen Akt der Abschaffung endete, sondern etwas ist, das rassenbasierte Arbeits- und Strukturmuster etablierte, die immer noch global fortbestehen.

So ist das vierte Kapitel Angola und dem Erinnerungspalimpsest angolanische Poesie gewidmet. Hier konzentrieren wir uns auf die Gedichte *Adeus à hora da largada* (1974) von Agostinho Neto und *Subpoesia* (1997) von José Luís Mendonça, um den Trotz der lusophonen afrikanischen Literaturen, ihre Denunziation und ihre Gegenerinnerung aufzuzeigen, um so mit der Analyse eines trotzigen Modus des Erinnerns (*defiant mode of remembering*) abzuschließen. Kapitel fünf ist Brasilien und dem Erinnerungspalimpsest Capoeira gewidmet. Anhand der Capoeira-Bewegungen *Ginga* und *Aú* untersucht dieses Kapitel, wie das Körpergedächtnis das historische Gedächtnis festhalten kann und wie das afrikanische Erbe einen heterogenen Modus des Erinnerns (*heterogeneous mode of*

remembering) provoziert. Kapitel sechs findet in Portugal statt und analysiert als Erinnerungspalimpsest die urbane Toponymie der Stadt Lissabon. Die Aufmerksamkeit richtet sich auf zwei Stadtviertel, *bairro das colónias* und *bairro Parque das Nações*, die es uns ermöglichen, einen nostalgischen Modus des Erinnerns (*nostalgic mode of remembering*) zu diskutieren.

Diese Arbeit versucht zum einen, einen weiteren Einblick in das Verständnis von Erinnerung zu geben, sich aber auch der Initiative „Internationale Dekade für Menschen afrikanischer Abstammung“ anzuschließen und einen Beitrag zur Rassismusdebatte zu leisten. Zum anderen soll eine neue Art und Weise, Gedächtnis zu verstehen, angeboten werden.