COLONIAL, ANTI-COLONIAL AND POST-COLONIAL MUSEUMS, COLLECTIONS AND EXHIBITIONS

MUSEUS, COLEÇÕES E EXPOSIÇÕES, COLONIAIS, ANTICOLONIAIS E PÓS-COLONIAIS

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The encounter of audiences with collections and exhibitions, in a given space, has a long and complex history (Bennett, 1995). This encounter constitutes a hermeneutical challenge, which changes every now and again, according to the needs of the moment and the objectives of each society and culture. The connection of objects and audiences, in a given time and context, is both complex and fluctuating. Museums, collections and exhibitions project representations of the world and narratives of the life of human communities, which conform to the standards of the most diverse curators, which sometimes have antagonistic views. Museums, collections and exhibitions are always regulated by political and programmatic objectives, and for that reason, they are open to multiple interpretations. Either the initiative of national states, revolutionary forces, or even counter-revolutionary movements, supporting established regimes, or on the contrary, attempting to alter the established order, museums, collections and exhibitions observe regimes of truth, that is, a general policy that elects certain discourses and makes they work as true (Foucault, 1980). Such a regime constitutes the condition for the possibility of the representations that a given community makes of itself and its time, as well as it formulates possibilities of meaning for the understanding of what is human. Audiences are not an abstract entity, and are naturally composed of people who have objective social and economic conditions of life; they do not exist a priori, but are the result of learning, reading and opportunities. To a certain extent, audiences are, as Warner (2002) points out, conditioned by the existing conflicts between interpretative ideologies and the intuitions of circulation, and it is from the controversial, provisional and infinite encounter between audiences and collections and exhibitions that Culture Audiences are made and unmade.

Museums are legitimate and legitimizing institutions for different discourses on the way memory is built, and they can play an important role in political transformations. Since they can no longer be ivory towers, they contain the possibility of destabilizing firm assumptions about the legacy of colonialism, dictatorship, genocide and war, with all

that these regimes and events involve in terms of injustice and discrimination. Museums have power, which can either be used to deconstruct established memory narratives, or to build new ones. As stated by Aldrich (2009), the challenge facing the heirs of colonial museums and collections is to stimulate and fulfil curiosity about the contemporary world, constructing bridges between collections and exhibitions and post-colonial communities, without denying or hiding the colonial conditions and historical complexity of the wonders on display.

Naturally, today more than ever, museums compete with multiple public and private *fora*, and with the endlessness of social networks spaces, for the interpretation of cultural heritage and the construction of memory (Berrett, 2012). If there are already numerous examples that allow us to trace the change from museums with encyclopaedic information worthy of princes of the renaissance and domestication of audiences, submission to visiting routines and rigid ways of seeing, to more inclusive museums, that promote active participation, open to the agency of audiences and more attentive to multiple voices and interpretations, many museums are still attached to a nation rationale, organizing themselves in order to project a homogeneous identity and limited relationships (Macdonald, 2003).

In the case of exhibitions, which are organized for predetermined time periods and which may leave memories of pacification and connection or of rupture and withdrawal, the study of the materials that survive (artefacts, catalogues, media news or posters), although unable to reproduce the experience of the exhibitions, allow the reconstruction of records of various discursive constructions. It follows that we can reflect on the articulation between the collections that exist in very specific places and the exhibitions made with them, and the aspirations, values and positioning of societies. We can even raise a series of questions that help us to think about this subject, such as the ways we choose to represent inconvenient and conflicting pasts, or how museums can write the history of the future with collections from the past.

This issue of the *Lusophone Journal of Cultural Studies* seeks to explore all these dimensions of museums, collections and exhibitions, that is, their representations, narratives and memories, when they intersect with the colonial, the anti-colonial and the post-colonial, that is, with the rescue, the denunciation and representation of subordination, and also with the legitimation of social movements. This number consists of seven thematic articles, three articles in the "Varia" section and a book review.

In the text "Looking for Mozambique in the National Museum of Ethnology, Portugal", a text framed in the project "Memories, cultures and identities: how the past weights on the present-day intercultural relations in Mozambique and Portugal" (FCT/Aga Khan), João Sarmento and Moisés de Lemos Martins explore the presence and invisibility of Mozambique at the Museu Nacional de Etnologia (National Museum of Ethnology), Lisbon. Despite Mozambique being quite central to the creation of this museum in colonial times, today, the museum's Mozambican collection is not very significant in the museum public exhibitions. Conducting a detailed analysis of the few Mozambican objects in display, Sarmento and Martins show how important it would be to decolonize

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the museum, articulating past, present and future, moving from the indigenous to the cosmopolitan, from tradition to innovation.

Lilia Abadia presents, in "Reconfigurations of lusotropicalism in monumental museums in Portuguese-speaking countries", a reflection on the national identity discourses in a selection of museums in Brazil and Portugal. Abadia proposes three different positions, which she names monumentalities, that enunciate, with different degrees of intensity, the lusotropicalist discourse. At the Museu Histórico Nacional (National Historical Museum) in Rio de Janeiro, there is a "monumentality inspired by tradition", that is, a monumentality based on the great narratives of national identity. At the Museu Nacional de Etnologia (National Museum of Ethnology) in Lisbon, we are faced with a "hidden monumentality", that is, the denial of an imperialist origin and epistemic violence. Finally, at the Museu Afro Brasil (Afro Brazil Museum) in Sao Paulo, Lilia Abadia identifies "antimodern monumentality" as a dominant position that seeks to build a counter-hegemonic discourse.

In "Decolonizing the museum: exhibition and mediation of African assets in European museums", Maria Isabel Roque focuses on the decolonization of museums, a process that implies rethinking power relations, cultural identities, devolutions, sharing curatorship and new exhibition proposals. Thinking in particular of the Europe-Africa relationship, and of the representations and presence of Africa in European museums, the text goes through examples of policies and cultural positions in European museums, which show the durability of ethnocentrism and the persistent flaws in the contextualization of objects and narratives. Defending the inevitability of the museum's decolonization process, the text emphasizes the need to question the colonial past, accepting it, but scrutinizing it, embracing policies that promote the diversity of readings and the inclusion and advancement of dialogue between voices from various communities.

Eduardo Adolfo Lichuge, in the text "Objectification of the Chopi music in the 'First Portuguese Colonial Exhibition' (Porto, 1934)", analyses the imperial ideology of the *Estado Novo*, its political agenda and the practices of cultural representation in a specific event. In particular, it investigates how Mozambican Chope musicians, *timbila* players, and their music, were decontextualized and transformed into objects for imperial consumption during the Colonial Exhibition of Porto in the 1930s. The author shows how the senses and meanings of Chope music as a cultural practice were transformed and circumscribed to acts of folk representation through Western performative models, and their aesthetics and morality.

In the text "Former football player Arthur Friedenreich in museums in the city of Sao Paulo", Bruno Abrahão, Francisco Caldas and Antonio Soares discuss the ambiguities of racial identification in Brazil through the figure of Arthur Friedenreich, the first great football idol Brazilian at the time of amateur football. With the study of the presence and representation of this footballer in museums in Sao Paulo, Brazil, the authors show how "Fried" or "el Tigre" was built as a symbol of the success of mixed-race football and a figure that marks racial tensions and whitening processes.

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Antunes Rafael Kaiumba Pinto and Maria Manuel Rocha Teixeira Baptista explore, in the text "Exotization in the colonial and post-colonial period: the case of Portugal dos Pequenitos", the absence of decolonization in the colonial representations of the theme park Portugal dos Pequenitos, built in Coimbra, in the 1930s. The text explores the origin of the discourses and representations that frame this place, and shows how even nowadays, Portugal dos Pequenitos treats colonialism as an anachronistic form of entertainment.

Carla Almeida, Bruno Abrahão and Francisco Caldas present the text "The Northeastern Brazilian dances in the museums about Luiz Gonzaga 'the king of baião'". Almeida discusses how museums as places of memory, represent the figure of Luiz Gonzaga, a Brazilian composer and musician, popularly known as the "Rei do Baião" (king of Baião). The study was carried out in three museums in the state of Pernambuco, Brazil, and illustrates the importance of perceiving the ways in which the musical culture of the northeast of the country, which carries in itself the dryness, joy, creativity, poverty and injustice of the Brazilian *Sertão*, is transmitted through museum exhibitions.

The "Varia" section presents an analysis of two literary works by Portuguese-speaking African authors, a reflection of the role of media in the construction of Africa, over time, and a study on literary tourism as part of cultural tourism, and the construction of digital itineraries in Lisbon, inspired by the writer Fernando Pessoa. In "Critique to reality in *Terra sonâmbula* and *Chuva braba*: culture, lyricism and memories", Martins Mapera focuses on African literature in Portuguese as a cultural manifestation that participates in the construction of identity. He analyses two novels: *Chuva Braba* (1956) by Cape Verdean Manuel Lopes and *Terra Sonâmbula* (1992) by Mozambican Mia Couto. Although departing from different times and spaces, both works share, in their approach, traces of instability, insecurity and unrest of the characters, in the context of experiences in situations of war and misery. In "Memories and narratives of Western media in Africa", Celestino Joanguete focuses on the production of news and reports about Africa by the main international radio and television channels. Joanguete presents an analysis that covers the relationship between the media and the continent, from the role of radio as a means of expanding Western imperialism, to the emergence of new narratives by African media, intermediated by contemporary social networks. In "Literature and tourism in digital: Lisbon and Fernando Pessoa", Bruno Sousa and Ana Anjo review the concepts of cultural tourism and literary tourism, and reflect on the potential of digitalization in tourism. In particular, the authors focus on tourism in the city of Lisbon, and more specifically, on the role that literary tourism can play. Taking the writer Fernando Pessoa as a case study, they discuss, in an exploratory way, the literary places of this writer in the capital, whether of a biographical nature or referring to his works. These places can be the transformed into personalized digital literary itineraries.

To conclude this issue, Vítor de Sousa presents a review of Lorenzo Macagno's book *A invenção do assimilado. Paradoxos do Colonialismo em Moçambique* (2019). According to Sousa, Macagno's work, which combines Political Anthropology and Social History, makes a critical analysis of the history of the assimilation process in Portuguese

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Africanist politics, in the period between the end of the 19th century and the mid-20th century.

Translation: João Sarmento

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Thematic articles | *Artigos temáticos*

Searching for Mozambique at the National Museum of Ethnology, Portugal

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Abstract

The Museu de Etnologia do Ultramar (Museum of Overseas Ethnology) – now called Museu Nacional de Etnologia (National Museum of Ethnology) – was inaugurated in 1965, in Lisbon. Its creation was mainly due to the action of the anthropologist Jorge Dias and his team of collaborators, more specifically a campaign to Mozambique, developed within the Mission for the Study of Ethnic Minorities (1958-1961). This paper aims at understanding the relationship between the presence and the invisibility of Mozambique in the Museu Nacional de Etnologia, through the current collections of the museum, temporary exhibitions related to Mozambique held over time, and the current permanent exhibition. The emergence of the Museu de Etnologia do Ultramar and the conditions in which it was established are put into context; a review of its evolution through a panoramic analysis of the several exhibitions that included objects from Mozambique and that were organised throughout over 50 years of existence is conducted; a study of the permanent exhibition "O Museu, muitas coisas", held since 2013 is done. It is concluded that Mozambique plays a significant role in the Museu Nacional de Etnologia, either due to its collections and material documents, and the many exhibitions organised by the museum throughout its history. Nevertheless, Mozambique is almost absent from its permanent exhibition, and the interpretation of the few items in exhibition needs to be revised, as it is anchored to the aesthetics of the objects, and does not promote any kind of critical thinking.

Keywords

National Museum of Ethnology; Mozambique; colonial; post-colonial

À procura de Moçambique no Museu Nacional de Etnologia, Portugal

Resumo

Em 1965, o Museu de Etnologia do Ultramar – hoje Museu Nacional de Etnologia – foi inaugurado em Lisboa. A sua criação resultou em muito da atividade do antropólogo Jorge Dias e da sua equipa de colaboradores, mais concretamente de uma campanha a Moçambique, desenvolvida no seio da Missão de Estudos das Minorias Étnicas do Ultramar (1958-1961). Este artigo procura entender a relação entre a presença e a invisibilidade de Moçambique no Museu Nacional de Etnologia, através do espólio atual do museu, das exposições temporárias relacionadas com Moçambique que foram realizadas ao longo do tempo, e da exposição permanente atual. Contextualiza-se o aparecimento do Museu de Etnologia do Ultramar e os moldes em que foi criado; analisa-se a sua evolução, através de uma análise panorâmica do conjunto de exposições que incluíram objetos de Moçambique e que foram sendo organizadas nos mais de 50 anos

da sua existência; e estuda-se a exposição permanente "O Museu, muitas coisas", em exibição desde 2013. Conclui-se que Moçambique ocupa um lugar de destaque no Museu Nacional de Etnologia, quer pelas suas coleções e materiais documentais, quer pelas diversas exposições organizadas pelo museu ao longo da sua história. No entanto, está praticamente ausente da sua exposição permanente, sendo que a interpretação dos poucos objetos de Moçambique em exposição, necessita de uma revisão, pois está ancorada na estética dos seus objetos e não estimula qualquer tipo de pensamento crítico.

Introduction

This paper draws on a very simple question and aims at understanding the connection between Mozambique's presence and invisibility in the Museu Nacional de Etnologia (National Museum of Ethnology) (MNE), in Lisbon, Portugal. This search is made through the museum's collection, its temporary exhibitions over the years and its permanent exhibition. Obviously, it is not only concerned with the fact that the creation of the former Museu de Etnologia do Ultramar (Museum of Overseas Ethnology) (MEU) was strongly connected to the work and initiative of anthropologist Jorge Dias and his collaborators who, at the time, conducted researches in Mozambique, but also as a result of the countless initiatives of the museum over time. It also falls under a more specific issue related to the project "Memories, cultures and identities: how the past weights on the present-day intercultural relations in Mozambique and Portugal?" developed by the Centro de Estudos de Comunicação e Sociedade (Communication and Society Research Centre) (2018-2021) and funded by FCT/Aga Khan Foundation. This project aims at reviewing the level of knowledge on culture, history, economy, and social representations in Mozambique and Portugal, one of the dimensions being the gathering and study of narratives passed on through museum collections. More specifically, the project intends to reinterpret colonial and post-colonial identities both from Portugal and Mozambique, using the representations and narratives in the collections of the national museums of ethnology of both countries. Naturally, we should bear in mind that the museum was created in colonial Portugal, Mozambique therefore being a province which was part of the national territory, and also that the Museu Nacional de Etnologia went through the transition to a democratic regime.

This paper intends to contribute to the study of the role of the Museu Nacional de Etnologia in the construction of narratives on Mozambique. We start with a contextualisation of the origin of the Museu de Etnologia do Ultramar, as well as the conditions in which it was created. Afterwards, we review its evolution through a panoramic analysis of the several exhibitions that included items from Mozambique and were held over more than fifty years of existence. We should also mention that due to space limitations the analysis of the exhibitions is mainly carried out through the corresponding catalogues,

which means that we have left out pamphlets, news in the press or photos that might support the reconstitutions of these events, audiences, reactions at the time, and a plethora of significant information. Finally, we analyse the permanent exhibition "O Museu, muitas coisas" (The Museum, many things) held since 2013, and particularly "the life" of eight Mozambican objects. The interpretative analysis on this exhibition, departures from the gaze of a visitor who moves through it freely, and who wonders about those items, taking only into consideration the information provided and the interaction with this exhibition place.

Ethnological museums and other cultures

In recent years, various social movements, actions and narratives in different parts of the world have contested European colonial heritage, and have contributed, even if tenuously, to the decolonisation of institutions, public spaces, ideas and ways of knowledge. It is essential to understand decolonisation as an ongoing process, slow but necessary, which raises questions, challenges and destabilises a set of colonial cultural and epistemic legacies and their effects throughout time. Theoretically speaking, we find context and contributions for the decolonisation of culture and history in authors such as Enrique Dussel (1974/2011), Walter Mignolo (2000), Ramon Grosfoguel (2007) and Anibal Quijano (2007), who rebuild the relationships between the global North and South and who have developed a decolonial thinking and practice. The work of Ngúgí wa Thiong'o (1981) on decolonising the mind is particularly relevant because it highlights the need to find other ways to position ourselves in the world, by weakening the construction of truth and the production of knowledge based on western patterns.

Museums, as cultural institutions, are obvious places for us to think and debate the decolonising of the mind, and have somewhat been on the radar when it comes to post-colonialism. The museums that deal more directly with the colonial past, through their themes, collections and items, have an even more important role to play. One of the pivotal dimensions of the debate on the decolonisation of museums, which shall not be addressed here, is the restitution of objects. This is a relevant and divisive issue which becomes rather significant when it comes to Anthropology and Ethnology museums. Amongst other actions, it involves a detailed knowledge of the methods and pathways of the acquisition of collections, a scientific, diplomatic, and political dialogue between parties, and both studying and considering new reception and safekeeping conditions. On this matter, it is worth mentioning the study by Sarr and Savoy (2018), which recommends the permanent restitution of all the items collected in Africa and moved to France without the consent of the country of origin, every time it is solicited by them and always as part of a collaborative process of data gathering, research and training activities. The dimension we shall try to explore concerns exhibitions and how various objects are presented to the public.

The Museu Nacional de Etnologia's background

If we were to consider the trajectory of a country that has once administered vast territories inhabited by people with such a cultural diversity, the creation of the Museu de Etnologia do Ultramar in 1965[1] may be seen as quite late. By that time there was no colonial museum although several institutions were involved in the "circulation and accumulation of objects, ideas and knowledge that referred to a certain vision over the empire" (Carvalho, 2015, p. 189). Several authors have already discussed the backgrounds of the Museu de Etnologia do Ultramar (Carvalho, 2015; Leal, 2011; Oliveira, 1971; Pereira, 1989), and that is why we shall address the matter very briefly. Naturally, to turn items from *cabinets*, treasures, Renaissance *kunstkammer*, natural history museums, spaces of curios and delight in the 17th and 18th centuries, into study spaces, which were ordered, classified and systematised collections, mostly from the 19th century on, was a major milestone in this process. University museums played a major role. Among the ones that stand out are the Museu Antropológico da Universidade de Coimbra (Museum of Anthropology of the University of Coimbra), which started its ethnographical collections with the Museu de História Natural da Universidade de Coimbra (Natural History Museum of the University of Coimbra), founded in 1772, and the Museu da Universidade do Porto (Museum of the University of Porto), mainly due to the role played by the anthropologist Mendes Correia and the creation of the Instituto de Antropologia (Institute of Anthropology), in the 20th century. The Academia de Ciências (Academy of Sciences), founded in 1779, had several colonial collections, even though they did not play a central role in the institution. The Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa (Lisbon Geographical Society), created in 1875, organised an ethnography museum, which benefitted from the annexation, in 1892, of the collections of the Museu Colonial de Lisboa (Lisbon's Colonial Museum), created a few years before, in 1870, and whose collection was then in disarray. This was when the Museu Colonial Etnográfico (Ethnographical Colonial Museum) was created, later the Museu de Etnologia do Ultramar, known as the Museu da Sociedade de Geografia (Museum of the Geographical Society), which comprised the materials of the colonial museum and donations from associates, heirs of the 19th century's explorers, mainly items coming from the Portuguese imperial space. Even though it had faced a decline in the 1930s, in the 1950s it was the "only public institution recognised by the State responsible for the connection with the colonies, as well as representing it officially in colonial and universal exhibitions" (Carvalho, 2015, p. 189). The Museu Etnográfico Português (Portuguese Ethnographic Museum) was inaugurated in 1893, and was run by José Leite de Vasconcelos; four years later it was renamed Museu Etnológico Português (Portuguese Ethnology Museum). It included two dimensions, the archaeological past and the ethnographical present, despite having always been more inclined to the former (Leal, 2011). Finally, we ought to mention the establishment of the Museu de Arte Popular (Popular Art Museum), thanks to António Ferro (idealised in 1935 and materialised in 1948, after the "Exposição do Mundo Português" [Portuguese World Exhibition]), a

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[1] Formal date of its creation by Decree-Law No. 46254 of March 19.

museum of an eminently rural country, highly decorative and shaped around the folklorist idea of national identity.

The Museu Nacional de Etnologia through six exhibitions

Jorge Dias (1907-1973), key-figure of the establishment of the Museu Nacional de Etnologia, idealised the institution as a space where overseas and metropole, as well as other places over the world, should be represented. There would be a compromise between the inclusion of Portuguese ethnography (mainland and islands) and a geographical coverage which surpassed the restricted view of overseas territories under Portuguese administration (Brito, 2000). Departing from a survey of all the exhibitions held by the Museu Nacional de Etnologia, it was possible to identify six with references to Mozambique, that are crucial for the museum's identity. It is important to mention that, on the one hand, the exhibitions are older than the museum's formal constitution, the first being held in 1959, and that, on the other hand, many of them took place in other venues rather than the Museu Nacional de Etnologia. What follows is a description of a few of the characteristics of these six specific exhibitions.

"Vida e arte do povo maconde" (Life and art of the Makonde people), 1959

The origin of the Museu Nacional de Etnologia is strongly connected to the Makonde culture in Mozambique. The 1959 exhibition, inaugurated on the February 02, was held at Palácio Foz (Exhibition Room of the National Secretariat of Information), and was called "Vida e arte do povo maconde". It exhibited dozens of items and hundreds of photographs, and, according to Pereira (1989, p. 570), it was the "cornerstone of a true ethnological museology in Portugal" and "opening moment of a new perception of African art in Portugal" (Pereira, 2010, p. 22). The exhibition was made with items used or manufactured by the Makonde people of Northern Mozambique, a plateau that stretches to both north and south banks of the Rovuma. Those items were gathered during the 1958 campaign of the Missão de Estudos das Minorias Étnicas do Ultramar Português (Mission for the Study of Ethnic Minorities) (MEMEUP), a mission created by the Junta de Investigação do Ultramar (Overseas Research Board) (JIU), in 1957, and extended to 1961. The mission was led by Jorge Dias, and his assistants, Manuel Viegas Guerreiro, and Margot Schmidt Dias. The gathering of items was considered a "modest contribution to the future museum of the Portuguese people here and overseas" (MEMEUP, 1959, n. p.). The brochure of the exhibition "Vida e arte do povo maconde" refers the fact that it served mainly to "draw attention of the Portuguese living in the Metropole" towards what is being done and needs to be done (MEMEUP, 1959, n. p.). Even if Oliveira (1989, p. 57) mentioned that the exhibition was already related to "the idea of creating a museum lacking in the country's museological context", and this was also what Jorge Dias stood for, what the supervising organism intended was an updated version of a colonial museum, which could be somewhat open to the outside world, but little or none to do with the rural metropole. The pieces shown at the 1959 exhibition would be, before

the museum even existed, the first ones in the institution established later, and which got the very first inventory numbers.

The international context also influenced the commitment of the governing ministry in the creation of a museum focused on the overseas and that sought to glorify the narrative of the Portuguese expansion in the world and of the Portuguese people itself. The museum or school museum was first located at a basement of the Instituto Superior de Estudos Ultramarinos (Higher Institute for Overseas Studies) (an institution chaired by Adriano Moreira), at Praça do Príncipe Real, on July 01, 1960. In this regard, it is interesting to analyse the proposal to the scientific board of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, made by the geographer Orlando Ribeiro and by Jorge Dias, in 1961 (Ribeiro, 2013, pp. 263-268), and that points out to another direction. In the proposal, the authors provide context to the proposal for an Instituto da Terra e do Homem (Institute for the Earth and Mankind), through the existence of two experienced research centres: the Centro de Estudos de Etnologia Peninsular (Centre for Peninsular Ethnology Studies), led by Jorge Dias, and the Centro de Estudos Geográficos (Centre for Geographical Studies), led by Orlando Ribeiro. This institute would serve as a research cluster dedicated to studying Geography and Ethnography, would have a journal also called *A Terra e o Homem*, and Museu da Terra e do Homem (Museum of Earth and Mankind). Even if the institute were to dedicate most of its activity to studying issues related to Portuguese civilisation, including the archipelagos, the overseas, Brazil, and other territories under Portuguese influence, it would not limit its territorial action to these areas. But the museum, proposed as being outdoors, would be organised around the Portuguese rural and maritime civilisation of Portugal. There, "different kinds of rural houses, farm implements, household items, home industries, mills, norias, diverse agricultural facilities, fisheries, boats, fishing systems, etc." would be gathered (Ribeiro, 2013, p. 265). These ideas ended up not materialising. Jorge Dias dedicated himself to studying the Portuguese culture (traditional technologies of the Portuguese rural world) since the end of the 1940s.

Surrounded by a team of collaborators in the Centro de Estudos de Etnologia Peninsulares (Centre for Peninsular Ethnology Studies), among whom we should point out Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira (1910-1990), Fernando Galhano (1904-1995), and Benjamim Enes Pereira (1928-2020), the anthropologist was the major figure in the creation of the Museu de Etnologia do Ultramar, a museum that should represent all cultures of all people on Earth (Oliveira, 1971). By the end of 1962, and under the scope of the Junta de Investigação do Ultramar, the Missão Organizadora do Museu do Ultramar (Organising Committee of the Overseas Museum) was created, and worked along with the Centro de Estudos de Antropologia Cultural (Centre for Cultural Anthropology Studies), created in that same year, in the gathering, study, and cataloguing of all the material and documentation needed for the future museum (MEU, 1972).

It is important to make a pause in order to highlight the itinerant nature of the museum in its initial phase, in the sense that it moved substantially around the city of Lisbon, and all over the country, if we are to consider the exhibitions held. In short, the moving museum could be summed up as follows. After having gathered a small group of Makonde items at the Praça do Príncipe Real, which resulted from the campaigns in

Africa, in 1962, these items were to be found in the former Palácio Burnay, in Junqueira street. The space became quite tight and, in April 1963, there was another move, now to the Museu Agrícola do Ultramar (Overseas Agricultural Museum), in Belém. It was thought at the time that there was a chance to make a building in the museum's garden, but with the collection enlargement, by acquisition and donation, one-off and more systematic collecting, it had to move once again, this time to a building in Rodrigo da Fonseca street. By the end of 1965, the museum was already officially created and was transferred to a section of Palácio Vale-Flor. Finally, in 1976, it found its place in Ilha da Madeira avenue, in Belém, symptomatically situated opposite the Overseas Ministry (today Ministry of Defence), where it still remains (see Ferreira, 2016, for a discussion about the connections between these buildings and institutions).

"Povos e Culturas" (Peoples and Cultures), 1972

Following the Museu de Etnologia do Ultramar publication in 1968 of the book *Escultura africana no Museu de Etnologia do Ultramar* (African sculpture in the Overseas Ethnology Museum), and an exhibition on the subject, which took place at the Museu José Malhoa (José Malhoa Museum), in Caldas da Rainha, a second big exhibition with Mozambican items was held in 1972, at the Galeria Nacional de Arte Moderna (National Gallery of Modern Art). The related publication is an extensive catalogue and the initial texts reveal an intense activity of collecting from a huge diversity of peoples and cultures, mostly during the 1960s. At this point, the Museu de Etnologia do Ultramar had around 20 thousand items, mostly from the Portuguese overseas territories, but also from the metropole and other parts of the world. This publication identifies the origin of these items, from its collecting during field work in missions organised by Junta de Investigação do Ultramar, to purchase from collectors, and donations. The exhibition showed the public a total of 609 items, mostly African (451), but also from South America (77), Afghanistan (seven), India (five), Macao (eight), Indonesia (seven) and Timor (54) (MEU, 1972). Approximately 10% of the items were from Mozambique (58)[2], and the catalogue included photos from 18 of them. If it is true that the museum originated from a Makonde collection, the acquisition of 995 items in 1963, from sculptures, masks to other African art objects (Western Sudan, Gulf of Guinea, Ivory Coast and Nigeria), which resulted from a private expedition by Françoise and Vítor Bandeira in 1961, marked the breaking of the space limits of the Portuguese empire. This was the first large collection of the museum, which corresponds to a space outside the Portuguese overseas.

"Modernismo e arte negro-africana"(Modernism and black African art), 1976

Signalling the tension between the "within and beyond the sea" worlds, was the refusal, in 1973, by the government, that is, the Junta de Investigação do Ultramar, to inaugurate the museum with the exhibition called "Vida Pastoril em Portugal" (Pastoral life

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[2] Items 470 to 528.

in Portugal) (Gouveia, 1997). Later on, with the end of the dictatorship, it was possible to organise in Lisbon, in September 1976, the 28th General Assembly of the International Association of Art Critics, based on the subject "Modern art and black African art: reciprocal relationships. In the context of its activities", there were several exhibitions, one of them being "Modernismo e arte negro-africana", which was held at the new building that housed the Museu de Etnologia do Ultramar, a building yet to inaugurate. The section concerning black African art was composed of a selection of the museum's sculptures. According to Oliveira (1976, p. 15), the exhibition of around 200 pieces of African art allowed to get in touch with artists "who were totally unknown – to us – and who had never left their corner in the bush"[3]. These 220 pieces, predominantly from Guinea Bissau (65), Angola (53), and Ivory Coast (38), also included five items from Mozambique (four Makonde – mask, pot, stick, and spatula; and one *tsonga* – headrest). In 1968, a catalogue named *Escultura africana no Museu de Etnologia do Ultramar* (African sculpture at the Museum of Overseas Ethnology) was published, which included 210 pieces, nine of them from Mozambique. The introductory text anticipated the 1976 discussions:

> in Africa there is an extremely powerful art, which is not really primitive, it is a perfectly elaborated art in full possession of its means and which expresses the complex mental world of its authors, going from the most excessive realism to the most severe abstraction. (MEU, 1968, n. p.)

The section of the 1976 exhibition connected to modernism included a set of works by Picasso, Nolde, and Modigliani, which originated from several European museums and which attracted many visitors[4]. At a first glance, all the works were presented under the same "conditions and terms", detracted from their ethnographic contexts, with the public being held responsible for the aesthetic and plastic evaluation intrinsic to them. It was an attempt to fight preconceptions about African sculptures, as well as those relating to other material elements, as curious testimonies of primitive and wild peoples. This was the standpoint of expressionists, fauvists, and cubists who, in the early 20th century, began to understand "black art" as new and superior, as being disconnected from what was fleeting and imitative (Oliveira, 1985). Anyway, if the works by Western modernist artists had an indication of their individual authorship, the African works were anonymous with an indication of being created by an African people or ethnicity.

The edition of the exhibition's catalogue only mentioned the Museu Nacional de Etnologia. Under the scope of this international meeting, there were different topics being addressed, among which modern art and the discovery of black African art; nature and art's role in Europe and Africa – changing the concept of art; European art from an

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[3] Take notice of the description made, which refers to the corner as a remote and enclosed periphery, a space in the bush, wild and primal. As a brief counterpoint to this perspective, it is mentioned that already in 1959, in Dar-es-Salaam, the Makonde people were behind the creation of a nationalist organisation (MANU) which was later part of the Mozambique Liberation Front. With a strong participation in the fight for liberation, the Makonde sculptors, organised themselves into cooperatives, contributing financially, by selling their art, to the war front's expenses (Carvalho, 1989). To generically place the Makonde artists in isolation, in the corner and in the bush, is a Western paternalist fiction.

[4] See the list of borrowed works, drawn up by Luís Porfírio, in 1976 (Barão, 2015).

African perspective; a changing Ethnology; going towards an anthropological openness (Nogueira, 2013). The following year, this same exhibition was held in Porto, in a shorter version (Oliveira, 1985). The meeting of art critics and the exhibition were used to debate the fate and future of the Museu de Etnologia do Ultramar (Sousa, 1976), but the following year, due to the lack of material and human resources, the museum was closed. Its team, however, continued organising and holding exhibitions outside the museum space.

"Escultura africana em Portugal" (African sculpture in Portugal), 1985

More than eight years later, the museum reopened (December 03, 1985), having organised three exhibitions for this occasion: "Têxteis, tecnologia e simbolismo" (Textiles, technology and symbolism); "Desenho etnográfico de Fernando Galhano" (Fernando Galhano's ethnographic drawing); "Escultura africana em Portugal" (African sculpture in Portugal). Catalogues to all exhibitions were made. The second volume of the work *Desenho etnográfico de Fernando Galhano* (Fernando Galhano's ethnographic drawing) (Galhano, 1985) is dedicated to Africa and takes up the Makonde theme with 37 drawings, from the typical village, the houses, numerous rituals, different items (witchcraft, agricultural implements, musical instruments), ornamental, and tattoo patterns. The catalogue of the exhibition "Escultura africana em Portugal" (African sculpture in Portugal) shows the great diversity of African sculptures from public and private Portuguese collections, and includes 153 works, eight of which from Mozambique (MNE, 1985). From these eight, seven refer to the Makonde, five coming from the Museu da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa (Museum of the Lisbon Geographical Society), and the rest from the own museum.

"Na presença dos Espíritos: arte africana do Museu Nacional de Etnologia" (In the presence of Spirits: African art of the National Museum of Ethnology), 2002

This exhibition, curated by Frank Herreman, composed of about 140 pieces from the Museu Nacional de Etnologia, was organised by the Museum for African Art in New York, and was held from September to December 2000. It then toured around the US for about one year (Flint Institute of Arts, Michigan, February-March, 2001; Smithsonian National Museum of African Art, Washington D.C., June-September, 2001: Birmingham Museum of Art, Alabama, October-December, 2001). It travelled then to Portugal and was held at the renovated areas of the Museu Nacional de Etnologia, between February 2002 and March 2003. The pieces chosen were mainly from the Angolan collections (among which a set of dolls from the Southwest of Angola, which later resulted in one of the modules of the permanent exhibition)[5] and Guinea-Bissau (mostly from the Bijagos archipelago)[6]. The exhibition, however, started with a set of masks from Western Africa

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[5] Two exhibitions had already been held in Lisbon: "Angola, Povos e Culturas" (Angola, Peoples and Cultures) (1987) and "Escultura Angolana, Memorial de Culturas" (Angolan Sculpture, Memorial of Cultures) (1994).

[6] One exhibition had already been held in Lisbon: "Esculturas e Objectos Decorados da Guiné Portuguesa no Museu de Etnologia do Ultramar" (Sculptures and Decorated Objects from Portuguese Guinea at the Museum of Overseas Ethnology)

and headrests from Southern Africa, among which two from Mozambique (*tsonga* and *shona*). The reason why one of the museum's most systematic collections was not included – the Makonde sculptures – was the fact that at the time, a preparatory study for an exhibition with these objects was being made (Brito, 2000). The exhibition "Viagem aos Maconde" (Travel to the Maconde) was already mentioned in the 2005 activities report (Carvalho, 2015), has not been held yet.

"Na ponta dos Dedos: lamelofones do Museu Nacional de Etnologia" (At the fingertips: lamellophones in the National Museum of Ethnology), 2002

This exhibition, whose catalogue is named *Lamelofones do Museu Nacional de Etnologia* (Lamellophones of the National Museum of Ethnology) (Kubik, 2002), was held between October 09, 2002, and September 28, 2003. It resulted from the work of the anthropologist and ethnomusicologist Gerhard Kubik on the existing instruments at the Museu Nacional de Etnologia. Gerhard Kubik studied these musical instruments at the Sub-Saharan Africa for several decades, starting in 1965, when Jorge Dias invited him to take part of a study project in Angola. The exhibition included 136 lamellophones from the Museu Nacional de Etnologia collection, mostly from Angola (124) and Mozambique (11), and just one from Guinea-Bissau.

Mozambique in the permanent exhibition of the Museu Nacional de Etnologia

According to a research mentioned in the catalogue of the Direção Geral do Património Cultural (General Directorate of Cultural Heritage) (DGPC), of a total of 40.000 items in the Museu Nacional de Etnologia, 337 are from Mozambique[7]. Naturally, since the museum has got a vast collection and a permanent exhibition area of 1894 m² (Neves, Lima, Santos & Lopes, 2019), there are obvious display limits. There are two restricted areas that can be visited, which are occupied by themed galleries, which were already foreseen in the museum's founding project: the Rural Life Galleries (784 m²), inaugurated in the end of 2000, and the Amazon Galleries (529 m²), inaugurated in 2006. Without considering these galleries, the open visit exhibition area has got 581 m². The permanent exhibition "O Museu, muitas coisas" is housed in this space open to the public since January 31, 2013. Having a permanent exhibition helps solving any problems concerning financial and human resources created by the dynamics and periodic rotation of temporary exhibitions, but nonetheless ties up the space to great fixation and rigidity. Even so, the exhibition is built around seven modules, in module format, that can change over time. None of these modules is connected to Mozambique. Three are connected to the Portuguese culture, two to Angola, one to another African country, Mali, and a last one to Bali, Indonesia, , as can be seen from the list below:

(1971); and another one in Porto: "Cultura e Tradição na Guiné-Bissau" (Culture and Tradition in Guinea-Bissau) (1984).

[7] See http://www.matriznet.dgpc.pt
Please take notice that 346 items from Mozambique were mentioned in 1976, brought within the Mission for the Study of Ethnic Minorities (MEU, 1972).

1. O teatro de sombras wayang kulit de Bali (Wayang Kulit Shadow puppet theatre from Bali);

2. Animais como gente. Máscaras e marionetas do Mali (Animals as people. Masks and puppets from Mali);

3. Matéria da Fala. Tampas de Panelas com provérbios de Cabinda (Matter of speech. Pot lids with sayings from Cabinda);

4. A Música e os dias. Instrumentos musicais populares portugueses (Music and days. Popular Portuguese musical instruments);

5. Franklim Vilas Boas. Com o olhar de Ernesto de Sousa (Franklim Vilas Boas. According to Ernesto de Sousa);

6. A Brincar e já a sério. Bonecas do sudoeste de Angola (Playing but already seriously. Dolls from Southwest Angola);

7. Talas de Rio de Onor (Rio de Onor splints).

At the entrance of the permanent exhibition room there is a multimedia station where one can look for information about past exhibitions. When this research was carried out the device was not working. Apart from these seven modules, there is a large display case of over 30 metres that extends along the wall opposite the entrance, which shows various items, videos, and photos. It is chronologically organised, and it highlights significant moments of the museum's existence and its main characters, and exhibits several collection pieces. It is among these items that we come across Mozambique (Figure 1 to 6). The following considerations bear in mind the connection between what is on display and what the public sees during a regular unguided visit. We have not taken into account the role of the educational service and its pedagogical and interpretative actions and practices, or other initiatives that can put items into context and create relational spaces. In this regard, the educational service of the Museu Nacional de Etnologia is active in deconstructing collective truths related to the colonial greatness of the past, and the ways of appropriation of cultural heritage (Sancho Querol, Gianolla, Raggi & Chuva, 2020).

Figure 1: Three samples of natural products, Makonde plateau, 1957-1961

Credits: Sarmento & Martins

Figure 2: Tattoo knife (*chipopo*), Nangonga, Makonde plateau, 1958

Credits: Sarmento & Martins

Figure 3: Bell, Makonde plateau, 1958

Credits: Sarmento & Martins

Figure 4: Basket made by Gungunhana

Credits: Sarmento & Martins

Figure 5: Sculpture, Quelimane, n. d.

Credits: Sarmento & Martins

Figure 6: Sculpture *A serena expressividade da mãe Ronga* (the serene expression of a Ronga mother)

Credits: Sarmento & Martins

It is worth stopping for a while and think about these items. Five of them refer to the Makonde plateau and they date back to the end of the 1950s. In the small label in display it is possible to read that the three samples of natural products were gathered by Margot Dias, someone the unsuspected visitor could not possibly know. Observing the collection's catalogue made available online by the Direção Geral do Património Cultural, we realise that these items are part of a larger collection. We find a sample in a slides box, which also contains sheets used as sandpaper by Makonde sculptors (AA-051); the other two samples, stored in matchboxes, contain, in one case, a dye made from clay and used by women to paint clay items (AA-218), and in the other case, a dye made from wood charcoal (AA-217). These three simple items, in their boxes and with their labels, point out the level of detail and technique of the field work developed by the Missão de Estudos das Minorias Étnicas do Ultramar Português, and how important these materials are,

but all of this is sent back to the visitor's unreferenced imagination. Polishing and patina are key elements of African statues and the techniques related to the use of leaves, dried skins, stones, seeds, and other preparations containing clays, palm oils, among many others, explain polychromies, in a slow and emotional work process. The exhibition offers us just three short sentences about the mission: "1957-1961, Jorge Dias, head of the Missão de Estudos das Minorias Étnicas do Ultramar Português. Study campaigns in the Makonde plateau with Margot Dias and Manuel Viegas Guerreiro. Margot Dias starts the registers with a film camera". It actually makes us wonder where this plateau is located, who are the Makonde, and why did these anthropologists and ethologists decided to go to these places and study these people.

One of the other items chosen for this exhibition is a tattoo knife, one of the four in the museum's collection (according to the information made available at the online catalogue). Once again we can wonder about this tool and the meaning of the tattoos as a practice and a ritual, and how much we could learn at a national museum of ethnology about the relationship between the Makonde culture and the body. An informed visitor might establish a connection with rituals such as tooth mutilation, initiation rituals (male and female), *mapico* dances, scarification, tattoos, and other identity features, but this would require a more complex and complete presentation given the simplicity, immobility, and tranquillity of the tattoo knife.

The fifth item is a bell, and its label lets us know it has got "two clappers, for a hunting dog". Even further, we learn that the sound it produces is similar to a note Margot Dias indicated. We can see a musical score with that same note. Although this reference may seem interesting and may prompt curiosity about the sound likely produced by the bell, we are not able to listen to it. About the hunting, supposedly carried out with a dog, we do not learn much more. Going back to the catalogue of the 1959 exhibition, we see that wooden bells were on display and we could read: "used by hunting dogs during runs, as to scare away the animals and make them run towards the nets".

Even though there are no Makonde sculptures at the exhibition, we can still appreciate two non Makonde pieces. We could not find them in the catalogue made available by the DGPC. They are catalogued, but internally by the museum. As far as one of the two sculptures is concerned, the museum provides a somewhat enigmatic piece of information: "this little sculpture that insinuates itself through the gaze is an example of the ignorance with which we deal and defy museums". This sentence may undoubtedly make the visitor reflect upon museum practices and the interpretation of artefacts, the difficulty of knowing the acquisition and gathering contexts of items, and all of this may seem fascinating. But it may also not contribute, in any way, for the experience or learning of the object. The second sculpture is a mother holding her son, and the label says "the serene expression of a Ronga mother". Once again we might ask, what is it, who are, or where is "Ronga"?

The last Mozambican piece in the exhibition, and the most recent on display, is a small basket whose authorship is attributed to Gungunhana. That is what is written in the piece label, and also that it was produced during Gungunhana's exile in Portugal and

was offered by him to his doctor, being later donated to the museum by a relative, in 2017. We also learn that Gungunhana was the "last Nguni king to rule southern Mozambique until his capture by Joaquim Mouzinho de Albuquerque in 1895". There is a feeling of absence – absence of reflexivity – and the information provided, along with the small basket, is manifestly scarce. There is no reference to the Gaza Empire; the participation in the discussion over the Portuguese empire, and the pacification campaigns, is non-existent. The silence on the violence present in this item, which refers back to the dispossession of the African territory, does not seem to open any doors to humility. Could there be a connection between this item and Gaza, and the Makonde or Ronga objects, or even Quelimane? Why then display this basket? For the aesthetisation of the item?

The exhibition "O Museu, muitas coisas", makes no commitment with geographic spaces or specific topics, and is not tied to any representativeness triggered by the museum's collections. It is not polyphonic, and let alone having any African voices. It is anchored in the aesthetics of its items. The exhibition is static, and both the information and the interactivity provided to the visitor are close to none. In this sense, it does not promote any kind of critical thinking, or any articulated dialogue about the past and the future. Ribeiro (2013) refers that the items in the exhibition "O Museu, muitas coisas" go beyond the divisions of time associated to post-colonial studies (pre-colonial; colonial; and post-colonial) and coexist without contaminating themselves with violence. In fact, this is, apparently, a benign museum, that deals with subjects, processes, and objects which are only benign if we do not put them into context in the past and the present. It would be rather interesting to align the Makonde collection, contextualise the studies and the mission of Jorge Dias in the aspirations of the colonial period, share more on the itinerary of these items (and others), the places of use for the museum, and open the doors to the geographic imagination of the Makonde plateau, in Cabo Delgado, thus inviting a reflection on the Northern Mozambique in contemporary times or, at least, to make visitors question these spaces, people, and cultures in time. A brief incursion into a study on the publics of the Museu Nacional de Etnologia, carried out in 2015 (Neves et al., 2019) could prove interesting. Even though the general assessment of the museum by its public reveals a high degree of satisfaction, some items evaluated as unsatisfactory or even very unsatisfactory refer to the supporting texts (leaflet, itinerary...) and to the texts available in the different rooms (labels in pieces and other information).

Conclusion

The Museu Nacional de Etnologia, initially called Museu de Etnologia do Ultramar, had its origin in a frail balance between three trends. The first, as the initial name of the museum suggested, was to be a museum that portrayed people and customs of the Portuguese empire. This was a trend supported by the Government through its overseas policies and the Junta de Investigação Científica that supervised the museum. The solid basis for its creation was the collection that Jorge Dias and his team gathered within the scope of the mission he carried out between 1957 and 1961 in Northern Mozambique. It

is undeniable that the Makonde are at the heart of the genesis of the museum and that is inescapable. The second trend was to be a museum that included items and narratives of the Portuguese rural world, at the time in the metropole, which preserved the culture of a people undergoing a huge transformation. Here too, Jorge Dias and several other researchers played a significant role due to the studies they carried out and the collection they gathered. Only after the democratisation of the country was this trend supported by the government. A third trend was the fact that the museum was universalist, encompassing spaces, cultures, and people that went beyond the Portuguese empire, including not only Brazil, a Lusophone country, but also people of the Andes or of Southeast Asia. This trend was grudgingly accepted by the Junta de Investigação Científicad, whose focus was the overseas territories. This situation is fairly common in European museums of this kind, even if the blending with national ethnography collections is not that usual.

Mozambique played an important part in the establishment of the museum, and currently holds a key position because of its collections and documentary material, and in the countless exhibitions organised by the Museu Nacional de Etnologia throughout its history. Today, though, it is practically absent from its permanent exhibition and the almost 20.000 visitors in 2018 (DGPC, 2019) had minimum contact with the meaningful collections the museum holds from this African country. Even if the limited space may somehow justify this absence, the importance of the Makonde collection per se, and its relevance for the history of the museum, raises the question of the possibility of a module in the permanent exhibition. We do not mean a static exhibition moored in a fixed colonial time, but a presentation that problematizes the Makonde art in its origins and contemporary dynamics that articulates with the art movements of both the past and the present, and that positions the Makonde today, giving voice to multiple narratives and subordinate groups. Furthermore, in line with the arguments of Ângela Ferreira (Ferreira, 2018), made clear in the project "A Tendency to Forget" (2015), a post-colonial approach to the museum would not call into question the unmistakable fact that the Makonde collection is colonial, but would definitely question its numbness resulting from the lack of a reflexive review and the absence of a path that summons new relationships between Portugal and Africa. As we tried to demonstrate, the museum's presentation of a scarce number of items from Mozambique at the permanent exhibition needs to be revised, ceasing to be innocuous, lacking reflexivity, and, on the contrary, becoming more critical.

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Reconfigurations of Lusotropicalism in monumental Lusophone museums

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Abstract

This article aims to discuss current monumental museum discourses of national identity in the Lusophone world, particularly in Brazil and Portugal. It proposes (re)formulating modes of classifying museums by focusing on their institutional characteristics and long-term exhibitions. The museum model proposed is neither definitive nor fixed, but rather a hermeneutical exercise that aims to disentangle the changes and accommodations in national identity discourses in museum exhibitions. Thus, this article puts forward the idea that while museums are ever-evolving institutions capable of adapting to the times, reinventing themselves and contributing to the (re)creation of societies, they also maintain performances and discourses that reinforce power relations in national representation. Ultimately, museums are always negotiating with hegemonic representations and national discourses. The continuously changing nature of museums in question has been studied from a diverse range of perspectives and has led to different modes of interpretation of their intricate characteristics. However, in both countries, the critical review of Lusotropicalism culturally, socially and politically has, as an analysis of the colonial legacies of museums and their exhibitions, not been explored in depth. Therefore, this article endeavors to propose monumentality types in three Lusophone museums by firstly articulating the literature review of Lusotropicalism and Museum Studies, and then reporting part of the ethnographic research conducted in 2015.

Keywords

museum classification; monumental museum; Lusotropicalism; critical museum studies; ethnography

Reconfigurações do lusotropicalismo em museus monumentais de países de língua portuguesa

Resumo

Este artigo tem como objetivo discutir os discursos da identidade nacional dos museus monumentais contemporâneos em países de língua portuguesa, mais precisamente no Brasil e em Portugal. Para tanto, propõe-se a (re)formular os modos de classificação dos museus com enfoque nas características institucionais dos museus e das exposições de longa duração. Adverte-se que a classificação de museus proposta neste artigo não é definitiva nem fixa. Trata-se, antes, de um exercício hermenêutico que visa deslindar as mudanças e acomodações nos discursos de identidade nacional presentes em diversas esferas das instituições museológicas. Assim, sustenta-se a ideia de que apesar de os museus serem instituições em constante evolução, capazes de se adaptar aos novos tempos, reinventar, e contribuir para a (re)criação das sociedades, eles também mantêm performances e discursos que reforçam as relações de poder nas representações nacionais. Fundamentalmente, os museus estão sempre negociando com representações e discursos nacionais hegemônicos. A natureza em constante transformação

dos museus foi estudada a partir de uma ampla gama de perspectivas resultando em diferentes modos de interpretação e interrelação das suas complexas características. No entanto, em ambos os países, a revisão crítica dos aspectos culturais, sociais e políticos do lusotropicalismo não tem sido explorada em profundidade como um recorte de análise dos legados coloniais dos museus e suas exposições. Assim, propõem-se tipos de monumentalidade em três museus de língua portuguesa, primeiro articulando a revisão da literatura sobre lusotropicalismo e Museologia Crítica, para depois relatar parte da investigação etnográfica realizada em 2015.

Palavras-chave

classificação de museus; museus monumentais; lusotropicalismo; museologia crítica; etnografia

Introduction

This article emanates from critical museum studies discussions, notably, the question of how we can position Lusophone museums in terms of the demands for inclusive representations that have emerged in the 21st century. It aims to examine the networks of meaning that have developed in long-term exhibitions in Brazilian and Portuguese museums, comparing and contrasting them with the national identity discourse while simultaneously rethinking their role amid the complexity of relations in respect of the colonial past. Employing an ethnographic approach, this examination is conducted more specifically through the observation of the exhibitions[1], analysis of museum documents, websites and blogs, as well as through interviews with museum staff.

Two points deserve further clarification: first, museums are diverse institutions constituted in many forms regarding internal and external administration, discipline, funding and functioning. In this sense, this article refers to museums that are mainly connected to national identity discourses either being nationally funded or "nationally styled"[2], understood here as institutions marketed in connection with national symbols. Second, despite the use of the word Lusophone in the article's title, it does not encompass the entirety of the Portuguese-speaking world or all museums in the selected Lusophone countries. Instead of an extensive approach to Lusophone world museums, we propose a critical-descriptive and exploratory study of three museums that represent the nation through historical narratives or anthropological artefacts: the Museu Histórico Nacional (National Historical Museum, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil); the Museu Nacional de Etnologia (National Museum of Ethnology, Lisbon, Portugal); and the Museu Afro Brasil (Afro Brazil Museum, Sao Paulo, Brazil).

The main criterion for selecting these three museums was the museums' mission statements and their relationship with disciplines such as History and Anthropology, which both deal with questions of identity. Other criteria include their location within the city, the relevance of their collection and their architectural envelope. In addition, they

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[1] Each exhibition was the object of observation for nearly eight weeks from March to September 2015 (Abadia, 2019).

[2] See the concept in the Arts Council England website. Retrieved from: https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/accreditation-scheme/support-and-advice#section-6

should be operating regularly, being open to the public at least five days a week. Finally, we consider other operational aspects such as the accessibility of information in the selected case studies, i.e. public availability of data and adequate communication in their media channels, e.g. official websites or blogs.

The three museums selected meet the abovementioned criteria and, simultaneously, provide a diverse range of experiences in terms of exhibition size, architectural dimensions, urban experience, identity discourse in their mission statements, extension of the curatorial team, and curation methods. This diversity provides a fertile model for classifying national and nationally styled museums in the Lusophone world.

In designing this classifying model proposal, this article has been organized into two sections. The first section consists of a literature review, which supports the ethnographic analysis, containing two subsections: one presenting discussions on national identity in Brazil and Portugal, and another synthezing the modes of museum classifications. In the second section of the article, we propose the three types of monumentality identified in the analyzed museums. Finally, in the final remarks, we reflect on the main points addressed in the article and discuss the limits of this new museum classification model.

Brief literature overview

In order to disentangle questions about museums and the performance of national identity, we need to clarify that in every national museum there are supranational, regional and transversal relationships that are specific and unique to each museum and its context (Bennett, 2018). As Bennett explains, the "process in which museums have thus been caught up are always specific to particular constellations of national, sub-national, becoming national, and supra-national, imperial/colonial formations" (Bennett, 2018, p. 80). Aiming later to show each museum demonstrating their confluences and divergence with the proposed idea of a monumental museum, this section starts by clarifying some of the constellations of national and supranational discourses intended for examination in the selected museums, before moving on to the modes of museum classification, culminating in the metaphor of the monumental museum.

Lusotropicalism and its hegemony in Brazilian and Portuguese national identities

Alongside the intersection of their colonial history, Brazil and Portugal share a theory, or a quasi-theory, that explains their singularity in the modern world. This (quasi-)theory is entitled "Lusotropicalism", and many scholars have examined how both countries have mobilized it, to varying degrees, in their political and social spheres from the 1930s onwards. Evidently, the pervasiveness of the ideas contained in Lusotropicalism do not erase other myths and symbols of national formation as applied specifically, but they at times concur, complement and clash with each other.

As part of the constellation of people, institutions, national governments and supranational networks, Lusotropicalism is generally be traced back to the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre[3] (1933/1956), who proclaimed "miscegenation as a statement of Brazilian racial authenticity, a symbol of the making of a modern democracy" (Collins, 2010, p. 2). This means that Lusotropicalism praised racial miscegenation, based on a non-hegemonic scientific paradigm at the beginning of the 20th century, assuming it to be a sign of Brazilian identity, a mark that differentiated Brazil from other nations and helped position the country in international political networks. This was particularly important as a political framework for a new nation, one with a unique colonial and postcolonial history. The distinctiveness mark of the Brazil's formation was triggered by the transfer of the Portuguese royal family and court, fleeing the Napoleonic invasions, from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro in 1808, which resulted in many political and cultural developments, including its elevation to United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and the Algarves in 1815 (Schwarcs & Starling, 2015). Ultimately, these developments culminated in Brazil's independence in 1822, only recognized by Portugal in 1825 (Schwarcs & Starling, 2015). Nevertheless, it was only with the declaration of the First Republic in 1889 that the intellectual elite immersed itself in defining the nation, its heroes and deeds (Oliveira, 1990).

The first proposal for national representation followed the trends of the period, which involved consolidating a glorified past in order to project a future (Anderson, 1991). It was later, first during the Getúlio Vargas dictatorship (1937-1945) and then during the Brazilian Military Dictatorship (1964-1985) that Freyre's ideas provided a *corpus* for many intellectuals and political efforts to consolidate a national image. It was over the course of these two 20th century authoritarian regimes that the idea of Brazil as a racial democracy, emerging from so-called "mild" colonization, was consolidated socially and culturally either by the official regimes or social movements (Guimarães, 2004; Pallares-Burke, 2012; Sansone, 2003). Thus, in the official sphere, Brazil was both promoted and presented as an example of an egalitarian society in terms of race relations, and one that was often offered as a contrast to the racially segregated U.S. model. The so-called proof of a racially democratic society consisted of the statistical and empirical observation of a large number of mixed-race Brazilians (Guimarães, 2004, 2006).

Nevertheless, this allegedly empirical/statistic "proof" established a false correlation between the miscegenation process and the harmonious conviviality and equality between races. The correlation failed to account for violence in the miscegenation process and the new forms of racialization and hierarchies established by a still racist social paradigm. The idea of a non-racist Brazilian society was contested by Roger Bastide (1957), Florestan Fernandes (1964) and Abdias Nascimento (1978), who influenced several studies in the social sciences. Since then, much work has continued to be published by scholars and black activists (i.e. Gonzalez, 1985; Guimarães, 2006; Hanchard, 1994; Moura, 1988; Telles, 2004; Sansone, 2003; Skidmore, 1993). Despite the prolific number of studies demonstrating that veiled racial prejudice is still a barrier that confines black

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[3] Freyre did not create Lusotropicalism out of nothing. For a thorough review on Freyre's influences see Pallares-Burke (2005).

people to the lowest socioeconomic strata and erases the specificities of African and Afro-Brazilian contributions to Brazil's formation, Lusotropicalism is still hegemonic in political and social discourses.

Freyre has also profoundly influenced Portuguese Historiography and Sociology, mainly through the idea of mild colonization, which he explained as the plasticity and natural ability of the Portuguese to create interracial and multi-ethnic societies (Freyre, 1940, 1958). During the 1950s, when international policies regarding colonialism were changing, the ideas developed by Freyre were selectively appropriated by the Portuguese Military Dictatorship and *Estado Novo* (1926-1974) in order to legitimize Portuguese colonialism (Medina, 2000), consolidating the imaginary of the absence of racism in Portuguese colonies as well as Portuguese empathy towards other people, specifically black people. Freyre's Lusotropicalism coexisted at the time with other images and discourses of the nation that postulate the historical right of colonization, religious and cultural national cohesion, and the antiquity of Portugal (Monteiro & Pinto, 2000).

As well as in Brazilian academia, some important theoretical research has been conducted in Portugal in order to deconstruct these ideas, and similar ones, which have also influenced race relations in Portugal. Many scholars have produced an important body of work aimed at understanding the shift in social sciences in Portugal and have questioned some of the rigid social representations of race and/or nationality[4] which are rooted in colonial thought (Cabecinhas, 2007; Castelo, 1998; Martins, 2004; Matos, 2006; Santos, 2002; Sobral, 2006; Vala, 1999; Vale de Almeida, 2008). Despite this, Lusotropicalist theory still heavily influences political discourse both in Portugal and abroad.

It is therefore necessary to revise institutional discourses as well as practices, particularly those of institutions connected to the nation-state apparatus. Specifically, understanding how museums that deal with grand narratives of national identity mobilize the hegemony of Lusotropicalism.

Modes of classifying museums

According to Latham and Simmons (2014), museums are generally defined in terms of their function, type, legal organization and historical progression. In terms of historical progression, Eilean Hooper-Greenhill (2000) offers a significant metaphor for understanding the reformulation of museum objectives over time. She states that the burgeoning of museums in the 19th century resulted in the "modernist museum"[5] (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). This type of museum was based on encyclopedic knowledge and, more importantly, on an authoritative model of knowledge transmission as well as the "domestication" of visitor behavior, who were understood as masses (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). Later, towards the end of the 20th century, there was a critical turn

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[4] Many of them were influenced by Eduardo Lourenço's (1972/2005) philosophical inquiry into the Portuguese longing for a glorious past.

[5] The term "modernist" is related to the public museum of the Modern period, often located in the 19th century, and not to the artistic movement of the early 20th century (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000).

in museum practices, specifically concerning the critiquing of these institutions' colonial legacy and their "inclusivity turn"[6] (Barringer & Flynn 1998; Brulon, 2020; Henning, 2005; Mirzoeff, 2017; Sandell, 2007). This has, undoubtedly, influenced the museology and museum practice of several national institutions in Brazil, Portugal and various parts of the globe. This critical turn, according to Hooper-Greenhill (2000), has resulted in the "post-museum", which instead focuses on the visitor experience, understanding visitors as a result of their cultural entanglements and promoted participatory practices, as well as opened the institution to sharing knowledge instead of transmitting it or, at least, unveiling the hierarchical practices in its construction.

The unequivocal turn towards the visitor experience in many national and nationally-style museums is a result of the professionalization of museum and the discipline's transnational trends (Edson & Dean, 1994; Knell, 2011). Despite this, there is a pertinent concern as to whether national and nationally styled museums can be decolonized, since even with the critical turn of the last few decades, national museums still mobilize their collections to project a cohesive identity either negotiated in local or transnational networks (Barringer & Flynn 1998; Brulon, 2020; Knell, 2011; Macdonald 2003).

In this sense, we use the metaphor of monumental museums, understanding that monuments celebrate the past to project a shared future (Le Goff, 1992). This is not to say that museums and monuments carry the same specificities in the way they represent the past. What this metaphor provides is the understanding that national museums, like monuments, are commemorative devices, "vehicles for negotiating the relationship between experience and expectation" (Aronsson, 2012, p. 122). Thus, some monumental characteristics can be sketched, drawing on Pevsner's (1976) and Giebelhausen's (2011) definition of museum-monuments. The first one would be that a monumental museum has an institutional mission to celebrate the past and display power; the second, that it would have an imposing presence in the museum as a material symbol, more precisely its architecture (Giebelhausen, 2011; Pevsner, 1976). As with Hooper-Greenhill's Modernist museum metaphor (2000), Pevsner (1976) and Giebelhausen (2011) depict the monumental museum as an archetype of the museum of the 19th and early 20th century. This model does not vanish in the 21st century; instead, it has changed by incorporating demands for social justice brought about by new theoretical and disciplinary developments in Museology, such as Critical Museology, New Museology, Sociomuseology and, Cultural Studies, Post-colonialism and decolonial theory. As the models and metaphors here presented do not exclude one another, we propose using the monumental framework to establish the modulations in which these characteristics are present in Lusophone national and nationally styled museums.

Moreover, a certain caution is necessary when considering monumental museums in the Lusophone world. The extent of the grandiosity and celebratory nature of Lusophone national museums cannot be measured against their English, Italian, French, Russian or German equivalents. Admittedly, both Brazil and Portugal were caught up

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[6] We mean by "inclusivity turn" the consensus, at least at a rhetoric level, on the idea that museums should be oriented towards their visitors and not only to their collections (Edson & Dean, 1994; Hooper-Greenhill, 2000).

in the commemorative spirit that spread rapidly throughout Europe in the 19th century (Schwarcz, 1993). However, as we will see below, each national and institutional context forms its own constellations of materiality and meaning.

Three types of monumental museums: resignifying museum models for the Lusophone context

In this section, we propose three metaphors for understanding the possibilities for Lusophone monumental museums by interweaving two theoretical lenses – one relating to Lusotropicalism, the other concerning the monumental museums' features. In the following pages, I emphasize the main characteristics that were examined in the whole exhibition while simultaneously presenting the museum to the unfamiliar reader, providing specific examples when needed. However, the ethnography contained in this section is only a partial report of the 2015 fieldwork's findings, further developed elsewhere (Abadia, 2019).

Traditionally-inspired monumentality

The Museu Histórico Nacional (MHN) was founded in 1922 in Rio de Janeiro, then Brazil's capital, during the Brazilian First Republic, fulfilling a long-held dream of its founder, the influential intellectual and politician, Gustavo Barroso. Barroso managed to implement a museum project not entirely in keeping with the ruling regime's principles, instead creating an institution celebrating the Brazil's monarchical past (1822-1889)[7] and military conquests. This is not to say that the First Republic did not intend to create a national museum to narrate the great deeds of the past, celebrate national heroes and symbolize the nation for both internal cohesion and external image (Abreu, 1996; Oliveira, 1990; Schwarcz & Starling, 2015). Nevertheless, it is somewhat curious that the project advanced in the NHM was one that celebrated the monarchy (Chagas, 2003; Gomes, 2014)[8].

The building complex the museum carries a palimpsest of vestiges and symbols of past times, dating back to the 17th century (MHN, 2013). The architectural complex underwent many refurbishments, the last (until our fieldwork in 2015) being the designed "Modernization project", which encompassed an extensive infrastructural and architectural refurbishment (phase I) and conceptual and museographic reframing (phase II) (MHN, 2008; Tostes 2013).

The institutional minutes about the curatorial process, as well as the museum's staff, report that the museum's long-term exhibition was redesigned in the "Modernization project" in a collective and horizontal process that sought to dialogue the expertise of the museum's diverse team. Notably, MHN staff comprise public servants, and the museum's institutional structure is well defined and specialized – departments

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[7] The First Republic, notably instituted following a coup d'état by the monarchical regime, did not enjoy expressly popular support and was driven by tensions (Oliveira, 1990; Schwarcz & Starling, 2015).

[8] See also Abadia (2019) for more on this discussion.

within the museum include, among others, directorship and curation, architecture and museography, conservation, research, education, and social work.

Pressure for a swift inauguration due to the "Modernization Project" led to the segmentation of curatorial work in the exhibition sections, thus each section of the exhibition was inaugurated in different stages. It is divided into four main sections: "Oreretama", which is a Tupi language term meaning "our home'; "Portuguese in the world"; "The construction of the nation"; and "Citizenship under construction".

The first section to be inaugurated presents the contribution of indigenous people to the formation of the country – "Oreretama". However, this section was curated in a different fashion, instead coordinated by an external consultant, Raquel Prat, a specialist in indigenous culture. The last to be inaugurated was "Citizen under construction", dedicated to the 20th and 21st centuries, a section lacking in development.

As for the exhibition's general characteristics, the long-term exhibition does not contravene exhibition-hosting standards; on the contrary, the MHN is a bastion of professionalizing standards in Brazil. Its reputation stems from helping to create the national department of heritage preservation (Chagas, 2003; Julião, 2014; Santos, 2006) and complying with the trends and guidelines for national and international standards, for instance, those provided by the National Institute of Museums and International Council of Museums.

The main narrative of the museum's long-term exhibition is organized in a linear chronology, conceived to enable accessibility for the lay visitor, i.e. non-historians. The narrative follows the changes in political power in Brazil, emphasizing some socioeconomic consequences in the background. The exhibition's aura of authority comes from the stress on the exhibition narrative's didactic nature (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000), which stresses the linear account of political, economic and social events as well as the linear use of space. There are other performances, which are not a consequence of curatorial decisions, such as the architecture itself and the overbearing presence of monitors and security personnel, who mostly have an unfriendly and abrupt attitude.

Having said that, it is also worth emphasizing how counter-hegemonic narratives emerge, purposely and otherwise, from the exhibition design. One of the main resources of counter-hegemony is the *metarepresentations* of those commemorative objects replacing the originals, for instance in the exhibition section about the Portuguese arrival in Brazil. Instead of artifacts made in 1500, there are commemorative porcelain, medals and coins produced centuries later. To understand this, we have a twofold explanation: on the one hand, it was a planned strategy to add complexity to and even critique the authoritative narrative of the "authenticity" expected in a museum (Magalhães & Bezerra, personal interview, June 18, 2015); on the other hand, it was the result of both colonial plundering and a lack of political protection of "national" heritage.

Then there are layers of discourses connected to the foundational plan: the limits and also the possibilities the museum collection imposes, the historical theory and research that inform the curator's view of the exhibition, not to mention the other conditions that support the visitors' understanding of the exhibition.

Contrary to the museum's foundational plan, its current scope demands an inclusivity turn, either in regard to the narration of history or in terms of accessibility, in its broadest sense. The inclusion of groups of people who were previously disregarded in the narration of history is evident in the "Oreretama" section, which portrays indigenous contributions but circumscribes them in a different narrative form, secluded in their own space yet not directly involved in the chronology established in the other exhibition sections.

Regarding the exhibition discourse established in the section "Portuguese in the world" onwards, there are shades of a Lusotropicalist discourse in the way that some rooms and niches within the exhibition celebrate the black contribution to the creation of the nation. For instance, in this exhibition's section, there is a room that starts with the following quotation from Gilberto Freyre, played in a loop, in Maria Bethânia's[9] voice. The excerpt from *Casa-grande & senzala* (Freyre, 1933/1956) states the following:

> in our tenderness, in our excessive mimicry, in the Catholicism in which our senses delight, in our music, in the way we walk and talk, in our lullabies for children, in everything that is a sincere expression of life, we almost all bear the mark of African influence. (Freyre, 1933/1956, cited in the wall panel)

This room showcases the cultural contribution Africans and their descendants brought to then Portuguese America. There are references to Afro-Brazilian religions being vessels for the transmission of culture, despite oppressive laws against African traditions. As Freyre's quotation indicates, the gallery celebrates African knowledge and heritage as engines of what makes the Brazilian people energetic, warm, and playful. This "celebration" also seems to confirm the division between western culture as a "civilizing" force whereas Africa adds value in folklore, music, religion and behavior. There is a critical note in one explanatory panel about the duress of slavery, but the overall tone is one of conciliation, channeling the pain, exclusion, and suffering of slavery to the positive aspects that make today's nation unique.

It is in the section "The construction of the nation" that the MHN's long-term exhibition reaches its peak. The narrative focuses on the country's military and imperial past, in line with the museum's original mission. Social issues, such as the participation of black and indigenous people, are dealt with using museographic resources like panels and staged scenography. The dimension and "aura" of the space, the brusqueness of the monitors and security, the commemoration of military figures and the nation's "achievements" render the exhibition authoritative. There is, of course, powerful criticism in this exhibition section as well, which is discussed elsewhere (Abadia, 2019). Nevertheless, the curatorial interpretative comments in the exhibition, more than engaging in a critical review of Lusotropicalism, are seemingly used to acquiesce to the current museum's guidelines, based on the aforementioned inclusivity turn.

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[9] Maria Bethânia is a renowned Brazilian singer and artist.

Concealed monumentality

The Museu Nacional de Etnologia (MNE), initially known officially as the Museum of Overseas Ethnology, opened in Lisbon in 1965 (Carvalho, 2015; Gouveia, 1997) under the authoritarian regime of the *Estado Novo*. This regime maintained a two-pronged position in respect to Portuguese national identity: on one hand it aimed to maintain its colonial power and glorify Portuguese imperialism, while on the other it fostered academic and artistic research into rural traditions through an internal policy promoting the ideal of the new man (and woman) (Rosas, 2001) who should abide by "traditionalist and Catholic values" (Carvalho & Pinto, 2018, p. 132).

Alongside the ambiguity of the hegemonic representation of Portugal in the *Estado Novo*, the literature examining the creation of the MNE postulates two main projects for the institution: one based on the political desire to exhibit the grandeur of the Portuguese empire – a desire that was mainly defended by government agents – and another strictly focused on scientific and academic development, the goal of the museum's founder, António Jorge Dias, and his team (Areia, 1986; Leal, 2006; Pereira, 2006). Interestingly, the latter frequently appears in the literature on the history of the museum as a neutral project, which had virtually no connection to the colonialist agenda of the Portuguese *Estado Novo*. For example, Areia claims that the museum's founder, António Jorge Dias, and his team were motivated by "a project of implicit theoretical opposition to political power and relative practical conciliation" (Areia 1986, p. 142). There are other critical analyses that recognize the ambiguity and power games that the museum team had to engage with in order to survive (Macagno, 2002; Moutinho, 1982; Thomaz, 1996).

In fact, these power tensions resulted in difficulty for the museum in establishing itself[10]: it only came to occupy its current building in 1975, a period in which the museum was not promoting regular exhibitions, instead being opened only to conduct research (Carvalho, 2015; Gouveia, 1997). This museum research activity was essential for the professionalization of Anthropology in Portugal, as well as the role of its founding team in the institutionalization of higher education courses in Portuguese universities (Leal, 2006, 2016).

It was only in 2013 that the museum inaugurated its first long-term exhibition. As explained by the exhibition curator and then museum director, Joaquim Pais de Brito[11], a long-term exhibition was not in the original plan of the museum's founding team; instead, they envisioned recurrent shifts between temporary exhibitions along the model of Le Musée de l'Homme (Pais de Brito personal interview, March 10, 2015). According to many museum staff the long-term exhibition was planned with a top-down approach, following three sound academic criteria for selecting and organizing the exhibition sections. First, the permanent exhibition consists of a reworking of the museum's past temporary exhibitions (Abad García, 2018). Second, the exhibition displays the most recent studies of the museum collection (Pais de Brito, personal interview, March 10, 2015).

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[10] After Portugal's return to democracy in 1974, the museum and museum team were stigmatized due to their connection with the New State regime (Pais de Brito, personal interview, March 10, 2015).

[11] Joaquim Pais de Brito retired when I was still doing field research in 2015.

Third, the exhibition taps into questions concerning museum studies as a discipline and as a practice, namely, what to do with an unknown, heterogeneous, and diachronically gathered museum collection (Pais de Brito, personal interview, March 10, 2015).

The result of these organizing principles was an exhibition both theatrically and aesthetically pleasing and full of metaphors for current themes in anthropological academic discussion: writing and sounds, emotions, the role of individual versus the collective in Anthropology, the changes anthropologists make in the field. Consequently, there is critical narrative of contemporary museums that is not always interpreted as such. Abad García (2018), for example, characterizes it as a "mise-en-abyme".

The MNE long-term exhibition can be divided into eight sections, as demonstrated in the museum's official blog. Accordingly, the exhibition's sections are spatially organized in rows, as suggested in the list below:

1. Shadows. Wayang Kulit theatre from Bali

2. Franklim Vilas Boas. Through the eyes of Ernesto de Sousa

3. Playing and already for real. Dolls of the Southwest of Angola

4. The music and the days. Portuguese folk musical instruments

5. Matter of speech. Pot lids with proverbs

6. The tally of Rio de Onor. A writing system and its records

7. Animals as people. Masks and puppets from Mali

8. Exhibition chronology.[12]

At first glance, the spatial division emphasizes the apparent lack of connection between topics, reinforcing the universal framework that the museum purposes to cover, which is expressed on the museum's blog as follows: "in 1965 the museum was created with the ambitious program of representing the cultures of the peoples of the globe, not being restricted to Portugal or to the overseas dominions under its administration"[13].

As the staff admits, the aim of representing all of the world's cultures is extremely ambitious and can only be accomplished fragmentarily. Consequently, the long-term exhibition presents small fragments of cultures made possible through the museum's collection while indicating the topics and issues entailed in Anthropology museums and reflecting on its own work.

The MNE's long-term exhibition is small and despite the importance of the museum collection and being a "national museum", the museum does not receive many visitors. For instance, the number of visitors in 2015 was only 15.397[14]. Nevertheless, the MNE is integrated into the cultural complex of Belém-Restelo, two upmarket neighborhoods of great imperial symbology (Elias, 2004; Peralta, 2017). Walking in the area, it is not unusual to see logotypes and representations of Portuguese caravels in local cafés or shops, nor remnants of the Portuguese *Estado Novo* power apparatus. These are

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[12] Retrieved from https://mnetnologia.wordpress.com/

[13] Retrieved from https://mnetnologia.wordpress.com/about/

[14] Retrieved from http://www.patrimoniocultural.gov.pt/pt/museus-e-monumentos/dgpc/estatisticas-dgpc/

curatorial issues, but when added to the failure to account for the colonial and historical past, they are also important for Anthropology, as it constitutes a discourse and performance. One argument for the museum team not tackling the legacies of colonialism is that it should focus on the scope of Anthropology as a discipline and not mix the specificities of History and Anthropology. Nevertheless, we argue that museums, especially those of a national type, should engage in these difficult conversations in the telling of past connected to their institutional history.

Alongside the silence over the country's colonial past, there are ways of describing the objects that, inadvertently or not, reinforce the option of not entering this disputed territory. The main example in which this silence[15] speaks volumes was in the technical language used to describe the late colonial era musical instruments. For instance, a scraper that was identified as being from Santa Maria de Barcelos, Minho Portugal (no date), has an inscription "Angola belongs to Portugal" (*Angola é de Portugal*); however, the object's caption states, "Angola is Portugal" (*Angola é Portugal*). Thus, the difference between the inscription, which implies possession, and the caption can be attributed to the omission of a preposition in the Portuguese language (*de*). When one ponders the context of the national liberation wars in Africa, this inscription becomes visibly connected to colonial tension and the subjacent objectification of Africa and its people. The phrase in the caption distinctively emphasizes the idea of integration or even a mirror: one *is* another, an idea heavily propagated in the 1960s as rhetoric to minimize decolonial efforts (Castelo, 1998). The aforementioned omission gives a different tone to the exhibition that once more avoids the deep trauma of decolonization that resulted in the loss of Portugal's empire, its soldiers, geopolitical prestige, and in turn an increase in internal social tensions.

In the void of critical commentary in the exhibition lies the hegemonic representation of a harmonious past, one that was created through the false sense of Freyre's arguments about the plasticity and exceptionality of Portuguese colonization.

Anti-modern museum monumentality

The last model of a nationally styled museum is closer to Hooper-Greenhill's notion of a post-museum, which is a metaphor for the museum educational style based on a "culture as pedagogy" (2000, p. 125). The Museu Afro Brasil (MAB) was inaugurated in 2004 with funding from Petrobras; it was originally administratively independent of the public sector but now answers to the Sao Paulo State Department of Culture (MAB, 2016). The museum initially showcased the private collection of the museum's creator, Emanoel Araujo[16], a renewed artist and prolific collector of Afro-Brazilian cultural and historical objects.

The museum is situated in one of the city's most upscale areas – Ibirapuera Park – the most important natural park in the city and one of the most expensive areas per

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[15] For a more detailed discussion, see Abadia (2019).

[16] In order to change the museum's status Araujo had to donate part of his private collection to the state (MAB, 2016).

square meter, surrounded by equally affluent neighborhoods. Ibirapuera Park is also a cultural complex founded in the 1950s. The architectonic project of the park's buildings was designed by Oscar Niemeyer, who was by then already a renowned modernist architect (Barone, 2007; Marins, 1999). Upon its construction, the building in which the MAB is situated today was called the Palace of Nations Pavilion. It was built without any material reference to the past, in a suggestive projection of the identity of the city, which at that time was becoming the largest and most economically prominent megalopolis in the country (Barone, 2007; Marins, 1999).

Despite the importance of its founding figure, many other actors and previous circumstances favored the institution's creation, such as the growth of black social movements, the country's return to democracy (in the 1980's), affirmative action, and the Federal Law No. 10.639/03, which established as mandatory the history of Africa(ns) and Afro-Brazilians in the school curriculum. The MAB mission reflects these social demands as a counter-hegemonic statement of the traditional narrative of the nation's history. The museum proposes rewriting Brazilian history from an Afro-Brazilian perspective in order to promote a more egalitarian society (MAB, 2016). This is, in fact, the first characteristic of an anti-modern museum: the repudiation of a non-spoken consensus regarding national construction. The museum proposes reviewing national history not only based on historiography but also on memory, culture and contemporary events. The museum's other two aims which stem from its central objective are: (i) rebuilding positive self-esteem for black people, and (ii) providing a means for the inclusion of the black population in Brazilian society due to historical evidence of African and Afro-Brazilian involvement in the nation's construction. In other words, rewriting history would recalibrate authority over the past to include black people in all phases of knowledge production, thus expanding black people's social spaces.

The institutional plan was designed by an interdisciplinary specialist team who, according to museum staff, "unpacked" Araujo's vision for the institution. Of the three museums analyzed, the MAB's curatorial approach is the one most centered on its creator's aura and influence[17]. Significantly, Araujo takes both an anti-academic and anti-museum standards stance in his approach, yet still maintains his reputation as a genuine connoisseur of African and Afro-Brazilian art and history in the truest sense (Silva, 2013; Souza, 2009).

Despite being dedicated to an anti-racist narrative of the nation's construction, the exhibition and museum in general exude tension and ambiguity in their discourse and performance. Regarding the exhibition, we emphasize two of these ambiguities: first, the idea that avoiding an emphasis on violence and slavery would refute the marginalization and stereotyping of black people as inferior. This is not to say that slavery and oppression are not contemplated in the museum's long-term exhibition, as one secluded, emotional installation comprising the exhibition's only enclosed space demonstrates (Abadia, 2019). The rationale behind this curatorial option is that by connecting the entirety of black people's memory to slavery and pain, it would reinforce the already stigmatized

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[17] Despite this, we need to stress the importance of Roberto K. Okinaka to the long-term-exhibition museography.

black population to the fate of slavery and create compassion/empathy fatigue (Cubitt, 2011). Contrarily, downplaying the role of systemic oppression could lead to an acritical celebration that legitimizes the status quo, depoliticizing the struggle of African and Afro-Brazilian people, as is commonly invoked in Lusotropicalist discourses.

Araujo seems aware that the miscegenation process is misunderstood by part of Brazilian society. He even affirms that

> one cannot forget that the *mestiço* culture that was formed among the dias-pora involves relationships between unequals, where there are slave owners and slaves. From a black person's perspective, this is a story of much and painful work, of uncertainties, misunderstandings and of unconsciousness, which remains the mentality of part of the Brazilian elite. (Araujo, 2010, p. 127)

Thus, discursively, it seems that the museum proposes tackling Lusotropicalism from a critical perspective.

Another important characteristic of an anti-modern museum is the rejection of the notion of a fixed long-term exhibition. The changes in the long-term exhibition are made explicit by the institution's high degree of dynamism, which was confirmed in discursive terms in the employees' statements themselves. Renato Silva, then head of the internal research team, commented in detail on all the changes that took place in the exhibition from 2004 to mid-2015. He reported physical changes in the exhibition space in terms of the museum collection and museographic arrangements, for example, the gradual fusion of color codes and signs of some nuclei and even the exhibition's concept, from a design with a slightly more chronological inclination to a more rhizomatic one (Silva, personal interview, August 04, 2015).

At the time of fieldwork, the MAB's long-term exhibition had around 6.000 objects on display, occupying an area of 6.500 square meters in a large wide-open gallery. There is a sense of overload and a lack of empty spaces, despite the building's wide-open shape, with a large number of objects, lack of systematic labeling, long descriptive texts and lack of clear path for visitors. Souza (2009, p. 99) refers to this curatorial strategy as the "poetics of excess", in which Araujo proposes subverting the ideas of black people's incapacity and inferiority by showcasing a great volume of intellectual, cultural and artistic work which contributed to Brazil's construction. Yet one could ask if this excess could also render objects less visible or less valued since they enjoy less focus, and whether this aesthetic could erase epistemological barriers to racial performativity in Brazil. In other words, instead of making them visible, is this aesthetic reinforcing some under-standing through the lack of direction for the less-informed visitor?

Final considerations

Both in Brazil and Portugal, the concept of national identity has changed signifi-cantly following the establishment of Lusotropicalist ideas in the academic and public

sphere. While Lusotropicalism proved a watershed in relation to blatantly racist eugenic ideologies, it also established a more subtle way of maintaining power relationships between the diverse racial groups in the Lusophone world. In order to reflect on the transformation of Lusophone museums, which entails accommodation, confrontation and subversion of historically constructed national and transnational discourses and networks, we traced some layers of the discursivity and performances that (re)create images of the nation, focusing on the selected museums' ubication, architecture, curatorial processes, use of space, and standards and guidelines for museum praxis.

We proposed three types of monumentality which articulate Lusotropicalist discourses with different intensities and use distinct performativity strategies. Thus, the "traditionally-monumentality", represented by the Museu Histórico Nacional (Rio de Janeiro), represents the direct heir to the modernist-museum (or the Modern museum), invoking the established characteristics of museums that engender the grand narratives of national identity. In turn, the "concealed monumentality", supported by the example of the Museu Nacional de Etnologia (Lisbon), expresses the denial of an imperialist origin and the epistemic violence present in scientific representations. The performativity of the concealed monumentality is based on silence, which operates through reinforcing hegemonic paradigms. Finally, the "anti-modern monumentality", illustrated by the Afro Brasil Museum (Sao Paulo), repudiates standardized conventional and aesthetic museum practices seeking to create a counter-hegemonic discourse, which, in turn, cannot be detached from hegemony.

As for the limits of this classification model, we highlight its contextual relativism, that is, its circumscription to time-space, the socio-political environment, urban planning, and the institutional context – elements that are forever changing. A hermeneutic analysis of all the characteristics mentioned above cannot accompany, for example, the transformations that museums implement in their organizational structures and practices. Furthermore, this classification is only supported by its relationship with the respective images of the nation. Despite these limits, the proposed model constitutes an analysis of how each museum strives for the hegemonization of culture and identity, being, therefore, essential for the exercising of political responsibility, both for institutions and visitors.

Translation: Lilia Abadia

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Decolonising the museum: exhibition and mediation of African collections in European museums

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Abstract

The first museums emerged in Europe, in the context of colonial empires and hegemonic thinking, based on contemporary evolutionist theories, becoming an instrument in the service of the dominant power. The end of colonialism caused a rupture in the model of evolutionist museums, bringing to debate new ways of interpreting, displaying and communicating collections from non-European cultures. This paper aims to analyse the phenomenon of the decolonisation of the museum, starting from a diachronic analysis of issues related to the restitution of objects to the origin cultural groups and the reformulation of museological discourses, namely through projects of co-curatorship. This investigation is qualitative, descriptive and conceptual, based on bibliographic research and critical analysis of the gathered data, whose results are structured into four points: colonialist discourse of the first museums; post-colonialist debates; decolonisation and restitution of objects to the origin cultural groups; agents and factors of the decolonisation of museums in contemporary times. As a research hypothesis, it is suggested that the decolonisation of the museum is an ongoing process that develops by recovering the original meaning of objects and by representing the origin communities, assuring the inclusion of their narratives and their active and equal participation in the museum's practices.

Keywords

co-curatorship; museological discourse; exhibition; colonial museum; post-colonial museum

Descolonizar o museu: exposição e mediação dos espólios africanos em museus europeus

Resumo

Os primeiros museus surgiram na Europa, no contexto dos impérios coloniais e do pensamento hegemónico, assente nas teorias evolucionistas da época, tornando-se um instrumento ao serviço do poder dominante. O fim do colonialismo provocou uma rutura no modelo dos museus evolucionistas, trazendo para debate novas formas de interpretação, exposição e comunicação dos espólios provenientes de culturas não europeias. O objetivo deste artigo é analisar o fenómeno de descolonização do museu, partindo de uma análise diacrónica para abordar as questões relacionadas com a restituição dos objetos aos grupos culturais de origem e com a reformulação dos discursos museológicos, nomeadamente, através de projetos de curadoria partilhada. A investigação realizada é qualitativa, descritiva e conceptual, fundamentando-se na pesquisa bibliográfica e na análise crítica dos dados recolhidos, cujos resultados se estruturam em quatro pontos: os discursos colonialistas dos primeiros museus; debates pós-colonialistas; descolonização e restituição dos objetos aos grupos de origem; agentes e fatores da descolonização do museu na contemporaneidade. Como hipótese de investigação, sugere-se que a descolonização do museu é um processo em evolução e que se desenvolve através da recuperação do

sentido original dos objetos e da representação das comunidades de origem, assegurando-lhes a integração das suas narrativas e a participação ativa e paritária nas práticas museológicas.

Introduction

The founding of the first museums, in the late 18th century, is connected to the building of identity of European nations, with an underlying idea of the Western superiority which legitimised colonial power. Two centuries later, a fading European hegemony, decolonisation, and multiculturalism give rise to the debate on how museums deal with the old colonial collections and with claims from the origin cultural groups, either regarding the restitution of the collections, or the active participation on the elaboration of museological discourses.

Historical analysis is crucial for understanding how European museums with colonial collections evolved until the challenges of contemporaneity. Considering that the museum's presentation (exhibition, communication, mediation) of these collections amidst extrinsic cultures is done in an aesthetic or decorative perspective, or through a biased anthropological interpretation, the research's underlying questions are built around this problematic in an European context, aimed at analysing the purpose of the incorporation and exhibition of these objects and assessing how museological discourse keeps up with political, social, and cultural changes.

As research in the field of Social Sciences, formalising itself as qualitative and conceptual study (Jaakkola, 2020; Taylor, Bogdan & DeVault, 2015), the methodological process is based on the bibliographic research related to the generic topic of colonialism in the museum, without prejudice to references to case studies that may contribute to illustrate the theoretical framework.

Literature review

Based on Michel Foucault's arguments (1980) on how power uses emergent civic spaces, and cultural and leisure activities to create new ways of control and discipline, Tony Bennett (2004, 2006) analyses the way museums become involved in these power games and how, since the mid-19th century, they take upon themselves the aim to civilise society according to contemporary bourgeois values. This mission to regulate and civilise society was combined with the civilising discourse of the European colonial powers *vis-à-vis* the colonised world. The contestation to the way museums appropriated and decontextualized the objects of non-Western civilisations has been analysed according to authors such as Sally Price (2001), Chris Gosden (2001, 2002), or within the anthropology of senses of Seremetakis (1996), Constance Classen and David Howes (2006). The

Pitt Rivers Museum is referred to as the epitome of colonialist and evolutionist museums (Chapman, 1985; Gosden & Larson, 2007; Hicks, 2013; Keuren, 1984; Simine, 2013), to which Francis Boas opposed, by proposing that ethnographic collections were ordered based on affinities between cultural groups (Jacknis, 1985; Jenkins, 1994).

The transformation of the museum, as a cultural space in a post-colonialist context, has been addressed in works such as *Museums in postcolonial Europe* (Thomas, 2010), whose contents present a few of the most relevant debates on this issue, or *The postcolonial museum* (Chambers, Angelis, Ianniciello & Orabona, 2014), proceedings of a conference held in 2013, and which is intended to be a compilation of critical analyses and reassessment of museological practices focused on experiences carried out in former colonies spaces. The subject has also been addressed in scientific papers (Aldrich, 2012; Boast, 2011; Fox, 1992; Tolia-Kelly, 2016). In turn, the opening of the Musée du quai Branly (Quai Branly Museum) initiated a broad debate on the musealisation of anthropological collections and the representation of the "other" in a post-colonial perspective (Clifford, 2007; Dias, 2007; Herle, Wastiau, Gryseels, Bocoum & Bose, 2017; L'Estoile, 2007; Lebovics, 2006, 2009, 2010; Price, 2007).

The decolonisation of the museum involves cultural identity questions (Hall, 1992) that trigger the request to return colonial objects to the origin cultural groups (Gurian, 2006; Simpson, 2001). This issue takes on quite particular contours when it comes to human remains (Cury, 2020; Ikram, 2011). The Parthenon Marbles, however, lead the most high-profile and paradigmatic case of tension between a museum and a country of origin[1].

Since the late 20th century, museums have been promoting inclusive programmes and co-curatorships with indigenous communities in a phenomenon described by James Clifford (1997) as "museums as contact zone" (p. 188). Following Clifford, several are the authors that consider that the museum is no longer a monolithic and static institution, and has taken on, instead, a dynamic action, even if unstable, integrating the narratives of the origin cultural groups (Aldrich, 2010, 2012; Gurian, 2006; Hooper-Greenhill, 2000; Phillips, 2005). The new interpretations created together with the producers of cultural references bring along new exhibition proposals and broaden the anthropological perspectives of the museological discourse (Lima-Filho, Abreu & Athias, 2016), which can fit into the concept of activist museum (Janes & Sandell, 2019).

The colonialist discourse of the first museums

The public museum, as institution, emerged in Europe between the late 18th and the early 19th centuries, during the Age of Enlightenment, which attributed it, through goals of preservation of heritage and culture and organisation of the knowledge intrinsic to them, the purpose of constituting a repository of national identity. "Detaching the display of power – the power to command and arrange objects for display – from the risk of disorder, it also provided a mechanism for the transformation of the crowd into an ordered and, ideally, self-regulating public" (Bennett, 2006, p. 99). Consequently, the public

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[1] Retrieved from https://www.bringthemback.org/

museum became an instrument of new ways of power and a means of promoting the dominant ideology (Bennett, 2006) and its imperial and colonial policies (Bennett, 2004).

Throughout Western history, exotic artefacts, brought from foreign lands by soldiers, merchants, missionaries, scientists, explorers, travellers, were signs of military, economic, social or cultural dominion over their former owners and places of origin (Classen & Howes, 2006). Edward Said, in his seminal work *Orientalism* (1979), analyses the way the Western world conceptualised the Orient in a set of false and romanticised ideas, considering that

> the Orient is not only adjacent to Europe; it is also the place of Europe's greatest and richest and the oldest colonies, the source of its civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and more recurring images of the Other. (Said, 1979, p. 1)

It is within this conceptual framework that the great expeditions which enhance the collections of the first great museums emerge: the search for material testimonies of the early days of Egyptian, Mesopotamian and Aegean civilisations, in colonised areas between the Middle East and Western Asia.

In the 19th century, the gathering of artefacts in their places of origin and their transference to Western museums was made under the pretext of rescuing them from obscurity and abandonment, in order to provide them, instead, with the civilised, illuminated and protected environment of the museum. Using these patterns of conquest and supremacy, the museum developed a colonisation model which underlies the management of collections and exhibitional discourses beset with biases and stereotypes. However, under the pretext of epistemological reasons, the interest on those artefacts reflected a political, social and cultural purpose, combined with the propaganda of the superiority of the coloniser.

The concept of "orientalism" was not limited to the European interest over the Arab and Asian worlds, but involved the whole complex of representations and projections with which it built the image of the "other". In the same sense, Bernard McGrane states that the way that, in the 19th century, the West transforms "the Other into a concrete memory of the past" (McGrane, 1989, p. 94) led to an anthropological approach which was not focused on who the colonised peoples effectively were ("in themselves"), but what they represented for the coloniser-"us"; that is, the speech "speaks of the Other but never to the Other' (McGrane, 1989, p. 96).

The great expeditions provided the museum with countless artefacts which, because they reflected the spirit of the cabinets of curiosities, were considered exotic or used as study subject, but belittled in the confrontation with the artistic collections of European origin. The evolutionist theories which, after Lamarck and Darwin, developed during the 19th century, along with Auguste Comte's philosophy, supported the historicist narratives of the museum. The management of the collections reflected the scientific knowledge of that time which, in its turn, was in tune with the interests of the European states regarding the justification of a civilising and colonialist expansion.

Therefore, in their genesis, museums embody the memories and representations of mankind's history according to an evolutionist perspective, in which colonialism was presented as an evidence of that progress: "the modern museum was about 'showing and educating' people in accordance with a pre-established discourse that would lead the activity of thinking towards predesigned conclusions about the position and status of indigenous peoples as opposed to the 'white man'" (Sauvage, 2010, p. 107). So, colonialism became inherent to most part of the museums created and developed during the 19th century. While the great international museums kept the universalist trend of their collections, in European and American metropolitan centres, throughout the 19th century, museums lean towards the disciplinary specialisation without, however, totally abdicating from eclecticism in their collections. That was the reason why even art, archaeology or natural history museums kept ethnographic collections, which reflected the same evolutionary and, thus, discretionary, principles applied to the human societies they came from.

The exhibitional criteria were based on the pedagogical assumption that learning, or apprehension of knowledge, was a passive process of visualisation (see to learn and know). "It was thought that the educational purpose of museums could be achieved merely by putting items out on display in the appropriate order" (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007, p. 13). It gave the museum the responsibility of exhibiting the artefacts in continuous and thorough sequences, by filling the empty spaces, which showed the natural order of evolutionary development. Hence the designation of "evolutionary museum" proposed by Tony Bennett: "for one of the guiding principles of evolutionary museums was that things should be so arranged that they might be clearly and distinctly seen if they were to achieve the forms of public legibility to which they aspire" (Bennett, 2004, p. 166). The remaining sensory values of the object were obliterated, forgetting that its essence depended on social use and that its discursive capacity had a parallel relevance to that of Western knowledge (Classen & Howes, 2006). This decontextualisation is an integral part of colonialism and of its concomitant practices in the museum (Seremetakis, 1996).

On the other hand, the profusion of objects and the primacy given to looking did not propitiate the introduction of interpretative texts or any references to their intangible components. "This dynamic web of sensuous and social meaning is broken when an artifact is removed from its cultural setting and inserted within the visual symbol system of the museum" (Classen & Howes, 2006, p. 200). The objects were distant from their place of origin, not only in a material or geographic sense, but also from a conceptual and symbolic point of view, having lost the meaning inherent by context and use. All these factors, together with the evolutionist rationale, contributed to their marginalisation and subalternisation under the generic classification of "primitive art". The concept, being reductive, deals "with some of our basic and unquestioned cultural assumptions – our 'received wisdom' – about the boundaries between 'us' and 'them'" (Price, 2001, pp. 4-5). The museum promoted the opposition between the prototypes of the civilised and the savage, serving the negative attributes of the colonised to validate, by antinomy, the superiority of the European coloniser. "The invention of the idea of primitive society

(...) enabled Europeans to define their own Enlightened modernity against the imagined disorder and lack of regulation of colonized others" (Edwards, Gosden & Phillips, 2006, p. 16). In these terms, the evolutionary theory implied the concept of supremacy serving as a foundation for the museological discourse.

The Pitt Rivers Museum, founded in 1884 by August Pitt Rivers, who donated his ethnographic and anthropologic private collection to the University of Oxford, is usually quoted as a paradigmatic example of a colonial and evolutionary museum. Reflecting the scientific theories of that time, Pitt Rivers designed what he considered to be the ideal museum as a "giant anthropological rotunda", composed of concentric circles adapted to the "exhibition of the expanding varieties of an evolutionary arrangement" (Pitt Rivers, 1988, quoted in Chapman, 1985, p. 39). The selection and or organisation of the objects in the exhibition space obeyed to exclusively formal criteria, without considering their geographical provenance or cultural context of origin. "Using criteria of comparative relative homogeneity and simplicity to chronologically order similar sets of artifacts, the researcher could establish a sequence of material objects which displayed the progress of culture from the more to less primitive" (Keuren, 1984, p. 176). The disposition of the artefacts intended to demonstrate the evolution of manufacturing techniques in different cultures and over time, in a gradual evolutionary line, from primitive improvisations to complex European elaborations (Simine, 2013), that is, until Victorian England which, symbolically, became the vortex of human accomplishments. This linear ordering was adjusted to the Western ethnocentric ideology, and the museum became a model of the empire and of the civilising order it imposed to natives from other cultures.

The display based on the concept of cultural hierarchy was, meanwhile, altered by eliminating the series system. "Although many objects are still grouped according to their form or function, 'typologically', (...) the displays show different cultural solutions to common problems, and the diversity of human creativity and belief systems" (Gosden & Larson, 2007, p. 3). Despite this, the museum still reflects a colonial attitude towards other cultures, serving as representation of 19th century museology, anchored in concepts underlying the exhibition of ethnographic collections. Although this might be a reason to keep the museum as a case study, it does not evade the risk of triggering a nostalgic attitude regarding the past: "nevertheless, the popularity of the museum rests to a large degree on what visitors believe (and are positively encouraged to believe) is an untouched Victorian display" (Simine, 2013, p. 132).

Adverse both to the museological discourse based on evolutionism and the narrative of progress through technological stages, which set up a cultural hierarchy with western Europe at the top, Francis Boas advocated that "classification is not explanation" (quoted in Qureshi, 2014, p. 278) and proposed an alternative model for ordering the objects, now based on criteria of affinity between cultural groups. "Boas promoted a cultural relativism and pluralism that was to become one of the hallmarks of American anthropology after the turn of the century" (Jenkins, 1994, p. 266). In a dispute he had, in 1887, with Otis Mason and John Wesley Powell (Jacknis, 1985; Stocking, Mason & Powell, 1994), Boas criticised the typological and evolutionary model because he considered

that to separate an object from the cultural group it was created for, and from the set of its productions, would render the understanding of its multiple meanings, as well as the knowledge about its ethnicity, impossible. This perspective, already following a functionalist approach, provided each cultural group with an autonomous and unitary relevance, eliminating hierarchies and comparisons between them, and contradicted the tenets of evolutionism, even though evolutionary schemes have remained broadly rooted until the second half of the 20th century.

Post-colonialist debates

The disintegration of the European empires brought about several post-colonial theories that address the circumstances and consequences of European colonisation and the social effects of imposing the coloniser's identity on the colonised. "Postcolonialism is the academic cultural component of the condition of postcoloniality. It represents a theoretical approach on the part of the formerly colonized, the subaltern and the historically oppressed" (Nayar, 2015, p. 122).

Evolutionist museums, or those that still exhibit artefacts from former colonies, without considering them works of art at the same level as the great western masters, are analytically and critically reassessed, which includes exhibition criteria and the formulation of their discourses. The way objects are displayed in evolutionist museums is denounced in their colonialist purposes and inability to represent the "other": "the place assigned the primitive within these was designed exclusively for western eyes, for telling a story to and about a metropolitan 'we' by means of the representational roles assigned to 'them'" (Bennett, 2004, p. 110). The objects are used to substantiate the hegemonic discourse of Anthropology, Art, and History museums.

The logic that had inspired the creation of the first museums dissipated with the end of colonialism. For this reason, post-colonial studies reach the very core of western museological activity, forcing us to question the matrices of their functioning, the legitimacy of possessing these artefacts and the way they are displayed.

The question, which has been highly focused on the Anthropology and Ethnography museums, gained relevance on the occasion of the creation of the Musée du quai Branly (currently Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac), which annexed the ethnology collections of the Musée de l'Homme (Museum of Mankind) and of the Musée national des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie (National Museum of Arts of Africa and Oceania). The permanent exhibition presents around 3.500 objects, selected from the about 280.000 that constitute the collection, most of them coming from ethnic groups from Africa, Asia, Oceania and the Americas, and which date back to the 19th and the early 20th centuries.

The museum was announced as the place "where cultures converse", creating a controversy synthesized by James Clifford: "cultures don't converse: people do, and their exchanges are conditioned by particular contact-histories, relations of power, individual reciprocities, modes of travel, access, and understanding" (2007, p. 16). Clifford (2007) also formulates a series of questions that frame the issue of post-colonial

anthropological museology: "exactly how "cultures" will be able to "converse" – speaking what languages? supposing what epistemologies? what political agendas? with what degrees of authority? representing whom? – remains to be seen" (p. 5).

Despite the claimed identification of the museum with the local cultures and the announced dialogue with its agents, its opening in 2006 started a broad debate around colonial legacy in museum collections, the representation policies within the articulation between Anthropology, Archaeology or History of Art, and the inclusion of origin communities. The very designation of the museum (related to its location, near the quai Branly, by the river Seine), refusing to be named *arts premiers* (Price, 2007, p. 47) or similar, reveals the difficulty in defining the museum's collection, between Art and Anthropology, and the rejection of a terminology that evokes evolutionary theories. While Fabienne Boursiquot (2014) considers that the Musée du quai Branly reconfigures the ethnographic museum as art museum, Nélida Dias (2007) understands that the museum, "thus escaping all disciplinary influence" (p. 76), is situated within the scope of arts and civilisations, fact that allows it to inaugurate a new museological model.

In the inaugural speech of the Musée du quai Branly, the President of the Republic, Jacques Chirac (2006), while affirming the homage of France to the peoples that, over the years, suffered the violence of Western countries, also defined the establishment of the museum as "the refusal of ethnocentrism, of this unreasonable and inacceptable claim of the West to carry, in itself, the fate of mankind" (n.p.). Besides that, he rejected the ideological basis of evolutionist museums:

> there is the rejection of this false evolutionism which claims that certain peoples would be frozen at an earlier stage of human evolution, that their so-called 'primitive' cultures would only be valid as objects of study for the ethnologist or, at best, as sources of inspiration for the Western artist. (Chirac, 2006, n.p.)

This might be seen as the announcement of a new perspective on the "other", through the recovery of their cultural practices, but innovation was limited to Jean Nouvel's bold architecture and to scenographies of a spectacular museum arrangement (Lebovics, 2006). Apart from a few occasional temporary exhibitions and their parallel programming, the museological discourse, which was not very informative, maintained the ethnocentric view of the "other", referred to in the third person. "Objects from widely varied cultures are all shown in homogenizing, elegantly shaped, adequately lit glass cases. Here and there particularly handsome pieces were isolated in dramatically highlighted cases to emphasize their qualities as great art" (Lebovics, 2006, p. 99). The original contexts are evoked through vulgarised biases and a stereotypical view of the rainforest, dark and mysterious, in an artificial suggestion, simplistic and very reductive. The objects, regardless of their function or symbolism, are aestheticized, presenting themselves as a work of art and having the underlying purpose of showing that there are other artistic universes outside Europe and the Western world. What apparently could be seen as a promotion, from artefact to art object, is a distortion of the meaning and use

of these objects, given that they were not created as art objects nor are seen as such by the origin cultural groups (Herle et al., 2017, §8).

The president of the museum, Stéphane Martin, justified, in an interview, the absence of texts in the permanent exhibition through the dichotomy between the Anglophone museology, focused on a didactic and informative intention, and the French one "obsessed by the purity and authenticity of the object" (quoted in Naumann, 2006, p. 122), which prevented, simultaneously, the presence of indigenous narratives. At the same time, it recovers the predominance of the visual aspect of the first museums which is here expressed through the aestheticization of objects and the staging of space.

Neither the "other" takes on the narrative, nor is the object displayed in the complexity of its evocations and representations. The heart of the matter is that this "other" keeps its otherness instead of, definitively, claiming to be the "I" in the exhibitional discourse. "This new Musée du quai Branly represents the Other, the colonised, mainly from the perspective of the aesthetic culture of the contemporary West. The connection between the beautiful and the exotic primitive has a long history in France" (Lebovics, 2010, p. 443). Nonetheless, Benoît de L'Estoile (2007) argues that, in the post-colonial world, the museum must be more a space of rapport between the "us" and the "others" than just about the "others'. By arguing that the museum "proposes an initiatory experience that provides access to a timeless and dreamlike universe" (L'Estoile, 2007, p. 272), the author believes that "it is paradoxical that in a museum which intends to give back 'three quarters of mankind' their rightful place the others do not speak" (L'Estoile, 2007, p. 272). To a certain extent, the misunderstandings and tensions surrounding the crisis of ethnographic representation derive from contemporary myths about the objects of other cultures, generically referred to as "first arts", in a reformulation of the evolutionary primitivism that continues to allow the decontextualised display of objects.

Decolonisation and restitution of objects to the origin groups

The inability to contextualise objects from other cultures has been used as pretext to claim their return to their origin groups. However, the restitution of objects has to deal with the myths of origin pointed out by Stuart Hall (1992), thus providing the construction of alternative narratives, previous to the colonisation ruptures, and which underlie the new decolonised nations. "I say 'myths' because, as was the case with many African nations which emerged after decolonization, what preceded colonization was not 'one nation, one people', but many different tribal cultures and societies" (Hall, 1992, p. 295).

These myths relate to the devaluation of interculturality, especially in peripheral societies or vulnerable to Western influence by the very phenomenon of colonisation, favouring the "colonial fantasy" of pure cultural groups: "the idea that these are 'closed' places – ethnically pure, culturally traditional, undisturbed until yesterday by the ruptures of modernity – is a Western fantasy about 'otherness'" (Hall, 1992, p. 305). The deconstruction of these myths does not mean, however, that the epigone communities of the origin groups, faced with the display of collections gathered for aesthetic reasons,

disconsidering the creators, uses and meanings of the objects, have lost the sense of belonging and the desire to reappropriate items that are part of their cultural origins.

> It is then also easy to appreciate how descendants of the makers of the objects – understanding their original uses and meanings and wanting to reestablish a sense of historical continuity or to reconnect with their culture's spiritual life – might want the objects either back in their own care or presented quite differently in their current location. (Gurian, 2006, p. 195)

Anthropological artefacts have a meaning that goes beyond any aesthetic and patrimonial values, namely, a religious or magical sense that remains active in the origin communities. This situation is particularly sensitive when it comes to sacred objects and human remains.

> Indeed, the issues surrounding the display and possible repatriation of human remains and sacred objects have begun to effect quite radical changes upon museum practices in the latter part of the twentieth century, resulting in restricted access, non-display of sensitive materials and repatriation. (Simpson, 2001, p. 108)

Considering the sensitive nature of these collections, the Michael C. Carlos Museum, in Atlanta, decided to return the mummy identified as Ramses I, the founding pharaoh of the XIX Dynasty of the New Kingdom (1292 or 1295 BC). Its arrival to Egypt, in October 2003, accompanied by official honours and ceremonies that recovered the imaginary of ancient rituals, caused great commotion among the population.

> The return of the mummy and the attendant ceremonies, broadcast throughout the country, made a marked impression in Egypt and were a moment of great nationalistic feeling and pride in their past as people celebrated the return of a pharaoh. (Ikram, 2011, p. 145)

Although the modern man is not ruled by the same network of beliefs, myths and symbols as those of ancient civilisations, that connection may be restored, what comes to show that the ties to the past, though subtle, are immanent.

The transformation of human remains into museological objects may well be the most radical decontextualisation ever in a museological context, besides involving ethical questions of the utmost importance (Cury, 2020). Nevertheless, the display of anthropological artefacts, ignoring the existence of a religious or magical sense still active in the origin communities, is perceived by these as an offense to their primordial meaning.

In the case of the objects of Pre-classical or Classical Antiquity, the effect of the decontextualisation does not appear to be so pressing. However, the fact that they were taken in a context of war or of foreign domination, determines that the colonised peoples are to demand the replacement of what has unduly been taken away from them. The sense of belonging, along with the design to take possession, is still present in the places where the collections were taken from, whether in the countries of Ancient Mesopotamia,

in Egypt or Greece. Between the 19th and the 20th centuries, these areas were under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, very favourable to the large-scale removal of monuments, sculptures and ancient objects for Western public and private collections.

There is still a colonialist attitude in the refusal to recognise the illegal nature of the incorporation of many of the objects in the great museums, so-called universal due to the scope of their collections. The British Museum, in London, one of the most relevant of these museums, has been one of the main targets of reproach and criticism, especially due to the lack of an adequate response to the successive requests for the return of cultural, religious and historical artefacts, directed at it by various nations plundered by the British Empire. The inability of the museum (and the country) to recognise the mistakes from the colonial past and the illegal acts committed during the appropriation of heritage is interpreted as an arrogant attitude and a way of somehow upholding the rights of the coloniser-dominator in the face of the rights of the colonised-subaltern in relation to (its) cultural and patrimonial property.

The issue gained increased relevance after the campaign started by Melina Mercouri, Greek minister of Culture and Sciences (1981-1989), for the return of the Parthenon Marbles to the Acropolis, Athens, which were part of the architectonic structure when the 7th Earl of Elgin, Thomas Bruce, ordered them to be taken and transported to London, taking advantage of his position as British ambassador to the Ottoman Empire which, at the time, dominated Greece. They were later acquired by the British government which placed them at the museum. The matter of the Parthenon marbles has particular nuances that arise from the process of appropriation and the fact that Athens offers conditions for their display in context, at the gallery of the Acropolis Museum, especially designed for that and with a privileged view of the Parthenon. Nevertheless, despite all the efforts, the debate is still open and has expanded to other museums and other countries, such as France and Germany.

The French president, Emmanuel Macron, has asked two scholars, Bénédicte Savoy, from France, and Felwine Sarr, from Senegal, a report on the return of items from the African cultural heritage. The concluding document *Rapport sur la restitution du patrimoine culturel africain: vers une nouvelle éthique relationnelle* (Savoy & Sarr, 2018), was delivered in November 2018 and published the following year. Savoy and Sarr (2019) recommend that the objects, taken and sent to France without the authorisation of the country of origin, be permanently returned, if the latter so requests, as part of a collaborative process of data gathering, research and training.

In line with these recommendations, the German minister of Culture, Monika Grütters, confirmed, earlier this year, that almost two million euros were allocated to museums, archives and libraries so that they can investigate the provenance of the objects acquired during the 19th and the early 20th centuries, justifying: "for many decades, colonial history in Germany has been a blind spot in the culture of memory (...). Provenance research on collections from colonial contexts is a decisive contribution to taking a closer look" (Grütters, quoted in Brown, 2019, §5).

On the other hand, the English Secretary of Culture, Oliver Dowden (Malnick, 2020), warned that government-funded museums and galleries may lose the support of taxpayers if they return artefacts from their collections. In statements to the BBC, the British Museum assured that "the British Museum has no intention of removing controversial objects from public display (…) Instead, it will seek where appropriate to contextualise or reinterpret them in a way that enables the public to learn about them in their entirety" (British Museum 'won't remove controversial objects' from display, 2020, § 5-6). If the return of objects to their countries of origin is only one side of the problem, where the need for reasoned and well-grounded options is emphasised, the other side, perhaps more relevant and equally complex, is here stated by the British Museum: the need to incorporate the narratives around these objects and their cultural, functional, ritual or symbolic recontextualisation.

Eurocentrism is still active in Western museums, maintaining the hegemonic view of a greater competence to conserve and display the items which, in their places of origin, would be at risk. "A mistaken view, quite paternalistic, for it sees in the 'other' a fragility that can be remedied by protection. (…) Control of what belongs to the 'other' and the 'other' itself" (Cury, 2020, p. 6). When it comes to museums' argumentation regarding the return of collections, this view is articulated with the conviction that heritage is universal and, therefore, belongs to all, and is not a particular prerogative of a certain cultural group.

Agents and factors of the decolonisation of the museum in contemporary times

In a post-colonial context, Western museums have been feeling the pressure of the claims of former colonised peoples, for the restitution of the collections, as well as for the reformulation of the discourses. However, the response is still weak and superficial, namely through the updating of a few narratives and museographies, reconfiguring them in a more contemporary approach, but lacking the courage to carry out a deep review (let alone contrition) of the past, of the cultural relations among peoples, of acculturation phenomena. What is requested from museums is the assessment of the colonial past legacies in relation to the contemporary post-colonial reality (Thomas, 2010). The museums, however, tend to deal with this past through obliteration, forgetting the colonialist and imperialist roots, and neglecting their legacies or integrating them in general collections (Phillips, 2005), or through the exploitation of the values of the colonised peoples indigenous cultures (Aldrich, 2010).

In spite of all the changes in museums, knowledge is still colonised, as argues Irminguard Staueble (2007), in the sense that colonialism means "the imposition of Western authority over all aspects of indigenous knowledges, languages and cultures" (p. 90). Therefore, the peoples in earlier colonised areas claim their inclusion, as active subject, in the museological discourse, contesting the museum's authority in its elaboration and the way it deals with the collections that are culturally extrinsic to them. The supposed neutrality of a linear discourse is replaced by the interlocution between the various

perspectives on the same phenomenon, recovering the original meaning of objects and continually questioning stereotypes and conventionalisms.

> Such contextualization of previously established collections allows the museum to recover one of its former functions, that is to say, as a fulcrum for debate in which the final discourse is to be decided by the visitor, whose thinking is nurtured by the objects and the different discourses that have been given to them throughout time. (Sauvage, 2010, p. 109)

The formal reconfiguration of the museums with non-Western collections has been slow and superficial, accentuating the graphic updating in detriment of a conceptual rectification. The collections of the colonial past need to be repositioned in new interpretative frameworks, and elaborated as collaborative projects with their origin communities. James Clifford (1997), describing "museums as contact zone", advocated this articulation in inclusive programmes, although he warned that "neither community 'experience' nor curatorial 'authority' has an automatic right to the contextualization of collections or to the narration of contact histories" (p. 208). Similarly, Hooper-Greenhill (2000) argues that, in order to produce polysemic exhibitions, museums must recognise the existence of multiple "interpretative communities", those that see objects and texts in a similar way through "common repertoires and strategies used in interpretation" (p. 121), pointing out that the interpretation of objects is not something that occurs from the testimony of an isolated individual, and only happens within a social context. Likewise, Ruth Phillips recognises that museums "are learning that they must modify the Western ideals of open access to objects and information on which public museums were founded, in order to respect other systems of knowledge management" (Phillips, 2005, p. 109). The literature of the early 21st century shows the convergence of the authors in the defense of the museum as a contact zone, despite Tony Bennet's warning (1998), foreseeing the possibility of instrumentalisation of intercultural dialogues. In fact, the museum, "as a site of accumulation, as a gatekeeper of authority and expert accounts, as the ultimate caretaker of the object, as the ultimate arbiter of the identity of the object, as its documenter and even as the educator" (Boast, 2011, p. 67), even as contact zone, is still used to camouflage bias and neo-colonial appropriations.

Colonialism and imperialism were strongly legitimised by the Western hegemony and assimilated by hierarchies of race and culture, in a pattern that keeps shaping the geopolitical and cultural map, even after the colonised peoples achieved political autonomy (Kilomba, 2010). In this context, the decolonisation of the museum, too, is processed in a game of tensions and unbalances: the colonial and Eurocentric matrix, dominant in museological discourses, does not reflect the increasing detachment from the values that were once inherent to them; Western museums keep material collections without attaching to them their corresponding intangible elements, the knowledge of which persists in indigenous communities; the groups of other cultures that have adopted the concept of museum for the conservation of their heritage do not manage to recover the collections kept in Western museums. The museums that are assumed to be contact

zones, adopting a model of collaboration with the origin or epigone communities, do not ensure a reciprocity pattern in which they contribute more effectively and equally, and benefit from the exhibitions they take part in (Hoerig, 2010).

However, even if museums with colonial collections are still cultural institutions with a relevant role in society, "the current intellectual, juridical and political context provides other historical possibilities and the pure and simple representation of a homogeneous nation or of a white and Europeanised mankind does not become more stimulating or sustainable" (Oliveira & Santos, 2016, p. 17). Over time, the museum has become a stable institution, safeguarding values considered fundamental and immutable, but has also proved to be able to transform and adjust to historical contingencies and to the becoming of society. The proclaimed neutral character of the museum is currently seen as resignation, when it is required to take an active and reactive stand on social issues, diversity and inclusion. This is where takes shape the concept of "museum activism, in the sense of museum practice, shaped out of ethically-informed values, that is intended to bring about political, social and environmental change" (Janes & Sandell, 2019, p. 1).

The continuity of the museum depends on its action as agent of change, able to interrupt a long cycle of bias, including the way the knowledge on other cultures is produced, disseminated and exposed, and the promotion of active policies of diversity and inclusion, and, consequently, the decolonisation of collections and discourses.

Conclusion

The first museums incorporated objects from other cultures, aestheticising them and concealing their original meaning, with the purpose of justifying the Western hegemony and imperialism. The permanence of colonial collections in the museum, maintaining past exhibition and discursive parameters, is still indicative of dominance behaviour. Even the museums that reformulate discourses, replacing the reference to primitive arts with early arts, persist in the adulteration of the meaning of artefacts created with intent to use, or with a magical or religious sense, and keep this colonialist imprint, particularly evident in the refusal to dialogue with the origin or epigone communities.

Decolonising museums involves transforming the evolutionary and positivist aspect of the exhibition into a co-curatorship in which local communities' narratives take precedence, participating actively in the management, interpretation, display and mediation of their heritage. In some museums, the notion of obligation associated to a new discourse has already led to substantial changes, as assuming a shared curatorial model. This model includes local communities as the dominant enunciator and recognises the authority of their knowledge. In Europe, however, this process has proved to be more time-consuming and hard, and rarely reaches the great universalist museums.

The process of decolonising museums, beyond the different models and rhythms in which it occurs, is inevitable. But it is also broader than the return of objects to their places of origin or the introduction of native narratives. It is the colonial past itself that needs to be questioned – if the past cannot be altered, it can be analysed, scrutinised,

discussed, understood and taken on in its circumstances and consequences. The results of this analysis ought also to be integrated into the museum discourse, assuming that this past is part of the very existence of these objects, as of the history of museology.

Translation: Helena Antunes

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Objectification of the Chopi music in the "First Portuguese Colonial Exhibition" (Porto, 1934)

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Abstract

The cultural objectification process is selective, as it implies the recontextualization of certain cultural objects in a different context than the one that generated them, attributing them new significance and meanings (Handler, 1984, p. 62). During the First Portuguese Colonial Exhibition (Porto, 1934), this attitude was related to the discourse of invention of the "other", where the relations between societies are governed by certain hierarchies. Mudimbe (2013, pp. 15-16) designates them as settlers, those who establish a region and dictate the rules; the colonizers, those who explore a territory under the control of the local majority, with a tendency to organize and transform non-European zones into fundamentally European constructions. At the end of this hierarchy, I would add the colonized, that is, those who obey. In the context of the colonial exhibition in Porto (1934), the Chopi music was recontextualized, and new meanings and significance were attributed, becoming a symbol of Portuguese national identity. Therefore, the Chopi music during the colonial exhibition of Porto was transformed into practices of surrender and submission of Mozambican communities, and its meanings and significance were reduced in acts of folk representation through Western performance models and the imposition of the respective aesthetic and moral models, including vertical communication from top to bottom.

Keywords

exhibition; objectification; Chopi music; recontextualization; *Estado Novo*

Objetificação da música chope no quadro da "Primeira Exposição Colonial Portuguesa" (Porto, 1934)

Resumo

O processo de objetificação cultural é selectivo, pois, implica a recontextualização de determinados objectos culturais num outro contexto diferente daquele que os gerou, atribuindo-lhes novos sentidos e significados (Handler, 1984, p. 62). No quadro da Primeira Exposição Colonial Portuguesa (Porto, 1934), esta atitude estava relacionada com os discursos de invenção do "outro", onde as relações entre as sociedades são regidas por certas hierarquias. Mudimbe (2013, pp. 15-16) designa por colonos, aqueles que estabelecem uma região e ditam as regras; os colonizadores, aqueles que exploram um território pelo domínio da maioria local, com uma tendência para organizar e transformar zonas não europeias em construções fundamentalmente europeias. Acrescentaria no fim desta hierarquia, os colonizados, ou seja, aqueles que obedecem. No contexto da exposição colonial do Porto (1934), a música chope foi recontextualizada em Portugal, sendo-lhe atribuídos novos sentidos e significados, tornando-se em símbolo de identidade nacional portuguesa. Portanto, a música chope, durante a exposição colonial do Porto, foi transformada em práticas de rendição e submissão das comunidades moçambicanas, e os seus sentidos e significados foram reduzidos em atos de representação folclórica através de

modelos performativos ocidentais e da imposição dos respectivos modelos estéticos e morais, incluindo uma comunicação vertical de cima para baixo.

Palavras-chave

exposição; objectificação; música chope; recontextualização; Estado Novo

Introduction

Anthropologist Clara Carvalho, in her work "Ambiguous representation: power and mimesis in colonial Guinea" (2002), says that colonialism, as a domination project, was achieved through various means of influence, which in addition to the domination of local populations, included the control of work, production, time, domesticity, family practices, intimacy of body and soul. The author further advances that this heterogeneity of authoritarian practices broke definitively with the old sociocultural structures. So, European domination cannot be understood as a temporary oppression of the populations, but as an irrevocable process of transmutation in which, life forms were destroyed to emerge others in their place, a history of unprecedented and highly perverse changes (Carvalho, 2002, p. 93).

In this article, we propose to analyze the process of cultural objectification (Handler, 1984) of the Chopi music in the context of the Porto Colonial Exhibition. According to Medeiros, the exhibition was held from June 15 to the end of September 1934, in the Palácio das Colónias in the city of Porto, which in the summer of that same year received the name of Palácio de Cristal (Medeiros, 2003, p. 155). Considered as the "apotheosis of the empire" day, the opening day of the Colonial Exhibition was also classified by the local press, as the day that marks the existence of the Portuguese Colonial Empire by article 132 of the new political constitution of the Portuguese Republic which declared:

> 1st the Portuguese colonial empire is solidary in its component parts; 2nd that the solidarity of the colonial empire includes the obligation to contribute adequately so that the ends of each of its members and the integrity and defense of the nation are ensured; 3rd that the State will not alienate any part of its colonial territories, without prejudice to the rectification of its borders without appreciation of the congress. (Decree-law n° 22:465)

The event was supervised by the ministry of Colonies, with the involvement of the General Agency of the Colonies, whose technical director was Henrique Galvão and João Mimoso Moreira as head of the advertising division. The purpose of this event was:

> document at the proper moment, the enormous colonial effort of the Portuguese. It will teach everyone what our colonies are, what has been done in them and their possibilities for a prosperous future, at the height of our quality as a third colonial power, (...). Our colonial empire is formed by

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several colonies scattered around the world, some measuring several times the surface of the continent, one of which is larger than Spain and France combined. And they say that we are a small nation. (A Exposição Colonial do Porto, 1934, p. 1)

In addition to exposing the colonies, the Colonial Exhibition established new ways of representing metropolitan provinces and their popular classes (Medeiros, 2003, p. 156). The popularity of this *Estado Novo* (New State) initiative (1933-1974) can be measured by the number of people who visited the exhibition, more than half a million, and the simulation of indigenous villages (characteristic huts divided into neighborhoods), built inside the gardens of the Palacio de Cristal and the 324 occupants recruited in Macau, Goa, Timor, Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Carvalho, 2012, p. 5). Music and other performative practices were included in this fictional scenario of Africa (Carvalho, 2002, p. 221).

METHODOLOGY

The methodological strategy was based on the analysis of correspondence funds from the António Oliveira Salazar Archive (AOS); the Ministry of the Interior (MI); Henrique Galvão (HG), as well as correspondence from the Ministry of Overseas. In addition, I focused the analysis on the documentary funds of the Municipal Libraries of Porto, the General Bulletin of the Colonies, published in more than 45 volumes from 1925 to 1969, and finally, in the bibliography of the field of Anthropology (Cabecinhas & Cunha, 2003; Carvalho, 2002, 2012; Medeiros, 2003); History (Blanchard, Bancel, Boëtsch, Deroo, Lemaire, 2008); Ethnomusicology (Pestana, 2012) and the digital platform Memories of Africa and the East.

From the theoretical point of view, I start from the assumption suggested by Richard Handler (1984), according to which cultural objectification is selective because it implies the removal of certain cultural objects from a set of several others from their generating context – decontextualizing them – to be recontextualized elsewhere. It is in this process of recontextualization that they will lose all the symbolism and meaning that they had in their original context, in order to be assigned new senses and meanings, as signs of national identity (Handler, 1984, p. 62).

The Chopi music is associated with the Chopi people that inhabit the province of Inhambane, in the districts of Zavala, Inharrime, Homoine, Zandamela, and in some districts in the north of Gaza province in Southern Mozambique. The Chopi music in reference is the *ngodo*, an articulated set of practices that includes choreography, the sung word and the performance of an instrumental set called *timbila*, and consisting of several *mbila* (singular of timbila), which are lamellophones of complex wood composed of 16 to 18 blades. The *ngodo* is performed by about 20 to 30 people, most of whom are instrumentalists associated with *mbila* (about 10 to 15 players).

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Figure 1: *Ngodo* Chopi in the fictional village of Mozambique at the exhibition

Source: Boletim Geral das Colónias, 1934, p. 431

The first written record known in Mozambique regarding the practice of *ngodo* dates from the 16th century and is by Father André Fernandes, a missionary of the Society of Jesus. At this point the missionary writes about *mbila* with some dazzle, clearly associating it with music from, evidently, his own understanding of the subject:

> these people are very much given to the pleasures of singing and tingling their instruments with gourds connected with strings and, some large and others small (...). They play songs to the king at night and that gives him something. (Junod, 1939, p. 19)

The *ngodo,* although translated as music by colonial discourses, has always deserved the special attention of external observers, probably due to the complexity of its performance and, above all, of its instruments. For this reason, it was also the practice chosen by the organizer of the Porto Colonial Exhibition, Henrique Galvão, to represent Mozambique. This article is about this process and the consequences that resulted from the choice of the *ngodo* as an expository "object" with propagandistic intentions.

The political context and the significance of the 1934 Porto Colonial Exhibition

The exhibition was held in a context in which Portugal was remodeling the colonial administration, which included repositioning itself in the territories where they had settled, and taking into account the international context of the time. The visible mark of colonial administrative remodeling is well shaped in the imperialist political discourse of the Estado Novo, in the organic bases of colonial administration of 1926, in which the need to remodel the colonial administration is expressed. In this phase, the expression "colonial empire" is used for the first time, thus showing the strategic relevance that this expression was beginning to assume. On October 23, the Indigenous political, civil and criminal statute is approved by Decree nº 12533 and later Decree nº 28570 1930, of July 8 (Rosas & Brandão, 1996, cited in Cabecinhas & Cunha, 2003, p. 10). In 1933 the decree

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was constitutionalized in the form of a Colonial Act, thus reaffirming the desire to revalue the colonies in the following terms: "it is the organic essence of the Portuguese Nation to perform the historical function of owning and colonizing overseas domains and civilize the indigenous populations" (art. 2nd of Acto Colonial, 1933)[1].

For anthropologist Luís Cunha, it is interesting to highlight two points:

> for the Estado Novo, the Colonial Exhibition of Porto (1934) and the Portuguese World Exhibition in Lisbon (1940) incorporated two fundamental objectives: (i) the empire's exaltation discourse and (ii) its necessary pedagogical lesson for the Portuguese people. Cunha, states that through the exhibition we sought to captivate interests and vocations, but above all to demonstrate the true dimension and vocation of the country. The exposure of the nation's "geographic vastness" would allow to deny its "European smallness", showing "the value of the Portuguese missionary and civilizing soul". (Cunha, 2001, p. 95)

Through its colonies, Portugal intended to create a geographical illusion to convince the Portuguese and the international community about the vastness of its imperial colonial space and to give "a lesson in colonialism to the Portuguese people, to convince the most resilient with quite original processes, to teach the less literate and the illiterate themselves" (Galvão, 1934, p. 6). It was an idea that also resulted from the presence of Portugal in other exhibitions in Europe, and therefore supported by João Mimoso Moreira as follows:

> this advertising process has long been recognized (and explored) abroad, which in Portugal has not been properly addressed, although it is more accessible to all social strata, and with easy repercussions to admit in a country where most the population does not read newspapers or magazines, does not visit museums or attend conferences. (Exposição Colonial Portuguesa, 1934, pp. 17-19)

The choice of the place to hold the event was due to its "very strong and impressive aspects of regionalism" (Moreira, 1934, p. 77), that is, the Palácio das Colónias offered the necessary conditions that, which for the organizers, allowed to simulate the African villages and their intended rural environment. The installation in the exhibition hall of "typical" houses in the colonies, small "indigenous" villages and the huts' characteristics divided into neighborhoods and the 324 occupants recruited in Macau, Goa, Timor, Mozambique, Angola and Guinea fit perfectly into the scenario that the Palácio das Colónias offered (Carvalho, 2012, p. 5). Mozambican writer Francisco Noa, inspired by Fernando Rosas' proposals, says that from a political point of view, the Porto Colonial Exhibition was clearly a propaganda event by the Estado Novo and presents us with four fundamentals of colonial ideology in this period:

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[1] Retrieved from https://www.parlamento.pt/Parlamento/Documents/acto_colonial.pdf

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the first has to do with the historical mission to colonize, civilize and evangelize; second, the superiority of the white man over the 'indigenous' man or the 'black' man and that stemmed a lot from 'social Darwinism'; third, the historical right to the occupation and maintenance of the empire in the face of the permanent conspiracy of the great powers of the time and fourthly, to defend the colonies as if it were national independence itself. (Rosas, 1995, quoted in Noa, 2002, p. 63)

For the Estado Novo, this event meant the resurgence of Portugal Overseas, reiterating the idea that the life of the Portuguese nation was based on the empire. The geographer Heriberto Cairo, advances that the cartographic representation of the territory constituted a powerful tool in the process of construction of the national identity, since the maps showed the extension of the territory, or when he mentions that "the empire is the nation, therefore Portugal extends from Minho to Timor" (Cairo, 2006, pp. 367). The author also says that "with this policy, Portugal advocated a paradoxical idea regarding the disappearance of colonies, by declaring that in the Portuguese empire there are no colonies – there are only provinces of the unitary country, connected by the sea" (pp. 374-375).

Figure 2: Map of the Portuguese colonial empire with which the Estado Novo sought to show that Portugal was not a small country. Map designed by Henrique Galvão

Source: Serra, 2020

So, by bringing the African peoples from the colonies to the Colonial Exhibition, the Estado Novo wanted to:

teach everyone what our colonies are worth, what they have done and their possibilities for a prosperous future equal to our quality as a third colonial power. Our colonial empire is formed by several colonies scattered around the world, some measuring several times the surface of the continent of the country and one of them is larger than Spain and France combined, and they say that we are a small nation. (Exposição Colonial Portuguesa, 1934, p. 1)

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The representation of the African continent during the 19th century coincided, in some way, with the beginning of its active colonization and the proliferation of the photographic image. Colonialism, using violent and symbolic physical domination, where text and image played an important role, therefore contributing to the establishment of an imperial identity within the imagination of the metropolitan European citizen (Carvalho, 2002, p. 3). These images have circulated in the press or on postcards since 1888 in the main European metropolises, seeking to convey their new status as members of a colonial "empire", as well as attracting potential professionals to the colonial project. It was in this context that photographic images created and reproduced stereotypes of social differentiation, reinforced by the colonial ideology (Carvalho, 2012, p. 2), and that in the Portuguese case, postcards were produced, but also stamps and other types of caricatures where the image of the African individual is explored, as attested by the following images.

Figure 3: Collection of stamps produced within the scope of the Porto Colonial Exhibition (1934), with caricature of African women in the exhibition

Source: https://www.filatelicasaogabriel.com.br/peca.asp?ID=4110802

In this sense, the organizers of the exhibition took advantage of the human zoos to which they refer (Blanchard et al., 2008, p. 1), with the slogan "see to believe", therefore, for the organizers of the exhibition it was possible for visitors to experience in real time, the fictional African natural environment, and quickly capture people's interest, because the image expressed in the iconography produced in the context of the Colonial Exhibition, thus facilitated the most illiterate in society colonial metropolitan, perceive the message of the photographic image in the framework of the logics of thought and representation of the "other" (Carvalho, 2012, p. 3). The statements by the Portuguese Colony minister, Armindo Monteiro, to the newspaper *O Comércio do Porto* are very informative in this respect:

> the Palácio das Colónias which is a miracle of achievement and organization, had the sublime ability to transport our sublime colonial empire to Portugal, to this city; the Portuguese had no possibilities, they could not go to the colonies, they could not see the glorious continuation overseas of their homeland (...). They will make the big trip to our colonies in minutes, in hours, making a magnificent dream come from the cradle, from the past. (A exposição colonial do Porto, 1934, p. 1)

Mozambique's presence at the Porto colonial exhibition

The announcement of the presence of the representation of Mozambique in the Portuguese Colonial Exhibition had been made through a telegram sent to the Portuguese authorities by the governor-general of Mozambique, from the then city of Lourenço Marques, current Maputo, the capital of Mozambique (Exposição Colonial Portuguesa, 1934, p. 6). It was an advertisement characterized by some contradiction in terms of the number of people who were part of the Mozambican entourage, led by *LM Guardian* and *O Comércio do Porto*. The *LM Guardian*, indicated the date of arrival of the Mozambican representation as being the May 18, while *O Comércio do Porto* indicated the date of the April 19. The newspaper *O Comércio do Porto* of May 25, 1934 (Embarque da companhia indígena para o Porto, 1934), on its page two, again contradicts itself regarding the number of individuals that made up the "black" troop. The first mentioned that there were 100 individuals, while another article in the same newspaper indicated that the "black" troop was composed of 64 men.

In terms of constituting the representation of Mozambique at the Portuguese Colonial Exhibition, it is worth mentioning that it was made up of a military corps, the 5th Indigenous Infantry Company of Mozambique, which had received military, gymnastics and sports games instruction, and a civilian body by 15 men, 10 women and 13 children (Na Exposição Colonial: Moçambique e Índia já tem representação, 1934, p. 1; Boletim Geral das Colónias, 1934, p. 263). The civilian body was divided into five families of *landins*, five indigenous people of complementary race from the group of marimbas (Exposição Colonial Portuguesa, 1934, p. 7).

Na parada de metralhadoras n.º 3 (Pôrto)
A Companhia Indígena de Landins em continência à Bandeira

Figure 4: Company of African soldiers at a military parade in Porto

Source: Boletim Geral das Colónias, 1934, p. 489

The Mozambique Infantry Company was also present at the event in the city of Porto, through an exhibition pavilion that contained elements of the Portuguese presence in the territory, fortresses (São Sebastião on the Island of Mozambique and Sofala), an

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itinerary of the places where the fighting took place during the so-called pacification campaigns in Africa, names of the Portuguese military officers who took part in the various military actions and letters representing the occupation of the territory (Boletim Geral das Colónias, 1934, pp. 100-101).

Fachada do Pavilhão (parte central)
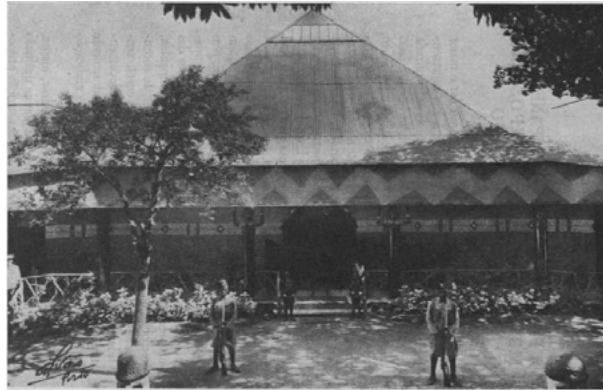
Figura 5: Two guards guarding the entrance to the Pavilion of the Companhia de Moçambique, at the Porto Colonial Exhibition

Source: Boletim Geral das Colónias, 1934, p. 112

The pavilion of the Mozambiques Companny was manned by indigenous soldiers. In the "indigenous art" section, statuettes and musical instruments were displayed, an ethnographic section consisting of a description of the way of life of the Mozambican populations, and four busts of what would be, in the opinion of the authors of the exhibition, the "original" Mozambicans. From the group of Mozambicans brought to the event, the sources consulted refer to an artisan, a goldsmith, a weaver and a turner and their assistant, as well as a group of *mbila* players who played the Portuguese national anthem with their marimbas, in a warrior tone (Boletim Geral das Colónias, 1934, pp. 100-101).

Moçambique — Aspecto da «aldeia» indígena

Figure 6: Huts built in the Colonial Exhibition area of Porto, representing the village of Mozambique
and its inhabitants that can be seen in the background of the photograph

Source: Boletim Geral das Colónias, 1934, p. 423

How the expository discourse did objectify the Chopi music

The objectification of the Chopi music due to the expository discourse was clearly demarcated by the binomials colonizer *versus* colonized, which brings us to the abyssal logic proposed by Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2007). The use of descriptive or reducing terminology of the colonized subject, such as "native", "black", "indigenous", or designations such as "gentile" festivals, in reference to Chopi's musical practices, accentuated the process of "otherness" of the colonized subject in the context of colonial exposure.

We also find objectification practices at the level of the reflective and conceptual universe of the process of building the superiority of one nation in relation to another, through the invention of the "other", the inferior. Now, this process occurs simultaneously with the cancellation of his voice, making him an object, which is re-signified, both from a cultural and symbolic point of view (Paradiso & Bonnici, 2013, p. 17). In this logic, the Chopi music no longer fulfills its main task, that is, the celebration of Chopi's life and cultural tradition. The symbolic and identity sociocultural function of the Chopi music, was replaced by the imperial ideology of the Estado Novo, that is, it became the visual "image" of the colonial imperial discourse to persuade the Portuguese of the metropolis to embark on the colonial project of the Portuguese State, thus celebrating the Portuguese race and the greatness of the empire.

Soldiers, who resisted Portuguese colonial domination, were transformed into signs of Portuguese identity in the context of the exhibition. Yesterday's enemies, the Mozambican leaderships surrendered to colonial power, their spears celebrate an ambiguous Portugal, only valid for the purposes of subjugating the Mozambican populations, integrated in a process of cultural objectification that in all aspects proved to be perverse.

The 5th Indigenous Infantry Company of Mozambique, performed, in choral and instrumental form, four Portuguese songs in the Mozambican languages entitled "Sia joina" (Torments); "Ingue ya ngonhama", (The lion); "Khongotani ku yehova", (Pray to God); "Massotchwa ya Moçambique", (Soldiers of Mozambique); "Hina hi ma africano", (We are Africans). He also performed, in its choral version, three other Portuguese songs with four voices: "A Portuguesa", "Maria da Fonte", and "Romeiros que passam" (Noticias de Moçambique: companhia indígena, 1934, p. 2). The songs "Torments" and "Pray to God" are associated with the Catholic religion, which highlights the need to christianize Africans, and thus civilize them by faith. The songs transcribed below were arranged by conductor Tomás Júnior, and the submission of Mozambican populations to the colonial system is remarkable in the lyrics, assuming in that expository context and symbolically the Portuguese identity:

> we are Africans
> We are children of Portugal
> Salute Portugal
> Let's sing happily
> We are children of Portugal. (Júnior, 1934)

In the second song transcribed here, entitled "Ngonyama" (The lion), a name that in terms of resistance to occupation was associated with the emperor of Gaza, Ngungunhana, also known as the Lion of Gaza, now shows his submission to the former adversary:

> you see the soldiers
> Government soldiers, come from Mozambique
> President Carmona, President of Portugal. (Júnior, 1934)

As we have already indicated, the objectification of African populations and their socio-cultural practices in the colonial context was also carried out using reductive terminologies and descriptions. The Portuguese conductor José Belo Marques clearly expresses this descriptive and reducing attitude, showing the way in which the look and ear of the colonizer effectively refused the right to differ from the cultural practices performed by the Mozambican populations:

> this race has a very strange psychology and sometimes a different feeling so
> different from the European, that it escapes the most experienced observer
> (...) Black people have an absolutely different way of expressing joy and sad-
> ness (...), that is, in a song, in a sentence or in a gesture, everything is as
> vague and incomprehensible as the night. (Marques, 1943, pp. 18-19)

In this excerpt, the conductor assumes the universality of the concept of music coined in Europe, thus denying the existence of other songs, ways of feeling, composing, listening to and, why not, dancing. Therefore, maestro Belo Marques, starts from the hegemonic principle according to which music is one and universal when in fact it reveals an eminently "unstable" character, when applied to non-European contexts (Africa, Asia, Latin America). As the photograph illustrates, the Chopi music and its protagonists are part of the imperial narrative, associated with the construction of an exotic setting staged by the indigenous villages built in the colonial exhibition grounds, as well as their exotic instruments and music, which were displayed to the colonizer with musical practices with Western repertoires (Pestana, 2012, p. 9).

The "gentile" festivals, held in auditoriums in the city of Porto, gave a civilized air to the "exotic" aspect of the players on stage, inserting aesthetic and other Western canons into the music. On the one hand, he renamed and cut out a set of performative practices that are inseparable, and excluded in the process of selecting repertoires, performances supposedly out of step with the western musical moral and aesthetic canon. It is evident that during the Portuguese Colonial Exhibition, the performance of these groups was nothing more than a cosmetic effect used by the Estado Novo to carry out its propaganda actions, as attested by a passage in the chronicle of the exhibition's technical director, Henrique Galvão, when writing the following:

> the Exhibition itself, in its form, in its color, in its setting has a secondary
> interest, its real value, it will only be valid for the projection that it has in

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Portuguese souls, for the extent that they reach their objectives of advertising and teaching about colonial causes and the subsidies it gives to the formation in Portugal of a sense of our greatness as an imperial people. (Galvão, 1934, p. 27)

Likewise, the comments of a former cavalry captain and governor of Inhambane named Carlos Selvagem about the 5th Indigenous Infantry Company of Mozambique are instructive about the way in which the participation of the Mozambican populations in the Porto Colonial Exhibition showed acts of surrender to which the ancient warriors of the King of Gaza, also known as the Lion of Gaza, Gungunhana, submitted themselves, but which in the context of the exhibition, became only part of the illustration of the propaganda purposes of the Estado Novo:

it was with this race of men that the Portuguese met and fought in the hinterlands of Inhambane, Lourenço Marques, Gaza, Marracuene, Coolela, Macontene (...). Beaten, arms in hand, they accepted the law of the winner and continued to fight, today as yesterday, under another discipline, other leaders and another flag, with the same bravery, the same manly loyalty, the same legendary heroism. (Exposição Colonial Portuguesa, 1934, p. 15)

A scholar of the Chopi people, Amândio Dide Munguambe, in his work entitled *A música chope* (2000), presents us with a quote that illustrates the silencing and reducing character of the entire objective process that took place in the context of the Colonial Exhibition, expressed in a passage of the song of the Chopi composer Katini in which he addresses the fact that he went to Lisbon to play *mbila* in the company of his countryman in 1940 without having had the opportunity to say goodbye to Zavala, his locality in Mozambique. According to the author, in that passage Katini says that "in Lisbon we will have a lot of suffering. They made us dance timbila in the middle of the sea, while we were going" (Munguambe, 2000, pp. 96-97).

Figure 8: Mozambican families on board the ship Angola, about to land in Lisbon to participate in the Portuguese World Exhibition in Lisbon, 1940 with their mbila

Source: Photography Archive of Lisbon

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On this trip, the *mbila* players had been taken to Lisbon where they stayed between June and the end of September 1940, to present music and dances of the Chopi people within the scope of the Portuguese World Exhibition. During this period, one of the players died and was buried in Lisbon, victim of pneumonia. Therefore, in the context of the colonizer and colonized relations, the selection process does not confer spaces for dialogue with the colonized subject, since it is the colonizer who decides which practices should be selected, taking into account their objectives. It was in this context that, through a reducing discourse, the Chopi music was decontextualized from its origins in Mozambique and recontextualized in Portugal, with new meanings and roles, different from those that have always been fought in its community in Zavala, Inharrime, or elsewhere belonging to the Chopi community in Mozambique.

Carvalho (2012) says that from the point of view of gender relations in the context of the Colonial Exhibition, it is interesting to understand how the representation of African women was explored by the photographic discourse, by the Colonial Archives in Portuguese Guinea, especially the Photographic Archives of the National Institute of Studies and Research of Guinea-Bissau and the Photographic Archive of Domingos Alvão. The holding of a beauty contest to elect the "Queen of the Colonies", with a total of 19 "suitors", was a "laboratory" in which the exploitation of the body of the African woman exacerbated her condition of subordination. Subject to silence, passing through the *redcarpet* of shame, some of the competitors had a bored face for that show. Alvão's photos denote a dose of artificiality, if we take into account the way the poses are arranged, one can clearly see the objective of exploring certain perspectives of photographers in a vertical communication (Carvalho, 2012, p. 4). The images of the woman elected in that election circulated throughout Portugal with the name of "Black Venus", also known as Rosinha.
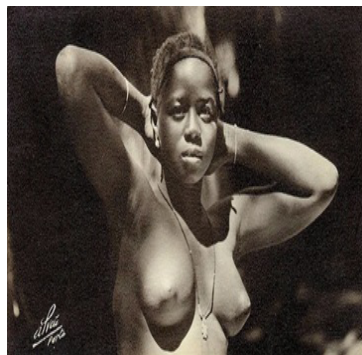
Figure 8: Rosinha, the Guinean woman elected "candidate" for "Queen of the Colonies",
and the perversity in the exploration of the woman's body and its intimacy

Source: Séren, 2001, pp. 86-100

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Figure 9: The woman is dressed in a "miss exhibition", inserted in the allegory of the subordination discourse

Source: Séren, 2001, pp. 86-100

Reflection in light of operating concepts

In light of the operating concepts listed throughout the text, it is important to understand what an exhibition represents and how it does it. In this sense, it should be noted that the cultural objectification mentioned in the present study was based on the colonial system, materialized through various mechanisms of influence. These mechanisms, in addition to the control of local populations, included control of work and production, time, domesticity, and family practices, intimacy and the body. This attitude converges with the idea of abyssal thinking, characterized by the impossibility of co-presence on both sides of the line (Santos, 2007, p. 4), which is defined based on the colonial phenomenon and the social class relations that were established and demarcated what Moraña, Dussel and Jáuregui (2008, p. 2) classify as "omnipresent violence" in colonial reality. Carvalho reinforces this position stating that:

> iconographic representation helped to create and reproduce stereotypes and social differentiation, reinforced by colonial ideology. This procedure exacerbated the physical and body differences of the individuals represented in the iconographies with their clothing or other type of ornamentation that was peculiar to them. These individuals represented through photographic images were considered inferior in every way, both morally and materially. (Carvalho, 2002, p. 95)

Articulating issues such as identity, ideology, nation, empire, representation and the way in which colonialism (point of intersection between the concepts listed) shaped the power relations between European and non-European societies, colonial exhibitions, and in particular the Colonial Exhibition of Porto played (Karp, 1991, pp. 15-375), an important role as a forum for the construction of the discourse on the "other". Events that were constituted as instruments of domination through which the main European powers sustained their colonial policies, exposing objects and human beings considered different, and recreating fictitious and considered exotic environments (Blanchard et al., 2008, pp. 8-9).

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We believe that this is one of the main aspects that mark exhibitions and museums, as institutions where the imaginary construction of non-European cultures is manufactured. This procedure has been demonstrated throughout this text. The concept of exhibition, as a relevant operative concept in the present study, contains the purposes of the expository action expressed by the way in which it conveys ideologies, nationalisms, as well as the ability to produce images about cultures that are adverse to those of the organizers of the exhibitions. and what they also want to be displayed for their purposes.

The Colonial Exhibition of Porto and the logic that involved its production, aimed, in our view, at a political rather than an economic objective, to be evaluated by its ideological burden. By this we mean that the Estado Novo, using the manipulative capacity of the exhibitions, selected the elements that, from an ideological point of view, could guarantee the achievement of its political objectives, disseminate the imperialist ideology of the Estado Novo among Portuguese society, showing all elements that its producers considered relevant to guarantee its success, namely, the recreation elsewhere of Africa's natural environment and its inhabitants.

The second aspect is that, through the exhibition, Portugal intended to build the imagined idea of a large nation and captivate the Portuguese in relation to the colonies. The third aspect, the exhibition organizers seem to have managed to use the exhibition to their advantage (judging by the number of visitors, more than half a million people), showing the Portuguese and the international community their ability to hold such an event, objectifying the Chopi music and, thus, revealing its superiority through the subordination of the Mozambican populations. The event held in Porto explored the truth that interested him in showing Portuguese society, in the logic presented by Karp and Levine (1991, p. 1), and which is also expressed in the ideas of Handler (1984, p. 64). Making a hierarchical analysis of the objectification process, we would say that the exhibitions constituted the field of production of the discourse about the "other" that is, based on the principle of difference and similarity, it produces the image of the "other", thought or idealized as different. It is from this thought that the exotic is produced, probably the first strategy in the process of building the "other" (Karp, 1991, p. 375).

In addition to being designed to give maximum exposure to the content of the exhibition, they are driven by political motivations, thus constituting places where the apparatus of power is demonstrated. In this sense, they play a historical role as an instrument for articulating national identity, power, and education in society (Karp, 1991, p. 11). Karp (1991) suggests that when putting the other cultural subjects in question, the exhibition reveals who we are, and probably, most importantly, it also reveals who we are not. He concludes by indicating that the exhibitions are places where our image and the image of the other are revealed.

In general terms, in light of the operational concepts and in the framework of the Porto Colonial Exhibition, the Chopi music represented a set of aspects to know: the nationalist and imperialist ideology of Portugal, were used as proof that Portugal was a capable country to own and manage colonies, civilize and evangelize the peoples he had under his tutelage. The objects of the exhibitions are displayed to tell the story of

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European imperialism and colonial appropriation and, therefore, its trophy status of the imperial conquest (Karp, 1991, p. 16).

Conclusions

The cultural objectification of the Chopi music by the discourse of the Porto Colonial Exhibition (1934) was based on the logic of abyssal thinking, thus building the nation's superiority; in the hierarchy of colonized societies and in the exacerbation of otherness and overlapping of the regime's ideology over the Chopi music. The immediate consequence of this action was that they became the object of study within the framework of the invention of the savage. In addition, it appears that the objectification of the Chopi music was made through its decontextualization of its place of origin in Mozambique and taken to Portugal. The "musicians" and their music were recontextualized in space-time, symbolically and in meaning, by representing the imperial ideology of the Estado Novo and its political agenda.

This situation dramatized the authenticity of the Chopi music, denying it its own cultural identity, giving them designations such as: "black musicians, exotic instruments, black, native, "landim", indigenous, or even, drumming" (Pestana, 2012, p. 7). All songs performed by *mbila* players were made based on European musical notation and also directed by European conductors and composers, demonstrating Portuguese superiority. The 5th Indigenous Infantry Company of Mozambique performed Portuguese songs ("A Portuguesa", "Maria da Fonte") in the Portuguese language, and the group of *mbila* players performed the Portuguese national anthem in *mbila* according to the rules of western musical notation. Eventually, the practice that is verified in the current Mozambican of executing the national anthem of Mozambique, in *mbila*, is a colonial legacy. Other songs sung in Mozambican languages from Southern Mozambique were also arranged to fit the European musical canon. The *mbila* was tuned according to the Western tuning so that the Portuguese national anthem could be performed on them, exploring yet another element considered exotic, when under normal conditions the hymn would be performed by a military band in the European fashion.

In the political and ideological domain of the Portuguese State, the objectification was based on the proposals presented by the Estado Novo, which according to Medeiros, intended to bring the knowledge of the empire to the Portuguese people, transforming this purpose into an "authoritarian exercise of imperial and nationalist pedagogy", based in allegorical transfigurations of the ways of life of Mozambican populations (Medeiros, 2003, p. 155).

The expository discourse, in the service of the ideological interests of the Estado Novo, transformed Mozambican performative practices into practices of surrender and submission, restricting their social meanings in acts of folklore representation through the imposition of Western performative models (case of the company's music band indigenous to Mozambique and Angola) as well as social subordination, characterized by the imposition of western aesthetics and morals and the promotion of vertical

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communication, from top to bottom, as referred by Pestana (2012, p. 9) and Cabecinhas and Cunha (2003, p. 12). The Chopi music and the players were denied the right to narration, dialogue, and imposed the uniqueness of Western aesthetic and performance models.

Translation: Ilídio Machava

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Ex-soccer player Arthur Friedenreich in museums in the city of Sao Paulo

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Abstract

Arthur Friedenreich is one of the first football Brazilian idols to become engraved in the memory of this sport. Regarding the writing of the history of this sport in Brazil dealing with the mechanisms of national identity, what can we learn with its main character in the first decades of the 20th century? To answer this question, we deal with the writings and images of the former player Arthur Friedenreich in three exhibitions in museums, which are located in the city of Sao Paulo. In the study, we refer to photographic images as a concept of denotative and connotative meaning and textuality as documentary analysis. The results revealed that these exhibitions sought to present the former player not only as one of the biggest black (or mulatto) heroes of football due to his competence and merit in this field, but also contributed to the democratization of the sport in the country. Besides, the research expressed the specificity of "the Brazilian way of racism". The prodigious performance of Friedenreich has been recurrently recalled by the museums that hold the memory of football. His biography draws attention to the success of the idol presenting the ambiguities of racial identification in Brazil.

Keywords

Arthur Friedenreich; soccer; museum; memory

O ex-jogador de futebol Arthur Friedenreich em museus da cidade de São Paulo

Resumo

Arthur Friedenreich é um dos primeiros ídolos na memória do futebol brasileiro. No que diz respeito à escrita da história deste esporte no Brasil às voltas com os mecanismos da identidade nacional, qual leitura podemos fazer sobre a apresentação do seu principal personagem nas primeiras décadas do século XX? A fim de responder a esta pergunta, o objetivo deste artigo é analisar os escritos e as imagens sobre o ex-jogador Arthur Friedenreich em museus da cidade de São Paulo. Como fontes, utilizou-se o conteúdo de três exposições dessa cidade. Para a análise das imagens fotográficas, baseamo-nos em conceitos de sentido denotativo e conotativo presentes em uma imagem fotográfica e, para textualidades, em uma análise documental. Os resultados revelaram que estas exposições procuraram apresentar o ex-jogador como um dos heróis negros ou mulatos do futebol que, pela competência e mérito no jogo, contribuiu não só para a democratização da modalidade no país, mas também expressou a especificidade do

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"racismo à brasileira". Recorrentemente rememorado pelos museus que guardam a memória do futebol brasileiro, a biografia de Friedenreich chama a atenção para o sucesso do primeiro grande ídolo como orgulho étnico e nacional do país, ao mesmo tempo em que revela as ambiguidades da identificação racial no Brasil.

Palavras-chave

Arthur Friedenreich; futebol; museu; memória

Introduction

Museums with their exhibitions are guardians of collective memory, reminiscent of the elements necessary for the construction of the mindset of national identities[1]. Through them, we can capture ideological projects present in the intentional mechanisms of remembering and forgetting. Nora (1993) calls these "places of memory", since in them the references to the founding myths of the construction of identities stand out. One characteristic is the fact that it is material, functional and symbolic; that is, in museums, in photographic and written documents, it can be observed materially what the curators of the public or private sphere intend to leave to be remembered, with the symbolic function of emphasizing the elements necessary for the construction of differences among groups and nations.

Nowadays, museums comprise a society that presents, in its plurality and contradiction, diverse representations and conflicting identities, breaking from their perspective of "holders of relics from the past and guardians of the truth", which prevailed in the 19th century. In this way, the museum is a place that

> selects the vestiges of the past, organizing discourses to promote and convey its representations about the past, the present and what should remain to become (...). It is a producer and disseminator of meanings in society, constituting itself as a political institution that can become a vehicle for citizenship. A museum is not a static structure. Rather, it is a dynamic process, a discursive interpretive space in a permanent relationship with social actors. (Andreoni, 2011, p. 168)

Regarding the changes brought about in the making of museums in the 20th century, the studies by Azevedo, and Alfonsi (2010) revealed that, from the 1970s onwards, there were changes in the conceptions about what heritage should be, and the role of a museum. Thus, according to the authors, "the almost exclusive emphasis on conservation and documentation actions is being replaced, opening space for discussions about the social functions of a museum and broader ways of thinking, preserving and

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[1] Benedict Anderson (1983), according to Woodward (2000), developed the concept of "imagined community". National identity is not entirely dependent on our idea of it. Therefore, and since it would not be possible to meet all those people who share the same national identity, we must have a shared idea about what constitutes it: "the difference among the different national identities lies, therefore, in the different forms by which they are imagined " (Woodward, 2000, p. 24).

communicating a certain heritage" (Azevedo & Alfonsi, 2010, p. 279). The widening of this understanding of heritage was substantial for this context, since it now incorporates the representations, practices, and expressions that characterize the culture of each people. Their parties, rituals, dances, rhythms, and ways of doing things rooted in the communities' daily life enter museum interests (Arantes, 2004).

Supported by cutting-edge technologies, through photographs and informative texts, these exhibitions constitute a new communication model for museums, promoting new meanings in the construction of identity and discourses, and the enhancement of memory. They are biographical narratives that allow interpretation of different concepts. In this scenario, soccer and its idols gain space as a broad social phenomenon, which mobilizes, crosses, and weaves diverse social dimensions, triggering ideals, identifications and feelings of belonging. In the case of Brazil, soccer is an element that condenses issues precious in the constitution of Brazilianness.

The first decades of the 20th century were the investment of several meanings of what Brazil was and what it should be. Taken as a new form of national differentiation, miscegenation has become a symbol of Brazilianness, based on the syncretism of cultural elements. Soccer, *samba*, *capoeira*, and Afro-Brazilian religions progressively became symbols of Brazil and Brazilianness from the 1920s onwards. The notion of miscegenates framed these national symbols and dramatized one of the distinctive identity marks: the ideological illustration of the so-called peaceful coexistence between the different people and cultures that formed the Brazilian people, and who, despite social and cultural differences, lived in "balanced antagonisms", to use a concept by Gilberto Freyre about Brazilian society (Soares, 2003, p. 155).

Freyre (1933/1992) took the pessimistic interpretation of Brazil, plagued by racialist theories of the 19th century, which saw degeneration and the reason for the nation's backwardness in race miscegenation, and transformed it into hope for the encounter of races and cultures that would have given rise to a unique tropical civilization. He became the "most widely read non-fiction author in Brazil because he was able to take one of the issues that most concerned the Brazilian elite (...) and turn it upside down" (Skidmore, 1994, p. 42).

Thus, in the structure of Freyrean thought, several native cultural expressions, as well as the appropriation of foreign elements, were transformed into marks of national uniqueness. Analysis of the discursive production about "being Brazilian" involves understanding the symbolic and political content of miscegenation, which takes soccer as a place of expression and construction of national identity (Freyre, 1938). Soccer being one of the elements that expressed the permissibility of relations among Brazilians, it soon assumed, throughout the 20th century, the symbolic function of the mindset construction of the nation that comes to life, among other spaces, in museums.

In these places of the memory of Brazilian soccer, one character draws our attention: Arthur Friedenreich, who occupies a separate chapter in the history of national soccer. Due to his prestige acquired through his high performance in soccer matches at the beginning of the 20th century, he can be taken as the main player in Brazilian soccer

of that period. In places of memory, the writings and images about him highlight the achievements of his soccer career, and his exceptionality as a player. However, in conjunction with such notes, museums also mark the ambiguity of the racial identity experienced by Friedenreich, which, in theory, expresses one of the faces of "Brazilian racism".

An indication of this ambiguity can be seen from Friedenreich's participation in the games "Preto vs. Branco" (Black vs. White) that took place every May 13, from 1927 until 1939 in Sao Paulo (SP) to commemorate the day of the abolition of slavery (Abrahão & Soares, 2009). In the 1927 and 1928 editions, Friedenreich participated in these commemorative games and played in the whites' team, a fact that perhaps indicates that he, in that society, was identified and was accepted as such. In another direction, Friedenreich appears in the memory of much of the academic production on the history of Brazilian soccer, including museums in Sao Paulo city, as a *mulatto* or even a black. Wisnik (2008) added the fact that he was also the captain of the whites' team in the "Preto vs. Branco" matches, which did not prevent him from participating as a player in the blacks' team, in 1929, in a combination of teams from Sao Paulo against Rio de Janeiro. Regarding this episode, Mário Rodrigues Filho (2003) elevated him to the status of hero, and suggested that he could choose in which team he wanted to play.

Friedenreich, subjectively and with his peers, recognized himself as white and, probably because of his accumulated prestige, he was treated as such in that society too. Whitening was a way for *mestiços* (mixed black and white) to become integrated into good society (Nogueira, 1998). His black ancestry, on his mother's side, allowed him to also be identified as *mestiço*, which allowed him to participate in a game between black Paulistas against Cariocas[2] (Rio de Janeiro citizens). According to Wisnik (2008), supported by an interpretation by Ugo Giorgetti, it seems that this character could always have taken an ambivalent position on the racial issue, a very plausible interpretation in a society in which the chromatic criterion had a positive or negative impact on relationships and possibilities (Nogueira, 1998). In addition, the former player identified himself by his German surname.

Here, the question is not to trivialize the discussion and simply say whether he was white, *mulatto* or black, but to take it as a case to think about how the line of color, race and class, associated with other cultural and economic indicators, dramatizes the ambiguity about what it is to be white and black in Brazil. To some extent, the debate on the racial issue of Brazil helps us to understand the discrepancy between self-identification as white and hetero-identification as *mestiço* or black by much of the historiography that was concerned with understanding race relations in the universe of Brazilian soccer. Regarding the writing of this story, dealing with the mechanisms of national identity, what reading can we have of soccer and its main character in the first decades of the 20th century? In order to answer this, the purpose of this article is to analyze the writings and images about the former player in museums in Sao Paulo city.

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[2] However, we must observe that, in our efforts to search for sources, and in the literature itself, we did not find links between Friedenreich and the black movement of the time.

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For this purpose, our concern lies with the content of three exhibitions of museums in the city. Two are permanent: at the Museu do Futebol (Soccer Museum) and the Museu na Federação Paulista de Futebol (Museum at the Sao Paulo Soccer Federation), and a temporary one at the Museu Afro-Brasil (Afro-Brazil Museum), which deals with the trajectory of blacks in soccer, and was called "From Arthur Friedenreich to Edson Arantes do Nascimento: the black in Brazilian soccer". The analysis of such writings and images, in photographic formats in the exhibitions, part of the understanding of photography as an instrument that captures and eternalizes a certain moment, that carries in itself a message produced by someone. According to Kossoy (2001), it is testimony to the truth of the fact or facts, gaining credibility status. Sônego (2010), in turn, addressing the topic of imagery documents in historical research, relies on Pierre Bourdieu (1965) to affirm that, in the modern-contemporary world, photographs visually reflect ideological values, aesthetic and ethical systems of social groups. Therefore, the analysis of the images about Arthur Friedenreich took into account the two meanings that are part of both photography and its content.

Rodrigues (2007) presents these meanings, calling them denotative and connotative. In the first, there is no room for interpretation, the image being just a copy of the content it aimed to present. The connotative sense, on the other hand, allows the image to be interpreted in different ways, as its polysemic characteristic, ambiguous in nature, is recognized. Therefore, the denotative and connotative meanings of Friedenreich's images were explored from the perspective of a historical analysis, considering that, according to Rodrigues (2007), that, in addition to the objective aspect, that of photography itself, there is a subjective component that depends on the experience, the perception, and sensitivity of their authors.

Friedenreich in the Sao Paulo museums

Our sources are the images[3] and texts displayed in the museums visited. The first is at the Museu do Futebol, with a permanent exhibition on soccer in Brazil, located at the Pacaembu stadium, Sao Paulo. In the museum, the caption of Figure 1 reads:

> with his hair straightened, one of his marks, Arthur Friedenreich, son of a black mother and German father, is honored in a game of the Rio de Janeiro soccer team, along with Fausto, Maravilha Negra – a nickname earned during the 1930 World Cup in Uruguay. (Figure 1 caption, Museu do Futebol, Sao Paulo)

Although the Museu do Futebol does not indicate the date of the photo, it probably refers to the friendly game between the Rio-Sao Paulo combined team against the French team, which would have just participated in the 1930 World Cup. The game took place at night, at Fluminense stadium, in Rio de Janeiro, on August 1, 1930. The Brazilian team won the competition.

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[3] All photographs presented in in the article were captured by researcher Bruno Abrahão in museums.

Figure 1: Combined friendly Rio-São Paulo against French team

Source: Museu do Futebol

The text provides an indication that Friedenreich's aesthetics are interpreted by the museum and soccer historiography as a form of whitening (Nogueira, 1998). Mário Rodrigues Filho, known as Mário Filho (1947/2003), when publishing the first edition of the book *O negro no foot-ball brasileiro* (*The negro in Brazilian soccer*) in 1947, takes Friedenreich, among other blacks and *mulatto*s, as not only the first hero of Brazilian soccer, but, above all, as the one who inaugurated the black saga in this sport and opened doors for its racial democratization in the country. For Mário Filho, the Brazilian victory in the 1919 South American championship was an inflection of the role of blacks in soccer, because "Friedenreich's kick opened the way for the democratization of Brazilian soccer, democratization that would come slowly, but that would never stop again, despite everything" (Filho, 1947/2003, p. 69). Despite Mário Filho's reading of the role of Friedenreich in the history of Brazilian soccer, he does not fail to point out that this first hero was yet another *mulatto* who wanted to pass for a white[4] (Filho, 1947/2003).

Mário Filho (1947/2003) interpreted the aesthetics produced by Friedenreich as a form of whitening to hide the association between miscegenation and social position, but decided in his narrative to make the point that he was a *mulatto* to build the positive trajectory of the democratic role of Brazilian culture mirrored in his mixed-race soccer. This would signal the presence of blacks and *mulatto*s incorporated into the sport previously intended for white elites. It is observed that the caption in Figure 1 marks elements of Friedenreich's corporal aesthetics and biological origin: straightened hair, as an indicator of whitening, and his *mestiço* origin. This evidence demonstrates how the body, its appearance and racial origins compose a narrative about Friedenreich and the history of Brazilian soccer. Profoundly influenced by Gilberto Freyre[5], Mário Filho's narrative indicated the space of soccer as another example of national integration of the different people that Brazil received (Soares, 2003).

[4] Regarding whitening in Brazilian society, see Nogueira (1998).

[5] Gilberto Freyre wrote the preface of the first edition of *O negro no foot-ball brasileiro*, in 1947.

In contrast to this position, one of the complaints made by the black movement is that of the forms of oppression, shame, and embarrassment that the ideal of whiteness was imposing on black men and women. Thus, the Museu do Futebol, by highlighting Friedenreich's hair manipulation in the subtitles, leaves the observer with a clue about the dilemma of this heroic character: straightening his hair was a way to get away from one of the stigmas that associated the color of *mestiço* or black skin to the lower social positions. Straight hair was certainly one of the markers of whiteness, and, therefore, of social position and beauty. The recurrence of this value expresses the dilemmas experienced by men and women of African descent in a society whose social status passed (and still passes) through people's color lines (Almeida, 2019; Kowarick, 2003; Nascimento, 2016).

In research in the Rio de Janeiro National Library microfilms, we found advertisements in periodicals that, leaning towards the black cause in different contexts, commercialized products intended for hair manipulation, a technique that should be thought of as bleaching resources. Among the many found, we chose, for example, the black press newspaper, *O Clarim* (Informe, 1935, p. 5), which published: "straight hair?... Have you straightened and curled your hair, Amaral? Well look out for Pequita. With application of Pequita, your hair will become lovely". The Imprensa Negra, a collective of journalists working in Sao Paulo in the early decades of the 20th century, aimed not only to denounce the oppression and social exclusion suffered by black men and women, but also to value the achievements and distinctions of its reference group in Brazilian society. In addition, it advertised products and services aimed at the ideals of beauty pursued by blacks at the time, even if some of the beautification technologies were associated, directly or indirectly, with whiteness aesthetic values. Such a question, in theory, might not have been on the agenda of the black movement at the time.

At the Museu da Federação Paulista de Futebol (Paulista Soccer Federation Museum), the player's centenary was remembered in a text by Rubens Ribeiro, a retired journalist, who, at the time of his visit, was still working at the institution as shown in Figure 2 (Annex 1).

Figure 2: The Friedenreich player

Source: Museu da Federação Paulista de Futebol

This rich extensive article signed by the journalist responsible at the Museu da Federação Paulista de Futebol provides important details from the biography of Friedenreich and the clubs he defended. The achievements of his victorious career and his ambiguous racial position in Brazilian society, neither white nor black, son of a German white with a black Brazilian, set the tone for Rubens Ribeiro's text. Regarding Friedenreich's mother, the article indicates, for the first time in the sources consulted, that her name was Matilde. We emphasize that, in the player's trajectory, passages that recall the name of his father, Oscar are not uncommon, especially due to the fact that he accompanies the surname Friedenreich. The mother described by Ribeiro (1996) as "a poor, *mestiço*, almost black girl[6], but possessing a beauty that immediately captivated him", let us note that the "but" in the sentence indicates that, despite the social and racial origins, she had corporal attributes that allowed his marriage and mobility with a white man. The *mulatto* is one of the symbols of the national identity that associates miscegenation with the unique sensual beauty of *mestiço* women, such identity marks can be seen in the classic works of Gilberto Freyre[7] and in Brazilian[8] music, cartoons, art, and poetry. The silence and the almost anonymity of Friedenreich's mother in memory reflect the patriarchal values of Brazilian society, which made the role of women secondary, locating and value them only in specific spaces of private life. Another dimension of the secondary role of women is due to the fact that soccer is seen as a space for private male intercourse, as stated by Elias and Dunning (1992), despite the current advances and the breaking of barriers by women in this sport.

The article goes on to list other important points in his biography, such as the family's socio-economic condition, his initial taste more inclined to the "street" than the aristocratic world of the Sao Paulo elite, access to which would be facilitated by his European surname, a symbol of distinction in that society. This enabled him to move between these two worlds, enough to raise doubts, according to the words of the journalist: "which of Friedenreich's two personalities is more authentic: that of the young man who attended family parties, or the '*mulatto* with green eyes' seeking the company of humble people" (Ribeiro, 1996). Rubens Ribeiro (1996) retrospectively constructs Friedenreich as a mediator of two worlds, that of society and that of soccer: "with him the elitist sport brought from the English pitches had to bow to the magic of the improvised game by blacks and *mulatto*s". We have here in the cultural miscegenation, in the encounter between classes

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[6] We note that Rubens Ribeiro's text (1996) reveals, despite being laudatory, a series of stigmas associated with blacks and *mestiços* in Brazil. Regarding the process of labeling and creation of stigmas, see Elias, and Scotson (2000) and Erving Goffman (1963).

[7] In his classic books, Freyre discussed *Casa grande & senzala* (1933/1992) and *Sobrados e mucambos* (1936), the role of black women and *mulatto* women in Brazilian social formation.

[8] We could mention several, but only three are enough to exemplify: Lanfranco Aldo Ricardo Vaselli Cortellini Rossi Rossini, called Lan (1925), is an Italian cartoonist based in Brazil who dedicated his cartoons to the figure of the *mulatto*; Di Cavalcanti (1897-1976), Brazilian painter, immortalized *mulatto*s on his canvases; Dorival Caymmi, Brazilian singer and songwriter, also sang about *mulatto*s in her songs; Moraes Moreira (1947-2020), musician and composer, in the song "Meninas do Brasil" (Moreira, 1980, track 04), he wrote four verses that explain the symbolism of the *mulatto*: "three girls from Brazil, three democratic hearts/ There is modern construction of friendliness *mulatto*/ (....) God made me Brazilian, creator and creature/ A race document by the grace of mixing / From my body in motion, the three graces of Brazil/ They have the color of beauty".

and races, the trail left by Gilberto Freyre that became a popular interpretation "inside and outside Brazil" (Skidmore, 1994, p. 32).

In his laudatory text, Rubens Ribeiro (1996) referred to Friedenreich's contribution to the aesthetics of Brazilian soccer, the clubs he defended, details of his nickname, his presence in the record book as the greatest scorer in world soccer with 1.329 goals, until his death, poor, forgotten and seen as not very consistent with the condition of first national hero in soccer. He achieved the unprecedented victory in the South American championship in 1919, when he scored the winning goal three minutes into the second period of extra time, after a zero zero draw in both the normal time and the first half of extra time.

The following photos were on display at the Museu Afro-Brasil, in July 2010, in an exhibition named "De Arthur Friedenreich a Edson Arantes do Nascimento: o Negro no futebol brasileiro". It highlighted the presence of black players in the history of soccer in Brazil as a central element in the formation of national identity, and was inspired by the book "*O negro no futebol brasileiro*", which had its first edition in 1947 and the second, extended, in 1964 (Filho, 1947/2003). As the book highlights the process of conquest of this social space by the *black*, Friedenreich represents the first hero of Brazilian soccer and Pelé, the definitive hero, the one who would prove the definitive process of democratization of soccer in Brazil (Soares, 1999).

The figure of Friedenreich in the winning goal of the 1919 South American championship, more than the goal itself, produced symbolic effectiveness, demonstrating that soccer at that time had become a space for expression of racial democracy in Brazil. Friedenreich's popularity showed that white exclusivity in soccer was coming to an end. Mário Filho also wanted to point out that the democratization of soccer started at the moment when this sport had become a place of expression of merit beyond social and ethnic origins. What mattered was victory, the ball in the goal, at the back of the net: "scored by a white, a *mulatto*, a black. It mattered little" (Filho, 1947/2003, p. 112). It should be noted that this book marked and indicated the path of much of the sociological and historical literature on soccer in Brazil (Soares, 1999), and also the course of museums that deal with this theme. However, at the Museu Afro-Brasil, the intention is to clearly demonstrate the fundamental role blacks had in the glories achieved by Brazilian soccer in the world.

Figure 3: The black in brazilian football

Source: Emanoel Araújo's archive, Museu Afro-Brasil

The following photograph was enlarged, occupying the whole area of a large wall as a panel in the Museu Afro-Brasil exhibition.

Figure 4: Fried! Fried!

Source: Emanoel Araújo's Archive, Museu Afro-Brasil

The image to the right of Figure 4 shows the page from *A Gazeta*, August 9 1931, and the headline exclaims Fried's name. We can observe the player placed as a figure that "hovers in the air" against a background of spectators. The text below the newspaper page bears the following caption:

> Fried, after twenty years of official soccer, is still at the forefront of national soccer. Today, as in 22, 23 and 25, Fried will deal with the Gauchos, who have now returned stronger, more famous. And he will not only be the consecrated master, the leader of the attack, but also the captain of the team. This is one of the few times that Fried will be the captain, since he never had sympathizers. This time, however, "El Tigre" cannot fail to accept the mission of leading his companions and we are certain he will know how to be the same master, the same idol as always. (Fried! Fried!, 1931, p. 1)

In the image on the left in Figure 4, from *A Gazeta* of September 3 1934, the headline highlights that "o Palestra is no longer undefeated". The goal that would have broken Palmeiras's unbeaten record was scored by Friedenreich. Below the photo, it reads:

> with a magnificent effort, Fried took the title of undefeated champion of the Palestra, yesterday. The victory was displayed in his painting in the classic collage - We see in the picture above a final action of the tricolor. Araken, when falling, passes the ball to Fried. Junqueira opposes "El Tigre" and prepares to perform the clever manoeuver. (O Palestra deixou de ser invicto, 1934, p. 1)

Friedenreich became "El Tigre" for his impeccable performance in the 1919 South American championship, currently named Copa America, and the epithet was given to

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him by the Uruguayan press, impressed by the player's technical quality. At the museum, the banner displayed in Figure 5 indicated this epithet that the press started to use to refer to Friedenreich's prowess on the field.

Figure 5: The feats of Friedenreich

Source: Emanoel Araújo's Archive, Museu Afro-Brasil (credits: Bruno Abrahão)

Both the photographs of the newspapers mounted in the form of a panel, and this banner, which reproduced a cartoon from the time of "El Tigre", had the function of recalling the deeds of a Brazilian soccer hero who should be a source of pride for Afro-descendants and for Brazilians in general. It is noteworthy that this type of exhibition, in the referred museum, has the objective intention of heroizing Afro-descendant characters, a legitimate position in a society whose racism is structural and still has difficulties recognizing the permanence of the slave culture in social relations (Souza, 2019).

The exhibition's curator, Emanoel Araújo, appropriated the work of Mário Filho in the same sense of hetero-identification of black players, albeit in a social period and in an institution in which the desired effect of meaning necessarily passes through the demands of visibility and recognition of Afro-descendants in Brazilian society. With his work, Mário Filho (2003) marked the incorporation of blacks and the democratization of soccer, in the sense of racial democracy by Gilberto Freyre (Soares, 1999, 2003). The exhibition at the Museu Afro-Brasil, when reviewing the theme and the work of Mário Filho, made appropriations and readings to highlight the role of blacks in soccer in the construction of national identity and to raise contemporary issues and demands of the black movement, such as the denunciation of racism and the valorization of blackness with its history of national heroes. At the end of the exhibition, there was a message signed by Emanoel Araújo, who, in addition to being the curator of the exhibition, was also the museum director (Annex 2).

Contextualizing the exhibition, the text of Emanoel Araújo referred to the origins of the sport in China, in 19th century Europe and its arrival in Brazil courtesy of Charles

Miller. It also reproduced an official and essentialist discourse that makes soccer almost a natural dimension of human existence when referring to Asia of antiquity. Charles Miller was the introducer and representative of soccer of and for the economic and cultural elites in Brazil. However, this sport was not restricted to this status group, as it was appropriated by the lower classes, including blacks in the urban centers of the early 20th century. The origins of soccer that Emanoel Araújo describes in a few lines is the story popularly disseminated, which contradicts much of the current historiography on the spread of soccer in Brazil (Jesus, 1998).

Emanoel Araújo reproduces Mário Filho's equation: soccer, when white, was English and for the elite, but, when black and mixed, it belonged to the people and became Brazilian (Soares, 1999). He draws attention to the social transformation process of soccer in Brazil, as it involves large portions of the population (blacks, *mestiço* and the poor in general), for its ludic dimension in the overflow of emotions and for its potential to promote social inclusion through personal merit. Although he recognizes academic studies that have focused on soccer, Emanoel's text highlights an academic gap, identified by the museum's curator-director, with regard to the admission of blacks and *mestiço*s to elite Brazilian soccer clubs. He resorts to the preface by Gilberto Freyre in *O negro do futebol brasileiro* (Filho, 1947/2003), to find, in the negro and in the *mestiço* soul of Brazilian culture, the element that made soccer unique in the country and conferred identity upon it.

Mário Filho's work dates from the period when, for example, Gilberto Freyre elaborated, as already mentioned, an optimistic reinterpretation of the national character, overcoming pessimism by giving a positive meaning to the miscegenation debate in Brazil (Skidmore, 1976, 1994). The ideology of miscegenation valued the fusion of races and cultures that gave rise to the Brazilian people. With the idea of synthesis, mixture and cultural encounter, the definition of national identity was reached, of what would characterize the "Brazilian being", a definition that would be expressed in different social practices, among them, soccer. Thus, the exhibition conveys the message that when soccer incorporated poor blacks, *mestiço*s, and whites, it became a metonym of the national character (Franzini, 2003).

João Lyra Filho (1973), when producing one of the germinal works on the Sociology of Sport in Brazil, followed this tradition. The *negro*, with the quality of his soccer, caused the democratization of this social space, previously destined for young white people and managed by "certain sports leaders who are jealous of their color, their imported fabric apparel and their social position" (Lyra Filho, 1973, p. 81). The competitive soccer market forced, even against the will of the ruling elite, the incorporation of blacks and *mulatto*s, selected from the mass of people, into the elite clubs. Lyra Filho (1973) suggests that the democratization and appropriation of this sport occurred because "soccer has taken hold in Brazil and here it has been growing exponentially thanks, in large part, to blacks and *mulatto*s. I suppose that this truth cannot be contradicted; the facts stand for themselves" (p. 89). Lyra Filho argues that soccer, when restricted to the circles of the white elite, was just a foreign fashion, but, when it incorporated blacks and *mulatto*s, taste for the sport became popular and became Brazilian (Soares, 1999). In fact, Gilberto Freyre

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and Mário Filho's readings on the role of soccer in Brazilian social formation became hegemonic until the 1990s, both in journalism and in the Social Sciences (Soares, 1999).

The remembrance of Friedenreich and other great black players in the collection presented in this exhibition, in addition to the virtuosity of the players, aimed at a type of communication that intended to affect the subjectivities of the visitors – subjectivity that must be confronted with the dilemmas of race and racism in our society. One form of racism is the erasure or invisibility of the role of blacks in nation-building; therefore, the exhibition, objectively, gave visibility to the virtue of the black man in the development of the victorious Brazilian soccer. But, Emanoel Araújo, without losing critical dimension, closes the text of the exhibition (Figure 6) highlighting the manifestations of racist injuries still present in today's soccer, and questions whether soccer "could really be" an expression and access to Brazilian culture and a space for "the ascension of the black sportsman". The curator here reported that black players were called monkeys in different audiences around the world (Abrahão & Soares, 2011). Note that the museum, when exhibiting soccer and the great afrodescendent players, chose to reconcile the vision of struggle, integration and heroization of blacks in soccer, and to provoke criticism of racism still present in soccer and in society.

Conclusion

What meanings does Friedenreich assume in museums in Sao Paulo city that have been the subject of his biography? Making a synthesis, he appears in these places of memory as a symbol of the success of mixed-race soccer, of mobility in this social space and as a character that marks racial tensions and whitening processes. His racial identification in the present and his high soccer competence in the past make him an appropriate symbol for the social memory in the exhibitions on Brazilian soccer. For the exhibitions as a whole, Friedenreich symbolizes both the criticism of his supposed whitening strategies and the identification of a black hero who dignified the ethnic group and built the saga of Brazilian soccer.

The ambiguity surrounding his racial identification made him one of the symbols of Brazilian soccer and one of the black heroes who invaded this space for competence and merit, contributing to the democratization of soccer, but also reveals the specificity of discrimination and racism in the country. Friedenreich's biography is related to the characteristics of "Brazilian prejudice" interpreted, among other scholars, by Oracy Nogueira (1998) as "brand prejudice" (p. 170). Unlike irreducible racial prejudice and class prejudice, the specificity of prejudice that developed in Brazil reached even black and brown people from the upper strata, as seems to be the case of the former player.

In Brazil, says Nogueira (1998), individuals are classified and classify themselves as white, brown or light *mulatto*s, dark brown and black *mulatto*s, taking into account the absence or concentration of negroid traits (pigmentation density, hair texture and color, nose and lip shapes, etc.), that is, the appearance resulting from the combination or fusion of European and African traits. Consequently, the status or success of the *negro* individual

depends, to a large extent, on the compensation and neutralization of his traits – or his aggravation "by association with other conditions, innate or acquired, socially considered as having a positive or negative value - degree of education, occupation, aesthetic aspect, personal treatment, artistic gift, character traits, etc." (Nogueira, 1998, p. 200).

In this case, if the straightening of hair, the frequenting of clubs in the Sao Paulo aristocracy and the father's surname seem to have neutralized a supposed mark of black ancestry, represented by curly hair, the mother's poor origin and her initiation to soccer on pitches on waste land on the outskirts of the capital of Sao Paulo, Friedenreich, for sure, knew how to whiten to have a prominent place in that social space destined for the upper classes of society, be it for its social strategies and, mainly, for its unparalleled sporting merits. Recurrently recalled by the museums that hold the memory of Brazilian soccer, Friedenreich's biography draws attention to the ethnic and national pride invested in building the first great idol of this sport, while revealing the ambiguities of racial identification in Brazil.

Translation: Brian Hazlehurst

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Annex

Annex 1: Rubens Ribeiro, July 1996 (Museu da Federação Paulista de Futebol)

"Arthur Friedenreich, 'El Tigre' [The Tiger]

Son of Oscar Friedenreich, German immigrant and prosperous merchant from Blumenau, Santa Catarina, married to Matilde, a poor young woman, half-breed, almost black, but possessing a beauty that immediately captivated him.

For this reason, 'El Tigre' was born a *mulatto*, but with green eyes. With the liberation of slaves in 1888, most of the Southern farm owners underwent a crisis, which resulted in the fall of the Empire and the proclamation of the Republic.

Oscar was one of those affected. So he made the decision to move to Sao Paulo, where there was already a well established German colony, exclusive, but which did not fail to help patricians who came from abroad. Through this colony, Oscar was able to establish himself again in commerce and earn money, enough for he and his family to live in relative comfort.

The family went to live at 8 Rua Victória, an old house with a door and three windows that faced an old kerosene streetlamp, a favorite spot for night owls, who gathered there to the accompaniment of weeping guitars and melancholic serenades.

It was in this house that Arthur Friedenreich was born on July 18, 1892, half light-skinned and half dark, with curly hair.

At the time when Friedenreich started to enjoy chasing after a ball, soccer was an elite sport. A poor boy, Friedenreich grew up among street children, who had no access to the aristocratic sport practiced by Mackenzie College students and club members - the elite of Sao Paulo at the time. At 12, in the midst of important people, he already played for the first team of Sao Paulo, which had nothing to do with the Sao Paulo Athletic Club, much less with the current club, Morumbi. It was a minor team founded by the guys from the Bexiga district.

It was his German origin that allowed the boy Arthur to bridge the gap between soccer played in the elegant clubs frequented by families of English and German immigrants – and the boys' soccer, organized on waste land on the outskirts.

As a member of Clube Germânia (now E. C. Pinheiros) and a Mackenzie student, he cultivated with the boys in street games, the skill and sense of improvisation that marked Brazilian soccer as one of the most creative in the world.

These antecedents resulted in the appearance of a young man with a double personality. His soccer was so superb that everyone forgot they were watching a *mulatto* player in action that Germania had mistakenly accepted. And, just as the presence of distinguished athletes, such as Rubem Salles, Barthô and others was celebrated, the art

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of that skinny young man, who was beginning to draw the admiration of the public with his disconcerting moves, was applauded.

And when he appeared on the poor pitches, the opposite occurred: he looked like a 'daddy's little boy' meddling in poor boys' soccer. But they soon discovered that the boy Arthur 'was one of them', simple, disaffected. A good street kid and a good friend.

The only question that remained was which of Friedenreich's two personalities would be the most authentic: that of the young man who attended family parties, or the 'green-eyed *mulatto*' inclined to seek coexistence with humble people.

With it, the elitist sport brought from the English pitches had to bow to the magic of the game improvised by blacks and *mulatto*s. The revolution brought about in this sport by Friedenreich was great, as he introduced the short dribble, the improvised pass, the swing and the flourishes of a disconcerting game. Despite being slight and aged only 17, he faced the violent methods of the soccer teams of the aristocratic clubs fearlessly. He started to defend the newly founded C. A. Ipiranga, to which he had transferred without his father's approval.

Subsequently, the player's disagreements, allied to the decadence of the new club, led him to accept an invitation from C. A. Paulistano, where he remained from 1917 to 1930, only leaving when the soccer team was deactivated. Next, Fried gathered athletes from the former A. A. das Palmeiras and from Paulistano itself to found Sao Paulo F. C., for which he won the 1931 Paulista Championship, scoring 32 goals in 25 games.

In 1932, during the Constitutionalist Revolution, Friedenreich donated all his trophies, medals and prizes to the rebels. He enlisted and took command of 800 men, all sportsmen.

Three years later, when playing for Santos F. C., he ended his career at the age of 43, in a friendly game against River Plate of Argentina, in Rio de Janeiro, wearing the Flamengo shirt, in honor of the Rio fans.

On the occasion of the 1919 South American championship, together with the Uruguayan delegation, came journalists Maurício do Valle d`Amico, Eduardo Arrachavaleta, Lorenzo Sienra, Augusto Borges and Antonio Batista. Upon hearing what Zibecchi had said of Fried (author of the goal that gave Brazil the title) – 'ni la fatiga lo vence', they gave the Brazilian idol the immortal nickname 'El Tigre', first emperor of a dynasty that later included Leônidas da Silva, Garrincha, Pelé and others. Friedenreich also had his name included in the Guinness Book of Records" as top scorer in world soccer, with 46 goals more than Pelé's 1,283.

The 1,329 goals he won since his first game are registered by the CBF and recognized by FIFA. On September 16, 1928, he scored seven goals in a single game (9-0 against União Lapa), a record that would only be broken in November 1964 by Pelé, who scored 8 in the 11-0 defeat of Botafogo de Ribeirão Preto.

Seven times champion of Sao Paulo, four times champion of Brazil, twice champion of South America, seventeen times champion for different regional, national or international tournaments.

This is the summary of the achievements of a phenomenal soccer player who died at the age of 77, poor, sick and forgotten, in a house donated by Sao Paulo FC. He had

even been received by the President of the Republic, Arthur Bernardes as a national hero, after the conquest of the 1919 South American championship".

Annex 2: Emanoel Araújo, Curator Director (Museu Afro-Brasil)

"Having originated in China, soccer crossed the Atlantic in the 19th century and reached us through the English, namely Charles Miller. It was introduced primarily to the upper and middle classes of the society emerging in the last century in the sports clubs of the Paulista elite. I believe the same occurred in Rio de Janeiro and all the other Brazilian states where they had discovered the success of this sporting modality, and how much it moved the Latin soul of the South Americans.

Many works and theses have been written about Brazilian soccer. Analyzed from different aspects, ranging across those of anthropology, sociology, ethnology, chronicles, journalism, poetry, writing, curiosity, those seduced and in love with soccer appreciate the only sport that combines dance, a kind of corporal control and many clever moves, performing balancing acts where the magic is controlling a ball that, at times, has its own caprices as if a live being capable of transforming the magic into moments of success or of the most terrible failure.

The fact is that soccer, already a national passion for some time, will always be a reason for social transformations for those who practice the sport, ascending and transcending according to their talent and athletic qualities.

Thus, soccer, like Carnival and other popular manifestations in Brazil, occupies much space in the media due to its capacity for involvement at the most varied levels in Brazilian society, its great ludic enthusiasm contained in this form of dispelling the frustrations regarding the social conquests of a people that need these means of escape while awaiting social inclusion that adopts them as real citizens.

Academia has, at times, been occupied with this great stage of social inclusion and this frenzy of interminable passions. However, the contributions pale regarding the study of the entry of negroes and *mestiços* into the so-called elite sports, even though such changes have their own rules.

Gilberto Freyre, the author of *Casa grande e senzala*, commented in the preface of the book, *Negro no futebol* by Mário Filho:

Mário Filho puts us face-to-face with the conflict between two immense forces – the rationality and irrationality – in the behavior or lives of men. In this case, the men in Brazil. Men of a hybrid society, mestiço, full of Amerindian and African roots, not only Europeans. Sublimating as much what is more primitive, younger, more elementary in our culture, it was natural that soccer in Brazil, in being elevated to the status of national institution, would also elevate the negro, the Afrodescendant, the mulatto, the cafuzo, the mestiço.

Of course, soccer, as a national manifestation, exposes the true face of the country, with its prejudices now seen even in the manifestations of the spectators, and internally among the players themselves.

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Ex-soccer player Arthur Friedenreich in museums in the city of Sao Paulo · Bruno Abrahão, Francisco Caldas & Antonio Soares

Is soccer really a part of Brazilian culture?
Is it a port of entry to Brazilian culture?
Could it be a gateway to social ascension for the black sportsman?".

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Exotization in the colonial and post-colonial period: the case of Portugal dos Pequenitos

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Abstract

This article addresses the theme of Portuguese colonial representations in tourist spaces and mainly focuses on how the colonized are represented by the colonizer. For five centuries, Portugal maintained an extensive empire, which was the subject of representations of exoticism and of people in a state of civilizational inferiority. Such a superior and hegemonic point of view remains represented in the theme park Portugal dos Pequenitos, visited by thousands of tourists, children, and adults, from all over the world, feeding the tourist industry, while naturalizing colonial power relations. Therefore, in the present study, we examine the representations of Portugal, through a museological-tourist analysis of the discourse of the Portuguese World Exhibition of 1940, replicated in the theme park Portugal dos Pequenitos, in Coimbra. We conclude that it is a tourist discourse impregnated by the exoticizing look of the colonizer at the former colonies, which still corresponds to a lusotropicalist representation of an imperial Portugal.

Keywords

exotization; Portugal dos Pequeninos; colonial empire

A exotização no período colonial e pós-colonial: o caso de Portugal dos Pequenitos

Resumo

Este artigo aborda o tema das representações portuguesas coloniais nos espaços turísticos e tem o seu principal foco de incidência na forma como o colonizado é representado pelo colonizador. Durante cinco séculos, Portugal manteve um extenso império, que foi sendo objeto de representações ligadas ao exótico e a seres em estado de inferioridade civilizacional. Tal ponto de vista, de um olhar superior e hegemónico, continua representado no Portugal dos Pequenitos, visitado por milhares de crianças e turistas adultos de todo o mundo, alimentando a indústria turística, ao mesmo tempo que naturaliza as relações de poder colonial. Por conseguinte, no presente estudo, questionam-se as representações das ex-colónias portuguesas, através da análise museológico-turística do conteúdo da exposição de 1940 e replicada no Portugal dos Pequenitos, em Coimbra, e conclui-se tratar de um discurso turístico impregnado pelo olhar exótico do colonizador sobre as suas ex-colónias, o que corresponde a uma representação, ainda, luso-tropical de um Portugal imperial.

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Palavras-chave

exotização; Portugal dos Pequeninos; império

The building of Portugal dos Pequenitos

It was between 1936 and 1939 that the park still known as Portugal dos Pequenitos was built, idealized by Bissaya Barreto and designed by the architect Cassiano Branco. The project, whose main objective was to represent the Portuguese Empire, was inaugurated in 1940. All the regional typical houses of the countries included in the "Portuguese world" are represented there, as well as illustrative and characteristic places from North to South of Portugal, with its monuments, squares, and streets reproducing the history of the metropolis, its heroes, and its most important achievements. There is also no lack of cultural representation of the colonies (their flora, fauna, and ethnography), including the archipelagos.

In the course of Estado Novo, the project was a demonstration of strength and was accompanied by practices and discourses formulated in different ways and manners. The Empire was presented to the world as a large one, but the whole complex called the "Portuguese world" was, in reality, just a utopia. Besides the five pavilions representing the African colonies, where their cultural and economic wealth was described, two others also appeared: the first represented the Portuguese colonies in India, and the second, called Portugal-Brazil, presented these two countries as brother countries.

Martins (2016) is of the opinion that Portugal dos Pequenitos is a field of demonstration of power and strength, as well as of instruments that characterized the regime that was always protected by the actions of the catholic religion:

> this immanence of power, that Gilles Deleuze calls the "map" or "cartography", crosses, for example, the entire space of Portugal dos Pequenitos, that political toy that is also a reduced model of power, built in Coimbra in the 1930s. The spatial fit of a web of hierarchical controls is visible there. The village church and the colonial mission church are in Portugal dos Pequenitos what Christian morality is in the art of eugenic surveillance: a "dark room" in the great optical science that the Salazarist discipline constitutes. (Martins, 2016, p. 92)

The ideological and social conception, idealized during the administration of the overseas territory, had a pedagogical aspect that sought to narrate the practices of the colonizers:

> the Portugal dos Pequenitos Park should not be considered a museum of architectural miniature in Portugal. This judgment would limit, too much, the intelligence and culture conveyed by this work, as they did not realize the pedagogical feature of this work, inspired by the methods recommended and disseminated by the greatest pedagogues. (Matos, 2006, p. 23)

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The construction of Portugal dos Pequenitos also sought to answer those who cast doubts on the grandeur and imperial character of Portugal, while trying to reinforce the notion of portugality and project the idea of its beneficial influence on the world.

It cannot be accepted as a museum that tends to narrate a certain reality in an impartial way or, at least, in the most objective way possible, since what it does is naturalize colonial actions and, in effect, it is important to look at that reality from the point of view of post-colonial theories and realize that we are facing a colonial act of subordination, representing the mythological glory of an empire that never existed outside the imaginary, but which seeks, pedagogically, to construct it:

> Portugal dos Pequenitos (PP) is a representation of Portugal designed for children. It therefore has a clearly pedagogical objective. Unlike other exhibitions at the time, this space has not been destroyed and, for that reason, can still be visited. PP is analyzed here in order to understand which and how the colonial images given to children were constructed. (Matos, 2006, p. 228)

Without adopting this critical view, in the year 2000, the Portuguese Government awarded Portugal dos Pequenitos the medal of tourist merit, not considering the fact that that place contributes to spreading a myth of ideological superiority, which reinforces the maintenance of certain elements of the past and that tells a unilateral story from the colonizer's point of view.

> However, Portugal dos Pequenitos carries with it the idea of tomorrow. The homeland is projected for the future as a burden to be defined by the then inhabitants of the place. In fact, it is through them that this idea of homeland will be perpetuated and that, finally, the model ideal of "being Portuguese" will be found. (Paulo, 1990, p. 405)

Tourism, culture, and ideology

The origins of tourism are very remote, and several authors have already addressed this issue. The oldest forms date back to classical antiquity and refer to the Greeks, the Egyptians and the Romans, since the exchange of products from one region to another, as well as travel for different reasons, originated contacts between peoples. More recently it was the Industrial Revolution of the 18th century, which gave tourism a major boost.

> The place has aroused more interest on the part of scholars, researchers, and academics, while it has attracted greater interest in new tourists who have a growing motivation to learn more about this theme (Costa, 2014, p. 570).

It puts Portugal in a position of hyperidentity due to the fact that, in a small space, it narrates the history of colonization to its former colonies, and the children who visit the location are given information about the generous and benevolent actions that the

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Portuguese colonization allegedly had for the other peoples. The present and visible reality is a tourist itinerary about the colonization developed between Lisbon and the other colonies, a story that narrates the cultural diversity of the peoples.

> Cultural tourism that is presented in Portugal dos Pequenitos is a means of providing a new approach to the superiority of Portugal disguised in Lusophone, which seeks to understand the interests of all peoples in an equal way. In order to retell the story from maritime Portugal to the colonized peoples, thus showing the colonizing genius. (Silva & Vasconcelos, 2014, p. 159)

For the subject in question, however, it is interesting to make an analysis of the relationship between tourism and culture, since these two agents are, hardly, separated. In reality, tourism can be done in several ways. For example, as referred by Dores (2015), there is a period when travel and the cultural world were associated, that is, traveling

> consisted of a form of tourism practiced by the aristocracy, especially the English aristocracy, which began in the 18th century and in which the trip through Europe included visits to the great artistic and natural historical sites, thus stating that the cultural heritage is one of the oldest and important tourism-generating elements. (Dores, 2015, p. 61)

Through this quote, we see how tourism and culture are articulated around the notion of heritage and the desire to know the cultural heritage of peoples.

The term patrimony comes from the Roman *patrimonium* and is associated with the material goods of a family, having evolved into a collective concept related to a set of common goods (Audrerie, 1997).

In the case of cultural heritage, it reflects the concern of the present and the desire for this present to be linked to the recognition of a heritage from the past, thus assuming it as a fundamental factor of identity.

With regard to Portugal dos Pequenitos, and taking into account the field observation, at the time we prepared this study, we can say that it has more of a tourism than a cultural, or even, historical inclination. Tourism has come to dominate that space where the exotic has a notorious expression and marks the space and the tourist experience it provides. The articulation between tourism and culture is nearly absent because there are more explanations about what space is than about the meaning of the representations in the pavilions, which further accentuates the hegemonic power that, supposedly, Portugal has exercised on its colonies. As Baptista points out,

> in this context, the question of the Other is either a mere division fuelled by the search for the exotic and the unexpected, or it is nothing more than the attempt to recover, now by other means, more biased and distorted, the subject's eternal search for itself, in a logic that is nothing innovative or surprising, but that can already be found in the phenomenology of the spirit. (Baptista, 2017, p. 19)

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In fact, the apparent internal diversity of this space barely disguises the hegemonic representation of the colonizer, who writes more to himself than to the other. With that representation, Portugal projects itself as the subject of a civilizing action, relegating to a secondary plane spaces that, seeming to be represented, are, after all, invisible: what is represented there is the picturesque, the exotic that stimulates the tourist's gaze, uncritical and predatorily of irreducible difference.

However, we must reinforce the idea that culture cannot be held hostage by tourism. As stated by Dores (2015), cultural heritage is one of the oldest and most important elements that generate tourism and we should not overshadow culture and represent it in a caricatured way, according to the objectives of tourism.

Indeed, what is present and which was preceded by the world exhibition to which we will refer later, would still be resignified by lusotropicalism (Castelo, 1999) in the 60s, and pass unscathed by the 1974 Revolution.

Today, as one of the most visited tourist attractions in the central region of the country, it clearly shows how lusotropicalism is naturalized, the imperial mentality still persists and the self-representation of the Portuguese has never been totally eradicated. "The Portuguese Empire is essentially Portugal, while the other peoples are the Other of that empire" (Silva & Vasconcelos, 2014, p. 160).

As Baptista (2017) points out, "the Portuguese Empire in Africa never existed until the 19th century, as it achieved nothing more than territorially very circumscribed occupations on the African coast, essentially intended to maintain a commercial activity with the natives" (p. 63).

Speaking of a Portuguese world that, for some authors, never existed, a false idea of peaceful cohabitation between Portugal and the colonies was spread. Indeed, the idea of an overseas as a meeting place for cultures is theoretically based on lusotropicalism (Baptista, 2017).

> The contact of cultures manifests a utopian desire to portray history and the relationships between different communities (...) as being a relationship without power, without conflict. (....) I am thinking, for example, of the rhetoric that presides over the celebrations of the Portuguese discoveries or the creation of the CPLP [Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa], or the very idea of lusophone. (Baptista, 2017, p. 17)

For all effects, Portugal dos Pequenitos is more a tourist space than a historical place with the categorical affirmation of a hegemonic power in which culture appears linked to tourism, contributing to an ideologically colonial representation of the Portuguese Empire.

Hegemonic representation of Portugal through tourist discourse

Since Portugal launched its famous civilizing mission, with the will and passion to conquer the world, it has become clear that everything that was land and where there was

life should be under its control, in the words of Luís de Camões, inscribed in a prominent place in Portugal dos Pequenitos, "if there is more world, there Portugal will be".

Starting from this maxim of an imperialist and hegemonic nature, in the sense referred by Gramsci (2007), "the colonizers serve as a model and as a measure that will be applied to the colonized peoples, an application seen not as an act of domination, but as an act of salvation" (p. 34), it was this hegemonic spirit that fed the ideological guidebook of colonial Portugal.

It should also be noted that this paternalistic position assumes several intensities depending on the chronology of the decolonization process. For example, since Brazil was the first ex-colony to become independent, it started to be recognized as a brother country, in a gesture that has a special context and historical significance.

Exhibition of 1940

The idea of celebrating the double historical event of the foundation of the State of Portugal and the restoration of its nationality (1140 and 1640) was at the origin of the "Exposição do Mundo Português" (Portuguese World Exhibition), an idea that was launched in 1929 by the ambassador Alberto de Oliveira and which was assumed in March 1938 by Salazar, through an unofficial note from the Presidency of the Council. The exhibition followed the Portuguese participation in the great international exhibitions in Paris (1937), New York and San Francisco (1939) (Matos, 2006).

As in the expansion and the slave trade, Portugal had to find an opportunity to once again show itself to the world for its achievements, since its influence on the other powers was weakening. Thus, Martins (2016) states that the exhibition was held to reconstruct the history of an imperial and colonizing Portugal:

> the exhibition constitutes a giant historical reconstruction in ephemeral material (stucco, wood, plastic structures), where the traditions of eight centuries of national life were reinvented. The aim was to proclaim to the world the greatness of a "united, multiracial and pluricontinental country". And in order to achieve that goal, it was necessary to mobilize the appropriate symbols and narratives, given the fact that history never speaks for itself. The Portuguese World Exhibition therefore reinvented a story to speak for the national identity. (Martins, 2016, p. 21)

The exhibition was held between the right bank of the Tagus River and the Jerónimos Monastery. It occupied an area of about 560 thousand square meters, and had two large perpendicular longitudinal pavilions: the Honor Pavilion of Lisbon, and, on the other side, the Pavilion of Portuguese in the World (Ribeiro, Alessandretti, Leandro, Martins & Moraes, 2017).

Portugal dos Pequenitos, proposed by Bissaya Barreto, was based on this latter one pavilion. It was built in Coimbra and, in the wake of the praise of Salazar's great work, it seeks to be the glorious and civilizing expression of the Portuguese empire. But, as

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Baptista (2017) suggests, is it not the return of the repressed? We conclude that many of these representations, still in force in the Portuguese cultural imaginary, may be nothing more than the return of the repressed, or a failed encounter with reality (Baptista, 2017).

In the present case, the colonial representation never let the indigenous people speak for themselves, but always insisted on representing them as a backward people, standing in the confines of a primitive time and rescued by the civilizing mission of their colonizer. Indeed, if Portugal is praised for the greatness of its mission, "the black or the indigenous appears, at most, as an exotic note in the landscape" (Baptista, 2017, p. 55).

Indeed, this is the representation that structurally organizes Portugal dos Pequenitos, and it should be noted that, in 2017, according to a news story from RTP, published on January 9, 2018, the park was visited by 27.3000.00 people, 40% of whom were tourists and the rest were school audience. The majority of these visitors were Spanish, French, and Brazilian.

The tourist discourse in the colonial and post-colonial period

In order to have an idea of the colonial and post-colonial discourse from the perspective of tourism, it is necessary to analyze the images found on the signposts that, supposedly, should be the letters of the pavilions of the garden of Portugal dos Pequenitos. We were surprised with one of them where the phrase "Portugal and Brazil, brother countries" can be read, and with another one on the front of the space, which describes Portugal as a metropolis. In order to understand its importance and significance today, we emphasize that it is still a matter of

> conveying a certain image of Portugal, as a Portuguese Empire and, above all, of the "other" of that Empire, what we see is that many of these representations are still in force in the Portuguese cultural imaginary, perhaps not of the entire Portuguese intellectual elite, but certainly in a part of it and, to a greater extent, in Portuguese cultural memory (Baptista, 2017, p. 57).

In this line of thought, Dores (2015) considers that only in the imagination were African colonies the other of Portugal. Only Brazil was a Portugal-other or so unconsciously described (Caldeira, 2015, p. 76). The discourse of Portugal dos Pequenitos also plays with identities, in order to legitimize power relations and to naturalize the colonizer's superiority over the colonized, in the process of annexation of territories under the idea of empire. About this process of manipulation and construction of an imperial imaginary, Baptista (2017) points out the following:

> one of the most impressive tasks of manipulating one's own identity and memory (and immediately of the Other's identity and memory) was the colonization process that Europeans carried out in different parts of the world and more intensely, in the late 19th and 20th centuries in Africa. (Baptista, 2017, p. 61)

The descriptions that in fact show the Portuguese presence, in Africa and beyond, representing the colonies in a small dimension, compared to the empire, reinforce the mechanisms of power in the relationship with the peoples under their dependence. As described by Castelo, lusotropicalism helped to consolidate this imperial imaginary:

> this unity exists and Portuguese man is its founding and unifying element. His characteristics, already analyzed in Casa-Grande and Senzala – absence of racial prejudice, tendence for miscegenation, fraternal Christianity – give internal coherence to the world he created among peoples. (Castelo, 1999, p. 35)

However, nowadays, Post-colonial Studies challenge anthropologists, historians, museologists and tourism specialists to rethink their representations, and to exercise a constant criticism about them.

Postcolonial criticism introduced a radical critique of patterns of knowledge and social identities that was not authorized by colonialism or Western rule. This does not mean that colonialism and its legacies have remained unquestioned until today; just think, for example, of nationalisms or Marxism; it does mean that both worked thanks to master narratives that put Europe at the center.

Postcolonial criticism will thus seek to undo Eurocentrism, maintaining, however, the awareness that postcoloniality does not develop from a panoptic view in relation to history; postcoloniality exists as an after – after being worked on by colonialism.

The space occupied by Portugal dos Pequenitos shows that the enunciation of speeches of domination is located neither inside nor outside the history of Portuguese domination, but, rather, in a deep relationship with it.

In the current context, there are several views that have been built on the space under debate. Martins (2016) describes two types of scenarios:

> we are discussing the much celebrated Portugal dos Pequenitos, which is not just an illustration of the national organization. It is also a political ingenuity, a reduced model of power: the obsession of Salazar, a meticulous dictator of the domestic little machine, of the well-disciplined family and corporate workshops, of prolonged exercises of memory, look and desire. (Martins, 2016, p. 165)

After visiting Portugal dos Pequenitos, where the Portuguese world is supposed to be represented, we see that the other continues to be represented without history or explanation, and little or nothing is known about it, an idea that comes from imperial times and, for the tourist, represents only an exotic curiosity, uncritically absorbed.

According to Martins (2016), since it is visited by children, it cannot be translated as a tourist place, but as a place to reinvent the acts that live in the collective memory of peoples, thus reinforcing the Portuguese hyperidentity, and increasing the subordination of peoples in the past, "in this sense, we will dream of children's visits who come to Portugal dos Pequenitos to learn the virtuous tendencies able to regenerate the ill nation: a living lesson or a museum of the regenerating order" (Martins, 2016, p. 93).

Final considerations

Definitely, as Baptista (2017) had already concluded, the image that the ex-colonizer has intended to show refers to an imaginary action of a supposed empire that, in the domain of the real, did not exist. Portugal dos Pequenitos is, in fact, a space created to replicate a cruel practice carried out by those who once thought themselves superior to others and who still seek to convey this idea to future generations, by valuing the exotic.

That said, privileging the exotic look in cultural tourism corresponds to a serious concealment of the truth of the peoples represented in Portugal dos Pequenitos. Valuing the component of attractiveness and leisure tourism, this garden explores the picturesque, bizarre and strange side of peoples that appear as primitive and are seen as backward and inferior.

However, it is important not to let these representations, staged for tourist purposes, remain to be decoded and it is important to understand where the discourses and representations behind these imaginary projections come from. As Baptista once again mentions:

> tourism in Africa was limited to big game hunting, in the context of a tourism that today we would call hunting and adventure tourism, to the promenade through the great works of European colonization (farms and public works). In any case, African attractions for tourism were nature and the white human element, responsible for the slow and gradual transformation of Africa. The black or the indigenous appears, at most, as a note and exotic in the landscape. (Baptista, 2017, p. 55)

Today, although it has undergone some changes regarding the remodelling of details, Portugal dos Pequenitos continues to contribute to the degrading of ex-colonized peoples. It is open to the public and continues to make the colonial narrative prevail, telling history without any criticism or post-colonial perspective. It is thus a museum of today that narrates and seeks to maintain colonialism.

A more technical look at the architecture of the place shows that there is an action of subordination: in the same space two types of buildings, the former, representing the ancient colonies, in the form of tents, and the latter, representing the metropolis by the architecture of the time. If in the past the same territories were Portuguese property, why there are two types of architecture? However, Martins (2016) helps us to answer this question as follows:

> let us also keep as a reference the architectural paradigm of Portugal dos Pequenitos, whose tactical functioning refers to the eugenic device of Salazar's discursive practice. Portugal dos Pequenitos is the architectural figure of a device that works according to the way of two political dreams that combine in the double composition of circular constructions (villages and colonies) and rectangular constructions (monuments, castles, and fortified squares). (Martins, 2016, p. 93)

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Portugal dos Pequenitos is a great theme park for children: children who, when visiting the place, see a sad reality reported as a great one. Colonization is treated as entertainment, the narrative of colonial and imperial values that have become anachronistic and inhuman is constructed as something fun.

Translation: Larissa Latif

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The Northeastern Brazilian dances in the museums about Luiz Gonzaga "the king of baião"

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Abstract

How do museums as places of memory of Luiz Gonzaga represent his participation in the cultural mediation process of regional dances – *xote*, *xaxado* and *baião* – for the rest of the country? In order to answer this question, our goal was to analyze the role of museums that focus on Luiz Gonzaga's biography as an instrument for the historical preservation of the dances of the Brazilian Northeast backwoods. For that, we examined five articles, eight photos, a film and a musical lyric found in three museums in the cities of Exu, Serra Talhada and Recife in the state of Pernambuco – Brazil. In addition to the documentary sources, we used the semi-structured interviews to capture the vision of museum leaders. We conclude that the articles about Luiz Gonzaga in the documentary sources fulfill the pedagogical function of teaching these dances through their preservation actions, contributing to the process of expanding regional dances to the rest of the country.

Keywords

dances; Luiz Gonzaga; memory; museums

As danças do Nordeste brasileiro nos museus sobre Luiz Gonzaga "o rei do baião"

Resumo

De que maneira os museus enquanto lugares da memória de Luiz Gonzaga representam sua participação no processo de mediação cultural das danças regionais – xote, xaxado e baião –para o restante do país? A fim de responder a esta questão, nosso objetivo foi analisar o papel dos museus que tematizam a biografia de Luiz Gonzaga como instrumento de preservação histórica das danças do Sertão do Nordeste brasileiro. Para tanto, tomamos como conteúdo cinco matérias, oito fotos, um filme e uma letra musical encontradas em três museus nas cidades de Exu, Serra Talhada e Recife no estado do Pernambuco – Brasil. Além das fontes documentais, valemo-nos da entrevista semiestruturada para captar a visão dos dirigentes dos museus. Concluímos que as matérias sobre Luiz Gonzaga nas fontes documentais cumprem a função pedagógica do ensino destas danças através de suas ações de preservação, contribuindo para o processo de expansão das danças regionais no resto do país.

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Introduction

Dance has assumed a particular role in societies over time due to several factors, whether spiritual, recreational, ritualistic, theatrical and/or cultural. Being a human historical-cultural creation, it becomes an integral element of the daily lives of individuals in society. Ergo, it is part of the corporal practices of humanity as a cultural product of different countries, among which Brazil and its dances deserve special attention. Due to its great cultural diversity, a consequence of the miscegenation of European, African, and indigenous habits and customs, it provided a wealth of rhythms and dances that characterize its different regions. The culture of the Brazilian Northeast is characterized by manifestations of the so-called popular culture: maracatu, reisado, frevo, string literature, woodcuts, among others (Bernardes, 2007).

Brazilian popular culture in the Northeast is marked by the expressiveness of its rhythms. The dances reproduce the history of the people through the reproduction and renewal of the senses and meanings of dancing expressed by different groups and subjects. This cultural contingent directly influenced the elaboration of the dances, since it is characterized by the representativeness of the actions that occur in daily life and the sensations that they awaken in the body of the dancing individual. We thus observe that "dance accompanies our lives in different ways, at different times and with different meanings; we can see it from different corners of the world" (Brasileiro, 2010, p. 137).

Like all cultural practices, dance is also characterized by the transmission of knowledge from individual to individual that occurs formally or even informally, intentionally or unintentionally from one being to another in a constant reproduction of culture that spans generations (Libâneo, 2013). In this regard, the story is told in different ways and provides us with characters who actively act in the process of cultural transmission and diffusion.

In the Northeast, there were several interpreters of the plot who narrates the history and peculiarity of Northeastern culture. Among these figures, a particular character stands out who looked at this culture in order to enrich it and spread it throughout the rest of the country, in order to make the region, as well as its customs, facts, beliefs, and rhythms known and practiced nationally. He is the figure of the composer and singer Luiz Gonzaga "king of baião", who dedicated his work entirely to the knowledge and dissemination of the country reality throughout Brazil. He portrayed the Brazilian Northeast in his music, influenced by the cowboys and *cangaço*, from where he created the typical clothing of his performances. The lyrics of his songs are not just melodies, they go further, they contain real stories of everyday life. Experienced facts, faith, customs, and, above all, the joy of these people are intrinsic to their songs "as if saying in their melodies the cry of their own people" (Arlégo, 2012, p. 17).

How do museums as places of memory of Luiz Gonzaga represent his participation in the cultural mediation process of regional dances – *xote*, *xaxado* and *baião* – for the rest of the country? In order to answer this question, our goal was to analyze the role of museums that addressed Luiz Gonzaga's biography as an instrument for the historical preservation of the dances of the sertão of Northeast Brazilian.

Making a brief presentation of Luiz Gonzaga do Nascimento, so called for three reasons: Luiz, for being born on Saint Luzia's day, Gonzaga for being the saint of devotion, São Luiz Gonzaga, both make up the religious culture of the Northeast and Nascimento, for being the month of the birth of Jesus Christ, baptized like this, he had to be a blessed creature in life (Dreyfus, 2012). Son of Ana Batista de Jesus – Dona Santana and Seu Januário dos Santos, of natural birth, "born on the farm Caiçara, on December 13, 1912, and baptized in the headquarters of Exu on January 5, 1913" (Dreyfus, 2012, p. 31).

Regarding museums, we infer that humanity throughout its existence sought to protect and represent the facts and phenomena of everyday life through various mechanisms such as cave paintings, documents, images, sculptures, photographs, among others. Museums emerge in an attempt to preserve and transmit customs, history, arts, to future generations in a constant search to protect the memory of a specific people or nation, based on the materials left by the beings who lived at certain times.

According to the statutes of Icom (International Council of Museums)[1] (2009), a museum is defined as a permanent non-profit institution, at the service of society, open to the public,which collects and preserves the material and immaterial heritage of humanity and its environment for purposes of education, study, and delight. Pinto (2013) understands these institutions as places of memory that keep traces of the past and leave their mark in the sense of perpetuating the living memory of historical characters and collective memory that selectively bring the memory that society wants to keep. These elements can be composed of architecture, landscapes, characters, customs, music, folklore and gastronomy (Pollak, 1989).

Pollak (1989) deals with memories and forgetfulness constructed between what you want to remember and what you want to forget, due to the inclinations of its use by different social groups. We see there the need for reflection on the historical aspects reproduced throughout human experience, seen and told by eyes that had social credibility to disseminate, leaving the subordinate visions doomed to oblivion. Silences must also be analyzed based on the assumption of what criteria was imposed for such forgetfulness, "it is no longer a question of dealing with social facts as things, but of analyzing how social facts become things. How and by whom they are solidified and endowed and stable" (Pollak, 1989, p. 4).

In the direction of these reflections, Pimentel emphasizes the relationship between memory and History, considering that historical study causes the exercise of memory. However, it is a contradictory process, "because it both selects and transforms previous experiences to adjust to new uses, and practices forgetfulness, the only way to make room for the present" (Pimentel, 2013).

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[1] See http://www.icom.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/Estatuto-ICOM-BR.pdf

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Sarlo (2007) reflects that memory nowadays becomes a right guaranteed by laws, that memory is a duty of the State, a moral, legal, and political necessity emerging from society. In this sense, "in Brazil, law 8.159 of January 08.1991 points out that it is the duty of the public power to ensure document management, as well as special protection for documents and files" (Melo, Drumond, Fortes & Santos, 2013, p. 147). These access materials to history needed places for their protection, so that they could become sources of research on the memory of certain people. These places are called archives and/or museums. In this way, we understand archives as "deposits of previously selected materials, based on partial criteria that vary according to time and space" (Melo et al., 2013, p. 148).

Nora (1984) argues that memory means everything that evokes what happened, ensuring its permanence resignified in the present. In this way, memory is found in multiple places, the places of memory. Over time, it was necessary to think about the creation of spaces where these documents were kept to ensure posterity's knowledge of the elements lived in other times by other peoples. For Pinto (2013, p. 90), "the museum can be the memory of people left by the object, or memories that encourage the search for other stories: history of people, history of places. Museum 'places of memory'".

The 20th century brought significant changes in museums as social spaces, now immersed in an increasingly diverse and conflicting society. This museological activity has been busy since the 1980s, in creating spaces of resistance, by developing activities that overcome past socioeconomic and political problems, such as those left by colonialism (Russi & Abreu, 2019). These movements brought changes to the museological field, such as the theme of cultural differences and different forms of appropriation by museums, of the cultural productions of a plural and multicultural society (Bhabha, 1998).

Museums began to invest in actions that would give voice and space to peripheral and invisible populations in urban centers and rural areas. More than ever, museums take on the role of communicating with their visitors; stories are revealed from objects and other artifacts (Lança, 2019). In our case, a rural character from the Northeastern Sertão of the city of Exu (Pernambuco), Brazil.

As an example, we cite art museums, archaeological museums, cultural museums, historical museums, scientific museums. All with a common objective, which is the historical preservation of the memory of a people or nation, its events, customs, culture, and different characters. Among these, a category that interests us as an object of research is the museums that protect the memory of the central character of this research – Luiz Gonzaga – in the state of Pernambuco, his home state. These museums portray the history of this figure in its different aspects (musical, political, personal, artistic), but this analysis will be made from the object that holds us, which are regional dances.

Our study will focus on how he has regional dances are represented – *xote*, *xaxado*, and *baião* – and Gonzaga's contributions to these. In an attempt to clarify the role of Pernambuco's museums in the historical preservation of the regional dances disseminated by Luiz Gonzaga, we seek to rescue through these materials what has been represented about regional dances and the contribution of this in its diffusion process. Ergo, we

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visited the museums, we analyzed carefully the material provided by its leaders and we removed the pertinent information to be treated and addressed in this context. We begun with a theoretical discussion about the relevance of historical preservation through the resources used as a basis for archives of the country's cultural history, we elucidated the historical studies for understanding social phenomena and their tools to aid in understanding the object studied.

Method

The sources for these studies are the following museums: Museu do Gonzagão[2] belonging to the NGO (non-governmental organization) Park Aza Branca, in Exu (Pernambuco), Memorial Luiz Gonzaga [3], in Recife (Pernambuco) subsidized by the State Government, and the Museu do Cangaço[4] belonging to the Cabras de Lampião Cultural Foundation in Serra Talhada (Pernambuco). Those materials were collected and analyzed from February to June 2018.

At the Museu do Gonzagão (Gonzagão Museum), we found a journalistic report, which was also present in the Memorial Luiz Gonzaga (Luiz Gonzaga Memorial) collection. In this museum, the Memorial Luiz Gonzaga, we found the greatest number of materials for analysis, namely: a digital archive with the film *Hoje o galo sou eu* (*Today the cock is me*), two journalistic reports, two photographs and a journalistic photograph. The Museu do Cangaço (Cangaço Museum) provided us with two photographs. Described in the Table.

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[2] The Museu do Gonzagão, located in the hometown of Gonzaga – Exu (Pernambuco) – opened on December 13, 1989, the material labels are based on personal statements by Gonzaga, his wife Helena and biographies on the subject, mainly in *O sanfoneiro do riacho da Brígida* by Sinval de Sá. Its main goal is to work obstinately, for the conservation, preservation and dissemination of Park Aza Branca – Museu do Gonzagão, its small world, its legacy, which it was idealized and built, to leave as a legacy. See www.parqueazabranca.com.br

[3] Equipment from the Culture Foundation of the City of Recife opened on August 02, 2008 with the objective of researching, preserving and disseminating the memory of Luiz Gonzaga and the Northeastern culture. Located in the Courtyard de São Pedro – Recife – the memorial opens its doors to visit the permanent exhibition collection, consisting of biography, consultation point for the digital collection, records, photos, books, musical instruments, exhibition of films and documentaries, in addition to typical objects of the country culture, harmonized in an exhibition project. On the upper floor, there is a work room, where those interested can schedule a visit for research in the vast collection. See www.recife.pe.gov/mlg

[4] With works recognized in Brazil and abroad, the Cabras de Lampião Cultural Foundation, founded in 1995 in Serra Talhada-PE, has been developing, over the years, actions concerning the multiple cultural aspects of the sertanejo man, becoming a specialist in *cangaço* historiography, in the figure of Lampião; in *xaxado* dance and in musicality. The Cabras de Lampião Cultural Foundation has a legal personality, non-profit and cultural purpose. It became a culture of point in *cangaço* in 2008. See www.cabrasdelampiao.com.br

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LOCAL	MATERIAL	OBSERVATIONS
Memorial Luiz Gonzaga	Discography	Gonzaga/partners/followers
Journalistic inserts	Five digitized volumes of the Museu do Gonzagão Six original cutout volumes donated from the collection of Mávio Fonseca de Holanda	
Basic bibliography		
Academic works	Elaborated in partnership with the Memorial	
Digital collection (images/videos)		
Exhibition materials		
Museu do Cangaço	Journalistic inserts	Two folders
Basic bibliography	Three shelves	
Academic works		
Exhibition materials		
Video library		
Cordelteca		
Museu do Gonzagão	Original photographs	Three folders
Journalistic inserts	Five volumes	
Discs		
Basic bibliography		
	Sheet music	

Table 1: Materials displayed in museums

The analysis of these documents followed the precepts of the documentary-iconographic analysis of the archived materials, whether journalistic clippings, photographs, digitized images, videos and original discs. For Padilha, Bellaguarda, Nelson, Maia and Costa (2017, p. 3) among the sources of documentary research "include the written manual, journalistic text, scientific articles, minutes, theses and dissertations, among others. Iconographic sources usually include photographs, films, clothing and other artifacts from historical moments and people".

Padilha et al., (2017) reiterate that the analysis of material in historical research has documentation as a method when it is a universe of historiographic information, using techniques of collecting, observing and treating information, to turn the facts into analyzable data. To expand the information from the iconographic documentation, we also draw on the insights of museum leaders, collected from the semi-structured interviews conducted during visits. Because we understand that "the interview is more adaptable. The questions can be reformulated, and clarification can be sought through subsequent questions" (Thomas, Nelson & Silverman, 2012, p. 306).

The identity of the interviewees could be revealed with the consent of the Ethics Committee of the Federal University of Valley of São Francisco[5] and due authorization from the same.

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[5] The execution of the research is registered in the CEP/CONEP system with CAAE 64258417.7.0000.5196

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Results and discussions: dances in museums and the vision of leaders

We will point out what is representative about the regional dances found in the afore-mentioned museums. It represents Gonzaga's performance in the context of dances.

Xaxado

Xaxado is one of the most expressive dances in Gonzaga's career, given the public's acceptance throughout Brazil. We perceive Gonzaga's participation in this context from journalistic records found in museum archives. *Cruzeiro* magazine on June 14, 1952, launches an article entitled "Xaxá is born", in this Gonzaga appears clearly teaching girls to dance the *xaxado*:

> Luís Gonzaga, the "Rei do Baião", has just launched a new dance - He was inspired by the dances held in the caatingas by the cangaceiros of Lampião – The Garôtas of TV – Tupi were excited by the rhythm- Soon, Luís Gonzaga will release the sensational novelty through Tupi and Tamoio- Everyone is going to "xaxear". (Nasce o Xaxá, 1952)

In that article there is a fragment that says: "and the new rhythm was born from the accordion of *baião*. Luis Gonzaga, singer from the Northeast, brought the harsh poetry of the caatingas to the carioca sunny morning" (Nasce o Xaxá, 1952). The creation of the rhythm is attributed to Gonzaga, for becoming known through him.

Figure 1: Gonzaga teaching women to *xaxar*

Source: Museu do Gonzagão and Memorial Luiz Gonzaga / Nasce o Xaxá, 1952

In the Figura 2 we can clearly see Gonzaga with his accordion teaching the girls to practice *xaxado*. The magazine describes the step by step of the dance through the reported script and the images of the dancing feet, we observe that it basically consists of the frontal elevation of the knee and the firm stepping of the feet on the floor in repetitive movements in the music rhythm. In this way, we perceive Gonzaga's effective participation in this dance, since he, through his accordion, plays the rhythm and, through his representation, demonstrates the steps to be performed in the dance. We found one of the images from the aforementioned report in the digital archives of Memorial Luiz Gonzaga. We can see more clearly that Gonzaga plays and dances teaching the steps of *xaxado* to these women, who seemed interested in the new rhythm.

Figure 2: Gonzaga plays while teaching women to *xaxar*

Source: Memorial Luiz Gonzaga digital collection

In the digital files and videos of the Memorial Luiz Gonzaga we found the recording of a film in which it depicts Gonzaga and his trio dancing the *xaxado* and playing the song "Olha a pisada" Gonzaga e Zé Dantas (1954, RCA Victor/78 RPM, track 01- side A). The film is entitled *Hoje o galo sou eu* (Carvalho, 1957) and was released on February 23, 1957 and lasts for one hour and 32 minutes. The film director was Aloísio T. de Carvalho, and it is characterized as a comedy.

In the Museu do Cangaço we find in the permanent exhibition the representation of cangaceiros from the gang of Lampião and Maria Bonita dancing the armed *xaxado* because they had to be on the lookout for any action by the steering wheel – police forces that acted in the repression of the struggles undertaken by the cangaceiros. This representation confirms the thesis that *xaxado* as a dance arises even before Gonzaga "takes over" the rhythm and inserts elements.

The image below represents Lampião's cangaceiros dancing *xaxado* accompanied by their partners and armaments, with the following description; "even when dancing, at no time did the cangaceiros separate themselves from their equipment". From left to right: Durvinha and Antônio Moreno, Nenê de Luiz Pedro and Barra Nova.

Figure 3: Cangaceiros dancing *xaxado*
Source: Permanent exhibition of the Museu do Cangaço

Even before Gonzaga, the practice of *xaxado* already existed, not as a dance itself, with its warrior and recreational character. Gonzaga, when incorporating rhythm into his repertoire, inserts music into the movements performed. Thus, we were convinced that Gonzaga, although not the creator of the *xaxado*, was responsible for spreading it. In another image the cangaceiros appear in a single file, the description of the image says: "the marks on the floor were erased by the last of the line, making it difficult the work of creepers" (permanent exhibition at the Museu do Cangaço). This affirmation refers to the movement of *xaxing* the floor to erase the footprints left, hence we understand that the emergence of the basic step of *xaxado* comes from this practice, making its origin associated to Cangaço.

Gonzaga, born at the time of the reign of the cangaço, admired Lampião for his bravery and fearlessness: "he admired the brave, the cangaceiros. Lampião, not even spoken of" (Sá, 1978, p. 25), this influence generated in him the desire to fight for his people, using his art as a tool, "he admired Lampião, because he saw in him the expression of the struggle against the social injustices experienced by the people" (Arlégo, 2012, p. 28). We note the richness of this phenomenon as a revolutionary social practice in the fight against the inequalities of the time, and as a leader, Lampião became a prominent figure in this movement, admired by some and hated by others.

The *cangaço* was characterized by being a resistance movement that marked Brazilian history as a social and historical phenomenon that settled in the Northeastern Sertão from the end of the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century, covering the area of seven Northeastern states (Silva, 2009). Thus *xaxado* emerges from this reality as a reframing of *cangaço*. In the act of dancing, this movement of resistance is remembered.
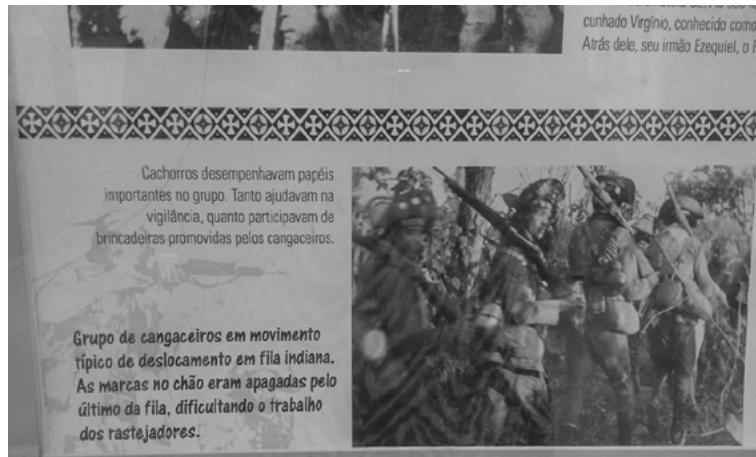
Figure 4: Cangaceiros in a row, "sweeping the ground" to lose the wheel

Source: Permanent exhibition of the Museu do Cangaço

Baião

The *baião* became popular with Gonzaga, although they comment that its origin is lost in time. Luiz Gonzaga was responsible for spreading the rhythm wherever he went. Through his songs he reproduced the steps demonstrating to the audience the way to dance. Luiz Gonzaga's role was, above all, to present this rhythm to the rest of the country. About *baião*, in an interview with *Jornal da Cidade* – a communication vehicle in the city of Recife-PE –, entitled "How I created baião", Gonzaga declares:

> baião existed in the Northeast before, with that name. I took it right out of the bulge of the viola where the singer makes time for improvisation, for the sudden. He usually sings along the rhythm of the guitar and his thumb eats on the strings. I took that beat, created a melodic game and Humberto Teixeira put the lyrics. (Como criei o baião, 1975)

Although he is considered an icon of this rhythm, to the point that he received the nickname "king of baião", he declares that his creation did not start out of nowhere, but was strongly influenced by the regional improvised verse singers. We present the report of *Diário de Pernambuco* that addresses this issue.

Figure 5: Gonzaga and Zédantas, "creators" of *baião*

Source: Diário de Pernambuco de 08 de agosto de 1988

In this report by *Diário de Pernambuco* of August 08, 1988, we realize that the origin of the rhythm is linked to Gonzaga and his partner. The statement of the report says: "from the union of Zédantas with Luiz Gonzaga, the discography of northeastern popular music was enriched by anthological productions" (Encontro musical cria baião dos dois: Zédantas e Gonzagão, 1988). Although other sources and even Gonzaga himself in his autobiography *O sanfoneiro do riacho da Brígida* (Sá, 1978) affirm that *baião* already existed, the report emphasizes the protagonism of the characters in the dissemination of this rhythm.

In a report by the *Diário de Pernambuco* of August 7, 1999, the statement reiterates "the work of the musician who taught Brazilians how to dance the baião" (A obra do músico que ensinou os brasileiros como se dança o baião, 1999). Given the date of publication, we can see that even after his death Gonzaga continues to influence generations in the practice of *baião*.

Figure 6: Gonzaga dancing *baião* with Marinês

Source: Memorial Luiz Gonzaga digital collection

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In this photo we see Gonzaga's trio playing while he dances *baião* with his friend and also singer Marinês. We clearly perceive that this is *baião* since the bodies are distant and due to the accelerated movement of the feet in the frontal (anterior and posterior) direction of the body. This fact happened frequently in his presentations, because Gonzaga was fond of teaching the steps of the rhythm to the audience.

Figure 7: Baião abroad

Source: Mávio Holanda Collection, available at the Memorial Luiz Gonzaga

The report shows that Gonzaga, in addition to the facts cited, still contributes to *baião* breaking the country's borders, being presented even abroad. We see that the *baião* had taken on unimaginable proportions even in the eyes of Gonzaga himself.

Xote

The *xote* is one of the most significant works in Gonzaga's career, with a slower and more rhythmic rhythm, it was one of the most intense requests in the shows, since it was the opportunity for young people to dance together, hand to hand. About xote origin we can highlight from the report below:

> the *xote* came from abroad. So, there in the sertão we created the *xote* rascal, *xote* saw foot, *xote forró*, dance by mature that is no longer Scottish style. It is really a *xote* for us because he has a completely different play and has the playful lyrics as: "come here thin waist" he always tells a beautiful letter or a funny humorous story. (*Jornal da Cidade*, 1975)

Figure 8: Gonzaga family at Fazenda Araripe in 1951
Source: Memorial Luiz Gonzaga digital collection

The photo above represents the Gonzaga family in a moment of relaxation while the couples dance the *xote* played by Santana and Januário in the hut of the village of Araripe in Exu-PE. We identified that it is about the rhythm by approaching the bodies and taking the hands close to the body in addition to the lateral direction of the feet. Although the *xote* is highlighted in presentations during Gonzaga's career, museums have little protection for their practice. Thus, the discussion about the rhythm did not go as desired. What is found refers to musicality and not to dance itself.

Leaders' view

We will analyze the report of museum leaders regarding the cultural preservation of dances and their performance in this regard. The interviews were analyzed and we removed the fragments of the statements that refer to the cultural preservation carried out in the daily work of museums. Providing a discussion on the real objectives and effectiveness of this work. The leaders interviewed were Cleonice Maria, president of the Cabras de Lampião Cultural Foundation and director of the Museu do Cangaço of Serra Talhada-PE; José Mauro de Alencar Júnior, director of the Memorial Luiz Gonzaga – Recife-PE; Clemilce Cardoso Parente, director of the NGO Park Aza Branca – Museum of Gonzagão – Exu-PE.

Cultural legacy

We questioned the leaders about what is considered a legacy and the need to preserve and perpetuate Gonzaga's legacy for future generations. The interview presents the following questions: what do you consider to be a legacy? And what legacy did Luiz Gonzaga leave for the dances? We present the answers and considerations.

> The diversity of themes. All this, is... it will put on the great legacy left by Luiz Gonzaga, and lastly I can mention an army of artists that Gonzaga

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> created, right? (...) Because a man who has such a legacy, who had the vision, the dedication he had, the culture never ends, it never ends. This is an artist for a thousand years from now, Brazil is contemplating him around, and clapping his hands. (José Mauro)

He reiterates: "what he did there was for three lives, I say. I always said that. I say: a person who lived three hundred years might do what he did!" (José Mauro). The interviewee reiterates facts of the importance of Gonzaga in the Northeastern culture, showing that his legacy extends beyond the ordinary and reunites the king both in his music and in the music of other artists, some even "created" by him (Gonzaga) and in his personal characteristics, all related to the Northeast,

> that's why he was always marked as a guy from the Sertão, a guy from the doublet[6] and the cangaceiro hat, but he to me, he is a great universal artist and his legacy is completely universal. (José Mauro)

Corroborating the same idea, the director of the Park Aza Branca reinforces: "but Luiz Gonzaga's legacy is unmistakable: music, dance, and all the rhythms of Luiz Gonzaga" (Clemilce Cardoso). "Without any bairrism, I think Luiz Gonzaga is like that, he is the king of forró really, that this legacy will never die, that all generations have been learning and have been carrying on" (Clemilce Cardoso).

The main legacy of Gonzaga, according to the interviewee, is to have been born in the hinterland, to travel the world and not to lose his *sertaneja*, Northeastern identity, besides that, "it is a legacy that will never die" and the current and future generations have the duty to take it forward.

Both interviewees agree that Gonzaga's legacy is of great expression on the national scene and that it will be perpetuated for many years. His work will be remembered from the disclosure that is still being carried out by entities such as those visited.

Historical preservation

Based on the assumption of the need to preserve history, museums are configured as places for the perpetuation of this memory. Thus, we ask about what is understood of this need. The question refers to the following: what is the role of the museum in the preservation of the history of Luiz Gonzaga? The director of the Cabras de Lampião Cultural Foundation understands that "to preserve these... these cultural aspects is to preserve history as a whole, right?" (Cleonice Maria).

> Because I will be able to say what our role is, as a private entity, that is preserving an important memory for our country and that people in leaps and bounds maintain a... a museum open every day to the population come to visit, to come to know, to come to have classes in here, which is what we do (...) as soon as we preserve the history of cangaço, xaxado here, we are also

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[6] Leather clothing used by cowboys in an attempt to protect the chest.

> preserving the memory of Luiz Gonzaga and the musicality he left for this ...
> for these rhythms, and then the xote comes in, baião enters, marches on, all
> on the same level of equality, because they were all strong rhythms that he
> created and that we see strong today, inside is ... the demonstrations, and
> we, as a museum, have to preserve that memory. (Cleonice Maria)

José Mauro realizes that "the preservation is through techniques of conservation of the collection". For him, the museum is Gonzaga's own expression and shows a living Gonzaga, presenting the world with the aspects that guided the king's life and its importance for world culture. In addition, it shows the museum's objectives in several passages: "to research, preserve and disseminate" Gonzaga's life and work, considered the most complete in the world.

In view of this, the leaders agree that cultural preservation is extremely important for Gonzaga's work to continue expanding worldwide.

The role of museums

It is interesting to understand what museums do in preservation from the perspective of contributing to this culture of regional dances. We ask: how has the museum contributed to the process of expansion and preservation of *xote*, *xaxado* and *baião*?

Cleonice Maria emphasizes one of the museum's concerns: "we are also very concerned with this, which is the training of those who come here: who comes to look for history, he leaves with... the information of what he came for". Referring to schools, universities, researchers and visitors who go to the museum, Cleonice Maria says:

> the Museum of Cangaço has this work, it is ... not only to preserve but to
> disseminate, which is more important, it is no use preserving if no one has
> access because you have to preserve and to disseminate, you have to do
> why else and more, and more people have access to these, this equipment,
> right?

The relationship between the dances of the "goats" of Lampião and Gonzaga is a definitive statement, the first consolidated the *xaxado* in the Northeastern hinterland, the second brought it to the salons and expanded throughout the country, that is, "who gave the musical identity to the xaxado was Luiz Gonzaga" (Cleonice Maria). A legacy that continues to be disseminated by the Museum of Cangaço, especially through the group Cabras de Lampião.

In the speech of José Mauro: "what is the role of Memorial? Search, go after. Preserve, safeguard the collection and disseminate, spread the legacy of Luiz Gonzaga. (...) has the mission of researching, preserving and disseminating the legacy of Luiz Gonzaga – the King of Baião". Regarding the dissemination of culture, he considers:

> through the public works of the Memorial, it is not just a question of open-
> ing the door to a visitation, a basic mediation. We also have a more in-depth

work, where the researcher can schedule and consult the collection. (...)
So, the dissemination also occurs through workshops, lectures, traveling
exhibitions, the festive events that we promote here at courtyard São Pedro.
(José Mauro)

In this same work, the Park Aza Branca seeks:

preserving this Luiz Gonzaga culture, above all, music and dance is... al-
ways bringing people to the Park, promoting parties that are where people
participate and the predominance is forró, bringing artists, followers of Luiz
Gonzaga to strengthen the forró before the people who are there. (Clemilce
Cardoso)

Clemilce Cardoso understands that "participating in this party and... taking back
what they learned here, you know, promoting this cultural exchange of Luiz Gonzaga's
music".

Clemilce Cardoso mentions that the main way to keep the history and production
of "king of baião" alive is through music, parties, dance and passing on to the newest
importance of this culture: "we have the principle that in Park Aza Branca, we don't play
other songs, only *forró*, and only receives there, forrozeiros. This is not even a discrimina-
tion against anyone, it is just to feed back the forro implanted by Luiz Gonzaga" (Clem-
ilce Cardoso). It is clear that each museum, in its own way, performs tasks in an attempt
to safeguard this heritage.

State contribution

Perceived the need for preservation in the interviewees' statements, we saw how
arduous and at the same time satisfactory this search is. We find in their reports a need
for more frequent investment charges by the State as a political entity, whether at the
municipal, state or federal level. In Cleonice Maria's words: "I think the State is a neglect
with regard to our heritage, our memory", "the public authorities, unfortunately, do not
contribute to the preservation of our country's memory". "So, this must always be regis-
tered, this absence of the State with the Brazilian memory".

In these and other speeches, the interviewee severely criticizes the public power
due to the neglect of Brazilian culture, especially with regard to preservation. In addition
to talking about the difficulties of keeping alive the memory of personalities that she
describes throughout the interview as "myths" of Brazil, among which, the highlight for
Luiz Gonzaga and Lampião.

Clemilce Cardoso portrays the situation at the Museu do Gonzagão: "the State has
contributed very little, nothing. Over the past six years, the State has contributed nothing
to Park Aza Branca". Reinforces:

in fact, they are not even interested in knowing if the museum exists any-
more, if there is something there to do, because we have already reported,

we live in a moment of difficulties, and we have reported a thousand times
and they do not respond, they do not comment. (Clemilce Cardoso)

Once again the interviewee returns to the question of the State's non-participation in the preservation of culture. For the conservation of the Museum, the members use their creativity to preserve and disseminate Gonzaga's history and its importance for the Northeast and for Brazilian culture: "we are taking it with great difficulty, but, thank God, it's... it's going sustaining it". The interviewee talks about the difficulties involved in keeping the Museu do Gonzagão functioning, due to the lack of interest from the public authorities. This criticism was also highlighted by Cleonice Maria from the Cangaço of Serra Talhada Museum. Despite this, she understands that the main concern is to "preserve the culture" and not let it die.

With the Memorial Luiz Gonzaga, it happens differently since the equipment is subsidized by the Department of Culture of the capital of the State of Pernambuco (Recife), which supports it. According to José Mauro, the role of the City Hall consists of "maintaining the equipment, the infrastructure, the promotion of the equipment".

Memorial Luiz Gonzaga is the State, it is the municipality, represented
through this public work developed by the equipment. So this is what we
have been developing, the equipment has been developing, so this is the
great job, which was born, this is the great function for which work was cre-
ated. (José Mauro)

The function is to maintain the life of the artist – Luiz Gonzaga. In other words, seeking to show the world who was the king of Northeastern music and José Mauro explains that, for him and for the museum "this is the great function for which it was created".

Challenges

It is common for the interviewees to talk about the obstacles encountered in daily dealing in museums. Being a constant concern for the future of these spaces.

and then, it is... it would be... very... very miraculous, right, but it would be
very good if we had the State's view more concerned with that, because,
really, it leaves us, let's say, a little without stimulation. (...) Our patrimony
can end soon, soon, because she doesn't have a concern, it's... the govern-
ment with her. (Cleonice Maria)

Showing the importance of keeping the memory of Lampião and Luiz Gonzaga alive, the interviewee proposes a constant struggle: that of relentlessly passing on to all generations the message created by these great backlanders from Pernambuco. In the same context:

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> I think the biggest challenges are the lack of... are the lack of disclosure. We don't have it, it's expensive, it's expensive, we don't have the means to promote it, because we don't have the resources to promote it. (...) there is a lack of resources, resources for everything, to support the museum, to promote a... the festivities, to do what we would like to do as a cultural promotion and to disseminate, which could be disseminated through radio, television, but we cannot disclose it because we do not have the resources for it. (Clemilce Cardoso)

The interviewee reiterates her determination to continue expanding Luiz Gonzaga's memory. For her, the most important thing, in addition to overcoming difficulties, is to make this story continue to perpetuate. In this regard, the entity seeks ways to make the State aware that this is a struggle for all, and the public authorities cannot refrain from assuming its permanence: "we do not know how it will be, how far will our condition of maintaining with the resource that we collect from tourists, that make things more and more difficult every day, and we have a constant concern in this regard" (Clemilce Cardoso).

We point out José Mauro's speech in this regard: "the biggest challenge, perhaps, is maintenance, but we can always do it. The Foundation is always doing maintenance. I don't see a challenge like that for Luiz Gonzaga's legacy, you know?". When analyzing the fact, we realized that this is perhaps one of the most comfortable situations among the museums visited.

Conclusions

In the museums visited, we find the representativeness of the rhythms in the materials stored in them. The documentary analysis made us realize that Gonzaga was a relevant character for the elaboration of the Northeastern culture, specifically from the backcountry dances. We seek to analyze these documents and understand what contained in them that would help us to understand how Gonzaga's participation occurred.

Among the materials available, we analyzed the permanent exhibition, archived journalistic clippings, digital files (videos and photos), and the phonographic collection, among other elements. Thus, we consider that Gonzaga, when he was at the peak of his career, used his influence to gain supporters for the rhythms, especially *xote*, *xaxado* and *baião*, which are the rhythms listed for this analysis. The analyzed documents print the image of a Gonzaga "teacher" of the rhythms, where he literally practices the steps, including developing them and taking them wherever he goes to present them all over Brazil. Images, films, videos, and clippings are displayed throughout the work, effectively demonstrating this issue. In this way, we realize that museums fulfill a pedagogical function in the teaching of these dances and become an important element of research and understanding for the aforementioned rhythms.

In another moment, analyzing the speeches of the directors of the museums, we conclude that Gonzaga is a being worthy of representation through his work, we realize

that museums have tried at all costs to keep Gonzaga's work alive with his preservation work, although much still needs to be done, where in most environments the State has remained silent on this issue. Even so, museums promote workshops, lectures and actions that provide greater dissemination of Gonzaga's legacy, fulfilling the role of perpetuating the practice of dances through teaching and disseminating them.

We perceive the role of museums with regard to the historical preservation of Gonzaga, they have in their collection a rich contingent of material to access history. We portray what was found in them about these practices and finally analyze the report of their leaders. Each museum in its own way establishes guidelines for preservation work, but they share a goal: the maintenance of Gonzaga's legacy that safeguards this cultural apparatus from the Northeastern roots with regard to the *sertanejos* rhythms that occur in society.

Gonzaga had been a peculiar character of the Northeastern culture and that preservation is really necessary for future generations to share these teachings. The *xote*, the *xaxado* and the *baião* have in their development extremely strong ties with Gonzaga. The museums visited, fulfilling the role of preserving Luiz Gonzaga's memory reflect the idea of his leading role in regional dances. Their archives keep the history of Gonzaga and his involvement with the dances. We see in the analyzed material that throughout his career he is dedicated to spreading a culture of regional dances that until then the rest of the country did not know. Because of him the *xote*, *xaxado* and *baião* are now known, practiced and appreciated by Brazil and also by many countries in the world. Through his lyrics, presentations and the contents of museums inclined with the perpetuation of his memory, "king of baião" teaches the public the dances that enshrined him.

Translation: Inaldo da Rocha Aquino

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CRITIQUE TO REALITY IN *TERRA SONÂMBULA* AND *CHUVA BRABA*: CULTURE, LYRICISM AND MEMORIES

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ABSTRACT

The novels by Manuel Lopes and Mia Couto were written in different historical and political times. Whilst *Chuva braba* was published in 1956, before the struggles for the liberation of the Portuguese colonies, *Terra sonâmbula* came to press in 1992, after the independence of Mozambique. The fact that, in the first novel, the drought problems that hit Cape Verde, followed by extreme poverty, urging a massive emigration of Cape Verdeans to Europe and America and that, in the second novel, the 16-year war that devastated Mozambique, flushing people out to find secure places, allowed the two pieces to share traces of unrest, insecurity, and disquiet of their characters, lyricizing life in war and poverty contexts that lead the human being to his ruin. Therefore, both novels offer a fertile soil for a comparative analysis of the fictional events. To that end, it is assumed that culture, Literature, Sociology, and Philosophy re(create) review patterns about the creation of states and nations characterized by the comprehension of reality through history and memory.

KEYWORDS

culture; literature; reality; lyricism; state; society

CRÍTICA À REALIDADE EM *TERRA SONÂMBULA* E *CHUVA BRABA*: CULTURA, LIRISMO E MEMÓRIAS

RESUMO

Os romances de Manuel Lopes e Mia Couto foram escritos em momentos históricos e políticos diferentes. Enquanto *Chuva braba* foi publicado em 1956, antes das guerras de libertação das antigas colónias portuguesas, *Terra sonâmbula* veio à estampa em 1992, depois da independência de Moçambique. No primeiro caso, os problemas da seca que assolaram Cabo Verde e a consequente pobreza extrema, que levou ao êxodo massivo dos cabo-verdianos para a Europa e a América e, no segundo, a guerra dos 16 anos, que devastou Moçambique e provocou deslocação das pessoas para regiões seguras e para os países vizinhos, fazem com que as duas obras partilhem traços de instabilidade, insegurança e desassossego das personagens, permitindo a liricização das vivências em contextos da guerra e da miséria que concorrem para o aluimento do ser humano. Deste modo, os dois romances configuram espaços férteis para uma análise comparística dos eventos romanescos, intuindo que a cultura, Literatura, Sociologia e Filosofia (re)criam formas críticas sobre a construção de estados e nações, os quais se caracterizam por compreensão da realidade a partir de história e memórias.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

cultura; literatura; realidade; lirismo; estado; sociedade

This paper derives from a research entitled "Realismo e lirismo em *Terra sonâmbula*, de Mia Couto, e *Chuva braba*, de Manuel Lopes" (Realism and lyricism in *Terra sonâmbula* by Mia Couto and *Chuva braba* by Manuel Lopes) conducted between 2010 and 2014 when undertaking the PhD Course in Cultural Studies whose thesis was defended in 2014, in the Department of Languages and Cultures at Aveiro University (Mapera, 2014). By resuming one of the chapters of the study, we intend not only to reuse the material that is often only used for the purpose of fulfilling the requirements for academic degrees and lastly fading into a symbolic oblivion without use for life, but also, we intend to show how the semiotics of novel permeates the syntax of culture, Anthropology, Sociology, and politics in the complex process of nation-building. This crossover is naturally very important because, based on the cultural approach, Literary Studies are somehow linked to life experiences and habits.

In the Semiotics of Literature, the meaning of culture arises from the relationship between human beings and the world; the characters and the reality and daily life; virtues and the unrelenting unrest. For instance, Manuel Lopes' characters embody the misery caused by the drought that hit the archipelago of Cape Verde, in the first half of the last century, and Mia Couto's work depicts the war dramatic wandering that started just after Mozambique's independence in 1975 and lasted more than a decade and a half, until 1992. In both cases, the reflection about life has always been connected to human behavior and, therefore, it was necessary to reinvent the culture highly threatened by deaths, anguish exacerbated by poverty, discrimination, and various stereotypes. As it will be seen, this paper retakes a very important part of the thesis, mainly assuming chapter two on "novel and the construction of a social ideal" (Mapera, 2014, pp. 43-63).

Fascinated by the critique of Manuel Lopes and Mia Couto novels, we are hooked to assume, as the first reaction, that the drought problems in Cape Verde, the disastrous wars that take place decade-after-decade in Mozambique give room to the outbreak of stereotypes and social and cultural asymmetries in the Lusophone area, and they also help us to create memories, histories, utopias, and lyric promises in our countries.

Novel, concepts, and perceptions: realism and lyricism

António Manuel Ferreira wrote something interesting in his chapter entitled "As dores da tristeza: o romance *Rainha da noite*, de João Paulo Borges Coelho" [The sorrows of sadness: the novel *Rainha da noite*, by João Paulo Borges Coelho], when saying: "in contemporary Mozambican literature, there is a canonical predominance of novel-like narrators" (Ferreira, 2015, p.43). This is an unquestionable fact provided that the Mozambican authors are of a lyrical culture, and part of a universe dominated by a tradition of tales and storytelling around the fire. Interestingly enough, this reality is also observed in other Portuguese-speaking countries of Africa, including Cape Verde, where, even in poetic writing, there is a narratological tendency.

Georg Lukács and Mikhail Bakhtin (1976, pp. 159-160), in *Problemi di teoria del romanzo*, assume its origin owing the French Revolution, from which, as a consequence,

there was a restoration of a new social rule that eliminated the problems of the "ghosts of the Roman period", preserving the power of representation of daily life. Although they assumed the presence of homological and functional affinities between the epic and the novel, the two essayists focused their discussion on the formal and thematic diversity that distinguishes them.

Thus, it can be said that the artistic processes and the epicizing expression of cultural memories turned the novel into a generic construction that derives from traditional folk literature that deals with realism as the ground for a reifying imaginary of the paradoxes of life. It is from such ground that Georg Lukács, in his book entitled *Teoria do romance*, notes that the early novel aestheticians find it "ironic", since it recognizes and nullifies the vitality of subjectivity in its linguistic-pragmatic structure (Lukács, 1989, p. 83).

In the past, the novel fabulation played the role of documentation since it was in charge of recording the fundamental memories of society. The contemporary strategy of the new memory forms dates back to the last decade of the 19th century, and lies in an interdisciplinary dimension to which a plethora of psychologists brought contribution, of which we can trace Bergson (2006), due to his important study of the relationship between the body and the spirit in modernity.

In practice, this article seeks to answer the questions regarding the framework of the novels by Manuel Lopes and Mia Couto in the domain of a socializing and memorialist literary culture and, given that, part, if not all the work, contains the core of aesthetic power that connects the novel construction nowadays prevalent.

Therefore, sociological trends have provided the largest number of interesting ideas for a comparative approach, in order to validate the main literary processes that establish the converging and diverging points between the two African realities. In this case, the branch of Comparative Literature allows the diagnosis of the aesthetic-pragmatic correlations that characterize the novels of Manuel Lopes and Mia Couto.

Assuming that the literary process needs insights and discretion in the linguistic-pragmatic, social and cultural domains, or rather, admitting, on the other hand, that the existence of authentic possibilities of alterity in the ideological conception of cultural identities in building a united and indivisible nation, Álvaro Manuel Machado and Daniel-Henri Pageaux (2001, pp. 157-158) defend that it is feasible and desirable to invest in a comparative ideology around the same literature. This view opposes the most widespread conceptions of Comparative Literature by the French school. Such postulations were brought by René Wellek and Austin Warren (1971, p. 60) in *Teoria da literatura*, when they assumed very unlikely the "methodological distinction" between a study of Shakespeare in France and another one about him in the 18th century in England. What Wellek and Warren meant is that the field of Comparative Studies of Literature should not only be judged based on a reductionist perspective. It is more productive and less risky to relate Comparative Literature to the study of literature as a whole, that is, to "general" or "universal" literature. The undertaking of a less irreducible comparative study offers reliability to its role in the literatures arising from the colonial ideological system such as Mozambique and Cape Verde. In these and other Portuguese-speaking African countries,

and especially during the period of colonial domination itself, the levels of differentiation of systems and cultures are more marked and especially relevant.

The study of the literature of Portuguese-speaking African countries, turns up a heated terminological and conceptual discussion around the so-called literature that assumes the nuances of the colonial system as opposed to what can be taken as the African literature in Portuguese language, or, what Manuel Ferreira calls Portuguese-speaking African literature. In the case of the so-called colonial literature, Manuel Ferreira considers it as the one on which the thought of the universality of European man develops. However, African literature conveys the ability to apprehend and reproduce the African. In this regard, Pires Laranjeira (1995, p. 26) defines, somehow in agonic way, an alterity dimension between colonial literature and African literature in Portuguese language, when he noted that literary texts considered "of local colour" devoted attention to the theme of colonisation, in which white or black people were represented with an ambivalent hermeneutical content. Therefore, the ideological conception of "colonial literature" in relation to the literature produced in Portuguese language in African countries is, according to Manuel Ferreira (quoted in Laranjeira, 1995, p. 26), dissenting from the interpretation made about the same concept in Brazil:

> in Africa, [colonial literature] means the written and published literature, mostly by the Portuguese settlers, assuming a perspective of exoticism, evasion, racial prejudice, and colonialist reiteration, in which the world view, the narrative focus and the main characters were white, settlers or travellers, and when they included black people, they would superficially judge them in an exogenous folkloric and ethnocentric way, without any cultural, psychological, sentimental and intellectual deepness. (Laranjeira, 1995, p. 26)

The interest of critique around the understanding of African literature led Russel Hamilton (1984, p. 15) to assume, for the case of Mozambican literature, an ambivalence of nomenclature that allows various interpretations in the assessment of the aesthetic values of Mozambican authenticity. The author argues that within the framework of the Mozambican literature domain, two designations of literary production should be adopted: on the one hand, "Mozambican literature" and, on the other hand, "literature in Mozambique". From this perspective, the description of the Mozambican literature presupposes a strictly historical relationship with its origin and genre production.

Therefore, in order to allow a concise and efficient analysis of the Mozambican literature, it is vital to consider Gilberto Matusse (1998, p. 47) ideas from which, for cases of literature that emerges from colonial situations, the "comparative methodology" is, by option and preference, the best in order to clarify and justify the reality of the direction taken for a more accurate study of Comparative Literature.

It is through the prevalence of these conceptual dissents that I find fundamental to take this kind of study. This is due to the fact that both Mozambique and Cape Verde were Portuguese colonies – countries that were born indebted to the sources and therefore

forced to the influences and, from the cultural point of view, and using the terminology by Leyla Perrone-Moisés (1985, quoted in Trigo, n.d., p. 32), condemned to a "foreign debt". Thus, one notes to what extent one can speak about the existence of the specific literatures of Portuguese-speaking African countries reflected on the image produced by realism and lyricism in the literature of Cape Verde and Mozambique. In fact, this is highlighted on the way in which Manuel Lopes and Mia Couto exploit the specific themes of drought and war in different moments and places of African literature. It is also studied the impact caused on the characters by the dramatic situations of poverty that characterize the two countries.

The dramatic narration of the drought in Cape Verde and the war in Mozambique represents a privileged ground for literary writing, deliberately exploiting significant dimensions of language in an intrinsically particular way. If, on the one hand, writers seem unable to resist the temptation to address these dominant themes, on the other hand, they transform them in different socio-cultural contexts, into factors that contribute to the maturation of social consciousness, allowing changes to emerge, giving room to a new way of conceiving life and developing culture and art.

While *Chuva braba* describes the dilemma of the colonial process and the problem of the drought, and *Terra sonâmbula* narrates the effects of poverty and fratricidal war, although in different contexts, both novels develop historical-cultural patterns that claim their own identities that aims at conceiving internal mechanisms for the survival of societies.

The narrative that describes the anguish provoked by drought and war and its consequences highlights the implicit allusion to the clear need for changes that have subsequently taken place in different fields of life in the two countries. Therefore, the voices of lyrical and realistic dimension, which emerge from the protagonists, outline a new framework of collective view against the sad realities of daily life.

The lyrical contemplation discernible in the novels represents the boldest expression of the mixture of perplexity and nostalgia for the land and historical events. This aspect attracts the attention of the readers increasingly interested in starting a dialogue with the works: "the creator starts (imaginatively or really) with his audience (even if sometimes this audience is himself) a dialogue that is never free, and intends to move, convince, inform, consolidate, free or depress" (Escarpit, 1969, p. 167).

The dialogue is functional because it sets up correlation points between the authors and the public to whom the works are directed. For many authors, the construction of the structurally lyrical and realistic novel is more fruitful in terms of changing their awareness of the state of affairs that characterise the social environment in accordance with time and space.

The authors really gained the attention of their readers, through simplicity, verisimilitude, and aesthetic and thematic sympathy, because these characteristics are close to the reality of societies, giving freedom and opportunity for the symbolic discussion of problems of social, cultural, and ideological interest.

The conflicting heterotopia in the novels of Manuel Lopes and Mia Couto contains a realism that goes hand in hand with lyricism. The imaginary facts that represent the universe of intrigues are the most impressive aspects, but no more extraordinary than the summoning of the aesthetic interest of the literary writing of reality. Therefore, the election of the lyrical mode, although it posits as a postulate to the "unreality"[1] of what is not in accordance with the natural laws of life, has value because it seeks to rescue the works from the system of common evidences. Apart from language, genre codes and lyrical and realistic modal features, novels also have to do with the specific societies demands (Escarpit, 1969, pp. 174-175). It can still be noted, in the novels in question, the specific recreation of writing adapted to the natural language of the people, the language of daily life, a fact especially relevant in the works of Mia Couto.

CREOLITY, STEREOTYPE, MYTH, AND OTHERNESS

Addressing the issue of Creolity in Portuguese language literature is a challenge. However, it is indispensable when analysing a literary work written by an author with Creole roots, taking into account the history that links Cape Verde to the Portuguese culture. It is a dichotomy that becomes apparent in Cape Verdean literary writing. This binary view sends us to the multidisciplinary relations between linguistics and literature, which then requires a permanent dialogue between these two fields of knowledge. Remember that the archipelago of Cape Verde was one of the few Portuguese colonies where the Portuguese language not only takes the position of a second language (L2), but also it is the second widely spoken language in the country: "you know that, here, people only speak two languages, Mr Joquinha: Portuguese and Creole. We don't know more than that" (Lopes, 1997, p. 102).

The distinctive features that differentiate Cape Verdean literature from other Portuguese-speaking literature are partly and fundamentally due to the way Creole, as a socially active language, shapes the worldview[2]. Therefore, the analysis of Manuel Lopes' novel must take into account this historical factor. The analysis of a novel must not neglect its underlain social and historical contexts.

The study of specific literatures requires greater responsibilities, as it must highlight the essential aspects of the process of creating a formal thought of people's life, its aesthetic features, language, cultural elements and other elements. For the particular case of Cape Verde, for example, one cannot imagine having the work fully completed by the publication of *Arquipélago* (1935), by Jorge Barbosa, or by the creation of *Claridade* magazine, in 1936. In fact, the artistic and cultural idiosyncrasies have always been (are)

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[1] Vergílio Ferreira (2005, p. 80), in *Aparição*, says that "there is life behind life, an unreality present in reality, a world of mist forms, an incoherent and fleeting world, a world of surprise and warning".

[2] According to the arguments brought by Mesquitela Lima (quoted in Gomes, 2008) into the discussion of the theme of Cape Verdean language and culture, "Creole" is described as "the cultural element that mostly assumes, establishes and expresses Cape Verdean values", crystallizing the "memory with a feeling of identity that connects the whole archipelago and the diaspora, generating a well-established unique group conscience" (quoted in Gomes, 2008, p. 98). While meditating, Mesquitela Lima (quoted in Gomes, 2008) suggests Creole as a language that would take the name of Cape Verdean.

the focus of national literary art, "but the uniqueness was, one, before *Claridade,* and another, after *Claridade*" (Ferreira, 1989, p. 187)[3] and they continue to be the subject in the heart of debates within the intellectual class, in attempt to incorporate new paradigms that emerge from the new generations of writers.

As a matter of fact, this paper focuses on the relationship between Creole language, culture, and literature, and on the way this hybridity is manifested in the narrative produced in Portuguese language[4], in Cape Verde. Factors of aesthetic universality occur in the work of Manuel Lopes, which highlights the real density, relevance, and rationality of *Chuva braba*'s theme.

Life in the island is a kind of a common ground in space and time that the Cape Verdean uses to state his own identity. From the insular location condition emerged compromises and collusions, concessions and rapprochements, the hybridization of Europeans and Africans, giving birth to the Cape Verdean by the essential need for communication and survival. His own language, the Creole, reflects the expression in his eyes and in the singing, in the longing for the warm, in the appeal to sensuality[5], in the value of his gastronomy, in short, the expressive and practical manifestation of his culture.

Creolity involves all these aspects that make Cape Verde a substantially different reality from other countries. From this background, the traces of a Capeverdeanity are inscribed in the common denominator of the island, namely the telluric spirit, the love rooted in the land, the aversion and willingness to leave, the deep religiosity.

The process of creolization simultaneously occurs together with the phenomenon of cultural and racial metamorphoses. In *Aventura crioula*, Manuel Ferreira states the following about the miscegenation of the cultures of Cape Verde and Portugal:

> when miscegenation began to give a new physiognomy to the Archipelago, and very soon it happened, the language that the Cape Verdean created would have been neither African-Black nor European – but a third one: the Creole dialect, going through the previous phases "sabir" and "pidgin".
> (Ferreira, 1967/1985, p. 72)

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[3] Manuel Ferreira (1989), in the chapter "O mito hesperitano ou a nostalgia do paraíso perdido", published in the book *O discurso no percurso africano I*, analyses the question of peculiarity as not being a project that came out through the creation of literary magazines in the 30s of the last century. He relates this fact to the existence of opposition factors between Cape Verdean literature and that of other African countries, Portuguese and Brazilian literature, therefore, the Portuguese language literatures.

[4] Orlanda Amarilis (1986, p. 179), in a talk at the international symposium on Cape Verdean culture and literature, recalls that, when Amilcar Cabral was in Guinea, he defended that "although the struggle of the African people was against the colonialist, the colonialist had something good. Such thing was the language, and, in this specific case, it was Portuguese". In fact, after independence, African countries adopted Portuguese as an official language and, in the case of Mozambique, as a communication language for "national unity".

[5] Baltazar Lopes (1967/1985, p. XII), when prefacing *A aventura crioula*, a book by Manuel Ferreira, says that the "morna" is a popular manifestation that carries "a true value of the spiritual culture of the Archipelago" of Cape Verde. In the wish to exult native culture, Baltazar Lopes stresses that this cultural expression has always been present, with deep meaning, in the "June's feasts", together with all the "abundant bulk of novelistic folklore, riddles and proverbs", and playing a very important psychological and educational role in archipelagic society.

The Creole language is spoken throughout the archipelago, with comprehensiveness, rhythmic fluidity, and expressiveness, to such extent that Orlando Ribeiro (1997, p. 157) would think that "through reminiscences and hesitations, it is rare to find a Cape Verdean (in troubles or not) who does not understand and express himself sufficiently in our language". In order to see how interesting, it is to assume this reality as a stereotype very specific to the Cape Verdean, Manuel Ferreira cites the same passage in his book *Aventura crioula* (1967/1985). In that quote, Ferreira points out that the Creole shares the same social and literary space with the Portuguese language. However, the essayist gives much prominence to the Cape Verdean language as the one that offers greater expressiveness to the feelings of the native and to the telluric traditions.

On the other hand, referring to the importance that Creole represents for Cape Verdeans, Manuel Ferreira (1967/1985) imagines something interesting in relation to the coexistence of Creole with the Portuguese language for the island communication. Such views suggest that, if one were to think, hypothetically, of the elimination of the Portuguese language, the Cape Verdean would have no difficulties to fulfill himself, manifest himself in normal life and continuously express his anxieties, his longings.

Conversely, the second view suggests that, if it were to eliminate the Creole language, the Cape Verdean would find it difficult to express the cultural aspects that identify it from other cultural societies with the same rhythmic easiness. Obviously, "it would mount to an amputation" (Ferreira, 1967/1985, p. 73) of the communicative possibilities. The process of lyrical and literary communication, as well as the current communication of the Cape Verdean would be devoid of allegorical validity of its identity genuineness. Concisely, Manuel Ferreira states the following about this thought:

> and so true it is that, today and always, the deep desire of the people, the sorrows and joys, the jocular, the satire, the anguish, the hope, the conviviality, that powerful means of human survival, all those intimate experiences and small and big things of the daily adventure, the Cape Verdean expresses it, in its full dimension, using the language of the cradle. (Ferreira, 1967/1985, p. 73)

The study of the Creole language has been a long-standing point of discussion, involving important names from Portuguese literature and culture. Alfredo Margarido, for instance, a leading scholar on the linguistic reality and culture of Creole, has brought interesting reflections on the subject. In this debate, he acknowledges the social role of the native language in Cape Verdean literature:

> the use of Creole as a literature vehicle can be understood in two ways: either as an attempt to establish popular elements as to give Cape Verdean literature a range of action that it does not have at the moment; or, what seems to be more logical, an imposition – even though harsh - of survives of the past that characterize a society in which the few technical elements at disposal fail. (Margarido, 2010, p. 73)[6]

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[6] Alfredo Margarido's text was included in a collection called *Antologia da ficção cabo verdiana contemporânea*, edited in 1960

Along with this dichotomy of views and, above all, with regard to the idea of Creole as a vehicular language simply within the Cape Verdean communities, one must indeed take into account that, in addition to this social and perhaps economic status, it offers an important tool for literary communication not necessarily in matrimonial relationship with Portuguese[7]. This is as true as it is inevitable to underline, with some boldness that the fundamental role of Creole is not only to communicate. It is much more than just using it to simply convey information. Communication is more than that. It involves communicating the traditions, history, experiences, sensitivity, and sensuality of a people rich in facts and mysteries. Communication involves tales, theatre, dance, painting, music, love, criticism, opinion, gastronomy, and clothing. Finally, communication means this whole complex of a society's life.

Therefore, despite the strong Portuguese influence in the archipelago, Creole is undoubtedly the language for common communication, at home, in the street, and in all cultural manifestations, in the most intimate and private or communal things. From that perspective, between 1890 and 1930, Eugénio Tavares, a prominent figure in Cape Verde's cultural, political, and social life, took advantage of the rich expressiveness of the "popular song (*morna*)" (Ferreira, 1967/1985, p. 128) and began literary writing, using the deep roots of Creole.

In *Chuva braba*, the concept of deepness does not imply emotional innerness, it does not mean a mere ideological expressiveness, but instead, a "compelling intimate, irreversible appeal" (Ferreira, 1967/1985, p. 159). This is easily observed on the way Manuel Lopes recreates the characters of the story, especially the image of the protagonist, who, with appropriate style, reinvents the discursive contributions based on the deliberate mixture of words:

> I think yes, I do. You must come to your senses. I don't find the story of Porto boys good. (She knew Joaninha didn't want a man for her life. "Shut up, man, shut up, no" said the Mrs Ana's daughter, stretching her lips). You must came to your senses. (Lopes, 1997, p. 54)

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as part of the commemorations of the discovery of the islands and, as part of the centenary of the *Infante*. In 2010, the same text was retrieved to be part of the collection of the commemorations of the literary magazine *Claridade*.

[7] When recognising the importance of this marriage between Creole and Portuguese, it is also worth recalling that, as long as Portuguese is the language mostly rooted in literature, it cannot be denied that literature in Portuguese language will continue to dominate, not only a big part of Cape Verdean writers, but also others. In the case of Mozambique and other countries that, for several centuries, have lived with Portuguese linguistic culture, it will undoubtedly continue to be the most privileged language for literature for several generations, although some writers now choose to avoid the canonical patterns of European origin. This situation is due to too many factors. One of them is what we have just mentioned. But another fundamental reason is that both Creole and the regional languages of many Portuguese-speaking countries have communicability reach still very restricted to their ethnic boundaries. And for those who wish an open literary communication free from ethnical boundaries, will hardly limit themselves to a less comprehensive literature. This situation seems to have been pivotal for the decision taken by Frelimo to, for example, choose Portuguese not only as an official language, but also as an instrument for the unification of Mozambicans. The most important thing on that, is that the Portuguese language is, into a constant process of revitalization each time, in the context in which it is spoken, taking into account the ethically marked linguistic realities.

The restatement is an important element in the lyrical aesthetics mainly in the Cape Verdean realism by, on the one hand, upholding its potential role as a communication vehicle and, on the other hand, by the ideology of feelings that contribute to the construction of regional identities of the Archipelago. Through Creole, the Cape Verdean moves towards a world where spiritual and artistic fulfilments and to where the human soul goes beyond the ontological sensibilities within the process of its projection to the outside world. Despite its regional tone, Cape Verdean creole shows expressions and phonetics similar to Brazilian Portuguese, enriched with words from African languages and some from American English because of the relationships between these two nations. Remember that many Cape Verdeans emigrated to Brazil, and also to the United States of America due to the navigability that the sea offers, connecting Cape Verde and that North American country.

The artistic expression is essentially marked by language, by the "sweet speech of a slave soul" (Ferreira, 1967/1985, p. 74). However, there is an uncertainty about the existence or not of a popular art that could be vital for the fortification of the Cape Verdean cultural industry. In this regard, Gilberto Freyre (1952, p. 250) states that "if one seeks a popular art that is Cape Verdean's own and that marks, in its culture, an African survival cultivated with some affection: the decency of being African seems to explain such absence". It can be noticed the strong "role" of miscegenation, the African-European hybridity rooted in the Cape Verdean because of the strong influence that the archipelago receives from the migrations it maintains with the world of other people.

The relationship between the Portuguese and people in the tropics made many changes in the way of being and behaving of different social groups. These interactions resulted in a symbiosis that the Brazilian sees it as an action of "convenience", which results from the erotic and love relationships between the white man and the black woman. Perhaps, this is the reason why, even after the independence of the colonies, still, there is a tremendous maternal bond between the African and Portuguese people. The phenomenon of migration very common to the Cape Verdean population, does not differ from the image of a son who, fleeing from predators, seeks maternal protection. In fact, the Portuguese have left many descendants in Africa, which today represent an important part of the process of miscegenation.

When examining the impact of the process of miscegenation on the interaction between the Portuguese and the people in the tropics, Gilberto Freyre (1961, p. 72) states that there was a kind of "sociological libertine", characterized by the disintegration of more rigid Western and Christian values, opening possibilities for greater freedoms and expression of self, either among individuals or among groups within or outside the system of social coexistence. These practices left markers in Portuguese-speaking Africa. In the work of Manuel Lopes, there are strong evidences of racial and ideological miscegenation.

Intercultural communication: beliefs, judgments, and facts

In this topic, the analytical approach of the theme will involve the characterization of Couto's language, which varies between the standard writing of European Portuguese and the oral discourse of Mozambican communities. Studies carried out indicate that the Portuguese spoken in Mozambique, despite the orientation to European roots, is basically marked by structures of languages derived from Bantu culture. The studies by Perpétua Gonçalves (2011) and the research carried out in the field of Bilingual Education by the National Institute for Curricular Development (INDE) prove the need to assume national languages as keys means for communication in Mozambique given that, not all can speak Portuguese, also because it establishes the evolution and vitality of the Mozambican languages. For instance, at the moment, 16 Mozambican languages are in use for teaching in the initial classes of primary schooling, based on the standardization defined in the Southern region of Africa.

Recognizing that the work of Mia Couto displays lexical and structural elements of the national languages, this study tried to identify these discursive elements, by analyzing to what extent the creativity and use of discursive forms marked by national languages depict the creation of ideological and cultural thought, as well as the literary production in Mozambique.

Mia Couto is undoubtedly a leading figure in the field of Mozambican literature, who considers the knowledge of Mozambican cultures[8] and its history. The studies carried out by Maria Fernanda Afonso, in *O conto moçambicano: escritas pós-coloniais,* fully attest this assertion:

> the legacy of knowledge, myths, and traditions, passed down through generations by the African masters, (...) has consequences for the literary writings that emerge in the 20th century. The relationship between written text and oral tradition manifests itself in various forms that range from symbols to textual and linguistic structures. It can be seen that while Western literatures limit themselves to telling myths, African literatures integrate the mental structures of myth within the writing. (Afonso, 2004, p. 207)

The Mozambicaness of Mia Couto allows us to understand many aspects that characterize the Mozambican literature, from poetry to tale, chronicle to novel. In fact, it is not, as one could imagine, the primary discourse on the attempt to build the Mozambicaness. There are important references that can be an example of the first practice in the process of claiming the legitimacy of language and culture: one of the most enlightening examples is cited by Russel Hamilton (1984), when taking the old poem "Quenguelequeze" by Rui de Noronha (1909-1943), which, although it bears a syntax (sonnet)

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8 Despite the problems specific to a pioneer in the literary production domain, Mia Couto proved, in his first novel, *Terra sonâmbula*, an interesting and unique experience until today: the creation of linguistic structures in which the rules of Portuguese grammar and the grammars of the local languages spoken in Mozambique converge, as well as the creation of vocabulary from the Portuguese root. This experience is essentially unique, except in some simply naïve and dispersed works, which are doomed to failure due to the authors lack of a philosophical culture basis.

modulated by aspects of the European culture, it reveals a clear interest in the traditional values of Mozambicaness.

After him, several Mozambican authors got involved in this epic search for affirmation, and, among them, it is interesting to mention the special case of José Craveirinha, who left a deal of poetic narrative in *Xigubo* (1980), *Karingana ua karingana* (1982) and other works. Let us see, for example, in the poem "Sia-vuma", how the issue of language integration and cultural affirmation is immersed in national literary themes through the poem "Sia-vuma":

> and the brides
> stick to their kidneys
> the purple vertigo of the capulanas
> and repress in the bantu hearts
> one by one the beads of sadness
> and carve by teeth the xicatauana of patience
> that the time of love does not fade
> and while waiting the very long sleep
> from the most real love also compensates
> the hallucinating view of a new horizon
> SIA-VUMA! (Craveirinha, 1999, pp. 216-217)

It is clearly obvious, in the previous verses, the use of terms that emerge from the Ronga daily life of Southern Mozambique, prophesying the utopia of a literary afronationality. The refrain, brought by the verse "sia-vuma", flagrantly reifies the notion of linguistic and cultural Mozambicaness, provided that it derives from the historical substrate of the tale genuinely Mozambican. This reification highlights the ethnic relevance of the lyric that "the purple vertigo of the capulanas", the "beads of sadness", and the "xicatauana of patience" bestow on the traditional Mozambican woman.

For several years, the poetic conscience of the Mozambicaness was repressed by the then political system, which made many literary reviewers to adopt an attitude of self-flagellation and self-censorship. Even though, the African thought remained unwavering, and it achieved greater consistency with the advent of a conscience based on the project of creation of a "new man" and of a "new society", brought to mind by Brazão Mazula (1995, p. 21), whose concreteness shows the beginning of a new era, in which contemporary thinkers promote a critique aimed at (re)mozambicanisation, contrary to the assimilationist system, which does not fit into the current context of values of national culture and literature.

As a result of this awareness, authors of literary fiction such as Paulina Chiziane, Mia Couto, and others are deeply committed to the development of a cultural imaginary concerned with the country, as continuation to the actions that, in 1974, began to produce encouraging results with the publication of the novel entitled *Norte*, by the writer Virgílio Chide Ferrão, which, according to José Ferraz Motta (2004, p. 186), was "the first

serious attempt to the Mozambicanisation of Portuguese". However, in *Terra sonâmbula*, Mia Couto, impelled by a spirit of tenderness and lucidity, restates, in depth, the problems experienced during the 16 years of the bloody war in the post-independence period. Mia Couto's writing is not only based on the theme, which is very strong, but also on the hybrid character of the syntax of his narrative. Although it is a novel, *Terra sonâmbula* brings tale-like narrative blocks. Let us see, for example, the following passage that sets out the episode entitled "A filha do Céu" (The daughter of God), Kindzu's fourth notebook: "my name is Farida, began the woman her story" (Couto, 2002, p. 77). This passage denotes, by its structure, the presence of a tale in which Farida is a character described as " daughter of Heaven".

It can be noticed the importance that the following paragraphs play in the intertwining of the plot and literary fiction. For example, the temporal expression "a few days later" (Couto, 2002, p. 77), at the beginning of the third paragraph, works as an essential element for textual expansion and narrative progression, which fits into the strategy of development of the canonical morphology of the tale. In fact, more important is to understand how resorting to narrative episodes allows the composition of the content related to the universe of the Mozambican history and traditions.

On the other hand, it is worth recalling the fact that this project of creating a polymorphic discourse of literature has always been taken by many writers with some degree of hesitation, since the colonial period. In this story of the language hybridisation, Ana Mafalda Leite (2002)– in the paper entitled "A fraternidade das palavras" (The fraternity of words) lists real examples of strong names from Mozambican literature such as Rui de Noronha, Noémia de Sousa, and Kalungane, the journalists of *Brado Africano*. José Craveirinha's situation is *sui generis*, if we take into account the outreach of his poetry, whose style "is a reinvention of the Portuguese language characterized by a combination of forms and genres deriving from the Mozambican oral literature and the Western literary tradition" (Leite, 2002, p. 21). Thus, Mia Couto becomes one of those who pursues this project. But his creative style reaches the more profound levels of such "reception of an inventive tradition of the language – inherited from the literary production of José Craveirinha" (Leite, 2002, p. 23).

This outreach results from the fact that he goes beyond a simple linguistic construction of discourse and breaks down the transcultural barriers of the vast Mozambican territory. Therefore, the literary phenomenon in Mia Couto is made of such miscegenation that places the Portuguese language and the national languages in contact, moving the latter towards a perspective highly focused on the eminently Mozambique-rooted cultural aspects. Those are the resources that enable the author to extract, from reality the aspects of fiction, in this case, of tragic kind and often devastated by the cruelty of the narrative situations, although the literary tool has been able to nuance and soften, because, as Leyla Perrone-Moisés (quoted in Silva, 2000) states:

> language has a referential function and claims to be representative. However, the world created by language will never totally be adequate to the real.

> Telling a story is to reinvent it, even if it actually happened. Two people will never tell the same fact in the same way. (p. 177)

In Mia Couto's novel, the symbolic relationship between writing and orality shows that Mozambican national languages are becoming languages to be studied and valued as a vehicle of cultures, without, however, undermining the unifying role of the Portuguese language. Perpétua Gonçalves (2011, p. 21), in an article published in *Jornal Savana* on Portuguese language and cultures of the CPLP (Community of Portuguese Language Countries) day, quotes an important passage of Ungulani Ba ka Khosa's thought on the place that should be given to national languages:

> the Portuguese language, the language of unity and development, was expected to share with other languages its hegemonic space in education, information, public and private spaces, similar to what happened at the beginning of the 20th century when, in the small town of Lourenço Marques, there was room for a bilingual newspaper, Portuguese/Ronga, the *Africano* and later *Brado Africano*, and a Daily newspaper in the English language-*Guardian*. The Portuguese language was never hurt by that multilingual coexistence.

According to Ungulani Ba Ka Khosa (quoted in Gonçalves, 2011), it is not a question of calling for the break between the Mozambican culture and the Portuguese language, although, using the phraseology of Soren Kierkegaard (1959, p. 30), it is clear that "when the time for weaning comes, the mother breast gets dark". In this trivial but fundamental logic, one could imagine that it would be harmful to the evolutionary process of Mozambican literature to think of a possible break with the Portuguese tradition. On the contrary, in *Terra sonâmbula*, the author brings, in literary practice, structures that revive these maternal ties taking into account that his writing actually obeys the Portuguese syntactical structure, to which a grid of neologisms[9] from the vernacular rules of the language is added.

This is about allowing the Portuguese language to coexist with the Mozambican national languages, without necessarily signifying hegemony of one over the other. In this way, Mia Couto becomes an author of peculiar artistic convictions, for being able to set up the hybrid lexical game in a national type of literature. Through his art, the author of *Terra sonâmbula* claims the strengthening of the rational bonds with Portuguese culture, giving an opportunity to the acclamation of national cultures.

Therefore, this Couto's move means the generational rejuvenation of cultures, the perennity of languages. The theme that the writer develops in *Terra sonâmbula*, as well as his approach to it, generates an important semantic-pragmatic segment that indicates the transformation of the critical discourse of society, from the cultural and aesthetic points of view if we look at art from within and from the historical present.

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[9] By resorting to the language mixing in the novel production, Mia Couto avoids getting trapped in the mismatch that could occur between the European standard Portuguese and the human experience that embodies his novel, because it is closely related to sensitive issues of society in its diverse ethnolinguistic structure and organization.

Moisés de Lemos Martins (2011, p. 129), quoting Aristotle, says "man is defined by language" and "the word is, par excellence, the great myth of civilization". I bring the citation as a way of highlighting the idea that Mia Couto does not invent the genres in his writing, he recreates them based on his inspiration together with the social and linguistic features of the reader. He creates his own symbology, his myths, his gods, and archetypical heroes based on a vocabulary from his own imagination.

It can be assumed, on the other hand, that Couto's discourse is self-invented to be representative to the readers of his works because it must incite interactional discussion between culture and writing. The language in *Terra sonambula* works as a weapon from which the cultural traits are reconstructed, from which are reinvented the foundations for a land that collapses because of war and poverty.

Moisés de Lemos Martins is conclusive when stating that the pictorial word "has always threatened the western logos by bearing in it the *virtus* of separation" (Martins, 2011, p. 129). In the case of Mia Couto, *virtus* does not point to the intrinsic strength of separation. On the contrary, it deplores the evils of a destructive and breakaway conflict, implicitly longing for the opposite. This can concomitantly be seen in the characters of *Terra sonâmbula*, a kind of prototypical society that is perceived through popular fabulation. Couto' characters convey a feeling of love and joy as opposition to the problems caused by war, hunger, and poverty. The environment that is lived in the narrative results from the ability the author has to employ the Portuguese language in service of art. The dialogue, established between the characters supports this utopian thought of building identity from the language:

> as I did not attend the call, he held my e arms and pulled me. Did he use violence? No. This is the strangeness: he handled me delicately, vice-versatile, I was almost girded to a dance. Then, I felt myself falling into his arms, succumbing. And the world all around disappeared. (Couto, 2002, p. 45)

The character Xipoco[10], although suspicious to Kindzu, had no malicious inspiration. In fact, he instinctively held his prey, apparently, not to bring pain to someone from the family who could keep the eye on Kindzu's fantasies and moves: "I doubted: I couldn't be the anchor that was unnecessary. It was Xipoco, the spirit that had appeared to me on the beach of Tandissico. That boat was possessed, guarded against intruders" (Couto, 2002, p. 66).

The use of terms such as "strange", "vice-versatile", "belt", "succumb" and "espritado", foreign to European Portuguese, turns Mia Couto into a forerunner of the creation of lexemes or expressions that seek to connect the language to regional speeches[11] of the

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[10] In the languages of Southern Mozambique, "Xipoco" means "ghost", a dreamlike figure that can both do good if representing a family and can cause evil if intentionally sent to represent the interests of someone who wants the curse.

[11] Mia Couto says to have read Luandino, between 1977-1978, and assumes to have gained, in such reading, some inspiration for creation. Then, he read Guimarães Rosa. In the interview with Patrick Chabal (1994, p. 289), he confesses that he was still moved by the fact that Brazil had managed to create the Brazilian, which he could intuitively do "with a Mozambican flavor", creating "beauty, showing a little of what can someone possibility do in his own language".

vast linguistic context of contemporary Mozambican literature. All in all, we conclude that the criticism of reality is an artistic exercise that requires a careful examination of the existential factors of life, but, above all, it meets the demand of science that is expected to be based on reality. Therefore, the community culture subsists under the light of history and memories.

The study carried out allowed to find out that, for the most part, the novel episodes interpret spaces and rough times, where nature fills the void created by the unrest of war and hunger. The episodes, life, and daily life interactions reify the hope and the promise of a collective conscience, reviving the precepts of construction of symbolic nations in the light of the structuring realms of the lyrical-realistic narrative.

Translation: Arsénio Augusto Chelengo

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Western radio memories and narrative construction on Africa

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Abstract

Three historical milestones allow a reflection on the narratives of transnational radio stations in Africa: the expansion of transnational channels in Africa, after the Second World War and the beginning of the Cold War; the holding of the "Conference of non-aligned countries" in Bandung, 1955, which expressed the will of sovereignty of the countries of Africa and Asia; the "Media and development forum" held in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, which expressed the desire to "decolonize information". These great events aroused a certain interest in the field of Radio Studies in Africa. The present reflection aims to analyze the narratives of Western radio stations in Africa, which it focuses on the historical review of the role of radio as a mean of expanding Western imperialism. From a different perspective, the reflection tries to capture the latest trends in ideological and discursive changes in international radio in Africa: internationalized participation, the promotion of democracy awareness, and the awakening of human rights. The emergence of the new narratives of Africans radio stations, mediated by web radios on the platforms of social networks on the internet and their potential, are other points of reflection. In an analysis of this historical information, the study opted for an interpretative approach to the documentation, conference statements, and literature produced on international radio in Africa, what comes close to the topological analysis developed by sociologist Max Weber on the ideal types, an interpretative and explanatory hermeneutic, in which texts, ideologies, culture and historical periods must be understood as symbols that must be elucidated within their systems of signification. This analysis model extracts typical elements from the bibliographic material and describes them in detail.

Keywords

radio; imperialism; social networks

Memórias e construção de narrativas das rádios ocidentais sobre África

Resumo

Três marcos históricos permitem uma reflexão sobre as narrativas das rádios transnacionais em África: a expansão de canais transnacionais em África, depois da II Guerra Mundial e o início da Guerra Fria; a realização da "Conferência dos países não alinhados" em Bandung, 1955, que expressava a vontade de soberania dos países da África e Ásia; o "Fórum de meios de comunicação social e desenvolvimento" (2008) realizado em Uagadugu, Burquina Faso, que manifestava a vontade de "descolonização da informação". Estes grandes acontecimentos despertaram um certo interesse no campo dos Estudos da Rádio na África. A presente reflexão tem como objetivo analisar as narrativas das rádios ocidentais em África, concentrando-se na revisão histórica do papel da rádio como meio de expansão do imperialismo ocidental. Numa outra perspetiva, a reflexão tenta capturar as últimas tendências de mudanças ideológicas e discursivas das rádios internacionais em África: a internacionalização comparticipada, a promoção de consciência de democracia e o despertar de direitos humanos. A emergência das novas narrativas das rádios

africanas, mediadas por web rádios nas plataformas das redes sociais da internet e as suas potencialidades, constituem outros pontos de reflexão. Numa análise desta informação histórica, o estudo optou por uma abordagem de natureza interpretativa da documentação, declarações de conferências e literatura produzida sobre as rádios internacionais em África, naquilo que se aproxima da análise tipológica desenvolvida pelo sociólogo Max Weber sobre os tipos ideais, ou seja, uma hermenêutica de cunho interpretativo e explicativo, na qual se deve compreender textos, ideologias, culturas e períodos históricos como símbolos que devem ser elucidados dentro de seus próprios sistemas de significação. Este modelo de análise extrai do material bibliográfico os elementos típicos e descreve-os com detalhe.

Palavras-chave

rádio; imperialismo; redes sociais

Introduction

Memory is a cognitive function built by an individual, organizations, or society to store and transmit information through written, oral and electronic expression. A journey through the memory of literature and documentation on transnational radio in Africa allowed the elaboration of this article. The objective is to understand the construction of narratives of international radio stations in Africa. On the one hand, for a better understanding of their ideologies in Africa, on the other hand, to understand the process of "decolonization of information" and the subsequent role assumed by African radio stations in independent societies, their political and cultural implications, their effective contribution to the development of democracy and citizenship and, finally, to understand the challenges of African radio in the digital age/era.

The problem of Western radio both in the period of Western colonization, characterized by ideological and cultural imperialism, and in the post-colonial era, characterized by changes in the narratives of information transmission, has little epistemological and historical depth in the annals of the history of radio in Africa. In this reflection, the central questions are: what kinds of narratives were produced by transnational radio stations about Africa during the periods of colonization and after independence? What are the prospects for the future of radio in Africa?

Three aspects answer the initial question of this reflection: the historical and theoretical plan that contributed to the construction of ideological narratives of Western radio in Africa; the perception of Africans about/through the narratives of Western radio stations, based on the reports and theoretical studies of African scholars and writers; finally, the opening of Africa to the world, thanks to the alternative means of communication based on the social networks of the internet and the possibility of building their own uninterrupted narratives.

The evolution of Radio Studies can be analyzed in two approaches: either by an epistemological approach, searching from which fields of research these studies have emerged, how they were integrated in Studies of Mass Communication or by a historical

approach, presenting the evolution of radio, social and cultural environment that was established. It is in the second position that the present study chose to privilege and redo the route described by previous studies.

The diversity of bibliography and themes on radio in Africa required an effort to group different sources of information, followed by an interpretive analysis of the information. Finally, the discussion of results was an exercise that tried to establish a dialectical confrontation between the authors and showed the relationship between the concepts exposed and the central question of the study.

The analysis of the results of the study allowed to conclude that the expansion of transnational radio stations in Africa and the respective narratives were driven by three historical and ideological interests: first, by the maintenance of cultural values and the Western civilization during and after the colonial period; second, for ideological wars during the Cold War period, the time of the massification of Western radio stations in the African continent due to the antagonistic depolarization between the capitalist and communist blocs; and the third interest, after the Cold War, was in the development of cooperation and production of new narratives focused on African regions in conflict.

Background

This reflection finds its inspiration on Asante's (2013) publications on "The Western media and the falsification of Africa: complications of value and evaluation", from the Latin American current of thought on cultural imperialism, and on Biney's (1997) studieson "Western media and Africa: issues of information and images" on the *Journal of International Affairs*, publications that deconstructed western media ideologies in Africa.

Western media, over many years, have built the image of Africa as a place of chaos, tribal conflict, ethnic wars, corruption, disease, and genocide. In fact, they are social constructions carried out by the power of the media in an immense and culturally diverse continent. However, there have been few efforts by them to present the positive aspects of the African continent, such as, for example, African entrepreneurship, inventions, the development of the field of education, cultural wealth, and other social dynamics.

Radio was one of the media of imperialist domination in Africa. For Power (2000), for example, during the period of Mozambican colonization, he represented his work as a colonization radio that emphasized the links between his activities and the maintenance of European culture and civilization in the colonies. In Mozambique, he sought to solidify his contribution to Western culture and civilization in the light of colonial political objectives.

In the last days of Portuguese colonialism, broadcasters began late to try to assimilate non-white issues in the perceived order of colonial modernization. Radio programming was differentiated in important ways according to ethnicity and gender (Power, 2000).

Throughout the African continent, the radio presented an important step in the conquest of other territories, thanks to its facilities for propagation through the air and through radio waves, especially during the troubled period of World War II.

After the World War II, international conferences were held on the technical aspects of regulation, specifically the allocation of transmission frequency. The first conference was held in Moscow in September 1946. The second was in Atlantic City, USA, both of which gave rise to the International Committee for the Registration of Frequency (Jeanneney, 1996, p. 267).

At the "World Administrative Radio Conference" held in Geneva, 1979, under the auspices of the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), the Americans tried, unsuccessfully, to oppose to the redistribution of the radio broadcast frequency, practically monopolized by them and other industrialized countries, in detriment of developing countries, which indicated an attempt to monopolize frequencies and impose technical and ideological superiority in what characterizes them in mass communication theories (Joanguete, 2010).

During the Cold War, capitalist and socialist countries competed for the power of information control. It was increasingly clear that this was an ideological war. On the one hand, the USA propagated the ideology of mass culture in its favor, through its music and the film industry. On the other hand, the history of relations between the various countries of Eastern Europe and the countries of the African continent, which adopted socialist models during the wars for national liberation, as well as in the post-independence period, were not concerned with ideologies, but rather with ensuring financial and military aid from communist countries in the East to overthrow the colonial domination of the West (Cascais & Blanchard, 2017; Groppo, 2008).

Groppo (2008, pp. 131-132) states that:

> the link that was established between the communist parties and the USSR was not simply one of political dependency, but also one of material dependence. Many of these parties received, more or less consistently, financing and various types of aid from the Soviet State, on a more or less consistent basis, on which their ability to carry out constant political activity depended in part.

On the African continent, the cooperative relationship between the communist countries of the East and those that followed the communist regime included the opening of space for the radio broadcasting of the USSR. The scenario remained even after the independence of African countries, as many Western powers tried to introduce the logic of monopoly of the radio signal transmission and its internationalization (Mattelart & Mattelart, 1997). In this context, some academies and research centers in communication began to be concerned with propagandistic ideas and the dispute for cultural and ideological domination.

In an article by Barrot (2010) in *La Revue des Médias* entitled "Les radios internationales en Afrique", the author states that no other region on the planet is as open to international information and as dependent on foreign broadcasters as the Sub-Saharan Africa. There are several international radio stations operating in Africa, such as those of British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) World Service, Voice of America (VOA) and, recently, radio Chine Internationale.

The French school of communication, known for its culturalist theories, questioned the way in which the internationalization of Western media proceeded and interfered directly in the culture of other peoples with the ideological apparatus of the State, such as radio and television or imperialist cultural industries (Mattelart & Mattelart, 1997).

The British historian Trevor-Roper (1969) wrote in his book *The past and the present: History and Sociology*, that there was no story/history to tell in Africa, unless the history of Europeans. The same speech by the historian was reproduced implicitly in media policies when the race for new African audiences began.

We must understand that all the reports presented about radio in Africa are configured as an ideological mechanism for the control of African masses, which throughout history have gained other meanings, both in technical and ideological aspects.

Post-independence national radio stations

Within colonial society, in which radio prevailed as a means of mass communication, it is necessary to view culture as a medium full of ideology. After the independence of African countries, starting in the 1960s, radio stations were a mass media of the state monopoly and followed the guidelines of governments and could not transmit content that would trigger other political changes within their own populations. The information was very controlled (Agbobli, 2016; Perret, 2010).

Myers (2008) and Ilboudo (2014) report that after independence, most national radio broadcasters were established. They started broadcasting in the language of the ex-colonizer and sometimes in one or two national languages to affirm the role of new independent states and, in this context, radio has become an attribute of the independence of these countries and the radio services controlled by independent states has won the largest audiences in most of Sub-Saharan Africa.

It must be said that the first manifestation of African autonomy in the telecommunications and audiovisual sector was the creation, in 1962, of the Union des Radiodiffusions and Televisions Nationales d'Afrique (URTNA), composed of the national radio and television organizations of African states. Later, URTNA was transformed on October 30, 2006 into the African Broadcasting Union (AUB), with the aim of contributing to enrich the quality of life for Africans and reveal the true image of Africa.

As it can be seen, URTNA is the first African organization that seeks to rescue the image of Africa, through the production and distribution of content produced by Africans. However, URTINA was far from debating media regulation and political aspects

of communication. The main concerns were focused on nation building through the media. In this, the governments took control of the radios for the construction of the nation, facilitated the task of the governments in the education of the people and raised the national conscience. The media were a catalyst for government policy; unification of the nation and popularization of government leaders (Asante, 2013).

Despite the nationalization of the radios of the colonial regime, Sub-Saharan Africa was, since the beginning of independence and the Cold War, the focus of short wave transmissions in several languages by transnational broadcasters, specifically from the former colonial powers and the main communist countries. For example, in 1958 and 1959, Radio Moscow and Radio Beijing launched their broadcasts in French, English, and Portuguese to the African continent (Mattelart, 2015).

The "Conference of Non-Aligned Countries" held in Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955 was the first political milestone that expressed the will for sovereignty in the countries of Africa, and Asia. It was the first movement in favor of the African renaissance, including Asia, in the field of economics, politics and the media sector. Thanks to this organization of Non-Aligned Countries against colonialism, public communication policies opened the space for neoliberal globalization, which resulted in an imbalance in communicative processes (Amin, 2015)

In the same sequence, in 1970, the debate on the New World Order of Information and Communication (NOMIC) was launched. NOMIC was an international project for the reorganization of global information flows, through various government actions Furthermore, it was an initiative of the movement of Non-Aligned Countries with the support of Unesco, whose objective was "decolonization in the field of Information" (Silva, 2009, p. 11).

The decolonization of information was firstly debated in the late 1960s, in which, according to Bourges (1978), the world information network was in the hands of rich countries, while developing countries played secondary roles. The proof of this is that the major news agencies, European and American, produced and distributed the raw material for news published around the world. Hence the need to implement, on a worldwide scale, a policy that would reduce the hegemony of the great powers.

Another important milestone in the history of media in Africa was the holding of the 1976 "General Conference" in Nairobi, organized by Unesco, which constituted an international commission for the study of the worldwide flow of communication. The commission was chaired by the journalist, lawyer and former Irish Foreign minister, Seán MacBride, and was composed of 16 international personalities in the field of culture and communication. This commission worked until 1980, when it drew up and released a report entitled *One world and many voices*, which was also known as the *MacBride report*, in which it reported the communicational imbalances in the world and the predominance of unique narratives by Western media (Silva, 2009).

Internally, in the African continent, international conferences to discuss MacBride's report on the balanced information flow and the impact of Western radio and television

in Africa was an agenda item at the "Media and development forum" held in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, from 11 to 13 September 2008, organized by the European Commission, African Union Commission, International Organization of the Francophonie, British Community and the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries, which constituted the first international debates on the new dynamics of media in Africa.

Particularly in the former Portuguese colonies, the concern to establish a radio that connected the colonies and the metropolis went back to the years of 1935. However, the idea only materialized 60 years later, with the creation of RDP Africa in April 1996, by Order No. 25 356/2006, Diário da República, 2nd Series, No. 238, December 13, 2006, in a context of a different political regime, based on the ideological basis of the diffusion of the Portuguese language and culture and "bringing a wide range of African information to Portugal" (Jordão, 2009, p. 19).

Against Western stereotypes about Africa, the "Media and development forum" was held in Burkina Faso in September 2008, which allowed the debate on the subject to be brought to light. For Jean-Luc Maertens, director of Euronews who chaired the workshop on the stereotypes of Africa in Europe and those of Europe in Africa, he concluded that many of these problems are due, in large part, to the Western media about which certain measures should be put in place to mitigate impacts, such as strong pressure on certain media that convey and support them (Goutier, 2008).

In summary, it can be noted in this historical framework that the colonial administrations used radio as a political tool to preserve colonial rule and impose Western culture. In contrast, post-independence African leaders used radio to promote nation-building, above all, they turned radio into a means of mobilization for the solidification of the nation-state.

However, in the 1990s, the situation changed almost drastically as democratic regimes in Africa advanced and, consequently, the media gained freedom of the press and expression. Research by the African Media Development Initiative (AMDI) in 17 Sub-Saharan countries, found that local commercial radio grew by an average of 360% between 2000 and 2006 and community radio grew by an average of 1,386% over the same period (Myers, 2008).

Ideologies in the narratives of Western radio stations

The first radio broadcasts in Sub-Saharan Africa were made in the early 1920s. Kenya had its own radio station in 1927, followed by Mozambique in 1933, and Senegal in 1939. But these were only broadcasting programmes made for expatriates[1].

The development of satellite communications has made it possible for traditional shortwave international broadcasts, promoted mainly by Western state and public stations, to also be relayed by radio stations in Africa in shortwaves and medium waves, because the majority of the African population lived in rural areas and very dispersed.

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[1] Retrieved from https://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/specials/1624_story_of_africa/page17.shtml

For long distances short wave emitters were used, while for cities, medium wave emitters were used.

After the World War II, the Federal Republic of Germany was present in Africa through the radio Deutsche Welle (DW); Great Britain with the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC); the Netherlands through Radio Nederland; France with Radio France International (RFI); the United States with Voice of America (VOA). All of them were among the radio stations that reached larger audiences in the world and in Africa (Jeanneney, 1996).

Comparatively, the French political action of international communication in Africa was facilitated by its closer relations with the former colonies since the establishment of Radio Paris Mondial. RFI now has 107 FM transmitters in the African continent, all located in Sub-Saharan Africa, including 82 in Francophone Africa, where its market share reaches 25% (Barrot, 2010). Meanwhile, the BBC's international communication policy was focused on an audience in India, later on it moved to a worldwide audience, including Africa where it counts with 70 FM transmitters, broadcasting in English to 36 countries (Barrot, 2010; Jeanneney, 1996). For this reason, the BBC is considered to be the most viewed TV station with around 120 million listeners worldwide. This figure does not include countries like China, where audience surveys were not done for political reasons (Sousa, 1993).

The practice of retransmitting international radio and television in Africa is based on commercial space sales agreements, a scenario that created a logic of penetration in the African continent. The same policy was practiced by the USSR during the Cold War in the 1960s. For example, VOA was founded on August 04, 1963 to provide news services for Africa. However, the underlying ideology in VOA is to combat undemocratic regimes, promoting human rights and freedom in Africa by offering more open and uncensored news services to more than 25 million listeners.

As Landau (2012) puts it, the mutations in Western radio narratives about Africa take on a new, more Africanist approach from the late 1960s and early 1970s, when the French-speaking countries unleashed a series of rights claims with the RFI, that held the monopoly of the francophone market.

The changes of Rádio e Televisão Portuguesa (RTP) took place in African countries that speak Portuguese through technical cooperation agreements for the field of social communication in three fields: (a) technical assistance; (b) professional training; (c) exchange and the circulation of journalists and the circulation of information (Carvalho, 1994; Jordão, 2009).

As a result of this cooperation, between 1987 and 1989, agreements were established between the Portuguese Radio Broadcasting (RDP) and the National Radios of the Portuguese speaking African countries (PALOP) as well as between the Portuguese News Agency (Anop), later Lusa – and the news agencies of the former Portuguese colonies.

To integrate African narratives in its programs, RDP África structured its editorial team and correspondents, comprising 36 members, among journalists and directors of Portuguese nationality and Portuguese-speaking African countries, whose work has the purpose of bilateral function, Africa/Portugal and bringing a wide range of African information to Portugal (Jordão, 2009, p. 19).

At the same time, the BBC is disputing the same audience with RTP on Portuguese-language services. The BBC's Portuguese service reaches half of the audience of all international radio stations to relay to the PALOP, thanks to 80 short wave broadcasting stations located in Ascension Island, Mauritius, Seychelles, Lesotho, South Africa, and Madagascar. In this way, broadcasts from the United Kingdom arrived in Africa, including the least democratic countries with strict laws that prevented the presence of foreign media.

In the 1990s, the BBC changed its traditional shortwave to FM broadcasting strategy in two ways: through its own 24-hour relay on a dedicated frequency or through relay arrangements with local radio stations. This is where its role in providing an alternative source of news is evident, since most of the media in African countries were under state control (Sousa, 1993, p. 10).

Whether through retransmitters mounted in geostrategic locations or via local radio, international broadcasters have grown their radio coverage for Africa and, at the same time, have influenced changes to improve internal policies and strengthen citizens' rights. In this effort, the hypothesis that they played a central role in imposing their cultures and governmental models through technological hegemony cannot be ruled out (Archangelo, 2006).

International broadcasting has become a means of broadcasting programs on human freedoms and rights among African listeners and has subsequently become the influential power of culture and the idea of openness to commercial globalization. Broadcasting policy was often more usefully a slow cultural impregnation of mentalities (Archangelo, 2006; Jeanneney, 1996, p. 264).

At BBC Africa and the RFI there have been significant changes in ideologies and in the way of telling stories. The two broadcasters started by breaking down language barriers. For example, the BBC was able, until 2009, to broadcast in 33 local languages, while Radio France Internationale took a long time to address the transmission of information in African languages, only starting its programs in Hausa in 2007 and those in Swahili in 2010. This new policy has already allowed the French broadcaster to take the lead in Niger, where the BBC has been the most listened to international radio in 20 years. As far as it is concerned, Deutsche Welle took on changes in Africa through the Amharic language, in addition to Hausa and Swahili and VOA started broadcasting in 10 African languages (Barrot, 2010).

Based on the evidence above, it is clear that since the independence of African countries, in the 1960s, Western radio in Africa developed the two-way theory: influencing the improvement of government systems and awareness of human rights and

freedoms, on the one hand, and imposing cultural models and opening spaces for commercial globalization, consequently, the construction of narratives of Africa from a Western point of view, on the other. This was the perception of journalist Hirsch (2012) in her text "The West's lazy reporting of Africa".

According to Asekun-Olarinmoye, Esiri, Ogungbamigbe, and Rahmat (2014) there were two main consequences of the biased coverage of Western media in Africa. First, the narrative model created a very negative picture and pessimistic perception of developing countries by the citizens of industrialized societies, particularly those who have never been to the African continent. These people tend to see the African continent as a country without borders or identities. The second consequence of this pessimistic view of Africa is the negative effect on foreign direct investment, as Africa's biased or negative coverage affects the flow of foreign direct investment.

The paradox of cultural imperialism on Western radio stations, despite being designed for political purposes, still maintains a lot of imposition in its programming and information. In other words, it has control over the way in which important facts spread throughout the world. In addition, they have other subjective interests to defend, such as helping their governments to fulfill political goals, cultural promotion and their values in African countries.

In recent years, there has been an improvement in the international radio narratives about Africa. Approaches closer to consensus try to occupy spaces in the international media, which try to highlight the diversity of programs on the African continent, for example: programs on cultural diversity, market, religions, art, government systems, music, literature, etc.

The approach to the positive aspects of Africa is well known on Radio France Internacionale (RFI) which privileges information and journalistic sources from Africa. At RFI, 60% of the programming is geared towards African issues with the aim of promoting proximity of the radio to the local, international and African diaspora audience (Archangelo, 2006). The advances in the production of narratives about Africa, the RFI's communication policy leaves doubts as to whether it really favors the promotion of the other angle of Africa. It is understood in all the programs produced and transmitted to Africa that there are cultural and linguistic interests that are quite expressive in all the goodwill of France in relation to its former colonies.

Other changes take place at BBC Africa, which feature some radio programs made by Africans, such as Focus on Africa, Network Africa, Fast Track and African Performance, in which they address a variety of topics, from sport, business, art, literature to religion. There was a small drop in investment in this field, due to the contention of costs with international programs. The BBC demonstrated an advance in the production of positivist narratives about Africa, drawing interest from the global audience to gain new perceptions about the continent.

It can be seen in this discussion that the radio stations of Western imperialists had a wrong perception of Africa. One of the reasons for the poor understanding of Africa is due to the analysis of African events or occurrences from a Western perspective. Another observation is the fact that the large number of African radio stations present a fragile picture of sustainability, namely, the lack of essential resources for the proper functioning of the media, such as printers, paper, distribution vehicles and many other instruments indispensable for publishing and newspaper distribution (Levingston, 2011).

The main justifications for the presence of international channels in Africa are due, on the one hand, to the reasons of diplomatic projections from western countries to Africa. On the other hand, it constitutes, for listeners living in African countries, an alternative means of information whose regimes strive to control the internal media. In other words, transnational radio waves allow African listeners to bypass official censorship policies, giving them access to Western radio, which allows them to form their opinion (Mattelart, 2015).

In general terms, Western media policies initially focused on issues of cultural hegemony and civilization, but in recent decades there has been a new framework of approach based on a consensual relationship characterized by the inclusion of African narratives on international radio, responding to the new order in a world of balanced communication.

African perceptions about Western radio

In March 2015, a group of 159 scholars, writers and journalists from various countries addressed a letter to the executive producer of the US television program *60 Minutes*, criticizing the distorted way in which Africans were represented in three reports: two about wildlife and another about the ebola epidemic in Liberia. According to the content of the letter, the addressers claimed that the Africans were limited to the role of passive victims or brutal, corrupt and incompetent villains. They were presented as if they had no capacity for action.

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, one of the great African writers, in his speech delivered on May 25, 2012 at South African Free State University, said that this negative image of Africa is spread and intensified in everyday images in the West, in the form of television documentaries to illustrate hunger, cyclone victims, violent crime, and ethnic warfare (Dersso, 2014).

Ngugi Wa Thiongo's view is shared by Kenyan writer Nanjala Nyabola, in which she noted that Western journalists continue to approach African issues in the wrong way: (a) analyze reality in opposition to the West and not from intrinsic reality; (b) when working in countries with a language other than their own, they need interpreters, which affects the understanding of the phenomenon. The writer pointed out as a solution the employment of local journalists to report, instead of being hired to advise Western journalists (Nyabola, 2014).

Mamdani (2009), one of Africa's leading critical and intellectual thinkers, criticized in his book Saviors and survivors: darfur, *politics, and the war on terror*, those who rely on Western media for information about Africa. For the writer, the Western media come to think that Africa is the source of information to feed their televisions, above all, armed conflicts, ethnic wars, contagious diseases, and other evils, instead of building journalistic narratives of peace and reconciliation.

Going deeply into the position of Mamdani (2009), the technological hegemony of Western radio creates in African audiences the idea of the only reliable and reliable news media, to the detriment of local radio.

From another angle of analysis, it is not true that African radio stations rely on international media outlets based in the West to spread their news. According to Asante (2013), this is a systematic way of lowering Africa, which is part of the philosophical and cultural fabric of Europeanization in Africa, according to which Africa cannot report its own stories. In fact, "they", read Africans, are part of the problem, perpetuating and disseminating Western perspectives, prejudices, and stereotypes (Gathara, 2014).

African narratives on web radios via streaming

Radio is still the most dominant mass media in Africa with the greatest geographic reach and the largest audiences compared to television and newspapers. In general, radio is undergoing a process of "radiomorphosis" and a renaissance due to more accessible technologies, a perception that technology has made radio a two-way medium and that it can help to close the digital divide by providing a powerful medium for the dissemination of information, especially for rural audiences that are difficult to reach.

Social media platforms and streaming radio broadcasts open up opportunities for Africans to tell their stories first hand, removing mediation from international radio stations in Africa and giving them another visibility told by themselves. At the same time, webradio wants to offer a new perspective in the field of information compared to that provided by Western media.

There is a rediscovery of radio in the context of new ICT (information and communications technology), a perception that streaming technology is transforming radio into a medium in which it helps to narrow the digital divide, providing a powerful tool for disseminating information to the public with access to the internet.

As Girard (2004) puts it, African radio stations with websites that offer audio streaming are a minority, but tend to increase as internet bandwidth costs gradually decrease. The number of people listening to streaming web radios is very low. But in depth analysis, the interest in such streaming stations attracts more the young audience with mobile devices and with internet access from mobile phone companies and the African diaspora, which is one of the main audiences of webradio and social media.

The advantages of streaming radio stations are still not easily accepted, especially in impoverished populations, where internet connection is still not the main priority.

However, for many radio stations, particularly those that are serious about collecting news and reports, the internet is a huge benefit. Now, international news, sports, weather, etc. are available almost instantly.

The Internet World Stats 2020[2] report reveals that in Africa, internet penetration rates have grown by 39,3% until March 2020. Out of the universe of 4.575.578.718 internet users in the world, 11,5% are located on the African continent.

As for the cost, according to a survey carried out by Cable.co.uk, it showed that out of 36 African countries surveyed, only seven countries (Egypt, Tunisia, Réunion, Algeria, Mauritius, Morocco, and Mayotte) had packages that cost less than US $ 50[3].

In the field of social media, they are a powerful platform for creating various stories about Africa, thanks to the accessibility of modern technology. So, traditional radio stations, bloggers, and commentators on African social media are using Facebook, YouTube and other platforms to create their narratives to reach the universal audience. An example of this is "The Africa, the media never shows you campaign", led by young Africans, which broadcasts via web radio and "posts" positive images about the continent to combat the stereotype shown by Western media.

Social media in Africa is capturing positive human stories. They open space to tell and share the multiple African experiences. These moments of joy, play, celebration, love and human interaction create narratives of Africa. These new representations can trigger a change in the way of telling the stories of Africans, in an uninterrupted way.

The penetration rate of the internet and mobile devices, the massification of social networks on the internet, are elements that contribute to the manifestation of different and multidirectional narratives about the African continent. For example, web radios, blogs, web news pages and social networking sites tell stories, show photographs and videos captured in Africa by Africans in an attempt to form a more complete picture of life on the continent.

The various African voices on social media can be interpreted as an African attempt to construct their post-colonial discourses to challenge narratives of African mischaracterization.

In the field of mobile phones, despite the majority of the population facing the digital divide, mobile smartphone devices accounted for over 620 million mobile connections in September 2011 and are expected to reach 735 million in late 2012 (Global System for Mobile Communications [GSMA], 2011). Technologies provide an opportunity to boost African web radios to reach global audiences, journalists can advertise their phone numbers over the air and invite listeners to call or send messages with comments on news, questions, greetings, music requests, etc.

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[2] Available in https://www.internetworldstats.com/stats1.htm

[3] Retrieved from https://www.cable.co.uk/broadband/pricing/worldwide-comparison/#regions

DISCUSSION

Since the installation of international radio transmitters in Africa, after World War II and the independence of African countries, the policies of Western imperialism were clear. According to the critics of the French school of communication, Western states maintained an ideological and cultural influence on Africa, first through radio and second through television and cultural industries, later through the strategy of technical cooperation agreements and commercial counterparts for signal retransmission. This latter strategy was applied by RFI, RTP, and BBC both through radio and television media.

The construction of Western narratives about Africa, through radio transmission, often loaded with prejudice and pessimism, was a practice that lasted for many years, above all, the way the African continent and its countries are described in the West, where the African situation is assessed by the tribal struggles and miseries in their countries. A reflection carried out at the "Media and development forum" held in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, in September 2008, established new communication frameworks between the West and Africa, in a process that Bourges (1978) called "information decolonization".

In the period following the independence of African countries, it was not only Western radio stations that were blamed for political and cultural imperialism in Africa. Internally, the local radio stations of the colonial heritage have become a monopoly of the State, on the one hand, as an instrument of political propaganda and, on the other, as a means of encouraging social development (Agbobli, 2016).

After the 2008 Burkina Faso forum, subsequent changes in the communication model of Western radio stations in Africa could be seen, given that the new cooperation and information policies that have been established between Africa and the West, where BBC Africa, RFI and Deutsche Welle showed significant changes by incorporating African languages into their news broadcasts.

Interpreting Jeanneney (1996), Archangelo (2006), and Hirsch (2012), in the periods following the Burkina Faso Forum, Western radio in Africa became a system that influenced democratic policies, promoted human rights and, simultaneously, operated in a way to convert audiences into an internal critical mass.

In the beginning, the presence of the great western radio channels in the African continent imposed a kind of media hegemony over the local media, as well as the overwhelming power in the (re)interpretation of the facts, as well as in the decisive influence of public opinion and, at times, in political interference.

In recent decades, although there have been improvements in the new framework of approach to Africa, in which it seeks to introduce formats for the inclusion of African narratives in the western media, reversing the old scenario of unique narratives, however, the negative coverage of the continent persists in some international radio stations, a scenario that can be overcome by African countries through more practical measures to tell their own stories to the outside world.

Conclusion

The role of international radio in Africa is a subject of great African interest both as a historical memory and as an object of study that needs to be evaluated before the memories fade.

The reflection allowed us to bring new paths for the historical analysis of international radio in Africa in a multidisciplinary structure that links the sciences of communication, history and politics. Other more specific approaches centered, for example, on the objectives of creating each international radio, on the geographic distribution of radio stations in Africa and the typology of narratives, could allow us to complement the results of the study and bring reality closer, thus contributing to the holistic debate around western radio narratives in Africa.

The question of departure of this essay was about the western radio narratives about Africa in the post-independence periods and the perspectives for the future of radio in Africa. The answer is found in the discussion of results. It was found that they portrayed in three types of discourses and different ideologies in three historical moments: first, the development of a narrative to accompany colonial politics, maintenance and transmission of Western culture and civilization; the second narrative of ideological wars during the cold war period, time for the massification of western radio on the African continent and the third interest, after the Cold War, was in the development of cooperation and the production of new narratives focused on conflict regions in Africa.

The "Media and development forum" held in Ouagadougou was the main milestone in changing the narratives of Western radio in relation to Africa, from which began the process of "information decolonization" initiated by the BBC, RFI, Deutsche Welle, and VOA radios by incorporating African languages in their broadcasts so that Africans had the opportunity to present their own narratives and change the social imaginary of the West in relation to Africa.

It is necessary to consider that the "decolonization of information" did not liberate African countries from imperialism on the western radio, while internally the radio was taken by some political regimes as a means of political propaganda.

Despite all the historical vicissitudes of radio in Africa, today they are moving towards greater autonomy in the production of local content, within the framework of freedom of the press and expression.

The future prospects for radio in Africa, as far as can be predicted, FM still seems to have a solid future in Africa. web radio and digital audio broadcasting (DAB) may be adopted by African broadcasters in the near future, given the drop in internet prices and the widespread use of smartphones with built-in FM radio.

Translation: Jonas Tembe

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Literature and tourism in digital: Lisbon and Fernando Pessoa

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Abstract

Culture is one of the greatest motivations of tourists when they decide to visit a destination. The offer of cultural tourism is much diversified and recently it has been subdivided into several categories. Although it is still premature in Portugal, literary tourism represents a niche of tourism with ability of exploration, not only because of the reputable Portuguese writers, but also due to the places where they went through and in which they were inspired by. These places are unique equity elements. Therefore, this investigation intends to approach the cultural tourism and literary tourism concepts, as well as their connection to the digital. Later, as case of study it is explored the Portuguese writer Fernando Pessoa and the remarkable literary places existing in his homeland, Lisbon, which can be combined and presented in a digital itinerary. From an interdisciplinary perspective and a literary point of view, this study presents contributions to (digital) marketing and tourism.

Keywords

communication; Digital Humanities; literary tourism; literature; Pessoa

Literatura e turismo no digital: o caso de Lisboa e Fernando Pessoa

Resumo

A cultura é uma das maiores motivações dos turistas quando estes decidem visitar um destino. A oferta presente no turismo cultural é bastante diversificada, pelo que cada vez mais se tem subdivido em diferentes categorias. Embora seja ainda prematuro em Portugal, o turismo literário constitui um nicho de turismo com capacidade de exploração, não só devido aos escritores portugueses de renome, mas também porque os lugares por onde passaram, e nos quais se inspiraram, constituem elementos patrimoniais únicos. Assim sendo, a presente investigação pretende abordar os conceitos de turismo cultural e turismo literário, assim como a sua ligação ao digital. Posteriormente, como caso de estudo, é explorado o escritor português, Fernando Pessoa, e os lugares literários marcantes na sua terra natal, Lisboa, que podem ser combinados e apresentados num itinerário digital. Numa perspetiva interdisciplinar, o presente estudo apresenta contributos para o marketing (digital) e para o turismo numa vertente literária.

INTRODUCTION

Cultural tourism is a touristic segment that besides attracting an increasing number of tourists, can be as well developed in each region, since it is "omnipresent" (Richards, 2007, p. 1). Cultural tourism, however, is a vague concept, once the notion of "culture" is difficult to define. Nowadays, the fact that there are several variants within this segment, prevents the existence of only one definition (Richards, 2018).

According to Nyaupane, White, and Budruk (2006), culture, as well as the heritage, is part of the motivations, behaviour, and tourist experiences. Although, sometimes, cultural tourism is an example of mass market, tourists are heterogeneous and, that way, is important to create different segments according to their needs and interests in order to offer them what they are looking for (Dolnicar, 2008). Currently, cultural tourism does not mean only visiting museums, monuments, public squares, and/or historical or cultural infrastructures, but also produce an engagement with what is intangible, such as traditions and customs (Noonan & Rizzo, 2017).

Inside traditions, which are the reflection of the cultural and social identity of any culture, expressed individually or in a group, it is possible to find several ways, such as language, literature, music, dance, games, architecture, among others (Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore, 1989). According to Ghetau, and Esanu (2011), literature and journeys have mutual goals, considering that both help people break the daily routine. Besides, literary tourism represents an alternative form of tourism, able to act as a responsible tool of sustainable development of a local cultural identity and it also preserves the heritage.

In the context of literary tourism arise literary itineraries, which are essential to stimulate and create business networks between partners, helping the development of local or regional tourism, contributing to a cooperation between stakeholders and the tourist destinations sustainability (Carvalho, Batista & Costa, 2010). Nevertheless, despite the existence of numerous circuits available on paper, with the foundation of web 2.0, it is necessary to join the digital, in order to offer the public a better interaction and involvement in the choice of content, making possible the connection to Digital Humanities (Guerreiro & Borbinha, 2016).

Therefore, the main purpose of this article is to ally tourism and literature to digital, in order to recognize the advantages of that synergy, having as case of study the literary work and the remarkable places in the life of the Portuguese writer, Fernando Pessoa, in Lisbon. Firstly, it is presented a literature review in which is contextualized cultural tourism, as well as literary tourism and Digital Humanities. Later, in methodology, the focus is Pessoa's legacy and the way that it is developed in the digital. After exposing the

results obtained, a summary of the main conclusions is presented. The main motivation to elaborate this study is attached to the fact of literary tourism being not only a potential niche in Portugal, but also assuming a role as a boost of recognizing literature in the digital.

Literary tourism in the digital: a simbiosis

Cultural tourism: a fragmentation

Tourism is a sector in permanent growth and development. However, it was especially after the Second World War, between the fifties and sixties that occurred a rising which drove to the popular term "mass tourism" (Gordon, 2002). The increase of mass tourism started by presenting advantages in the economic field, but the same had not happened at the environmental and socio-cultural field. Recognizing the negative effects overcame the positive, modern tourism looked for sustainable alternatives for this emerged market or developing other activities that became product niches and markets in tourism (Marson, 2011).

Indeed, the market has become increasingly challenging and attention of demand is related to unique places that allow the cultural exchange, nature, and memories of each place too (Zaoual, 2008). According to Oh, Assaf, and Baloglu (2016), this sector noted recently the emergence of proliferated ways of tourism. People find out new specific motivations to travel and following that there are determined niches of tourism as heritage tourism, ecotourism, green tourism or even cultural.

Tourism is, according to Gordon (2002), the practical expression of curiosity, the expression of cultural aesthetic values. Tourism and the aesthetic cultural advanced in a reciprocal way in the course of history. Cultural tourism represents, currently, an important role in tourism economy, once it is a tool to combating seasonality, to attract a huge foreign market able to bring financial resources which serves, consequently, to preserve the historical places and to develop destinations (Figini & Vici, 2012).

Richards (2018, p. 12) affirms that "culture and tourism have always been inextricably linked", since the main tourist attractions or cultural events act as a strong motivation to travel, besides the fact that the travel in itself creates culture. Although, in the past, culture did not use to be associated to tourism, being just seen as a leisure activity, during the 20th century tourists started, gradually, looking for new vacation experiences. Then, tourist destinations recognized culture as a potential generator of tourism (Richards & Wilson, 2007).

McKercher (2002) presented, through a study, a segmentation model inside the market of cultural tourism based on the significance that this niche of tourism represents, as well as the experience. So, he raised five types of cultural tourists: the *purposeful cultural tourist* whose travel main goal is to explore and learn more about some culture/heritage, having a deep cultural experience; there is also the *sightseeing cultural tourist,*

although he includes culture as motivation to visit a destination, the experience is related with entertainment, making it superficial; to the *casual cultural tourist* culture has a limited role in the choice of a destination to travel to; and the *incidental cultural tourist,* even not including culture as motivation, when he is in a tourist destination, he participates in cultural activities; at last, there is the *serendipitous cultural tourist,* whom the culture of somewhere has few or none influence as incentive to visit a destination, however, *in loco,* this tourist visits tourist attractions and his experience ends up being meaningful.

It is relevant to identify this kind of tourists, not just by the fact that they are an attractive segment, but also because they are known for investing money daily in a tourist destination and to travel in non-seasonal periods. Although it is significant to know who are these tourists, to later offer them what they need, cultural tourism shows off an original cultural supply, once cultural heritage is something unique and inherent, hard to be plagiarized by competitors (Dolnicar, 2002).

According to a Csapos' study (2012), the cultural tourism product, as cultural tourism in itself, represents a complex segment in this industry, since demand and supply are very diversified and versatile. Despite the fact that mass tourism is still existing, tourists and visitors have been increasingly looking for a differentiating factor in the cultures of each place.

Literary tourism: a potential niche

Regardless of the purpose to travel, tourists and hikers, with heterogeneous motivations, end up exploring historic centers and participating in cultural activities during their journey (García-Hernández, Calle-Vaquero & Yubero, 2017). Notwithstanding the general cultural market, it is possible to find inside this segment several niches, in other words, there are small markets consisting of individual customers or a small customer group with similar features (Dalgic & Leeuw, 1994). An example of a way to diversify cultural tourism supply is through literary tourism, a typology which still remains of exploration, not only by the tourist sector, but also by academics (Carvalho & Batista, 2015).

Places associated with writers and their writings have caught the attention of some people since ancient times. There are various reasons why people want to visit these destinations, between the desires of finding in these spaces any intellectual exchange or interest in expressing their admiration, the wish of honoring the poets, their work or literature (Hendrix, 2009). Literary places are characterized by the historical role they represent, by their functions and obviously by the literary connotations. Visiting a literary place does not mean only create a perception about a landscape or city, it is an experience that depends of the fiction of some writing or the literary history about the writer. Thanks to the tourist imagination these places can be shaped (Maj, 2018).

According to Herbert (2001), the idea of "literary pilgrims" is not new and this kind of tourists is usually instructed, knowledgeable of classics and with cultural capital

to appreciate and understand this cultural manifestation. In addition, the author mentioned affirms that "literary places" are not only birth or death places of an author, but also places that are mentioned as the stage of fiction/real stories or places that unleashed deep emotions, a liberator nostalgia related to some story or writer. Therefore, literary tourism motivations can include the demand for authenticity in tourist objects, as well as the search for the "real me", considering the reality and the fiction (Jia, 2009).

Literary tourism is instigated by several manifestations that may be interconnected, even if they present distinct definitions. Literary places can, as mentioned before, be represented by literary texts or associated to the author, the person who visits one of these places inspired by writings or decides to do the visit in order to increase the cultural capital is usually perceived as a "literary tourist". On the other hand, someone who tries to find the author, through the visit of places where the writer was, where he got inspired, where he lived, is seen as a "literary pilgrim", since it is the admiration that this pilgrim feels the main reason to travel (Quinteiro & Baleiro, 2017). Through a literary pilgrimage is implicated a deep compromise feeling by the pilgrim in order to experience some place in a "spiritual" level (Fairer-Wessels, 2005).

Due to the favorable image created by writers a lot of places become tourist attractions. Writers are, indeed, able to change the perception about a setting, making it possible the transformation of real landscapes in literary landscapes through the imagination and emotion. Some examples of places or construction that obtained an increased relevance due literary descriptions are *Romeo and Juliet* (1595), of Shakespeare, whose historical place is located in Verona, Italy, and where it is possible to visit "Juliet's house", as well as her grave at San Francesco Monastery. The coast of Long Island, in New York, was also an inspiring location to Scott Fitzgerald, revealed in his literary work *The great Gatsby* (1925). The hometown of Brontë sisters, England, has houses and fields too mentioned especially at Emily Brontë's book, *Wuthering heights* (1847), in Yorkshire (Agarwal & Shaw, 2017).

In Portugal, literary tourism is still developing, so the majority of itineraries are focused on the education field. However, according to Carvalho, and Batista (2015), if the actual projects were connected to the tourist sector, it would be possible not only to be self-sustainable, but also acquire a relevant role promoting culture and literary places.

Although not all tourist destinations can diversify their cultural tourism (Figini & Vici, 2012), Portugal has the potential to conceive, articulating with several *stakeholders*, huge recognition of Portuguese literature outside the country, as well as a synergy resulting in multiple benefits for both tourism and culture.

Digital: a tourist-literary colaboration

The process of integrating humanities in the digital started being developed in the sixties years of the last century, when some techniques began arising, such as textual

analysis and linguistic, as well as automatic translation. Nevertheless, in the contemporary age there is an inclusion of automatic processes in the digital media as tools that allow the modification of methods of producing knowledge in humanities (Portela, 2013). In Digital Humanities it is not only important the exposition of some presentation schemes, but also make available works in a "useful, accessible and appropriate way" (Guerreiro & Borbinha, 2016, p. 20) for both investigator and reader.

The 21st century is known for a strong encouragement of using, consuming, and reproducing information in digital media. Besides science, which consolidated with technological resources in order to promote, move and be dynamically productive, Digital Humanities, equally known as *Computing Humanities*, constitute a huge field that not only involves investigation, but also a pedagogical strand, informative, and innovator (Pimenta, 2016).

So, to stimulate actual societies, it became important the association between culture and technology. Information and communication technologies modify the way people communicate, as well as the way of interacting themselves, and in a world in constant change, it is essential an usual adaptation in the association of humanities to technology. The presence of culture and humanities in a technological field allows the enrichment and availability of the means and resources in order to appropriate not only the information and knowledge, but the cultural expression and creation too (Almeida, 2014).

According to Berry (2011), Digital Humanities (DH) had two distinct stages: firstly, they were directed to the building of facilities in the study of humanities texts through digital repositories, text marking, between others. Lately, DH suffered an expansion of their conceptual limits, once they started including digital works and groups of methodological tools of humanities able to examine new elements that arose through digital, such as electronic literature, fiction, artifacts based on web, and others. However, the author mentioned considerate the existence of a third stage, in which de digital component of DH is studied in a particular way, so it is possible to reflect about the mode as media alterations product cognitive changes.

Aware of the information and communication technologies, tourism is one of the activities which leads the contemporary economy, so the three fields represent the key to the possibility of "energize, innovate and offer knowledge to communities and organizations" with the purpose of communicating and interacting with the surrounding area (Anato, 2006, p. 19). According to Roque (2015), new technologies amply the market intervention and connect the cultural mediation to technologies, looking for updating new strategies of communication according to what is required by visitants is fundamental.

Through technology some cultural and heritage institutions can share information, promote and sell their offer, as well as improve the visitant experience, providing interpretation methods of the artifacts and content. Besides that, visitants can have updating regular access to activities and events that will take place. A tourist usually looks for information presented in technology about any tourist destinations, as hotels, restaurants,

weather conditions, tourist attractions, and others, before visiting that destination. Later, the tourist shares the review and experience in the digital (Maurer, 2015).

It is, so, important that cultural tourism elements adopt and initiate a communication and information based on the digital, so that way it will be possible to catch a new market and keep the loyalty with the market already existing, making the cultural value recognizable, adaptable and innovative.

Case of study: Lisbon of Pessoa

Cultural tourism in Lisbon

Tourism is considered a strategical and priority sector in Portugal (Associação Turismo de Portugal, 2007). Before knowing what to offer, it is central to know to whom offer. So, it is presented, at this point, a brief analysis of the main markets of Lisbon, and it is done as well an exploration of the cultural side.

Lisbon Tourism Association (ATL) elaborates annually a *Motivational survey*, based on national and international tourists who stayed in hotel units in the Lisbon region. The survey in 2018 uses a sample of 5.827 surveyed, in which 5.461 are foreign and the others are national tourists (ATL, 2019a).

The main *reason* that conducted the foreign interviewers to visit the Portuguese capital was "vacations, leisure or break", with 90,4%, followed by "professional purposes", represented by 9,2%. Dividing this group through product segmentation, it is verified that 84,5% of foreign tourists considered the travel as a "city & short break", 5,1% came over because of particular businesses and nearly 3,9% visited the city because of reunions or congresses. About the visit *goals*, it is determined that 88,8% manifested interest in visiting especially monuments or museums, 87,3% pretended to taste gastronomy and wines, 77,1% intended to explore the modern side of the city and 71,2% wanted to find Portuguese culture. About Portuguese people who traveled to Lisbon, 60,4% did it due to professional businesses, 25,7% decided to have "vacation, leisure or break" and 5,7% due to health motivation. The majority of Portuguese people desired to appreciate the environment or landscape, rest or relax without underrating the contact with nature (ATL, 2019a).

About international market it is verified that "city-short breaks" were highly chosen by China, Italy, USA, Canada, Austria/Switzerland, and the United Kingdom/Ireland. The national and Spanish market assumed a greater role on meetings industry segment. About gender, the foreign market is featured by a prevalence of males, and in the Portuguese market that gender is even more marked. In both cases the age between 36 and 55 years dominated and were represented by 61,3%, being followed by individuals under 36 years old, which is exemplified by 23,6% and the tourists older than 55 years were 15% (ATL, 2019a).

It is also important to recognize data related to market who used the internet to plan a journey. In this way, nearly three quarters of foreign people used the internet to book accommodation, almost 87,1% of the surveyors used also this tool to get information about the city. Portuguese market used less this resource, when they did it was for booking rooms. In general, the average stay in both markets in Lisbon is 3,88 nights, number that increases when it comes to leisure segment. All in all, approximately 32,6% of tourists traveled with a group of friends, 22,6% in couple and 21,3% with family, wherefore travelling with friends, family or in couple was the main choice when travelling in leisure (ATL, 2019a).

Another survey also developed by ATL (2019b), named *Tourists activities and information survey 2018*, reveals statistical data related to information sources used before traveling[1]. Results show a higher number of males (62,8%), 51,4% of surveyors were aged between 35 and 54, 57% had a degree, 58,4% were married or lived in a non-marital partnership, 93% had never visited Lisbon before and 35,9% traveled in group. Before the journey, accommodation websites, airline companies, and family or friends represented the main sources of information. Official websites, such as Visit Lisbon[2], were used a lot. Satisfaction in relation to digital sources is not so big when compared to the information obtained by family or friends.

During the stay in Lisbon, it is emphasized the provision of tourist brochures and leaflets and mobile applications as a source of support. Among the most popular attractions (Chiado, Avenida da Liberdade, Belém, Terreiro do Paço, among others) correspond to literary places related with Fernando Pessoa.

Culture, besides being a historical and identity mark, is a significant component to the economic and social sector of the destination through the tourist field, trade, hotel business, transport network, among others. The cultural industry has become an increasing segment looking for technological modernization, as well as a development in artistic, cultural and international activities. Once again, the geography of Lisbon allows achieving a cosmopolitan position between continents, reflecting an image of a privileged tourist destination. For such position, culture should establish cohesion with heritage and tourism, not forgetting the value of residents. In Lisbon, numbers associated with the execution of great events of this sector have increased and it is verified an enlargement of cultural operators, an amplification of creative companies, spaces to creators which working together can draw the attention of tourists. Due to those features, which go from physical to cultural-historic, this metropolitan area has the capacity of developing activities linked to smart specialization. Although it is still a developing approach, it can highlight the touristic image of Lisbon and contribute to the growth of employability (Ministério da Agricultura, do Mar, do Ambiente e do Ordenamento do Território, 2015).

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[1] Report based on interviews realized in 2018 to 2.969 foreign tourists who visited Lisbon region, which means, the metropolitan area.

[2] See https://www.visitlisboa.com/pt-pt

Lisbon of Pessoa

Literary tourism is alive in several cities, such as Paris, through Victor Hugo, Rome by Virgilio words, San Petersburg by Dostoiévski's voice, Prague, which has a different value through Kafka and New York due to Arthur Miller. Literary heritage should become a feature component of the city, but for that it needs to ally to other components, namely architectural, landscape, artistic, traditions, among others (Henriques & Henriques, 2010).

The Portuguese capital, in turn, is marked by a wide range of knowable writers, such as Camões, Eça de Queirós, Fernando Pessoa, José Saramago, among others. Nevertheless, it will be Fernando António Nogueira Pessoa, born at 13 June of 1888, who this case of study will dwell on. Pessoa not only left such an important literary legacy to his country, but also he himself marked the places where he used to go to.

The main place to visit is the local where he was born, Largo de São Carlos, at number 04, on 4th left. This building was arising in the 19th century and it is located in front of the National Theatre of São Carlos. Basilica de Mártires was the place where Pessoa was baptized[3]. Although Pessoa had lived part of his childhood and youth in South Africa, he returned to Lisbon in 1905 to study Philosophy at Faculty of Arts. Even having given up of studies two years later, he was usually seen at restaurants and bookshops.

- *Housing:* without a certain housing, Pessoa lived in several rented rooms. At Largo do Carmo, 18-20, 1st, it was the room which was rented at the end of 1910 and 1911. By this time, the writer was dedicated to the translation of English and Spanish works to Portuguese that would be later placed at Biblioteca Internacional de Obras Célebres. However, since 1905 until his death, Pessoa walked in "Lisbon with houses of many colors" (Álvaro de Campos, 1934), and stayed in several rooms, in places like Avenida D. Carlos I (n. 109, 3rd right), Calçada da Estrela (n. 100, 1st), Largo de S. Carlos (n. 4, 4th left), Rua Almirante Barroso (n. 12), Rua Antero de Quental, Rua Bernardim Ribeiro (n. 54, 1st left), among others (Machado, 2001). The real House Museum Fernando Pessoa is located at Rua Coelho de Ourique, n. 16, at 1st right, and it was his home for his last 15 years of life.

- *Bookstores:* Pessoa participated as literary critic in Águia's magazine, in 1912, as poet at *A Renascença*, in 1914, and as a mentor in the magazine *Orpheu* since 1915. Being a man of letters, he used to go to several bookstores and used bookstores, in order to acquire new books and magazines, mainly in English. Between those literary places there is the Alfarrabista Eliezer Kamenezki, Alfarrabista Pires, Livraria Bertrand, Livraria Clássica Editora, Livraria Ferreira, Livraria Inglesa – a comfort zone for the writer, whose door assisted to some dates between Pessoa and Ofélia Queiroz – and the Livraria António Maria Pereira, at Rua Augusta, in which Pessoa usually talked to the owner (Machado, 2001).

- *Cafes and restaurants:* if there are places where Pessoa went, they were cafés and restaurants in Lisbon. These places were not only seen as meal spaces, but especially as "gathering places, spaces to wait for life, tasting places" (Machado, 2001, p. 63). Among these are the cafe A Brasileira, in Chiado, open since 1905 and where there is a statue in honor of Pessoa on the terrace. Other places are A Brasileira, in Rossio, Café Gibraltar, Café La Gare, Café Royal, Cervejaria Jansen, Hotel Alliance, in which Pessoa had lunch with Sá Carneiro, Leitaria Académica e Alentejana, Restaurante Ferro de Engomar, Restaurante Irmãos Unidos, Restaurante Leão D'Ouro and Restaurante Pessoa, this last arisen at 19th century and where meals were provided to the writer in 1913 (Machado, 2001). The Martinho da Arcada, located at Terreiro do Paço, or "Café da Arcada" as Pessoa designated it, is the oldest Lisbon cafe, opened in 1782[4]. These places had an important role in the life of Pessoa, once

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[3] Retrieved from https://www.egeac.pt/

[4] Retrieved from https://www.egeac.pt/

they were places propitious to dialogs and reflection moments. The writer used the coffee tables of these places to write his poems.

- *Death:* Fernando Pessoa died at 30 of November 1935, in Hospital de São Luís dos Franceses, in Lisboa. His body was placed at his grandmother's grave, Mrs. Dionísia Pessoa, in Lisbon's cemetery since the day of his death until 1985[5]. Fifty years after his passing, his mortal remains were translated to Jerónimos Monastery, where still remains his grave sculpted by Lagoa Henriques[6].

Although the mentioned places are essentially connected to the life of Pessoa, he himself created a book, in 1925, named *Lisbon: what the tourist should see*, which served as a guide to travelers who visited the capital. However, this tourist guide was not published while Pessoa lived, it happened only after being found, after his death. The book handles, according to Lopes, Baleiro, and Quinteiro (2016), a set of images that allow the possibility to know the main house of the writer – the city itself. The fact that Pessoa wrote this tourist guide in English could have helped the development of a favorable image of the country, when the first steps were taken in the exploration of tourist sector potential.

This book, published in 1992, is the best seller in Casa Fernando Pessoa, and it is translated into more than five languages. In contrast to his other legacy, this book seems to be written in an objective way, not evidencing the relationship the poet had with his lovely city (Santos, 2009). The work begins with the supposition that the tourist arrives to the capital by sea, getting a panoramic view of Lisbon. The first main monument seen is Belém's Tower. Later, the Municipal Chamber is recognized, "one of the finest buildings in the city" (Pessoa, 1925) and Pessoa offers routes incorporated through typical neighborhoods. At last, the tourist has the opportunity to learn a little more about Sintra. Almost 100 years after Pessoa had outlined this guide, few has changed in the urban area described, so it can be considered an actual guide.

Based in all literary places revealed, not only those which were part of the Pessoa's daily life, but also the places highlighted by him in Lisbon, it is pretended to combine and consolidate a digital tourist map, able to make the experience of who is looking for a "meeting" with the writer, in the four corners of the city, unique and special.

From paper to the digital

At this point is presented an exploratory analysis about the presence of Fernando Pessoa, as well as his legacy, in the digital. Besides Digital Humanities, it will be referred synthetically to the entities that allude or promote literary places that are part of literature, Pessoa or Portugal.

Inside Digital Humanities there is a project about the digital file, the *Livro do Desassossego* (LdD), another work of Fernando Pessoa, which continues to develop. The final result of this archive will make it possible to compare digital fac-similes and the four editions available. It will allow the user to create virtual editions, having the opportunity

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[5] Retrieved from https://www.egeac.pt/

[6] Retrieved from https://casafernandopessoa.pt/pt/cfp

to choose in which way he pretends to read (edition order, chronological order, among others). In this archive is also possible to find images of autographed documents[7].

There is too the Arquivo Pessoa, a database which works aware the portal MultiPessoa, based on the CD-ROM designated Multi-Pessoa – Labirinto Multimédia, led by Leonor Areal. This way, the portal MultiPessoa intends to arrive to all kind of readers, establishing as goals the promotion of the legacy of Pessoa, operating like a didactic tool that encourages the study of the multifaceted work and also acting as an investigation instrument, since allows complex text searches of Pessoa's legacy. In the long run the portal was innovating and entering new aspects inside the web page, offering, since 2009, a Pessoa's section, with literary critic texts about the writer, pieces of a video from RTP archives and also literary games. Nevertheless, some of that options still being developed[8].

Lisbon City Hall presents a section about what to visit in Lisbon, in which there is a subgroup denominated "museums and heritage" which refers Casa Fernando Pessoa[9]. It is also possible to find, when searching for the name "Fernando Pessoa", the mention of some events that address the poet. However, the information is scarce[10].

Visit Lisbon, the main tourist entity in the city, introduces on its website, when searched the writer's name, the Casa Fernando Pessoa. With a brief description of the house, the entity suggests a guided visit or a thematic visit, as well as a restaurant to end up the visit with a meal. The website also offers a link to the official website of Casa Fernando Pessoa[11]. The entity offers little information about one of the biggest writers born in Lisbon, on the other hand the main tourist entity, Visit Portugal, exposes on the website, when searching for "what to do", followed by "art and culture", content related to "literary itineraries". On this webpage is possible to recognize some existing itineraries, divided through regions as Northern writers, Center writers, represented by José Saramago, literary walks in Lisbon, which involves the Lisbon of Saramago, Lisbon of Pessoa, Lisbon of Eça and the Lisbon of Discoveries, as well as literary itineraries in Azores[12].

In the Casa Fernando Pessoa, whose mission is using the legacy of Pessoa on behalf of knowledge of the creative universe and work as a meeting and reflection place about literature, perhaps is the major reference place of Pessoa. Besides a public library, specified in Fernando Pessoa, the house presents a private library of him. On the official website of this entity are accessible the history of the house, information about schedule and prices, news and publications, among others[13]. The house belongs to Empresa de Gestão de Equipamentos e Animação Cultural (EGEAC), manager of some of the

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[7] See https://ldod.uc.pt/

[8] See http://arquivopessoa.net/info

[9] See http://www.cm-lisboa.pt/

[10] See http://www.cm-lisboa.pt/

[11] See https://casafernandopessoa.pt/pt/cfp

[12] See https://www.visitportugal.com/pt-pt/content/roteiros-literarios

[13] See https://casafernandopessoa.pt/pt/cfp

most important cultural spaces in the city, which is also the operator of Lisbon parties[14]. EGEAC and the Casa Fernando Pessoa suggest a tour named *Places, routes and affections of Pessoa*, which can be combined with an audio file, whose author is Sofia Saldanha[15].

Discussion of results

The case of study focused on Fernando Pessoa as well as the literary places associated with him reveal that there is already a field that explores not only the work of the writer, but also helps the reader on following his steps. Currently, technology has increasingly become an indispensable tool for the human being. Inside the huge field of technology, it is relevant the existence of media or updated and detailed information in the digital, once it is the principal way to arrive to a large number of people, especially tourists.

A tourist, before traveling, generally appeal to digital media to obtain more information about the place to visit, as it was verified through the surveys executed, where can stay accommodated, where can eat or what is going to visit. Statistics about tourists who visit Lisbon reveals not only a huge market that is looking to obtaining a bigger cultural knowledge, but also indicates that this market access the information in the digital before and during the journey. So, is understandable how essential is to work on digital tools in order to create a better disclosure of Portuguese culture, as tourist points.

It is based on the previous study that is suggested the construction of an omnicanal able to contain the main entities associated to Pessoa and also the digital files and social media.

Besides, it is suggested, in a first phase, in the same channel, two itineraries thought for different kinds of demand. On one hand, through the Portuguese curriculum goals program, taught at high school in Portugal, in which is obligated the study of contextualization literary-historic of Pessoa (Buescu, Maia, Silva & Rocha, 2014) and the issue of heteronomy, emerges the possibility of a literary young tourist. This tourist is generally practicing national tourism, whose age is until 25 years and is someone who has knowledge about the writer and his legacy. This tourist can enjoy an itinerary based mainly on his poems and texts in prose. On the other hand, the literary tourist, usually arrived from foreign countries, knows what he can visit in Lisbon and has a particular interest in Fernando Pessoa, so should be prepared for this one an itinerary based on Pessoa's tourist guide where is possible to find a presentation of the city for those who live out of town and who intend to explore the emblematic spaces, as well as several literary places and important texts. The literary pilgrim, whose connection with the author is deeper, can enjoy both proposed itineraries, in order to have an enriched and complete experience.

Even though there is a huge amount of information about literary places of Pessoa, that is found in a disperse way, not existing a unique concise and detailed channel able

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[14] See https://www.egeac.pt/

[15] See https://casafernandopessoa.pt/pt/cfp/servico-educativo-e-visitas/roteiros

to provide information which is essential for the tourist, especially for the literary pilgrim. Due to this issue, it is proposed the creation of an omnicanal about Fernando Pessoa, which not only disposes texts already existing on websites as Arquivo Pessoa or Arquivo Livro do Desassossego. This kind of channel constitutes an accessible, practice and effective way to know the Portuguese capital, guided by the Portuguese writer. The channel should be promoted and published in all literary or tourist entities, once is through the search on that platforms which tourists and pilgrims find out what they are looking for.

Conclusions and future investigations

Through this investigation is concluded the current potential in exploring the collaboration between Tourism, Literature, and Digital Humanities. Cultural tourism is one of the segments which represents a large weight in traveler's decision of a tourist destination. However, nowadays, this type of tourism has been segmented according to several motivations of the demand, creating new niches. Within them there is literary tourism, even it is not so developed in Portugal, has the capacity to become remarkable.

In the case of study exposed, about the writer Fernando Pessoa, the most significant literary places related to him were identified, as well as places highlighted by him. In an attempt to facilitate the research made by a literary tourist, for example, it is suggested to offer, though a digital omnicanal, two itineraries according to both profiles of literary tourists previously mentioned. Besides that, for a larger efficiency on the promotion of Pessoa's legacy, the current archive websites of the works of Pessoa should be present at the omnicanal, so the offer would be ample. Social media associated with entities that represent Pessoa would be essential on the omnicanal.

This omnicanal would be useful fundamentally to two demand groups: the literary young and the literary tourist, the literary pilgrim can enjoy the proposals designed for the two groups. However, through future investigations both itineraries could be readapted and also a new option with a personalized itinerary, following the places tourists want to see. With the increasing number of studies in the field of Literary Tourism is possible to create a unique offer, which is privileged and able to be authentic, producing in the tourist a feeling of engagement.

Despite the fact that this investigation had achieved the main goal of recognizing the possibility of bringing together three themes – literature, tourism, and the digital – and take advantage of them, there are limitations, being the missing of empirical work the main one. Since this article is characterized by an exploratory study, it should be taken as a basis, in future investigations, for precise data collection, particularly acquire statistical data through main literary places related to Pessoa, as Casa Fernando Pessoa, and also, administer surveys, by questionnaire or focus group.

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Book review | *Leituras*

Book review of *A invenção do assimilado.*
Paradoxos do colonialismo em Moçambique

Recensão do livro *A invenção do assimilado.*
Paradoxos do colonialismo em Moçambique

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Macagno, L. (2019). *A invenção do assimilado. Paradoxos do colonialismo em Moçambique.* Lisboa: Edições Colibri.

The theme of colonialism and its associated paradoxes still influence the dynamics of several former Portuguese colonies, almost 50 years since their independence. The same phenomenon can also be found in the former colonial powers. This is inevitable, suggests Roberto Vecchi (2018), affirming that the colonial past can always be problematic and should never be considered to have lost its contemporary relevance. The power of the associated ideologies and their reuse can profoundly change, or even invert, the ways in which they are evoked. In the case of Mozambique, which declared independence on June 25, 1975, Lorenzo Macagno states that "the colonial paradox continues to challenge us, under the most varied guises and grammars", in the beginning of his book *A invenção do assimilado. Paradoxos do Colonialismo em Moçambique* (The invention of assimilated. Paradoxes of Colonialism in Mozambique). He tries to answer the question: "in what real or imagined battleground, does its persistent contemporary relevance and resilience reside?" (p. 14).

The author "starts from the assumption that colonialism works as a system of practices and representations and, as such, can be analyzed as a culture" and, perhaps because he is a trained anthropologist, the author studied the phenomenon "investigating what the 'natives' think and do that give meaning to this culture", regardless of their role during the colonial process (n.p.).

To fulfil his research objectives, the author has combined political anthropology with Social History, in pursuit of the research matrix that he has developed over several years, in a dialogue that Michel Cahen[1] says has been "fruitful and successful", since, "by abandoning the classic thesis that opposes the official policy of assimilation to the concrete policy of discrimination, it demonstrates that there could not be one without the other" (n. p.).

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[1] Referenced in the book's back cover.

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The book therefore provides a critical analysis of the history of assimilationism in Portuguese Africanist politics from the late 19th century to the second half of the 20th century, as written in the preface João de Pina Cabral, who guided the author's master's thesis, defended already in 1996, and that gave rise to this book. One of its most innovative aspects "is the attention dedicated to the way in which anthropology has become related to the process of ideological evolution of Portuguese Africanist colonialism" (Cabral, 2019, p. 17).

This is a very welcome addition to the literature, since it reflects a gaze that extends beyond the usual Western research logic. Macagno is an Associate Professor of Anthropology at the Federal University of Paraná (Brazil) and a researcher at Brazil's National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq). He has developed research aimed at proposing alternatives to "canonical" views, but which reflects in-depth research, showing that "post-colonial time does not cancel colonial time, although it may recycle it" (Sousa, 2019, p. 263). The book effectively rewrites History, while simultaneously demonstrating that this is a non-linear discipline, retroactively analysing the facts that lie at the heart of dialectical reflection, in the sense of so-called absolute knowledge. This approach is based on Hegel's idea that truth is not static, but instead results from awareness of contradictory moments which are overcome through a dialectical movement towards "absolute" knowledge (Hegel, 2008). To this effect, this book will have obvious utility for students of African History and Colonial History, and also for those interested in the History of Portugal (Cabral, 2019).

According to Macagno, the paradoxes of assimilationism assume various different forms. However, its most evident discursive version can be expressed in a self-contradictory message, as reflected in the statement: "civilise yourselves, assimilate yourselves, but never detribalise yourselves, always remain in your place" (p. 201). The same principle can be found in the slogan "learn to speak and write in Portuguese, incorporate Portuguese habits and customs, but don't aim to become distinguished members of society" (p. 201). This is analogous to messages that produce double-bind situations, as described by the anthropologist Gregory Bateson when classifying certain interpersonal relationships in which, based on certain communication pathologies, one of the participating members is trapped in the twofold coercion that is expressed in the message.

António Ferronha has already drawn attention to this issue in his book, *Ideário de portugalidade. Consciência da luso/tropicalidade* (Ideas of Portugality. Awareness of Luso-tropicality) in which he stressed that in the context of Portugality the future became an evident certainty, since the white person was no longer viewed "as white", nor the black person "as black", since both were "Portugalised in Portuguese-Tropicalism" (Ferronha, 1969, p. 249). Both white and black are "Mestizos of ideas, feelings and action" (Ferronha, 1969, p. 249). But alongside them, "the physiological Mestizo toils and entertains, a tabernacle of the ideas of Portugality, and is more naturally predisposed to serve as a balance between white and black extremism, because he is the offspring of both, without organically pertaining to either" (Ferronha, 1969, p. 249). Ferronha nonetheless recalls that "some prodigal Mestizos preferred to play the game of foreign racism"

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(Ferronha, 1969, p. 249). He argued that Mestizos "should flaunt the awareness of their mixed raced identity", in contrast to the "blackness" propagated by Aimé Césaire and Leopold Senghor, and should be "a source of positive values of healthy ethnic and cultural balance, rather than hysterical negativism" (Ferronha, 1969, p. 249).

According to Lorenzo Macagno, it was mainly from the 1950s onwards that the concern of Portuguese assimilationism contrasted with the obsession about the supposed dangers of contamination due to miscegenation, as revealed by the racial segregation of apartheid. In late colonial narratives, culture sometimes seems to operate as a kind of "spiritual" fluid, that is capable of transiting through different peoples (Macagno, 2019). In a speech delivered in 1952, in the Centro Associativo dos Negros de Moçambique, Gilberto Freyre condensed this ambiguity as follows: "being Portuguese does not mean being white. Being Portuguese means being Portuguese in one's heart, spirit and culture. And a Portuguese person may be yellow, red, white, black and always remain a good Portuguese citizen" (Freyre, 1953, pp. 245-246). According to Macagno (2019, p. 202), this means that culture lies in the "heart", spirit and soul, wherein the body and blood are not decisive instances, in the definition of "Lusitanity" (a subtle way of referring to "Portugality"), although they remain latent, alert, always about to emerge as exclusivist markers. Freyre's position received widespread praise but was also the target of violent criticism. He stated that the world imagined by the Portuguese could be "the paradise of 'racial harmony' that many wanted to find in Brazil, and also the hell of exploitation, segregation and violence that others noted in Portuguese Africa" (Macagno, 2002, p. 102). What was based on the slogan "Portugal from Minho to Timor", underlined between the 50s and 60s of the 20th century, a period during which the word "portugality" was coined, and the respective rhetoric spread with intensity.

Although Freyre was concerned, in a certain stage of his career, with the issue of miscegenation, this concern was never part, at least at an official level, of the agenda of the assimilationist policy. Although, at some point, miscegenation may have appeared to be a component of a rhetorical strategy, it was never an organically formulated objective, nor was acquisition of assimilated status an indispensable requirement. The cultural question of assimilation broadly displaced the biological question of miscegenation (Macagno, 2019).

Moreover, the Estado Novo's slogan of "Portugality" gained strength in 1951, as a result of the repeal of the Colonial Act, in which the Portuguese Government began to defend the idea that Portugal would be a single and indivisible entity, from Minho to Timor, where all the colonies would become provinces, identical to the provinces that existed in Portugal itself. The approval of the UN Charter in 1945, that included a declaration on the principles of administration of Non-Self-Governing Territories, may have contributed to the Estado Novo's change in policy (Sousa, 2017). The Estado Novo was looking for a special status for the "overseas colonies", that supported the idea that they were part of a single, multiracial nation, even spanning several continents. However, according to Reis Torgal (2009), the legislative changes were purely cosmetic. The expression "colonies" was replaced by "overseas provinces" and the Ministério das Colónias

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(Ministry of Colonies) was renamed the Ministério do Ultramar (Ministry of Overseas Territories). In terms of constitutional changes, the Organic Charter of the Portuguese Colonial Empire was substituted by the Organic Law of the Portuguese Overseas Territories (1953), "which ended up affirming the idea of greater solidarity between the overseas provinces and Portugal" (Torgal, 2009, p. 488), based on broader decentralisation, while also extending the powers of the Ministry of Overseas Territories. Construction of the myth of homogeneity occurred at different times, and its justifications were adapted to the moment in question. During the early years of the Estado Novo, the idea was based on the existence of a Portuguese colonial empire, "in which vast territories needed to be illuminated by values and knowledge from the mother country" (Stoer & Cortesão, 1999, p. 58). Following the propagation of liberation movements throughout the world, the Portuguese Government began to defend the idea that Portugal would be a single and indivisible nation, from Minho to Timor, as mentioned above (Sousa, 2017). Due to international pressure and the first threats, in 1961, to the Portuguese presence, the then minister of Overseas Territories, Adriano Moreira, introduced a decree-law that extinguished the "Estatuto do Indígena Português" (Portuguese Indigenous Statute), which determined that those who were previously designated as "'second-class Portuguese citizens' (white Portuguese people born in Africa), and even those who were hitherto labelled as 'indigenous' persons were all to be considered Portuguese citizens" (Stoer & Cortesão, 1999, p. 59). According to Reis Torgal (2009, p. 489), this was an ingenious solution that was designed to prove that "progress was being made towards 'assimilation'", and aimed to counter the criticisms made in relation to the indigenous statute. The wording of the new statute "had the sole purpose, within the "Portuguese tradition", to respect the 'private right of populations' and not exactly to deny 'citizenship' to the indigenous peoples", which should not be confused with "the ability to enjoy and exercise political rights related to the new forms of the organs of sovereignty" (Torgal, 2009, p. 489).

In view of the tensions between "assimilation" and "segregation" as a participant in a gestalt relationship, Lorenzo Macagno has taken a stand. He states that he has adopted a vision based on an overall view, that is sensitive to the paradoxes that underpinned the colonial practices and discourse and highlights an image of a pamphlet reproduced at the end of the final chapter of the book (p. 188), which on one side depicts a Portuguese soldier carrying a shotgun, and a child on the other, and comments that it is "a powerful multiplying metaphor for the colonial oxymoron" (p. 203).

He thus preferred to draw attention to the reciprocally structuring role of the dimensions of "tolerance of the residual space of masking superstructures" and the "violence of the space of revealing structures", which he justifies with the fact that such a system does not act passively (p. 203). "Therefore, from the place of *praxis*, it would be legitimate to ask: how can we escape from cordial violence or, if we prefer, from violent cordiality? How can we escape from the 'double bind'?" (203-204). In view of these questions, the place of the analyst is dissipated, since, as he states, it was the Mozambicans themselves who provided the response, throughout the tortuous process of political independence.

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Macagno cites Luís de Camões' *Os lusíadas* (The lusiads) as an epigraph in the conclusion of his book, and states that Portuguese colonialism revealed, without any doubt, its "yoke", "iron", "anger" and "hard and strong arm", towards the inhabitants of the east coast of the Indian Ocean. Moving beyond the mythical logic that punctuates Camões' epic tale, Macagno emphasises that History sometimes vanquishes the myth, since the "gentiles" mentioned by the nymph in Canto X (verse 10) of *Os lusíadas*, refused to accept the fate decreed in the poem. In this case, the double bind is to die or surrender. Macagno says that this is a historic rather than a mythical struggle, which pertains to another long and painful chapter in the History of Mozambique.

Translation: Formigueiro, Conteúdos Digitais, Lda.

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