# Transcultural Mobilities and Memories

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**MÁRIO MATOS / JOANNE PAISANA**

# Mobilidades e Memórias Transculturais

**ΗÚΜUS**

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# Índice

# Introdução

A investigação mais ou menos sistemática sobre a memória cultural tem uma história que remonta ao início do século XX e se destaca desde então pela sua inerente transdisciplinariedade. Trata-se de uma vasta área de pesquisa englobando variadas abordagens epistemológicas e múltiplos conceitos, tais como os de "memória coletiva" do sociólogo Maurice Halbwachs, de "lugares de memória" (*lieux de mémoire*) cunhado pelo historiador Pierre Nora, o de "espaços de recordação" (*Erinnerungsräume*) da anglicista Aleida Assmann ou a diferenciação entre "memória cultural" e "memória comunicativa" estabelecida pelo egiptólogo Jan Assmann. Não obstante a sua diversidade, todos estes conceitos assentam na ideia de que a memória cultural se encontra de forma sedimentar dentro de limites mais ou menos claros de "quadros sociais" (Halbwachs), de uma determinada nação ou território ou dentro de uma certa civilização. Ainda que nessas conceções de cultura como uma espécie de recipiente ou contentor se aceite que a memória cultural seja algo que se vá construindo através dos tempos e por diversos meios até se cristalizar, certo é que não se reconhece devidamente a sua intrínseca *processualidade*. A noção de que a cultura e, por conseguinte, a memória cultural (ou coletiva) não são de forma alguma entidades estanques estando, pelo contrário, sujeitas a complexas dinâmicas e múltiplas contingências só iria surgir no que hoje se designa de uma terceira fase dos estudos de memória, nomeadamente com a introdução do elemento da *mobilidade* na equação.

O chamado "mobility turn" na década de 1990 implicaria uma mudança de paradigma nas ciências socais e humanísticas ao conceber o mundo não como algo de fixo, eventualmente com algumas zonas de contacto entre certas regiões e/ou culturas, mas como algo amplamente fluído e em constante movimento. A importância de estudar "mundos móveis" nas suas mais diversas dimensões e facetas, particularmente os seus aspetos relacionados com a formação, mediação e circulação da memória cultural, foram sendo identificados e abraçados por investigadores de várias áreas académicas, como nos casos do antropólogo James Clifford (*Routes. Travel and Translation in the late Twentieth Century*, 1997), do sociólogo John Urry (*Mobilities*, 2007) ou do teórico e crítico literário Stephen Greenblatt (*Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto*, 2009). Reconhecendo que as pessoas, os objetos e as ideias se encontram desde sempre em movimento, as abordagens preconizadas pelo "mobility turn" marcaram uma mudança significativa na forma como as diversas dimensões da mobilidade foram sendo vistas até então. Com a fase mais recente da globalização, a mobilidade das pessoas, objetos e ideias acontece numa escala massiva alcançando uma dimensão gigantesca transversal a todas as regiões, povos e culturas: viagens individuais e/ou coletivas em trabalho; atividades turísticas para lazer; migrações forçadas ou voluntárias por razões económicas, políticas ou sociais. Todos estes modos e formas de mobilidade são cada vez mais (co)determinadas e impactadas pelos média e pelas tecnologias móveis.

Devido a esta omnipresente hipermobilidade (física e telemática), a concetualização da memória cultural também requer novas abordagens teóricas e metodológicas a um objeto de estudo que é progressivamente percecionada como estando em movimento perpétuo. Mais recentemente, esta pesquisa e consequente consciência da dinâmica múltipla inerente a uma "memória (...) que não fica parada, mas circula, migra, viaja"(Bond, Craps, Vermeulen, 2017), foram fundamentadas em termos como "memória global" ou "cosmopolitização da memória" (Beck, Levy, Sznaider, 2009), "memória multidirecional" (Rothberg, 2009), "memória transcultural" (Crownshaw, 2011), "memória itinerante" (Erll, 2011) ou "memória transnacional" (de Cesari e Rigney, 2014). Estes conceitos mais recentes relacionados com a memória aludem de uma forma mais ou menos explícita ao que tem sido chamado de "transcultural turn" (Bond e Rapson, 2014), uma viragem que compreende a mobilidade e a memória como dois eixos principais do estudo dos processos culturais em geral.

Ao concentrarmo-nos na dimensão transcultural da mobilidade dentro dos estudos de memória, reconhecemos que o movimento no tempo e no espaço bem como a multiplicidade de mundividências e sua representação em diversas

artes e *media* moldam a memória cultural, ao mesmo tempo que são moldados pela mesma.

Como o/a leitor/a terá oportunidade de verificar, todos os contributos patentes neste volume tratam precisamente desta inextrincável relação entre os conceitos fulcrais de *mobilidade* e *memória*, sem os quais é hoje impossível pensar a(s) cultura(s).

No primeiro contributo deste volume, Astrid Erll começa por traçar um breve panorama do campo dos estudos da memória e sua viragem transcultural, discutindo primeiro os diferentes significados do conceito de 'cultura' e suas consequências para o estudo da mesma. De seguida, apresenta três novas tendências na multifacetada área dos estudos de memória transcultural, a saber: as atuais abordagens para repensar o conceito de arquivo no contexto da multiplicidade dos (novos) média; a focalização no ativismo de memória na nossa era de "guerras de monumentos" e a apresentação do conceito do 'sujeito implicado' (conforme Michael Rothberg) tendo em vista as suas potencialidades para a descolonização da memória cultural. Na parte final, Erll defende a necessidade de uma viragem tanto dos estudos transculturais como dos estudos da memória para a categoria mais expansiva de 'relacionalidade', abordagem que considera indispensável para a investigação numa era de mudanças climáticas e de diversos outros desafios que colocam o "mundo mais que humano" no foco das atenções.

O contributo de Luísa Afonso Soares debruça-se sobre a memória do exílio patente na narrativa de contornos autobiográficos *Transit* (1944) da escritora alemã Anna Seghers e sua revisitação cinematográfica por Christian Petzold. O filme de 2018, com o título homónimo do referido livro que retrata a fuga ao nazismo de uma judia que passa pela cidade portuária de Marselha de onde consegue fazer a travessia para o México, parte da narrativa de Seghers e suas memórias dando-lhes uma universalidade que vai além da Segunda Guerra Mundial. O cineasta alemão retorna a Marselha, eventualmente assumindo que as memórias estão ligadas a lugares e os próprios lugares são assombrados por memórias. Não obstante, Petzold corrói os signos políticos do passado, deshistoricizando a narrativa de Seghers e trazendo à tona a atmosfera e as emoções desencadeadas pelo doloroso deslocamento. Estas, entre outras estratégias, poderão fornecer pontos de identificação a um público transcultural e transnacional, que assim será capaz de preencher as lacunas deixadas pela narrativa fílmica e sentir empatia com esse estado de transitoriedade exibido em *Transit*. Em suma, são rastreadas as estratégias de Petzold que lhe permitem ressignificar e atualizar as memórias inscritas no romance, cruzá-las com o presente e enfatizar as emoções atemporais que permeiam essas memórias.

Também o contributo de Fernando Clara está relacionado com as memórias em torno da Segunda Guerra Mundial, nomeadamente com a autorrepresentação de Portugal como país "não beligerante". Em maio de 1945, embora oficialmente neutro durante a guerra, o regime de Salazar dificilmente poderia esconder suas afinidades com várias outras ditaduras europeias da época, a italiana, a espanhola e também a alemã. A nova ordem mundial do pós-guerra – democrática e antiautoritária – colocava, assim, enormes desafios ao país, tanto a nível internacional como interno. São aqui tratadas as reações oficiais portuguesas à vitória aliada na Europa e procura-se recordar o ambiente que se instalou em Lisboa nas primeiras semanas após o final da guerra, dando-se especial atenção aos discursos públicos proferidos por Salazar nesse período. A análise tem como pano de fundo as notícias sobre Portugal veiculadas na imprensa aliada da época e incide sobre a forma como foi (re)construída a memória da "neutralidade portuguesa" no imediato pós-guerra.

O contributo seguinte, da autoria de Andrei Linchenko, aplica o conceito de adaptação mnemônica ao estudo da memória transcultural para lançar uma nova luz sobre o campo de pesquisa da memória das comunidades migratórias. Parte-se do pressuposto de que a adaptação mnemônica representa uma mudança na configuração simbólica da memória autobiográfica ou memória coletiva das comunidades e grupos migratórios na sociedade de acolhimento, que faz da memória uma fonte de criação de um novo sentido e não uma barreira de integração. Com base nessas ideias sobre a dinâmica da memória cultural, o autor desenvolve quatro estratégias de adaptação mnemônica, refletindo os parâmetros de direcionalidade, densidade e intensidade dos fluxos. No contexto do caso russo, é demonstrado que o terceiro modelo ("gradiente fraco - alta densidade") da adaptação mnemônica é o mais adequado para a situação atual na Rússia moderna. Linchenko considera que tanto os russos quanto os migrantes estão atualmente a esforçar-se para reproduzir comunidades "paralelas" de memória, onde um lado mantém uma neutralidade forçada em relação ao outro, e o outro não é capaz de indicar o seu lugar importante na prática de construção de uma nova identidade russa, o que é parcialmente explicado pelo baixo nível de consciencialização dos migrantes acerca dos seus próprios interesses na Rússia.

Sofia Cavalcanti debruça-se igualmente sobre as práticas memorialísticas em comunidades de migrantes, mais especificamente as de mulheres, considerando que, apesar da crescente feminização da migração, a interseção de género e diáspora tem sido uma manifestação literária menos explorada e que,

além disso, a bagagem física que os/as migrantes carregam para a nova terra, incluindo coisas imbuídas de memória, dificilmente têm sido consideradas uma pista para entender os processos de negociação identitária dos sujeitos na diáspora. Daí, acha necessário levar-se a cabo uma investigação mais profunda das coisas materiais por meio das quais as memórias funcionam dentro de casas, paisagens e interiores, com o objetivo de lançar uma nova luz sobre como homens e mulheres em situação de diáspora negoceiam o passado, vivem o presente e vislumbram o futuro. Ao concentrar-se em dois contos da coleção vencedora do Prêmio Pulitzer *The Interpreter of Maladies* (1999), de Jhumpa Lahiri, Cavalcanti examina as coisas como âncoras emocionais e estabelece se elas impedem ou facilitam a sensação de pertença no contexto da diáspora. Primeiro, mostra-se como no conto "Mrs. Sen's", o museu particular de memórias recriado pela protagonista no seu apartamento americano, apenas contribui para aumentar o seu sentimento de alienação e perda, assim transformando o seu antigo lar numa quimera. Pelo contrário, a segunda narrativa analisada, "The Third and Final Continent", oferece um exemplo de negociação bem-sucedida de lembrança e esquecimento. Argumenta-se que a reprodução da Índia pelo narrador masculino através de coisas e artefactos não é paralisante, pois possibilita um diálogo entre o aqui e o acolá, o presente e o passado. Conclui-se que as memórias da diáspora – individuais e coletivas – agem de maneira diferente para/em homens e mulheres. Se a narração do passado evocada pelas coisas pode ser muito positiva devido à sua capacidade de ativar processos de autoanálise, autodescoberta e relocalização, o seu impacto na perceção do presente pode ser problemático, uma vez que a bagagem carregada de memórias pode impedir o movimento, aumentar a nostalgia e interromper o fluxo natural de identidades hifenizadas.

No seu contributo, Inês Tadeu ocupa-se das viagens transatlânticas encetadas por várias jovens para a Nova Inglaterra do século XVII. Em *Salem: A Tale of the Seventeenth Century* (1874), de D. R. Castleton, a pequena Alice Campbell viaja com sua avó, a senhora Elsie Campbell, da Escócia para Salem Village para evitar a indignidade de uma vida nascida fora do casamento. Em *South Meadows* (1874), de Ella Taylor Disosway, Allison e Ida Beresford, duas irmãs órfãs, cruzam o Atlântico para serem acolhidas por seu tio Ebenezer Fairfax, o único parente sobrevivente por parte de mãe, que mora em Salem Village. Em *Martha Corey: A Tale of the Salem Witchcraft* (1890), de Constance Goddard Du Bois, Lady Beatrice Desmond, com o coração partido, empreende uma viagem para a Nova Inglaterra e acaba em Salem, onde começa uma nova vida sob uma identidade falsa. Em *Dorothy, the Puritan: The Story of a Strange Delusion* (1893),

de Augusta Campbell Watson, a bebê órfã Dorothy Gray, sua tia Martha Holden e seu tio David Holden escapam da perseguição e encontram asilo em Salem, onde cresce mantendo sempre um desejo inquietante de voltar para a Inglaterra. A análise destes quatro contos revela que, (re)criadas como novas bruxas-heroínas românticas, Alice Campbell, Allison Beresford, Beatrice Desmond e Dorothy Gray deixaram a sua terra natal britânica estando entre si ligadas pelo mesmo destino (re)memorializado e o mesmo episódio histórico – os julgamentos de bruxaria de Salem de 1692. Além disso, as suas viagens e problemas de amor ilustram a impossibilidade de escapar, na história e cultura do seculo XVII da Nova Inglaterra, ao alcance da memória (trans)cultural da 'velha' demoníaca mulher-como-bruxa da *Velha* Inglaterra. Estas narrativas representam, em suma, a recriação de uma contra-memória cultural da caça às bruxas de Salem como um conto de advertência catártico.

Por sua vez, também Luiz Adriano Daminello nos convida a embarcar numa viagem histórica para mostrar como a memória cultural materializada sob a forma de rituais festivos se move ao longo dos tempos e atravessa vastos espaços, neste caso concreto, de Marrocos para o Brasil. Começa-se por explicar que a história da Vila de Mazagão Velho no Brasil remonta a uma longa viagem iniciada em 1769, quando aí chegaram as primeiras famílias portuguesas que até então tinham vivido em terras marroquinas sob a proteção da coroa de Portugal. Neste contributo pretende-se demonstrar que não é apenas da história do deslocamento de algumas centenas de pessoas que se trata, mas sobretudo das respetivas memórias que carregaram nas suas bagagens. Mazagão era o nome da última possessão portuguesa na costa oeste de Marrocos, frequentemente atacada pelos mouros. Os seus habitantes, que viveram várias batalhas reais com os mouros, depois de assentados no Brasil, resolveram encenar as suas memórias na celebração da aclamação ao trono da Rainha D. Maria I, no modelo de várias outras representações que hoje se realizam na Península Ibérica. Desde então, persistem as festividades em honra de São Tiago, o santo apóstolo que, segundo a lenda, terá aparecido montado num cavalo branco para ajudar os cristãos nas batalhas onde a derrota parecia inevitável. Atualmente, Mazagão Velho é um povoado do estado do Amapá, no Brasil, onde a maioria da população já não é descendente de portugueses. Portadores de uma enorme riqueza cultural expressa em festas, ritmos musicais e artesanato, porém ainda carregam essa memória coletiva de uma vida vivida em Marrocos dos séculos XVI a XVII. Daminello apresenta e discute alguns detalhes de como essas memórias culturais são ainda hoje percecionadas como originárias e definidoras de identidades regionais, depois de terem percorrido diferentes momentos

históricos, atravessado continentes e mudado de protagonistas ao longo dos mais de 250 anos de existência.

Lennon Noleto dedica-se no seu contributo às imagens transculturais de uma figura religiosa, Nossa Senhora de Guadalupe, presentes na peculiar obra *Borderlands/La fronteira*, da escritora e crítica da cultura chicana Glória Anzaldúa, publicada originalmente em 1987. Partindo da "imagem" como uma categoria metodológica para a análise da cultura, começa-se por definir a imagem como processo mítico e poético da realidade, para de seguida se apontar que dimensões do texto de Anzaldúa dialogam com tal compreensão. Por fim, recorre-se ao conceito de transculturalidade (Erll, 2017; Welsch, 2017) de modo a mediar um debate entre cultura, imagens e território.

O contributo de Paula Alexandra Guimarães resgata a figura do refugiado político europeu na Inglaterra vitoriana e analisa o seu impacto na cultura literária do período. Retraça-se aí o surgimento dessa figura durante as revoluções liberais e radicais do século XIX que percorreram vários países e examina-se o intercâmbio cultural desenvolvido entre os exilados e as organizações políticas e artísticas da Grã-Bretanha imperial. Na contextualização histórica indica-se que, em 1852, a esta tinham chegado milhares de refugiados nacionalistas, republicanos e socialistas da França, Hungria, Polónia, dos estados alemães e italianos, e de outros lugares, tendo-se reunido sobretudo em Londres. Entre estes, encontravam-se figuras famosas, como Giuseppe Mazzini, Louis Blanc e Karl Marx. Devido à ausência de políticas restritivas de imigração, quase qualquer um podia então entrar no país; e um grande número de apoiantes de todas as classes sociais celebrava o asilo como um imperativo moral nacional. Enquanto muitos radicais britânicos se envolveram ativamente nas insurreições continentais, os filantropos pressionaram o governo em nome dos estrangeiros perseguidos; o asilo tornou--se, assim, um compromisso nacional para os britânicos. O interesse do público foi ainda cultivado por meio de poemas e narrativas fictícias de perseguição, os quais detalhavam as experiências e características dos refugiados. Além disso, o realojamento de refugiados em várias regiões do país fez dessa assistência um importante contributo para a construção do próprio império. No entanto, com a ascensão do comunismo francês e do anarquismo continental (1860-1900), algo que muito influenciou a cultura radical britânica, houve debates sobre se a Grã-Bretanha deveria (ou não) proteger revolucionários continentais cada vez mais violentos. Em suma, trata-se aqui de uma reflexão e análise acerca das diversas formas como uma determinada cultura política no exílio influencia irremediavelmente certa cultura de chegada ou acolhimento.

Como o título do seu texto indica, Isabela Curvo dedica-se "ao papel das instituições museológicas na perpetuação da memória coletiva". Este contributo inicia com algumas reflexões acerca dos museus que são reconhecidas instituições do campo do património cultural, ao mesmo tempo que são espaços privilegiados de poder na medida em que operam na construção da memória coletiva e na relação da dicotomia entre memória e esquecimento. Afirma-se que as exposições museológicas exercem papel mediador entre o público e o acervo exposto e são, portanto, elementos fundamentais da relação entre a instituição museológica e a sociedade, sendo instrumentos de comunicação essencial para a divulgação da informação e a efetividade do processo comunicacional. A autora defende que, na contemporaneidade, urge a necessidade de descolonizar os discursos apresentados, de modo a democratizá-los e esses passem a ser de facto apropriados pelo corpo social, rompendo hierarquias e desconstruindo mitos. Dessa forma, procura-se compreender a questão da memória coletiva apresentada a partir dos museus e suas respetivas narrativas expográficas.

O contributo conjunto de Helena Maria da Silva Santana e Maria do Rosário da Silva Santana debruça-se, de acordo com o título, sobre "a memória nos tempos modernos", concentrando-se nomeadamente em práticas culturais que "comunicam espaços de saber, mitos, lendas e tradições". Começa-se por afirmar que a recuperação material e imaterial dos elementos do território tem conduzido ao (re)aproveitamento e (des)envolvimento de todo um conjunto de novas valências culturais, sociais e artísticas, preservando as tradições. Questionando as narrativas performativas, visuais e sonoras propostas pelas ações sociais, culturais e artísticas aí inseridas, as autoras percebem no uso da Máscara o mostrar de rituais e ritos que se encontram, muitas vezes, apoiados em mitos e lendas reveladores das particularidades de um lugar e da sua identidade. De modo a não perder os traços dessa identidade, a preservação da tradição torna-se um importante fator de salvaguarda da cultura e tradição, promovendo a conservação de lendas e mitos que se expõem ainda hoje em ações tais como A Guarda-Folia, O Enterro do Galo, a Queima dos Judas, o Carocho de Constantim, a Velha de Vila Chã, o Farandulo de Tó ou o Chocalheiro de Bemposta, bem como de diversos rituais e ritos de iniciação e fertilidade que encontramos ao longo de todo Portugal, mormente o Nordeste Transmontano. Partindo do pressuposto de que o património reflete o modo como um povo se diz num espaço vivencial cada vez mais global, plural e multicultural, as autoras efetuam uma reflexão sobre a forma como a Máscara se expressa recurso material e imaterial, mas também como espaço de narrativa multicultural, mormente quando utilizada pelos Caretos

da região de Trás-os-Montes, os Cardadores de Vale-de-Ílhavo, pelos perso-
nagens do Boi Bumbá no Brasil ou na Diablada no Perú.

Ana Cristina dos Santos Araújo aborda no seu contributo o processo de
mobilidade forçada e consequente perda identitária, designadamente no contexto
de uma acelerada gentrificação que ocorreu no Rio de Janeiro (Brasil) aquando
da organização dos mega eventos das Olimpíadas em 2014 e do Campeonato
do Mundo (de Futebol) em 2016. A título de exemplo, centra-se no processo de
desterritorialização que trouxe perdas não apenas materiais, tangíveis e mone-
tárias para a população da Vila das Torres, no bairro de Madureira no Rio de
Janeiro, uma vez que essa população perdeu, ao mesmo tempo, a sua habitação,
a sua territorialidade, o seu vínculo afetivo, as suas memórias e relações sociais
e emocionais com o seu lugar de residência. São perdas que a autora chama de
valores não monetizáveis. Considera-se que as perdas da identidade cultural e
territorial causadas pelo capital especulativo imobiliário nos grandes centros
urbanos dos países do hemisfério sul em busca de um referencial da dita cidade
moderna provoca quotidianamente deslocamentos involuntários e compulsórios
de pessoas, fenómeno esse que, no entender da autora, pode ser entendido como
um deslocamento imposto por uma "guerra do desenvolvimento" e suas vítimas
como "refugiados urbanos".

O texto de Davide Gravato e Rosa Cabecinhas centra-se nas músicas e letras
de Chullage, um nome incontornável do chamado Rap Tuga. Autor de várias
músicas consideradas clássicas do hip-hop nacional, editou três álbuns e possui
incontáveis presenças em projetos e músicas de outros artistas como Sam The
Kid, Regula, Kacetado, Less du Neuf, entre outros. Neste contributo mostra-se
como Chullage se tem empenhado, de forma consistente e contínua, na denúncia
da discriminação racial e na falta de valorização das culturas africanas, conside-
rando-se que os seus álbuns são manifestações claras de discursos de intervenção
perante a discriminação sistémica e expressam inequivocamente uma tentativa
de desconstruir narrativas do colonialismo português. Conclui-se, portanto, que
o artista utiliza o hip-hop como ferramenta para (re)significar África.

Viviane Ferreira de Almeida ocupa-se no seu contributo de questões
relacionadas com a narrativa de viagens sob a forma do blogue que, por um
lado, é visto como um modo de continuidade da literatura e, por outro, como
uma forma de aquivo de memória da viagem. Argumenta-se que, enquanto
género literário sem "morada fixa" e intrinsecamente vinculado ao fenó-
meno da mobilidade tanto ao nível temático, como discursivo e formal, não

surpreende que a Literatura de Viagens tenha denotado recentemente uma tendência clara para migrar para o ambiente digital. Neste contexto, os blogues de viagens podem ser qualificados como novos espaços literaturizados, marcados por vivências, experiências e memórias que poderão ser consideradas mais recetivas aos contactos e trocas, transcendendo barreiras e contribuindo, potencialmente, para a observação dos processos culturais com as "lentes transculturais". Coloca-se ainda a questão se os blogues de viagem, enquanto artefactos, embora associados de certa forma à volatilidade, poderão ser percebidos como arquivo de memórias. Com recurso à análise do blogue do escritor-viajante português Filipe Morato Gomes *Alma de Viajante*, que em 2021 comemorou vinte anos, responde-se a esta pergunta relacionando-se, ainda que de forma breve, os conceitos de efémero e arquivo numa dinâmica da memória cultural entre recordar e esquecer.

O contributo de Anabela Valente Simões incide, conforme o título indica, na profícua "sinergia entre turismo e cultura". Depois de uma breve contextualização da importância do setor do turismo na economia global, que se expandiu constantemente nas últimas seis décadas até ocupar o terceiro maior setor do comércio internacional e representar um forte impulsionador do progresso socioeconómico, a autora debruça-se sobre o turismo cultural, em particular, que é um dos mercados maiores e de mais rápido crescimento. Visto que a sua interação cria distinções, considera-se que a cultura e o turismo têm uma relação mutuamente benéfica, que pode reforçar a atratividade e a competitividade de uma região e, simultaneamente, valorizar a própria cultura através da criação de receitas para apoiar o património cultural e a oferta cultural. Defende-se que, ao recuperar a história, as tradições locais e as memórias culturais, o turismo contribui não só para o reforço da identidade coletiva de uma região e para a preservação do património cultural e histórico, como também contribui para a imagem do seu destino turístico, que é fundamental no processo de desenvolvimento turístico. Depois destas explanações introdutórias, a autora analisa um exemplo concreto da referida sinergia: Aveiro. Dominada pelo seu estuário lagunar e desde há muito associada ao comércio marítimo, à pesca e à produção de sal, Aveiro tem atraído cada vez mais atenção nos últimos anos. Paralelamente a este crescimento da atividade turística, novas oportunidades de negócio têm sido exploradas: por exemplo, os moliceiros, as coloridas embarcações outrora utilizadas para a recolha de algas marinhas, fazem agora parte dos prósperos negócios proporcionados pelos passeios de barco pelos canais da cidade e as outrora extintas salinas são agora locais de

visitas guiadas e experiências únicas e autênticas. Em suma, neste contributo reflete-se precisamente sobre o modo como o turismo e a cultura têm contribuído não só para o desenvolvimento socioeconómico de Aveiro, mas também para o reforço da identidade coletiva da cidade.

Ainda que, em termos temáticos e cronológicos, com todos estas reflexões e contributos em torno das *mobilidades e memórias transculturais* se tenha já coberto um vastíssimo leque de tópicos e abordagens chegando-se inclusive à contemporaneidade, na parte final do volume propõe-se ainda ao leitor uma viagem a tempos e civilizações muitíssimo longínquos - e por isso raramente abordadas nos estudos (trans)culturais - que se estendem, numa ordem descendente, do seculo XIII antes de Cristo até ao século XXI a. C.

Num texto de autoria múltipla e transnacional, Chris McKinny, Marcella Barbosa, Aharon Tavger, Steven Ortiz e Itzhaq Shai expõem algumas influências cipriotas e levantinas do norte no culto da cidade cananeia de Tel Burna (Israel). Os autores explicam nomeadamente que, na última década, foram encontrados em Tel Burna extensos restos da Idade do Bronze tardia (séculos XIV e XIII a. C.). Esses vestígios podem ser caracterizados como manifestações da cultura material cananeia com clara influência estrangeira (principalmente cipriota), particularmente na área associada à atividade ritual. No artigo examinam-se os referidos achados cipriotas e reflete-se acerca do que nos podem revelar sobre suas influências nos habitantes da cidade cananeia de Tel Burna.

O contributo seguinte, igualmente coautorado, neste caso por António de Freitas, Chris McKinny e Itzhaq Shai, é dedicado ao primeiro grupo de artefactos encontrados em Tel-Burna, entre os quais estava um selo cilíndrico do século XIII a. C. com a representação de três leões em procissão. Afirmam os autores que, após análises químicas e comparativas, determinaram que se trataria de um selo cilíndrico de Mittanian movido para o centro de culto de Tel-Burna, com uma ligação ao culto de Astaroth.

Dando um novo salto para trás no tempo, desta vez até ao século XVII a. C., o contributo de António de Freitas dedica-se à exegese da seguinte afirmação: "Eu sou o vosso rei, porque eu vos trouxe um rei que assim o diz", tratando-se da chamada Proclamação de Anitta (CTH 1), escrita em hitita ou nessita, que é o texto escrito mais antigo numa língua indo-europeia. Explica-se que Anitta foi Rei de Kaneš, conquistador de Neša, o posterior Hatuša. Depois de conquistar Neša, ele terá trazido de volta a estátua de Šiu para Neša e invocado esse facto

para se justificar como governante de Hatuša. O autor considera que o ídolo Šiu representa um deus indo-europeu que foi devolvido ao seu lugar original e que a memória que o povo de Neša tinha daquele ídolo foi usada por Anitta para justificar a sua linhagem real e confirmá-lo como Rei de Hatuša.

No último contributo deste volume, Wang Xianhua debruça-se sobre um tema da civilização suméria do século XXI a. C., designadamente o hino real sumério Šulgi A, como é conhecido pelos sumerologistas. De acordo com o autor, este hino com o título "Que meu nome seja estabelecido por dias distantes" conta que o rei Šulgi (2094-2047 a. C.) da Terceira Dinastia de Ur (Ur III, 2112-2004 a. C.) fez uma viagem de ida e volta entre sua capital Ur e Nippur, o tradicional centro religioso sumério. No relato da viagem empreendida, é dito que num único dia Šulgi correu de Nippur a Ur e depois voltou de Ur a Nippur, trajeto que em conjunto perfaz uma corrida de mais de 320 quilómetros. De acordo com Wang Xianhua, a correta exegese desta corrida fantástica presumivelmente revelaria os segredos da hinologia suméria, cujo cerne parece ser a perpetuação da memória imperial. O autor parte desta obra-prima da hinologia suméria para revisitar a ciência suméria da fabricação de narrativas que parece ter uma forte orientação matemática desde o Período Ur III. Conclui-se que a corrida fantástica de Šulgi, apesar de especulações que recorrem à comparação com atletas reais, apenas matematicamente seria possível e provavelmente nunca passou dessa intenção. Além disso, afirma o autor que a imaginação geográfica evidente no hino tem em si mesma um significado para a imagem da realeza que fazia parte do conteúdo do texto.

Iniciado com um contributo de índole teórica e metodológica que faz uma espécie do estado da arte dos estudos de memória transculturais e deixa o desafio para investigações futuras mais extensivas num mundo que terá de ser visto como "mais que humano", a que se seguiram vários textos sobre a memória cultural e suas multifacetadas relações com a mobilidade, quer sob a forma do exílio de vária ordem, quer enquanto viagens voluntárias, no passado e no presente, assim como em diferentes média (literatura, cinema, música, blogues de viagem), até à relação do turismo com a cultura nas suas mais diversas dimensões, o presente volume encerra com uma série de quatro intervenções que se ocupam de tempos e memórias muitíssimo remotos e que, por isso, nos transportam para espaços temporais que certamente desafiam a nossa escala de perceção e orientação memorialística. Esperamos que esta grande diversidade de temas e tópicos aqui abordados, sem nunca se ter perdido de vista o quadro proposto para uma reflexão e um debate aprofundado acerca das *Mobilidades e Memórias Transculturais*,

possa contribuir para alargar a profícua área de investigação intrinsecamente inter e transdisciplinar em torno dos estudos de cultura e de memória.

Desde a sua fundação, o Núcleo de Estudos Transculturais (NETCult), grupo de investigação sedeado no Centro de Estudos Humanísticos na Universidade do Minho (CEHUM), tem precisamente prestado uma especial atenção às multifacetadas relações entre os fenómenos transculturais da mobilidade e da memória. Este interesse refletiu-se em concreto na organização de uma série de três conferências internacionais. A primeira teve lugar em 2010 e resultou numa publicação trilingue: *Mnemo-Grafias Interculturais / Intercultural Mnemo-Graphies /Interkulturelle Mnemo-Graphien* (eds. Matos & Grossegesse 2012); outra em 2015, que deu origem ao volume bilingue: *Amnésia Transcultural. Para uma Cartografia de Memórias Deslocalizadas / Transcultural Amnesia. Mapping Displaced Memories* (eds. Matos, Paisana, Esteves Pereira 2016). Foi com o intuito de dar continuidade a esses encontros de reflexão e assim se proporcionar um fórum de debate para o crescente interesse, nacional e internacional, quer nos estudos de memória quer nos da mobilidade entre culturas, que se planeou para 2020 um terceiro congresso, o qual, porém, devido à pandemia da Covid, só teve lugar em abril de 2021 e, ainda assim, em formato de videoconferência. Aí foram apresentadas mais de 40 comunicações e quatro palestras plenárias por oradores oriundos de vários países e continentes, incluindo, para além de Portugal e do Brasil, participações da Alemanha, Espanha, Itália, Polónia e Suíça, uma de Israel, uma da Rússia, outra da África do Sul e uma da China. Ainda que no presente volume não possamos contar com todos os contributos apresentados na conferência, pelo menos foi possível reunir um conjunto de dezanove textos, ora em inglês ora em português, que versam sobre tópicos muito diversos, mas todos eles dentro do contexto e do tema relacional propostos: "Mobilidades e Memórias Transculturais".

Resta agradecer a todas as pessoas que generosamente contribuíram para o presente volume com os seus textos, assim como às que apresentaram as suas comunicações orais e que assim proporcionaram um debate muito interessante durante o congresso, com destaque para as quatro oradoras plenárias: Astrid Erll e Luísa Afonso Soares, que inclusivamente nos presentearam com os seus contributos escritos para este volume, mas também Emily Keightley e Irene Flunser Pimentel. Queremos deixar aqui também o nosso muito obrigado aos/às vários/as colegas do grupo de investigação NETCult que, de uma ou outra forma, nos apoiaram ativamente na organização científica e logística do congresso, e cujo nome não esteja já patente no índice deste livro, a saber, por ordem alfabética:

Georgina Abreu, Manuel Gama, Margarida Esteves Pereira, Maria Dolores Lerma Sanchis, Marie-Manuelle Silva, Jaime Costa, Jorge Pereira, Luís Pimenta Lopes, Nadejda Machado e Orlando Grossegesse.

A conferência e a publicação deste volume foram possíveis graças ao apoio do Centro de Estudos Humanísticos da Universidade do Minho (CEHUM) e ao respetivo financiamento da Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia (FCT).

Braga, setembro de 2023

Os organizadores

Mário Matos & Joanne Paisana

# Introduction

The history of research of a relatively systematic nature into cultural memory may be traced back to the beginning of the twentieth century, its transdisciplinary aspect being most striking from that time. This is a vast research area encompassing various epistemological approaches and multiple concepts such as the "collective memory" of the sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, "places of memory" (*lieux de mémoire*) coined by the historian Pierre Nora, the "spaces of remembrance" (*Erinnerungsräume*) of the Anglicist Aleida Assmann or the differentiation between "cultural memory" and "communicative memory" put forward by the Egyptologist Jan Assmann. Notwithstanding the diversity, all the aforementioned concepts are premised on the idea that cultural memory may be found within the relatively clear limits of the "social frameworks" (Halbwachs) of a certain nation or territory, or within a certain civilization. Even if we accept, given these concepts of culture as a kind of recipient or container, that cultural memory is something that is formed throughout time and by diverse means until its establishment, it is nevertheless true that the *process* is not wholly recognized. The notion that culture and cultural (or collective) memory is in no way a sealed entity but is, on the contrary, subject to complex dynamics and multiple contingencies would only appear in what is known today as a third phase of memory studies, namely with the introduction of *mobility* into the equation.

The so-called "mobility turn" of the 1990s implies a change of paradigm in the social sciences and humanities as the world is seen not as a fixed entity, although with some contact zones between certain regions and/or cultures, but as being characterized by great fluidity and constant movement. The importance of studying "mobile worlds" in their diverse dimensions and facets, particularly those related to the formation, mediation and circulation of cultural memory, was identified and embraced by researchers from many academic fields, such as the anthropologist James Clifford (*Routes. Travel and Translation in the late Twentieth Century*, 1997), of the sociologist John Urry (*Mobilities*, 2007) or the theorist and literary critic Stephen Greenblatt (*Cultural Mobility; A Manifesto*, 2009). Recognizing that people, objects and ideas are always on the move, the "mobility turn" approach marked a significant change in the way the diverse dimensions of mobility were seen up to that point. With the most recent phase of globalization, the mobility of peoples, objects and ideas occurs on a massive scale reaching a gigantic dimension that is transversal of all regions, peoples and cultures: individual and/or collective work journeys; tourist leisure activities; forced or voluntary migrations for economic, political or social reasons; all of these modes and forms of mobility are ever more (co)determined and impacted by the media and by mobile technologies.

The conceptualization of cultural memory, which is increasingly seen as being in perpetual motion, requires new theoretical and methodological approaches due to its ever-present hypermobility (physical and telematic). More recently, this research and consequent acknowledgement of the multiple dynamics inherent in a "memory (…) that does not stay still, but circulates, migrates, travels" (Bond, Craps, Vermeulen, 2007), has been described in terms of "global memory" or "cosmopolitization of memory" (Beck, Levy, Sznaider, 2009), "multidirectional memory" (Rothberg, 2009), "transcultural memory" (Crownshaw, 2011), "travelling memory" (Erll, 2011) or "transnational memory (Cesari and Rigney, 2014). These more recent concepts related to memory allude in a relatively specific manner to what has been called the "transcultural turn" (Bond and Rapson, 2014), a turn that takes mobility and memory as two main pillars of the study of cultural processes in general.

By concentrating on the transcultural dimension of mobility within memory studies, we recognize that movement in time and space as well as the multiplicity of worldviews and their representation in diverse arts and media shape cultural memory, while at the same time being shaped by the same.

As the reader will see, all the contributions to this book deal precisely with this inextricable relationship between the key concepts of *mobility* and *memory*, without which it is impossible to think about culture(s) today.

In the first chapter, Astrid Erll begins by giving a brief introduction to the field of memory studies and its transcultural turn, initially discussing the different meanings of the concept of 'culture' and the consequences for its study. Afterwards, she presents three new developments in transcultural memory studies: first, current approaches to rethinking the archive and its (new) media; second, memory activism in our age of 'monument wars'; third, the 'implicated subject' (*sensu* Michael Rothberg) and its potentials for the decolonization of cultural memory. Finally, Erll advocates the necessary turn both of transcultural studies and of memory studies to the more expansive category of 'relationality' – an approach she believes to be indispensable in an age of climate change and diverse other challenges which have brought the more-than-human world into the focus of research.

The contribution of Luísa Afonso Soares concerns the memory of the exile as described in the autobiographical narrative *Transit* (1944) by the German writer Anna Seghers, as well as its revisitation by the filmmaker Christian Petzold. The 2018 film, with the homonymous title of the aforementioned book that traces the flight from Nazism of a Jewish woman who passes through the port city of Marseilles, from where she manages to cross to Mexico, is based on the memories imparted by Seghers' narrative while giving it a universality beyond World War II. Notwithstanding, Petzold erodes the political signs of the past, dehistoricizing Seghers'narrative, and bringing to light the atmosphere and emotions triggered by the painful displacement. These, among other strategies, may provide points of identification to a transcultural and transnational audience who will be able to fill in the gaps left by the filmic narrative, and to feel empathy with that state of transiency screened in *Transit.* In summary, Soares tracks Petzold's strategies which allow him to reframe and update the memories inscribed in the novel, to cross them with the present and to emphasize the timeless emotions that permeate those memories.

The chapter by Fernando Clara also relates to memories concerning World War II, namely the auto-representation of Portugal as a "non-belligerent" country. In May 1945, though neutral during the war, Salazar's regime could hardly conceal its affinities with several other European dictatorships of the period, the Italian, the Spanish and also the German. The new post-war world order – democratic and anti-authoritarian – posed, therefore, enormous challenges to the country, both internationally and domestically. The chapter deals with the official Portuguese reactions to the Allied victory in Europe and tries to recall the atmosphere that took over Lisbon in the first weeks of May 1945. It pays special attention to the public speeches given by Salazar in that period. The analysis is carried out against the background of the news about Portugal that were made public in

the Allied press of the time, and will focus on how the memory of "Portuguese neutrality" was (re)built in May 1945.

The following contribution, by Andrei Linchenko, applies the concept of mnemonic adaptation to the study of transcultural memory to shed a new light upon a research field of the memory of migratory communities. It starts from the premise that mnemonic adaptation represents a change in the symbolic configuration of the autobiographical memory or collective memory of migratory communities and groups in the host society, which turns memory into a source for the creation of a new meaning, and not into a barrier for integration. Based on the ideas of the "streaming" model of cultural memory dynamics, the author developed four strategies for mnemonic adaptation, reflecting the parameters of directionality, density and intensity of flows. Within the framework of the Russian case, it was shown that the third model "Weak gradient - High density" of the mnemonic adaptation is the most suitable for the current situation in modern Russia. Lichenko considers that both Russians and migrants are currently striving to reproduce "parallel" communities of memory, where one side maintains a forced neutrality in relation to the other, and the other cannot indicate its important place in the practice of constructing a new Russian identity, which is partly explained by the low level of awareness by migrants of their own interests in Russia.

Sofia Cavalcanti also examines the memory practices in migrant communities, especially those of women, and considers that despite the increasing feminization of migration the intersection of gender and diaspora has been a less explored literary manifestation until recently. Moreover, the physical luggage migrants carry over to the new land, including things imbued with memory, has hardly been considered as a clue to understand the subject's processes of identity negotiation in the diaspora. Hence, a deeper investigation of the material things through which memories work within houses, landscapes, and innerscapes is considered necessary in order to shed new light on how diasporic men and women negotiate the past, live the present, and envisage the future. By focusing on two short stories from Jhumpa Lahiri's Pulitzer-Prize-winning collection *The Interpreter of Maladies* (1999), Cavalcanti examines things such as emotional anchors and establish whether they impede or facilitate belonging within the diasporic context. First, she shows how in "Mrs. Sen's" the private museum of memories recreated by the woman protagonist in her American apartment only serves to increase her sense of alienation and loss and transform her past home into a chimera. On the other hand, she argues that "The Third and Final Continent" offers an example of successful negotiation of remembrance and forgetting. The male narrator's reproduction

of India through things and artifacts is not paralyzing as they enable a dialogue between here and there, present and past. She concludes that diasporic memories—both individual and collective—act differently for men and women. If the narration of the past evoked by things can be very positive for their capacity to activate processes of self-analysis, self-discovery, and relocation, their impact on the perception of the present can be problematic. In other words, luggage heavy with memories might impede movement, increase nostalgia, and hinder the natural flux of hyphenated identities.

In her chapter, Inês Tadeu concentrates on the transatlantic voyages of several young women to seventeenth-century New England. In *Salem: A Tale of the Seventeenth Century* (1874) by D. R. Castleton, little Alice Campbell travels with her grandmother, Mistress Elsie Campbell, from Scotland to Salem Village to avoid the indignity of a born out of wedlock life. In Ella Taylor Disosway's *South Meadows* (1874), Allison and Ida Beresford, two orphan sisters, cross the Atlantic to be taken in by their uncle Ebenezer Fairfax, the only surviving relative on their mother's side, who lives in Salem Village. In Constance Goddard Du Bois' *Martha Corey: A Tale of the Salem Witchcraft* (1890), the broken-hearted Lady Beatrice Desmond undertakes a voyage to New England and ends up in Salem, where she starts a new life under an assumed identity. In *Dorothy, the Puritan: The Story of a Strange Delusion* (1893) by Augusta Campbell Watson, baby orphan Dorothy Grey, her aunt Martha Holden and her uncle David Holden escape persecution and find asylum in Salem. There she grows up harbouring an unsettling longing to return to England. The analysis of these four tales reveals that, (re)created as new Romantic witch-heroines, Alice Campbell, Allison Beresford, Beatrice Desmond, and Dorothy Grey all left their British homeland bound to the same (re)memorialised destination and historical episode – the Salem witchcraft trials of 1692. Moreover, their journeys and love woes –  redeemed outcomes –  illustrate first the inescapability and range of the (trans)cultural memory of the 'old' demonic woman-as-witch from *Old* England in the seventeenth-century *New* England's history and culture. These narratives represent, in short, the recreation of the cultural counter-memory of the Salem witch hunt as a cathartic cautionary tale.

In his turn, Luiz Adriano Daminello invites us to embark on an historical journey to show how cultural memory in the form of festive rituals changes over time and crosses vast spaces, in this case from Morrocco to Brazil. He begins by explaining that the history of the Village of Mazagão Velho in Brazil starts from a journey that began in 1769 with the arrival of the first Portuguese families that

until that date had been living in Moroccan territory under the protection of the Portuguese crown. Daminello demonstrates that this involves not only the dislocation of hundreds of people, but more importantly the respective memories that they carried in their baggage. Mazagão was the name of the last Portuguese possession on the west coast of Morocco, often under attack by the Moors. Its inhabitants, who had experienced several real battles with the Moors, after settling in Brazil, decided to stage their memories in the celebration of the acclaim to the throne of Queen D. Maria I, imitating several other representations that take place today in the Iberian Peninsula. Since then, the festivities have persisted in honor of St. James, the holy apostle who according to legend appeared on a white horse to help Christians in battle when defeat seemed inevitable. Currently, Mazagão Velho is a village in the State of Amapá, Brazil, where the majority of the population is no longer descended from the Portuguese. Bearers of an enormous cultural wealth expressed in parties, musical rhythms, and handicrafts, they still carry this collective memory of a life lived in Morocco between the XVI and XVII centuries. Daminello discusses how these cultural memories are perceived as original and defining regional identities, after having traveled through different historical moments, crossing continents and changing protagonists during the more than 250 years of existence.

Lennon Noleto dedicates his contribution to the transcultural images of a religious figure, Our Lady of Guadalupe, present in the work *Borderlands/La fronteira*, written by the writer and Chicano cultural critic Glória Anzaldúa, originally published in 1987. "Image" is understood as a methodological category concerning cultural analysis, and he defines it as a mythical/poetic process of reality. Next he points to the dimensions of Anzaldúa's text that correspond to that, finally utilizing the concept of *transculturality* (Erll, 2017; Welsch, 2017) in order to mediate a debate among culture, images and territory.

The contribution of Paula Alexandra Guimarães recalls the figure of the European political refugee in Victorian England and its impact on the literary culture of the period. It traces the emergence of this figure during the liberal and radical revolutions of the nineteenth century that swept across several countries. It examines the cultural exchange that existed between exiles and the political and artistic organizations of imperial Britain. By 1852, thousands of radical, nationalist, republican and socialist refugees from France, Hungary, Poland, the German and Italian states, and elsewhere, had arrived, meeting above all in London. In their midst were famous individuals like Giuseppe Mazzini, Louis Blanc, and Karl Marx. Due to the lack of restrictive immigration

policies almost anyone could enter the country, and many supporters from all social classes celebrated *refuge* as a national moral imperative. While many British radicals became actively involved in continental insurrections, philanthropists pressed the government on behalf of persecuted foreigners, and refuge became a national commitment for the British. Public interest was cultivated through poems and fictional tales of persecution, which explained the experiences and characteristics of refugees. Moreover, the resettling of refugees throughout the Empire made refugee relief an important aid to empire building. However, with the rise of French Communism and continental Anarchism (1860-1900), which greatly influenced British radical culture, there were debates over whether Britain ought to protect increasingly violent continental revolutionaries. To summarize, this chapter is a reflection and analysis of the diverse ways that a certain political culture in exile influences irrevocably a receiving host or culture is given.

As the title of her text indicates, Isabela Curvo dedicates herself to the "role of museological institutions in the perpetuation of collective memory". This contribution begins with some reflections on museums, recognized institutions in the field of cultural heritage, privileged spaces of power as they operate in the construction of collective memory and in the relationship of the dichotomy between memory and forgetting. She affirms that museum exhibitions play a mediating role between the public and the exhibited collection and are, therefore, fundamental elements of the relationship between the museum institution and its public, being essential communication tools for the dissemination of information and the effectiveness of the communication process. She defends that in contemporary times there is an urgent need to decolonize the discourses presented, in order to democratize them and allow them to be appropriated by the social body, breaking hierarchies and deconstructing myths. Thus, she seeks to understand the issue of collective memory presented from museums and their respective expographic narratives.

The joint contribution of Helena da Silva Santana and Maria do Rosário da Silva Santana examines, according to the title, the "memory of modern times", concentrating on cultural practices that "communicate spaces of knowing, myths, legends and traditions". They begin by affirming that the recovery of territories has led to the (re)use and (re)development of new social and cultural aspects, preserving traditions. Questioning the performance, visual and sound narratives as witnessed in cultural actions, they notice in the use of the Mask and in the creation of various cultural, social and artistic resources, the evidence of rituals

and rites, which are often supported by myths and legends, revealing the particularities of a place and its identity. So as not to lose the traces of this identity the preservation of tradition becomes an important factor in the conservation of a culture and the identity traits of a region, promoting the conservation of legends and myths that are still present today in actions such as *A Guarda Folia* - The Burial of the Rooster, the *Queima dos Judas,* the *Carocho de Constantim* and the *Velha de Vila Chã*, the *Farandulo de Tó* or the *Chocalheiro de Bemposta*, or several rituals and rites of initiation and fertility that can be found throughout the northeast of Portugal. Realizing how heritage reflects the way a people see themselves, in a living space that is increasingly plural and multicultural, the authors reflect on how the Mask is a material and immaterial resource and also a space for multicultural narrative when used by *Caretos* from the Trás-os-Montes, the *Cardadores* from Vale-de-Ílhavo, by the characters of *Boi Bumbá* in Brazil or from *Diablada* in Peru.

Ana Cristina dos Santos Araújo examines the process of forced mobility and consequent loss of identity, namely in the context of an accelerated gentrification that occurred in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) due to the organizing of the mega events of the Olympics of 2014 and the World Cup (football) in 2016. As an example, she concentrates on the deterritorialization that brought not only material losses, not only tangible losses, nor monetary losses for the population of Vila das Torres, in the Madureira neighbourhood of Rio de Janeiro, since the people lost, at the same time, their properties, their territoriality, their affectional bonds, memories and social and emotional relationships with their place of residence. She calls these losses non-monetizable values. The author considers that the loss of cultural and territorial identity caused by speculative real estate capital in the large urban areas of the countries of the southern hemisphere, in search of a modern city reference, provokes involuntary and compulsory displacements of people, a phenomenon that she understands as a displacement imposed by a "development war" with its victims being "urban refugees".

Davide Gravato and Rosa Cabecinhas concentrate on the music and lyrics of Chullage, an incontrovertible name in Rap Tuga, or rather, rap made in Portugal. Author of several songs considered to be classics of national hip-hop, Chullage has released three albums and has countless presences in projects and songs by other artists such as Sam The Kid, Regula, Kacetado, Less du Neuf, among others. This analysis shows how Chullage has been active in denouncing racial inequality and the lack of recognition of African cultures, his albums being considered as clear interventions against systemic discrimination, expressing in

no uncertain manner an attempt to deconstruct colonial Portuguese narratives. In other words, the artist uses hip-hop as a tool to (re)signify Africa.

Viviane Ferreira de Almeida focusses on questions related to travel narratives in the form of travel blogs that, on the one hand, is seen as an extension of literature and, on the other hand, as a form of memory archive of mobility. She argues that as a literary genre with no "fixed residence" and intrinsically linked to the phenomenon of mobility, both thematically, discursively, and formally, it is not surprising that travel literature has recently shown a clear tendency to migrate to the digital environment. In this context, travel blogs can be qualified as new literaturized spaces, marked by experiences and memories that can be considered more receptive to contact and exchange, transcending barriers and potentially contributing to the observation of cultural processes with the "transcultural lens". She poses the question of whether travel blogs, as artifacts, although associated with volatility, can be perceived as an archive of memories. Using analysis of the blog of the Portuguese travel writer Filipe Morato Gomes, *Alma de Viajante* (Traveller's Soul), which in 2021 celebrated twenty years of existence, this question is addressed and, even if briefly, also the concepts of ephemerality and archive in the dynamics of cultural memory between remembering and forgetting.

The contribution of Anabela Valente Simões, as her title indicates, focusses on the fruitful "synergy between tourism and culture". After a brief contextualization about the importance of the tourism sector to the global economy, which has steadily expanded over the last six decades to being the third-largest sector in international trade and an important driver for socio-economic progress, the author examines cultural tourism in particular, which is one of the largest and fastest-growing markets.

Because their interplay creates distinctiveness, she considers culture and tourism to have a mutually beneficial relationship, one that can strengthen the attractiveness and competitiveness of a region and, simultaneously, enhance culture itself by creating an income to support cultural heritage and cultural offer. She defends that by recovering history, local traditions and cultural memories, tourism contributes not only to the reinforcement of a region's collective identity and the preservation of cultural and historical heritage, it also contributes to its tourism destination image, which is paramount in the process of touristic development. After her introductory remarks, the author analyses a concrete example of the synergy: the city of Aveiro. Dominated by its lagoon estuary and long associated with sea trade,

fishing, and salt production, Aveiro has drawn increasing attention in recent years. Parallel to this growth in touristic activity, new business opportunities have been explored: for example, *moliceiros,* the colourful vessels once used to collect seaweed, are now part of the thriving business boat tours along the city canals and the once extinguished salt works are now sites of guided tours and unique, authentic experiences. This chapter aims, thus, to reflect on how tourism and culture have contributed not only to the touristic (and, there- fore, socio-economic) development of Aveiro, but also to the reinforcement of the city's collective identity.

In thematic and chronological terms, the aforementioned reflections and contributions concerning *transcultural mobilities and memories* have evi- denced a vast range of topics and approaches, bringing us up to the current day. However, in the final part of the volume the reader is invited on a journey back to ancient times and civilizations – places and times rarely visited in (trans) cultural studies – which extend in chronological order from the XIII century to the XXI century BC.

In a multi-authored text, Chris McKinny, Marcella Barbosa, Aharon Tavger, Steven Ortiz and Itzhaq Shai show us some Cypriot and northern Levantine influences from the Canaanite town of Tel Burna (Israel). They explain that over the last decade extensive remains have been found from the late Bronze Age (14th and 13th centuries BC). The character of these remains is Canaanite mate- rial culture with clear foreign (mainly Cypriot) influence, particularly in the area associated with ritual activity. The contribution examines the Cypriot finds and reflects on what they might tell us about their influences on the inhabitants of the Canaanite town of Tel Burna.

The following contribution, also co-authored, this time by António de Freitas, Chris McKinny and Itzhaq Shai, is dedicated to the first group of arte- facts found in Tel-Burna among which was a cylinder-seal with three lions in procession. The authors claim that after chemical and comparative analysis it was ascertained that it was a Mittanian cylinder-seal moved to the cultic centre of Tel-Burna, with a link to the cult of Astaroth.

Taking another leap back in time, this time to the XVII century BC, the text by António de Freitas is dedicated to the exegesis of the following affirmation: "I am your King, because I brought to you a god that so it says", this being Anitta's Proclamation (CTH 1), written in Hittite or Nessite, which is the most ancient written text in an Indo-European language. It is explained that Anitta was King of

Kaneš, conqueror of Neša, the later Hatuša. After he conquered Neša, he brought back the statue of Šiu to Neša and invoked that fact to justify himself as Hatuša's ruler. The author considers that the Šiu idol represents an Indo-European god that was returned to its original place and the memory that the people of Neša had of that idol was used by Anitta to justify his royal lineage and to confirm him as King of Hatuša.

In the final contribution to this volume, Wang Xianhua examines an aspect of the Sumarian civilization from XXI century BC, namely the Sumerian royal hymn Šulgi A, as it is known to Sumerologists. According to the author, "That my name should be established for distant days", tells that King Šulgi (2094-2047 BCE) of the Third Dynasty of Ur (Ur III, 2112-2004 BCE) made a return trip between his capital Ur and Nippur, the traditional Sumerian religious center, in a single day. In the travel narrative it is reported that Šulgi ran from Nippur to Ur and then ran back from Ur to Nippur, which together makes a run of more than 320 kilometers by one calculation. Wang Xianhua writes that the interpretation of this fantastic run would presumably disclose the secrets of Sumerian hymnology at the core of which seems to be the perpetuation of royal memory. The author uses this masterpiece of Sumerian hymnology to glance at the Sumerian science of narrative fabrication that he believes seems to have a strong mathematical orientation as early as the Ur III Period. He concludes that the fantastic run of Šulgi, despite speculations such as those coming from comparisons to real athletes, is only mathematically possible and probably meant to be seen as just that. Furthermore, the author affirms that the geographical imagination evident in the hymn has in itself significance for the image of kingship that was part of the content of the text.

This volume starts with a contribution of a theoretical and methodological nature that traces a quasi state of the art of transcultural memory studies and leaves a challenge for more extensive future research in a world that must be seen as "more-than-humane", and was followed by various texts on cultural memory and its multifaceted relationships to mobility, from different exiles, voluntary journeys in the past and the present, in different media (literature, cinema, music, travel blogs), to the relationship of tourism with culture in its varied dimensions. The volume closes with a series of four contributions that deal with remote times and memories and, therefore, transport us to temporal spaces that challenge our scale of perception and memory orientation. It is hoped that this great diversity of themes and topics, without losing sight of the stated goal of deeply reflecting on and debating *Transcultural Mobilities and Memories*, may

contribute to expanding the fruitful and intrinsically inter and transdisciplinary research area of studies in culture and memory.

From its foundation, the research group Nucleus of Transcultural Studies (NETCult), part of the Centre for Humanities (CEHUM) of the University of Minho, has paid special attention to the multifaceted relationships between the transcultural phenomena of mobility and memory. This interest is reflected in concrete terms in the organization of a series of three international conferences. The first took place in 2010 and resulted in a trilingual publication *Mnemo-Grafias Interculturais / Intercultural Mnemo-Graphies / Interkulturelle Mnemo-Graphien* (eds. Matos & Grossegesse 2012); another in 2015 originated in the bilingual volume *Amnésia Transcultural. Para uma Cartografia de Memórias Deslocalizadas / Transcultural Amnesia. Mapping Displaced Memories* (eds. Matos, Paisana, Esteves Pereira, 2016). With the intention of continuing these meetings and reflections and thereby making available a forum for debate for the increasing interest, both nationally and internationally, in studies on memory and also mobility and culture, a third congress in 2020 was planned which, due to the Covid-19 pandemic, only took place in virtual format in 2021. More than 40 communications and four plenary sessions were presented by speakers from various countries and continents, including, apart from Portugal and Brazil, Germany, Spain, Italy, Poland, Switzerland, Israel, Russia, South Africa, and China. Even though we could not count on all the oral contributions presented at the conference for this volume, it was at least possible to get together nineteen texts, in English and Portuguese, which debate diverse topics in the context of the initial proposal: "Transcultural Mobilities and Memories".

In conclusion, we would like to thank all the participants who generously contributed to the present volume with their texts, as well as those who presented their oral communications thereby allowing an interesting debate during the conference, with special mention to the four plenary speakers: Astrid Erll and Luísa Soares, who gave us their written contributions, and also to Emily Keightley and Irene Flunser Pimentel. We wish to leave our very special thanks to the various colleagues from the research group NETCult who, in one way or another, actively supported us in the scientific and logistical organization of the conference, and whose names are not visible in the index, namely, and by alphabetical order: Georgina Abreu, Manuel Gama, Margarida Esteves Pereira, Maria Dolores Lerma Sanchis, Marie-Manuelle Silva, Jaime Costa, Jorge Pereira, Luís Pimenta Lopes, Nadejda Machado and Orlando Grossegesse.

Braga, September 2023

The organizers

Mário Matos & Joanne Paisana

# Relational Dynamics: Transcultural Studies and Memory Studies

ASTRID ERLL

— What does it mean to take on 'other people's pasts'?
— What role did memories of the Holocaust play in the process of decolonization?
— How did the Argentinian slogan *nunca mas!* travel to the mass graves of Spain?
— What significance did the South African model of Truth and Reconciliation have for Canada's and Australia's apologies to indigenous peoples?
— How did memories of the Indian revolt of 1857 travel to the contemporary British, Indian and Pakistani novel?
— What are the dynamics of family memory in the diaspora?
— How do films make use of the audiovisual archive in order to bring together different histories and memories?
— How are traumatic memories transmitted to later generations – as 'postmemory' – and then shared between different mnemonic communities?
— By what mnemonic mechanisms were family stories from Africa, after moving across the Indian Ocean, passed on in India – and vice versa?
— What legacies of colonialism and racism led to the toppling of Edward Colston's statue in Bristol? Or to Brexit?

All these are questions of transcultural memory studies, as they were discussed in the past two decades.[1] This chapter sets out to show where transcultural studies and memory studies meet. It offers a brief introduction to the field of memory studies and its transcultural turn. It discusses the different meanings of the concept of 'culture' and their consequences for the study of culture. It traces the emergence of transcultural studies as a field of inquiry and its roots in research on colonialism, postcolonialism, and cultural globalization – while at the same time making the case for a historically deep understanding of the transcultural. It then presents three new developments in transcultural memory studies: first, current approaches to rethinking the archive and its (new) media; second, memory activism in our age of 'monument wars'; third, the 'implicated subject' (*sensu* Michael Rothberg) and its potentials for the decolonization of cultural memory. Finally, it advocates the necessary turn both of transcultural studies and of memory studies to the more expansive category of 'relationality' – in an age of climate change and diverse other challenges, which have brought the more-than-human world into the focus of research.

## 1. From Collective Memory to Memory Studies

Memory studies is an interdisciplinary field, which has formed around Maurice Halbwachs's concept of *mémoire collective* (collective memory). In the 1920s, the sociologist Halbwachs claimed that memories are never a purely individual affair, but always already 'socially framed' (*cadres sociaux de la mémoire*).[2] In that sense, all memory is collective memory. Halbwachs's works were reread in the 1980s and 1990s by scholars from diverse disciplines who sought to rethink history and memory. It was a time when ways of commemorating and historicizing the Holocaust were hotly debated (e.g. in the German 'historian's dispute'), when the fall of the Berlin wall and the end of the Cold War brought to the fore new national memories in Eastern Europe, as well as the vexed question of how to remember the Soviet era. It was also the time when Apartheid ended in South Africa and was addressed by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), when the reckoning with authoritarian regimes had started in Argentina, and was soon taken up all over Latin America. And it was the time when memory in

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1    These questions are addressed in the following publications (in order of appearance): Landsberg (2004), Rothberg (2009), Baer and Sznaider (2015), Teichler (2021), Erll (2009), Assmann (2018), Brunow (2015), Hirsch (2012), Karugia and Erll (2020), Otele et al. (2021), Ward & Rasch (2020).
2    See Halbwachs (1994 [1925]) and (1997 [1950])

multicultural societies emerged as an issue of great interest (e.g., in the wake of the 1998 Windrush commemorations in the UK). Today, memories of slavery, colonialism, and racism appear as very pressing on the agenda of many societies, and with them emerge questions of how grassroots movements and memory activism can transform (habits of) memory – and with it, society.[3]

Memory studies is a robustly international and multidisciplinary field which brings together researchers from the humanities, the social sciences and the natural sciences (among them, sociology, history, anthropology, literary and media studies, cognitive psychology and the neurosciences). Memory is conceived as a multidimensional process involving biological, mental, social, medial, material and cultural phenomena. The foci of memory research range all the way from personal trauma to transgenerational family memories, to official commemorative culture and to digital memory.

A collective memory perspective does not pit 'history' and 'memory' against each other. Instead, 'history' as an academic discipline and 'historiography' as its written form are specific modes and media of collective memory, besides others (familial, religious, aesthetic, popular etc.). 'History' in that other sense of the totality of past happenings and experiences is the focus of all forms of memory-making.[4] I therefore advocate using 'memory' as a broad umbrella term for all kinds of relationing past, present, and future in sociocultural contexts. This wide perspective is particulary helpful in transcultural constellations of memory, which are the concern of this chapter.

Memory studies has a medium degree of institutionalization (in fact, a small one in comparison with postcolonial studies or gender studies, which emerged at roughly the same time[5]). Its scholarship is represented in a number of journals,

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3    For an overview of key texts of collective memory research see Olick et al. (2010); for an introduction to the Field, see Erll (2011a).

4    I draw here on Koselleck's concept of history as a "collective singular", see Koselleck (1975); for a discussion of the horizon of memory studies, see Erll (2011a, 44f.).

5    One reason could be that while postcolonial studies emerged in the late 1980s and was institutionalized around a set of Anglophone key texts (Said, Bhabha, Spivak), memory studies' foundational texts were written in languages other than English. It took two decades, for example, to translate Aleida and Jan Assmann's groundbreaking German monographs on 'the cultural memory' into English (J. Assmann, 2011; A. Assmann 2011); Elizabeth Jelin's originally Spanish-language work became available in English in the early 2000s (Jelin 2003). And Maurice Halbwachs's French writings are yet to be published in translation. (A selection of some essays can be found in Lewis Coser's edition, however: Halbwachs 1992). Memory studies is a constitutively and self-consciously multilingual field. But it is also clear that once it had adopted English as its *lingua franca* in the 2000s, dialogue became intensified and it grew exponentially.

book series, and research centres.[6] Memory studies has seen several mutations and self-reinventions over the past four decades, and one of the most significant of these has been the 'transcultural turn', which has also been called the 'third phase' of memory studies, after its inception in the 1920s and its reemergence in the 1980s and 1990s (see Erll 2011b). This chapter deals with the transcultural turn, its connections, similarities, and differences with transculturality research in literary and cultural studies, as well as with how the field of memory studies might move on in the future 'with the transcultural beyond the transcultural'.

## 2. The Transcultural Turn in Memory Studies

'Transcultural memory' emerged (to misquote Viriginia Woolf) in or around 2010 within the field of memory studies. The term describes the programmatic move away from the assumption that memory is the product of bounded 'cultures', usually national cultures. In fact, 'national memory research' had become a dominant practice in wide sections of memory studies, especially in the wake of Pierre Nora's monumental *Lieux de mémoire* (1984-92). But Nora's 'inventory of the house of France' not only neglected many sites that France shared with its European neighbours, but also sites of memory related to French colonialism and immigration (see Tai 2001).

Proponents of transcultural memory studies therefore started to criticize the field's 'methodological nationalism' (Beck 2006). In fact, the problem was even greater: Its methodology was based on the assumption of 'bounded mnemonic communities' (sometimes national, sometimes religious, ethnic, or familial), and this was a way of conceiving group memories, which points back all the way to Maurice Halbwachs.

New memory research emphasized instead the fluidity and fuzziness of memory in sociocultural contexts as well as the non-isomorphy of culture, nation, territory, language, religion, ethnicity, social groups, and memory.[7] Individuals usually have different mnemonic memberships (You may remember national history according with the British education system, but religious history according to Islam, and the European refugee crisis of 2015 in the framework of family

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6    The most important organs of memory studies internationally are the Memory Studies Association (MSA, since 2016) and the SAGE journal *Memory Studies* (since 2008).

7    See the articles in Crownshaw (2011); Bond & Rapson (2014); De Cesari & Rigney (2014); Bond et al. (2017).

memory). Contents, forms, and practices of memory are not pristine mnemonic nuggets, but they constantly 'travel' and mix. Examples of this ongoing process include the movement of languages of Holocaust memory to the commemoration of the Rwandan genocide (Levy & Sznaider 2005) or to Argentina, where they energized discourses about the violation of human rights (Huyssen 2003).

However, the term 'transcultural memory' should not suggest that a certain type of memory is identified and essentialized ('transcultural memory' as opposed to, say, 'familial memory). Transcultural memory is not a specific framework of memory; it is a mode of research. The term puts emphasis on and keeps reminding us of the inherent mixedness, transculturality, of all acts of remembering. As a theory and methodology, 'transcultural memory' therefore does not so much mean a change in the objects of study as in the focus attention: from stable and allegedly 'pure' container-memories of container-cultures towards the ongoing movements, connections, and mixing of memories.

As research activities evolved during the 2010s, there were two significant emphases in the work of transcultural memory scholars. First, the emphasis on the movement of memory – its travels with people, forms, and media, and via migration, translation, and global media cultures. But memory studies is not satisfied with just the description of transcultural processes and forms. As the question of mental representations is inscribed into the field, a second, related concern emerged: How will indivduals 'receive' memories from elsewhere? What are the mental and social strategies of making sense of them, situated as rememberers always are in their specific mnemonic locations?[8]

Transcultural memory studies is therefore not just about movement, but also about the transmission – and transmissibility – of memory. What happens when a miniseries like *Roots* (1977) or *Holocaust* (1979) transmits the historical experiences of slavery or the Holocaust to broad audiences? An early and influential discussion of such questions is Alison Landsberg's *Prosthetic Memory* (2004). Landsberg argues that mediations of memory can engender prosthetic memories, which 'like an artificial limb, are actually worn by the body' of distant audiences. (A cognitive psychology understanding of the process would probably be that they turn in recipients' minds into semantic memories, which are invested with particular affect.[9]) Quite optimistically, Landsberg suggests that

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8    On remembering between travel and locatedess, see Dorr et al. (2019). On the important question of the 'reception' of memory see Törnquist-Plewa & Sindbæk Andersen (2017); on remediation as a form of memory reception and production, see Erll & Rigney (2009).

9    For cognitive psychology approaches to collective memory (which are just now tapping the potentials of the transcultural turn), see Hirst et al. (2018).

prosthetic memories potentially 'produce empathy and social responsibility as well as political alliances that transcend race, class, and gender' (Landsberg 2004, 20, 21). This shows how questions of reception, empathy, and ethics are closely connected with the notion of transculturality when studied from a collective memory perspective.


## 3. The Meaning(s) of 'Culture'

While everyone in the field of memory studies arguably has a sense of what is meant by 'transcultural memory', it is not the term of choice for everybody. In fact, there is an abundance of alternative terms: There is research on 'cosmopolitan memory', 'prosthetic memory', 'multidirectional memory', 'travelling memory', 'moving memory', 'memory unbound', 'migrant memory', 'transnational memory', and 'affiliative postmemory'.[10]

One of the reasons for a certain hesitation when it comes to the term 'transcultural' might be different understandings of the underlying term 'culture'. In everyday language, 'culture' may have a ring of 'high culture', or suggest 'the arts' only. In its influential version of 'British cultural studies', the practice of cultural analysis is connected with the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Culture Studies (founded in the 1960s), with its focus on popular culture and Marxist framing.

German academica, quite on the contrary, tends to work with a broad anthropological-semiotic understanding of culture. It has seen a fundamental 'cultural turn' in the 1990s, which went under the name of *Kulturwissenschaften* (Bachmann-Medick 2016a). This turn was transformative in that it affected and reshaped the German philologies and considerable parts of history and sociology into 'the study of culture'. In this context, the term 'culture' was used with a maximum extension, both of its referents and of possible methodological approaches. To cut a long story short (and surely to oversimplify), German cultural studies drew on a combination of cultural anthropology (Clifford Geertz' 'self spun web' became proverbial) and cultural philosophy (Ernst Cassirer's *animal symbolicum*) to emphasize the constructivist insight into the 'social construction of reality' (*sensu* Berger and Luckmann).[11] Humans create and shape what they perceive as their world, and the tools and processes of such construction are therefore

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10    See Levy & Sznaider (2005), Landsberg (2004), Rothberg (2008), Erll (2011b), McIvor & Pine (2017), Bond et al. (2017), Creet & Kitzmann (2014), De Cesari & Rigney (2014); Hirsch (2012).

11    See Geertz (1973); Cassirer (1944); Berger & Luckmann (1966).

the object of study in the humanities and social sciences. To make this extensive term of culture operative for research, semioticians suggested a tripartite model of culture. Culture was seen to have a material dimension (all human artefacts, including the arts, but also technology), a social dimension (social relations, political institutions etc.), and a mental dimension (the invisible world of mentalities, belief system, situated knowledges etc.).[12] This three-dimensional model was conceived not as a static structure, but as processual, dynamic, constantly in-the-making, and transforming.

This broad concept is very close to 'culture' in the sense used by anthropologist Charles Taylor (*Primitive Culture*, 1871), which, as philosopher Kwame Antony Appiah has recently pointed out, has much to offer today (more than Matthew Arnold's concept, in any case), but is liable to certain "organic temptations" (Appiah, 2018, 205). Understanding culture, as Taylor does (and as some of the anthropological-semiotic approaches do in his wake), as a 'complex whole'[13] may lead to the misunderstanding that each cultural phenomenon is an expression of that one 'culture', that 'each part is essential to the functioning of the whole'. Quite on the contrary, as Appiah points out, 'every element of culture – from philosophy to cuisine to the style of bodily movement – is separable in principle from all the others' (ibid. 207). And such a view of culture as a 'loose assemblage' (ibid., 207) with moveable components is the starting point of transcultural studies.

## 4. The Emergence of the Transcultural

Tanscultural studies is a research perspective interested in movements and mixings of cultural forms and practices, and in the resultant emergence of new cultural forms and practices. Travel, colonialism, and globalization are key factors in this process. It is therefore no surprise that the first formulation of transcultural theory derives from a colonial context. Anthropologist Fernando Ortiz introduced the term *transculturación* in his study of sugar and tobacco cultures

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12   See Posner (2004); for an application to memory studies, see Erll (2011a, ch. IV). Literature and the arts belong to the material dimension of culture (and of cultural memory). As a literary historian, I emphasize their unique possibilities as media that can both represent and critically reflect transcultural processes – and that can potentially have transformative power (see also Rigney's concept of the 'agency of the aesthetic', 2020).

13   Taylor understands culture as a '"complex whole", which includes knowledge, belief arts, morals, law, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man (sic!) as a member of society' (quoted in Appiah 2018, 190)

on Cuba (*Cuban Counterpoint*, 1947 [1940]). The transcultural makes a second major reappearance in Marie Louise Pratt's work on European travel writing in the 'contact zone' and the resultant 'transculturation' (*Imperial Eyes*, 1992). Thirdly, the term was taken up again by German philosopher Wolfgang Welsch in the late 1990s, who saw 'transculturality' as the dominant form of culture in the current age of globalization (see Welsch 1999).

Of course, similar ideas had been framed with other terms all along. Some of the most significant coinages are Edouard Glissant's 'poetics of relation', 'syncretism', 'creolization', Homi Bhabha's 'cultural hybridity' and 'cultural translation'.[14] Different concepts lead to different accentuations, but they are all driven by an attempt to describe culture as an ongoing process of relationality and transformation. The majority of such terms derive from research on colonialism and its afterlives, and they therefore carry the insight that transcultural processes are more often than not asymmetrical and conflictual, fraught with political, economic and ethical questions.

The awareness of transcultural processes is thus intimately (though not exclusively) bound up with the experience of colonialism and the emergence of postcolonial studies. But as Edouard Glissant's and Homi Bhabha's work also show, not only are asymmetry and difference to be accounted for in situations of cultural contact, but also *emergence*.[15] The transcultural is the answer to Salman Rushdie's famous question of 'How does newness come into the world?' (in *The Satanic Verses*, 1988, see also Bhabha 1994). The merging of cultural repertoires brings forth unexpected new phenomena that could not exist in, or are not easily deductable as the sum of, the former elements alone (see Erfurt 2021, 58). The transcultural is a generative, culture-making process. That does not mean that the process is necessarily smooth or its outcome invariably positive. Conflict is part of the transcultural, and its emergent phenomena are sometimes good and sometimes bad (global Islamist movements or the European and North American Far Right are also examples of transcultural processes).[16]

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14   Glissant (2005 (1991), Bhabha (1994), Bachmann-Medick (2016b). The best overview to date remains Burke (2009).

15   This is a point emphasized by Erfurt (2021) in his comprehensive introduction to transcultural studies.

16   There is a normative strand of transcultural studies, which sees transculturality as inherently positive and highlights its cosmopolitan, emancipatory potentials (e.g. Welsch 1999). It seems that there is a 'hot' and a 'cold' option of transcultural studies: on the one hand, work that is mainly driven by political and ethical questions, and on the other hand, work that is more interested in analytical questions.

Over the past decade, transcultural studies has developed into a rich and vibrant multidisciplinary field.[17] What diverse schools share is the practice of comparison in a globalized field, the understanding of transculturality as a process, the method of close analysis of relationalities beyond the national frame as well as beyond simplistic colonizer/colonized binaries. For art historian Monica Juneja (2013, 29), for example, a transcultural perspective 'highlights the procedural character of a broad variety of phenomena, including flows, entanglements, and other forms of circulation, and confronts us with the challenge of finding a precise language to capture the morphology of the relationships built into these phenomena'. Juneja (ibid., 24) also maintains that that there are 'historical forms of mobility and connectedness that have been characteristic of cultures over centuries, pre-dating the advent of modern communication and global capital'. Transculturality is thus not solely a phenomenon of what Ulrich Beck (2006) would call 'third modernity', which has led, virtually across the globe, to 'new transcultural modes of life involving intense renegotiations of individual and collective identities' (Schulze-Engler 2013: 675). It has also been a driving force of cultural change in premodern and ancient constellations (see also Erll 2018). However, in our present moment, it has taken on its most visible and world-defining shape.

Transculturation is at the basis of virtually all cultural processes and can be followed as deep in history and as wide in the range of possible places, practices, and products as anyone is ready to go. Such an expansive sense of the transcultural may seem puzzling or diluted to some – but it leads to a productive openness of a multidisciplinary field, which has the capacity to engage in a dialogue (while fostering the critical self-reflection of) very different kinds of research. A certain amout of translation and agonistic negotiation will be involved in such dialogues. But that's the transcultural process.

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17   For the German-speaking world alone, Erfurt (34/35) lists 14 Bachelor, Master-and PhD programmes, ranging all the way from 'transcultural history' to 'transcultural communication' to 'transcultural pop media culture'. At Goethe University Frankfurt, we conduct the multilingual Master's programme 'Moving Cultures – Transcultural Encounters', which combines linguistics, literary and cultural studies and focusses on Anglophone and Romance-languages areas. For Anglophone literary studies perspectives on transculturality, see Schulze-Engler/Helff (2008), Pfalzgraf (2021).

## 5. Transcultural Memory Studies Today

How can we imagine the path from transcultural studies to transcultural memory studies? The different genealogies of this type of memory research roughly correlate with the major strands of transcultural studies: For example, sociologists Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider, who introduced the term 'cosmopolitan memory' and whose study *The Holocaust in the Global Age* (2005), has been foundational for transcultural memory studies, worked closely with German sociologist Ulrich Beck. They used Beck's (2006) theories of globalized modernity and cosmopolitanism as a starting point for their study of globalizing Holocaust remembrance. Comparatist Michael Rothberg, on the other hand, came to his *Multidirectional Memory* (2009) via a formative reading of Paul Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic* (1993). For his *Postcolonial Witnessing* (2013), Stef Craps worked with Frantz Fanon. My own 'travelling memory' (Erll, 2011b) derives from transcultural studies as outlined above and implies of course a nod towards James Clifford's (1999) ethnographic work on 'travelling cultures'. Dagmar Brunow's research on transcultural memory and the essay film (*Remediating Transcultural Memory*, 2014) productively connects Stuart Hall's work and British cultural studies with memory theories. Brunow also makes an important and consequential point: Transculturality does not necessarily just refer to ethnicity, but transcultural processes can be observed among religious groups, subcultures, gender formations, or generations, too.

Within the international and multidisciplinary field of memory studies, notions of the transcultural have energized research on colonial legacies and postcolonial memories,[18] memories of migration in multicultural societies, memories of travel and tourism, and the particular mixed forms of heritage in Europe and across the world.[19] In what follows, I will point out three new directions of research in memory studies that promise to be particularly fruitful for studies that use a transcultural lens: Rethinking the archive, memory activism, and the implicated subject.

*Rethinking the archive:* Memory studies has long been invested in attempts to rethink the archive, in particular along transcultural lines (Hamilton et al. 2002). Important work has been conducted by Diana Taylor (2003). Her distinction between the 'archive' and the 'repertoire', points to the differences between

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18    See, for example, Schwarz (2011), Bijl (2016), Ward & Rasch (2019).
19    See Creet & Kitzmann (2014), Rothberg & Yildiz (2011) on 'memory citizenship' in 'migratory settings', and Horsti (2019) on public memories of forced migration; Marschall (2017) on travel. On transcultural memory in Europe, see Törnquist-Plewa & Sindbæk Andersen (2017).

recorded memories and the embodied and seemingly ephemeral memories (in orality, song, dance, gesture) in the Latin American cultures studied by Taylor. Ann Stoler (2008) has shown how French colonial archives produce 'disabled histories' and a particular form of collective forgetting, which she calls 'colonial aphasia' and which points to the inability of societies to articulate certain disturbing historical events within its dominant post-imperial narrative. Stoler's (2016) recent concept of 'duress', too, addresses colonial legacies and the durabilities that shape politics and societies still today. Increasingly, digital media play an important role in reworking the archive. One aspect of this complex field is how in today's 'new media ecologies' (Hoskins 2018) social media already shape the way people experience, remember, and collectively share their memories, thus producing a highly emergent global networked digital archive. How does the connective turn enable transcultural memory (via transnational communication), but also restrict it (with the apparent development of 'memory siloes' in the post-broadcast world, Edy 2014)?

*Memory Activism*: Research on memory activism addresses the role of collective action in the production and transformation of public memories.[20] The term was introduced by Yifat Gutman (2017) who studied activist walking tours on Israeli-Palestinian land, thus addressing a fraught transcultural memory constellation. Today, much memory activism revolves around monuments and memorials. The 'Rhodes must fall' movement (2015), the toppling of the Edward Colston statue in Bristol (2020) and the contestations over the Confederate Robert E. Lee monument in Charlottesville, Virginia (2021) are all examples of memory activism, which (often in the wake of the Black Lives Matter movement) address legacies of colonialism, slavery, and racism. Such activist memory work revolves around the reshaping of visible memorial cityscapes, but more fundmantally aims at the construction of new narratives for societies, in which inequalities are felt to be at least partly dependent on the toxic afterlives of racist histories (Rigney 2022). A connected field is the activism for a restitution of objects from art and ethnographic museums (e.g. the Humboldt Forum Berlin) to formerly colonized and/or indigenous communities (Żółkoś 2021).

The toppling of statues is only the most spectacular indicator that memory has become a contested site (again) in today's postcolonial and postmigrant societies. Memory studies perspectives can help to better understand these discussions. It has developed fine-tuned instruments to study the legacies of the past, the persistence of memory, and the different temporalities of history and justice (Bevernage 2015). In fact, memory studies approaches to the recent monument

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20    See Zamponi (2018), Merrill, Keightley, Daphi (2020), Wüstenberg & Gutmann, (2022).

debates belong to some of the most nuanced interventions, navigating beyond the false options such as 'keep and treat as completed history' or 'destroy and forget' (see also Rigney 2023, Otele, Gandolfo & Galai 2021). Transcultural mnemo-history in particular can mediate between re-emerging strategic essientialisms ('our history', 'our tradition') and an oversimplifying post-modern relativity of 'anyone's history', and bring to light the complex relational dynamics that shape societies across time (Erll 2018).

*The Implicated Subject*: Michael Rothberg's (2019) concept of the 'implicated subject' is a useful tool for an understanding of the present situation. What is needed today are ways of thinking beyond the victim-perpetrator dichotomy and beyond the idea of 'the innocent, uninvolved bystander' which is, 'in most cases, an idealized myth' (Rothberg 2019, 202). According to Rothberg, 'implicated subjects occupy positions aligned with power and privilege without being themselves direct agents of harm" (ibid, 1). Implicated subjects 'play essential roles in producing and reproducing violence and inequality' (ibid., 202), be it as wealthy tourists in the Caribbean (see Rothberg's reading of Jamaica Kincaid's essay *A Small Place*, 1988) or as long-term benefactors of British slave ownership (see Hall et al. 2016). The concept of the implicated subject helps us understand how people can become 'folded into' histories of injustice, often by seemingly innocent acts like ignoring racist monuments in their neighbourhood, by visiting museums with obscure materials, or – as scholars – by unthinkingly reiterating old archival practices. Thinking with the implicated subject is an important way forward for the successful decolonization of cultural memory.

## 6. Moving on: Thinking with Relationality

With climate change and pandemics looming large, the next challenge will be to move 'with the transcultural beyond the transcultural' and towards the more-than-human. To ensure the very survival of humanity, global warming, wildfires, floods, desertification, species extinction, epidemics and pandemics need to be turned into memorable events. Only if and insofar as they are narratable and memorable can they shape the productive future-thinking that our societies need – and need now.[21]

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21   On memory studies and posthumanism, see Knittel & Driscoll (2017); on memory studies and the Anthropocene, see Craps et al. (2018); on the narratibility of the Anthropocene, Ghosh (2016); on collective future thinking Szpunar & Szpunar (2016); on time and history in the Anthropocene Chakrabarty (2021); on 'slow memory', see Wüstenberg (2023, forthcoming).

What all these events have in common is that they are only intelligible in the relational framework of an uneven 'world risk society' (Beck 2014), which includes not only people of different places, but also the nonhuman world. The Covid-19 pandemic was a case in point for the 'distributive agency' (Bennett 2010) unfolding between animals, microbes and humans, who were for the most part implicated subjects – all moving and mixing, co-producing and spreading the pandemic. Such 'sympoisis' (Haraway 2019) on the level of historical events is a mnemonic challenge, though. It demands a more nuanced, multidimensional and multiperspectival remembering than our received schematic slots of heroes, victims and perpetrators allow for. It also holds challenges for received forms of historical consciousness as it introduces the factor of 'deep time'. In Dipesh Chakrabarty's words, 'the "now" of human history has become entangled with the long "now" of biological and geological timescales' (Chakrabarty 2021, 7).

So far, transcultural memory studies has operated within a human-centred cultural framework, which needs to be extended so as to make possible a better understanding of the material, geological, and biological aspects that are involved in the making of history and memory. Transcultural research has been an important training ground for that kind of thinking as it has enabled memory studies to acknowledge the ongoing traffic and cross-fertilization between and across seemingly (but in fact never really) bounded, but instead always already co-constructed entities. It has also emphasized the processuality of memory and its emergent character.

Memory studies in its third phase has therefore developed a sense of the memory process which is already quite close to Karen Barad's (2007) concept of 'intra-action' or Donna Haraway's (2019) 'sympoiesis'. It has also created models of the agency that unfolds between minds, individuals, social groups and 'vibrant matter', for example, in its understanding of archives (Rigney 2015). Last not least, theories of the 'extended mind' and the 'situated brain' have furthered our understanding of memory as a complex ecology. (Sutton 2006, Erll 2020)

'Relationality' is a key term for such an integrated understanding of histories and memories as a bio-psycho-socio-cultural as well as material and more-than-human processes.[22] In a mnemohistorical perspective, there are three different

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22   'Relationality' is a term discussed in philosophy, psychoanalysis, feminist theory, autobiography research, sociology, family studies, the neurosciences, postcolonial studies, in new materialism and in posthuman studies. Across these various fields, it tends to describe an ongoing connectivity among diverse elements, which creates meaningful structures and at the same time transforms all elements involved. In the words of sociologist Powell (2013, 187), a radically relational perspective means 'understanding all phenomena as constituted through relations, and treating relations themselves as processes or transformations'. Barad's (2007) posthumanist relational ontology locates such processes firmly in the more-than-human world.

aspects of relationality in an extended, more-than-human framework to be taken into account: First, the *relationality of the remembered* describes the dynamics at the basis of the very historical events that will later be turned into objects of memory: 11,000 years ago, the intra-action of humans, domestic animals and microbes produced the first epidemics in history. In the nineteenth century, the sympoisis of European industrial cultures, colonized cultures, carbon dioxide, and the atmosphere produced changes in the global climate that are still felt today. Such examples are instances of an *histoire croisée* in an expanded field – expanding towards non-human and deep history phenomena, many of which which have only recently come to the awareness of present-day collectivities.

Second, *relational remembering* refers to forms of co-construction in the memory process itself. As Halbwachs has shown, remembering is a socially framed process. We create our memories together with parents, friends, teachers and colleagues – all of whom increasingly bring different cultural and mnemonic backgrounds. But memory frames extend also to media, objects, landscapes – and to microbes: In Europe, the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 quickly turned into a trigger of the forgotten history of the Spanish Flu; in the Philippines it triggered memories of authoritarian regimes; among indigenous communities it brought to life again memories of European invasion and the epidemics they introduced (Erll 2021). Relational remembering works along transcultural and more-than-human lines.

A third dimension is *mnemonic relationality*: With this term, I refer to the relationalities that are consciously (and imaginatively) produced in (creative) acts of memory. Memory studies has paid great attention to mnemonic relationality, because it is a hallmark of our current, self-reflexive age of metamemory. Its diverse forms have been theorized, for example, as 'dialogic' (A. Assmann 2014), 'multidirectional' (Rothberg 2009), or 'agonistic' (Bull & Hansen 2016). Mnemonic relationality describes acts of remembering that bring into connection different mnemohistories, thus enabling transformed memories and new visions for the future to emerge. So far, memory research has addressed dialogues between victims and perpetrators, or the 'differentiated solidarities' (Rothberg 2019) that emerge when different groups engage in acts of 'co-memoration' (Henke & Vanassche 2019)? But (how) can we extend the concept of mnemonic relationality – which seems to be tied to the human mental capacity to co-memorate, to think diverse pasts and their legacies together – to the more-than-human world? One first step could be to acknowledge that there might be memories (at least in the sense of imprints and aftereffects) in plants and other species as well. In *Staying with the Trouble*, Donna Haraway (2019, 70) discusses the cartoon 'Bee Orchid' by Randall Munroe, where 'the only memory' of a now-extinct bee is retained as the 'painting

by a dying flower'. Such examples may point in the direction of more-than human mnemomic relationalities. If *sympoieses* is a word for 'worlding-with', as Haraway (2019, 58) holds, then mnemonic relationalities are – ever-transforming and transformative – versions of 'having worlded-with', of the relational dynamics that underlie both more-than-cultural processes and their recall.

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# At the Crossroads of Memories – Anna Seghers' *Transit* revisited by Christian Petzold

LUÍSA AFONSO SOARES

Marseille, France, in the Autumn of 1940. In a bar that looks out on to the Old Port, two men are talking about ships, voyages, departures and arrivals, and the possibility of a new beginning in a new world. Or rather, just one man is talking. It is not so much a dialogue as a monologue with an onlooker. In fact, someone is seeking a listener to hear his life story, from beginning to end, so he says. This act of remembrance takes place in a setting akin to war, not just because of the reference to rationing and coupons, but above all because of the uncertainty and anxiety that are in evidence from the opening pages of Anna Seghers' novel *Transit*. The story told in this novel is one that the author herself has lived. A German-Jewish anti-fascist, she was arrested by the Gestapo when Hitler came to power. Upon her release, she migrated to Paris, and after the Nazi troops invaded northern France, she fled to Marseille. In March 1941, Seghers managed to obtain the necessary permits and transit visa and she and her family arrived in Mexico. Once she is living in exile, Seghers reconstructs her own experience in *Transit* as a complex "fiction of memory"[1] (Nünning 2003, Neumann 2005; 2008).

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1    "The term "fictions of memory" deliberately alludes to the double meaning of fiction. First, the phrase refers to the literary, non-referential narratives that depict the workings of memory. Second, in a broader sense, the term "fictions of memory" refers to the stories that individuals or cultures tell

But, unlike the author of *Transit*, the narrator of the novel chooses to remain, even when he has everything needed for his departure: a paid-for ticket, a visa and a transit permit. At the last moment he decides to stay, for reasons that the reader will learn much later on. There has not yet been time to fix memories or reflect on them, because the interval between what is lived and what is narrated is still short. Hence, we accompany an act of remembrance that sometimes flows like a stream of consciousness or at another time, at a slower rhythm, making it possible to include other lives, other narratives, which he remembers or forgets according to the whims of his memory: "It's odd, almost as if the most important things in life, while still very much a part of you, are forgotten. And instead, we fixate on unimportant things that become temporary obsessions until they fade" (Seghers, 2013: 68).

Seghers' novel is narrated through the voice of a refugee who witnesses, first in Germany then in France, "the dissolution of our world order" (9). In fact, *Transit* enacts the process of remembering, voluntary yet necessary for anyone who has experienced that crisis, as if narrating it, and we know that he is right, is part of the cure. The narrator is one of the many fugitives who flooded French towns, highways and railway stations at the beginning of the 1940s. In the midst of the chaos, local authorities refined their bureaucracy and their surveillance, inventing procedures to select, classify and register this multitude of people in transit who had long since lost control of their emotions. Many did not survive – like the conductor, always short of a visa or a photograph, who died of fatigue or exhaustion. Others learned about emptiness, accompanied loneliness and precariousness as a way of life. They had to learn another language, one made of contracts, certificates, stamps, letters of transit, exit visas, transit visa, or simply visa, because it was essential to learn all the variants of the word visa. And, of course, new topographies, defined by consulates, hotels, cafés, and always the Old Port of Marseille, the gathering place, to quote Seghers, of "the defilers of all races, the deserters from all nations" (35).

In 2018, Christian Petzold revisited Seghers' narrative and her memories in the film *Transit*, giving them a universality that goes beyond World War II and European borders, though without erasing the emotional and ethical effects of the past. Also constructing a memory discourse, the German filmmaker returns to Paris and then to Marseille, to its port and streets, on the basis that memories are tied to places and places themselves are haunted by memories. In fact, Petzold produces a double memory work, both inside and outside the diegesis, firstly as

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about the past to answer the question 'who am I?' or collectively 'who are we?'" (Neumann, 2008: 334).

Seghers' reader and the mediator of her memories, and secondly, making use of a remembering narrator, who is telling a story that was told to him.[2] I will map those of Petzold's strategies which allow him to impose contemporaneity on the past, reframing the memories inscribed in the novel and crossing or intertwining them with the present. I will focus on three core elements, interrelated and inter-dependent, as if they were communicating vessels: displacement, identity and memory, their movements and sedimentation as well as the timeless emotions that permeate those memories.

Let us focus first on identity and its dilution or fragmentation, as represented in *Transit*, the immediate consequence of forced, contingent mobility, since in Petzold's film, movement and mobility are not progressive forces or forms of relative freedom, to paraphrase Tim Cresswell (2006: 56), or the undisciplined nomadism of Deleuze and Guattari. In *Transit*, mobility, or rather displacement and the act of 'going through', is generated by a situation of war which in turn generates suffering or even death. In Anna Seghers' novel, the action unfolds in Paris and Marseille when the German troops advance on these cities. Petzold also chooses these cities as his setting, but he dispenses with a link to a specific histor-ical moment. Common to both works is violence, persecution, strong authority, also police authority, and fear, of course, always fear. But if the setting is iden-tical in the novel and the film, there is not the same overlap in other narrative strategies adopted. The author and the director choose different options when constructing the narrator's identity and the point of view from which the story is told. In Seghers' novel, the story is told by an unnamed first-person narrator. In Petzold, the story is told by a barman who has heard it from the actual pro-tagonist, thus becoming a witness by adoption (Hartman 1996: 8): "On the one hand, it is the present, and a film is always in the present, but the voice over says that what you see is in the past – it's like someone else's memory stream." (Petzold 2017) In other words, these memories are mediated and remediated, and, ulti-mately, more fragile and less reliable. Common to both memory media, on the one hand, are the state of transience, the heterogeneous space, the fluidity or the elusiveness of the identities and, on the other hand, the persistence of the past.

On route to Marseille, Seghers' narrator borrows the name Seidler because that was the name which appeared on a refugee certificate that someone had arranged for him. But the change of identity really begins when he is still in Paris, at the moment when the narrator, at the request of a friend, becomes the bearer

2    As David Evan Richard argues, "adaptation is, on the one hand, a medium for memory it is also, on the other hand, a medium of memory, as adaptation can be thought of as memory of an earlier work" (2021: 162).

of two letters for a writer named Weidel. When he attempts to deliver the letters in the hotel where the writer was living, he is informed that the latter has committed suicide. Agreeing to become the custodian of a little suitcase that was in the writer's room, the protagonist suddenly becomes Weidel's heir. Along with a few other belongings, the suitcase contains an unfinished manuscript that the protagonist begins to read "just out of sheer boredom" (21), he says.

The affinity with the universe narrated by the writer is immediate and surprising, as if the protagonist had taken over memories that were not his own, or as if only now could he give a name to the emotions experienced in other times. "And as I read line after line, I also felt that this was my own language, my mother tongue, and it flowed into me like milk into a baby [...] I also stumbled on words I had used myself back then, but had forgotten because I never again felt the emotions, I needed to express them" (21). Here the use of the *mise-en-abîme* creates a complex doubling that will extend throughout the narrative. In fact, later in the narrative, the protagonist, first through a misunderstanding by the Mexican consul and then out of convenience, will take on the writer's identity – his identity, memory, and apparently, his fate too. The film narrative also adopts this transposition of identity.

When he agrees to take charge of Weidel's suitcase, the narrator also accepts the memories of a ghostly past that often breaks into Seidel's everyday life, because as he himself says: "some ghosts can slip in through any doors" (50). We should note that a ghost, in Aleida Assmann's understanding of the word, is, "something that returns from the past or the realm of the dead on its own will." This return, Assmann goes on to explain, is the symptom of a deep crisis; it is felt as a violent and threatening interruption of the present" (Assmann 2005: 200). Or as Christian Petzold suggests in an Interview in 2011,

> the ghost is not only about fear but rather this falling out of time and place, not belonging anymore, that is, to be on the margins, to be unemployed, or even to be an unloved child – such people feel themselves to be ghosts. And cinema always tells stories of people who do not belong anymore but who want to belong once again (Petzold 2013: 163).

Both in Seghers and Petzold, the protagonists have an elusive or spectral identity, always seeking or being sought, not belonging to anywhere, but wanting to belong, while continually haunted by the past.

Weidel also fits into this category. His death has never been proved; only the bloody walls of his hotel room seem to have witnessed the writer's violent death. In fact, Weidel's spectral figure will appear several times to Seidel and the others (117).

His identity is often confused with that of the writer, who some people say they have seen in the streets of Marseille. When he sees for the first time a young woman entering a café, and later finds out that she is Weidel's wife, Seidel feels that he has known her for a long time, that they have a long past in common (107). Other clients of the café have the same feeling and they advise Seidel to seek a reconciliation with her as soon as possible.

Marie herself confuses him with her husband, when on several occasions they pass by one another in the city, or even when she thinks she loves him. Marie's attraction is therefore an extension of that condition of *Doppelgänger*, in which the narrator is simultaneously the *I* and *the other*. In Petzold's film, Marie walks, ghostlike, through the city streets in search of her husband, going in and out of places, creating doubts in the protagonist about her identity and her presence. This opens up various possible readings of the final sequence of the film narrative. Georg is sitting at a table in the café, having learned that Marie died when the ship that should have taken her to the New World has hit a mine and sunk with no survivors. But when the café door opens, and Georg and the viewer hear the bell that indicates it has opened, Georg still hopes that it is Marie coming through the door. The viewer is left without an answer, since the camera just gives us an ambiguous freeze-frame shot, which Georg's expectant or perhaps illuminated face does not clarify. For the viewer, it seems barely possible that Georg is still waiting for Marie, hoping she might rise out of the waters of the Mediterranean like the water nymph Ondine. Seghers' text leaves open this possibility, or illusion, in a phrase that Petzold incorporates into the film narrative: "After all, Marie might turn up, the way shipwrecked people unexpectedly come ashore following some miraculous rescue. Or like the shadow of a dead person, who's been ripped from the Underworld by sacrifices and fervent prayers" (251).

Waiting and searching define the life of *Transit*'s characters and are enacted in the waiting rooms of consulates, cafés or the streets of Marseille – a Tower of Babel, says the text, "where all nations and faiths are represented" (60) – and we may add to this their memories, then following John Urry's argument that "Places also carry traces of the memories of different groups who have lived in or passed through that place" (2007: 80). In fact, Seghers' protagonist perceives Marseille as a patchwork shaped by multiple cultures and travelling memories, where "the age old harbor gossip"(78) still resonates. Throughout time the Old Port of the city has received "escaped slaves, human hordes who had been chased from all the countries of the earth, and having at last reached the sea, boarded ships in order to discover new lands from which they would again be driven; forever running from one death toward another" (78). It is the voices of those slaves, migrants and refugees and their memories that the narrator embodies and

which contribute again to diluting his identity, giving him an allegorical or even mythical dimension: "I felt ancient, thousands of years old. I had experienced all this before" (78).

Appropriating Seghers' words, Petzold's narrator finds a different way to convey that dense web of stories and memories, and the polyphony of the place: "This is Marseille...It's a port, and ports are places where stories are told, that's what they're for. The people here have every right to tell stories and to be listened to." Seidel/Weidel or Georg's story is also inscribed into this crossroad of memories, like the story written by Weidel, since Georg hands Weidel's manuscript to the barman at the end of the narrative. The viewer could even ask if these are Georg's own memories. The ambiguity is maintained in this interweaving and duplication of identities and memories.

Petzold's adaptation of Seghers' novel is rooted in the possibility of making the past present, staging stories with no time or place, but which the viewer will have no difficulty in filling in. The film narrative begins in Paris, under the occupation of the Nazi army, but it could be any other city where violence, persecution, flight and fear are rife. The same occurs in Marseille, it could be any other port city, in the past or the present, where people are on the run, illegal emigrants or the excluded turn up and humanitarian crises loom large. From my point of view, the idea of a heterogenous space encompassing multiple historical legacies and multi-layered memories is clearly present in Seghers' novel. The multiple voices and stories that are heard in Seghers are translated in Petzold into storytelling. Through stories told in the consulates and cafés of Marseille, like Weidel's or Georg's story, and through the integration into the *mise-en-scéne* of spaces that symbolically have the same capacity to evoke and interweave past and present. For example, the new pedestrian bridge that links the Fort Saint Jeana building dating from the thirteenth century – with the recently constructed *Museum of Europe and Mediterranean Civilisation* are *lieux de mémoire* that encompass and materialize heterogeneity and hybridity. Or even the Mediterranean itself, on which Marie and Georg gaze lingeringly from the hotel window, and which the contemporary viewer will fill with more recent memories of desperation and death in this same sea. These are *shared sites of memory* that have emerged through trade, migration or colonialism.

The process of "connecting and blending of experiences and memories" (Erll 2017: 6) is indeed already present in Seghers' description of the old port of Marseille or of the Canebière, "places haunted by many spirits", where past and present are shared or absorbed, and where collective or individual memories merge, since "cities constitute virtual mnemonic zones where a continual activity produces a collective mental life with its own histories" (McNeill 2008: 206).

This is why I find it difficult to accept much of the film criticism that characterises the spaces of the novel and the film as *transit* or *transitional spaces*, materialising the mobility that according to Lefebvre (1991) has produced abstract or homogenous spaces. Of course, in *Transit*, too, the hotels, a common feature of Petzold's filmography, are crossing places, places of loneliness or fear. But they are also *practised* places (Certeau 1988) where stories are lived and told, where memories are produced and transmitted. In regard to Marc Augé, I am not so interested in retaining the polarity between non-places and *lieux de mémoire* [places of memory], but above all the privilege given to the spoken word and the narrative as a work that unceasingly "transforms places into spaces and spaces into places" (Augé 1995: 81). It is this capacity of the narrative to cross and transgress that allows us to read Marseille as a palimpsest made up of memories of those who have arrived there.

In fact, the port and streets of Marseille, the hotels and cafés, are in this sense "transcultural mnemonic spaces" (Erll 2017), that over the centuries have welcomed the experiences and memories of the migrants and refugees who have crossed the Mediterranean or Europe. In the end, Seghers' narrator overhears "The ancient but ever new harbor gossip – Phoenician and Greek, Cretan and Jewish, Etruscan and Roman" (245), because these voices from the past, even if ghostly, are, as Aleida Assmann tells us, vital to the construction of the future: "This past is obviously not yet totally 'past' but still active within us in various unacknowledged ways. We cannot open ourselves to the future without having listened to the voices of the past and having appeased the claims of the ghosts" (Assmann 2005: 205).

The private space of *Transit* may constitute an alternative to the hotels or cafés of Paris or Marseille, and allow new forms of belonging. This is the case of the Binnet family, who the protagonist of Seghers' novel visits regularly. Their family home replaces the family ties of the past and is a place of safety and affection. In Petzold, it is barely possible to experience these ties through memory. There is a very significant moment that is set against those spaces of transition. This involves a song, sung by Georg in Melissa's and Driss's house, recalling a childhood song about the idea of homecoming. The viewer asks himself whether this snippet of the past is one more ghost peeping through the door, or simply the memory as a safe harbour or, in an expression taken from Homi Bhabha, "lost-and-found childhood memories" as the longing for a homeland (2004: 11). It is equally possible to read this song as an element that triggers the affective bond with the child of Algerian descent who has just been informed of his father's death. Curiously, the child's mother, a deaf-mute, wants to see Georg sing that song about the return home, probably because home country and their memories, songs, and stories are connected (Petzold 2017).

But this is a brief, unrepeatable moment. Petzold does not give any continuity to the sense of permanence and safety that the private space might still provide. One day, arriving at the home of Melissa and Driss, also illegal residents in Marseille, he finds the house occupied by a community of North African migrants. At the end of Seghers' novel, ties with the family are maintained, because the protagonist intends to keep helping them. In Petzold, this bond of affection is just an image of desire: Georg decides to put on the boots he inherited from the doctor and follow Melissa and Driss's trail in the Pyrenees because affection is precarious or impossible, much like the characters' goals. The German doctor, Marie's companion, awaits the possibility of leaving for Mexico, but as this possibility is slow to materialise, he buys boots and a rucksack and is prepared to accompany Melissa and Driss on their journey across the Pyrenees. Their destination does not matter, what does matter is setting off, leaving that mobile immobility, or creating bonds and substitute emotions. That is also the emotional strategy of many refugees who transform the consulates of Marseille or produce places of welcome, filling them with different emotions and affects (Lefebvre, 1991). As Seghers tells us, homeless people "saw this house as the country and the country as this house. An infinitely large house in which lived a welcoming nation" (28).

Christian Petzold updates Seghers' narrative, matching the setting of *Transit* to the horizon of expectation (Iser 1976) of the twenty-first-century audience, already familiar with these crossing places, because as Tim Cresswell argues, "Mobility and migration are seen as the markers of our time" (Cresswell 2006: 44). In this process of actualisation and remediation, Petzold dilutes the political signs of the past, dehistoricises Seghers' narrative and brings to light the atmosphere and emotions triggered by the painful sensation of uprootedness and unbelonging. These among other strategies provide points of identification for a transcultural and transnational audience, who will be able to fill in the gaps left by the filmic narrative, and feel empathy with that state of transience and the anxiety of belonging screened in *Transit* and ultimately may lead to ethical thinking.[3] I say transcultural and transnational, but I could just as well say cosmopolitan memory, which according to Daniel Levy and Nathan Sznaider (2005: 4) opens up "the possibility of transcending the ethnic and national boundaries" and recognizing memories of the Other. For Levy and Sznaider, this recognition constitutes a solid "cultural foundation for a global human rights dynamic." A similar argument is put forward by Alison Landsberg's notion of "prosthetic memory", suggesting that in our globalized culture, memories are "available to

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3    "Empathy consists of a capacity or disposition to know, to feel, and to respond congruently to what another is feeling, and the process of doing so (Plantinga 1999: 245).

individuals across racial and ethnic lines" and they may create empathy, new solidarities and last but not least ethical thinking" (2004: 149).

Allow me a brief observation about the music in Petzold's film.

We know (for example, from Jeff Smith, 1999), that film music, diegetic or non-diegetic, both structures and complements the dramatic quality of the film, it creates atmospheres and triggers the emotional contagion. It may even be important for constructing the meaning of the film. Hence Christian Petzold makes deliberate use of the "bonding power of music". In addition to the song *The Road to Nowhere* by the Talking Heads, which closes the narrative and accompanies the closing credits, unobtrusive piano music is also heard. Moreover, throughout the film we hear the insistent sounds of the city in crisis, the sirens of ambulances or police cars, easily identified by any audience regardless of their language or culture, and responsible for generating anxiety and fear, and the ships' horns that spur the desire to leave. But the viewer also recalls a question from the Mexican consul to Seidel/Weidel about leaving and being left: "Who is the first to forget, the one who's left behind, or the one who left him?" The answer only comes later, in Marie's voice, repeating the consul's question then answering it: "They say that those who have been left never forget. But it´s not true. They have the sweet, sad songs. Pity is with them. Those who leave no one is with them. They have no songs." Or eventually they have no memories, we could add.

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# Lisbon, May 1945:
# An aide-mémoire

FERNANDO CLARA

This paper is about the malleability of memory (Brown et al., 2012) rather than about the mobility of memory, though both concepts are closely related and admittedly interdependent. It deals with a very short and yet very important time span of twentieth-century world history – May 1945, the end of World War II in Europe and Hitler's death –, and examines how the memory of that period changed and adapted to the events in a, again, very localized social and political context: Lisbon, the capital of a country that opted for neutrality at the outbreak of the conflict.

The paper is thus intended as an "aide-mémoire" – an expression frequently used in the diplomatic jargon of that period where it referred to a brief memo note summarizing the content of a verbal conversation – to recall the atmosphere that took over Lisbon in May 1945.

## Neutrality revisited

Around the end of May 1945 the Portuguese Secretariat of National Propaganda, an institution that had timely undergone cosmetic changes just the year before and was now officially known as Secretariat of National Information, Culture and

Tourism, published a pamphlet that could hardly go unnoticed in the months that followed the fall of the Third Reich and the end of war in Europe. Its author was Luiz Teixeira, a journalist who had won an Essay Prize of the Secretariat in 1938 with a *Profile of Salazar*,[1] and the pamphlet's title was *Portugal and the War: Collaborating Neutrality* (Teixeira, 1945).[2]

To a present day reader, used to seeing the word "collaboration" and its cognates associated with the nations or individuals that aligned with the Axis powers, the title is somewhat puzzling. And for someone especially attentive and interested in the German-Portuguese relations of the period, and therefore well aware of the close ties between the two authoritarian regimes,[3] the title of the pamphlet is no less ambiguous, to say the least. After all, it cannot be overlooked, and much less ignored, that at the beginning of May 1945 the Portuguese flags were flown at half-mast in mourning for Hitler's death. To be sure, the pamphlet raises several issues that undoubtedly need clarification: what does "collaborating neutrality" mean? And collaborating with whom? With the Allies or with the Axis powers?

A quick look at the table of contents of the pamphlet dissipates any doubt. In an incisive emotional style, the author dramatically reenacts the role played by the Portuguese in the war.

Clearly addressing an Anglo-American audience and supported by numerous quotes of British and American politicians, Teixeira begins his plot with two events which took place, coincidentally, in Berlin and Lisbon on the same day: May 22, 1939. The first of these events was the signature of the political and military treaty between Italy and Germany, the second a speech given by Salazar at the National Assembly, where the Portuguese Premier

> defined the bases on which our foreign policy was established and solidly affirmed: the British-Portuguese Alliance, the solidarity of interests of the Iberian Peninsula, and the intimate link, due to the blood-tie and the souls of our ancestors, with Brazil. (Teixeira, 1945, p.6)

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1   Teixeira (1938). The *Profile* was translated into Spanish and French in 1940, and into English in 1943.

2   The pamphlet was also available in Portuguese and Spanish. The English version was reprinted in the following year. Throughout this paper Portuguese sources will be quoted from contemporary English versions whenever they are available, all other translations are my own.

3   See e.g. among several others, Matos and Grossegesse (2011), Pimentel and Ninhos (2013) or Ninhos (2021). This paper draws on and expands two previously published essays dealing with German influence in Portugal during the period (Clara, 2019, 2021).

This rather unusual and eccentric view of World War II, resulting from the combining of two "diplomatic events", which, according to the author, had an "exceptional influence" on the course of the conflict, is decisive for Teixeira's plot because it enables him to place Portugal and Portuguese neutrality during the war at the center of a narrative that has on one side Berlin, Hitler, Mussolini and the German-Italian Pact, and on the opposite side Lisbon, Salazar, Britain and the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance.

Building on this view, Teixeira begins by noting that Portuguese "neutrality [had been] prepared in advance" (Teixeira, 1945, p.8) and that during the whole war the Portuguese were "quiet but on the watch and faithful" (p.9). In fact, as he further points out in a tone that becomes more emotionally intense as the plot develops, the Portuguese were "ready to fulfil [their] duties – ready to die" (p.12). And finally, in a last melodramatic move Teixeira reminds his readership that, after all, "Hitler might well have materialized his dream" (p.15), and concludes highlighting "some Portuguese contributions towards victory and the benefit of Humanity" (p.20) and regretting that "it was a pity that we could not do more…" (p.28). Briefly: the country was not only among the victors, it had discreetly but decisively contributed to the Allied victory in World War II. Convenient and skillfully presented as it was, the argument quickly spread among the Portuguese public opinion.[4]

The pamphlet is actually based on part of a speech given by Salazar at the National Assembly on May 18, 1945 which was also published by the Secretariat of National Propaganda in a small volume that gathered three public speeches given by the Portuguese Premier in May 1945 (Salazar, 1945). The first two were delivered at the National Assembly on May 8 and May 18, and the third was given at a national demonstration to thank Salazar for keeping the country out of the war that took place in Lisbon on May 19. Teixeira's pamphlet and this small volume aimed at different audiences and do not really overlap, they simply complement each other as both titles seem to suggest. The pamphlet, entitled *Portugal and the War*, is focused on the past and rewrites the Portuguese history of the period in a popular propagandistic manner, while the volume, entitled *Portugal and the Peace*, is meant to project the future and anticipate the country's role in the post-war world.

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4   It is worth noting that some contemporary research that addresses Portuguese neutrality during World War II still adheres uncritically to this argument. The first pages of a recent essay on this subject (Bannister, 2020) are paradigmatic in this respect; other examples are provided in Clara (2021, pp.232-233).

Of all the three public speeches that Salazar gave on May 1945, the one delivered at the National Assembly on May 18 is the longest, clearly the most elaborate and definitely the most important one. In it, Salazar speaks, as he suggests, as a privileged witness to the war events and reclaims therefore the authority of anticipating the judgement of history. He undertakes a reassessment of Portuguese neutrality during the period recalling "that Portuguese neutrality was prepared long hence" and pointing out that "for England the first service rendered was precisely our neutrality [for] in political affairs between nations as well as between public men it is at times a great favour to be quiet, provided one is vigilant and faithful". Finally, the Portuguese Premier closes the first part of his speech emphasizing the fact that the country never adopted "the concept of selfish or sterile neutrality",[5] and he explains further.

> The active guard of the key positions of the Atlantic, the concession of bases in the Azores, with many other related and further reciprocal services, the greater and best part of our economy in the service of the Allies, financial assistance, transatlantic shipping, made this neutrality a collaborationist neutrality. (Salazar, 1945, pp.14-15)

All this may be true, above all if one has in mind the time that goes from around September/October 1943 (when Italy surrendered to the Allies and Portugal agreed to Britain's request of aviation facilities in the Azores) to the end of war in Europe in May 1945. However, if one considers the whole period of the war (or even the relations between the German and the Portuguese regimes from 1933 to 1945) Salazar's arguments seem far less convincing. Moreover, it would not be entirely inappropriate to say that his memory must have been very selective (or very defective) by the end of the war in Europe. How selective – or how forgetful – Salazar was in May 1945 is something that definitely calls for a closer examination. Interestingly, in this case, the remembrance effort needed can be carried out with the help of Salazar himself.

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5    "Selfish" or "sterile" were adjectives frequently associated with neutrality during the period. As one author puts it, after the end of the Great War and when the League of Nations came into being, "neutrality was held to be something purely negative: nonintervention, egoism, the desire to feather one's own nest while others were fighting for right and justice" (Cohn, 1939, p.5); on Portuguese neutrality in World War II see Rosas (2002) and Telo (1998) among many others.

## Anamnesis

Take for instance two speeches given by the Portuguese Premier in 1937 and in 1942, both published by the Secretariat of National Propaganda. On July 6, 1937, after an attempt against his life, and in a particularly sensitive moment for the country with the Spanish Civil War being fought next door and the political tensions between a pro-Nationalist Portugal and a pro-Republican Britain rising, Salazar feels the need to publicly clarify the relevance of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance. And also its limits.

In a speech made to "the Minister of Marine, Under-Secretary of State for War and Officers of the Army and the Navy who assembled to congratulate him on his escape from the attempt made on his life" (Salazar, 1937, [p.5])[6] Salazar begins by regretting "the troubled international atmosphere of our day" (p.7) and the fact that "the whole foreign policy of our Government and specifically the alliance with Great Britain should be so systematically misunderstood [...], as if we felt the need to seek new alliances" (p.8). He assures his audience that that is not the case and that the Portuguese Government has no intention of neglecting "that most valuable item of our external policy which is the age-old friendship and alliance with Great Britain" (p.10). But at the same time, however, he also concedes, now in a somewhat unexpected and more familiar tone, that "there is no doubt that old friends can be a nuisance". And with that thought in mind, Salazar leaves a warning that could hardly be clearer: "the alliance is not the whole of our foreign policy and [...] it is not incumbent upon England to defend all our interests, before we ourselves do so or even against our own wishes" (p.14). A warning justified by the fact that

> public opinion [...] in France and Great Britain is ill-informed as to the true nature of the Spanish problem [...]. Some people do not believe in the Communist peril; we on the other hand, feel it, see it and fear that Communism, with the connivance of other countries, may take root in Spain. (p.15)

To be sure, the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance is ascribed an important role in Portuguese foreign policy even before World War II broke out, but on the other hand it is impossible to ignore that the Alliance is also seriously questioned and subject to a sharp criticism.

Five years later, the same ideas emerge again in a communiqué addressed to the country and broadcasted by the National Broadcasting Service

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6    The speech was also available in Portuguese and French; on this speech see also Lopes (2017).

(Emissora Nacional) on June 25, 1942 (Salazar, 1942).[7] It is true that the world situation had changed dramatically since the outbreak of World War II. The Iberian countries had declared their neutrality at the beginning of the conflict (though Franco changed the status of Spain to "non-belligerent" in 1940, after the successful German campaign in France and after Italy had entered the war), but in 1942 the world was completely different and, what is more, it was changing rapidly. Operation Barbarossa had put an end to the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, which had been received with a mix of disappointment, apprehension and mistrust by the conservative public opinion of so many European authoritarian states, the United States and Japan had entered the war, and the Japanese invaded Timor (February 20, 1942), a former Portuguese colony in South East Asia.

With the risk of Portugal getting inadvertently involved in the conflict increasing, Salazar's address to the nation takes place, therefore, at a decisive turning point in the war. Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly, the communiqué was broadcasted only two weeks after the United States and Britain had signed a mutual aid agreement with Soviet Russia (June 11, 1942).

With the "Communist peril" looming again over the horizon of a post-war (Iberian) world Salazar feels that Portuguese neutrality and the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance were once more colliding with the country's national interests. Neutrality, he notes in his speech, "is only advantageous as long as it serves the National interest", and besides, "neutrality is subject to a continuous revision, and therefore it is never possible so say, that it is definite". As far as his domestic audience is concerned the warning is therefore very clear.

> […] the desire of neutrality cannot be superior to the interest of the Nation. And being so sincerely neutral, as we are, I think it wise not to allow our spirits to soften under the idea that we shall not fight. (Salazar, 1942, p.19)

It is obvious that this change of perspective is directly motivated by the "trouble caused in people's minds on account of the Anglo-Russian alliance". According to Salazar, "the solidarity lent to the Soviet Government by the British and American democracies" led to a "painful unrest felt everywhere" and the ultimate responsibility for this "unrest" was "the superiority with which the British people consider themselves immune from disorder and the

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7    The speech was also available in Portuguese, Spanish and German. In fact, it is worth pointing out that of all Salazar's speeches that have been quoted so far this is the only one that was also published in German.

economic and social virus" (i.e., communism), an attitude which he sees as "rather presumptuous and full of danger". And while he admits that "it is an exaggeration to think and say that England desires or wishes to favour communism for the Europe of tomorrow" (p.20), he nevertheless warns that "if there is one thing proved by experience, it is the fact that [British and American] democracy and liberalism have worn themselves out during the last century". They failed to adapt to "the necessities of the times" (p.22) and they find it difficult to understand "the general line of European political evolution", which is dominated by "the social preoc[c]upation" of "creating a new man" (p.23).

Predictably, the Portuguese Premier's speech found very positive echoes in the German (or pro-Axis) press. Under the title "Portugal ready to defend", Salazar's address reaches the front page of the Nazi party newspaper *Völkischer Beobachter* in its edition of June 27, 1942, while Karl-Heinz Abshagen, a former correspondent of the German news agency Europapress in Lisbon and by then working in Tokyo for the Transocean (another German news agency close to the Nazi regime), publishes an extensive eulogy of the Portuguese Premier where the author highlights the "very definite common interests between the present regime in Portugal and the totalitarian regimes in Germany and Italy" and where the country emerges as "one of the last neutrals" (Abshagen, 1942, p.117).

A year later, the war situation was completely different though. After Italy surrendered to the Allies at the beginning of September 1943, the tide of the war had turned definitely against Germany, and Portuguese neutrality, which in the words of Salazar was "subject to a continuous revision", changed accordingly. An agreement between Britain and Portugal concerning the use of facilities in the Azores was signed on October 8, 1943 and publicly announced by Salazar and Churchill on October 12 (cf. *Diário de Lisboa*, October 12, 1943, p.1 and Churchill, 1948, p.146-148). As the former editor of an Austrian Christian magazine who had spent one year in Portugal rightly noted at the time, Salazar "chose his hour well" (Dohrn, 1943, p.7).

The malleability of Portuguese neutrality during the war is no different from the malleability of Salazar's memory in May 1945. Both are "subject to a continuous revision" and the dynamics of that rescripting process is also highly selective in both cases. Moreover, they are as eclectic about the past as they are eclectic about the present (i.e., about the actual current conditions in which Salazar's speeches were delivered at the end of war in Europe). In fact, in May 1945 the Portuguese Premier does not only ignore the past troubled relations with England during the Spanish Civil war or with the Allies after the Anglo-Soviet pact was signed in 1942, he also ignores the fact that his speeches were

published by a Portuguese agency formerly known as Secretariat of National Propaganda, that had been created in April 1933 after the German Ministry of Propaganda (like many other Portuguese institutions of the period that were created after German or Italian organizations). Furthermore, Salazar evidently omits the fact that on May 18, 1945 his speech was being delivered at the National Assembly in Lisbon, a building that like all other state buildings in Portugal, had had its flags at half-mast in mourning for Hitler's death just two weeks before (from May 2 to May 4, 1945).

Historians generally tend to devalue the so-called "affair of the flags" blaming a stiff diplomatic protocol and the attitude of the Portuguese Premier in matters of legal form for the whole episode. Winston Churchill himself seems to corroborate this view. In a minute dated May 10, 1945 the British Premier suggests that

> it would be wise to let them [the Portuguese] play around and not be too much down on them. [...] After all if you are a 400 [sic] year old Ally, you must be allowed to kick about sometimes as you choose. I should treat them like well-loved children who make absurd grimaces. (quoted in Peter, 1996, p.251)

Diplomats, in their turn, find the Portuguese reaction to Hitler's death nothing more than a "silly incident", "an amusing footnote of historical trivia" as an author puts it (Marques, 1992, p.108).

However, when one takes a closer look at the Portuguese and international press of these days the picture changes dramatically: instead of a "silly" or "amusant" episode, or instead of a childish whim caused by the idiosyncrasies of a dictator, the Portuguese flags at half-mast for Hitler's death assume a rather tragic character (and so do, to a certain extent, the pamphlet mentioned at the beginning as well as Salazar's speeches of May 1945). The drawing by the Russian exile Gregor Rabinovitch, published in May 1945 in the Swiss magazine *Nebelspalter*, is highly elucidatory of the shocking impact that the "affair of the flags" had on western public opinion (fig. 1).

When viewed against the background of the news that was by then making the headlines of the media (national and international) the "affair of the flags" definitely acquires darker and gloomier colors that require closer scrutiny.

Fig. 1: "Ireland, Spain and Portugal mourned the German Führer,
no flag was hoisted at half-mast for his victims!" (Rabinovitch, 1945)

## The Press

The Portuguese press announced Hitler's death on May 2, 1945. The *Diário de Lisboa* reports that Hitler died in combat and dedicates a whole page to "Hitler's career" noting, nevertheless, that most of what is known about his life is "autobiographical and should therefore be subject to correction" (*Diário de Lisboa*, May 2, 1945, p.1). Quite a different tone is adopted by the Lisbon pro-Axis newspaper *O Século* on the following day. The piece on Hitler's life and death is now based on German sources, namely the official German News Agency (DNB, Deutsches Nachrichtenbüro), and the Portuguese editor of the newspaper finds it relevant to highlight phrases of the original German dispatch such as: "whatever happens now one thing is certain: the Führer already shapes and masters the future" (*O Século*, May 3, 1945, p.4). The newspaper also provides some information about the "funeral manifestations in Portugal", but the *Diário de Lisboa* of May 3 is much more detailed in this respect. Under the title "Mourning in Lisbon" the newspaper informs that

Because of Hitler's death, the flags of the Apostolic Nunciature, the Spanish Embassy, the legations of Germany, Switzerland, Sweden and Japan, the consulate and several other German institutions in Lisbon continued today at half-mast.

The Government and numerous official and private entities sent their condolences to the German minister in Portugal, Mr. Gustav von Harlem. [...]

Tomorrow the German legation will have a Requiem Mass celebrated. (*Diário de Lisboa*, May 3, 1945, p. 6)

The second secretary of the Irish legation in Lisbon, Patrick J. O'Byrne, summarizes the events in a long letter to Joseph P. Walshe, secretary of the Irish Department of External Affairs who had accompanied the Irish leader Eamon de Valera in an equally controversial visit of condolence to the German Ambassador in Ireland on Hitler's death.[8] O'Byrne's first hand report, dated May 11, 1945, provides an invaluable insight into the agitated atmosphere of Lisbon during these days and is therefore worth a long quote, not least, also, because he mentions the misunderstandings caused by a Nazi flag flying at half-mast in the Irish legation building in Lisbon (O'Byrne, 1945).

The news that Adolph Hitler had died in action in Berlin came to Portugal over the air from Hamburg and Bremen on 2nd May. In the afternoon the Government had the National flag hoisted at half-mast on its buildings. The newspapers gave the announcement in its columns what appeared to be second priority: the complete occupation of Berlin by Russian troops and the surrender of the garrison came first in importance. [...] The Irish flag did not at all appear on the Irish Legation – which brought us into unusual prominence and was the cause of a great deal of speculation. The building in which our present premises are situated (on the ground floor) consists of two upper stories, the second of which has been occupied for the past five years by a German organisation supposed to be engaged in the insurance business (but quite obviously in other more important activities). Thus, the only flags that flew on 2nd, 3rd and 4th floors from this building (right

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8    On De Valera's visit of condolence see Keogh (1989, 1997). As happened with the Portuguese "affair of the flags", historians also tend to devalue the Irish "condolence" episode asserting that during the war Ireland was "benevolently neutral for Britain" (see e.g. Lee, 1989). A different perspective, based on many contemporary documents, is provided by Douglas (2006) who points out that "The extent of popular sympathy in Ireland for the fascist States in the early years of the Emergency is a subject that demands much more scholarly attention than it has hitherto received" (p.1180). I would say the same applies to the Portuguese case.

over the Legation) were the Swastika at half-mast and alongside it a Portuguese flag similarly displayed. As the existence of the German office seems not to have been generally known and as the only nameplates on the entrance to the building are those of the Irish Legation (Passport and Shipping Office), it was generally supposed that the whole building was ours and consequently the Legation which had never before during three years displayed a flag here, had produced a German one especially in sign of mourning for Hitler. As a result of this, most of my time on 3rd May was spent answering enquiries on the telephone, in the streets, and even at home on this matter. One of my enquirers by telephone was a very irate Irishman who spoke of throwing up his nationality if what he had heard was true etc. and at the office I received visits from the correspondents of Reuter and of the English Daily Express [...].

In compliance with the formal procedure, I duly sent my card to the German Minister expressing the condolence of the Irish Legation. [...] Religious commemorative services were held in the German Catholic and Protestant Churches respectively, at the instance of the Legation on Sunday last. Members of the German Colony, the Japanese and some Portuguese sympathisers were present.[9]

As expected, the strange and disturbing news coming from Lisbon (and Dublin) quickly reached the Allied press. Under the title "Lisbon Flags half-mast for Hitler" the circumspect London *Times* reports

The Portuguese Government has decreed that all official flags are to be flown at half-mast until noon to-morrow on account of the death of Hitler. [...]

The German Legation has issued an announcement saying that a memorial service for Hitler will be held in Lisbon to-morrow and will be attended by the representatives of the neutral countries. [...]

Mr. McDunphy, secretary to the President of Eire, called on the German Minister yesterday to express condolence on behalf of the President on Hitler's death. (*The Times*, May 4, 1945, p.3)

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9   This specific letter is curiously not reproduced (nor mentioned) in Meneses (2005). Instead, Meneses opts to print parts of a letter that O'Byrne sent to Dublin on June 5, 1945, one month after the events took place. The selected excerpts of this letter are focused on the "victory celebrations in Lisbon" and highlight the fact that in these celebrations "the [Portuguese] people gave full rein to their pro-ally feelings" (Meneses, 2005, p.79).

Many other newspapers were far less discreet or restrained in their reports about the events taking place in Portugal and Ireland, though. Titles like "Tears for Hitler", "They wept for Hitler" or "Tears for Fuhrer" flooded the Anglo-American press, from the British *Daily Mail* to the Australian *Courier-Mail*, not forgetting more local newspapers like *The Yorkshire Post*. The situation in Lisbon was especially appalling for together with the news about the flags at half-mast and the memorial service for Hitler there were also accounts of a "requiem mass for Mussolini" celebrated at "the fashionable Church of the Martyrs in Lisbon" on May 5 (*The People*, May 6, 1945, p.6).[10]

The foreign correspondents mentioned in O'Byrne's letter play a crucial role in the spreading of this disturbing news. Douglas Brown, Reuter's correspondent in Lisbon, is probably one of the most active, most critical (as far as Salazar's regime is concerned) and most quoted foreign correspondents of the period on matters related to Portugal.

On the evening of May 6, the Secretary General of the Portuguese Foreign Office, Teixeira de Sampaio, informs the German Ambassador that the German government is no longer recognized by the Portuguese authorities. On the following day, the front page of *The Daily Mail* reproduces Brown's dispatch from Lisbon under the heading "Germans in Portugal: Arrogance and Heel Clickings":

> There were extraordinary scenes outside the German Legation in Lisbon after the Portuguese Government's decision to seize all German diplomatic and official property on the ground that the National Government of Germany no longer exists. [...]
>
> The Government's decision came at the end of a day of particularly ostentatious German behaviour. It was Hitler Memorial Day and the church services and other functions were expressions not only of mourning but of national arrogance.
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> There were Prussian heel clickings, and Hitler salutes, as the Minister and his staff toured the city. (*The Daily Mail*, May 7, 1945, p.1)

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10    According to the Australian *Courier-Mail*, in the following year another requiem mass for Mussolini was celebrated in Lisbon: "A large congregation filled the Church of the Martyrs for a Requiem Mass commemorating the first anniversary of the death of Mussolini" (*The Courier-Mail*, April 29, 1946, p.1).

Salazar's speech of May 18 also catches the attention of the Anglo-American newspapers and of Douglas Brown in particular, who does not miss the opportunity to subtly and yet effectively criticize the Portuguese dictatorship. Under the title "Portuguese Premier and Neutrality", Brown's dispatch is quoted for example by *The Yorkshire Post*.

> Portugal's Premier, Dr. Salazar, in a speech to his *single-party Parliament* to-day, said that Portuguese neutrality during the war had been collaborationist neutrality with Britain, but this was the last European war in which Portugal could or should remain neutral. (*The Yorkshire Post*, May 19, 1945, p.1, emphasis added)[11]

All in all, the reactions of the Anglo-American press to the events in Lisbon and Dublin are well summarized by the Australian *Courier-Mail* under the title "Caustic on 'Honour' to Hitler":

> Action of the Eire Prime Minister (Mr. De Valera) and other neutrals in "honouring" Hitler is coming in for caustic criticism in Britain and America.

> The London Star commented: "The forbidding fanatic who directs the affairs of Eire might have spared us this crowning tomfoolery. We wonder what must be the feelings it will stir in the hearts of the tens of thousands of southern Irishmen who have bled for Britain in this war."

> Portugal, "Britain's oldest Ally," has ordered two days' mourning and the half-masting of flags in Lisbon. The Portuguese Ambassador in London, however, did not receive instructions about half-masting the Embassy's flag.

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11    In most of Brown's dispatches from Lisbon there is an undisguised criticism of the Portuguese regime. Scarcely a week after VE Day, the British *Daily Mirror* reports that "Allied firms in Lisbon have been fined up to £l00 because they did not obtain permission from the National Labour Institute before granting two days paid VE holiday to their Portuguese staff, says Reuter" (*Daily Mirror*, May 17, 1945 , p.3), and in December 1945, under the heading "British were left out", the Australian *Sunday Mail* writes: "Reuter's Lisbon correspondent says that none of four British journalists in Lisbon was invited to the State opening of the new Portuguese National Assembly by President Carmona. All other foreign journalists were invited" (*Sunday Mail*, December 2, 1945, p.2). Not surprisingly, Brown would be expelled from Portugal in the following year according to a dispatch from the Australian Associated Press: "The Portuguese police on Tuesday told Reuters correspondent, Douglas Brown, that he must leave Portugal within 48 hours. No reason was given. Portuguese newspapers recently violently attacked Brown, accusing him of participating in Portuguese politics and helping the opposition" (*Examiner*, February 7, 1946, p.5).

The New York Herald Tribune in an editorial said: "If this is neutrality, it is neutrality gone mad. If De Valera and the Portuguese dictator, Salazar, believe their tears for the late unlamented Hitler will either be forgiven or forgotten they are more naive than men in their position have any right to be." (*The Courier-Mail*, May 5, 1945, p. 2)

Lisbon and the Portuguese regime were under a heavy storm in mid-May 1945, and in more than one sense for by that time a film named *Storm over Lisbon* (directed by George Sherman, 1944, USA) was showing in several European cinemas. In May 1945, the line between history and fiction appeared to be seriously blurred in the tumultuous atmosphere of Lisbon and Salazar's political narrative decisively contributed to that blurring.

## Dissonances, institutional memory, structural amnesia

If the media – from the press to the film industry – constitute some sort of repository or archive where collective memory is kept and preserved (Luhmann, 2000; Gerd-Hanse, 2011; Erll, 2018), then it is apparently clear that Salazar's speeches of May 1945 are marked by a double dissonance in relation to the media landscape of the period. At an international level Salazar's narrative of a "collaborationist neutrality" with the Allies is received with a mix of mistrust, suspicion and incredulity. It is simply not congruent with the official mourning for Hitler declared by the Portuguese government on May 2, 1945, nor with the attitude of an authoritarian regime that patently sought and cultivated affinities with Franco's Spain, Mussolini's Italy or Hitler's Germany throughout the whole period. At a national level, on the other hand, Salazar's narrative also seems somewhat out of place. It does not completely fit in the Portuguese context of these first weeks of May 1945 and this is something that cannot pass unnoticed as well. This subtler dissonance is particularly noticeable in the address that Salazar delivered on VE Day (May 8, 1945) at the National Assembly in Lisbon.

It is a very brief homiletical speech given, as the Portuguese Premier puts it, at "such an exalted and almost sacred hour" (Salazar, 1945, p.10). Accordingly, Salazar assumes a solemn liturgical tone, he does not forget to "give a pious thought to President Roosevelt" (p.7), who had died on April 12, 1945, and his words are punctuated by a churchly chorus – "Let us welcome Peace!" (pp.8 and 9) – that develops in a crescendo and ends with a final "Let us welcome the Victory!" (p.10). The speech does not leave many doubts about the fact that his rejoicing over peace is sincere. As far as the Allied victory is concerned, the perspective is slightly different though, for Salazar appears to be much more interested in

recalling that "none amongst us ever ceased to look upon the national interest as bound up with the fate of Britain" and that during the war "Brazil was actively contributing" (p.9) to the victory of Britain and the United States. On the whole, this address on VE Day is symbolically important but not especially significant from a political point of view, since many of the ideas put forward in it would be much more deeply developed in the far longer address made on May 18 to the same audience. However, once you place Salazar's words on VE Day into their actual context at the National Assembly things change.

Besides being published by the Secretariat of National Propaganda, the speech was also printed in the proceedings of the National Assembly (Assembleia Nacional, 1945) and this version of the speech reveals important details about the mindset of Salazar's audience as well as about the outlook of the country's political elite. Before giving the floor to the Prime-Minister, the chairman of the National Assembly brings together a few thoughts regarding the end of the war in Europe. Echoing a well-known speech given by Churchill in 1940, he underscores the fact that the "victory of the United Nations" (sic) was achieved at the cost of "so much *blood*, so much *sweat* and so many *tears*". Unsurprisingly, England, "our old and firm ally", emerges from his words as the great victor of the war. Moreover, his introductory remarks are also generally imbued with the same liturgical tone that Salazar would use in his speech.

> The war in Europe has ended. After more than five years of horror and devastation, the fire that threatened to subvert all Western and Christian civilization, laboriously raised by the blood and heroism of martyrs and apostles, has finally ended.

And then, in a similar vein, the chairman goes further to envision a future post-war world, peaceful and… fascist: "The horizon is now illuminated by the consoling fasces [facho] of peace. Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to people of good will" (Assembleia Nacional, 1945, p.426).

This projection of an illuminating fascist future openly unveils the horizon of the Portuguese political elite. It inevitably brings to mind a dispatch from the New York based Jewish Telegraphic Agency dated June 26, 1940 (*News from all over the world*. Jewish Telegraphic Agency, VII, No. 69, p.5) where the American-born wife of the assistant air attaché of the British Air Ministry that had just arrived from Lisbon is quoted as having said: "Portugal is infested with Nazis". And fascists, one might add.

The events that took place in Lisbon at the beginning of May 1945 created a wary and hostile international environment for the Portuguese regime and the "structure of [its] internationally available pasts" (Bachleitner, 2021, p.42) was not very helpful in this regard as it seemed to confirm the worst suspicions. Salazar's

voice and his (unusual) public visibility during these days – after the speech on VE Day the Portuguese Premier paid a personal visit to the British Ambassador (*Diário de Lisboa*, May 8, 1945, p.1) and on May 19 he addressed a crowd gathered at one of the biggest squares in Lisbon to thank him for keeping the country out of the war (*Diário de Lisboa*, May 20, 1945, p.1) – are part of an overwhelming effort to overcome this state of affairs. The country obviously needed a new memory of its recent past and a new diplomatic strategy for its future.

Salazar's language had to change and adapt. Although he does not abandon the use of ideology-laden terms like "authority" and "order", "fascism" and its cognates are words that he clearly avoids in May 1945. Furthermore, and in spite of his former condescending observations on democracy and liberalism, he goes so far as to declare himself a "true democrat" in his May 18 speech: "if democracy, in addition to its political significance, may have a social significance and foundation, then we are the true democrats" (Salazar, 1945, p.25).

Of course, the country's recent past also had to undergo similar changes and adjustments. Salazar selectively appropriates and rewrites the history of the period and reassesses Portugal's role in the conflict, thus putting forward the guidelines along which the Portuguese "institutional memory" (Lebow, 2006) of that time would be reenacted. Skillfully woven, Salazar's narrative builds upon "structural amnesia", that is to say, the Portuguese Premier "tends to remember only those links" to the past "that are socially important" (Connerton, 2008, p.64) for the present or for the future. It was, to put in the apt words of Tony Judt (1992), as if the past was another country. The narrative strategy paid off. Structural amnesia produces a state of mind that is politically convenient and useful, and at the same time mentally (and morally) comfortable. It is therefore not surprising that it lasted until the present day.

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# Transcultural Memories and Mnemonic Adaptation of Migrants: the case of Russia

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## Introduction

The study of the memory of migratory communities is a special case of transcultural memory research. This is due to the fact that migratory communities and mass movements of people create an extremely specific situation within all the travelling memory dimensions analyzed by Astrid Erll: carriers, media, contents, practices, forms (Erll, 2011, 12-13). The concept of "travelling memory" itself, as well as the closely related concepts of "memory unbound", "transcultural memory", "memory on the move", "connective memory", "transnational memory", "multidirectional memory" describes a broader context of the dynamics of transcultural memories, not reducible only to migration processes. Astrid Erll notes that the use of a transcultural approach to the study of memory is a research perspective, "a focus of attention, which is directed towards mnemonic processes unfolding across and beyond cultures" (Erll, 2011, 12-13).

A lot of terms describing the dynamics of transcultural memories clearly indicate that both further clarification of the theoretical language and the methodology for analyzing individual cases continues to remain relevant (Carrier & Kabalek, 2014, 50). It should be noted that the very dynamics of transcultural memories is primarily a communicative process, that is, it presupposes the

figure of a communicator and a recipient. A separate aspect in this regard is the study of the willingness of participants of a transcultural exchange to transfer and preserve images and narratives of the memory of other cultures, to include commemorative practices in their everyday activities. Broadly speaking, we are talking about the process of cultural and transcultural adaptation, which in this case can be represented as mnemonic adaptation. It was this idea that inspired this article, which has a dual purpose. On the one hand, we will try to show the relevance of using the term "mnemonic adaptation" in the context of the transcultural turn of memory research. On the other hand, we will try to reveal the specifics of the strategies of mnemonic adaptation, its problems and contradictions within the framework of one case – the modern Russian migratory society.


## The transcultural turn and the dynamics of migrant memory

Despite the fact that the transcultural turn remains a research perspective and continues to cause discussions about its future direction, researchers have repeatedly made attempts to define the basic terms and concepts of this research field. Michael Rothberg distinguishes between transcultural and transnational memory. He notes: "transcultural memory refers to the hybridization produced by the layering of historical legacies that occurs in the traversal of cultural borders, while transnational memory refers to the scales of remembrance that intersect in the crossing of geo-political borders" (Rothberg, 2014, 130). Critically assessing Paul Connerton's idea that "mass migration is a part of the history of oblivion" (Connerton, 2009, 135-136), Michael Rothberg emphasizes that new types of transcultural memory are produced precisely through migration.

The problems of studying the memory of migratory communities have long attracted the attention of researchers around the world (Gouriévidis, 2014; Glynn & Kleist, 2012; Palmberger & Tošić, 2016). What does the transcultural turn give to this research field? Determining the general significance of the transcultural turn in memory studies, Astrid Erll points out at least three main aspects. She notes: "However, 'transcultural memory' does not only refer to (1) such deliberate and productive *connections of memories* that were formerly considered as distinct and belonging to different groups; it can more generally be conceived of as (2) *the movement of mnemonic archives* across spatial, temporal, and social, but also linguistic and media borders as well as (3) *the mixing of memories* in contexts of high cultural complexity" (Erll, 2014, 178). In the context of her conclusions, as well as studies by Hans Lauge Hansen (Hansen, 2020), Chiara De Cesari & Ann Rigney (De Cesari & Rigney, 2014), Peter Carrier & Kobi Kabaleck

(Carrier & Kabaleck, 2014), Lucy Bond & Jessica Rapson (Bond & Rapson, 2014), Michael Rothberg (Rothberg, 2014), we will try to highlight the fundamental novelty of the transcultural approach to the study of the memory of migratory communities. First, the transcultural approach shifts attention not only to the memory of migratory communities in several generations, but also to the very dynamics of this memory, the circulation of images and narratives of other cultures in it. Second, the transcultural approach reinforces the emphasis on the multidirectional vectors of memory and the heterogeneity of memory of both migratory communities and memorial cultures of host societies. Third, the migrants themselves can be considered as a transnational group, the peculiarities of their memory being determined not by ethnicity and citizenship but by cultural practices. The boundaries of identification of transnational migrants and, as a consequence, their memory images turn out to be "floating" and are lined up situationally in the context. One of such contexts is the transcultural context and its "memory reference group" (Carrier & Kabaleck, 2014, 54). Fourth, the transcultural turn in the study of the memory of migrants makes promising the agonistic approach in the narratives of migrants. We find a very accurate interpretation of it in Hans Lauge Hansen's article: "agonistic narratives of migration are stories able simultaneously to counter the two complementary and hegemonic discourses on migration, the antagonistic, neo-nationalist discourse representing the migrant as a threat, and the humanitarian discourse representing the migrant as a victim. Instead, agonistic narratives aim to forge alliances through protest and activities against inequality and discrimination" (Hansen, 2020, 1).

The transcultural turn in memory studies allows us to take a fresh look at the dynamics of migrant memory. The five dimensions of travelling memory (carriers, media, contents, practices, forms) highlighted by Astrid Erll are an important step, but they do not explain the mechanism of the dynamics of migrant memory. In this regard, Chiara de Cesari and Ann Rigney point to the relevance of the metaphor "flows" for describing the transfer of "globalized memories" (Cesari & Rigney, 2014, 4). In our opinion, a good example of the development of this metaphor is the "streaming model of cultural memory" by Daniil Anikin (Anikin, 2020), who, relying on the ideas of the sociology of mobility by D. Urry (metaphor of the region, metaphor of the network, metaphor of the flow), suggested focusing on the issues of direction and limits of variability. The Russian philosopher believes that the "streaming" nature of modern cultural memory is directly related to a sharp acceleration of social mobility, which manifests itself in a variety of forms: from the routinization of virtual interactions as a form of social contact (not only leisure, but also work) to the spatial movement of individuals across the world. He also considers that the concept of migration is more

likely to mislead than to record certain trends in social dynamics, since it denotes several social streams at once, coinciding in their spatial structure, but being fundamentally different in content.

First, the very reason for migration is a significant factor in the difference. Therefore, we can separately talk about political, economic or cultural migration, since even if the end points of these migration flows coincide, it will not be possible to equate them because each separate flow will demonstrate its own trajectory of adaptation to new conditions as well as a significant variability of commemorative practices. Second, the factor of temporality should also be taken into account, namely the chronological interval that is laid by the migrants themselves for their stay at a different point in the social and geographic space. The readiness of migrants to assimilate other people's social practices, as well as the possibility of embedding their memory culture in an alien cultural context, depends on these coordinates, even if they are rather arbitrary, since we are talking not about a real period of time, but about reflective intentions.

Based on these two factors, migration flows represent multidirectional and multi-temporal social practices that create different sets of collective memories and ways of transmitting them. The main property of the flow is the ability to overcome traditional boundaries, and its main characteristics are directionality, density and intensity. The direction of the flow is determined by the social gradient, that is, the disequilibrium of the social structure itself, which creates a kind of "bias" that directs the flows to certain points. For example, the gradient of migration flows is a high standard of living (in the case of economic migration) or the status of educational institutions (in the case of educational migration). The density of the flow is determined by the number of things, people and messages that are included in this process. In a mobile society, social status ceases to be fixed, but turns into a relative value determined by the number of established connections and social contacts. In this sense, the density of migration flows is determined by the number of people who are ready to change their location in the geographic space. But, in addition, we can talk about the cultural density of the flow, that is, the number of cultural meanings (including historical images) that cross the boundaries of various communities and can be fixed in the presence of certain practices.

The complex criterion – the flow rate – combines the two previous indicators, determining the number of things, people and messages that cross the borders in a certain period of time. The use of the criterion of intensity allows one to determine not only the existence of certain flows, but also to reveal their significance for the transformation of cultural practices, the creation of new forms of cultural interaction or the emergence of conflicts. Combining these

criteria makes it possible to abandon the rudimentary forms of classical spatial discourse (for example, distinguishing between internal and external migration) and move on to a new categorical series that describes social flows only in terms of their structural parameters. As a result, Daniil Anikin suggests talking about four modes of migration flows: «Weak gradient – Low density», «Strong gradient – Low density», «Weak Gradient – High Density», «Weak Gradient – High Density» (Anikin, 2020, 68). Based on these ideas, the author of this paper developed four strategies for mnemonic adaptation, reflecting the parameters of directionality, density and intensity of flows.

## Mnemonic adaptation and its strategies

The procedural interpretation of identity in the works of R. Brubaker and the division into normative and non-normative integration strategies in the works of F.M. Moghaddam allow us to talk about the need to complicate the very forms of cultural and social adaptation. Autobiographical and cultural memory sets the conditions for self-determination of the personality, hindering or facilitating integration. It is important to understand that this adaptation takes place in the context of a heterogeneous host society and its cultures of memory, the influence of cultural practices of the country of origin, as well as the transcultural context of collective memories. Any migration process in a modern society triggers the mechanisms of interaction between various commemorative practices. It can lead to unforeseen consequences, since the discrepancy between ideas about certain historical events can serve as an additional factor in the development of intercultural or interethnic conflicts. In the light of this, in our opinion, it makes sense to discuss mnemonic adaptation as a special mode of cultural adaptation.

We would like to point out the important methodological significance of the cultural and historical model of adaptation of the personality of a migrant, indicated by A.G. Asmolov. The prominent Russian psychologist suggests talking about the problems of migration adaptation as a crisis of the individual and collective meaning of activity. The psychological experience of migration difficulties can be characterized as a semantic crisis of the personality, "and a semantic crisis not only of the individual, but the semantic crisis of an ethnic group, a semantic crisis of culture" (Asmolov, 2001, 23). Accordingly, the adaptation work consists in resuming the semantic dynamics of the personality, changing the social position within the personality, which will help "restore the life of a migrant – this is not something separate, but a system, the purpose of which is to re-embed it in the culture" (Asmolov, 2001, 24). However, in the current

situation of transcultural exchanges and mobility we must talk about mnemonic adaptation in relation to the host society. The agonistic approach of Hans Lauge Hansen, as well as the very idea of transcultural dynamics of memory, indicates this meaning – «a process by which small or subordinate groups adopt memories of dominant groups and, in turn, whose memories impinge upon and transform those of the dominant group» (Carrier & Kabaleck, 2014, 55).

We could define mnemonic adaptation as the process of incorporating individual and collective memories of migrants and groups in the host society into the structure of the new cultural memory in order to form a hybrid identity. Put simply, mnemonic adaptation is a change in the symbolic configuration of the memory of an individual or a community of migrants and groups in the host society, which turns memory into a source for the creation of a new meaning, and not into a barrier, into a tool for its destruction. What are the characteristic features of mnemonic adaptation that could be identified based on the experience of modern research? First, mnemonic adaptation is not only a process that takes place in an individual memory, but it is also possible as a collective practice. In the case of an individual memory, the emphasis is on the creation of an autobiographical narrative and a person's comprehension of the uniqueness of a lived life path. Then, in the case of a collective cultural memory, we are talking about constructing a new image of the past through media, public commemorations, as well as using the institutions of cultural memory as tools for such adaptation. Second, mnemonic adaptation is a part not only of socio-cultural, but also, first of all, socio-economic adaptation and should be considered as an auxiliary factor in the inclusion of a migrant in the host society. Third, it would be a mistake to speak of a one-sided process, since the cultural memory of the host society is also changed. In this case, mnemonic adaptation presupposes the gradual deconstruction of "parallel" communities of memory and the creation of conditions for cultural exchange. Fourth, as in the case of socio-economic adaptation, it is fundamentally important to pay attention to the corresponding category of migrants: whether we are talking about long-term residents in the host country, or people visiting it seasonally or visiting it for the first time.

Using the ideas of Daniil Anikin, we analyzed four strategies of mnemonic adaptation in relation to the transcultural context.

In the case of the "Weak gradient – Low density" model, we are talking about the personal preferences of migrating individuals, which is associated with the low influence of migrants on the host society. At the everyday level, this means horizontal social mobility, which is not accompanied by drastic changes in cultural memory, since, as a rule, such a movement itself takes place between regions with similar cultural indicators. Accordingly, the gap between the memorial

practices of the migrants' native community and the host community turns out to be insignificant. In the conditions of the modern Russian reality, an example of this model is internal migration between regions, which happens due to personal reasons (such as marriage) or individual trajectories of professional self-determination (such as moving to another region where the professional experience of an individual may be more in demand, but at the same time, the general level of socio-economic development is approximately the same). In this case, mnemonic adaptation consists not only in adapting to the cultural memory of the host society, but also in a certain presentation of the atypicality of one's past experience in comparison with the new social environment. In this case, mnemonic adaptation is necessary for a migrant, first of all, so as to avoid losing his personal autobiographical experience. The conflict here manifests itself in the form of disagreement with certain traditions and values of the cultural memory of the host society.

In the case of the "Strong gradient – Low density" model, migrants, due to political and legal reasons, cannot massively move to the societies of interest to them. This migration pattern arises in the situations where differences in economic levels do not contribute to an increase in the number of migrants due to political, cultural or linguistic barriers. The relatively few migrants who were able to overcome the established barriers are most interested in integration into a foreign cultural space, which implies their readiness to assimilate foreign memorial practices. Taking into account the lack of the possibility of creating stable migration communities, individuals are included in already existing practices, while rather easily abandoning their own images of cultural memory. In this case, the selectivity of the migration policy of the host society does not allow the formation of stable communities of memory of migrants, creating the prerequisites for conformal behavior. Conflicts between the cultural memory of migrants and the host society are possible, but to a greater extent they proceed in an implicit form and in the form of a defensive conflict. In this case, mnemonic adaptation turns out to be not only a part of an individual's autobiographical work, but it acquires the character of cultural practice. However, cultural practice is necessary for migrants to a greater extent, since they are able to resist the traditions and values of the cultural memory of the host society only at the level of separate tactics (according to Michael de Certeau's ideas). For Russia, due to the specifics of incoming migrants (more details will be revealed below), such a model is not very typical, since it presupposes the absence of an opportunity or unwillingness to return to the previous community. With regard to the situation with migration in Russia, we can observe both stable economic relations between migrants and their original community (material support of relatives in the countries of Central Asia and Caucasian region), and a potential readiness for resocialization.

In the case of the "Weak Gradient – High Density" model, we observe the formation of full-fledged communities of memory that reproduce the cultural practices and traditions of the country of origin. The host community does not demonstrate total economic or cultural domination; therefore, migration communities do not try to integrate into the existing structure of memorial practices, but tend to conscious spatial segregation, to separate their daily practices into a closed segment of social space. Accordingly, the degree of conflict with the host society increases and takes explicit forms, and it can also be expressed not only in a defensive, but also in a status type of conflict. With regard to mnemonic adaptation, the situation becomes more complicated, since both migrants and the host society have to adapt. If in the previous case the adaptive activity is directed mainly from the side of migrants towards the host society, then in this model we are talking about mutual adaptive activity, which becomes a guarantee of maintaining civil stability. Of course, the choice of such a scenario of mnemonic adaptation is rather difficult precisely because of the awareness of the migration communities of their autonomous position and high competitiveness with the local population.

And, finally, in the case of the fourth model "Strong gradient – High density" we are talking about both the transformation of the host society, the strengthening of its heterogeneity, and the erosion of the collective identity of migrants due to the fact that the migration flow breaks up into separate local communities, developing their own strategies of embedding in separate locations of memory space. In this case, the conflict does not disappear, but changes its basic parameters. The line of conflict only initially runs between migrants and the host community, later it becomes more complicated and may include conflict situations between those migrants who have integrated into the social structure of the host society and "new" migrants claiming the same economic niche. It is not so much about the confrontation between internal (host society) and external (migrants), but rather about the conflict within each of the communities of cultural interaction (host society and migrants). As a rule, it is within the framework of this model that a surge of fundamentalist worldviews occurs in the migration environment, which is reflected in the stratification of generational memorial practices into moderate (adapting to the host community) and radical (constructing a certain historical identity, referring to the original place of residence of migrants). Accordingly, mnemonic adaptation turns out to be directed not only in relation to others, but also occurs within the communities themselves. It is a reaction to the transformation of the community itself and a change in the structure of memory and status in the commemorative space of culture. In other words, everyone has to change and adapt.

## Mnemonic adaptation in Russia: results of empirical research

In recent Russian studies of migration, the idea that Russia is de facto an immigration country has long been established (Malakhov & Simon, 2018). However, despite the fact that Russia ranks second in terms of the number of international migrants after the United States, the migration society in Russia is extremely specific. Most labor migrants arrive in Russia as temporary workers from the post-Soviet space and do not plan to stay in the country for a long time. The relatively low immigration attractiveness of Russia is also a salient Russian feature. Out of more than 1 million 273 thousand work permits received by foreigners in the Russian Federation in 2013, only about 157 thousand were qualified (QS) and highly qualified (HQS) specialists. Moreover, 70% of the workers who come to the country are concentrated exclusively in construction and trade. The presence of migrant organizations in the federal information space is minimal. The state's response to migration challenges was the gradual improvement of legislation in this area. Domestic researchers point to the presence of a certain opposition between the "supporters of the market ("liberal") and administrative ("coercive") approaches. In 2002, the adherents of the second approach prevailed: during that period, the Law "On the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens" and the Law "On Citizenship of the Russian Federation" were adopted, which had an obvious restrictive orientation. In 2006-2007 a short period of revenge of the "market people" began – there was a significant liberalization of migration legislation, which was expressed, first of all, in the simplification of the system of migration registration of citizens from the states with a visa-free entry to Russia. However, after 2008-2009 and under the influence of the economic crisis, the dominance of the administrative-force approach was again prominent. The positioning of migration in Russian politics is largely correlated with public sentiments, which in recent years have become increasingly anti-immigrant. Thus, the results of the research by the Levada Center, published in September 2019, show that "xenophobic sentiments in Russia are growing for the second year in a row".

Today, the third model and strategy "Weak gradient – High density" is the most suitable to describe the current situation in modern Russia. It was recorded by the results of our empirical study of the cultural memory of migrants and the host society in five Russian regions in 2017 – 2018 (Lipetsk, Voronezh, Tambov, Saratov regions and the Republic Tatarstan). Since this paper is limited, the author will only present the main findings of our study. The main goal of our research was to identify opportunities and readiness for cultural diffusion between the host society and migrants in Russia at the level of cultural memory. A look at mnemonic adaptation in the context of the idea of cultural diffusion is linked to

the modern understanding of transculturality, presented in the work of Wolfgang Welsch (Welsch, 1999). According to Welsch, transculturality is a «diffuse process» arising from both institutionalized policies and organic, non-centralized, social changes. This approach seems more promising than the idea of normative cosmopolitanization proposed by U. Beck. The emphasis on cultural diffusion was made by us precisely in the context of applying the "streaming" model of cultural memory. This concept indicates the network nature of the interaction between migrants and the host society, showing that not all aspects of this interaction are examples of integration. Cultural diffusion allows us to pay attention to the possibility of convergence of cultural representations in general and historical narratives, in particular, as well as to analyze the channels and models through which this process takes place.

The study was carried out using a questionnaire method. The study involved 3303 people (of which 3003 are Russians, 300 are migrants). A representative sample of the host society and migrants reflected the structure of the population in the studied regions. The overwhelming majority of our respondents identified themselves as Christian confessions (87.2%), while the representatives of Islam were 12.8%. Among migrants, women predominated slightly (51.3%). Migrant respondents came from Kazakhstan (32%), Uzbekistan (13%), Azerbaijan (7%), Tajikistan (8%), Ukraine and Moldova (17%), Armenia (20%), and Nigeria (3%). (Nigeria, unlike the countries listed above, is not the part of the post-Soviet space).

The questionnaire for both the host society and migrants reflected a number of indicators of cultural diffusion:

–   the axiological aspect including the values and norms of the host community, reflecting the attitude towards their own culture and the culture of migrants;
–   the linguistic aspect including the use of foreign words in the everyday speech of the host community, the perception of communities, the spread of foreign speech, etc.;
–   the behavioural aspect including the features of everyday life, patterns of behaviour and ways of interaction between the indigenous population and newcomers;
–   cognitive aspects including the interest of the host community in relation to cultures other than national cultures, the study of the history, customs and traditions of other countries;
–   the readiness of the indigenous population to interact with foreign migrants and accept certain aspects of the culture of another country.

The results of the study showed that from the point of view of the cognitive aspect, the Russian population has a fairly high degree of readiness for cultural diffusion. Russians quite consciously strive to acquire new knowledge about history, not limited to the school curriculum. The level of ethnocentric views on their own history among migrants and Russians has tangible differences. Russians are less inclined to put civic duty above the truth in the interpretations of historical events, having a more critical attitude to the objectivity of history. In turn, migrants realize the importance of studying the history of Russia. The level of ethnocentricity of views on their own history is quite tangible. Most of the migrants surveyed believe that Russians do not have sufficient knowledge about the history of the migrants' country of origin. However, the dynamics of the growth of positive responses is observed depending on the length of residence and becomes especially noticeable among those who have lived in Russia for at least three years.

The linguistic aspects of the cultural diffusion of migrants and Russians are not so clearly expressed. Most of the Russians surveyed use foreign words and expressions in their speech. At the same time, there is no consensus among Russians about the language in which migrants should communicate while living in the territory of Russia. For migrants, the use of a foreign language (in this case, Russian) is less typical. Among the newcomers, there is a fairly high percentage of those who speak their native language, limiting themselves to using words of the Russian language, which, for one reason or another, are not in their native language. The younger people most actively and deliberately use Russian in their speech.

From the point of view of the value aspect, Russians are characterized, for the most part, by a secular worldview, a neutral attitude towards religious practices, and the construction of religious objects of other cultures (churches, monuments). Migrants and the host community, in general, share each other's values, and are distinguished by a low degree of ethnocentric views of their religion. The overwhelming majority of respondents among migrants noted the existence of all necessary conditions for conducting their religious rituals and holidays.

A fairly high level of cultural diffusion can also be noted in terms of the behavioural aspect. The older residents in Russian cities accept and share the behavioural attitudes of migrants. In the course of social practices, personal qualities come to the fore. Most of the interviewed migrants chose their current place of residence because of their relatives, fellow countrymen or acquaintances living here. This position is typical for all age groups and practically does not depend on the gender and length of residence of the respondents.

It is worth noting that the respondents are somewhat apolitical. Russians do not show significant interest in the political practices of migrants, and the latter do not share and show any interest in the political practices of Russians.

The study recorded at least two zones of transcultural exchange of memories associated with national secular holidays in Russia (New Year, Victory Day on May 9, Russia Day), as well as with everyday cooking practices, where the influence of cultural barriers was the least noticeable. It is important to note that 36.1% of the surveyed migrants share the attitude of the host society towards the holidays and take part in them. Approximately the same proportion of the respondents (32%) accept local holidays, but do not celebrate them. Only 6.4% of the respondents do not share the holidays of the indigenous population. In this case, the negative and neutral attitude to the holidays of the host society also turned out to be characteristic only of young people. At the same time, almost 60% of the respondents from among the local population admit that they know something about the holidays of other cultures only from the media, and only 15.8% note that they receive knowledge about the holidays directly from representatives of other cultures. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the Russians are most drawn to the transcultural exchange in the context of the culinary traditions of other cultures. 42.6% of Russians have a positive view of this aspect of the transcultural exchange. At the same time, 15.2% say that they do not seek to use any traditions of other cultures at all, and only a small number of the respondents indicate the use of clothing traditions (13.6%), medicine (10.5%), hobbies (10 %), as well as interior design (8.1%). At the same time, in relation to the use of the heritage of their own culture, a significant majority of the Russians also point to cooking (52.1%), which turns out to be much closer than traditional medicine (13.7%), clothing (10.6%), interior design (6.6%), hobby (5.2%). It is significant that almost 14% of the Russians indicate that they do not seek to use any achievements of their own culture at all.

## Conclusion

A lot of terms describing the dynamics of transcultural memories clearly indicate that both further clarification of the theoretical language and the methodology for analyzing individual cases continues to remain relevant. Understanding the transcultural exchange of memories as a communicative process allowed us to pose the question about the willingness of participants of a transcultural exchange to transfer and preserve images and narratives of the memory of other cultures. Speaking about the migration aspect of the problem of transcultural and transnational memories, it is important to introduce the term «mnemonic adaptation» into scientific circulation. In our understanding, the "mnemonic adaptation" is the process of incorporating individual and collective memories of migrants and

groups in the host society into the structure of the new cultural memory in order to form a hybrid identity. Mnemonic adaptation is a change in the symbolic configuration of the memory of an individual or a community of migrants and groups in the host society, which turns memory into a source for the creation of a new meaning, and not into a barrier. Based on these ideas of the "streaming" model of the cultural memory dynamics, we developed four strategies for mnemonic adaptation, reflecting the parameters of directionality, density and intensity of flows.

The third strategy "Weak gradient – High density" of the mnemonic adaptation is the most suitable for the current situation in modern Russia. It was recorded by the results of our empirical study of the cultural memory of migrants and the host society. The results of our study do not allow us to speak of significant optimism. On the contrary, the revealed level of openness of migrants and the host society in Russia rather speaks of a certain neutrality and secondary character of this sphere in comparison, for example, with socio-economic competition and inequality. Both Russians and migrants are currently striving to reproduce "parallel" communities of memory, where one side maintains a forced neutrality in relation to the other, and the other cannot indicate its important place in the practice of constructing a new Russian identity, which is partly explained by the low level of awareness by migrants of their own interests in Russia. Nevertheless, even in such a situation, secular holidays in Russia, as well as everyday cooking practices, remain relevant areas of transcultural exchange.

It seems that the further development of the current migratory situation will contribute to the growth of the potential for conflict in connection with the fact that the "second generation" of migrants has not yet entered into active life in Russia. If the first generation of migrants, as a rule, is aimed at adapting to the conditions of the host country (and therefore prefers to behave as much as possible in conformity with them), then their children are not inclined to such a degree of conformity. Having citizenship and knowing the Russian language well, they can demonstrate a more independent position. In this case, the problems of cultural adaptation and, in particular, mnemonic adaptation, will acquire increasing importance for the Russian case.

## Acknowledgements

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# Luggage heavy with memories: things and gendered identity within the diasporic space

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## 1. Introduction

Over the decades before and after the turn of the twenty-first century, diasporic literature has become one of the main facets of recent India writing. After a period of nationalist fervor which continued until Independence and a phase of apparent modernization and national triumph during the post-independence era, a sense of rebellion and optimism spread through the population, who opened up to globalization, mobility, and transnational migration (Ashcroft, 2013, p. 30). The rigid construction of identity promoted by postcolonial nationalism comes to imprison rather than liberate Indian citizens because it inherits its model of governance from the colonial state. Hence, as the proliferation of South Asian diasporic writing shows, there has been a growing need to question the traditional idea of the nation as an imagined community. The boundaries of the subcontinent start to blur and a second phase of the Indian diaspora, characterized by hybridity and transcultural encounters, begins. Monbinder Kaur has highlighted a fundamental difference between the first and the second wave of the Indian diaspora due to historically-motivated discontinuities (2015, p. 68). Unlike the "old" diaspora, which originated from the colonial experience and was characterized by a break with the homeland, the "new" Indian diaspora, which started

out of India's globalization, is based on a connection with the homeland. Amitav Ghosh has defined this new phase as a "genuine historical anomaly" (1989, p. 76). He has acknowledged that Indian migrants who belong to the modern diasporic wave maintain a close relationship with their motherland not so much through the reproduction of social and political institutions, such as language and religion, as through culture and imagination. This is the reason why writers – "the specialists of imagination" (Ghosh, 1989, p. 76) – play an important part in the context of the diaspora-motherland relationship. Fakrul Alam, in his essay "The Mythos of Return and Recent Indian English Diasporic Fiction", has explained that while in the first phase of Indian English fiction its writers were nearly all rooted in the Indian subcontinent and focused almost entirely on the daily experience of Indians, in the second phase, an increasing number of writers began to make the life of diasporic Indians their main subject (2013, p. 248).

As Ruth Maxey also confirms, the years between 1970 and 2010 reflect the modern explosion of South Asian immigrant literature, both novels and short stories (2012). The writers located beyond the borders of India do not position themselves out-of-place, but in-between two cultures, which is a privileged standpoint and a locus of potential. On the one hand, they never leave their homeland completely because the spaces of India travel with the migrant and remain alive through imagination. As Ghosh puts it, "[e]ventually the place and the realities that accompany it vanish from memory and only the words . . . remain. The place, India, becomes in fact an empty space, mapped purely by words" (1989, p. 77). On the other hand, despite being deeply rooted in the Indian consciousness, diasporic writers show a significant engagement with the world as they deal with the hyphenated identities of the migrant subjects and "the bodily, psychological, and spiritual effects of belonging fully nowhere" (Friedman, 2004, p. 191).

The discourses around such a prominent force of world culture as the Indian literature of diaspora, however, have demonstrated a universalizing tendency in tackling the diasporic phenomenon from an unmarked, normalizing male perspective. In other words, until recently, the intersection between diaspora and gender has been overlooked. Aparna Rayaprol, in her book, *Negotiating Identities: Women in the Indian Diaspora* (1997), draws attention to the lack of social sciences research on the gendered aspects of migration.

> Gender . . . has not been a significant analytic category in a number of studies about immigration. Nevertheless, the gender dimension is particularly significant as the experience of crisis as well as attempted resolution to it are both gendered. Immigrant women's experience cannot be treated as if they are identical to men's as their very reasons for entering alien society and culture may be different from those of men. (pp. 5-6)

Associating diaspora with a patriarchal dimension, thus analyzing the mobility of masculine subjects as primary agents of the formation of diaspora, would mean overlooking the specific individual experiences of women, and, consequently, ignoring the fact that the onus of retaining memories of home, reproducing them within the new place, and acting as cultural custodians is typically feminine. The "patriarchal and heteronormative underpinnings" of diaspora advocated by Gayatri Gopinath in her book, *Impossible Desires: Queer Diasporas and South Asian Public Culture* (2005, p. 5) and the consequent primacy of patriarchal interpretations of the term have also been challenged by Stuart Hall, who rejects the monolithic interpretation of diasporic identity. He points out that diaspora is neither a phenomenon nor a historical fact, but, rather, a process and the resulting cultural identity is better defined by fluidity than fixity.

> The diasporic experience as I intend it here is defined not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of "identity" which lives with and through, not despite difference, by hybridity. Diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference. (1990, p. 235)

In other words, Hall defines diaspora as a human phenomenon, lived and experienced differently depending on the contexts and the personal histories of the people involved, including their gender. Thus, in his view, cultural identity is not an essence, but a positioning and is always constituted through memory, fantasy, narrative, and myth. Unlike transnationalism, which speaks to more impersonal forces, such as globalization and capitalism (Braziel and Mannur, 2003, p. 8), diaspora refers to a dispersion of subjects. And this dispersal is based on the metaphor of the scattering or sowing of seeds – as the Greek origin of the noun "diaspora" suggests – which is traditionally interpreted from an androcentric perspective that emphasizes "active male procreation and patrilineal descent" (Kosnick, 2013, p. 123). This view, however, ignores the home-making role of women in the new land. Hence, it is imperative to draw on Hall's study of the phenomenon and understand it as a gendered – and not general – process. As such, it needs to be looked at not only through the examination of different contexts, but also from the point of view of gender, which is a central organizing principle of the migrant's life.

By focusing on Jhumpa Lahiri's short stories "Mrs. Sen's" (1999) and "The Third and Final Continent" (1999), I take into consideration the personal diasporic experiences that the protagonists live – as a woman and a man, respectively – through their different engagement with the material world. More specifically,

in the critical analysis that follows, I investigate the things onto which the diasporic protagonists of the two selected short stories project their identity in order to understand whether they lead their existence in the present or in the past. Through my object-oriented close reading I also intend to highlight how diaspora – and the processes of estrangement and integration it implies – is not only lived at a spatial and emotional level, but is also materialized in a mutual constitution of things and socio-cultural processes.

## 2. Diasporic things, diasporic memories

In a situation in which home needs to be reimagined, much of what the subject carries over is refashioned to facilitate a sense of belonging. Immigrants have to come to terms with the spiritual, material, and even linguistic luggage they carry or inherit. Salman Rushdie, in his novel *Shame* (1984), explores the nature of this luggage.

> When individuals come unstuck from their native land, they are called migrants. . . . What is the best thing about migrant peoples and seceded nations? I think it is their hopefulness. . . . And what's the worst? It is the emptiness of one's luggage. I'm speaking of invisible suitcases, not the physical, perhaps cardboard, variety containing a few meaning-drained mementos: we have come unstuck from more than land. We have floated upwards from history, from memory, from Time. (p. 91)

While Rushdie talks about the symbolic luggage migrants carry over to the new land, Said, in *After the Last Sky: Palestinian Lives* (1986), writes of the objects "heavy with memory" cherished by the Palestinians living in exile.

> [A]lbums, rosary beads, shawls, little boxes. . . . We carry them about, hang them up on every new set of walls we shelter in, reflect lovingly on them. Then we do not notice the bitterness, but it continues and grows nonetheless. Nor do we acknowledge the frozen immobility of our attitudes. In the end, the past owns us. (p. 14)

Exilic subjects' identity, then, is embodied by the objects they carry with them to every land they inhabit. They are elements of cultural signification, and, as Bhabha defines them, "contingent and arbitrary signs and symbols that signify the affective life of the national culture" (1994, p. 203). Said, however, also points out a significant risk posed by the attachment to these objects of memory, that is, to remain trapped in a past life which is no longer real.

When discussing things in the diaspora, memory inevitably occupies a prominent position. As Femke Stock argues, at the core of the concept of diaspora lies the image of the remembered home, far both in space and time (2013, p. 24). The past continues to speak to the displaced subject who enacts an "imaginative rediscovery" (Hall, 1990, p. 224) of his or her previous life. This means that memories of home are not factual reproductions, but "fluid reconstructions set against the backdrop of the remembering subject's current positioning and conceptualization of home" (Stock, 2013, p. 24). In other words, diasporic people are involved in what Aristotle defines as "anamnesis", that is, the active reproduction of the past, as opposed to "mneme" or simple evocation of the past (in Jain, 2015, p. 7). The acts of remembrance performed through photographs, places, re-enactments of past events and people, in fact, play a crucial role in the way identity and selfhood are reconstituted in diaspora. Keya Ganguly, for instance, conducted a study on the role of memory in Bengali middle-class diasporic families (like the one portrayed in "Mrs. Sen's") and discovered that the recalling of the past often involves a selective appropriation of certain memories as a cure for the painful fragmentation of the present (2001, p. 17). However, while the narration of memory evoked by things can be very positive since they activate processes of self-analysis, self-discovery, and relocation, its impact on the perception of the present can be problematic, especially for women. In her study, Ganguly noted that memories act differently for men and women. For men, the past functions only as an affirmation of how much better off they are in the present and as a reiteration of how migration has liberated them. Women, on the other hand, dwell on the comforts of their pre-immigrant lives and idealize the past.

> Re-making the past . . . serves at least a dual purpose. It is a way of coming to terms with the present without being seen to criticize the *status quo*; it also helps to recuperate a sense of the self not dependent on criteria handed down by others – the past is what the women can claim as their own. The past is seen as autonomous and possessing an authority not related to the privileges acquired through marriage and emigration. (p. 107)

What women recall with particular fondness, Ganguly adds, are the memories of a female community, kinship, communal ties, and a certain authority that they had in the household, which is lost in the immigrant context. Maurice Halbwachs defines it as "collective memory" (p. 38), which is not based on things that happened to oneself personally, but on the remembrance of events, languages, and attitudes that reflect one's membership of a group. Memory, then, is never self-contained or isolated, but embedded in a continuum of events,

people, or environments, and is often intermixed with imagination. Moreover, since memory works differently according to the individual perception of events, different mediums of remembering are involved depending on the subject who remembers as well as the context of remembrance. The things through which memories work within homes, landscapes, and innerscapes offer an important clue to understanding the role of the past for a diasporic subject, its relationship with the present, and its impact on the future.

In the next section, a critical analysis of the diasporic things in "Mrs. Sen's" and "The Third and Final Continent" is provided in order to understand whether the emotional and physical baggage they represent in the hostland facilitates or impedes belonging. By examining the material objects the protagonists orientate themselves towards, an evaluation of their different processes of identity construction in the West is possible.

## 3. Belonging(s) in "Mrs. Sen's" and "The Third and Final Continent"

An increasing number of women writers have been dealing with the implications of being female in the diaspora. For Indian women writers, who form a majority of the Indian writers who have emigrated to the West, a change of location is an opportunity to break with the past and build a new space, thus challenging and revising women's traditional roles. In postcolonial India, women have been pushed to the margins of society, despite the national ideals of freedom and self-regulation. Therefore, the rise of a transnational horizon has opened up new possibilities for them to claim their space in the new geographical location.

Among the numerous Indian women writers who have emigrated to the West, such as Bharati Mukherjee, Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni, Kiran Desai, Bapsi Sidhwa, and Anita Rau Badami, the author on which this chapter is focused, Jhumpa Lahiri, is one who fictionalizes the multiple cultural tensions of diasporic life through a sensitive and realistic insight into the complications of being feminine. Moreover, as a second-generation Indian-American writer, she explores the diasporic experience from a perspective which differentiates her from first-generation authors. She deeply explores diaspora dilemmas without idealizing women's experience in the new culture and is fully aware of the connection between identity and everyday life. Lahiri was born to a Bengali family from Kolkata[1] in 1967 in London and moved to the United States when she was just three years

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1    In 2001, the government of West Bengal decided to officially change its capital city's name from Calcutta (the Anglicized version of the Bengali name "Kalikata") to Kolkata, in order to reflect its

old. As a second-generation immigrant, she has personally experienced what it feels like to be Indian growing up in a foreign land while maintaining a strong link with the family's native culture. In an interview entitled "My Two Lives" (2006), Lahiri discusses the difficulties of having a hyphenated identity and the importance of writing as a way of embracing her Indian-American identity. She has travelled several times to Kolkata, which she describes as "a bustling unruly city, so different from the small New England town" where she was raised (in Jha, 2008, p. 139). Her recurrent visits to Kolkata initiated her talent for fiction writing, as she has stated herself: "Calcutta nourished my mind, my eyes as a writer and my interest in seeing things from a different point of view" (p. 139). She was the first South Asian writer to win the Pulitzer Prize for fiction in 2000 with her first collection of short stories, *Interpreter of Maladies*. This collection combines stories set in the United States with others set in India, unlike her second collection, *Unaccustomed Earth*, that is set entirely in the West.

*Interpreter of Maladies*, published in 1999, obtained great popularity in both India and the United States. It focuses on Indian migrants' problems of adaptation, integration, and assimilation in the West and portrays characters dealing with identity crises, the trauma of loss, and the struggles for the negotiation of a new identity.

According to Noelle Brada-Williams (2014), the common theme that links all nine stories together – which makes the book a short story cycle rather than a simple collection of short stories – is the frequent representation of extreme care and neglect demonstrated by the characters. I would narrow Brada-Williams's statement by arguing that the recurring theme is more precisely the carefully executed rituals that mark the relationships between the characters as well as their link with their lost homes. This will be the focus of the examination of the short stories "Mrs. Sen's" and "The Third and Final Continent" provided in this paper. More specifically, I will look at the material world through which the rituals are performed by the protagonists within the diasporic context and evaluate whether they act as anchors to a lost past or propellants for a new life ahead.

## 3.1. "Mrs. Sen's"

"Mrs. Sen's" is the sixth short story included in Lahiri's collection *The Interpreter of Maladies* (1999). It occupies a unique position in her corpus of writing as it is a piece about a first-generation female immigrant based on her mother's personal

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Bengali pronunciation. Here, I am using the new name of the city, while Lahiri, in an interview focused on her childhood, uses the old version of the name.

experience of babysitting American children after arriving in the United States. Jhumpa Lahiri's short story focuses on the process of adaptation of a young Indian woman who has moved to the United States because of her husband's decision to work abroad. Although the protagonist is a woman, the story is told by a third-person narrator whose point of view coincides with that of an eleven-year-old boy, Eliot, who is looked after every afternoon by Mrs. Sen. Given their relationship of mutual sympathy, Eliot progressively senses Mrs. Sen's state of unease and disorientation due to a condition of constrained displacement. The woman indirectly admits her disapproval of her husband's decision to leave India through comments such as "[h]ere, in this place where Mr. Sen has brought me, I cannot sometimes sleep in so much silence" (Lahiri, 1999, p. 115). Through Eliot's eyes and his acute sensitivity, we are provided with a clear picture of the Indian woman's psychological life, dominated by feelings of stasis and entrapment. Trapped in a condition of social disorientation, Mrs. Sen finds confidence and strength only when, in the privacy of her home, she surrounds herself with familiar objects reminding her of India.

One of the most important things owned by Mrs. Sen is a blade she had brought from India "where apparently there was at least one in every household" (p. 115). It represents a very strong cultural element and Eliot immediately notices the relevance it has in Mrs. Sen's daily life, as she uses it in her ritual of cutting vegetables into pieces on the living room floor. In that moment of the day, Mrs. Sen transforms herself into a confident woman mastering perfectly the art of handling the cooking tool. However, only apparently does the contact with this Indian object provide confidence and relief. In fact, it only increases Mrs. Sen's sense of frustration as in her memories, the blade is associated with the moments of joy and sharing she experienced in India, surrounded by the chatter of her family and neighborhood women while cooking vegetables.

> "Whenever there is a wedding in the family," she told Eliot one day, "or a large celebration of any kind, my mother sends out word in the evening for all the neighborhood women to bring blades just like this one, and then they sit in an enormous circle on the roof of our building, laughing and gossiping and slicing fifty kilos of vegetables through the night". (p. 115)

This image of community life contrasts vividly with the loneliness in which Mrs. Sen performs this ritual at her new home in America. The feelings of incompatibility, nostalgia, sense of loss, and disruption intensify her endeavor to belong, to make a house home. However, by fetishizing this Indian artifact, the woman paradoxically increases the distance that separates her from

India as she transforms the blade into a symbolic entity with spiritual qualities embodying an idealized place.

The inauthenticity of the India recreated by Mrs. Sen is also represented by her clothes and body ornaments. The garments we wear play a fundamental social role as they are the way we present ourselves to the world and inevitably alter others' perception of who we are. For a migrant, traditional clothes are ever-present reminders of the homeland and keep his or her original identity alive, thus evoking a multiplicity of self. Mrs. Sen's habit of wearing saris even in the Western context, despite the very different weather conditions from India, suggests she keeps identifying herself with her original culture, which she is not willing to give up. The cultural anthropologist Daniel Miller led a study on the sari as a piece of cloth which does not merely represent Indian women, but actually constitutes who they are. In his book *Stuff* (2010), he claims that the sari wears the Indian woman – not the opposite – and it makes her what she is, both woman and Indian.

Mrs. Sen's colorful saris are her distinctive trait as Eliot notices the day he first meets her: "She wore a shimmering white sari patterned with orange paisleys, more suitable for an evening affair than for that quiet, faintly drizzling August afternoon" (p. 112). The sari represents a strong anchor to Mrs. Sen's past, which is her only certainty, and in the moments of strong pathos and emotional involvement, she instinctively touches her sari as if it could transfer its symbolic power to her. For example, when Mrs. Sen recalls India while talking to Eliot's mother, "she neatened the border of her sari where it rose diagonally across her chest" (p. 113); or while she is having an argument with her husband over the phone, "she seemed only to be replying to things, and wiping her face with the ends of one of the saris" (p. 126). Saris also dominate the scene in which Mrs. Sen suffers a real nervous breakdown, when she is unable to get her husband to bring fish for dinner. After bursting into tears, she goes to her bedroom, where "she flung open the drawers of the bureau and the door of the closet, filled with saris of every imaginable texture and shade, brocaded with gold and silver threads. Some were transparent, tissue thin, others as thick as drapes" (p. 125). As she sifts through the saris, she cries: "'When have I ever worn this one? And this? And this?' She tossed the saris one by one from the drawers, then pried several from their hangers. They landed like a pile of tangled sheets on the bed" (p. 125). As happens with the Indian blade, the cultural reminders of India accentuate, if possible, her feelings of frustration over living a life she does not want and keep her stuck even more firmly in a liminal space, between an unreachable past and an equally uncertain present. The emblems of festivities, rituals, and ceremonies can only increase the distance from a life she has left behind and cannot access in her present situation.

Another body ornament that captures Eliot's attention is the vermilion pow-der Mrs. Sen applies every day on her scalp, over the line dividing her braided hair. She explains to Eliot: "'I must wear the powder every day, . . . for the rest of the days that I am married. 'Like a wedding ring, you mean?' 'Exactly, Eliot, exactly like a wedding ring. Only with no fear of losing it in the dishwater'" (p. 117). Read in the light of the whole story, this symbol of marriage is a strong metonymic element not only for what it represents culturally, but also as a sig-nifier of her personal married life. Indeed, the straight scarlet line suggests her husband's role in the fracture of her identity, which is never going to heal unless she finds a way of merging the two halves of her self: that of an Indian woman devoted to her original family and tradition, and that of a migrant woman who is supposed to integrate in the new place, while keeping her Indian culture alive. The red line on her hair also evokes the straight line drawn by Mr. Sen in terms of his expectations towards her: it is the clear direction he has established for both of their lives, without considering his wife's possible difficulties in coping with the standards he has set.

As Sarah Ahmed suggests (2006), the lines on our bodies, such as the laugh line or the furrow created by the frown, are external traces of an interior world. Mrs. Sen's artificial line on her skin is a symbolic sign of the past, a way of facing and being faced by others. She faces others as an Indian woman unwilling to give up her tradition even in the Western world. On the other hand, other people see her as a subject out of place whose body lines exteriorize a backward orientation of her interior world.

This is not only evident in Mrs. Sen's habit of adorning her body, but also in the relationship she establishes with her American home. Home has an ambiva-lent meaning in the story, which reflects the confusion in Mrs. Sen's mind about which is her real home now that she has moved to the United States. An example of this is the confused use of the word "home" noticed by Eliot: "Eliot understood that when Mrs. Sen said home, she meant India, not the apartment where she sat chopping vegetables" (Lahiri, 1999, p. 116). The ambiguity of the concept of home is not only related to the liminal position occupied by the protagonist, but also to the material and symbolic value home has in the story, where the physical world merges with the metaphysical aspect of things. A concrete manifestation of the home she has left in India is a cassette recording of all her relatives' voices.

> [S]he played a cassette of people talking in her language – a farewell present, she told Eliot, that her family had made for her. As the succession of voices laughed and said their bit, Mrs. Sen identified each speaker. 'My third uncle, my cousin, my father, my grandfather.' One speaker sang a song. Another recited a poem. The final voice

on the tape belonged to Mrs. Sen's mother. It was quieter and sounded more serious than the others. There was a pause between each sentence, and during this pause Mrs. Sen translated for Eliot: 'The price of goat rose two rupees. The mangoes at the market are not very sweet. College Street is flooded.' She turned off the tape. 'These are things that happened the day I left India.' The next day she played the same cassette all over again. (p. 128)

By continuing to listen to those voices and hear the same stories, Mrs. Sen positions her own existence in the past, as if it were frozen in time, stuck in the moments and contexts in which those events were produced. The deep feeling of nostalgia for the people and life she has left in India is temporarily alleviated by the letters she occasionally receives from her family. Eliot learns that "[t]wo things . . . made Mrs. Sen happy. One was the arrival of a letter from her family (p. 121); the other thing "was fish from the seaside" (p. 123). Her two sources of happiness derive from an ideological contact with her motherland and mother culture. However, while life in India goes on, she feels excluded from the natural cycle of time. This happens, for example, when she gets a letter announcing the birth of her niece: "My sister has had a baby girl. By the time I see her, depending if Mr. Sen gets his tenure, she will be three years old. Her own aunt will be a stranger. If we sit side by side on a train she will not know my face" (p. 122). Another letter informs her of her grandfather's death, causing an emotional breakdown in Mrs. Sen, not only because of the sad news, but also because she feels totally excluded from all life cycle events.

The same detachment from real life is visible in Mrs. Sen's new home in the United States, namely in the way she has arranged the furniture. When Eliot enters the apartment for the first time, he notices that the pieces of furniture are all covered: "White drum-shaped lampshades flanking the sofa were still wrapped in the manufacturer's plastic. The TV and the telephone were covered by pieces of yellow fabric with scalloped edges" (p. 112). Such an absence of contact between her – the main inhabitant of the house spending the whole day there – and what should be a familiar place denotes a sterile relationship, lacking in emotional involvement of any kind. No intimate bond has developed between the woman and her home, as if she had not settled in permanently.

Mrs. Sen's failure to inhabit the present and her present space engenders a series of acts of remembrance connecting her to her past, when she had a defined identity and a clear position in the world. She, therefore, enacts a material recreation of her original culture through a series of "diasporic things", representing a tangible bond with the motherland as well as a comforting presence in the new home.

While for Mrs. Sen the cultural luggage brought from India is too heavy for her to be able to cope with her hyphenated identity, for the protagonist of "The Third and Final Continent" the opposite is true. His luggage, both metaphorical and physical, carried across three continents, as the title suggests, is light and, consequently, easily transportable while travelling.

## 3.2. "The Third and Final Continent"

"The Third and Final Continent" is undoubtedly one of the most important stories in the book *Interpreter of Maladies* (1999), as also indicated by its position, being the story that closes the collection. Moreover, the message it conveys sheds a new light on the texts that precede it. Unlike "Mrs. Sen's", the outcome of the process of migration experienced by the unnamed protagonist of this story is far more positive. The main character and narrator is an Indian man who leaves India in 1964 as a young boy to move to London. After spending a few years there, he is offered a good job at an important American library and, a week after getting married, he leaves for Boston. As in "Mrs. Sen's", the Indian wife has to accept her husband's decision to pursue his career and move to another country, thus facing a huge change in terms of culture and daily habits. Their wedding is arranged, which means that they were essentially strangers to each other before marriage. As the narrator explains, "[i]t was a duty expected of me, as it was expected of every man" (Lahiri, 1999, p. 181). This comment suggests that women are not the only victims trapped by the shackles of patriarchy and that men are also oppressed by traditional duties that deprive them of their freedom of choice and independence. The husband and wife arrive in America at two different times. The man leaves first in order to start his new job and settle in, while the woman joins him six weeks later. From that moment on, although they are almost strangers, they are a family in a new continent and are supposed to build a new life together.

Another similarity with "Mrs. Sen's" is that a series of rituals performed by the protagonists of the story – especially the man – are presented, but the material things they entail reveal a completely different orientation of the subjects involved in the process of migration. Indeed, as my close reading will show, they are not metonymies of a "desire for homeland", but of a "homing desire" (Brah, 2005, p. 32), that is, the constructive desire to make a certain place home through "*processes of multi-locationality across geographical cultural and psychic boundaries*" (p. 212). The homing desire contemplated by Brah is based on a form of cosmopolitanism, which Hannerz has described as "an orientation, a willingness to

engage with the other . . . an intellectual and aesthetic openness toward divergent cultural experiences" (1996, p. 103). According to this view, the cosmopolitan migrants accept the challenge of adapting to new traditions while also maintaining the old traditions in a syncretic way. Indeed, diasporic people may simultaneously adopt and transform cultural phenomena drawn from others around them by "gathering, recognizing, and applying cross-cultural scripts" (Vertovec, 2013, p. 65). Hannerz futher claims that, in addition to attitudes and practices, cosmopolitanism also entails "a personal ability to make one's way into other cultures through listening, looking, intuiting and reflecting" (1996, p. 239). This outlook on migration suggests the dynamic role of the subject who does not passively accept his condition of outsider, but instead engages actively in the constitution of a new self. The things related to the male protagonist reflect this future-oriented attitude as opposed to Mrs. Sen's nostalgic recreation of the past.

The field of food is particularly representative in this respect. The young man's stay in London, for instance, is characterized by frugality as he is penniless and is there to try and get an education and find a job in the West. He shares an apartment with twelve other young Bengalis, like himself, and all they can afford is egg curry: "We lived three or four to a room, shared a single, icy toilet, and took turns cooking pots of egg curry, which we ate with our hands on a table covered with newspapers" (Lahiri, 1999, p. 173). The man's ritual of eating Indian food is not fueled by the need to keep the contacts with his homeland alive, but is dictated by the circumstances of a simple lifestyle. No symbolic value is hidden behind the consumption of Indian food – it is just a recurring choice shared by young Bengali migrants to save money and try and build a life. Once in the United States, during the six weeks he spends there without his wife, he radically changes his culinary habits. Describing his first day in America, he states: "I bought a plastic bowl and a spoon at Woolworth's" and "a small carton of milk and a box of cornflakes. This was my first meal in America" (p. 175). The man's purchase and consumption of food is profoundly different from Mrs. Sen's. Unlike the Indian woman, who spent hours selecting the right ingredients and cooking them with passion, the protagonist of this story devotes neither time nor care to what he eats. As opposed to Mrs. Sen's ritual of chopping vegetables with a specific Indian tool, the man's habit is to eat the same meal every day, using a spoon as his only tool: "I ate cornflakes and milk, morning and night, and bought some bananas for variety, slicing them into the bowl with the edge of my spoon" (p. 175). He consumes a quick, ready-made meal bought at the supermarket in line with the Western lifestyle.

Another significant thing at the center of a recurring act performed by the man is his newspaper. Every night, before going to bed, he reads the *Boston*

*Globe*. The man says: "I read every article and advertisement, so that I would grow familiar with things" (p. 176). He is not afraid of the culture of the host land. On the contrary, he is curious about it and is eager to understand it in order to accelerate his process of integration. Moreover, to read a daily newspaper means to be focused on the present and involved in the society and culture one lives in. The man protagonist realizes that alienation can only be overcome by opening himself up to the new world he is inhabiting, trying to understand rather than being overwhelmed by the differences from his own culture. For instance, on his flight to America, the man reads *The Student Guide to North America*, a paperback volume thanks to which he learns, among other things, that "Americans drove on the right side of the road, not the left, and that they called a lift an elevator and an engaged phone busy" (p. 174). Such behavior reflects Hannerz's definition of cosmopolitanism as willingness to engage with the other (1996, p. 103) as well as the ability to make one's way into cultures through observation and reflection (p. 239).

As far as clothes are concerned, they are less problematic for men than for women as Indian men's garments are easier to adapt to the Western context. However, an episode that took place a few days after the protagonist's arrival in the United States can be read as an attempt to open himself up to the host culture. The young man arranges a meeting with the owner of an apartment as he wants to find cheap accommodation for himself until his wife joins him. In order to impress the lady he is going to meet, he wears the clothes that seem most appropriate to him for such an occasion. He says: "In spite of the heat I wore a coat and a tie, regarding the event as I would any other interview; I had never lived in a home with a person who was not Indian" (Lahiri, 1999, p. 177). He is ready to bridge the gap between the Indian and the American cultures, thus adapting to the cultural standards of the place in which he lives. This image contrasts vividly with the description of Mrs. Sen's meeting with Eliot's mother for the job as babysitter. In spite of the conventions of the local culture, she wears a shimmering white sari and a pair of slippers as she receives Eliot and his mother at home. Interestingly, the man protagonist of "The Third and Final Continent" also walks barefoot in the house, specifying, however, that: "I still felt strange wearing shoes indoors" (p. 185), implying that later he will get used to this Western habit.

Six weeks after the young man's arrival, Mala, the protagonist's Indian wife, obtains her Green Card and flies to America to join her husband. Hence, the second part of the story is focused on the process of integration of the woman and the evolution of the couple through their new life together. While the man was in America settling in and getting accustomed to the local culture, Mala had stayed

at her brother-in-law's house, as tradition requires: "She had worn an iron bangle on her wrist, and applied vermilion powder to the part in her hair, to signify to the world that she was a bride" (p. 189). They had lived two quite distinct lives: the young man was orientated towards the future and actively involved in a process of change during which he abandoned certain cultural habits and acquired others; the woman was orientated towards the past, perpetrating tradition by wearing the Indian symbols associated with marriage.

The moment she gets off the plane, her husband recognizes her as she is wearing a colorful sari that covers her head in sign of modesty, as perfect Indian wives do. Her arrival disrupts the man's life. He is already used to American life, but he is not used to his wife, as he himself says: "I was used to it all by then: used to cornflakes and milk, . . . used to sitting on the bench with Mrs. Croft. The only thing I was not used to was Mala. Nevertheless I did what I had to do" (p. 190). Indeed, in order to welcome her, he speaks Bengali – "for the first time in America" (p. 191) – and prepares egg curry at home, which they ate with their hands – "another thing [he] had not yet done in America" (p. 191) –. The first days of cohabitation plunge the man into a world he had forgotten. Paradoxically, he perceives the Indian habits resuscitated by his wife in the American context as strange. He reflects:

> I still was not used to coming home to an apartment that smelled of steamed rice, and finding that the basin in the bathroom was always wiped clean, . . . a cake of Pears soap from India resting in the soap dish. I was not used to the fragrance of coconut oil she rubbed every night into her scalp, or the delicate sound her bracelets made as she moved about the apartment. (p. 192)

All the symbols associated with India, such as the steamed rice, the bar of Pears soap, the coconut oil, and the bracelets, paradoxically provoke a feeling of estrangement in the man protagonist. A process of reversal is occurring, that is, he has become unfamiliar with the habits of his own native culture. His wife understands this and instead of remaining obstinately stuck in Indian traditions, she demonstrates her acceptance of change. A case in point is when she stops cooking rice for breakfast and serves cereals and milk.

As two wives who emigrated to the West to follow their husbands' projects, Mrs. Sen and Mala share the same experiences of uprooting from their homeland. However, a big difference between them can be noted. Their respective marriages are based on completely different values: while Mr. and Mrs. Sen's relationship is dominated by silence, individualism, and distance, Mala and her husband talk, explore the city, make friends and plan things together.

Together we explored the city and met other Bengalis, some of whom are still friends today. . . . We bought an Instamatic camera with which to document our life together, and I took pictures of her posing in front of the Prudential building, so that she could send them to her parents. At night we kissed, shy at first but quickly bold, and discovered pleasure and solace in each other's arms. (p. 196)

As this quotation shows, a growing intimacy links the two people, which helps them find a good balance between the old life they have just left behind and the new life waiting ahead. Unlike Mr. Sen, who never seems to show any sympathy for his wife's sufferings, the protagonist of "The Third and Final Continent" realizes the difficulties Mala has faced: "Like me, Mala had traveled far from home, not knowing where she was going or what she would find, for no reason other than to be my wife" (p. 195). The collaboration within the couple, then, is fundamental for a successful integration in the host country.

A few observations can be made before concluding the analysis of this story. Firstly, the story Lahiri concludes her book with offers a sense of hope linked to the experience of migration because although adaptation can be painful, integration is possible for both men and women. This means that not all diasporas sustain an ideology of return and, therefore, a "desire for homeland" – they may also be based on a "homing desire" (Brah, 2005, p. 32), a constructive ideal of home in a new land. The couple's joint effort to integrate in the diasporic place demonstrates that the tension between homeland ties and the new home is a propellant to find strategies of integration while also honoring the original culture. Secondly, the experience of migration described in "The Third and Final Continent" is what Van Hear has defined as "circular migration" (2002), that is, a kind of diaspora in which the subjects involved are well settled in the foreign land, but maintain a strong bond with their place of origin. Luis Eduardo Guarnizo has noted the practice among migrants of "transnational living", which is referred to as "a wide panoply of social, cultural, political and economic cross-border relations that emerge, both wittingly and unwittingly, from migrants' drive to maintain and reproduce their social milieu of origin from afar" (2003, p. 667). The narrator and his wife's reproduction of India is not paralyzing, however, as it was for Mrs. Sen, but coexists in a syncretic way with the adoption of the American culture. Finally, then, it may be argued that a necessary pre-requisite for settling is a dynamic conversation between homes. Memory needs to be balanced by projects, acts of remembrance by acts of construction.

## 4. Conclusion

The analysis of the things I took into consideration in Lahiri's short stories has highlighted a number of interesting points. On the one hand, the things examined in "Mrs. Sen's" show her continued engagement with her culture of origin as well as her everyday longing for the tastes, smells, and sounds of the home she left behind. Mrs. Sen's processing and working on things like food, the cooking utensils, and the Indian memorabilia inside her home suggest the physicality of her activities, performed mainly with her hands. Her active duties, however, never involve things related to Western culture, like the car, which are usually kept at a distance or totally avoided. The visual reminders of Indianness within her home anchor her to her past and the familiar things she surrounds herself with alienate her from the present. In other words, she never leaves India as it is always kept alive through material memories which, however, constitute a virtual prison. India is a constant presence while America is an absence in both the physical and the emotional sphere. The clash between the Western exterior and the Indian interior, for instance, shows Mrs. Sen's clear resistance to the dominant culture. However, although she uses Indian artifacts as an anchor to a sense of self, they only contribute to increasing her sense of alienation and loss. Hence, the cultural baggage she has carried over from her homeland is too heavy and impedes integration in the hostland.

In stark contrast, the things I have discussed from the short story "The Third and Final Continent" show the man protagonist's orientation towards the future, an active engagement with the construction of a new identity, as well as a projection towards the outside rather than the inside of the home. The guidebook and the newspapers he habitually reads, for instance, show his desire to understand the society in which he lives and reduce the cultural distance that separates him from local traditions. The consumption of a certain type of food – which does not involve any ritual or nostalgic reproduction of his original culture – also reveals the narrator's flexibility in terms of adaptation to new points of reference. His personal adjustment to American society is so successful that he ends up perceiving as strange the habits and things associated with India, such as the smell of steamed rice or coconut oil, the habit of eating with one's hands, and his wife's traditional Indian clothes and jewels. Unlike Mrs. Sen, who is only comfortable in the closed space of the home, surrounded by the things that link her to the past, the man protagonist of this story is frequently depicted outside, both alone and with his wife, surrounded by the new places he is inhabiting. As for his marital relationship, it is based on the simultaneous remembrance and revision of Indian traditions. The protagonist couple of this story are capable of balancing

forgetting and remembering. Their shared effort to belong and make their new house a home allows them to settle down successfully and accomplish a mission as great as that of astronauts who familiarize themselves with an alien land. The home they build together, in its physical and emotional details, is not a way of recalling the past – as in "Mrs. Sen's" – but a means of changing and rebuilding from the past.

In both stories representations of rituals are included, but the outcome is completely different for the two protagonists. Mrs. Sen's recurring habits entrap her in a mental and physical prison, while the repeated actions performed by the narrator of "The Third and Final Continent" contribute to his progressive assimilation in the United States. Consequently, the material artifacts through which the two protagonists perform their rites orientate them in opposite directions. To use Butler's expression (1988), Mrs. Sen is affected by "Repetitive Strain Injury", that is, she is stuck in a certain alignment as an effect of the repetition of a series of acts. Repetition, as the story also shows, is not neutral since it orientates the body towards specific things and the values they embody. Certainly, this is a painful condition as Bhabha, in his contribution entitled "DissemiNation", explains with a question: "What kind of 'present' is this if it is a consistent process of surmounting the ghostly time of repetition?" (1994, p. 205).

This is not the case of the narrator in "The Third and Final Continent", who, being a man, has a different, generally lighter cultural burden to carry. Avoiding simplistic depictions of women as passive victims and being aware that today women have various degrees of agency in the diaspora – in terms of choices with respect to migration, involvement in decision-making processes within the household, political mobilization and participation in social and cultural activities (Al-Ali, 2013) – it can be argued that men have more opportunities to look at the future by achieving self-fulfillment in their jobs and public life, while women are often stuck in a position of in-betweeness, as they no longer belong to the homeland, but still do not belong to the hostland. Consequently, women often develop confused identities and a sense of displacement, which affects their strategies of new identity formation. Thus, they find themselves constrained in a constant tussle between past and present. Hence, in order to understand the complex phenomenon of the diasporic experience, an intersectional perspective needs to be adopted relating gender and diaspora. In this way, individual experiences and the specific contexts in which they occur can be considered instead of generic accounts which often exclude the female voices.

In conclusion, the analysis of the materialization of diaspora contributes to shedding new light on the link between gender and migration. Diasporic gendered identities are forged through the production, circulation, and consumption

of material things, which constitute both the physical and the spiritual baggage carried over to the new land. Things are not simply personal belongings, passive tools, or mere accessories disseminated around the home, but perform diasporic memories – both personal and social – and play a central role in the process of integration in the new culture. The entanglement of things, values, and social relations that emerged from a close reading of Lahiri's two short stories has shown that "to be rooted is perhaps the most important and least recognized need of the human soul" (Weil, 1952, p. 41). However, clinging to one's roots impedes movement and this is incompatible with the very idea of diaspora, which is a "travelling term" (Clifford, 1994, p. 302). In order to fully belong what is needed, then, is not baggage heavy with memories, but baggage light enough to be carried on the journeys back and forth between past and present undergone by the identities in flux.

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# New "Old" woman-as-witch

INÊS TADEU FG

## Introduction

The remembering of painful pasts is not confined to those who have directly experienced them. It has secondary, intergenerational consequences and often unfolds diachronically, geographically, and beyond different cultures. It is an active and creative process of ongoing (re)construction and (re)arrangement between memory and imagination, individually and collectively. (Keightley and Pickering 25) Remembering assures the dissemination and reception of a particular painful past's transcultural, cultural, and counter-memory. (Law 8-10) Case in point, the Salem witchcraft trials, which took place in 1692 in New England, have been reconstructed through this process of mnemonic imagination in the medium of literature. For the purpose of this paper, our *corpus* includes a selection of works of nineteenth-century Romantic historical fiction, such as *Salem: A Tale of the Seventeenth Century* (1874) by D. R. Castleton, *South Meadows* (1874) by Ella Taylor Disosway, *Martha Corey: A Tale of the Salem Witchcraft* (1890) by Constance Goddard Du Bois, and *Dorothy, the Puritan: The Story of a Strange Delusion* (1893) by Augusta Campbell.

In these novels, the 'old' demonic witch is (re)created as a new Romantic witch-heroine. However, one cannot forget that the demonic witch of Salem was,

in turn, a (re)creation of the English demonic witch. The transcultural memory of the latter constructed the cultural memory of the former. Therefore, we must first briefly explain what constituted a demonic witch in seventeenth-century England.

## The *Old* England Demonic Woman -as-Witch

The cumulative, heterogeneous transcultural memory of what constitutes a witch has been a trying argument to settle. Here, we refer solely to the demonic witch as systematised by Julian Goodare[1]. Besides engaging in *maleficium*[2], the demonic witch is a "malevolent intermediary" who enters in a compact with the Devil, becoming part of a heretical sect. (Newall and Briggs x) With diabolism,[3] the main concern was the assault on Christianity led by the Devil and his "collectively of apostates", the demonic witches. (Johnstone 12-13) The demonic witch became frequently portrayed in seventeenth-century English pamphlets as a mostly, but not exclusively, diabolical female co-conspirator, labouring together with her peers as part of a hierarchical, heretical society of servants to the Devil, their godlike leader. (Millar 2017 147-148, 174)

However, the Devil was believed to be unable to command people. So, the demonic witch willingly relinquishing her free will in favour of his sect, renouncing Christianity and electing to worship the Devil instead, made her inversionary behaviour [4] an unprecedented act of apostasy and heresy. (Quaife 22) As an apostate, the demonic witch's crime is no longer one of manipulating preternatural[5] powers such as metamorphisation, transvection, spectral projection or

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1    See Julian Goodare, (2016). Similarly, Millar refers to "diabolic witchcraft" (Millar 2017) and Jensen uses the term "heretic witch." (Jensen 2007)

2    *Maleficium*, the manipulation of preternatural powers with malicious intent, was the most elementary form of witchcraft. (Wilby 44-45) However, in his *A Discourse of the Damned Art* (1608), the English demonologist William Perkins adds three other forms of *maleficia*. First, juggling, which was fashioning alterations or illusions. Second, divining as in revealing events from the past, present, or future. And lastly, enchanting or the use of spells. (Carlson 40)

3    For more on *maleficium* and its relationship to diabolism, particularly in a European context, see, for example, Brian Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*, 3rd ed. Harlow: Longman, 2006. For witchcraft in England as primarily malefic rather than diabolic, see this same text.

4    Stuart Clark in his *Thinking with Demons – The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (1997) discusses the early modern view of female witches as women who were prone to transgress by engaging in inversionary forms of behaviour.

5    Witchcraft, ghosts, and the power of the devil constituted the *preternatural*. This category related to what occurred beyond the normal bounds of nature and ranged from the activity of the devil

keeping familiars[6]. Her crime is now one of ultimate treachery. [7] (Willis 15) What is more, since "the witch was your spouse, your clergyman, your teacher, your doctor, your cousin the nun, or even your child", the demonic witch endangered far beyond her community, threatening the whole of Christianity. (Wilby 46-45; Davidson 58-60)

This pivotal and undisputed belief in the existence of the demonic witch and the perils of diabolism was prevalent in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English Puritan demonology. The seventeenth-century English migration of large groups of members of the Puritan faith to New England[8] facilitated the propagation of the (trans)cultural memory of preternatural wonders such as demonic witches. (Gasser 100-103) In addition, in the twilight years of the seventeenth century, the New England village of Salem would seemingly fall prey to the same Devil and his witches.

## The *New* England Demonic Woman -as-Witch

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himself and the demonic dealings of magical agents such as witches to the activities of all spiritual agents other than God and his immediate servants: the angels, the disembodied souls of the dead, and demons. However, since the nineteenth century, the use of the word *supernatural* relating to the divine has fallen into disuse, and most contemporary readers understand this term as signifying beings other than God. See Francis Young, *English Catholics and the Supernatural, 1553–1829*, 23–26.

6    Familiars were demons, namely *incubi* and *succubae*, in the shape of animals.

7    The idea of diabolic pact as heresy and apostasy was not contemplated in the English Witchcraft Acts of 1542 and 1563. It only entered the English secular witch trials in the seventeenth century. (Jones and Zell 63) The diabolic pact in the Act of 1604 became politicized as a crime of apostasy and rebellion. At the same time, this transition might have made the witch seem less like Satan's master and more his servant – a reversal of roles which, it has been suggested, signified a reassertion of patriarchal hierarchy through demonology and the law. Furthermore, the literal demonization of witchcraft was carried to its logical conclusion after the start of the Civil War, with its apocalyptic overtones and godly claims to spiritual warfare on the Parliamentarian side. (Rowlands 2009, 181)

8    On the migration to New England see, for example, Stephen Foster, *Their Solitary Way: The Puritan Social Ethic in the First Century of Settlement in New England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971); David Cressy, *Coming Over: Migration and Communication between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *New England's Generation: The Great Migration and the Formation of Society and Culture in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991); and Alison Games, *Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).

Around mid-January 1692, in the Salem Village[9] parsonage, the home of
Reverend Samuel Parris,[10] his nine-year-old daughter Elizabeth (Betty) began
to exhibit symptoms of a severe illness. Before long, Betty's eleven-year-old
orphaned cousin Abigail Williams, who also lived at the parsonage, presented
similar symptoms. (Mixon 33-35). Minister Parris consulted with nearby min-
isters who advised him to followed Cotton Mather's procedure in the Goodwin
case[11] and "sit still and wait upon the Providence of God, to see what time might
discouver." (Hale 25)

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9    In the winter of 1691–1692, Salem Village was a thinly populated rural area adjacent to the coastal
     town of Salem. Land grants in the mid to late 1630s helped populate the area later named as Salem
     Village which was located north and west of the town centre. Salem Town, the first permanent
     settlement in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, was founded in 1626. During the 1630s, immigrants
     flowed in and moved five to ten miles inland to "the Farms." Once established by the 1660s, the
     villagers petitioned for permission to build their own meeting house and hire a minister. In 1672,
     Salem Village was allowed to establish a parish. Between 1672 and 1689 Ministers James Bayley,
     George Burroughs and Deodat Lawson were appointed and dismissed. In November 1691 the vil-
     lage was torn apart by the controversy regarding the new Minister Parris' salary. In addition to the
     conflicts within the village and between the Village and the Town, there was the issue of the church
     membership backsliding, the constant threat of the Indians and the French to the north. In early
     1692, Abenaki Indians had attacked the settlements in Maine reminiscent of the King Philip's War
     of mid 1670s. Also, in 1684 the colony had lost its self-governing charter and the Crown appointed
     a new governor in 1686, Sir Edmund Andros. With the excuse of the "Glorious Revolution" back in
     England, Massachusetts revolted against Andros in 1689 and set up its own commonwealth based
     on the old charter, while they anticipated for Reverend Increase Mather's return from England with
     a new charter. (Robinson et al. xi-xv)
10   Though born in England Minister Parris was raised in Barbados. In the early 1670s he attended
     Harvard but before completing his studies he returned to Barbados to settle his late father's estate.
     Having failed to establish himself as a merchant both in Barbados and in Boston, he sought ordina-
     tion. In 1689, after prolonged negotiations, Minister Parris accepted a call to Salem Village where
     he was forced to incessantly haggle for his salary, the provision of firewood, and the transfer of
     land for a parsonage. (Parris et al. 3-4) By late 1691, the congregation was dissatisfied with Parris's
     ministry thus refusing to contribute o his salary or to supply him with firewood and asked for
     his dismissal. Due to an abnormally cold winter Parris' firewood supply became scarce. Though
     he expected and pressured the congregation for additional wood to be brought forth, most Salem
     villagers believed he should plan for his own wood. (Norton 16-18) For more about Samuel Parris
     see Larry Gragg, *A Quest for Security: The Life of Samuel Parris*, 1653-1720 (1990), *The Sermon
     Notebook of Samuel Parris 1689-1694*, (1993), and Marilynne K. Roach, "Records of the Rev. Samuel
     Parris Salem Village, Massachusetts, 1688-1689", (2003), 6-30. Samuel Parris was portrayed in nine-
     teenth-century scholarship, led by Charles Wentworth Upham's seminal work, as the major villain
     of the Salem witch hunt. (Rosenthal et al. 17)
11   Cotton Mather's experience with the afflicted Martha Goodwin, who spent five or six months in
     his home, provided him an alleged close encounter with evil spirits. As a result, he authored his
     first publication titled *Memorable Providences, Relating to Witchcraft and Possessions* (1689), which
     became a seminal demonological work in New England. The work appeared in a second edition in

Though Minister Parris sent his daughter Betty away from all the turmoil to haste recovery, he endeavoured to display the other afflicted girls to the community. He procured the neighbouring ministers' help with prayers in their congregations. Minister Paris called on William Griggs, the local physician, for medical advice by the middle of February. He pronounced they were caught by the "evil hand." Before long, the matter was taken out of Parris's hands when the afflicted started naming their tormentors. (Ray 48, Klaits 120) The girls' afflictions, however, intensified. Reverend John Hale, from the nearby village of Beverly, who examined the girls, noted

> [t]hese children were bitten and pinched by invisible agents; their arms, necks, and backs turned this way and that way, and returned back again, so as it was impossible for them to do of themselves, and beyond the power of any epileptic fits, or natural disease to effect. Sometimes they were taken dumb, their mouths stopped, their throats choked, their limbs wracked and tormented so as might move a heart of stone, to sympathise with them, with bowels of compassion for them [and] pins [were] invisibly stuck into their flesh, [as if] pricking with irons. (Hale 24)

The first to become afflicted outside of the Salem Village parsonage were next-door neighbours of the Parris family. Ann Putnam Jr., the twelve-year-old daughter of Thomas Putnam Jr. and his wife, Ann Putnam senior, were members of one of the leading families of the village. (Baker 101- 103, 132; Robinson et al. xv)

Elizabeth Parris, Abigail Williams, and Ann Putnam Jr., pressured by the Salem magistrates Jonathan Corwin and John Hathorne, accused Tituba, Sarah Good and Sarah Osbourne of bewitching them. Tituba was a domestic servant in Reverend Samuel Parris' household, most likely a captive from South America, and married to a man referred to as Indian John or John Indian. Sarah Good was a destitute woman, ill-famed for her volatile temperament and her tendency to mutter menacingly. Sarah Osborne was a land-owning woman often involved in lawsuits and relatively uninhibited in nature. At the beginning of March of 1692, all three women were interrogated by magistrates Corwin and Hathorne. While Sarah Osborne and Sarah Good maintained their innocence, Tituba offered the Salem magistrates a thorough confession on being a demonic witch and assisted the court in uncovering other local demonic witches.[12] (Mixon 37)

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1691 and a third edition in Edinburgh in 1697. The London edition contained a recommendation by Richard Baxter. (Silverman 87)

12    To read Tituba's statements in full see Rosenthal's *Records of The Salem Witch Trials* (2014), 133-136. Her recorded statements are dated 1st and 2nd March 1692. In them, she elaborated on a

Soon, Ann Putnam Jr.'s seventeen-year-old step-cousin, Mary Walcott, the daughter of Captain Jonathan Walcott, the leader of the Salem Village militia, also became afflicted. By the sixteenth of March, three more girls were tormented. Elizabeth (Betty) Hubbard, William Griggs' niece; Mary Warren and Mercy Lewis, who worked as servants to John and Elizabeth Proctor and the Putnams.[13] (Baker 101- 103, 132; Robinson et al. xv) Along with Susannah Sheldon, these girls spawned most of the witchcraft accusations,[14] or rather accusations that people were tormenting them in spectral form. (Klaits 120, Baker 101-103, 132; Robinson et al. xv)

The preliminary witchcraft hearings began in Salem in March. In the absence of the newly appointed royal Massachusetts Bay Colony Governor

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diabolical conspiracy in Massachusetts covering all the likely seventeenth-century English and Puritan witchcraft beliefs, for example, the Devil as a black man, the animal familiars, flying to the sabbath and covenanting with the Devil by signing his black book in blood. (Breslaw xix, xxii-xxiii; Burns 25) Prior to Tituba's confession, witchcraft cases in New England had proceeded in a variety of ways, with nearly everyone denying the charges. The accused sometimes counter sued for slander to force the dropping of their complaint. Some were simply held in custody for a time with or without a trial, and finally released on bond for good behaviour. A few were tried and found not guilty, while others were convicted and executed, although in some cases, the convicted were spared by judicial intervention. The few who confessed did not appear to do so during interrogation, but at arraignment when entering a plea, hoping for mercy. However, those who did so were still executed. (Burns 25) It is also significant that many of Tituba's renderings were repeated in most of the subsequent confessions. Goody Putnam became the first to follow Tituba in describing the devil's book. The afflicted later referred repeatedly to being tempted to write their names in Satan's book, while confessors typically described having done so. Several women who incriminated themselves by confessing to diabolism during the Salem outbreak later retracted their statements. They contended that they had been intimidated into confessing and that the religious and secular authorities listened to what they chose to hear. (Karlsen 11-12, 13) Prior to Tituba, Elizabeth Knapp was the first to refer to the diabolic covenant represented in a book. Samuel Willard's account of her afflictions is found in Increase Mather's *Remarkable Providences* published in 1684. (Norton 52) Though indicted, Tituba was never brought to trial and was held in the Salem Town jail for twenty-two months, longer than any other accused witch. In December 1693, Tituba was purchased by the individual who paid her jail fees. (Ray 43)

13  Older girls and teenagers carried out vital household chores assisting the female heads of their families, namely their mother, their mistress or their relative. Their constant fits upset the daily household routines and their labour became either unreliable or unavailable. Also, the young women atypically became the centre of the household around which all its other members revolved, even though the girls in their roles as daughters, nieces, or servants enjoyed a menial station in the familial hierarchy. (Norton 51-52)

14  A total of nineteen afflicted can be identified in legal complaints, in indictments, and involved in the legal proceedings.

William Phips,[15] Massachusetts Lieutenant Governor William Stoughton presided over the examinations while closely counselled by Minister Cotton Mather, the spokesperson for the Boston ministers.[16] Stoughton, assisted by several other magistrates, such as Justice Hathorne and Justice Corwin, continued executing arrests and carrying out examinations through May without the possibility of indictments and grand juries[17].

When confronted with the accused during the proceedings, the afflicted would often go into violent convulsions, providing a graphic testimony of their torments. (Klaits 123-124) Besides the blurring between presumption and proof, the visions of spectres – perceptible only to the accusers – were admitted as spectral (substantiating) evidence.[18] (Rosenthal et al. 18-19, M. Gaskill 195)

When Governor William Phips returned in June, the jails were full of accused men and women awaiting trial.[19] He thus appointed a Court of Oyer

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15    When the initial witchcraft charges emerged, the Massachusetts colony had been without a governor and a governing charter for three years, in the aftermath of England's Glorious Revolution. The thirty- one-year- old Sir William Phips, a ship captain and military leader who had been born in Maine, was making his way to New England with the new charter when the Salem magistrates conducted their first preliminary hearings. Once in Boston, Phips briefly looked into the charges of witchcraft but left instead to Maine, to fight off the Native Americans during the summer of 1692. (Klaits 123-124)

16    The Court's Chief Magistrate was Massachusetts Lieutenant Governor William Stoughton. Stephen Sewall was the clerk and Thomas Newton the prosecutor. Jonathan Corwin, Bartholomew Gedney, John Hathorne, Increase Mather, John Richard, Nathaniel Saltonstall, William Sargeant, Samuel Sewall and Wait Winthrop were among other members of the commission. (Starkey, 1963; Boyer and Nissenbaum, 1974).

17    The proper pattern of complaint, arrest, warrant, examination, imprisonment, grand jury hearing, and trial was disrupted. (Rosenthal et al. 18-19) Normally, the grand jury stage which followed the examination, did not take place for three months. The interim governor, Simon Bradstreet, would not permit the examinations to proceed to indictments preventing the witchcraft cases from advancing to a grand jury and, ultimately, to a trial. (Ray 67-69)

18    In seventeenth-century New England, felony capital offenses such as the crime of witchcraft followed the three phases of the English common law practice. First, the complaints, arrest warrants, and preliminary hearings or examinations. If the examination bore incriminatory evidence, the accused was jailed and held for a formal indictment and a grand jury hearing, or jury of inquest, which could acquit the defendant or sustain the indictment. If the indictment was upheld becoming a true bill, the proceedings moved to the decisive stage the jury trial. The jury would convict or acquit the defendant. A conviction meant execution by short drop hanging. (Ray 67-69) William Stoughton ruled spectral evidence as acceptable, though it had not previously been allowed in New England witchcraft trials and was largely criticised by authorities on the subject. (Bremer 30-32; Rumsey 45-46)

19    Instead of remaining a localised witchcraft outbreak, by the end of May 1692 the afflicted accused an ever-growing number of tormentors from beyond Salem Village. Indeed, most of the people tried and executed were neither from Salem Village nor from Salem Town but from the neighbouring

and Terminer in Salem Town to preside over the indictments, trials and penalties. (Mixon 33-35) In the aftermath of the first executions in June and July, the number of accused continued to surge. By the end of the summer of 1692, Governor Phips' wife was accused of being a witch. After that, he forbade any further arrests and released many of the accused in jail. (Blumberg, 2007)

Following Reverend Increase Mather's publication of a demonological treatise refuting spectral evidence,[20] Governor Phips dissolved the Court of Oyer and Terminer on the twenty-ninth of October due to the resulting mounting scepticism and feeling of unrest. (Reed 211-212) The trials resumed in January 1693 under the Superior Court of Judicature. It excluded spectral evidence and condemned only three of the fifty-six defendants who had spent a bitter winter in prison. Governor Phips met the convictions of the Superior Court of Judicature with clemencies. By May of 1693, he exonerated all those charged with the crime of witchcraft and still in prison, entirely dismissing Chief Justice Stoughton's standing.[21] (Gaskill 197, Mixon 38) The last trials took place two weeks later.

All in all, between January 1692 and May 1693, approximately a hundred and eighty-three men and women in Massachusetts were charged with the crime of witchcraft.[22] Of the accused, a hundred and fourteen men, women, and children were arrested and imprisoned for months on end. Another forty-three people were tried, of which twenty-seven were convicted and sentenced to death.

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villages of Andover, Charlestown, Marblehead, Lynn, Reading Topsfiled, Salisbury, Billerica, Gloucester, Malden, Beverly and Ipswitch. (Trask ix; Rumsey 45-46) The Ipswitch prison had been previously available to the Salem court. However, the population increase in that region warranted another prison in the town of Salem itself. Accordingly, in 1668 a prison was placed in the centre of the old town, near the first meetinghouse. Later, a more secure prison was built in 1684. It was that prison that housed so many of the accused who were crammed into a small space awaiting trial on charges of witchcraft in the summer of 1692. (Powers 216)

20   In his *Cases of Conscience Concerning Evil Spirits Personating Men, Witchcrafts, Infallible Proofs of Guilt in such as are accused with that Crime* (1693), Increase Mather opposed the substantiating use of spectral evidence since based on it, innocent people could be charged and found guilty.

21   On July thirty first 1693, the council read a letter from Queen Mary endorsing Governor Phips's performance. At this time, the Salem witch-hunt had been halted for over ten weeks. (Gaskill 197, Mixon 38-39)

22   The Witchcraft Act of 1604 came into effect within a year of James I's accession to the throne of England. Harsher than previous versions, it made causing harm while resorting to magic—*maleficium*—even if it did not result in or lead to death, a capital crime. It also decreed death for anyone found guilty of committing for a second time a punishable offense using magic. It also proscribed the use of dead bodies in magic or the keeping, as opposed to the conjuration, of spirits. In effect, it made it much simpler to convict anyone suspected of witchcraft, as the burden of proof was much reduced. See C. L'Estrange Ewen, ed., *Witch Hunting and Witch Trials: The Indictments for Witchcraft from the Records of 1373 Assizes Held for the Home Circuit AD 1559–1736.* (1929), 19–21.

Nineteen people were hung by short drop. An older man, Giles Corey, was pressed to death with stones for refusing to enter a plea. Eight people died in prison, including two nursing infants of the jailed women and a little girl. Six of the condemned were reprieved, whereas sixteen others who had the financial means and could count on the help of family relatives of good social standing managed to escape prison entirely. Forty-six confessed to being witches, and two people were found innocent but were forced into indentured servitude as they could not pay their jail fees.

## (Re)created Journeys: The *new* Romantic woman-as-witch heroine

Early on, Governor Phips restricted the publication of any official accounts about the Salem witch hunt; it was quickly memorialised in non-fiction.[23] Reassembled chiefly through memory and imagination, the "mythology that [would] constitute the history of the Salem Witchcraft trials" became part of the cultural counter-memory of this moment of the early modern American past. (Rodríguez 3)

By the nineteenth century, the Salem witch hunt of 1692 had become an often (re)created, (re)imagined, (re)memorised American literary *leitmotif*, for the most part in historical fiction.[24] Several lesser-known American women writers would use the Salem witch hunt as a significant plot element in their works of Romantic historical fiction, as in the instances we are succinctly considering next. In *Salem: A Tale of the Seventeenth Century* (1874) by D.R. Castleton, we travel with Alice Campbell and her grandmother, Mistress Elsie Campbell, from Scotland to Hill Side Farm in Salem in 1679. Later in 1692, Alice's grandmother is accused of witchcraft for her close friendship with Rebecca Nurse, one

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23   See, for example, Cotton Mather, *Wonders of the Invisible World* (1693); Deodat Lawson, *A Brief and True Narrative* (1692) Robert Calef, *More Wonders of the Invisible World* (1700); John Hale, *A Modest Enquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft* (1697); Daniel Neal, *The History of New England* (1720); Thomas Hutchinson, *The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts* (1767); George Bancroft, *History of the United States* (1834); Charles Wentworth Upham, *History of the United States* (1867).

24   Since historical fiction is mnemonic and mimetic, as a medial for presenting a reimagined past, it facilitates cultural memory not only by memorializing but also by acting as counter-memory. As argued by Mitchell and Parsons, "in this way, the novel both offers itself as a witness to, or commemoration of, the [historical event] and its victims, including the survivors, and dramatizes the process by which memory is transmitted; the events are made memorable by the affective evocation of unrepresentable suffering and the numberless dead." See Kate Mitchell and Nicola Parsons, eds., *Reading Historical Fiction: The Revenant and Remembered Past* (2013), 10–11.

of the women hanged as a witch in Salem, and whose ordeal is painstakingly shared with the reader. Mistress Campbell, the grandmother, who spoke with a thick Scottish accent and was "well-skilled in all the homely curative lore", was arrested. (Castleton 271) She "had been cried out upon by the accusing girls – the constables had come with a warrant that morning and taken her away to jail, to be tried as a witch, like poor Goody Nurse! [A]nd she was condemned and sentenced to death." (Castleton 274, 291) Mistress Campbell does, however, escape the noose for Alice

> in one moment she had quitted the cart to which she had convulsively clung, and with one wild bound, like the death-leap of some maddened creature, she sprung directly in Sir William's path, and flinging up her wild arms to arrest him, she raised her sad, beseeching eyes to his, and faltered out her impassioned appeal: 'Mercy! mercy! your Excellency; pardon – pardon for the sweet love of heaven – she is innocent! Oh! as you hope for mercy in your own sorest need hereafter, have mercy upon us mercy! Mercy!' (Castleton 310)

Alice's altruistic fearlessness was rewarded. Mistress Campbell was reprieved. In addition, one of the officers in the governor's company turned out to be Alice's long lost Cavalier father. Now in the company of her father and Mistress Campbell, Alice crosses the Atlantic once again, this time headed to England.

With the exception of some of the characters, such as Rebecca Nurse, or the circumstances in which the accusations are put forward by the afflicted girls, little else is constricted by historical accuracy, and no open references to diabolism are made. Indeed, both Mistress Campbell and Alice are the heroines of the whole affair which they survive, almost unscathed, and triumphant.

In *South Meadows* (1874) by E.T. Disosway, we read Allison Beresford's story in her younger sister Ida's journal. The orphaned girls arrive in Boston harbour in "one pleasant evening in June" on board the ship St. George. They are taken in by their uncle Ebenezer Fairfax – the only surviving blood relative on their mother's side – and his wife Martha and daughter Ruth, in his farm in Salem known as the "South Meadows". Soon, a young, well-to-do man, Master Campbell, shows romantic interest in Allison instead of reciprocating her cousin Ruth's feelings for him. When the Salem witch hunt breaks out, their cousin Ruth also becomes afflicted and Allison is accused of being the witch who is tormenting her.

> Cousin Ruth is bewitched. I [Ida] doubt no longer that an evil spirit has her fast in his toils. When I was summoned to the kitchen, I found her lying on the floor, a most dismal spectacle.

Her whole frame was gathered, shivering and writhing, in a heap; her eyes rolled piteously, and turned in their sockets until the whites only could be seen.; and ever and anon she gasped out as if choking for breath.

'Pins are being thrust and through and through my heart. Then for five minutes she spoke no more, but her shivering and shuddering continued until she called out again in great agony: 'They are in my tongue – scorching, red hot pins and needles! Oh! oh! How fiercely they burn! Take them out! Help! help! Father, mother, take them out!'

She hung out her tongue like a thirsty animal, but refused water when they brought it to her. As I looked, I doubted no longer in witchery, but I noted with a shudder that whenever Allison approached her, the pains and convulsions increased. (Disosway 186-187)

Before long, Allison is accused of being the witch who is tormenting her cousin Ruth.

Ruth accuses my sister Allison of tormenting her by devices obtained from Satan. Day and night her pain and anguish of mind and body are unceasing; she tastes no food, save a few spoonfuls of brandy, and sleep will not visit her eyeslids.

She shrieks at the mention of our Creator's name. When uncle Ebenezer prays by her side, she foams at the mouth, her eyes roll in their sockets, her teeth chatter, and her whole frame is convulsed with paroxysms of agony, with shakings and shudderings, and her symptoms increased when my uncle held the Holy Scriptures before her […] Cotton Mather and his associates, misguided men they be, come to-morrow to accuse and try you for the crime of bewitching my Cousin Ruth. (Disosway 192, 197)

Though Allison is convicted and executed, she first makes sure that her sister Ida is led safely away from Salem. Though Disosway allows her woman-as-witch to perish, Allison is still delivered. She assures her younger sister's survival. She dies innocent. The author makes it quite clear that Allison is wrongly convicted by the Puritan magistrates and ministers. By implication, neither her, the Romantic witch-heroine, nor the executed demonic witches of Salem, were thus guilty of any crime, let alone the one of witchcraft.

In Constance G. Du Bois' *Martha Corey: A Tale of the Salem Witchcraft* (1890), we rejoice at first with Lady Beatrice Desmond, who is engaged to be married to Charles Beverly and very much in love with him. However, her cousin Captain Percy Desmond is determined to have her for his wife instead.

To break up the couple, he reveals to her, on her wedding day, that Charles had been having an affair with a married woman, neglecting to add that the relationship had recently come to an end. Broken-hearted, instead of falling into Captain Desmond's arms, Beatrice undertakes a voyage to New England, where she assumes a new name and is eventually taken in by Martha and Giles Corey. Captain Desmond tracks her down and follows her to Salem.

Failing to win her affection yet again, out of revenge, he plots with minister Parris her demise, as well as Martha Corey's, who stoically had stood by and had protected Beatrice from Capitan Desmond by confronting him: "I [Captain Desmond] will give you [Minister Parris] double the amount in our agreement if you contrive that Martha Corey and Beatrice Desmond shall be cast in to prison as witches." (Du Bois 256)

As a result, both women are soon accused of witchcraft and arrested. First Martha Corey: "'I hear', says Elder Brown, 'that Goody Corey is accused of witchcraft.' […] Ann Putnam has seen her spectre,' said Goodman Crosby. 'When asked to describe her clothes, she said she could not see, her eyes were blinded; but her face was plain enough.'" (Du Bois 261)

And then Beatrice was arrested: "The warrant that was prepared for the arrest of Beatrice Desmond, companion and friend of the witch Goody Corey […] I [Minister Parris] find there is no doubt that she was drawn by Goody Corey into this evil compact." (Du Bois 285) But Charles Beverly swoops in and rescues Beatrice from jail.

> Beverly threw himself on his knees at her [Lady Phips] feet, seized her hands, and looked imploringly into her face. […] You know her [Beatrice] innocence of all guilt, you abhor the infamous injustice which is at the bottom of these arrests, and I know you long to right the cruel wrong. You cannot single-handed conquer the delusion, but you can save one life. […] She went to her desk, and wrote […] 'Let the prisoner, Beatrice Desmond […] falsely accused of witchcraft, be immediately set free upon my order. (Du Bois 305-306)

Charles and Beatrice make their way back to their former life in England, as happy newlyweds, while Martha Corey stays behind and embraces her fate self-sacrificingly: "Do not cry out against what must be. I will remain and suffer what is laid upon me. I rejoice in Beatrice's deliverance." (Du Bois 310)

Again, Martha Corey, another one of the executed witches of Salem, is not spared. Nevertheless, similarly to Castleton and Disosway, Du Bois does redeem her witch-heroine, Beatrice, and further strengthens the counter-memorialisation of the innocent women-as-witches of Salem.

In *Dorothy the Puritan: The Story of a Strange Delusion* (1893) by Augusta C. Watson, we follow seventeen-year-old Dorothy Grey, her aunt Martha Holden and her uncle David Holden, pious Puritans who find a haven in Salem, away from religious persecution. There, Dorothy grew up lacking in piety but was very free-spirited and harboured an unsettling longing to return to "merry old" England. She often neglects her religious obligations as she enjoys wandering off into the forest and spending countless idle hours immersed in nature, and taking pleasure in solitude. In one of her exploits into the forest, Dorothy meets a handsome English gentleman, Sir Grenville, who seduces her and fills her head with promises of fun and fortune back in London. Though the aspiring young Minister Wentworth is courting her, she foolishly accepts to elope with Grenville. However, he does not show up. Desponded, she unexpectedly finds shelter and solace with Goody Truman, an older woman living alone with her pets deep in the woods. After spending the winter there, having her heart nursed back to health, she ends up becoming Mrs Wentworth, the minister's wife. Years later, she is accused of witchcraft by a resentful former friend, Elizabeth Hubbard, now one of the "wretched circle" of afflicted girls. (Watson 271) Elizabeth had long voiced her misgivings about Dorothy.

> I do not think she hath been taken by the Indians. She has been—in my poor knowledge I say this—bewitched by the black man, and is perchance e'en now concocting evil schemes against us. She ever loved to be alone; he has taken her unawares. […] She was never God-fearing, so it was not for prayer and meditation. She hath been taken unawares, I repeat, and been forced to sign her soul away. Satan hath claimed her for his own. (Watson 124-125)

But this time, she confronted Dorothy publicly in the town square.

> 'We are bewitched,' she shrieked, as she writhed upon the ground, 'we are bewitched! The woman who doeth us this harm is standing in the crowd. 'Where, where?' called a chorus of voices. 'There she stands,' cried Elizabeth, rising to her feet and pointing toward Dorothy. Her face was pale, her eyes bloodshot, her whole bearing instinct with a frenzy approaching madness. 'I scarce dare look upon her—there, with the old woman by her side. She is the queen of the witches; they do her bidding night and day. I do denounce thee, Dorothy Wentworth, I, Elizabeth Hubbard, the inspired. (Watson 266)

Dorothy narrowly escapes being hung with the help of her husband. They leave Salem, only to return eight years after the end of the witch hunt. Watson opts for focusing on one of the afflicted, namely Elizabeth Hubbard, rather than

on any of the executed women, tacitly underscoring their wickedness by comparison to the accused. Again, Dorothy, the witch-heroine, remains unblemished. In the eyes of the reader, she is deserving of her escape from execution. So were all.

## Final Thoughts

Firstly, we argue that Castleton, Disosway, Du Bois and Watson's work exemplify the inescapable transatlantic and transcultural journey of the cultural memory of the woman-as-witch, all the way from seventeenth-century England to nineteenth-century New England.

Bound to this same seventeenth-century Salem, the (re)memorialised destination, the woman-as-witch, was recreated as a Romantic witch-heroine. Nineteenth-century Romantic witch heroines Alice Campbell and her grandmother Mistress Campbell, Allison Beresford, Beatrice Desmond, and Dorothy Grey overcame their witchcraft tribulations. They further avoid the deadly ending of their seventeenth-century real-life counterparts because of some form or another of the same inversionary behaviour that got them into trouble in the first place. Furthermore, employing their creative acts of memory, the authors counter-memorialise and redeem the memory of the 'old' woman-as-witch of the Salem witch hunt of 1692.

Lastly, the Salem witch hunt came to epitomise the 'old' woman-as-witch subjugation by the colonial Puritan patriarchal *status quo.* By examining it*,* we find that Castleton, Disosway, Du Bois and Watson facilitated the recreation of the cultural counter-memory of the Salem witch hunt. It became a cathartic cautionary tale.[25] Indeed, we find an "uncanny doubling between female protagonist and female reader who recognises her own vulnerability, lack of agency, and powerlessness in society," and who is made more motivated to endeavour in countering that inflicted powerlessness. (Palumbo-Desimone 397-398) Like a counter-magic spell, these instances of Romanic historical fiction conjure up the Salem witch hunt of 1692 to disenfranchise the 'old' witch's spectre and summon a new 'old' woman-as-witch in its place.

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25   For more on how the Salem witchcraft trials became an inescapable portion of the cultural memory of the American colonial past but as a cautionary tale see Gretchen Adams, *The Specter of Salem: Remembering the Witch Trials in Nineteenth-Century America.* (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

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# Travel, Culture and Memory of Mazagão

LUIZ ADRIANO DAMINELLO

During the festivity of São Tiago that takes place in Vila de Mazagão Velho in Brazil, there is a choreographic representation of a battle between Moors and Christians with elements in common with those festivities that happen in several other locations that preserve festive traditions originated between the late Middle Ages and the beginning of the Modern Age. These festivities are products of the process of the so-called Reconquista of the Iberian Peninsula and the subsequent colonization of Africa and Latin America. Christians, by reconquering the spaces lost to the "infidel Moors", encouraged feelings of aversion to any Muslim culture in general, but especially to those who, until then, were seen as friendly neighbors and who were even cause for admiration. This confrontation would not only happen with Muslims in Europe, but would also be transported to the colonies in order to guarantee the hegemony of Christianity over local religions and beliefs.

The representation of the battles between Moors and Christians is still present with great force in several places in Spain, some in Portugal, but also in other Latin American countries, mainly in Mexico, Guatemala, Port-au-Prince and Brazil. These popular cultural traditions mix festivity and religiosity to the representation of historical facts, and generally acquire great identity-defining power in a community or even in a country.

The identity forged in Vila de Mazagão Velho is like that of "imagined communities", according to the concept of Benedict Anderson (2008). In other words, the people of the village that have practiced the aforementioned display for over 250 years do not have the same cultural origin, neither ethnic nor social, nor any other relationship with the original inhabitants who created the tradition. And, as is common in many folk traditions around the world, many of the current practitioners no longer permanently inhabit the village and only return during the festive period. Thus, they reproduce the same cultural memory over and over again, resignifying it and leading it to acquire new meanings as social conditions change.

At this point it is interesting to highlight Benedict Anderson's definitions of what he calls "Imagined Communities" (Anderson, 2008). They are "imagined" because people who sometimes do not even know each other participate in and identify themselves with a particular community. Due to the construction of an identity discourse, in which some cultural or phenotypic aspects are overvalued, people start to perceive themselves as an integral part of a cohesive group. Although Anderson uses the term to discuss the formation of nations, it has served as a synonym for any community gathered around a common interest.

Before the advent of modern nations, communities were imagined around a written language that was mainly used by "book religions", such as the Latin of the Catholic Church and the archaic Arabic of the Quran. In the Middle Ages, identities emanated from a center, the kingdoms. In this centripetal and hierarchical conception, the boundaries between the realms were blurred and the marriages between people from each realm contributed to further dilute the frontiers. A population of subjects, not citizens, inhabited the paths that linked the realms. (Anderson, 2008 p. 48)

Modernity was the period of consolidation of national identities, with rigid demarcation of territories within which citizens admit to identifying themselves with the same set of cultural practices. Power zones, which were previously characterized by their center, were now characterized by their borders. According to Anderson, the invention of the printing press and, consequently, the publication of vernacular Bibles played a preponderant role for the transformation to this system of nations, with defined frontiers for the transformation to this system of nations, with defined frontiers.

In the so-called period of Modernity, the paradox of culture was accentuated in a space where, while national borders were defined and justified in many cases by cultural aspects such as language and traditional customs, mercantilization made technological advances that provided displacements and the establishment of colonialism in the African and American continents, promoting increasingly greater contacts with extremely different cultures, that thereafter mixed and resignified each other.

James Clifford, in his book *Routes, travel and translation in the late twenti-eth century* (1997), adopts the "Traveling Culture" concept, and the opposition between the words "routes" and "roots" used by other contemporaries (Hall, 1996, p.4; Gilroy, 2001, p.66), to discusses the dilemma of "culture" being a characteristic that is regionally delimited or marked by movement and hybridization – "a view of human location as constituted by displacement as much as by stasis" (Clifford, 1997. p.2).

Identities and memories, determinant aspects of a culture, are not immutable essences of the collectivity, but constructed and reconstructed through lived experiences, temporarily united by affinities, until everything changes due to new social configurations mainly due to the alternation of its actors. It is the concept of strategic, positional, circumstantial identity, which addresses questions about the use of history, language and culture in the process of "becoming" rather than "being". That is, it no longer defines who we are essentially, but where we came from, how we got here, and where we are going. The most relevant for Culture are the routes through which it travels and simultaneously create connections in time and space, "the wordly, historical routes which both constrain and empower the movements across borders and between cultures" (Clifford, 1997. p.6). Along the way, cultures blend their differences into something that Wolfgang Welsch calls "transculturalism" (to differentiate from "multiculturalism" or "interculturalism"). According to Welsch's idea (1999), the concepts of Multiculturality or Interculturality still maintain cultures as closed places of identity, with their own histories and in autonomous spheres.

> If cultures were in fact still – as these concepts suggest – constituted in the form of islands or spheres, then one could neither rid oneself of, nor solve the problem of their coexistence and cooperation. However, the description of today's cultures as islands or spheres is factually incorrect and normatively deceptive. Cultures de facto no longer have the insinuated form of homogeneity and separateness. They have instead assumed a new form, which is to be called *transcultural* insofar that it *passes through* classical cultural boundaries. Cultural conditions today are largely characterized by mixes and permeations (Welsch, 1999, p.4).

Transculturality, which is much more representative of the current hybridity of societies, exposes cultures as being extremely interconnected and entangled in one another, a mobility between countless identities. They are not national or racial identities, they are identities that happen through the contact of differences at all levels of relationships, and are more characterized by this relationship with otherness than by essentialist or original patterns.

Most authors identify this condition as a 20<sup>th</sup> century process. Clifford (1977) attributes it to global forces such as the legacies of imperial powers, the effects of world wars, and the consequences of capitalism. Others will suggest that it was not cultures that became mobile in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but the way in which studies of culture came to understand their constitution.

> A vital global cultural discourse then is quite ancient; only the increasingly settled and bureaucratized nature of academic institutions in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, conjoined with an ugly intensification of ethnocentrism, racism, and nationalism, produced the temporary illusion of sedentary, indigenous literary cultures making sporadic and half-hearted ventures toward the margins. The reality, for most of the past as once again for the present, is more about nomads than natives. (Greenblatt, 2009, p.6)

## The Village of Mazagão Velho

The town of Mazagão Velho is currently a locality of around 8,000 people (2010 census) who declare themselves as white (approximately 1,000), as black (1,000), as brown (5,000), and the rest as yellow, indigenous or of other "ethnicity" (Oliveira, 2015. p.83). A 2011 study that investigated paternal origin based on the Y chromosome estimated the population to be 52% European, 44% African and 2% indigenous[1]. This may have changed a lot in the last 10 years.

As it had a large number of Afro-descendants, the village had the right to declare itself as a *quilombola* community. But it was the only community in Amapá with the predominance of Afro-descendants that chose not to be considered as such. Probably this was in agreement with the white population who also reside there and actively participate in the preservation of customs. It may even have been because they considered that their identity is characterized by a very strong Portuguese heritage.

These Afro-descendants have been concentrated in the region since its foundation in 1770, more than 250 years ago, eventually becoming the main inhabitants. The original population, which was predominantly white Portuguese, left the place due to economic precariousness and various epidemics that occurred, only a poorer population staying behind, mainly slaves and their descendants.

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1    Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. «Sinopse do Censo Demográfico de 2010». Cited in: https://pt.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title= Mazagão_(Amapá)&oldid=60341835

The festivity of São Tiago, which takes place annually in July and lasts for several days, has processions, litanies, masked balls and culminates in a mock battle between Moors and Christians. The origin of this tradition in Mazagão Velho is in 1777 when it was called Nova Mazagão, motivated by the acclaim of D. Maria I as Queen of Portugal. In other words, a few years after the arrival of the first inhabitants (Vidal, 2008).

The Portuguese who founded the village came from a fortified Portuguese city in Morocco, which had to be evacuated in 1769 due to constant Moorish attacks, since despite the bravery of its soldiers and the resistance of its walls the Moorish siege made it almost impossible to remain. This population, by order of King José I and the strategy of his Minister Marquês de Pombal, was transferred to an Amazon region that at the time was known as Nova Andaluzia.

The Fortification of Mazagão in Morocco was founded in 1514 as part of Portugal's plans of having trading posts along the African coast to meet the needs of navigation. Subsequently the population inside the fortification experienced numerous clashes with the Moors and was victorious in several battles, a fact that has become a source of great pride for these people. Resistance to the Moors due to religion and nationalism united the population around a common mission.

Contrary to what we may think, the inhabitants of the fortification in Morocco were quite heterogeneous, a society of approximately 2,000 people divided between fixed and floating residents. Most of the permanent residents were of modest origin who found in the "fight against the infidels" the opportunity for social ascension. Enlisted in infantry and artillery, some became knights. Besides these soldiers there were a few artisans: masons, carpenters, bakers, butchers, tailors, blacksmiths, metalworkers and shoemakers, also, surgeons, clinicians and nurses, an apothecary and a master of boys (teacher). Almost half were Azoreans from the island of São Miguel, whose exodus was stimulated by overpopulation and strong volcanic activity there. They were joined by civil and religious administration personnel, around 100 people, and a small number of exiles, prisoners sentenced to banishment (Vidal, 2008). The floating population were mainly the knight commanders, rich young gentlemen who lived a lordly life and had flirtatious adventures with the dwellers' young daughters, or with women who had come with their family. They usually stayed no longer than four years. Added to them were Portuguese or foreign merchants who won the tender to supply the city for two years. Initially, Jews dominated the Moroccan trade in the 16th and 17th centuries (Vidal, 2008, p.27). They were gradually replaced by Danes, English or Dutch and finally by a population indistinctly called "Moors", Arabs who inhabited the cities of Marrakesh, Mogador and Azamor, and the Berbers who lived in nearby tribes.

In this way, we can see that in the Fortification of Mazagão in Morocco there was a society composed of different ethnic and cultural origins, without a common past and with different desires. And as reported by the local administrator at the time, dominated by jealousy, greed, gossip, slander and insubordination. An everyday life, according to him, is unbearable (Vidal, 2008, p.15). But it was also a society obsessed with a religious and heroic mission, united around the fight against the "infidel Moor," and this was the unifying identity of the fortification population.

In times of peace, when the cohesive force of war was slackened and differences were heightened, people alleviated boredom by holding parties, requested by the administration, to celebrate some local or Portuguese central government event. Among the local events, the main reason for celebration was the rescue of images of saints or of people from Mazagão who had become prisoners of the Moors.

Much of this heterogeneous population, grouped within the walls of Mazagão, dispersed when they had to leave Morocco. The nobles and richest went to Lisbon. The others were moved to Brazil, assigned to the "heroic mission" of colonizing and protecting the region from constant attacks by the French, English and Spanish. They did not all arrive in Brazil at the same time, taking about two years to transfer, and many of them left the group upon arrival in Brazil. Those who went to Nova Mazagão had to live on boats for a long time, awaiting the completion of the construction of the village, and succumbed to various epidemic diseases.

Flagellated and abandoned to their fate, eager to attract the kingdom's attention for better conditions, they inaugurated in 1777 the festivity of São Tiago on account of the crowning of D. Maria I as Queen of Portugal. It is worth remembering that despite the initiative and great popular participation, most festivities took place at the behest of authorities who requested that they celebrate on their behalf. These festivities were among the only collective social celebrations that favored contact between different social classes, allowing the participation of blacks and indigenous peoples, albeit with restrictions and prejudices, but permitting at least some participation in the public space (Oliveira, p.86).

Thus, a Portuguese population of diverse origin, but identified by the daily confrontations with the Moors in Morocco for over two centuries, after having part of its members dispersed along the way, arrived in the Brazilian Mazagão and, together with the enslaved Africans, reinforced their identity through the festive representation of earlier battles experienced with such fanaticism in Morocco.

Over time, as the original inhabitants of Vila de Mazagão in Brazil were leaving the place, the enslaved Afro-descendants who did not live the life of knights

and never knew the Moors, took on this collective memory for themselves. The adoption was so intense that many of the narratives that still exist today describe contemporary practitioners as descendants of ancient Moroccan Africans. An identity that traveled from one continent to another and was firmly established in the new location, withstood the time and the replacement of its population, and became a valuable "social capital" (Putnam, 2000), a set of practices and trust relationships that encourages cooperation and continuity in the organization of social life in the village.

For a long time after the Portuguese left Mazagão Velho, those who remained in the town had little contact with the metropolises, which was only possible by a long boat trip. This isolation helped reinforce the identity cohesion around the villages's memories, and the new actors attributed an originality to themselves as they also considered themselves descendants of the Moroccan African inhabitants who had migrated to Brazil to found the village and its traditions.

Currently, Mazagão Velho is a rural village which was once one of the main agricultural producers in the region but which now has little economic importance, with its inhabitants living primarily from family farming, subsistence extractivism, public services or tourism. This fact has increasingly caused the migration of young people and adults to larger cities with the intention of studying or obtaining more profitable jobs. Despite this distance, they still feel like "children of the place" and always return to visit family members or to participate in the festivities. The village and its traditions exert an enormous sense of identity on those who are, or once were, its inhabitants.

It is assumed that the survival of the festive tradition is precisely in its ability to transform and resignify itself, adapting to new social configurations. At a certain point in the town's history, tradition was perceived as a rite of affirmation of collective identity. From the moment that the poorest population remained in the town after the original Portuguese residents abandoned it, they took over the organization of the festivity, reconfiguring it with the elements of their African origins, creating the "roots" of the tradition as it presents itself today.

## Conclusions

What we can see as characteristic in the History of Mazagão Velho and the Festivity of São Tiago is an incessant mobility. We conclude that identities and memories, determinant aspects of a culture, are not immutable essences of the collectivity, but constructed and reconstructed through lived experiences, temporarily united by affinities, until everything changes due to new social

configurations and especially to the alternation of its actors. It is the concept of strategic, positional, circumstantial identity which addresses questions about the use of history, language and culture in the process of "becoming" rather than "being". That is, it no longer defines who we are essentially, but where we came from, how we got here, and where we are going. (Hall, 1996, p.4). Thus, we are led to understand cultural identities not as closed systems, spaces defined by borders that gather people who perceive themselves as identical, but as a network of roads, where alterities meet and exchange luggage. Identity is an attribute that is defined from the moment it establishes the relationship with the other, the alterity. Sociologist Zevedei Barbu, using the topological vocabulary of philosopher Michel Serre who participated in the *L'identite seminar*[2], states that

> identity is the conceptual result of living in a variety of spaces, thus interconnected – a knot that is tied at the intersection of a series of spaces. In other words, identity is neither pure difference nor pure equality, but the meeting point and a supercession of the two. (Barbu, 1979, p.294).

In other words, identity is not a mark of an individual in the midst of a group, or even the mark of a group in the midst of a society. It is not what characterizes the individual, differentiating him from the other, nor what individuals have in common. Instead, identity, which is inseparable from otherness, would lie in the relationships that bind people and groups and their differences. The common agreements that are built from the encounters of diversities and that allow human relationships at all levels. This creates the possibility of multiple cultural alternatives for the same individual, in a complex tangle of social groupings no longer defined by delimited geographic space, historical ancestry or even language, but by the identity criteria that allow a collective action in world society. Thus, a person can be linked to a community that works for gender equality, while militating in another community for climate issues. The combinations of choices that determine an identity can be unique and thus define an individual identity, while allowing it to be part of multiple collective identities, overturning the myth of civilization or cultural division that sees and explains the person in a way that it is affiliated with only one identity and a single group or community.

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2    *L'Identité*: Séminaire Interdisciplinaire dirigé par Claude Lévi-Strauss (1974-1975). Bernard Grasset, Paris, 1977.

The case of Mazagão is a good example when we want to identify the roots and routes of a culture. A history characterized by transculturality that encompasses "various ways of life and cultures, which also interpenetrate or emerge from each other" (Welsch, 1999, p.4). From soldiers of the cross to depatriates, then settlers, then enslaved and then Mazaganians, from fortified city to memory city, then colonial city and then Afro-descendant city, Mazagão became a cultural institution endowed with a collective memory that did not dissipate, it only added elements and changed meanings to its original vocation, which was to resist its own destruction.

But, the memory of Mazagão no longer belongs only to its inhabitants. The community, which was of difficult access until 2016, (exclusively by river), entered a new phase from that date with the construction of a bridge that allowed a more intense contact with the outside world. The bridge provided better work and study opportunities outside the village and also boosted the arrival of tourists and researchers who gave new meaning to the memory of Mazagão.

Nowadays, natives and outsiders constantly arrive and depart in the pendular movement that swings between the search for modernity and the preservation of traditions. Houses fall apart and family members separate, but the original narrative has such power that, even so, it remains the unifying element of Mazagão's identity. Relegated to the most remote places, from its origins in Morocco to the present day, they recall from generation to generation, in the form of festive and religious ritual, their dramatic cultural memory, incessantly fighting not to be forgotten.

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# A fé e seus fantasmas: as imagens transculturais de Guadalupe em *Borderlands/La Frontera*, de Glória Anzaldúa

*Faith and its phantoms: transcultural images of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Gloria Anzaldúa's* Borderlands/La Frontera

LENNON NOLETO

## 1. Introdução – sobre a imagem

O presente texto é, sobretudo, uma investigação sobre o que pode ser uma *imagem*. Este vocábulo não define estritamente doutrinas e sistemas unicamente visuais, mas igualmente as formas de conhecer e de conceituar fundantes do pensamento ocidental. A etimologia da palavra "imagem" remete à criação do mito, uma vez que *imago* se refere no latim à representação ou projeção de algo e, em sentido mais poético, corresponde a noções hodiernas como fantasma, espíritos e visões sobrenaturais. (Torrinha, 1942) A antropóloga brasileira Sylvia Novaes reflete sobre três termos incontornáveis no campo da antropologia visual: *imagem*, *imaginação* e *magia*. A autora parte precisamente do termo *imagem* como historicamente oposto a *texto*, sendo este ligado ao imediatamente inteligível, descodificável e compartilhável. *Texto* provém de *textum*, tecido ou entrelaçamento, o que leva a crer que "(...) em todos [os gêneros de texto] se percebe a tessitura das palavras do autor, mesmo quando este não é nomeado. Tal não ocorre com a *imagem*" (Novaes, 2008, p. 455, grifo nosso)

Em todo caso, interessa à autora (bem como à nossa própria investigação) em que medida a imagem é também magia. Conforme escreve a antropóloga, o termo é também imbuído de carga esotérica (um forjamento da realidade),

ou seja, um processo de criação e apropriação daquilo que se representa. Daí Novaes reafirmar a teoria do historiador Arnold Hauser: "As pinturas rupestres perseguem objetivos mágicos, com animais frequentemente representados atravessados por flechas ou lanças, além do desenho de figuras humanas disfarçadas em animais, ocupadas em danças mágicas. São pinturas naturalistas." (Novaes, 2008, p. 458)

Tal dimensão mágica colapsa a lógica da "semelhança" e torna a imagem um processo também constitutivo da realidade. Contudo, deve-se observar que esta dimensão deixa de ser uma mediação entre o físico e o espiritual, passando a uma conjuração de ambos e uma dominação sobre aquele que é representado. A imagem é então a força criadora, não mais relativa a algo, um *medium* funcional, mas o próprio criador. A palavra *magia*, remonta ao grego antigo *mageía*, que designava a produção de fenômenos com intervenção sobrenatural; a magia, diferente da religião, não é uma realidade doutrinada a partir do sobrenatural, é um arcabouço de possibilidades, "um tesouro de ideias". (Novaes, 2008, p. 456) À luz desta etimologia[1], a imagem é também mágica, e isto não se deve apenas à capacidade de criar, iludir, enganar ou impressionar: o mito, a religião e o conhecimento são fundamentalmente imagens.

A análise a que nos propusemos será importante para as reflexões que daqui partem. Primeiramente, o objeto de nosso estudo é precisamente um texto que se comporta como imagem: um "algo" enigmático, fragmentário, relativo a outrem; em segundo lugar, se a imagem é de algum modo cultura, esta definição nos auxilia a estabelecer um denominador comum e, assim, evitar dicotomias como "lógico" *versus* "irracional", "visível" *versus* "invisível", "objetivo" *versus* "subjetivo" etc. Em outras palavras, se recuperamos a noção de imagem como capacidade de apropriação e montagem da realidade, podemos avistar no mesmo horizonte quão indissociáveis são as diferentes esferas da cultura. Tendo em vista tal abordagem, partiremos para a reflexão sobre o livro *Borderlands/La Frontera*, de Glória Anzaldúa.

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1    Haveria uma conexão entre as palavras *magia* e *imagem*. No entanto, nosso estudo não encontrou trabalhos de filologia contemporânea fiáveis que atestem parentesco entre os vocábulos. Novaes chega a citar um artigo de Olgária Matos (1991), no qual se levanta a hipótese de ambas as palavras terem uma raiz comum no idioma pérsico. Contudo, o próprio texto de Matos apresenta insegurança quanto a tal associação.

## 2. *Borderlands/La Frontera*, de Glória Anzaldúa

Este estudo trata de menções de índole diversa à Virgem de Guadalupe[2] no ensaio *Borderlands/La Fronteira*, publicado no ano de 1987 por Glória Anzaldúa.[3] Tal ensaio constitui um texto fundamentalmente político cujo problema central é a terra sem territórios originada pela divisão geográfica entre México e Estados Unidos. Pode-se resumir o conceito de "*Borderland*", tal como proposto por Anzaldúa, à denominação de uma terra cuja materialização é precisamente a fronteira, e não um lugar demarcado. Neste sentido, podemos afirmar que a *borderland* é, de certo modo, uma terra indocumentada. O ensaio adota recursos formais explicitamente híbridos: a obra é dividida em duas seções maiores, sendo a primeira composta de sete capítulos concebidos como texto teórico, ao mesmo tempo em que essa linguagem é interrompida por trechos poéticos (tanto em verso quanto em prosa) à guisa de imagens que complementam as discussões propostas; num segundo momento, Anzaldúa dedica-se a trabalhos exclusivamente poéticos que, por sua vez, variam quanto ao estilo narrativa.

Do ponto de vista propriamente linguístico, a autora recorre aos diversos idiomas falados pela população *chicana* na América do Norte, o que se manifesta num constante saltitar (*switching*) entre palavras em inglês e espanhol ao longo do texto. Por isso, Carla Portilho (Portilho, 2013) toma a obra como sendo um exemplo de escrita em *spanglish*, denominação que porém não é adotada por parte de Anzaldúa. A este respeito, diga-se de passagem, Anzaldúa apresenta uma lista de diversos dialetos falados pelos *chicanos*, de entre os quais ela própria não elege nenhum como língua em uso no livro *Borderlands/ La Fronteira*.

O termo "chicano" fora sempre adotado nos Estados Unidos como pejorativo para referir-se à população cujos antepassados proviam do México, mais precisamente da separação entre os dois países formalizada pelo Tratado de Guadalupe-Hidalgo em 1848. Acerca desse Tratado, cabe dizer que marcou o fim da Guerra México-Americana, a partir da qual o México cede 1.38 milhão de quilômetros quadrados de seu território, além de outras negociações econômicas, de modo a sobrepor uma divisão geográficas à população. Segundo a perspectiva a que nos centramos aqui, a população estado-unidense, mais exatamente anglo-americana, sempre identificará o povo advindo daquela cisão como estrangeiros.

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2    Será referida doravante apenas como "Guadalupe".
3    Utilizamos neste artigo a segunda edição da obra, publicada em 1999.

Assim, a teoria chicana não parte de um fluxo migratório de um país para o outro – por exemplo, via travessia ilegal da fronteira –, mas pensa que o território entre ambos os países é, por si só, um país-fronteira, um lugar que nunca poderá existir no mapa e que, ao mesmo tempo, sempre se fará presente nas pessoas que dele vêm, sempre como uma *ferida*. O Movimento Chicano surge, por ações políticas, nos anos 1940 questionando a sociedade americana em seus paradigmas raciais. Mas, enquanto teoria, será concretizado na década de 1980, altura em que se circula uma produção sobretudo literária que desafia o cânone escolar tradicional. É no ano de 1981 que se funda o *Mexican American Studies & Research Center* (Centro de Estudos e Pesquisa méxico-americanos).

No presente trabalho, centramo-nos especificamente nas referências à Virgem de Guadalupe presentes na obra, sem, contudo, deixarmos de ter em conta a potência crítica dos modos como a autora os expõe. Primeiramente, deve estar explícito que existem duas dimensões principais relativas à Virgem de Guadalupe. Por um lado, seria uma figura religiosa trazida através da colonização espanhola e utilizada como instrumento de consolidação. Neste contexto a Virgem funciona em *Borderlands* como uma espécie de emblema de pureza virginal feminina, na qual noções como abnegação, castidade e servidão são materializadas no corpo de uma mulher. Já a segunda dimensão diz respeito à agregação da Virgem à cultura mexicana/chicana como elemento supostamente identitário e de resistência, resultando da narrativa em torno da imagem da Santa. A Igreja Católica reconhece a primeira aparição da Virgem ocorrida em 8 de dezembro de 1531, quando o indígena Juan Diego teria avistado uma santa com o tom de pele semelhante aos índios e que, autodeclarada Virgem Maria, pedia-lhe a construção de uma igreja naquele local. A Virgem dá-lhe um pano feito de *tilma* (espécie de tecido de palma) contendo sua imagem para que Diego comprovasse a aparição perante o Arcebispo de Zumárraga.[4] Conforme se observa em Borderlands/La Fronteira, ambas as facetas convergem na corporeidade da mulher chicana, que é apresentada como um ser híbrido que se deve recorrer das suas diversas "origens" para poder sobreviver na sociedade (Anzaldúa, 1999, pp. 96–97).

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4    Além da reprodução da narrativa feita pela autora, pode-se o caráter oficial ainda mantido pela Igreja Católica. A este respeito, conferir(Insigne y Nacional Basílica de Santa María de Guadalupe, n.d.).

Figura 1: Anônimo, *imagem feita em tecido de palma (tilma) atribuída à revelação de Juan Diego Tepeyac*, demais materiais e técnica desconhecidos, s/d. Basílica de Nossa Senhora de Guadalupe, México.

A investigação que levamos a cabo até ao momento aponta sete referências (explícitas ou implícitas) à Virgem de Guadalupe. A primeira delas se encontra já no primeiro capítulo, "*The Homeland, Aztlán*". Essa primeira ocorrência está em um poema cuja tônica é a travessia ilegal da fronteira: a ideia de fronteira é confrontada com metáforas da água, mais especificamente em relação ao mar e ao Rio Grande, que divide ambos os países, e a própria diagramação emula movimentos de ondas. (figura 2)
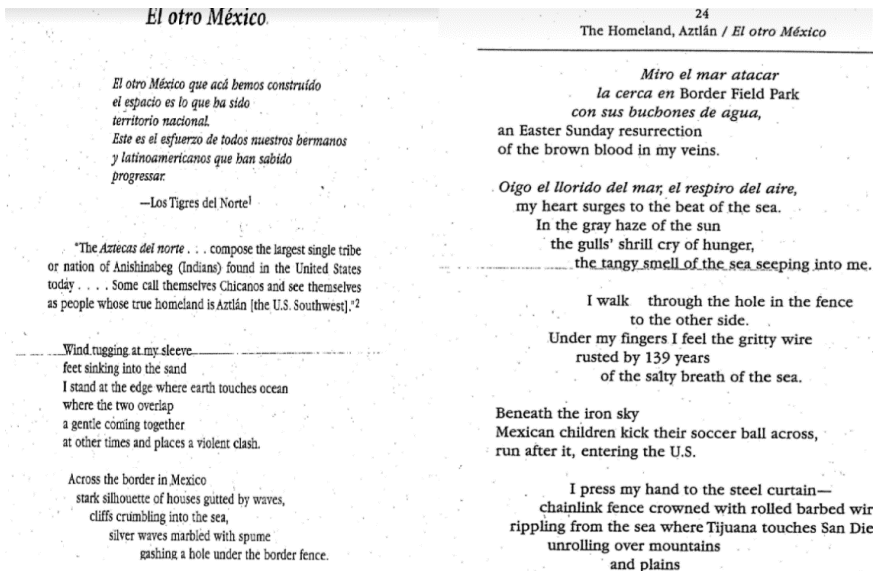


Figura 2: *Disposição gráfica do poema que abre o primeiro capítulo de* Borderlands/La Frontera, edição de 1999, pp.23-24, imagens editadas pelo autor.

A referência mais robusta à santa ocorre no terceiro capítulo, *Entering Into the Serpent*, no qual se descreve o mito de Guadalupe associado a outras duas figuras femininas: *Malinche* e a *la Llorona*. Primeiramente, a autora ativa a perspectiva onírica por meio de um conto sobre um acidente com uma cobra. No acidente, a vítima e o animal se unem através da peçonha que circula no sangue. (Anzaldúa, 1999, p. 48) A metáfora da serpente tem duas funções importantes: primeiramente, condensa um culto ao animal entre diversos povos da Mesoamérica (sobretudo os Nahuatl) associado a deidades femininas que representavam a fertilidade e a terra; em segundo lugar, a serpente, animal demonizado pelo cristianismo, equivale ao corpo feminino, que é suprimido e subjugado. A autora opera uma etimologia a partir de *Coatlapeuh*, que teria se tornado mais tarde *Guadalupe*. A identificação de Coatlapeuh a Guadalupe faz chocar a mulher-deidade e detentora de poderes com uma figura de pura abnegação, bondade e assexualidade.

Contudo, há uma reviravolta nas páginas seguintes, em que se descreve o mito da Virgem. Em tal ponto, Anzaldúa trata da narrativa de Juan Diego, do processo de canonização no século XVII e de como a santa se torna um símbolo de identificação e sobrevivência da população mexicana/chicana. Nas revoluções, revoltas e travessias, a Virgem é também alguém do *Borderland*, uma santa católica e indígena, presente em todos os chicanos no sectarismo social. Segundo Anzaldúa, "*ela é, como minha raça, uma síntese do velho e do novo mundo da religião e da cultura de duas raças em nossa psique, os conquistadores e os conquistados.*" (Anzaldúa, 1999, p. 52, tradução nossa) Outra referência surgirá no último capítulo, *La conciencia de la mestiza/Towards a New Consciousness*, em que Guadalupe é apontada como a "boa mãe" que está para além da falsa dicotomia entre sagrado e o profano. (Anzaldúa, 1999, p. 106)

Na seção de poemas encontram-se mais cinco referências: *Immaculate, Inviolate: Como Ella*, em que a autora parece identificar a Virgem à vida de sua avó, uma mulher chicana que cumpre os papéis matrimoniais, guarda luto pelo marido e recusa-se a falar de sexualidade (Anzaldúa, 1999, pp. 130–133); *Cultures*, que retrata a travessia da fronteira pela aridez do México e que culmina em uma captura policial violenta (Anzaldúa, 1999, pp. 142–145); *En el nombre de todas las madres que han perdido sus hijos en la guerra*, em que uma mãe indígena reza pela salvação de seu filho morto pela guerra (Anzaldúa, 1999, pp. 182–185); *La Curandera*, no qual a Virgem é concebida como entidade anímica, sendo a própria natureza (Anzaldúa, 1999, pp. 198–201); finalmente, a *Canción de la diosa de la noche* referirá a Virgem implicitamente e mesclada ao mito da *Llorona*, um espírito que rouba crianças, sendo essa figura feminina referida como "a mãe" ou "*la diosa*". (Anzaldúa, 1999, pp. 221–228)

O que nos propusemos é questionar como um encadeamento subjacente àquela imagem mariana. Contudo, justificamos que por "encadeamento" não se entende aqui uma relação de causa e efeito, mas que existe um cruzamento de cronologias que são passíveis de serem revolvidas, por assim dizer. Retomando nossa definição de "imagem", ela auxilia a compreender o exercício próprio da memória de assimilação e construção da realidade e que, assumidamente, aglutina a atividade mítica e poética ao plano objetivo da história.

No caso da Virgem de Guadalupe, ela seria, a princípio, um culto iniciado na Extremadura espanhola no século XVII. Foi também a mesma santa a que o rei Fernando de Aragão atribuiu vitória na chamada "Reconquista" da Península Ibérica Já como "rainha da hispanidade", a figura da santa é trazida às Américas e publicamente venerada pelo conquistador Hernán Cortez.[5] No ensaio de Anzaldúa, a Virgem é uma personificação do território inominado, *Borderland*, reativada como uma um território conquistado e derrotado: cristã, igualmente indígena, mestiça, pura e serpente, padroeira dos ilegais. O exercício proposto pela autora estende a imagem à sua contradição e a agrega a um processo autobiográfico de memória.

Antes de examinarmos o referido encadeamento de imagens, refletiremos sobre as imagens culturais do ensaio. Para tal, traremos a seguir a noção de "transculturalidade", perspectiva teórica desenvolvida nos anos 1990 e com a qual se pretende tratar da relação entre fronteiras e culturas.

## 3. Imagens transculturais: uma proposta de excursão teórica

A *transculturalidade* é simultaneamente um conceito e uma perspectiva teórica propostos por Wolfgang Welsch nos anos noventa, primeiramente num texto de 1992 que depois contaria com diversas adaptações em publicações diversas. De modo a familiarizar o leitor com o assunto, tomaremos como referência o seu livro *Transkulturalität. Realität – Geschichte – Aufgabe* [Transculturalidade. Realidade – História – Tarefa], já que é o seu trabalho mais recente (2017) e amadurecido sobre o tema.

A indagação de Welsch diz inicial e principalmente respeito ao tradicional modelo esférico de cultura que assenta em determinada nação ou território, modelo esse que se torna cada vez mais obsoleto diante das reconfigurações globais dos últimos séculos. O autor se dirige ao filósofo alemão Johann Gottfried

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5    O que se atesta, por exemplo, pelo fato de Cortés ter oferecido à Virgem um escorpião de ouro como *ex-voto* após a conquista do México. (Martínez, 2015, p. 504)

Herder (1744 – 1803), que terá proposto no século XVIII um modelo a partir da "cultura nacional"[6]: a cultura alcança o bem-viver *em si mesma* tal e qual uma esfera. Daí Welsch extrai duas consequências:

> Primeiramente, toda cultura deve ser internamente homogênea. Acredita-se que todos os membros de uma cultura tenham a mesma forma de vida (...).

> Em segundo lugar, o modelo esférico decreta demarcações estritas com o exterior. Se uma determinada cultura é caracterizada através de formas de vida específicas, então outra cultura precisa ser caracterizada por outras formas de vida (...). Na medida em que se segue o modelo esférico, *as culturas* são polarizadas em alteridade, diferença e demarcação. (Welsch, 2017, pp. 10–11, tradução e grifo nossos)

O termo "formas de vida", por certo proveniente de sua formação filosófica, acompanha Welsch nas reflexões sobre os graus de diferenciação entre culturas. Este ponto é fundamental para entender seu posicionamento. O autor apresenta dois níveis nomeados, respetivamente, *macro* e *micro* da cultura. (Welsch, 2017, pp. 13–18) Parafraseando Welsch, uma "cultura" já é diversa *em si mesma*, uma vez que cada indivíduo possui formas de vidas diversas – por sua percepção do mundo, hábitos, atitudes – e que não é estritamente regulada pela tradição. Em segundo lugar, essa mesma "cultura" é constituída por formas de vida remetentes a outras "culturas", sendo a cultura essencialmente um hibridismo; há ainda o fator moderno/contemporâneo da globalização, que torna cada vez mais difícil estabelecer uma genealogia das migrações culturais, de modo que a singularidade (de um indivíduo ou de uma coletividade) não seja mais um fator identitário, mas corresponda à própria dinâmica entre culturas. Em outras palavras, uma "cultura" não pode ser formada sem que haja formas de vida ulteriores vindas de outra "cultura".

Astrid Erll équem, de modo mais ostensivo, retoma a perspectiva lançada por Welsch e propõe diferentes modos de se enxergar a cultura. Em verdade, a autora concentra-se muito mais na determinação territorial/fronteiriça, ou seja, no *lugar* da cultura. Esse questionamento pode-se observar em um de seus

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6    Caberia questionar a leitura por parte de Welsch. Contudo, o a interpretação não afeta a qualidade de suas conclusões, haja vista que, conforme explicaremos a seguir, seu interesse será superar a individualização da cultura, o "intercultural". Em nota de rodapé, o próprio Welsch reconhece as contribuições de Herder no sentido de tornar horizontais as diferentes modalidades de cultura – o modelo eurocêntrico, a alta e a baixa cultura etc. – e fazer frente ao Iluminismo. O questionamento do autor é precisamente acerca da imagem discursiva adotada por Herder, nomeadamente esférica. (Welsch, 2017, n. 7)

primeiros textos sobre a transculturalidade, nomeadamente *Travelling Memories* (Erll, 2011), no qual se faz um resgate conceitual na história das chamadas ciências da cultura. Erll faz uma exposição sobre a compreensão da memória cultural(J. Assmann, 2016) por pensadores dos séculos XIX e XX, sendo o ponto de partida o sociólogo francês Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945). A autora resgata o conceito de "quadros sociais", a partir do qual Halbwachs afirma ser o indivíduo capaz de gerar diferentes formas de memória, uma vez que a experiência individual seleciona e conecta memórias de modos distintos. Contudo, o problema na noção de Halbwachs está em alocar na comunidade o papel decisivo na constituição da memória coletiva (Erll, 2011, p. 10). Conceber o indivíduo como um ator pressupõe um "lugar comum" (o palco) no qual suas formas de lembrar e produzir cultura não valem mais que uma cultura em geral, ou seja, um senso comunitário que dita as regras e necessidades a serem atendidas. Se a memória coletiva acaba por se sobrepor à memória histórica, isto significa reduzir o indivíduo a um papel secundário, quase colateral, já que a importância está precisamente na semelhança entre as ações de indivíduos, pois se pressupõe uma função anterior à própria cultura. Diga-se de passagem, o próprio Halbwachs aponta que essas similaridades tendem a ser reforçadas pela proximidade. Uma família, para estabelecer costumes, recorre necessariamente a um lugar para alocar as memórias, segundo um grau de proximidade e seguindo uma lógica própria: "No caso do grupo familiar, a similaridade de memórias é um mero sinal de uma comunidade de interesses e pensamentos". (Halbwachs, 1992, p. 52)

O modo como Erll reativa o conceito de transculturalidade é peculiar: não lhe interessa endossar uma nova diretriz teórica, mas apontar como a divisão e distinção cultural já se mostravam frágeis ou não convincentes na história dos estudos em cultura. Por isso, ela dedica-se a apontar como a transculturalidade sempre foi um problema intrínseco – embora não explícito – à concepção de cultura e à tradição teórica que tentou estabelecer (ainda mais) fronteiras que justificassem a cultura como um conceito definido. Podemos dizer, de modo mais elaborado, que Erll deseja deslocar a cultura enquanto conceito e posicioná-la precisamente como movimento da atividade humana. Isto é algo a ser notado, sobretudo, quando a autora assume seu interesse na teoria de Wolfgang Welsch, que, de modo bifacetado, "descreve os fenômenos que avançam *através* e – eventualmente, como resultado do processo contemporâneo de globalização – também *além* das culturas." (Erll, 2011, p. 14, tradução nossa, grifos da autora)

Mais recentemente, Erll propôs uma categorização teórica a qual intitulou "perspectivas transnacionais e transculturais". A esquematização é elucidativa e auxilia a perceber algumas implicações importantes da transculturalidade. Tal como os territórios são cada vez menos precisos, as modalidades de cultura

– por exemplo, as mídias – são cada vez menos definidas por campos modais, pois "segundo o conceito de lembrança transcultural, trata-se da circulação e da mistura de conteúdos, formas, mídias e práticas de memória." (Erll, 2017, p. 125, tradução nossa) Apoiada em Chiara de Cesari e Ann Rigney (2014), Erll ativa as noções de *articulação*, *circulação* e *multi-escalonamento* para caracterizar o exame apropriado da memória no contexto contemporâneo. Os três pontos levantados pela autora já não dizem respeito unicamente ao caráter móvel da memória, mas também à sua manifestação e sua (possível) localização num espaço-tempo cada vez menos identitário em sentido literal. Designadamente, as novas investigações sobre a memória (i) acompanham[7] o movimento da memória; (ii) mostram a heterogeneidade do acervo mnemônico e abrem-no à participação de minorias sociais; e (iii) permitem que a memória se estendo nível micro ao macrossocial, ou seja, uma lembrança pode ser relativa a um indivíduo, à sua família ou a várias nações (Erll, 2017, p. 123)

Fica clara a aglutinação do *transnacional* (de Cesari e Rigney) à transculturalidade, e esta escolha não é tão óbvia quanto parece: há uma relativização não apenas das instituições que detêm o acervo da memória[8], mas também dos agentes da memória (indivíduos) que tendem a ser cada vez menos limitados pelo poder institucional ou por uma definição autóctone; contraditoriamente, a criação da "identidade cultural" (individual, familiar, comunitária etc.) está mais relacionada com a disponibilidade de elementos mnemônicos que circulam e, sobretudo, com o *modo* como circulam e interagem com o indivíduo. Em outras palavras, o caráter extensivo da transculturalidade não pretende tornar os elementos mnemônicos fluídos, mas acompanhar a fluidez que lhe são próprias, sobretudo se levamos em conta a crescente dificuldade em identificar se uma memória é apropriada, imposta ou produzida. Seja o discurso de uma instituição ou a autoproclamação do indivíduo, a memória cultural tende a caber cada vez menos num rigorismo metodológico, muitas vezes historicista, que requer linearidade à luz de noções como "origem", "modificação", "fim" ou "diversidade".

Ora, o que restaria então a tal perspectiva investigar? Segundo o nosso entendimento, a questão central reside no processo, no deslocamento e na constituição de espaços-tempos por parte da cultura. Um discurso identitário, seja ele

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7    Cabe notar que Erll utiliza, no texto original, o verbo *nachverfolgen*, que pode ser traduzido como "compreender", "perceber" ou ainda "rastrear", "acompanhar". Este uso nos parece pressupor uma posição teórica de paralelismo, na qual a teoria acompanha o seu objeto num processo extensivo, diferentemente de um entendimento meramente cognitivo ou investigativo.

8    Assimilamos "acervo" como análogo à noção de "arquivo" de Aleida Assmann: dispositivo institucional receptor do que é captado pelo cânone e referência cumulativa da memória. (A. Assmann, 2016, pp. 77–78)

tornado mais ou menos legítimo, é uma espécie de lastro do *modus operandi*, das associações entre memórias e dos apagamentos sobre os quais aquele se ergue. De modo conclusivo, entendemos que a transculturalidade visa entender a cultura de dentro para fora. Neste sentido, podemos também compreender a cultura enquanto constituição *poiética*, uma vez que cada elemento mnemônico é literalmente integrado numa determinada composição, embora as motivações para tal composição não sejam muitas vezes claras ou conscientes.

Finalmente, gostaríamos de recuperar a discussão sobre imagens apresentada de início e propor, como orientação deste trabalho, a noção de *imagens transculturais*. Por ora, esta noção de "imagens transculturais" parece-nos adequada para exprimir o caráter multimodal dos média sendo estes o aspecto propriamente *produzido* e performado na cultura em circulação e articulação com outros componentes. Apoiamo-nos, sobretudo, na discussão de Astrid Erll em seu texto "*Medien des kollektiven Gedächtnis – ein (errinerungs-) kulturwissenschaftlicher Kompaktbegriff*"[Os m*édia da memória coletiva – um conceito* compacto em ciências da cultura [mnemônicas]). A partir desse capítulo de um livro sobre mídia e memória cultural coeditado por Erll, depreende-se que a abordagem horizontal da cultura implica, em última instância, um notório alargamento da compreensão dos artefatos culturais: são eles a própria cultura, não apenas um *meio* de expressão ou representação de diferentes "culturas". Dito de outro modo, a chamada expressão cultural é, na verdade, a natureza basicamente modal (mediática) da cultura, uma vez que o processo de memória é, de início, quase sempre um médium; trata-se dos procedimentos poiéticos[9] (Erll, 2004).

Após a nossa justificação baseada em Wolfgan Welsch Astrid Erll, que de momento nos parece a mais apropriada à abordagem que aqui se segue, cabe ainda dizer que não pretendemos efetivamente compreender a cultura exclusivamente enquanto imagem. "Imagem" é utilizada como uma categoria metodológica para desdobrar a "cultura" enquanto média, sem distinguir, por exemplo, o meio de expressão da função simbólica, a forma do conteúdo etc. Portanto, compreendemos a imagem enquanto potencialidade multimodal das funções ritualísticas sociais, capaz de constituir tempos, gerar e ser gerada enquanto produção e, por fim, ser apreensível em seus mais diferentes aspectos, uma vez que o caráter multimodal é, segundo nosso entendimento, um processo de interpretação da realidade. Assim, retornaremos agora ao texto de Anzaldúa de modo

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9    Devemos o termo à autora. Cabe ressaltar que, em termos lexicais, o vocábulo "poético" refere-se muito mais à capacidade produtora, ao passo que "poético" remete a um processo interpretativo e adaptativo da realidade.

a indicar como as imagens da Virgem de Guadalupe podem ser identificadas enquanto diferentes facetas de um processo ritualístico, que neste caso se refere ao culto a Guadalupe.

## 4. Retornando a Anzaldúa – imagens de Guadalupe

Conforme já se explicitou, a primeira menção a Guadalupe no ensaio *Borderlamnd/ La Frontera* está relacionada com a água. O lugar comum dá água como elemento vital ao ser humano, sobretudo para a manutenção básica da vida, fatores aqui alguns fatores específicos. A fronteira entre México e Estados Unidos é majoritariamente marcada pelo Rio Grande, trecho que se estende desde o Golfo do México até a cidade de El Paso. A zona em questão é historicamente conhecida por ser uma zona de travessia ilegal, sobretudo por parte de imigrantes provenientes da América Latina que querem adentrar o território estadunidense.

Ao mesmo tempo em que temos a metáfora de um elemento vital, há igualmente um processo de sacrifício e calvário, que envolve o apelo ao sobrenatural diante da morte. Mas essa morte fronteiriça não é só interruptiva e punitiva: há na fronteira natural uma energia feminina que intercede e com força própria. Ela é mais potente que a fronteira humana e, curiosamente, é um ponto que o *mojado*[10] pode identificar como sendo o seu lugar de origem. A diagramação das estrofes emula as ondas do rio e se apresenta também como uma prece diante do sacrifício: uma prece que inclui dados geográficos, o uso do *spanglish* e, finalmente, o atravessador que encontra seu lugar. O fim da prece ocorre quando a própria autora, nascida no Texas, se coloca como uma *mojada* que encontrou o lugar a que pertence: "*Yo soy um puente tendido/ del mundo gabacho al del mochado/ lo passa me estira pa' tras/ y lo presente pa' 'delante, / Que la Virgen de Guadalupe me cuide/ Ay ay ay soy mexicana de este lado*." (Anzaldúa, 1999, p. 25) . Essa força aquática é tornada fronteira, mas é uma força que derruba cercas de metal, identificada a *Yemanyá*, uma deusa (orixá) cultuada no contexto africano e afro-diaspórico.

Em seguida, é retratado a chegada à margem do rio, ao agarramento desesperado à grama, quando se pede a benção pela travessia a ponto de completar-se. É uma travessia, como escreve a autora, sem benefício de pontes, de pessoas desnudas com suas roupas à cabeça, de pés descalços e sem instrução, no ponto em que "onde dois mundos convergem onde [Ronald] Regan chama de linha de frente, uma zona de guerra" (Anzaldúa, 1999, p. 33) A ponte não é um caminho, mas aquele

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10    "Molhado", termo para caracterizar os que atravessam o Rio Grande para entrar adentrar os Estados Unidos.

que atravessa, o "*tendido*" que condessa esse ínterim geográfico sem nome. A prece a Guadalupe ocorre aqui depois da descrição de um indivíduo que é, mas que não pertence a nada, apenas um corpo sem roupas, sem calçado, em contacto direto com a limitação natural benéfica ao recorte geopolítico. Portanto, as primeiras menções, ainda que tensas num plano descritivo, não levantam ainda a questão de Guadalupe como instrumentação de colonização, mas como única intervenção acessível quando se deseja modificar a realidade e escapar à punição por meio da morte.

A terceira menção, no capítulo "*Entering Into the Serpent*", é uma exposição crítica e política sobre a constituição da identidade feminina na cultura mexicana/chicana, tendo como propulsor a deusa *Coatlalopeuh*, que, segundo a autora, dá origem a outra deidade: *Tonantsi*, figura constituída mais tardiamente dentro da sociedade Nahuatl e transformada em deusa provedora dos cactos. *Coatlalopeuh*, a primeira divindade, era uma mulher com saia feita de serpentes, guerreira, fortemente sexual e que possuía um lado "sombrio". O consequente abrandamento (por parte da cultura patriarcal) da deusa na própria sociedade Nahuatl seria o ensejo do qual os colonizadores se aproveitaram para identificá--la a Guadalupe. Conforme se escreve, Guadalupe foi uma transfiguração necessária para familiarizar a santa à população indígena, fator facilitado sobretudo pelas semelhanças fonéticas com *Coatlalopeuh*, que ainda hoje é o nome indígena para a Virgem. (Anzaldúa, 1999, pp. 47–49) A seguir, a autora dedica-se a explorar a narrativa em torno da aparição da Virgem de Guadalupe. Nossa Senhora de Guadalupe é declarada pela Igreja como santa protetora dos mexicanos no ano de 1660 (Anzaldúa, 1999, pp. 50–51)

Examinar as fontes da etimologia operada por Anzaldúa está para além deste trabalho, já que, por ora, detemo-nos ao modo de exposição. A temática das serpentes será um elemento central para a exposição crítica do terceiro capítulo, pois a autora ressalta os ofídios como inicialmente cultuados enquanto deidades femininas dotadas de força bélica e, sobretudo, sexual. Durante o ensaio, Anzaldúa chega a referir-se à serpente como deidade cuja boca, cheia de dentes, é um destino da humanidade tal como a genitália feminina. (Anzaldúa, 1999, p. 56) Neste ponto, a Virgem de Guadalupe é entendida como uma solução para anular da sexualidade e garantir servidão. Contudo, a mesma crítica parece assumir um rumo diferente quando se põe em questão as "três mães" que a colonização legou: a *Llorona*[11], Maliche "*La chingada*"[12] e a própria Guadalupe. Estas três

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[11]  A *Llorona* é uma lenda popular que conta de um espírito em busca de crianças e que tem um choro de lamento característico (em algumas versões, ela teria matado seu próprio filho) representando o sofrimento.

[12]  Oblíqua personagem histórica que teria ajudado o exército de Hernán Cortez a invadir os territórios maia e asteca.

mães seriam, finalmente, marcas carregadas sobretudo pela mulher mexicana/ chicana, que se caracteriza como um híbrido entre a culpa, a docilidade e a falha de caráter. E aqui, após tratar das figuras, Anzaldúa retoma o tema do cristianismo latino-americano como um sincretismo forçado, em que as deidades de outrora são disfarçadamente cultuadas como santas.[13]

A próxima ocorrência de Guadalupe parece ser precisamente um fechamento do ciclo até então realizado: a devoção, a crítica e a invocação. No quarto capítulo do ensaio, "*La herencia de Coatlicue/ The Coatlicue State*", a autora dedica-se ao corpo da *mestiza* como sendo a ponte entre dois territórios como ponto de tensão. Mas, em consonância com a orientação política do texto, Anzaldúa introduz um elemento sobrenatural, algo que a faça consciente para além de sua corporeidade. Diante do questionamento sobre ser mestiça, ser alguém da fronteira, há mais uma vez a inserção do elemento divino.

Conforme se pode verificar, os conflitos territoriais que Anzaldúa transpõe para o corpo chicano (mais especificamente, da *mulher chicana/mexicana/indígena*) são acolhidos por essa entidade, *Antigua*, que une todas as mulheres imanentes à constituição territorial (todas as "encarnações", segundo a autora) e que consegue fazer convergirem os conflitos de modo a formar uma consciência. Caberia ainda dizer que, por fim, Anzaldúa ativará tais noções de mestiçagem com vista a uma estratégia de sobrevivência feminina na sociedade. Esse ser feminino híbrido será evidenciado, pela última vez, com uma imagem de Guadalupe (agora chamada "*Virgen de Coatlalopeuh*") que fica ao lado do monitor da autora, onde também há uma serpente de madeira com penas. (Anzaldúa, 1999, p. 97)

Na secção de poemas (em verso e em prosa), a primeira menção está em "Imaculada, Inviolada: *Como Ella*". Não se menciona explicitamente a santa, ainda que se faça alusão à servidão e castidade consoantes ao título. Anzaldúa descreve a vida de sua avó e sua sexualidade. De modo a contradizer (e reforçar) o título do poema, a autora narra um ato sexual enquanto sua avó rezava, confissão que a própria personagem mais adiante repreende: "Ela não gostava de falar sobre essas coisas. / *Mujeres no hablan de cosas cochinas*. / Suas filhas, minhas *tías*, nunca gostaram de falar sobre isto. /" (Anzaldúa, 1999, p. 132, tradução nossa)

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13    Em parte, a verdadeira identidade de todas as três foi subvertida – *Guadalupe* para nos fazer dóceis e estáveis, *la Chingada* para nos fazer envergonhadas de nosso lado indígena, e *la Llorona* para fazer-nos pessoas sofridas por toda vida. (...) No sudoeste dos Estados Unidos, México, América Central e do Sul, o *índio* e o *mestizo* continuam a cultuar as antigas entidades (incluindo *Guadalupe*) e seus poderes sobrenaturais sob o disfarce de santos cristãos. O trecho a seguir consta no original integralmente em espanhol: "Eu as invoco, vocês índias/ submergida em minha carne que são sombras. / Vocês que persistem mudas em suas covas. / Vocês Senhoras que agora, como eu, / estão em desgraça." (Anzaldúa, 1999, p. 53, tradução nossa)

O poema "*Sobre piedras con lagartijos (para todos los mojaditos que han cru-zado para este lado)*", seguinte registro, é outra prece à santa diante da travessia da fronteira. Um *mojado* resolve abandonar sua terra, cujo solo está estéril, e sua família: "*Por mis hijos estoy aqui echado como animal/ en el regazo de la madre tierra. / Ojalá que la Santisima virgen me tenga em sus manos*"[14] (Anzaldúa, 1999, p. 143) No colo [*regazo*] da mãe terra, árida, o homem é um bicho, assim como lagartos, pequenos e escondendo-se nas fendas.[15]"*En el nombre de todas las madres que han perdido sus hijos en la guerra*" fala tragicamente de uma mãe indígena que reza pela sobrevivência de um filho alvejado por soldados. Todo o poema é uma oração cujas preces mudam à medida em que o estado de saúde da criança piora. (Anzaldúa, 1999, pp. 183–185) [16]

"*La Curandera*" tem um eu lírico que conta ter sido afligido por uma doença e salvo pelo curandeirismo. O curandeiro é o único personagem nomeado, Juan Dávila, um homem que atravessa a fronteira para salvar a narradora e acaba por ser igualmente acometido pelo mal.[17]A "*virgen santísima*" intervém como uma metáfora da natureza, o ar, invisível, dedutível e vital. Conforme discorre Amanda Ellis, o personagem de Anzaldúa é uma referência direta ao artista chi-leno Juan Dávila (1946-), cuja produção muito questiona as relações de poder nas Américas e por quem a autora tinha grande admiração. (Ellis, 2017)

A última possível referência à Virgem de Guadalupe seria *Canción de la diosa de la noche*. O que parece ser uma narrativa envolvendo a lenda da *Llorona*

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14   Trecho originalmente escrito em espanhol: "Pelos meus filhos estou aqui largado como um animal / no colo da mãe terra/ Oxalá que a Santíssima Virgem me tenha em suas mãos". (Tradução nossa)

15   Trecho originalmente escrito em espanhol: "*Olha como os lagartinhos se afastam/ voando pedrinhas por todos os lados/ Ei, que ruído é este/ que me arrebata o coração, que me para o fôlego e/ seca mais a minha boca? / De quem são essas botas chiques que caminham pela minha cara*?" (Anzaldúa, 1999, pp. 144–145, tradução nossa)

16   Trecho originalmente escrito em espanhol: "Que vou fazer, Madre-deus? Meu pequeno doente não sente alívio/ daqui não me movo/ vou ficar aqui neste rincão de minha terra/ que meu destino me abandone aqui/ (...) Invoco-te Madre-deus, / mulher de nosso sustento/ O quê querias que eu fizesse, Madre deus? / Sou uma pobre índia / Não era a vez do meu filho, / não ainda não. / Estes buracos em seu peito, / este não é seu destino (...) Madre deus, quero matar/ todo homem que faz guerra, que agride, que acaba com a vida. / (...) Eu quero morrer, Madre deus, / que venham mais balas. / Atirem-me aqui no coração. / Madre-deus, suplico-lhe/ em nome de todas as mães/ que perderam seus filhos na guerra." (Tradução nossa)

17   Trecho originalmente escrito em espanhol: "Você não está morta", ele disse. / "Rezou por mim para que eu estivesse bem", eu lhe disse. / "não, eu rezei por mim mesmo", disse ele. / "Você é cada um, se rezou por si mesmo, rezou por todos nós." / Juan Dávila olhou-me nos olhos, / viu o anseio. / "quer morrer, não quer?", disse ele. / "Não, quero estar com ela, *la virgen santíssima*. / "Mas está com ela", disse ele, / olhos límpidos como os de uma criança / "ela está em toda parte." / E ouvi o vento começar a soprar. (Anzaldúa, 1999, p. 199 Tradução nossa, grifo nosso)

ou outro espírito feminino, termina por mesclar figuras em torno de um só nome, "*diosa*", uma potência criadora que vaga pela escuridão, que instiga o humano a vasculhar a natureza, fundamentar a sua existência. O fim do poema elucida as divindades femininas já abordadas por Anzaldúa na secção teórico-ensaística, embora haja uma transposição das características. Poderíamos mencionar a queda do humano indefeso na terra para que se faça carne; a caminhada pela noite de uma figura aterrorizante; e a mesma figura como expressão de maternidade acolhedora, compensadora do sofrimento e que é "da minha própria espécie [*kind*]", como uma aglutinação daquelas imagens míticas a uma deidade híbrida equivalente à própria *mestiza*, ao "eu" que cai na terra e, ao fim, encontra-se consigo próprio enquanto divindade. Portanto, para nos delimitarmos temática do presente trabalho, a Virgem de Guadalupe não parece ser uma envergadura no posicionamento teórico e político para Anzaldúa, embora ela seja o elemento contraditório que expressa a subjugação, o sofrimento, a insurgência, o acolhimento e a libertação. O que encontramos como modo operativo mais recorrente em *Borderlands/La Frontera* é a identificação de Guadalupe à natureza orgânica, seja ela fisiológica, geográfica ou anímica. A virgem (embora não devidamente nomeada) é o ar, é a detentora da vida e da morte, é o Rio/fronteira, uma *diosa* invocada, um exemplo de mulher intocada ou protetora dos criminosos. Mas a versatilidade por parte de Anzaldúa não pode ser reduzida apenas à "multifacetada" santa.

Como já dissemos, a narrativa em torno de Nossa Senhora de Guadalupe remete para a sua aparição a Juan Diego Tepeyac- O fato de mostrar-se a um índio e ter a sua cor de pele endossa a ideia de que seja um culto autóctone. Em termos históricos, Guadalupe é uma advocação mariana proveniente da região espanhola da Extremadura, e cujos inícios são cercados de relatos orais imprecisos e não atestados. Em todo caso, o culto a Guadalupe teria se desenvolvido no século XIV, quando a Europa Ocidental passava por um auge da imagética e dos cultos marianos – para que houvesse a intercessão entre o humano e Deus –, que enfraqueciam os antigos relicários dos centros de devoção a santos bispos e mártires. (Llopis Agelán & Ruiz García, 2019, p. 24) Desde então, ainda na Península Ibérica, Guadalupe era já uma "virgem negra", designação mais comum no discurso teológico. Neste caso, o culto centra-se em uma escultura em cedro policromado e, segundo estudos mais recentes, a coloração escura já é datável, pelo menos, do século XIV dadas a antiguidade e as intervenções feitas no objeto. (Figura 3) Em todo caso, este aspecto não deixava de caracterizar a "beleza" da Virgem. (Mogollón Cano-Cortés & López Guzmán, 2019, pp. 38–39) Segundo registra Jacques Huynen, as virgens negras teriam surgido como uma convergência de cultos pré-cristãos ao longo da Ásia e Europa, cultos estes a deidades

femininas associadas à terra e a fecundidade, pelo que se lhe atribuíam a cor *negra*. (Huynen, 1991, pp. 101–102) O historiador ainda nota que as virgens negras eram uma disposição majoritária durante a idade média, sendo a coloração negra um procedimento característico entre os séculos XI, XI e, raramente, ao início do século XIII; Huynen defende que as virgens datadas, por exemplo, do fim do século XIII não seriam "autênticas". (Huynen, 1991, p. 31) Esta explicação nos pareceu injustificada, sobretudo porque apresenta um modelo historicista de evolução. Em todo caso, algumas das indicações do autor nos parecem válidas, como o facto de que a migração das virgens negras à Península Ibérica ter-se-ia dado por meio da Virgem de Rocamadour, na França. Outra indicação aponta as Virgens Negras estarem associadas a alguma forma de orientalismo, sobretudo por meio do antagonismo medieval entre o cristianismo e o islã. (Huynen, 1991, p. 22)



Figura 3: Anônimo, *Santa María de Guadalupe*, escultura em cedo policromado, s/d (ca. séc. XII). Real Mosteiro de Guadalupe, Cárceres, Espanha. Fonte: https://www.architoledo.org/

No caso da Virgem Ibérica, foi fundamental a publicidade criada em torno do monastério estremenho para o fortalecimento da coroa de Castela. Mais precisamente a partir do século XV, os "milagres" de Guadalupe passaram a ser largamente divulgados como estímulo à peregrinação. As intervenções sobrenaturais eram descritas não somente como cura de enfermidades, mas inclusive por fugitivos das prisões muçulmanas que levavam seus grilhões como prova do milagre da libertação. (Llopis Agelán & Ruiz García, 2019, pp. 60–61) Desta época (séc. XV-XVI) já se atesta a alcunha de *la Morenita de las Villuercas*, uma denominação que vai ser levada a outras localidades, por exemplo, nas Américas (*morenita, virgencita morena*) e na Galiza (*moreniña*).

A Guadalupe mexicana possui alguns elementos visuais característicos: o manto estrelado[18], a lua crescente aos pés e a áurea rígida que a acompanha como um invólucro. O manto, muito frequente num segundo plano, é acolhido pela áurea extremamente marcada e com contornos pontiagudos. Há uma indicação de animismo: o céu tornado manto é abarcado por uma abóboda ao fundo, como uma materialização da dicotomia Deus/universo. Esta iconografia se torna uma gramática na história mexicana.

Já as deidades referidas por Anzaldúa – *Coatlalopeuh*, *Coatlicue*, *Tonantzi* – costumam ser associadas, em termos representacionais, a uma obra hoje localizada no Museu Nacional de Antropologia do México. Supostamente realizada entre os séculos XIV-XVI, a escultura tem a característica saia de serpentes, bem como ornamentos laterais de pena. (figura 4)



Figura 4: Anônimo, *imagem atribuída à deusa Coatlicue*, escultura em pedra de andesito, s/d (Entre séc. XIV-XVI). Museo Nacional de Antropología, México. Fonte: Google Arts.

À primeira vista, a transfiguração feita por Anzaldúa não nos parece, portanto, legar faturas em termos tradicionais de arqueologia, historiografia e história da arte, o que, em todo caso, não seria sequer a proposta de *Borderlands/La Frontera*. A Virgem de Guadalupe, tal como exposta, é intensionada como um discurso contraditório acerca de uma corporeidade (nomeadamente, feminina e mexicana-americana) e, paralelamente, provoca-nos uma discussão metodológica acerca do que seria entender a história. Conforme se apontou, as menções da

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18    Este registro é comparável a algumas representações populares de Sara de Marselha (Santa Sara), outra virgem negra padroeira das populações ciganas.

Virgem ao longo do ensaio são maoritariamente processos de intervenção – assim como sustenta o discurso teológico sobre Maria –, quer num plano teórico, quer num nível poético-formal. Em outras palavras, o modo de escrita, descontínuo e fragmentário, dá ensejos à inserção de Guadalupe em processos autobiográficos; e mesmo quando essa figura é analisada criticamente como poder colonial, a sua potência política é retomada para fragmentar a polarização de territórios ou, em última instância, fragmentar a ideia de "território" como instituição decisiva na escrita da história.

## 5. Conclusão

Muito se questiona hoje sobre o que seria o "Ocidente" e quais seriam seus limites. E uma abordagem sobre *Borderlands/La Frontera* não poderia esquivar-se dessa discussão. Dividir o mundo em "ocidente" e "oriente" coloca-nos numa limitação cartográfica, que certamente falha ao referir-se a lugares que não se podem assim limitar. Neste sentido, poder-se-ia perguntar onde está África. E, no contexto deste trabalho, onde está a América Latina? Curiosamente, o diplomata francês Alain Roquié (1939-) deixa-nos um termo interessante, o qual porventura intitula seu livro: "extremo ocidente." Em sentido espacial e social, essa é a nomenclatura utilizada para definir um subcontinente erguido sob excessiva concentração de propriedade privada, evolução descompassada entre urbanismo e indústria e a consequente ampliação de contrastes regionais. (Rouquié, 1998, pp. 24–28) De acordo com o sociólogo argentino Néstor García Canclini (1939-), a formação da América Latina gira em torno do ideal (cadente) de modernidade regulada pelas elites, que promovia circuitos culturais urbanos, com inclusão da população de origem europeia; postos à parte, os demais indivíduos (negros, indígenas) eram escassamente atendidos pelas políticas populistas sem mudanças estruturais. (Canclini, 1990, p. 21)

"Extremo ocidente", uma modernidade mimetizada e com consequências diversas às do continente europeu, a América Latina que compreendemos vai de encontro à imagética proposta por Anzaldúa: uma "ferida aberta", principalmente se pensarmos que a colonização e a modernidade são projetos indissociáveis e, de certo modo, incompatíveis. A reflexão de Canclini serve-nos, por fim, como indicativo: o que fazer com o mito que nem mesmo foi racionalizado? Que foi tornado primitivo, exótico e peça do bestiário? É a partir de questões com estas que poderíamos pensar imagens como a de Guadalupe tal como a autora em causa nos apresenta. Há uma imagética frágil em torno do que consideramos "fontes" e que, a cada nova associação, modifica nossa compreensão acerca do

que poderia ser uma cadeia linear de imagens. Guadalupe é considerada uma *virgem negra*, mas passa a ser uma mulher indígena, "morena"; a mesma designação "negra" parece ser frágil diante da técnica escultórica medieval.

Quando a encontramos em *Borderlands/La Frontera*, a sua presença é disruptiva e permanente: a santa é uma personificação do território, o qual é igualmente invisível, místico e não documentável. Diante desta conclusão, e da potência crítica do texto decolonial (cf. Restrepo & Rojas, 2010, pp. 23–25) que aqui alisamos, cabe pensar se é Nossa Senhora de Guadalupe, em sentido simbólico, um território. Este questionamento foi o alicerce das nossas reflexões, embora ainda se ponha como questão, ao longo da trajetória da Virgem, em que medida seu território foi descontinuado ou não.

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# Relembrando os Refugiados Políticos Europeus e a Cultura Literária Vitoriana da Grã-Bretanha Imperial

*Remembering European Political Refugees and the Victorian Literary Culture of Imperial Britain*

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## 1. A figura do refugiado político e as razões para a sua presença em massa na Grã-Bretanha Vitoriana

Começo com a ideia central de que as muitas revoluções e conflitos ocorridos no século XIX levaram ao surgimento de uma nova e fascinante figura na Europa – a do refugiado político – mas também à adoção de novas políticas para receber tais indivíduos e suas respetivas culturas. Quando este novo ator entra em cena, os estados oitocentistas europeus são como que apanhados numa espécie de dilema, mostrando-se geralmente divididos entre o dever de proteger quem chega e o receio do estrangeiro. Veremos, no entanto, que, como uma figura frequentemente admirada ou mesmo heroízada, o exilado político passaria a ofuscar os demais migrantes estrangeiros em virtude da sua suposta superioridade moral e importância simbólica. Em certa medida, o exilado tornar-se-ia uma verdadeira 'instituição' e a sua defesa ou proteção, sobretudo na Europa saída do Congresso de Viena, implicava a adesão a uma causa obrigatória para os adversários políticos de diversas fações.

Esta situação foi sobretudo verdadeira no caso da Grã-Bretanha, onde a receção muito liberal que era dada aos exilados políticos no período entre 1826 e 1905 resultava, em grande medida, da ausência de quaisquer obstáculos legais à

sua entrada; na verdade, a *Lei dos Estrangeiros*, brevemente reativada entre 1848 e 1850, nunca chegaria a ser implementada.[1] Este vazio legal em termos da mobilidade contribuía também para que se pudesse difundir e beneficiar dessa imagem de abertura e acolhimento, a qual era apenas aparente pois, o estado não deixava de exercer os seus apertados mecanismos de vigilância. Num artigo de março de 1853, o periódico *The Times* via mesmo a generosidade para com as vítimas da opressão como um dos principais valores corporizados pela Grã-Bretanha – "Todas as pessoas civilizadas à face da terra devem estar plenamente conscientes de que *este país é o asilo das nações*, e que defenderá o asilado até à última gota do seu tesouro [sic] e até à última gota do seu sangue".[2] Como veremos, essa propagandeada intenção não refletia apenas um mero entusiasmo ou capricho nacional mas um apoio efetivo e generalizado, que foi, frisamos, além até das ações concretas levadas a cabo pelas elites mais radicais.

Apesar da inexistência de estruturas oficiais de apoio a estes migrantes e da escassez crónica de recursos para dar assistência às suas famílias, alguns deles puderam beneficiar da ajuda concedida por associações de iniciativa privada, incluindo comunidades de filantropos e reformistas, os quais mobilizavam o público através da sua imprensa periódica. Por outro lado, num período de grande turbulência, em que a política europeia e internacional estava em constante mutação, os imigrantes e exilados políticos que viviam em Londres fundaram publicações que contribuíram ativamente para os debates políticos nacionais e internacionais. Os muitos periódicos (brasileiros, franceses, alemães, italianos, portugueses, espanhóis, hispano-americanos e russos) são a prova indiscutível da presença de grupos políticos estrangeiros em Londres ao longo de todo o século XIX e das múltiplas causas que estes defenderam.[3]

No tocante ao motivo que causou esta súbita deslocação de massas, sabemos que foi sobretudo no rescaldo das fracassadas revoluções europeias de 1848, quando milhares de exilados políticos procuraram refúgio na Grã-Bretanha.[4]

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1   A implementação do chamado *Aliens Act* aconteceria apenas em 1905, marcando a diferença na história britânica, pois deu vitória aos opositores do acesso irrestrito de estrangeiros à Grã-Bretanha. Foi a primeira legislação desse tipo a ser aprovada, pondo um ponto final na prévia abordagem liberal de 'Portas Abertas' à imigração.

2   Citado no artigo de Bernard Porter, "The Asylum of Nations: Britain and the Refugees of 1848", 2003, p. 43.

3   Entre muitos outros, um exemplo notável foi a produção cultural que resultou da extensa rede de emigrados políticos italianos por meio das atividades editoriais de Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872) durante o seu exílio em Londres.

4   As Revoluções de 1848, conhecidas como a Primavera dos Povos ou a Primavera das Nações, consistiram numa série de convulsões políticas que despontaram por toda a Europa entre 1848 e 1851. As revoluções foram essencialmente democráticas e liberais por natureza, com o objetivo de

Como o único país sem restrições legais significativas à imigração e com uma tradicional liberdade de imprensa, os direitos de expressão e de reunião tornaram-no particularmente atraente para os desiludidos revolucionários que eram perseguidos através da Europa.[5] Só em 1852, chegaram à costa inglesa cerca de sete mil refugiados radicais – entre nacionalistas, republicanos e socialistas – provenientes da França, Hungria, Polónia, dos estados alemães e italianos e de outros lugares, agrupando-se principalmente em Londres.[6] Entre eles estavam indivíduos famosos, como o nacionalista italiano Giuseppe Mazzini, o socialista francês Louis Blanc e o líder do movimento de independência húngara Lajos Kossuth. Mas, a estes, juntaram-se muitos outros exilados então ainda pouco conhecidos, incluindo um filósofo e jornalista de trinta anos de idade, oriundo da região da Renânia, que em 1815 passara a integrar a Prússia – Karl Marx.

A par destas condições únicas oferecidas pelo país, muitos filantropos pressionavam o governo e o público com campanhas organizadas em nome dos estrangeiros perseguidos. Resultou, deste modo, que os britânicos quase nunca recusaram a entrada a um estrangeiro identificado como refugiado, quer nas Ilhas Britânicas quer em todo o restante império. Tal atitude chegou mesmo a criar alguns problemas de cariz diplomático; por exemplo, a França e a Áustria, cujos pedidos frequentes de extradição dos seus próprios nacionais foram recusados em diversas ocasiões, lamentaram esta tendência britânica de conceder abrigo indiscriminado a exilados políticos.[7] Apesar de tudo, esta pressão diplomática das potências aliadas influenciou por vezes a atitude do governo britânico para com aqueles refugiados estrangeiros que se supunha estarem a planear uma insurreição.

No final da década de 1820, por exemplo, Wellington procurou reassegurar o governo absolutista português da sua boa fé, dissipando as preocupações deste sobre os militares liberais portugueses exilados, os quais se refugiaram em

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acabar com as velhas estruturas monárquicas, criando Estados-nação independentes. 'Democracia' implicava substituir um eleitorado de proprietários pelo sufrágio universal masculino. 'Liberalismo' significava: o consentimento dos governados, a restrição do poder da Igreja e do Estado, um governo republicano, liberdade de imprensa e do indivíduo. Uma revolução inicial começou na França, mas depressa se alastrou e mais de cinquenta países seriam afetados. Apesar da falta de coordenação entre os respetivos revolucionários, esta continua a ser a maior onda revolucionária de toda a história europeia.

5     As revoluções sofrem uma série de derrotas consideráveis no verão de 1849 e, por volta de 1850, os aristocratas e outros membros do velho regime tinham organizado uma contrarrevolução. Muitos dos levantamentos foram rapidamente suprimidos; dezenas de milhares de pessoas foram mortas e muitas mais foram forçadas ao exílio.

6     As revoluções foram mais importantes na França, Holanda, Itália, Império Austríaco e nos estados da Confederação Alemã que formariam o Império Alemão.

7     W. Gunther Plaut, em *Asylum: A Moral Dilemma*, faz breve referência a esta questão, p.39.

Plymouth. Mas Wellington recusou-se sempre a tratar estes refugiados como prisioneiros; domesticamente, eles foram mesmo aclamados recipientes da caridade liberal inglesa. Juntamente com os refugiados espanhóis e italianos desse período, eram festejados em bailes e campanhas de elite realizados em sua homenagem. Mesmo assim, Wellington garantiu ao adido português que os exilados estavam a ser cuidadosamente vigiados. Além disso, Wellington dispersou este grupo de exilados por diferentes cidades inglesas, num esforço para desencorajar uma eventual conspiração entre eles.[8]

## 2. A evolução do conceito de refugiado político na Grã-Bretanha – o papel do império e a resposta internacional

Concordamos com a ideia de Caroline E. Shaw que só se poderão compreender as origens do nosso compromisso moral para com os refugiados através da análise da história imperial e global do asilo britânico no século XIX.[9] Isto porque, durante a maior parte do século XVIII, o refugiado foi redutoramente entendido como aquele protestante que fugia da perseguição religiosa no Continente. Mas a categoria de 'refugiado' expandir-se-ia durante a Revolução Francesa e nas décadas que se seguiram; isto, ao mesmo tempo que filantropos e autoridades públicas britânicas procuravam contrastar a sua nação com os governos opressores de todo o mundo. Depois do Congresso de Viena (1814-1815), a questão britânica do asilo tornou-se parte integrante de uma crescente expansão dos ideais liberais e os britânicos viam-se, cada vez mais, como os verdadeiros promotores das liberdades políticas (Shaw, 2010: 13-20). Para além disso, grupos de missionários e funcionários britânicos em todo o mundo mobilizaram-se para acolher revolucionários estrangeiros, assim como escravos fugitivos. As campanhas filantrópicas iriam contribuir não só para uma melhor compreensão do estatuto de refugiado enquanto tal, mas também para uma provisão de asilo ou de auxílio económico alargado a todas as classes.

A categoria passou a ser aplicada a qualquer estrangeiro que se enquadrasse nas características de refugiado assim definidas, independentemente da sua religião, raça ou cor política. E o asilo britânico passou, assim, a projetar no cenário internacional uma visão expansionista do poder fortemente liberal da Grã-Bretanha. Apesar de não abertamente aludidas, havia ligações estreitas entre o

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8       Sobre esta questão, ver o artigo de Fábio Faria sobre o exílio dos liberais portugueses entre 1828-1832.
9       Ver a sua tese de 2010, *Recall to Life*, sobre a evolução da figura do refugiado moderno na Grã-Bretanha imperial.

interesse britânico em refugiados estrangeiros e a expansão do poder imperial e internacional da nação (Shaw, 2010: 64-78). Mas se o realojamento de refugiados por todo o Império transformou esse apoio numa ajuda à construção do próprio império foi também ele uma fonte potencial de conflito. Se os apoiantes na metrópole descobrissem que essa remoção poderia anular o objetivo político do asilo – que era permitir que os refugiados continuassem a sua agitação a favor das reformas na sua terra natal – o transporte de refugiados para os territórios ultramarinos poderia encontrar oposição (Shaw, 2010: 90-99).

Pelo contrário, no final do século XIX, durante o declínio do império britânico, os legisladores debatiam se a Grã-Bretanha deveria, em consciência, proteger revolucionários continentais cada vez mais radicais e violentos. Com a ascensão do comunismo francês, do anarquismo continental e do violento nacionalismo irlandês, a linha demarcadora entre os refugiados a serem salvos de um processo injusto e os estrangeiros perigosos a serem deportados para enfrentar a justiça, ficou consideravelmente esbatida (Shaw, 2010: 120-140). Além disso, nas décadas posteriores a 1848, as respetivas diferenças políticas afastaram cada vez mais os refugiados uns dos outros, criando múltiplas divisões. Nomeadamente, o surgimento da agitação de pendor democrático-socialista tendeu a dividir os novos democratas exilados dos nacionalistas exilados tradicionais.

O facto incontornável é que, no outono de 1871, na sequência da derrota da Comuna em França, uma nova migração em massa se deu: aproximadamente oitocentos indivíduos e respetivas famílias, cerca de mil mulheres e crianças, chegaram à Grã-Bretanha. E, no seu total, esse número duplicaria nos anos seguintes, à medida que o governo francês continuou a perseguir esses dissidentes políticos.[10] As notícias alarmantes de que o exército francês teria matado, de forma indiscriminada, trinta mil homens e mulheres parisienses nos últimos dias da Comuna, levaram a que a atribuição britânica da categoria de 'refugiados' a esses estrangeiros em particular se mostrasse ainda mais apropriada. A eventual divulgação dos relatórios sobre esses julgamentos sumários e outras atrocidades veio confirmar a opinião de que os supostos vitimizadores eram agora as vítimas de uma vingança política desproporcionada (Forster, 2019: 1024-27).

Como era típico, a maioria destes refugiados comunistas ficou alojada nas principais comunidades continentais do centro de Londres, embora muitos tenham encontrado emprego em outras localidades, graças aos esforços de alguns apoiantes. E, como seria de esperar, a forma como foram recebidos foi

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10    Sobre este assunto, ver a dissertação de doutoramento de Paul Martinez, *Paris Communard Refugees in Britain, 1871-1880*, de 1981. Ver também o trabalho de Laura C. Forster (2019), sobre "The Paris Commune in London and the spatial history of ideas, 1871–1900".

muito diferente da dos grupos de refugiados anteriores (Forster, 2019: 1028-32).
Por um lado, os britânicos mais notáveis dificilmente poderiam endossar esta
nova causa pois isso poderia significar uma aceitação tácita por parte deles da
mesma ideologia política, o que afetaria a sua reputação. Por outro, estes refugia-
dos revolucionários já não eram, de forma alguma, considerados modelos de vir-
tude cívica e moral, como o tinham sido no período anterior os nacionalistas. Em
vez disso, estes novos refugiados foram maioritariamente vistos e tratados como
o Outro – como alguém de muito diferente e difícil de encaixar (Forster, 2019:
1033-41). Este assunto foi muito oportunamente abordado no último romance
a ser escrito pelo crítico literário e romancista Edward Dutton Cook, intitulado
*Doubleday's Children*. A obra, publicada em vários fascículos no jornal de grande
venda de Dickens, *All the Year Round* (em 1876-77), abordava precisamente o
tema bastante original das diferenças geracionais – entre duas gerações de britâ-
nicos – na resposta e simpatia face às duas gerações de revolucionários estran-
geiros exilados.

## 3. Os refugiados políticos e os seus diferentes apoiantes britânicos – as diversas fações em jogo

Apesar do óbvio interesse pela situação de exílio de muitas outras nacionalida-
des, há entre os apoiantes britânicos pouca evidência de ajuda concedida, por
exemplo, aos refugiados alemães. Ao que parece, este grupo particular de exila-
dos tendia a ser bastante coeso e independente, criando as suas próprias comuni-
dades de apoio.[11] O grupo incluía gente como Friedrich Engels, Gottfried Kinkel
e Karl Blind,[12] os quais – por meio dos seus próprios escritos e das suas diferentes
ocupações – eram considerados plenamente capazes de sustentar os seus com-
panheiros refugiados mais pobres. Notoriamente, o lucro que foi produzido por
Engels na fábrica do seu pai ajudou ao sustento prolongado de toda a família
Marx e, indiretamente, à continuidade da obra deste pensador fundamental.[13]
Salvo estas e outras honrosas exceções, a elite política e cultural britânica ajudou

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11    Sobre este assunto, ver o livro de Christine Lattek (2006) sobre o socialismo alemão na Grã-Bretanha
      de meados do século. Ver também a obra de Rosemary Ashton sobre o exílio e o asilo da comuni-
      dade alemã, *Little Germany*, de 1986.
12    Karl Blind era o padrasto da conhecida poetisa radical, Mathilde Blind, que também veio a partici-
      par dessas comunidades, tendo escrito uma coleção de poemas intitulada *Love in Exile*.
13    Incluindo a filha de Marx, Eleanor, a qual também teria um papel importante em vários movimen-
      tos políticos e sociais.

continuamente os exilados continentais, tal como ficou patente na criação de associações como a Associação de Refugiados da Polónia e o Fundo Napolitano.

Maura O'Connor argumenta que era a classe média inglesa que apoiava mais fortemente o nacionalismo italiano e que, posteriormente, pressionaria o Parlamento inglês em nome da unificação italiana.[14] Essa vívida imaginação política era proveniente não apenas de importantes fontes literárias de inspiração (nomeadamente, das obras poéticas de E. B. Browning)[15], mas também de um envolvimento concreto de várias personalidades no auxílio a esses refugiados. Charles Dickens e Francis Newman, por exemplo, fizeram parte do conselho do Fundo Italiano para Refugiados (1849), juntamente com Richard Cobden e William Thackeray.[16] E, nesse mesmo contexto, muitos refugiados proeminentes foram acolhidos em lares britânicos; e outros, ainda, seriam recebidos nas diversas colónias inglesas. Ao longo dos anos, Joseph Cowen ficou conhecido por alojar Louis Blanc, Mazzini, Garibaldi e até mesmo irlandeses fenianos e anarquistas continentais em sua casa, em Newcastle (Shaw, 2010: 98-110). Possuindo essa capacidade única de realojar refugiados no seu império, formal e informal, estes famosos apoiantes passaram a encarar o asilo político como um imperativo moral.

Por seu turno, durante a década de 1840, os membros mais radicais da classe trabalhadora britânica vincularam a luta continental estrangeira contra a tirania absolutista à sua própria campanha por reformas democráticas internas. Como Margot Finn argumenta,[17] esses radicais viam semelhanças entre as lutas políticas contemporâneas levadas a cabo no Continente e na Grã-Bretanha. Com o passar do tempo, as suas interações com os refugiados socialistas democráticos após 1848 conduziriam o pensamento radical britânico em direção ao socialismo (Finn, 1993: 60-70). Dirigentes Cartistas como Ernest Jones, em particular, acabariam por moldar a própria prática do asilo político e a sua influente imprensa radical ajudaria a chamar a atenção para a situação dos refugiados, especialmente no norte da Inglaterra (Finn, 1993:71-90).

Mas este ativismo foi ainda mais longe: A partir do início da década de 1850, os radicais britânicos envolveram-se ativamente nas insurreições continentais, acreditando que aquela era a hora de agir conjuntamente. Na primavera de 1851, George Julian Harney deu o seu apoio público a várias centenas de refugiados

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14    Ver a obra de O'Connor (1998), nomeadamente sobre a influência da literatura inglesa na receção da causa italiana.

15    Tal como o seu romance em verso *Aurora Leigh* de 1856 e *Poems before Congress* de 1860.

16    O Fundo Garibaldi, criado em 1856 sob os auspícios de figuras como George Holyoake, James Stansfeld, William Ashurst e R. H. Crawford, forneceu armas aos soldados italianos.

17    Ver o livro de Finn (1993) sobre as questões de classe e nação na política radical inglesa após o Cartismo.

polacos e húngaros, que desembarcaram em Liverpool no meio de uma multidão entusiasmada (Finn, 1993: 93-110). Outros, como o artesão William Linton e o positivista Frederick Harrison, transformaram as suas relações pessoais de amizade com refugiados políticos individuais numa assistência muito mais alargada ao grupo de exilados (Finn, 120-140).

## 4. Locais de refúgio famosos e centros de apoio de refugiados radicais em Londres

Entre as décadas de 1860 e 70, Cleveland Hall (no Soho) foi um dos mais importantes centros, em Londres, de secularismo e liberdade de pensamento relacionados com os refugiados.[18] Vários ativistas políticos – Cartistas, socialistas, livres-pensadores, feministas e positivistas – deram palestras nesse recinto durante os anos de maior agitação. E, na década de 1880, foi a vez de comunistas e anarquistas: por exemplo, em março de 1876, deu-se a celebração do aniversário da Comuna, organizada pela *Manhood Suffrage League*. Mais tarde, em maio de 1881, o socialista William Morris participaria de uma reunião sobre "O Direito de Asilo na Inglaterra para Refugiados Políticos", com o propósito de os proteger contra as tentativas europeias de atrair a Inglaterra para a 'Liga Internacional contra o Estrangeiro Refugiado' (Forster, 2019: 1033-41).

Toda a zona em torno de Fitzrovia era local habitual de encontro de radicais: aí vivia uma grande comunidade de imigrantes e ativistas, sobretudo de origem alemã, mas não só, e aí também se reuniu, em 1881, o Congresso Revolucionário Socialista Internacional.[19] Harriet Law, uma livre-pensadora e feminista proeminente, e a única mulher membro do Conselho Geral da Internacional, era uma das presenças regulares. No final de 1871, numa dessas reuniões, ela tinha dado uma palestra sobre os julgamentos dos refugiados comunistas. Nessa altura, Law sentou-se no Conselho Geral com os famosos ativistas da Comuna Victor Delahaye, Eduard Valliant, Charles Longuet e Leo Frankel (Basu, 2019: 60-70). Todos esses importantes exilados podiam ser vistos regularmente em torno dos vários redutos de Fitzrovia, e todos eram membros da *La Société des Réfugiés de*

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18    Southampton, Londres e Liverpool eram locais de desembarque para os refugiados, assim como Bristol até certo ponto. Mas as reuniões também ocorreram ao longo das rotas turísticas de exilados proeminentes, particularmente em Manchester, Newcastle, Hull e Birmingham, cada um dos quais se tornaria num importante centro de apoio a refugiados no decorrer do século XIX.

19    Ver o recente livro de Ann Basu (2019) sobre a história social de Fitzrovia, o qual vem preencher uma lacuna sobre a relevância deste sítio no contexto das comunidades migrantes e da cultura radical londrina.

*la Commune à Londres*, que amiúde se reunia no pub 'Spread Eagle'. Vários relatórios oficiais registam reuniões que foram testemunhadas de comunistas com simpatizantes britânicos, bem como com internacionalistas famosos, incluindo Marx, as quais decorriam em vários *pubs* de Fitzrovia. Um dos muitos agentes secretos do governo tinha inclusivamente dado o alerta sobre um novo clube internacional, que acabava de se instalar em Oxford Street, liderado por um inglês chamado Stephens, sob os auspícios de Karl Marx(Basu, 2019: 72-81).

Bem próximo, no coração de Bloomsbury, havia um outro lugar que fornecia sobretudo estímulo intelectual e que era acessível a uma grande quantidade de ativistas radicais; tratava-se da famosa sala de leitura do Museu Britânico. "O facto que mais nos impressiona em relação à Biblioteca do Museu é a sua maravilhosa acessibilidade ... em muitos casos, ela serve como *um abrigo, – um refúgio*, em mais sentidos do que um, para os destituídos", escreveria a poetisa feminista Amy Levy; neste refúgio, de acordo com o ativista da Comuna Jules Vallès, "atendiam-se todos os leitores de forma igual, não importando como eles estavam vestidos" (Citados por Bernstein, 2013: 196-198). Foram inúmeros os socialistas da Grã-Bretanha, da Europa Continental e de outros lugares que usaram a sala de leitura do Museu Britânico no final do século XIX. O socialista britânico Ernest Belfort Bax conheceu aí Paschal Grousset e Albert Regnard, e as suas interações com estes levaram à sua própria conversão política. Foi também lá que a filha de Marx, Eleanor, traduziu a famosa história da Comuna de Lissagaray. George Bernard Shaw leria *O Capital* de Marx pela primeira vez na sala de leitura onde o próprio Marx o tinha escrito (Bernstein, 2013: 198-211). No final da década de 1870, George Gissing concebeu o seu romance *Workers in the Dawn* (1880) sob a mesma cúpula. Esta história sobre o personagem obcecado pela Comuna de Paris, John Pether, que vê algo de semelhante irrompendo gloriosamente através das ruas de Londres, sugere-nos que Gissing talvez tenha conversado com os 'Communards' da vida real que estavam sentados ao seu redor enquanto ele escrevia.

## 5. O papel determinante da literatura: ficção e poesia – narrativas de refugiados famosas e menos famosas

Na verdade, dentro das culturas de radicalismo e exílio do longo reinado da Rainha Vitória, encontramos muitas respostas literárias, nomeadamente contos de perseguição, que descreviam as experiências e as características dos refugiados. No início da década de 1850, a cultura britânica estava saturada de histórias – reais e fictícias – narrando em geral a fuga da opressão (Shaw,

2010: 39-48). Os refugiados e os seus apoiantes divulgavam narrativas verda-deiramente dramáticas de perseguição na imprensa local e nacional. E fugitivos famosos percorriam as Ilhas Britânicas, repetindo as suas incríveis histórias perante audiências extasiadas.

Inúmeros contos que relatavam o heroísmo na fuga de estrangeiros perse-guidos juntaram-se, deste modo, a narrativas emocionantes como *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859) de Charles Dickens. Essas narrativas tinham inaugurado um género distinto nas décadas de 1840 e 50, ajudando a fixar a própria definição de refu-giado. Eram impressas na forma de romances e de memórias, mas também em relatórios oficiais de ajuda humanitária e nos jornais. Como todas as narrativas humanas poderosas, o género incluía um conjunto algo estereotipado de eventos aliado a juízos éticos considerados apropriados. Devido ao seu forte impacto, elas ensinaram os britânicos a identificar e a responder à figura do refugiado.[20] Algumas delas destacavam a heróica intervenção britânica em nome do refu-giado, enquanto outras enfatizavam o conforto da hospitalidade britânica (Shaw, 2010: 49-64).

Os revolucionários europeus também tiveram direito a narrativas de fuga dramáticas e corajosas. Por exemplo, a longa e árdua jornada do herói italiano Giuseppe Garibaldi, sempre com mercenários austríacos, franceses e espanhóis no seu encalço, era bem conhecida; a mesma constituiria o pano de fundo do romance, de 1857, da Sra. C. G. Hamilton, intitulado *Os Exilados da Itália*. Por seu turno, o refugiado francês de Dickens, Charles Darnay, regressaria à França pós-revolucionária para ajudar um dependente idoso a sair da prisão em *A Tale of Two Cities*. As narrativas de fugas bem-sucedidas frequentemente incluíam episódios de partir o coração, nos quais camaradas ou entes queridos fracassa-vam no decorrer da sua fuga. Por exemplo, a história da fuga de Garibaldi incluía o episódio da morte da sua esposa nos seus braços. O relato de Hamilton sobre a Itália destacava os incontáveis camaradas caídos de Garibaldi, cujas trágicas fugas terminaram na prisão ou numa execução sumária.[21]

Mas o próprio género da poesia também podia ser usado – e de forma muito eficaz – para fins políticos e recreativos. Aquele que se tornaria um dos primeiros líderes do Partido Socialista Britânico, o poeta e artista William Morris (1834-96), via-se como parte integrante de uma luta internacional pela liberdade face à opressão. E ele tinha ligações importantes – afetuosas mesmo

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20    As histórias alternavam entre o simples relato de um indivíduo e um contexto mais amplo de perse-guição. Esse facto permitiu que elas também ultrapassassem as fronteiras raciais e religiosas.

21    Ver a obra de Lucy Riall (2007), sobre a invenção ou criação de Garibaldi como herói.

– com os anarquistas russos no exílio, Sergey Stepniak e Peter Kropotkin.[22] Para além de muita literatura de índole política (que incluía o romance utópico *News from Nowhere*), Morris escreveu uma sequência de poemas que intitulou de *The Pilgrims of Hope*. Estes foram publicados em série no seu jornal da Liga Socialista, o *Commonweal*, a partir de março de 1885. Na origem, o seu objetivo era meramente experimental, mas o resultado foi tão popular que se transformou numa série e, finalmente, numa história mais complexa, sobre amantes desafortunados que deixam a Inglaterra para participar na luta pela Comuna de Paris. Embora tenha sido escrita para fins políticos, como de costume com Morris, é impossível separar o teor político do pessoal nesta obra. A esperança que resta no final da história, mesmo depois da inevitável derrota da Comuna, não é apenas o inquebrantável 'otimismo da vontade', mas aquela que florescerá da criação de um filho, simbolizando provavelmente a semente de uma futura revolução bem-sucedida.[23]

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22    Ver, por exemplo, o pertinente artigo de John Slatter sobre Stepniak e os seus amigos ingleses.

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# O papel das instituições museológicas na perpetuação da memória coletiva

*The role of museological institutions in the perpetuation of collective memory*

ISABELA SOUSA CURVO

Os museus são instituições capazes de conferir valor e pressupor autenticidade, além de serem locais de lazer, estudo, pesquisa, consumo e de estetização do cotidiano. As instituições museológicas, para tanto, agem em torno de uma memória coletiva (Halbwachs, 2004) visto que essas, através da pesquisa e divulgação dos bens patrimoniais e culturais, atuam em uma perspectiva construtivista da memória, e o fazem por meio de representações coletivas. Ou seja, narrativas apresentadas em uma instituição museológica possuem a preeminência de agir diretamente na perpetuação da memória coletiva. Memórias, essas, influenciadas pela organização social, cultural e seus diversos meios de comunicação empregados.

É necessário ressaltar que as instituições culturais simbolizam elementos centrais nas agendas políticas, face à sua competência de definir, efetivar e questionar a identidade cultural de grupos sociais (Faria, 1989). Dentre tais instituições, os museu se caracterizam como uma as mais antigas e reconhecidas do campo da cultura e do patrimônio e atuam diretamente na construção da memória coletiva.

É indissociável o patrimônio cultural e o simbolismo nacional que ele remete. Evidentemente, o patrimônio cultural somente atingirá o seu propósito de ser

quando este representar valor significativo para a sociedade. A exposição museo-lógica pressupõe, forçosamente, uma concepção de sociedade, de cultura, de dinâ-mica cultural, de tempo, de espaço, de agentes sociais e assim por diante. (Shanks & Tilley, 1987, p.62).

Ainda que a memória esteja ligada ao conjunto de lembranças, não se pode limitá-la a um mero processo de relembrar factos passados, assim como não é possível desassociar a memória de seu meio. Segundo Halbwachs (2004), autor pioneiro a trabalhar a memória coletiva enquanto categoria sociológica, a memória individual é indissociável da memória coletiva, destacando nos seres humanos a qualidade de serem seres sociais. "Os quadros coletivos da memória não se resumem em datas, nomes e fórmulas, eles representam correntes de pensamento e de experiência onde reencontramos nosso passado porque este foi atravessado por isso tudo" (Halbwachs, 2004, p.90). Desta forma, o autor ressalva que nossa memória, ainda que individual, está ligada à nossa experiên-cia social, coletiva e cultural.

A memória é, assim como aponta Pierre Nora (1993), viva. O "lembrar" e o "esquecer" acompanham nossas mudanças enquanto indivíduos em permanente transformação social. É algo em constante desenvolvimento e construção.

A memória é a vida, sempre carregada por grupos vivos e, nesse sentido, ela está em permanente evolução, aberta a dialética da lembrança e do esquecimento, inconsciente de suas deformações sucessivas, vulnerável a todos os usos e mani-pulações, suscetível de longas latências e de repentinas revitalizações. (Nora, 1993, p. 21)

A busca pelas lembranças não é o cerne da definição de memória. A memó-ria é seletiva, indiscutivelmente. Lembramo-nos, sempre, de algo ou alguma coisa que acarretou significado a nós. Karen Worcman (2004, p. 24) nos apre-senta a diferenciação possível entre os termos ao apontar a História como algo consequente da Memória, resultante da organização e tradução daquilo que pretendemos transmitir de nossa memória. Le Goff também destaca a intera-ção entre ambos os termos, porém, diferentemente de Worcman, os apresenta como consequentes de uma influência mútua. Segundo o autor: "A memória, onde cresce a história, que por sua vez a alimenta, procura salvar o passado para servir o presente e o futuro" (Le Goff, 1994, p. 477). A memória atua na relação do passado e presente, e intervém no processo de reproduções atuais. Por sua vez, Michael Pollak afirma que, assim como a memória, a documentação é, da mesma forma, socialmente construída.

O trabalho do historiador faz-se sempre a partir de alguma fonte. É evidente que a construção que fazemos do passado, inclusive a construção mais positivista, é sempre tributária da intermediação do documento. Na medida em que essa intermediação é inescapável, todo o trabalho do historiador já se apoia numa primeira reconstrução. (Pollak, 1992, p. 8)

Memórias são influenciadas pela organização social, cultural e seus diversos meios de comunicação empregados. Marshall Mcluhan (2011) aponta que os meios não estão meramente presentes em nossa memória, são responsáveis por modelar nossa forma de relação com o mundo. Contudo, Mayer-Schonberer (2009) afirma, acerca da memória coletiva, que essa encontra-se fragmentada, uma vez que as pessoas estão habilitadas a selecionar quanto e que parte dessa memória social querem expor. Nossa pesquisa se aproxima mais das considerações de Mcluhan e contrapõem-se a Mayer-Schonberer por acreditarmos no meio como sendo modular da memória coletiva.

Em contraponto à rememoração, ação consequente da memória, temos o esquecimento. Porém, faz-se necessário diferenciar silêncio e esquecimento uma vez que não representam, necessariamente, sinônimos. O silêncio acerca de um passado exprime resistência a um discurso oficial:

Na cultura contemporânea, obcecada como e pela memória e o trauma, o esquecimento e sistematicamente malvisto. E descrito como uma falha da memória: clinicamente, como disfunção; socialmente, como distorção; academicamente, como uma forma de pecado original; em termos de vivencia, como um subproduto lamentável do envelhecimento. [...] Podemos ter uma fenomenologia da memória, mas com certeza não temos uma fenomenologia do esquecimento. (Huyssen, 2014, p. 155)

A memória, enquanto construção social e espacial, sofre, evidentemente, constantes alterações, isso porque ela é proporcionalmente dinâmica em relação à sociedade. E ligados a essa complexidade estão os ditos lugares de memória, que Pierre Nora caracteriza como um misto entre história e memória:

O passado nos é dado como radicalmente outro, ele é esse mundo do qual estamos desligados para sempre. É colocando em evidência toda a extensão que dele nos separa que nossa memória confessa sua verdade como operação que, de um golpe, a suprime. [...] Os lugares de memória nascem e vivem do sentimento que não há memória espontânea, que é preciso criar arquivos, organizar celebrações, manter aniversários, pronunciar elogios fúnebres, notariar atas, porque estas operações não são naturais. (Nora, 1993, p.19)

Tais espaços se configuram como locais tradicionais de ritualização entre memória e rememoração. De acordo com Nora, "fala-se tanto de memória porque ela não existe mais" (1993, p. 7). Na contemporaneidade, os lugares de memória têm o propósito de resguardar a memória coletiva do possível esquecimento, pois são espaços criados na sociedade diante da crise dos paradigmas modernos, como resposta a se tornarem os agentes de seu próprio tempo. Na memória, seu tempo é ditado pelo social. Há uma rede articulada dessas identidades diferentes, uma organização inconsciente da memória coletiva que nos cabe tornar consciente de si mesma. Os lugares de memória são nosso momento de história nacional (Nora, 1993, p.27).

O caráter amplo da Museologia aponta para estudo do ser humano e da sociedade, do homem e sua cultura, do homem e sua memória. O avanço dessa ciência mostra a preocupação de compreender a relação do homem com seu meio, assim é notável que a questão da memória coletiva vai muito além dos locais institucionalizados, ainda que neles constantemente abordados.

Murguia (2010) aponta que a existência de arquivos, bibliotecas e museus podem ser relevantes para provocar possíveis rupturas, isto é, provocar novas relações sociais entre esses espaços e os indivíduos. Isso nos revela uma possibilidade de transformação da sociedade por meio dos locais de memórias. A necessidade de possibilitar o acesso aos registros por ele produzidos ao decorrer do tempo levou à criação das chamadas instituições de memória que deveriam preservar os registros do conhecimento humano nas suas mais diversas formas de materialização (Oliveira, Rodrigues, 2009, p.312).

É, portanto, evidente a responsabilidade dessas instituições no que tange a transferência de informação, sendo tal incumbência rodeada por inúmeros fatores, uma vez que a produção de conhecimento nos museus "só se efetiva a partir de uma ação de comunicação mutuamente consentida entre a fonte (os estoques) e o receptor" (Barreto, 1999, p.9). Assim sendo, tais instituições atuam diretamente na construção da memória coletiva.

> Longe de ver nessa memória coletiva uma imposição, uma forma específica de dominação ou violência simbólica, acentua as funções positivas desempenhadas pela memória comum, a saber, de reforçar a coesão social, não pela coerção, mas pela adesão afetiva ao grupo, donde o termo que utiliza, de "comunidade afetiva". (Halbwachs, apud Pollak, 1989, p.89)

Halbwachs insinua a seletividade da memória em um processo de conciliação entre memória coletiva e memórias individuais. O discurso, portanto, não é imparcial, denota significados explicitados no objetivo da curadoria.

Ressalta-se, portanto, sua capacidade de simbolizar elementos centrais nas agendas políticas, em virtude da sua capacidade de determinar e/ou questionar a identidade cultural de distintos grupos sociais. No âmbito da memória, como aponta Le Goff, é notável que seu uso possa servir tanto para a dominação e domesticação dos seres humanos, quanto para a sua libertação, dependendo da forma que se é manipulada, em especial por ambientes institucionalmente legitimados. "A memória situa-se no plano de apreensão do tempo, como fenômeno psicológico ligado à vida social [...], as informações que representam o passado são simultaneamente atualizadas e armazenadas". (Le Goff, 1984, p.87).

A representação de uma determinada realidade em espaços museológicos está presente na forma e no modo como o ambiente, os indivíduos e a natureza são percebidos, influenciando a compreensão da realidade pelos seus leitores, provocando neles sentimentos (Nora, 1993). Dessa forma, os usos políticos das memórias, não incomumente recorridos em estratégias de rememorações, referem-se às experiências vividas e transmitidas por determinado recorte populacional[1], mas também a partir de mitologias coletivas. Partindo desse pressuposto, é necessária uma análise crítica de seu uso nos denominados "lugares de memória" (Nora, 1993). Em tais espaços há a possibilidade de materialização do invisível, apresentada, sobretudo, na dicotomia memória *versus* esquecimento e adotando a rememoração como suporte para a criação da chamada memória coletiva (Halbwachs, 2004), destacando-se, dessa forma, enquanto instrumentos que reforçam a coesão social. Como também destaca Pollak:

> A memória, essa operação coletiva dos acontecimentos e das interpretações do passado que se quer salvaguardar, se integra, (...) em tentativas mais ou menos conscientes de definir e de reforçar sentimentos de pertencimento e fronteiras sociais entre coletividades de tamanhos diferentes (...) (Pollak, 1992, p. 9)[2].

Portanto, o discurso produzido nos museus, como previamente enfatizado, não é neutro e, assim como Chartier (2002) assinala, as percepções do social também não são discursos neutros. Chartier aponta que as lutas de representações têm tanta importância como as lutas econômicas para compreender os

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1    A perspectiva da memória difere na pluralidade dos grupos sociais. Os grupos são determinados pelo tempo e espaço, estando cada indivíduo inserido simultaneamente em diversos grupos.

2    Pollak faz uma crítica a Halbwachs ao apontar a falta de destaque a determinados aspectos construtivistas da memória coletiva pois, para o autor, Halbwachs dá especial atenção à ideia de uma memória coletiva não coercitiva, capaz de unir os indivíduos em comunidades afetivas. Já Pollak atenta à perspectiva construtivista que busca identificar os autores e os processos legitimadores dessas construções, de forma a evidenciar a seletividade presente na constituição de uma memória hegemônica.

mecanismos pelos quais um grupo impõe, ou tenta impor, a sua concepção de mundo social, seus valores e seus domínios. O uso dos lugares de memória por parte da sociedade nos exprime o receio do esvaimento e a necessidade, cada vez mais constante, dos artifícios de memória. "Qaunto menos a memória é vivida do interior, mais ela tem necessidade de suportes exteriores e de referências tangíveis de uma existência que só vive através delas" (Nora, 1993, p.12). E, como salienta Mário Chagas, toda instituição museal apresenta um determinado discurso sobre a realidade. "Este discurso, como é natural, não é natural e compõe-se de som e silêncio, de cheio e de vazio, de presença e de ausência, de lembrança e de esquecimento" (Chagas, 2006, p.30).

O apontamento de Chagas faz alusão ao cerne de um dos pontos da construção dessa pesquisa. Ao decidir o que é dito, escolhemos também o "não dito" e esse vazio acompanha uma ideologia a que nos caberá sempre questionar ao quê ou a quem caberá a exclusão face ao discurso apresentado.

> Toda exposição é uma violência topográfica, uma vez que a prática comum aos museus é espetacularizar o objeto, extirpando seu valor de uso sem considerar a sua outra posição, ou seja, sua historicidade. Cada objeto apresenta uma experiência vivida na relação com os homens, uma vez que eles próprios podem ser extensões do corpo. Mas a operação museológica rouba pedaços do mundo, prende-os nas vitrines e deixa-os morrer, para promete-lhes vida eterna nos templos do chamado patrimônio histórico. (Ramos, 2004, p. 137).

Pierre Bourdieu aborda a temática da relação entre o poder e o conhecimento, a cultura e os sistemas simbólicos. Os sistemas simbólicos são "instrumento de comunicação e de conhecimento responsável pela forma nodal de consenso, qual seja o acordo quanto ao significado dos signos e quanto ao significado do mundo" e que por isso servem "como um instrumento de poder, isto é, de legitimação da ordem vigente." (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 8). A relação entre o poder, a cultura, e os sistemas simbólicos é, por esse autor, caracterizada como sistemas de factos e de representações.

A análise dos conceitos "de capitais" de Bourdieu permite entender como as relações de poder, concretizadas na relação entre *habitus* e campo, relacionam-se com a estruturação da cultura individual. Por *habitus*, Bourdieu define:

> É a sua posição presente e passada na estrutura social que os indivíduos, entendidos como pessoas físicas, transportam com eles, em todo tempo e lugar, sob a forma de habitus. Os indivíduos «vestem» os habitus como hábitos, assim como o hábito faz o monge, isto é, faz a pessoa social, com todas as disposições que são, ao mesmo

tempo, marcas da posição social e, portanto, da distância social entre as posições objetivas, entre as pessoas sociais conjunturalmente aproximadas e a reafirmação dessa distância e das condutas exigidas para «guardar suas distâncias» ou para manipulá-las estratégica, simbólica ou realmente reduzi-las, aumentá-las ou simplesmente mantê-las (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 75).

Bourdieu procura esclarecer como determinado capital simbólico pode ser utilizado por agentes sociais para se posicionarem de forma privilegiada na hierarquia social. Esse autor aponta que, consciente ou inconscientemente, é indissociável, aos participantes do processo escolar, um relacionamento natural e familiar com o conhecimento e com a linguagem. Os relacionamentos positivos, que caracterizam a qualidade linguística e o capital cultural, são adquiridos no seio familiar, por meio de uma aprendizagem difundida adquirida pelos atos cotidianos da alta classe social em que se inserem. As ações e pensamentos característicos da classe dominante reforçam a relação com a cultura e com o conhecimento. De acordo com Bordieu, o capital cultural pode ser visto sob três formas: como estado incorporado, objetivado e institucionalizado. No estado incorporado, a assimilação, incorporação e a durabilidade do capital cultural requerem tempo e só podem ocorrer de forma pessoal, visto que, se fosse externo, perderia a qualidade de capital cultural. No estado objetivado, o capital cultural aparece na aquisição de bens culturais, através do capital econômico, sendo necessário possuir o capital cultural incorporado, que viabiliza a posse dos mecanismos de apropriação e os símbolos necessários à identificação destes. No capital institucionalizado, a característica deste ocorre na propriedade cultural dos diplomas e sua aquisição. O capital social exprime-se em um mecanismo de difusão de relações em um sistema social, onde o volume de capital social e econômico determina as relações sociais. Bourdieu conceptualiza a violência simbólica enquanto mecanismo de coerção entre o dominante e o dominado. Esse tipo de violência está presente nos símbolos e signos culturais, onde há o reconhecimento tácito da autoridade exercida por um grupo de pessoas a outro, nesse caso, não há reconhecimento do dominado de sua condição, uma vez que tal situação lhe é imposta como natural. O autor se pauta no ambiente escolar com ações passíveis à alteração dessa realidade, propondo à escola "desenvolver em todos os membros da sociedade, sem distinção, a aptidão para as práticas culturais que a sociedade considera como as mais nobres" (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 62).

Como conceito central na teoria de Bourdieu, *habitus* representa a troca simbólica das práticas transmitidas no campo social, constituindo uma unidade originária ao comportamento característico, de acordo com o capital acumulado, a cada situação. Para o sociólogo, sua eficácia está relacionada ao facto

de os esquemas de apreensão da realidade, como das práticas que a acompa-
nham, atuarem antes do plano do discurso, da reflexão consciente. O capital
cultural, tido como naturalmente concebido, está de facto vinculado à orien-
tação social, uma vez que direciona os indivíduos que ocupam determinada
posição no espaço social aos bens e às práticas coerentes com tais posições. A
acumulação de capital cultural é resultante da contraposição central entre classe
dominante e dominada. Face a tal constatação, a proximidade do discurso teó-
rico elaborado por Bourdieu e sua justaposição nas instituições culturais são
observáveis quando da constatação de que a mesma hierarquização presente
na sociedade é também encontrada em museus, quando estes, em vez de uti-
lizarem mecanismo de alteração dessa realidade, como proposto pelo autor,
corroboram com uma sociedade elitista e hierarquizada. Os agentes e as insti-
tuições que estão à frente de uma instituição cultural aproveitam-se do capital
cultural simbólico e legitimam, ou deslegitimam, os acervos em prol da memó-
ria cultural, ao mesmo tempo em que se tornam propulsores do capital econô-
mico. "Os acervos documentais e o capital de testemunho de que são investi-
dos ocupam lugar central, bem como os acervos museológicos e os atributos
de autenticidade que conferem às peças sua forma simbólica" (Heymann, 2004,
p.5). O rearranjo documental é, portanto, utilizado para atestar importâncias.
Acerca da cultura legítima, Olinto (1995, p.7) afirma que "a cultura legítima
incluiria a cultura já institucionalmente aceite como erudita: os autores clás-
sicos, a arte exposta em museus, a música tocada nas salas de concerto. A esse
tipo de cultura só terão acesso indivíduos que desenvolveram um esquema
de apreciação necessário para tal. Não há, e nem poderia haver, um discurso
histórico neutro em um museu. Entretanto, um discurso expográfico voltado
somente aos visitantes detentores de "capital cultural", supõe-se não preocu-
par com uma linguagem mais inclusiva, negando assim uma das funções pri-
mordiais de um museu, o social. Os museus devem possuir um público-alvo
definido, mas isso não corresponde a ter um discurso limitado. Portanto, o
museu não pode apresentar uma narrativa excludente, característica abordada
por Bourdieu, de um discurso voltado apenas aos visitantes que desenvolveram
um "esquema de apreciação necessário", silenciando-se, assim, aos demais. É
importante, face a tal constatação, que a equipe do museu leve m consideração
a forma que seu discurso devem também dirigir-se àqueles que ainda não pos-
suem tal capital informacional, para que alcancem de facto seu objetivo educa-
cional e não se submetam a uma mera espetacularização.Com efeito, podemos
afirmar que não há, e nem poderia haver, um discurso neutro em um museu,
uma vez que todo discurso é moldado e apresentado a partir dos interesses e
intenções curatoriais. As exposições carregam em seu percurso a intenção dos

autores na forma em que o público, supostamente, deve assimilar a informação. Mário Chagas (2000, p 12) aponta a relação do poder do seguinte modo sucinto: "É fácil compreender (...) que os museus podem ser espaços celebrativos da memória do poder ou equipamentos interessados em trabalhar com o poder da memória". Quando apontamos a relação de poder em espaços museológicos, um de seus aspectos tange a elocução da memória coletiva, uma vez que essa pode ser "moldada" a fins específicos., Dito de outra forma, as instituições museológicas agem em torno de uma memória coletiva, visto que essas, através da pesquisa e divulgação dos bens patrimoniais e culturais, agem em uma perspectiva construtivista da memória, por meio de representações coletivas, ou seja, as narrativas apresentadas em uma instituição museológica possuem a preeminência de agir diretamente na perpetuação da memória coletiva. "Toda instituição museal apresenta um determinado discurso sobre a realidade. Este discurso, como é natural, não é natural e compõe-se de som e silêncio, de cheio e de vazio, de presença e de ausência, de lembrança e de esquecimento." (Chagas, 2000, p.30). Em relação à materialização da memória em instituições museológicas é portanto possível se afirmar que seus usos estabelecem-se em um tempo-lugar definido, uma vez que são inerentes às condições sociais para as quais se produziram representações que ambicionam materializar um passado. A título de considerações finais, é de referir que o discurso produzido nos museus certamente não é neutro, tampouco o deveria ser, mas, assim como Chartier (2002) assinala, também não são as percepções do social, de forma que as lutas de representações têm tanta importância como as lutas econômicas para compreender os mecanismos pelos quais um grupo impõe, ou tenta impor, a sua concepção de mundo social, seus valores e seus domínios. A realidade, segundo o autor, seria analisada por meio das suas representações, sendo essas consideradas como factos de múltiplos sentidos. Dessa forma, ao propor apreciação da vida social, as representações tornam-se objetos de análise para um questionamento das configurações culturais e sociais de um determinado espaço e tempo.

Não obstante, o uso dos lugares de memória por parte da sociedade nos exprime o receio do esvaimento dos processos sígnicos que são intrínsecos às sociedades e suas formas de representá-los. "Quanto menos a memória é vivida do interior, mais ela tem necessidade de suportes exteriores e de referências tangíveis de uma existência que só vive através delas" (Nora, 1993, p.12). Apontar a relação de poder em espaços museológicos faz-se necessária ao que tange a elocução da memória coletiva, para tal salientamos a possibilidade de moldagem a fins específicos, com respaldo no viés da museologia crítica, pois que nos remete à reflexão do museu enquanto espaço de conflito e poder, atuante na esfera pública. O panorama de desenvolvimento da pesquisa aponta para uma

reflexão crítica, de natureza qualitativa, com foco teórico discursivo onde alvitro uma abordagem descolonial no campo museológico, cuja emersão se faz cada vez mais presente na contemporaneidade. Torna-se evidente, portanto, a urgente necessidade da proposição de narrativas múltiplas de forma a propiciar que a instituição do museu seja apropriada pelo corpo social, no intuito de democratizar tais instituições culturais. Atentamos ao facto dos lugares de memória estarem vinculados à identidade social e política dos grupos culturais que o permeiam sendo, portanto, incoerente a carência de representatividade.

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# A memória nos tempos modernos: quando as ações culturais nos comunicam espaços de saber, mitos, lendas, tradições

*Memory in modern times: when cultural actions communicate spaces of knowledge, myths, legends, traditions*

HELENA MARIA DA SILVA SANTANA E MARIA DO ROSÁRIO DA SILVA SANTANA

## Introdução

Num mundo que se torna a cada dia mais global e globalizante, num mundo que se mostra cada vez mais competitivo e fugaz, num mundo onde os interesses económicos superam todos os outros, vimos, progressivamente, surgirem novas formas de encarar a vida, uma conduta que indicia um fazer, ser e ter mais coeso, genuíno e sustentável. Este novo fazer, anulando progressivamente o anterior, releva aquilo que o global compeliu numa ação perversa e aviltante. Num olhar para dentro, o homem percebe a necessidade de fazer emergir, nos tempos e espaços que quantas vezes negligenciou, modos de ser, fazer e estar mais puros e consentâneos com os tempos e os lugares que habita, bem como as características materiais e imateriais do lugar, com as suas tradições. Desde finais do século XX que assistimos ao êxodo progressivo da população mais nova das grandes cidades para o campo, na procura de novas formas de encarar a vida. Este êxodo dá-se para locais onde a natureza e os modos de vida são tidos como mais simples e edificantes, permitindo ao homem dizer-se num tempo e espaço conformes ao equilíbrio físico e emocional que anseia. Buscando modos de vida mais puros, trazendo à luz modos de ser, ter e fazer que intentam o respeito e o equilíbrio com a natureza, o homem implementa progressivamente práticas

sociais, culturais e artísticas que pesquisa no antigamente, de modo a respeitar a cultura e as tradições do lugar, mas também de modo a dinamizar as festividades e as festas, os rituais e os ritos, os mitos e as lendas do local que agora habita, de modo a (re)ligar-se com o tempo e o espaço do lugar, o mundo e a natureza.

A análise destas práticas evidencia uma sustentabilidade e ancestralidade marcadas. Neste sentido, e se considerarmos o caso particular das festas das Juvenais, prenunciamos que já entre os Romanos se celebravam. Decorrendo entre os dias 20 e 21 de Dezembro, estas festas integravam excessos de vária ordem. Conservando os traços fundamentais das Juvenais, as festas que hoje em dia ainda se realizam constituem ritos de passagem para a idade adulta, sendo comum o uso de adereços dos quais a Máscara é exemplo. Acrescem os convívios gastronómicos e a inversão da ordem estabelecida, as irreverências sociais em forma de ritos de igualização ou inversão das hierarquias (Ferreira, 2015). No Planalto Mirandês, a realização de todas estas práticas, e o uso da Máscara em diversas manifestações locais, é constante. Refira-se a festa de Santa Luzia em São Pedro da Silva. Esta aldeia, pertencente ao Concelho de Algoso, guarda em si um vasto espólio no que concerne os elementos da tradição e os traços culturais de uma região que se mostram comuns a outras Terras de Miranda e do Planalto Mirandês. Falamos em particular das práticas da Fogueira de Natal, de A Encomendação das Almas, da Matraca na Quaresma, do Pendão nas procissões, do Ramo dos Roscos do Dia de Reis, etc. Como todas as práticas que contêm uma praxis, um cerimonial, regras e códigos próprios, encontram-se a elas associadas o uso de indumentárias compostas por fatos, adereços e máscaras que, ao cobrir todo o corpo e rosto, visam o anonimato, a transfiguração e transformação daquele que os porta. Nesta prática, adquire o seu usuário dotes considerados superiores, ameaçadores, senão demoníacos (Costa, 2017). Estas práticas, bem como as Festas de Inverno, os rituais e os ritos de Início de Primavera, concretizados com recurso a indumentárias e máscaras, mostram ainda particularidades tais que o uso de chocalhos, cardas ou paus, o uso de trajes franjados ou com adereços femininos, bem como a aplicação de perfumes e odores intensos (Costa, 2017).

Apesar das transformações que se verificam, fruto das necessidades e das vontades políticas e sociais, o simbolismo dos rituais e dos ritos, dos tempos, dos espaços e das narrativas, bem como a confluência e influência das diferentes gerações que concorrem para a efetivação de uma sua prática, constituem-se elementos de uma identidade cultural e territorial que queremos relevar. Esta identidade reflete-se na forma de ser e estar da população, bem como na relação constante que se estabelece entre o homem e o meio. Neste contexto, são revigorados os mitos e as lendas, as festas e as tradições, os rituais e os ritos, as práticas

e as ancestralidades, enquanto elementos de encontro e reencontro de, e com, as populações. Simultaneamente, a relação direta que estabelecem com os tempos e lugares constitui uma razão da sua permanência, sem a qual a sua manutenção perderia toda a significância e significado. Ao estudarmos uma manifestação cultural onde a Máscara, mas também o Fogo, o Escárnio e o Maldizer são empregues como formas de renovação e expurgação de todos os males, permitimo-nos olhar a cultura e as tradições nas suas variadas vertentes, buscando o genuíno e o autêntico. Encontramos ainda os traços de uma identidade comportamental e territorial que se mostra profícua e original.

## 1. As ações culturais enquanto espaços de saber, de mitos, lendas e tradições – o caso particular das festividades de Inverno.

As festividades de Inverno, os rituais e os ritos associados ao Entrudo e ao Carnaval, acontecem num tempo próprio, um tempo que antecede ou prepara a Quaresma e a Páscoa, um tempo associado desde as épocas remotas à eclosão e libertação de energias humanas e materiais. Mostra-se um período

> propício às manifestações do limbo, aproveitando o hiato temporal em que impera a desordem e o caos. E, seguindo as pisadas saturnais romanas, tudo é permitido, existindo um caos consentido que inverte a ordem natural das coisas. [...], em que tudo pode ser colocado em causa e se vive em silenciosas liberdades. [...] As máscaras e mascarados, de origens culturais remotas e incertas estão, por certo, ligadas a estas passagens. (Ferreira, 2016, p. 8-9).

Neste contexto iremos analisar um conjunto de rituais e ritos alocados às festividades de Inverno, nomeadamente ao Entrudo e ao Carnaval, no que concerne a sua enformação e prática, em diversos lugares do território e além-mar.

## 1.1. Entrudo na Guarda - O Enterro do Galo

O Entrudo na Guarda tem a sua máxima expressão naquilo que se denomina de O Enterro do Galo, uma tradição de raiz popular. O Enterro do Galo inicia com um desfile de carros alegóricos encerrando com o Julgamento e Morte de um Galo. Este momento, importante para toda a comunidade, surge como momento de catarsis e libertação. Através da concretização de um espetáculo invulgar, onde um Galo é queimado, permitindo ao povo a libertação e a renovação, enceta-se

um novo ciclo de vida e prosperidade. Nos diferentes constituintes, narrativas e ações que esta prática engloba, a comunidade é convidada a expressar as suas necessidades e angústias de uma forma lúdica e satírica, promovendo um conhecimento daquilo de que mais falta sente o povo, a freguesia, o território, o lugar. Esta tradição, bem patente no Interior do país, mormente na cidade da Guarda, é motivo de orgulho para todos, sendo preservado ao longo dos anos pelos povos e as gentes do lugar.

Sem descurar a componente religiosa da festividade, observamos que a componente profana da mesma, o Enterro do Galo, se enforma de modo a permitir a expiação dos males do povo, sendo igualmente um momento de sátira popular e catarsis. É na pira, e pelo fogo, que ao queimar o Galo o povo se liberta. O fogo surge como elemento purificador, facto que podemos encontrar em diversos rituais e ritos desde a antiguidade. Constituindo um momento exclusivo na vida cultural e artística da Cidade da Guarda, esta tradição é usada igualmente como veículo de promoção e divulgação do território, sendo o culminar de todo um processo que envolve sinergias várias. As entidades envolvidas são convidadas a produzir carros alegóricos onde se espelham os males da sociedade local. Os carros integram um cortejo que, depois de percorrer algumas artérias da cidade, se dirige à Praça Velha junto da Sé Catedral. As piadas satíricas e humorísticas são na sua maioria de carácter político, versando o que mais afeta a população. Na praça, encontra-se já cativo o Galo, Galo esse que irá ser acusado, julgado e sentenciado. O julgamento termina com a sua morte, uma morte que se dá pelo fogo. Sentenciado, o animal é incendiado, purificando e libertando a todos. O sacrifício pelo fogo é renascimento e purificação, simbolizando renovação.

## 1.2. Entrudo em Podence e Lazarim

No norte de Portugal, na região de Trás-os-Montes e Alto-Douro, vivenciamos uma prática festiva pela época do Entrudo, onde as arruadas são constantes. Dessa prática, e fruto de uma tradição milenar, fazem parte os Caretos, personagens mascarados que em muito contribuem para o medrio de um imaginário fantástico e demoníaco naquelas paragens e gentes. Se as manifestações dos Caretos visam a divulgação de práticas e tradições, bem como a promoção dos territórios, sabemos que, para alguns autores, nomeadamente Cohen (1982) citado por Raposo (2010, p. 23),

> as cerimónias elaboradas e especializadas não são o mecanismo preferencial pelo qual um grupo toma consciência da sua cultura e da sua experiência distinta. Esse

lugar é reservado às práticas quotidianas, uma vez que a apresentação da comunidade e a sua exteriorização em formas e eventos públicos constituem sempre uma simplificação que Cohen chega a definir, em última instância, como uma falsa representação dos próprios membros do grupo para si mesmos.

Neste sentido, temos de fazer referência às alterações provocadas pelos meios de comunicação social. Estes obrigaram, à custa da promessa de divulgação dos territórios, à adaptação e adulteração da tradição, em função da sua difusão e promoção, através dos meios audiovisuais, e dos produtos neles veiculados, não só em Portugal, como no resto do mundo. Contudo, os Caretos de Podence, originários da aldeia de Podence, no concelho de Macedo de Cavaleiros, foram declarados como Património Cultural Imaterial da Humanidade pela UNESCO a 12 de Dezembro de 2019. Inseridos nas festividades de Inverno, os Caretos representam imagens diabólicas e misteriosas, sendo que, ao serem declarados Património Cultural Imaterial da Humanidade, detêm agora uma responsabilidade acrescida no que concerne a preservação de uma prática, da cultura e tradição.

Em Podence, mas também em Lazarim, são os homens que encarnam o personagem do Careto usando uma indumentária que propicia o anonimato e, assim, o usufruto de uma liberdade que lhes autoriza atos de pura selvática e animália. De conformidade com a origem geográfica, estes personagens possuem indumentária própria, que se diz na natureza dos materiais, das cores, dos objetos e formas que a compõem. Em Podence, os Caretos vestem

mantas pesadas que são adaptadas a casaco e calça, cobertas por linhas de franjas de lã coloridas, e prolongadas num capuz com cauda entrançada da mesma lã colorida. Num passado não muito distante, estas fantasias tecidas numa manta de serapilheira talhada para o efeito [...] eram de lã de ovelha tingida artesanalmente com pigmentos de tinta adquiridos em feiras ou centros urbanos próximos. À cintura pendem chocalhos pesados e pequenas campainhas são colocadas em diagonais no peito, propalando e soando no ar. Usam máscaras de lata – no passado já foram de madeira e couro -, as quais hoje são exclusivamente uniformes num padrão de lata vermelho, seguindo exatamente o mesmo processo de padronização dos fatos (Raposo, 2010, p. 34).

O uso da máscara e do traje outorga ao seu portador a liberdade de exercer perversões que se lhe encontram condicionadas se as vestes não porta. No caso dos Caretos de Podence, estas ações, efetuadas com alguma violência e brutalidade, condicionava a vida das populações, principalmente das raparigas que, nestes dias, ajustavam as suas saídas a uma não presença dos Caretos na sua zona de ação.

A ação dos Caretos torna-se bastante relevante pelo Entrudo. De acordo com Raposo (2010, p. 47),

> o Carnaval é uma das festividades cíclicas mais complexas e ricas de aspetos e significados e originariamente de fundo agrário. Derivado possivelmente das Saturnais romanas, o Carnaval absorveu, ao longo dos séculos, práticas de origem muito variada. A celebração caracteriza-se fundamentalmente pela licenciosidade autorizada, e conforme os casos comporta máscaras e mascarados... [...] O Carnaval no Nordeste Transmontano poderá não assumir o colorido e o aparato do que se festeja em outras paragens, mas é, por certo, o que mais se aproxima das origens desta tradição, as antigas festas agrárias, as saturnais romanas e as lupercais celebradas em honra de Pan, o deus dos rebanhos.

Ora é esta originalidade que torna o Entrudo de Podence único e o afasta das outras manifestações carnavalescas fortemente influenciadas pelos meios de comunicação social e pelas práticas em terras de além-mar. No entanto, cremos que é na autenticidade e na diferenciação das tradições que se deve apostar de modo a que a dinamização dos territórios se substantifique determinando uma preservação da cultura local.

O Entrudo de Lazarim também tem como figuras principais os Caretos. No entanto, a tradição do Entrudo nesta localidade contém também a leitura de Testamentos Satíricos e a realização de um Cortejo Etnográfico. Tal como noutros territórios, o Entrudo rege-se pela licenciosidade e pelo confronto permitido com a autoridade. Em Lazarim, o Entrudo é preparado com alguma antecedência. Os artesãos desenham e preparam as máscaras em madeira de amieiro, desenhando figuras zoomórficas com grande criatividade e invenção. Em simultâneo, são redigidos os testamentos da "Comadre" e do "Compadre", ação que se encontra rodeada de grande secretismo. Redigidos pelos jovens solteiros da vila que aproveitam a ocasião para, com grande malícia e ironia, divulgar em praça pública o que de outra forma não teriam coragem de revelar, estes testamentos são ainda uma forma de explorar as rivalidades entre as pessoas, divulgando as suas fraquezas, vícios, defeitos e outras insolências, para que nelas se reconheçam e revejam os visados. Estas práticas têm como principal objetivo a expurga dos males da comunidade, males que se não forem exorcizados poderão ser motivo para más colheitas e saúde deficiente dos animais. Os bonecos antropomorfos que simbolizam a "Comadre" e o "Compadre" são depois queimados para que a renovação e a prosperidade sejam possíveis. É a imolação pelo fogo, a purificação, à semelhança do praticado no Enterro do Galo. No final, e à semelhança de outros locais onde são queimadas figuras

alegóricas do Entrudo como os Judas, são servidos pratos típicos da região, nomeadamente o caldo de farinha e a feijoada.

Relativamente às indumentárias, as vestes dos Caretos de Lazarim possuem as mesmas franjas dos de Podence, mas de cor neutra, o beije. Carregam, à cintura ou ao peito, cintos de campainhas e chocalhos com os quais chocalham as raparigas nos percursos de Domingo Gordo e Terça-feira de Carnaval. Da indumentária faz também parte um pau ou cacete, que os ajuda nos saltos e nas correrias. Sobressaem ainda os grunhidos e os roncos que vão lançando à sua passagem, predição de uma virilidade que se anuncia e, neste caso, impõe. A máscara que lhes tapa o rosto, tendo como principal característica o nariz saliente, e em alguns casos os cornos, é feita de diversos materiais, nomeadamente o couro, o latão ou a madeira. No intuito de lhes conferir maior rusticidade e mistério, evidencia as características faciais de uma figura trevosa, surgindo pintada com cores vivas, nomeadamente o amarelo, o vermelho e o preto. É ainda de salientar que costumam ser caracteres marcadamente masculinos.

## 1.3. Entrudo em Vale-de-Ílhavo

Em Vale-de-Ílhavo, no concelho de Ílhavo, distrito de Aveiro, enquadrada no ciclo de festas de Inverno e no Carnaval, surge uma manifestação cultural com regras e princípios igualmente próprios, ainda que, em alguns componentes, semelhantes aos expostos atrás. Esta prática recupera, no dizer de Ferreira (2016, p. 10),

> de um passado longínquo rituais de iniciação dos rapazes, através de um grupo exclusivo de rapazes e homens solteiros a que chamam Cardadores – numa alusão ao cardar da lã – formando uma espécie de sociedade secreta, em que guardar segredo é condição fundamental para se ser aceite.

São seus intervenientes, os Cardadores, cuja presença remonta a épocas idas. Na sua forma de atuar, "são pessoas singulares, sempre envoltas em mistério e erotismo, quer pelo colorido dos trajes, quer pelas exóticas atuações, pretendendo em público definir a sua identidade" (*idem*). Também aqui, e à semelhança do que acontece no norte do país, não é possível determinar ao certo a origem desta prática. "A sua origem permanece no mistério, uma incógnita que certamente perdurará no tempo" (*idem*). Socialmente, e à semelhança dos seus congéneres, os Cardadores têm uma função social e iniciática importante. Todos os anos, e cerca de um mês antes do Carnaval, os rapazes do lugar juntam-se num lugar secreto, designado de a "Caserna" para dar início aos preparativos do Carnaval.

As reuniões que se fazem todos os dias até ao fim da festividade, do final da tarde até de madrugada servem, não só para iniciar os novos, como para precisar as regras de conduta, conceção e construção da máscara e das vestes, bem como da saída dos membros do grupo no Domingo Gordo e Terça-feira de Carnaval. À semelhança de muitos ritos de iniciação, todo o processo comporta três fases: a primeira, o afastamento; a segunda, o ritual traumático; a terceira, a purificação (Morin, 1970). Do grupo fazem parte os jovens da terra, e unicamente esses, não sendo permitida a inclusão de jovens de outras proveniências e lugares.

> Para se ser aceite é necessário ser-se solteiro e morar em Vale de Ílhavo, embora esta obrigatoriedade de morar em Vale de Ílhavo seja já uma adaptação da regra inicial que obrigava a que se fosse natural e morador de Vale de Ílhavo. Hoje, se não nasceu em Vale de Ílhavo, mas vive lá há muito tempo e é reconhecido como sendo da terra, revelando um comportamento e personalidade de agrado dos Cardadores, pode candidatar-se a ser aceite no grupo (Ferreira, 2016, p. 14).

Denota-se desta forma o bairrismo e as rivalidades, bem como a evolução imposta pelo progredir de uma sociedade que se faz cada vez mais parca de jovens adolescentes, bem como de um interesse, por parte destes, pelos rituais, ritos e tradições. Neste sentido, percebe-se também uma não integração no grupo, e consequentemente na comunidade, contribuindo para o seu desenraizamento social, cultural e local.

Como traje, o Cardador possui, à semelhança de os Caretos de Podence e Lazarim, uma máscara e indumentária próprias. Das vestes fazem parte duas peças de lingerie feminina (*baby-doll* e calção), um lenço de tricana colorido que lhes tapa o peito, meias de renda (às quais são cozidos pompons de lã) e sapatilhas. À cintura, dispõe um cinto ao qual foram presas várias campainhas e chocalhos; nas mãos, duas cardas. Estas cardas servem para "cardar" as raparigas; o cinto de campainhas e chocalhos, bem como os roncos e grunhidos, os saltos e as correrias que antecedem a investida, também.

> Só os Cardadores têm permissão de tocar nas raparigas, no ato de cardar, que embora carregado de erotismo é atualmente muito mais ordeiro e respeitador; e se tal não acontecer o "chefe de rua" (eleito pelos chefes da "caserna") castiga o prevaricador com a ida para a "casa de saída", a retirada do fato e da máscara e o abandono do grupo (Ferreira, 2016, p. 42).

A máscara que completa o disfarce é composta pelas "paródias", pelas "fitas" ou "gazetas" e, pela cara. Como exposto em Ferreira (*idem*, p. 25): "As

paródias, as fitas e as gazetas compõem a parte posterior da máscara simbolizando a cabeleira. [...] Por baixo das "paródias" são cosidas com um fio de vela umas às outras, cortadas mais largas e mais compridas, "fitas" ou "gazetas", aproveitando-se o papel ao comprido e dobrando-se um pouco na parte de cima (zona da costura)." A cara é feita de pele de ovelha cosida num pedaço de ganga. Desta cara fazem parte uns olhos e uma boca cujos contornos, de cortiça, foram pintados de vermelho. O nariz, bastante comprido, feito de pano igualmente de cor vermelha, surge preenchido com algodão sendo semelhante a um falo. Por cima dos olhos são colocadas, anualmente, duas asas de ave que se denominam "penhaços". Da máscara faz ainda parte um bigode feito com pelos de rabo de boi ou cavalo. A máscara constitui o elemento principal de todo o disfarce. Segundo Ferreira (*ibidem)*, "é na máscara que os Cardadores colocam todo o seu orgulho, toda a sua habilidade e, como tal, todos os anos novas máscaras aparecem, outras são feitas ou melhoradas, sempre na mira da espetacularidade." Depois de disfarçados, e organizada a saída, os Cardadores fazem-se à estrada cardando e atormentando as raparigas mais jovens, e todos aqueles por quem passam. As fitas da sua indumentária são por vezes alvo da fúria das raparigas que, tentando afastá-los, as arrancam. Por vezes o seu nariz é igualmente alvo da sua violência, percebendo-se o intuito da mutilação. De forma mais amistosa e carinhosa até, as fitas são oferecidas a alvos da sua particular atenção e estima, raparigas ou senhoras, ou a alguma criança que se mostre mais assustada com a investida no intuito de a acalmar.

> As "fitas" destinam-se a ser oferecidas a quem as pede ou a quem o Cardador tem gosto em oferecer, sendo usual serem o elemento apaziguador de algum choro assustado dos mais pequeninos ou o delírio da criançada que corre atrás dos Cardadores para lhes roubar alguma fita. É também usual ser elemento decorativo de algum quarto de dama (*ibidem*).

No conjunto das práticas narradas percebemos uma luta de forças de natureza contrária, uma luta entre o bem e o mal, uma presença do humano e do animal, uma necessidade de purificação, de morte e renovação.

## 1.4. Boi-Bumbá

No Brasil, a luta entre as forças do bem e do mal surge representada na dança do Boi-Bumbá, uma prática onde vimos interagir personagens humanas e animais. O Boi-Bumbá, Bumba-meu-boi, ou Boi-mamão, conforme a região do país

representada, é o resultado da união de elementos das culturas europeia, africana e nativa, com maior ou menor influência de cada uma delas, conforme a região do país em análise. Incorporada a uma integrante coreográfica e teatral, esta prática alia elementos provenientes das tradições populares, tanto espanhola como portuguesa, revelando ainda uma forte influência religiosa, fruto do processo de colonização. O costume foi intensificado à época pelos Jesuítas que, através das danças e pequenas representações, desejavam evangelizar. Nas formas narradas, nos seus conteúdos e modos de se fazerem representar, pressentimos ligações com diversas tradições africanas, indígenas e europeias, bem como com diferentes festas religiosas católicas. Vulgarmente associadas ao período de festas Joaninas, a máscara, a indumentária, o homem e o boi, mas também as narrativas visuais, performativas, coreográficas e sonoras que compõem todo o drama, compõem o espetáculo do Boi. Este afirma-se uma herança transmitida ao longo de gerações, num epílogo que abre uma jornada que se reaviva a cada vez. Juntam-se vozes, risos, danças e sonoridades, num espetáculo que destapa as relações entre os seres e os mecanismos que regem as sociedades. Fruto de uma evolução temporal, assistimos aos sonhos que se exprimem nos temas escolhidos para cada desfile, vislumbramos as críticas que se espelham nos personagens do cortejo e os atributos que caracterizam cada um dos personagens em cena. De acordo com Furlanetto (2017, p. 174),

> a experiência estética proporcionada pela arte e pelo mito possibilita a escuta das vozes silenciadas pelos ruídos e dissonâncias do dia-a-dia, sons que vibram nos cantos do mundo. Com a alma tocada, a profundidade do espaço íntimo se entrelaça à imensidão do espaço exterior: moduladas pelas emoções e sentimentos, as tonalidades afetivas das paisagens revelam a complexidade da alma humana. [...] A paisagem da festa condensa o esforço de muitos antoninenses, os que já se foram, os que estão aí e aqueles que herdarão esta tradição popular, que mescla as histórias dos homens às da cidade. Por isso, o Boi continua vivo e vibrante nas paisagens da memória, nas lembranças dos que presenciaram a festa, sons que espalham vida aos que se entregam à escuta contemplativa. A paisagem sonora pode ser entendida, poeticamente, como uma polifonia modulante: entre os tons e os sons da razão e da emoção, o homem se relaciona com seu mundo, modelando-o e sendo por ele modulado. [...] O mito da morte e ressurreição, tema do folguedo, é uma forma simbólica de celebrar a vida. O boi de mamão é arte, uma festa em determinados contextos sociais e espaciais nos quais a vida se desenvolve e cujas sonoridades, plenas de múltiplos simbolismos, ecoam nas paisagens.

## 1.5. Diablada

No intuito de captar a atenção para um conteúdo diverso daquele veiculado pelas tradições indígenas e pagãs, os religiosos e os colonizadores tentaram, através da prática de uma aculturação que mesclava elementos da tradição indígena, europeia e cristã, captar a atenção dos povos indígenas para conteúdos de uma prática que queriam instaurar. Neste sentido, começaram a despontar um conjunto de representações de carácter profano, religioso e cristão, que tentavam fornecer os elementos de uma cultura que não a local, e que tendiam, à semelhança do praticado na Europa, a traduzir um tempo e uma prática do calendário judaico-cristão. Neste sentido, aparecem um conjunto de festividades que contrariavam o calendário e as práticas instituídas localmente, para se expandirem na definição e estruturação de um conjunto de práticas que iam ao encontro das ideias da Igreja Católica Cristã. Assim, somos a referir todas as práticas próprias ao calendário judaico-cristão, mas também aquelas que se originam em honra da Virgem Mãe, nomeadamente da Virgem de la Candelária.

Atualmente, a Diablada é uma prática cultural e artística de cariz tradicional que se faz principalmente no Carnaval de Oruro na Bolívia, no Festival da Candelária no Peru e na Festa de La Tirana no Chile. O sentido de identidade patrimonial desta dança é motivo de várias disputas entre os três países. Como elemento diferenciador de uma cultura ou país, numerosas são as peculiaridades. Sendo uma dança religiosa, ligada à religião católica, e com uma forte componente visual e performativa, os dançarinos apresentam trajes que lhe dão uma aparência desumanizada com vista à interpretação de personagens teológicas cristãos de características predominantemente demoníacas, sobressaindo a máscara. Especificamente no Perú, a Diablada que, como o nome indica, é uma dança do Diabo, constitui uma dança que representa a luta entre o bem e o mal, exteriorizando a consciência humana. Representando a luta entre o bem e o mal, onde a figura do Arcanjo Miguel, rodeado por diversos anjos, combate as forças do mal, representadas por Lúcifer e os seus demónios, esta dança integra um dos registos culturais mais importantes do país e das regiões onde se oferta.

A Diablada integra um conjunto de representações que se desenvolveram desde os tempos de colonização, pois foram os colonos e os enviados da religião católica para os evangelizar que desenvolveram neles um imaginário demoníaco e punitivo que convinha aclamar. As danças tradicionais e as manifestações religiosas e culturais europeias foram transmitidas pelos descobridores, sendo adotadas pelos membros da Igreja Católica para, então, doutrinar e coagir as suas práticas ancestrais.

## Reflexão

As forças opostas do bem e do mal, do sagrado e do profano, do ritual e do rito, têm, no conjunto das práticas vivenciadas, formas próprias de se firmar. Na sua determinação, os envolvidos, tentando o anonimato que lhes autoriza a sensualidade e o selvático das práticas, revestem-se de artefactos próprios. A sua indumentária revela similitudes em todos os casos sendo a Máscara um elemento fundamental. A Máscara constitui, assim, uma marca emblemática dos povos e lugares. Feitas dos materiais que a terra oferece e que a manualidade e habilidade dos artesãos consegue, podem ser de couro, madeira ou metal, ou de qualquer outro material que se encontre nos lugares.

Estas diferenças não estão presentes só na Máscara, mas igualmente nos trajes que envergam. Neste caso, são de referir as colchas dos Caretos e o uso de peças de lingerie feminina, no caso dos Cardadores de Vale-de-Ílhavo. No que aos adornos diz respeito, há que referir as franjas de lã, papel ou palha, os chocalhos e campainhas, as cardas, as varas, os paus e as tenazes com que ameaçam. São estes elementos que permitem as licenciosidades dos Caretos e Cardadores, mas também do Boi e dos Diablos. Os materiais dão-nos as formas, os guarda-roupas e as indumentárias diferenciadas, os instrumentos e a prática musical. No caso do Boi-Bumbá, também conhecido como Bumba-meu-boi ou Boi de mamão, o som é o fio condutor do espetáculo. A música, o texto falado e o canto são a base das representações. A narrativa sobre o mito da morte e ressurreição anuncia os personagens que comunicam os valores e as histórias do espaço vivido. Ao expressar as particularidades de cada grupo, de cada local, o som se apresenta delineador de uma paisagem geográfica e cultural que delimita lugares e emoções.

A forma como olhamos a paisagem, como percecionamos o seu som e o som do espetáculo, resulta do conjunto de emoções que, variando de acordo com os espaços e tempos psicológicos de quem frui, alarga o leque de emoções que caracteriza o ser humano. Este leque de emoções é o mesmo que se anuncia na premissa da geografia poética dos espaços íntimos, a mesma que permite criar textos musicais e poéticos que traduzem essa mesma paisagem. A paisagem, a Máscara, as indumentárias, bem como as coreografias são próprias aos lugares e a poética dos textos, das lendas e das narrativas constitui uma mais-valia para a dinamização dos patrimónios materiais e imateriais dos lugares. Se em Portugal se encontram ligadas aos ritos de Fertilidade e do Carnaval, além-mar encontram-se vinculadas às Festas em honra da Virgem da Candelária, no caso do Peru, e às Festividades Joaninas, no Brasil.

Se os materiais, as formas e os carateres são similares em todas elas, a exuberância torna-se maior além-mar. A associação a uma narrativa com personagens

específicos, e dinâmica própria, confere-lhe uma componente que, em Portugal, não está patente. A componente musical surge sempre de duas maneiras: surge como construção sonora onde, para além do som ambiente do espaço físico, arquitetónico e urbano escolhido, se sobrepõe aquele executado aquando da performance. Encontramos, muitas vezes, um sonoro que nos provoca de maneira quase instantânea e que alude sempre a um sentimento, a uma emoção, a uma vivência, tendo um forte impacto no público que a vivência. Sabemos que se constrói num espaço de som próprio ao lugar e território onde se manifesta, constituindo-se dos sons e verbalizações que surgem no espaço da performance erigida. Num e noutro caso o sonoro surge como suporte a uma ação física, emocional, conceptual, social e vivencial própria, a uma intenção de apropriação do outro, da sua atenção e entusiasmo para si mesmo, e para a comunidade e a causa que nos move, o ritual e o rito de transformação e comunicação com o divino.

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# Vila das Torres: Histórias, Memórias, (Re)Territorialidades

*Vila das Torres: Stories, Memories, (Re)Territorialities*

ANA CRISTINA DOS SANTOS ARAÚJO

As ações do Estado sobre o território da Vila das Torres, no bairro de Madureira no Rio de Janeiro, exemplifica as dinâmicas de desapropriação e remoção de várias favelas com o intuito de desenvolver um programa de *transformação* da cidade.

A Vila das Torres, caso emblemático do qual trataremos, foi removida para dar espaço ao projeto de um parque chamado de Parque Madureira, bairro do subúrbio pobre do Rio de Janeiro. O foco dessa pesquisa é a exclusão social e territorial da população moradora dessa comunidade.

A gestão da cidade por parte do poder público em relação a determinados territórios fragiliza o modo de vida de seus moradores através do abandono e/ou de investimentos débeis manifestando-se, geralmente nas periferias dos grandes centros, sob a forma de precariedade do mobiliário urbano, de falta de investimento em serviços públicos e de desordenamento urbano. Essa forma de fazer política é definida por Bourdieu (2008) como a "demissão do Estado"[1], situação em que o poder público se ausenta de algumas áreas de atuação, para depois, de

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[1]    O Estado pede demissão de sua esfera pública e até então inalienável, como por exemplo as políticas públicas destinadas à habitação e à educação levando a uma "política de sofrimento social": [...] tem também multiplicado os espaços sociais (campos e subcampos especializados) que têm oferecido

acordo com os interesses do momento, atuar. No caso dos territórios precariza-
dos, o poder público retorna a eles com uma política de reurbanização ou em
nome dela, muitas vezes carregando consigo a expansão imobiliária, utilizando
as remoções e destruições dos espaços para alegadamente modernizar e valorar
áreas que antes eram estigmatizadas, criminalizadas ou invisíveis para o Estado.

O Rio de Janeiro já passou por algumas ações desse tipo em um passado
recente. No começo do século XX, houve uma grande transformação do cen-
tro da cidade do Rio de Janeiro, onde a população se concentrava. Essa ação
estatal ficou historicamente conhecida como a Reforma Pereira Passos que
levou a que população pobre visse suas casas destruídas para a remodelação da
cidade no estilo moderno, acompanhando a ideia francesa de cidade, cunhada
por George Eugène Haussmann. Haussmann foi o grande urbanista de Paris,
reconfigurando a cidade para o atendimento das necessidades burguesas de
modernização e eliminação da insalubridade, utilizando-se do financiamento
de bancos imobiliários.

Os pobres dessa área foram expulsos para as periferias desse centro e para os
territórios mais longínquos cortados pela malha ferroviária. Essa reformulação
da cidade teve como discurso motivador o combate à insalubridade, às epidemias
e ao atraso representado pela fase colonizadora. Era o início da República no
Brasil e, com ela, o desejo de inserção da nação no cenário mundial.

Para voltar ao tema propriamente dito, é de referir que o processo de cons-
trução do Parque Madureira começou em 2012 e, posteriormente, teve sua
ampliação em 2015. Segundo Vainer (2010), quando falamos de deslocamentos
involuntários e compulsórios na sociedade capitalista, via de regra falamos de
grandes projetos de investimentos (GPI), que, "de maneira circular, fomentam
e resultam de processos de concentração espacial e centralização do capital. Os
grandes projetos de investimentos, assim, podem ser pensados como uma forma
particular de valorização do capital, como um modo específico de produção sob
o capital". As obras do Parque Madureira estão inseridas nesse projeto maior da
gestão do prefeito Eduardo Paes, que tinha como objetivo tornar a cidade do Rio
de Janeiro uma cidade alegadamente global.

As remoções, como uma mobilidade forçada, é o principal eixo para pen-
sarmos as ações do Estado relativas às várias favelas cariocas na contempora-
neidade do Rio de Janeiro. Comumente relacionamos as mobilidades forçadas
com o resultado de guerras ou catástrofes naturais, porém, o desenvolvimento
econômico também pode ser categorizado como um grande motivador destas

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as condições favoráveis a um desenvolvimento sem precedentes de todas as formas de pequenas
misérias". (Bourdieu, 2008, p. 13).

mobilidades. De acordo com Vainer (2010, p.165), os refugiados do desenvolvimento são inerentes ao próprio desenvolvimento do capitalismo, esses "Grandes Projetos de Investimentos" (GPI) têm como objetivo a valoração do capital que geram rápidas mudanças de sociais".

Essa valorização advinda do GPI quase sempre vem acompanhada de um violento processo de expropriação/apropriação de território que implicara, quase sempre, deslocamentos involuntários.

Nesse sentido. a remoção dos moradores da Vila das Torres dialoga com a seguinte análise de Rolnik (2015, p.75)

"(...)expulsões e remoções ligadas a grandes projetos são apenas uma face violenta e, portanto, mais visível de processos em curso de criminalização e fortalecimento do estigma territorial. Tais processos incidem sobre os territórios populares aliados à sua 'capacitação', entendida como captura de sua lógica econômica política e social pela lógica dos mercados e finanças. O acesso seletivo ao solo urbano, como percebemos ate aqui, é promovido por alguns agentes imediatos, o agente imobiliário (ligado à comercialização do solo) e o próprio Estado, sujeito às pressões da classe média e dos agentes imobiliários, para estabelecer políticas públicas estimulantes de ofertas de serviços, transportes, equipamentos de lazer e infraestrutura. Não se deve esquecer que a cidade é composta e compõe as relações sociais".

Nos últimos anos houve uma transformação progressiva no conceito "deslocamento" que permite que o meu trabalho relacione as remoções e, em especial, a remoção da Vila das Torres como um "deslocamento involuntário" que assenta na conceituação da agência Internacional Financial Corporation, Rosettlement Handbook, de 2001, que pontua:

"(…) o deslocamento pode ser físico ou econômico. Deslocamento físico é a recolocação física das pessoas, resultante da perda de abrigo ou de acesso aos recursos produtivos (como terra, água, e floresta)".

Nos casos das remoções na cidade do Rio de Janeiro, podemos observar violações dos direitos à comunicação, do direito à justa indenização e reparação, assim como do direito ao trabalho e à cultura.

A remoção deslocou famílias que estavam naquele território há gerações, trabalhadores da terra (o território surgiu e mantinha uma agricultura urbana), trabalhadores das escolas de samba (GRES Portela e GRES Império Serrano) e moradores nascidos e crescidos nessa vila; retirando-lhes então seus elos afetivos-territoriais, sem os quais ficariam privados das suas perspectivas de futuro.

Inicialmente, a proposta dos gestores públicos era de realocar os moradores próximos de suas antigas moradias, seu território de trabalho e de relações pessoais e emocionais. Esses acordos foram estabelecidos com a mediação da Associação dos Moradores da Vila das Torres.

Diante da perspectiva da falta de um projeto claro de remoção, de indenização justa e de recolocação dos moradores no bairro de Madureira, a associação de moradores começou um movimento de resistência e mobilização.

A gestão do prefeito da cidade do Rio de Janeiro, Eduardo Paes, tinha muitos trunfos nesse processo de remoção, dentre eles, a apropriação dos signos populares dos moradores do bairro de Madureira, como ir à quadra do GRES Portela, transitar por Madureira com as cores e o chapéu dessa escola de samba e fazer declarações aos meios de comunicação sobre sua torcida por essa agremiação de samba. A manipulação desses signos dificultou a luta da mobilização do bairro de Madureira para impedir a remoção dos moradores da Vila das Torres, já que a população em geral se identificava com o gestor que se apresenta como pertencente ao povo.

Além disso, com o discurso de um grande espaço de lazer *moderno e sustentável* no meio de uma área pauperizada, a população passou a engrossar um discurso de *melhoria* e *valorização* do bairro.

As remoções foram realizadas com muita violência simbólica, com base em indenizações baixas, aluguéis sociais, insegurança no futuro e realocação de parte dos moradores em um conjunto habitacional recém-construído e, por isso, sem infraestrutura em seu entorno, bairro esse não tão distante, mas que impunha um deslocamento utilizando transportes públicos para se chegar à área removida.

Hoje, no que ainda resta da Vila das Torres, continua a haver habitações marcadas para serem removidas, sendo ainda parte de um projeto de ampliação do Parque Madureira. Os moradores dessas casas convivem diariamente com os escombros e entulhos de outras moradias e com o *fantasma de novas remoções.*

Na atualidade, nove anos após sua inauguração e seis anos depois da sua ampliação, o que vemos é um apagamento das vidas que foram removidas, suas experiências e territorialidades. Na página oficial do Parque Madureira há referências às mudanças da delegacia de polícia, mas não menciona a vila e seus moradores. Desse território o que se enaltece é o fato de o parque ser o terceiro maior parque urbano do Rio de Janeiro e de a sua estrutura ser totalmente sustentável, com alta qualidade ambiental.

Na perspectiva de  dar visibilidade às populações removidas e favorecer um canal de busca da justiça social, se dando assim oportunidade à escuta e àdivulgação das vozes e  histórias desses moradores, utilizarei como metodologia base

do meu trabalho de investigação em curso, a História Oral, na busca de dar um passado a essa população e proporcionar um caminho para a construção do seu futuro, como nos aponta Thompson (1998). A História Oral para o autor, tem a função de oportunizar aos agentes da história preponderância na construção da sua realidade e da sua ligação com os fatos e lugares.

Uma das ferramentas que utilizarei é a sensobiografia, que busca o sentido do passado no presente, feita em distintos planos: no simbólico e pessoal, no político e social; retornando ao território que era o espaço da vila e que hoje é o espaço do parque, para registrar as memórias e as vivências de alguns moradores que participarão da pesquisa como informantes participantes.

Outra proposta metodológica é a de fazer uma cartografia social como técnica de retratar o cotidiano, os espaços simbólicos afetivos e, assim, dar vida pulsante à um espaço impessoal que é o Parque Madureira.

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# *Rapensando* África na música de Chullage

*Rethinking Africa in the rap music of Chullage*

DAVIDE GRAVATO E ROSA CABECINHAS

## 1. Introdução

Muito influenciado pelos movimentos dos direitos civis durante os anos 1960 e 70 nos Estados Unidos da América (EUA), o movimento cultural hip-hop migrou para outros países nas décadas seguintes levando esse caráter de contestação consigo. O contexto português absorveu a vertente consciente do rap, estabelecendo códigos de conduta sociais e musicais, com um posicionamento *underground* focado em exprimir o real (Gravato, 2017). A popularidade da cultura hip-hop entre os jovens descendentes de migrantes oriundos das antigas colónias portuguesas não é acidental. Tal como sucedeu em Bronx (EUA), estas comunidades também precisaram de encontrar a "dose da coragem necessária para prosseguir vivendo no presente" (Gilroy, 2001), enquanto se debatem entre sentimentos de pertença.

Chullage, projeto de Nuno Santos, é um dos sonantes nomes do rap feito em Portugal. Autor de várias músicas consideradas clássicas do hip-hop nacional, editou três álbuns e possui incontáveis presenças em projetos e músicas de outros artistas como Sam The Kid, Regula, Kacetado, Less du Neuf, entre outros. Ainda que indissociável do chamado *Rap Tuga* (rap português), o MC valoriza a sua "ancestralidade africana" e sempre expressou a sua opinião quanto às dinâmicas de integração social na sociedade portuguesa. As suas músicas possuem um

discurso interventivo, o qual tenta recuperar uma ligação com a sua "ancestralidade africana" e se posiciona em constante busca por justiça social.

Com base nestes pressupostos, no presente artigo pretende-se identificar as narrativas de Chullage que levantam questões relacionadas com o colonialismo português e a discriminação racial, assim como reconhecer pontos que demonstrem o seu diálogo com a cultura cabo-verdiana. Para tal, será brevemente abordado o seu posterior projeto *Prétu*, de modo a ilustrar a continuidade e transversalidade dessas narrativas. Sem deixar de considerar também relevantes colaborações do artista que são externas aos seus projetos, neste estudo proceder-se-á a uma análise discursiva das letras das músicas de Chullage.

## 2. Hip-hop como palco de intervenção

Embora o hip-hop possa ser contextualizado a partir das décadas de 1930 a 50, considerando a criatividade musical resultante das trocas culturais potencializadas pelas ondas migratórias em Bronx (Naison, 2010), é nas décadas seguintes que se materializa. Em pleno momento dos movimentos de direitos civis, o hip-hop tornar-se-ia um importante meio de contestação face à desigualdade socioeconómica e variadas formas de discriminação vivenciadas pelas pessoas afroamericanas. Várias referências a Martin Luther King, Malcom X e Panteras Negras, para citar alguns dos incontestáveis símbolos desta resistência e da luta pela igualdade nos EUA, podem ser encontradas em letras de músicas ou grafitis (Gravato, 2017).
Antes que a internet pudesse quebrar barreiras do tempo e espaço, foi através dos meios tradicionais de comunicação e entretenimento que o hip-hop rapidamente encontrou casa noutros contextos noutros países. De facto, antes da grande popularização do movimento cultural nos média, este já ecoava e dava os primeiros passos entre comunidades como ferramenta de protesto ou instrumento de expressão e lazer. Em Portugal, onde o hip-hop começou a ganhar forma no final dos anos 80, as margens do rio Tejo assistiram ao seu desaguar. Ainda com estatuto de movimento *underground,* o primeiro grande passo para o reconhecimento do género na sociedade portuguesa só aconteceria em 1994, com a edição da primeira coletânea de rap pela Sony (*Rapública*). A capa do projeto faz referência à região onde os MCs participantes residiam. Nela podemos identificar várias zonas de Lisboa e do Vale do Tejo que, fazendo aqui uma comparação com Bronx, consubstanciam uma grande região urbana onde várias gerações de pessoas de ascendência africana viriam a desenvolver o hip-hop.

O rap foi utilizado para exprimir as adversidades sentidas por estas comunidades e denunciar a indiferença do Estado: "os factos espalhados por todo o lado da urbanização/ e não, o governo não quer dar a sua mão." (Zona Dread – Putos da rua, 1994). Enquanto filhos de "migrantes", ou vistos enquanto tal, estes jovens enfrentavam o desafio de construir uma identidade da qual fossem protagonistas em desassociação daquela que já parecia estabelecida para si, cenário em que podemos incluir Chullage:

> Como alternativa à experiência que dizem ser a dos seus pais - ainda demasiadamente marcados pelos valores e condutas impostas pelo colonialismo, optando por se refugiarem em redes de relações fechadas - estes jovens procuram no rap os instrumentos necessários para lidar com as novas regras e novos espaços criados pela sociedade pós-colonial em emergência. A experiência da multiculturalidade juvenil e da criação de redes de sociabilidade e lazer regidas por fluxos completamente diferentes daqueles que caraterizavam a época do regime do Estado Novo (e que marcam os jovens urbanos portugueses na sua totalidade) implicou a criação de novas formas de expressão e a definição de novos contextos, dos quais os seus protagonistas têm uma clara consciência. (Fradique, 1999, p. 125)

## 3. Denúncia de racismo e discriminação sistémica nas letras de Chullage

Identificamos, nas letras de Chullage, denúncias generalizadas de racismo em Portugal, as quais são seguidas ou antecedidas de exposições quanto à discriminação sistémica.

Tendo em conta que possuem algumas caraterísticas em comum, entendemos que existem pontos de discussão a considerar quando se trata de diferenciar o racismo do etnocentrismo, xenofobia ou até nacionalismo. Porém, não cabe neste artigo discutir estes conceitos e as interligações entre os vários tipos de discriminação na atualidade. Salientamos que apesar do termo "raça" ser cientificamente obsoleto (Montagu, 1997), o racismo continua vivo e a manifestar-se de diversos modos no quotidiano (Cabecinhas, 2017; Vala, 2021).

Antes de seguirmos com a nossa análise, queremos também lembrar que, no "mundo ocidental", o continente africano é muitas vezes representado como uma região instável e em conflito, preenchido pela pobreza, doenças e iliteracia (Danfá et al., 2021; Ogunyemi, 2011). As áreas da comunicação social e jornalismo ocidentais, por exemplo, são alvos de críticas de alguns analistas de *media* africanos, os quais destacam o reforço das perceções negativas de África, não

levando em conta os desafios dos países africanos e ignorando os seus avanços (2011). Na sessão inaugural do *podcast* "África Agora", o sociólogo guineense Carlos Lopes[1], entrevistado pela jornalista Cristina Peres, ao comentar a representação de África no mapa-mundo Mercator, onde a Gronelândia se apresenta maior mesmo sendo catorze vezes menor, referiu que tal reflete uma "percepção enviesada do continente africano" (citado em Cabecinhas, 2021). A (contínua) distorção de África não é fenómeno meramente cartográfico sustentando-se historicamente na vontade de legitimação do colonialismo durante o Renascimento Europeu, onde africanos são retratados diminutamente, o que incluiu desassociar o Egito - uma sociedade com um considerável nível de alfabetização - do imaginário do continente africano (Lopes & Kararach, 2020). Estes processos políticos e históricos cimentaram imaginários, estabeleceram cânones e ergueram impérios. Em sequência, o questionamento de estruturas e assimetrias de poder transformam-se muitas vezes em variadas formas de intervenção artística. Os autores e autoras destas obras e movimentos contestam estereótipos, desconstroem narrativas e oferecem outras perspetivas sobre os tópicos que aqui tratamos (Cf. Pereira et al., 2020). Chullage é um deles.

As letras das músicas de Chullage retratam uma realidade portuguesa a partir da visão das classes desfavorecidas. Nas suas próprias palavras, Chullage foi "criado no ambiente hostil da pobreza e do racismo" (*Rhymeshit que abala*, 2001) e, em posterior resposta, as suas músicas tornaram-se "atentados verbais à hipocrisia e cinismo/ toda a corrupção e todo falso moralismo" (idem). Estes últimos versos resumem um dos mais relevantes posicionamentos de Chullage que, no caso da luta contra o racismo, evidencia a necessidade de ir além da simples denúncia e proceder ao desmascaro total. Isto é, a intenção da contestação do artista não é tópica, mas interessada em buscar e combater a raiz do preconceito.

Ainda assim, é pela denúncia que muito rap interventivo conta a realidade e as histórias de MCs e das suas comunidades. Chullage não ignora tal ferramenta. Em *Lutar pela nossa vida* (2001), ele traça um panorama geral das dificuldades de sua comunidade e refere como a sociedade portuguesa "aponta o dedo porque vê uma cor diferente" (2001). Este tipo de afirmação pode ser facilmente encontrado em todos os seus álbuns. No entanto, algumas músicas têm um especial enfoque em temas aliados ao racismo e tratam da discriminação flagrante com maior detalhe. No que se refere especificamente a atos racistas, podemos destacar as seguintes passagens de *Igualdade é uma ilusão* (2001):

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1    Economista, professor na Universidade do Cabo e Alto-Comissário da União Africana para as relações com a União Europeia.

- Escapei a muitos, mas a muitos mais ataques eu tou exposto
- Viver a ter que enfrentar as investidas do exército oposto
- Olham-me de cima para baixo…
- Vou continuar preto e aqui por mais que o racismo me fira
- …quando país e filhos levam todo o tipo de ofensas
- Às vezes olho para as vítimas e vejo a cara de um amigo
- Se sobrevivi à pobreza e ao racismo então eu sobrevivo a qualquer outro stress
- Esquadrões inteiros marcham rumo à nossa posição
- Problemas encontram-me, não sou eu quem os procuro

Com se pode ver por estes versos, a letra da música faz várias alusões a uma situação de guerra, evidenciando a severidade das tensões raciais. Aqueles que pactuam com o racismo pertencem ao "exército oposto", "marcham" para "atacar" e "ferir", deixando "vítimas" no seu rasto.

Essa "guerra" causa estragos e grandes dificuldades às comunidades. Algumas delas são descritas de forma mais ostensiva, como drogas, violência policial, atos de discriminação racial, etc. Em *National Ghettographik* (2004), música dedicada a "todos os ghettos", Chullage refere como a polícia regularmente recolhe vítimas nestes bairros, porém, "muitas das quais ela é que faz" (2004). A segregação provoca más condições de vida e pobreza generalizada, onde "ratos e outros parasitas coabitam com o resto dos moradores", sem oferecer grandes perspetivas futuras para as crianças que brincam entre "cacos de garrafas, beatas de wellas[2]", "sem saber a razão dos insucessos escolares" (2004). Deste modo, os efeitos do conflito social são, ao mesmo tempo, prejudiciais para os que foram segregados e obstáculos na ascensão das novas gerações.

A discriminação racial também é vivida fora do "ghetto". Na verdade, a diferença pode ser sentida muitas vezes por dentro, quando "barracas" estão "escondidas atrás de arranha-céus" (Fartu, 2004). No pós Segunda Guerra Mundial, assiste-se à emergência dos chamados "novos racismos", que não defendem abertamente a hierarquização racial, mas sim a distanciação social, em que cada comunidade devia ficar no seu canto (Vala, 2021). Porém, é "do outro lado" que Chullage vê a cor da pele se tornar ainda mais relevante:

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2   Nome comum para identificar um cigarro artesanal que contém substâncias de plantas do género Cannabis. Também conhecido em Portugal como "charro" ou "broca".

Fartu (…)
De vigilantes a seguirem-me de loja em loja pelo centro Tugas a agarrarem as malas
nos transportes quando eu entro De professores a olharem pra mim e perguntarem-
-me o quê que eu faço lá dentro
(Fartu, 2004)

O racismo envolve sempre uma assimetria de poder e uma diferenciação
simbólica que desumaniza o outro (Cabecinhas, 2017). A desumanização conduz
a que as pessoas racializadas sejam percebidas como estando fora dos limites
definidos por valores éticos e morais em vigor numa determinada sociedade,
justificando assim a sua exclusão social (Cabecinhas, 2020). Trata-se de um pro-
cesso de demarcação simbólica extremo, no qual se cruzam diversos eixos de
opressão (Crenshaw, 1991; Pereira et al., 2020) e que ao longo da história, como
explicam Volpato e Andrighetto (2015), tem assumido diferentes formas: demo-
nização, objetificação, animalização e biologização.

A discriminação racial pode manifestar-se a nível comportamental, cogni-
tivo ou emocional. Se analisarmos o supracitado trecho de "Fartu" de Chullage,
enquanto o vigilante segue o outro (comportamento), o processo de discrimi-
nação iniciou-se na perfilagem racial (cognitivo). Ou enquanto as portuguesas
agarram as malas (comportamento), terá sido o medo de serem assaltadas (emo-
cional) que antecedeu tal ação.

Além da elaboração destas denúncias, Chullage parece mais preocupado
com as discriminações que se mostram um pouco mais subtis ou estão no campo
das ideias e representações, como o racismo institucionalizado, o pós-colonia-
lismo ou a autoperceção de negro como inferior.

Segundo o artista, existe um plano de governo do Estado indiferente face às
necessidades da sua comunidade, o qual inerentemente renega as pessoas perce-
bidas como "outro" (negros, migrantes, etc.). Enquanto estes vivem "num bairro
degradado, dado pelo Estado", "uma ajuda coesa, que não seja construção ou lim-
peza" não chega às pessoas que lá vivem (Os tempos mudam, 2001). Mais do que
a ausência de apoios e assistência, Chullage fala de uma ideia que busca incri-
minar e responsabilizar as comunidades das adversidades sentidas, conforme se
pode constatar nos seguintes trechos de duas das suas canções:

Gangsters são aqueles que criaram e movem este sistema,
onde o racismo e a pobreza fazem parte do seu esquema,
a nossa autodestruição é o seu principal estratagema,
montado de modo a chegarem a nós e porem logo a algema.
(Como é que eu ia mentir, 2001)

Vivemos oprimidos por um sistema
que só nos deixa ser aquilo que eles querem que nós sejamos,
numa sociedade moderna de escravos e mestres, servos e amos,
guiados, manipulados pela televisão que quando ligamos,
nos faz comprar o que compramos, acreditar no que acreditamos,
educar como educamos, alimentar da forma que nos alimentamos,
física, psicológica e espiritualmente, dinheiro é o único valor.
(À pala de quem não come, 2001)

Chullage realça que tal dominação é subtil, pois existe "tanta gente que vive no meio disto e não se apercebe" (2001). Tal imagética e representação da pessoa negra vista como "imigrante" que vive em bairro social é, segundo o artista, perpetuada pelos média que apenas "amplia o problema social" (Problema social, 2012):

O quarto poder assume controle
E ao ritmo diário dá-se o fabrico de notícias
Reality agora é show e factos são produções fictícias
No romper da manhã o *Correio* mete o crime em destaque
*Metro* a metro da cidade uma mentira ou ataque
Dão a sensação que o *Público* até tem opinião
Mas não, eles não querem que você tenha uma *Visão*
Opinião que devo seguir é transmitido ou impresso
Liberdade de expressão é p'a expressar o que já vem *Expresso.*
(Media-Ocridade, 2012 – itálicos nossos)

A sociedade portuguesa assemelha-se às outras europeias no sentido de que o racismo persiste, apesar de formalmente estar consagrada a norma anti--racismo (Cabecinhas, 2017; Vala, 2021), isto é, a norma anti-racismo coíbe a expressão de formas de discriminação flagrante em público, mas subsistem formas "veladas" de racismo que muitas vezes não são percebidas enquanto tal e por isso mesmo se tornam mais insidiosas e difíceis de combater (Cabecinhas, 2017). No entanto, apesar das lutas anti-racismo terem uma história longa no país (Domingues & Garcia, 2022), e de diversos estudos científicos terem, desde os anos 90 do século passado, denunciado o racismo em Portugal, este só se tornou um tópico incontornável da agenda mediática e política há escassos anos atrás, o que indica o muito que ainda está por fazer e discutir. Na opinião de Chullage, os meios de comunicação deveriam parar de evitar este assunto. Numa entrevista ao Canal Q (2014), o MC também menciona como a ideia de integração se apresenta como um monólogo, onde os *outros* precisam de assimilar o

modo português. Ele refere a necessidade de desintegração, incluindo aqui a desconstrução das mentalidades, para que uma "integração" seja realmente possível. Estas afirmações corroboram as narrativas sobre pós-colonialismo presentes nas letras de suas músicas, o que está diretamente interconectado com a discriminação institucionalizada que ele denuncia.

Primeiramente, o colonialismo europeu, e especificamente o colonialismo português, são retratados como pesados episódios da história africana. Chullage recusa a ideia do colonialismo como algo a ser vangloriado e critica a romantização dos acontecimentos:

> …num mapa cor-de-rosa, por uma europa gananciosa
> que penetrou, violou, explorou o teu terreno,
> mas nunca te conquistou em pleno. Gloriosa!
> Apenas nos seus livros de história mentirosa
> (África Terra Mãe, 2005)

> Pelos sonhos roubados em 500 anos[3] de pesadelos (…)
> Arrepiados de medo arrastando grilhetas pelos
> Pulsos e tornozelos
> Em navios kom tugas buelos e padres a benzê-los
> Numa rota k devia envergonhá-los, mas kontinua a enaltecê-los.
> (Um momento pelos…, 2004)

Estas são as perspetivas históricas de alguém que reivindica a reinterpretação dos factos. Efetivamente, existem narrativas que perpetuam a ideia de um colonialismo europeu/português desassociado de práticas racistas e esclavagistas (Araújo & Maeso, 2012). No contexto português, os manuais escolares naturalizam a ausência da história africana e esforçam-se para afastar o racismo como aspeto central no triunfo colonial (2012). Segundo Araújo e Maeso (2012)[4], as esporádicas alterações nestes manuais não fizeram o suficiente para alterar significativamente as representações do "outro", sendo que eufemismos, perspetivas higienizadas e até narrativas autocongratulatórias sobre o fim da escravatura se formam discursivamente. Como é referido nas palavras de Chullage em *Fechar os Olhos para não ver* (2004), o "Terceiro mundo em colapso e toda a gente encolhe

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3    Não cabe aqui discutir as cronologias do colonialismo e as assimetrias de poder envolvidas na periodização histórica.
4    A relevância temporal deste estudo passa por coincidir com o ano de lançamento do último álbum de Chullage (2012).

os ombros, / desviando as culpas deste lapso". Neste sentido, concordamos com Araújo e Maeso quando afirmam que:

> ensinar e debater a escravatura como processo global das chamadas 'descobertas' envolve compreender o racismo como processo fulcral na configuração dos Estados e das comunidades políticas modernas e, portanto, considerar que o eurocentrismo é um sistema de representação através do qual o poder tem sido exercido. (Araújo & Maeso, 2012, p. 14)

Chullage destaca como certas desigualdades com origem na época colonial ainda perduram simbolicamente. Tão importante quanto discutir tais assuntos, o artista vê na "acomodação", na "autossabotagem comunitária" e na "recusa da ancestralidade" relevantes obstáculos para a desconstrução dessas assimetrias e dos seus imaginários:

> Senzala ou prisão, plantação ou construção
> Só mudaram a forma e deram outro nome à escravidão
> Discriminação mantém-te em segundo como cidadão
> *E na tua acomodação reside a força do opressor*
> Não dês a cara, põe a coroa e orgulha o povo de cor
> (Lutar pela nossa vida, 2002, ênfase nossa)

> Abre os olhos prétu, desperta!
> A ignorância é que puxa o gatilho,
> a bala só acerta… no teu tropa
> *ou puxas essa merda contra o inimigo ou dropa*[5] (dropa).
> Inteligência na rua, destrói a classe opressora e não a tua,
> Atua! *Ignorância é XL em todo aquele que compactua, atua*!
> (Ignorância XL, 2004, ênfase nossa)

> (…) e hoje dizem-te livre quando *os teus líderes são marionetas*
> só visam atingir as suas metas, e as metas do *mundo ocidental*
> *que continuam a ser o teu colono* através do capital
> afogado na dívida externa
> porque não produzes o que consomes, nem consomes o que produzes
> graças a quem te governa.
> (África Terra Mãe, 2005, ênfase nossa)

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5    Termo emprestado do inglês "to drop", que significa largar ou soltar.

Tais versos mostram a consciência do artista quanto à presença insidiosa do racismo e ao perigo da dominação simbólica, através da qual os grupos dominantes legitimam o tratamento discriminatório face aos grupos subalternizados, os quais interiorizaram uma visão negativa de si mesmos, afetando a sua autoestima (e.g. Clark & Clark, 1947). Aqui (no último trecho, uma música dedicada a África) também podemos identificar que Chullage reconhece a existência de processos de assimilação que se podem dar a partir da influência de agendas externas nas políticas de países africanos. No que toca aos (filhos de) migrantes oriundos das antigas colónias em Portugal, e como reação a uma identidade social "ameaçada" (Cf. Tajfel, 1974), Chullage alerta para aqueles que "ficam com medo, vergonha ou desgosto/ Ou pensam que se se virarem pró outro lado sobem um posto" (Igualdade é uma ilusão, 2001).

## 4. Repensar a história, valorização das raízes africanas e outros planos de ação

Salientando a importância de recontextualizar e recontar a sua história, Chullage sublinha que ser "negro" não deve destinar alguém à construção civil, limpeza ou desporto e que o racismo e a discriminação devem ser discutidos na esfera pública. Acrescenta que as pessoas afetadas pela injustiça social não devem conformar-se e por isso ele não se esquece de introduzir doses de valorização sociocultural nas suas letras.

Se o MC não vê, na mobilidade individual, a saída para os problemas de sua comunidade, a resposta parece recair na "criatividade social", uma das estratégias para aumentar a distintividade positiva do grupo de pertença face à identidade social ameaçada. Segundo Tajfel (1974), as estratégias para alterar o estatuto social do grupo podem passar por criar novas dimensões de comparação entre o grupo de pertença e o grupo dos outros; mudar os valores socialmente atribuídos a tais dimensões, de modo que comparações previamente negativas passem a ser percebidas como positivas, isto é, as dimensões salientes mantêm-se mas alterando, ou até mesmo, invertendo o sistema de valorização.

A desconstrução do mito do "colono multicultural português" com "vocação histórica" para interagir com o "outro" (Araújo & Maeso, 2012), levada a cabo em todos os álbuns de Chullage, acaba por ressignificá-lo num novo contexto histórico. Desta forma, alteram-se os pontos de relação entre os grupos, assim como se inserem outros ligados à desumanização e assimetrias de poder.

Já na inversão do sistema de valorização, Chullage visa propagar a autoestima e o orgulho a partir das suas raízes, lição ensinada por sua mãe. Tal pode ser

identificado em *Mulher da minha vida* (2001), onde a sua "rainha africana" lhe ensinou a "ergui cabeça com orgulho sempre ques chamass mi pret". Essa expressão de orgulho é intensificada quando o MC recorre a partes em crioulo cabo--verdiano nas letras em português ou quando inclui músicas inteiras como *Nu bai* nos seus álbuns, o que por si só representa uma "afirmação de herança cultural" (Júnior, 2019). Outra ocasião onde acontece a inversão do sistema de valorização é na já comentada música *Igualdade é uma ilusão* (2001), na qual Chullage reforça:

> (…) o orgulho em ser como eu sou expressos no meu rosto,
> no meu cabelo e nos meus lábios, na minha pele
> e na cultura enraizada dentro de mim…
> Eu tenho muito gosto! E isso ninguém me tira.

Por outras palavras, o que muitas vezes é alvo de desvalorização, isto é, a pele escura, o famoso "cabelo ruim", etc., são aqui motivos de orgulho. A ideia desafia a representação estabelecida para essas caraterísticas e confere uma dose de autoestima que pode ser exemplo para outros. Esta questão volta a surgir noutras músicas como, por exemplo, *Um momento pelos…*(2004): "vê-los komo homens iguais e tentar percebe-los/vê-los também belos nos lábios, na pele e nos kabelos". Chullage estende ainda a valorização a outros aspetos do "universo" negro/migrante africano em geral:

> O amor entre brothas' e sistas', o calor,
> o ritmo musical, a expressão corporal,
> a comida tradicional, a linguagem ancestral
> e o alto astral…
> Apesar de tudo aquilo que corre mal,
> A grandeza espiritual…
> (Pretugal, 2004)

Chullage valoriza a sua ancestralidade africana de variadas outras formas. A substituição da letra "c" pela "k" em várias palavras das suas letras em português corresponde a uma consciente alteração da grafia para que a palavra se aproxime da língua cabo-verdiana. Esta atitude de Chullage de alterar as palavras está diretamente conectada ao já citado movimento que visa desconstruir as relações de poder simbólicas estabelecidas na sociedade portuguesa (Canal Q, 2013). Repare-se que os próprios nomes dos seus álbuns são composições por aglutinação: *Rapresálias* (rap + represálias), *Rapensar* (rap + pensar) e *Rapressão* (rap + repressão).

Referências e enaltecimento de personagens ligadas ao movimento de direitos civis, como Malcom X nos EUA, ou à militância de outros em África, como Amílcar Cabral na Guiné-Bissau e Cabo Verde, conferem simbólicas raízes africanas às músicas de Chullage, numa representação destes atores sociais e políticos enquanto protagonistas que se encontravam "do lado certo da história".

Uma outra forma de valorização pode ser identificada na utilização de instrumentais com referências sonoras negras. Alguns dos exemplos mais nítidos foram incluídos em *Rapensar* (2004): *Pretugal* possui percussão africana; *Warria* é uma música de reggae; e o beat[6] de *Funk You* possui clara inspiração no *funk* afro-americano. Chullage também se movimentou noutros planos em prol da discussão do panorama de racismo e pobreza. A organização da Khapaz - Associação Cultural, acabou por se tornar uma alternativa às esquinas da Arrentela e meio de consciencialização comunitário (Raposo, 2007).

Se, a partir de *Rapensar* (2004), Chullage incluiu outros géneros e referências musicais, em *Rapressão* (2012) o artista também adicionou a acapela. Mesmo continuando a assinar trabalhos colaborativos como Chullage até os dias de hoje, o MC iniciou uma clara transição musical nos últimos anos. Primeiro foram lançados trabalhos no chamado *spoken word*[7], assinados como Sr. Preto e, depois, Akapella47. Estes trabalhos multidisciplinares, incluindo fado ácido, vídeo e performances, foram um dos focos do artista sensivelmente entre 2014 e 2018. É relevante salientar que muitas das temáticas abordadas no seu rap continuam presentes nestas faixas. Chullage também ainda se tornaria Prétu, num projeto totalmente produzido por si[8] e inteiramente direcionado ao contexto político africano, ao (pós)colonialismo e ao pan-africanismo:

> É uma conversa consigo e com a sua comunidade onde se propõe a matar o preto ou a preta que a prática colonial e racista construiu dentro de nós, para que daí, da reafricanização do espírito, possa nascer uma nova entidade prétu/préta. Uma entidade do outro futuro possível. Entidade que Amilcar Cabral chamou o novo homem e mulher africanos. Entidade que nasce dum grito semelhante ao de James Baldwin "I'm not your negro". (*Chullage - Prétu*)

Nesta continuidade de desconstrução da memória histórica do colonialismo, *Prétu* é completamente  protagonizado em crioulo cabo-verdiano e mistura géneros musicais do rap ao batuko. Na opinião de Júnior (2019), cantar

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6    Nome comum para designar um instrumental de rap.

7    Traduzido muitas vezes para recitação.

8    Os instrumentais utilizados nos álbuns de Chullage foram produzidos por terceiros.

em crioulo corresponde a um ato de contestação, que simboliza a negação do artista enquanto "indivíduo colonizado" ou enquanto "imigrante inadaptado" ao contexto português.

## Considerações finais

A consistência discursiva de Chullage é um ponto importante a destacar. Mesmo após ter alterado o seu registo musical, o MC utiliza a poesia como ferramenta de contestação perante os problemas sociais e tensões raciais, os quais para ele possuem alvos evidentemente delineados. As denúncias inseridas nas suas letras enquanto Akapella47 e Prétu, nunca chegam a mostrar um Nuno Santos que abandonou uma conexão com a cultura hip-hop, isto é, com Chullage. As palavras tornam-se assim o mais importante ativo do arsenal do artista, onde as alterações do seu registo musical ao longo dos anos evidenciam uma evolução fonética, e não uma mudança simbólica tão representativa quanto a mensagem que está implícita e é transversal à sua carreira.

Outra particularidade a não ignorar centra-se na sua postura perante o racismo e discriminação. Entusiastas de rap, sejam ouvintes ou estudiosos, facilmente identificarão que Chullage vai além das comuns denúncias e oferece saídas para estes problemas, o que se traduz num rap essencialmente interventivo. Para o artista, a valorização da sua "ancestralidade" e "africanidade" oferecem alternativas e ferramentas face à desumanização: "a vitória começa em nós sermos nós" (Igualdade é uma ilusão, 2001). A linha de pensamento de Chullage torna-se ainda mais militante e palpável quando é intercalada com outras iniciativas e artes performativas, como apresentações de *spoken words* ou peças teatrais, ou ainda quando é transportada para projetos como a Khapaz – Associação Cultural. Fazer um paralelo entre Nuno Santos e os nomes que ele enaltece nas suas músicas (Amílcar Cabral, Frantz Fanon, Malcom X, etc.), mesmo que em registos e contextos históricos distintos, torna-se assim uma tarefa que nos permite viajar no espaço e no tempo.

A complexidade destes temas e a quantidade de material produzido por Chullage sobre estes tópicos fazem desta análise um estudo meramente introdutório. Porém, e em sintonia com a continuidade do discurso do artista ao longo das últimas décadas, parece-nos clara a necessidade de ampliar a discussão sobre tais assuntos, de modo a conhecer em maior profundidade não só a obra de Chullage, mas também a diversidade do rap tuga e a complexidade inerente às interligações entre intercâmbios culturais, artes e movimentos sociais na sociedade portuguesa.

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## Agradecimento

# Entre o efémero e o arquivo: o blogue *Alma de Viajante* como memória transcultural da Literatura de Viagens no contexto português

*Between the ephemeral and the archive: the blog* Alma de Viajante *as a transcultural memory of Travel Literature in the Portuguese context*

VIVIANE FERREIRA DE ALMEIDA

> - Por que é que colhes as flores com a raiz?
> - Porque as quero plantar na terra para onde vamos. Não sei se lá há flores iguais a estas – respondeu a mulher.
>                     Sophia de Mello Breyner Andresen

> Ítaca deu-te essa viagem esplêndida.
> Sem Ítaca, não terias partido.
> Mas Ítaca não tem mais nada para dar-te.
>                     Constantino Caváfis

De forma introdutória, evocaremos trechos do poema "Ítaca", da autoria do poeta grego Constantino Caváfis, traduzido por Jorge de Sena na década de 1970, e do conto "A Viagem", de Sophia de Mello Breyner Andresen. A seleção destes excertos literários poderá ser entendida como uma primeira tentativa de aproximação ao tema deste artigo que é a pretensa incomunicabilidade entre dois fenómenos opostos: o imediatismo e a permanência nas narrativas de viagens publicadas em blogues. Abstendo-nos aqui de uma reflexão mais minuciosa

sobre o personagem mítico de Ulisses reiteradamente associado ao arquétipo do viajante[1], numa primeira leitura, poderemos vislumbrar que, muito embora Ítaca tenha sido um estímulo inequívoco para a partida, esse destino, em si mesmo, é incapaz de sustentar-se no tempo, esgotando-se no estímulo primordial. Ítaca seria, então, uma recordação que se esvaneceria, com o tempo, na memória. A partir de uma sequente interpretação, o facto de o poeta afirmar que Ítaca permanecerá no espírito do viajante e recomendar a lentidão na cadência do tempo da viagem poderia indiciar uma dinâmica em que o imediatismo do estímulo da partida e a permanência do movimento viático não seriam contraditórios, mas antes diferentes fases do mesmo processo.

Em "Viagem", texto publicado na coletânea *Contos exemplares*[2], a autora portuguesa Sophia de Mello Breyner Andresen remete-nos para a ideia de um certo retardamento da perenidade ilustrada pelas flores com raízes que seriam (re)plantadas no lugar do destino da viagem. O personagem que parte não se limita à colheita de flores como uma espécie de recordação, mera lembrança da sua cultura de origem, mas colhe-as com as raízes de modo a podê-las reativar na cultura de destino, ou seja, dar-lhe uma nova vida num outro espaço e tempo ulterior. Há, portanto, uma busca por uma maior profundidade na experiência da viagem procurando-se algo que possa ser transposto e revisitado posteriormente, como se de um arquivo se tratasse.

O diálogo encetado entre os personagens revela pistas a este respeito. Seria mais espectável que as flores fossem colhidas, sem suas raízes, numa apreciação estética que muito se aproximaria da categoria de *souvenir*, de uma lembrança, e para isso contribui a indagação de um dos personagens: "Por que é que colhes as flores com raiz?". Supomos, numa tentativa interpretativa, que as raízes desempenhariam a função de (re)ancoragem no local de destino: "Porque as quero plantar na terra para onde vamos." Estes dois trechos são assim exemplos que, de forma própria e diversa, estabelecem relações e diálogos possíveis entre o que, no contexto da viagem, parecem ser à primeira vista campos irreconciliáveis: o da experiência imediata e efémera, por um lado, e, por outro, o da experiência

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1   A este propósito, veja-se a discussão sobre a representação arquetípica de Ulisses enquanto viajante fomentada no artigo "A viagem entre o feitiço e a maldição" (Matos, 2020). Conforme o autor, Ulisses seria o arquétipo do exilado e, por conseguinte, a *Odisseia* literatura de exílio, mas não seria "um viajante no sentido moderno de transgressor voluntário dos limites e das referências do seu quadro cultural" em busca deliberada do encontro com o outro, busca esta que funciona como uma espécie de fio condutor do que se costuma designar de literatura de viagens.

2   Publicada pela primeira vez em 1962, *Contos Exemplares*, incluído no Plano Nacional de Leitura, é composto por sete contos: "O jantar do bispo", "A viagem", "Retrato de Mónica", "Praia", "Homero", "O Homem" e "Os Três Reis do Oriente".

memorialística ou arquivística. Considerados dissonantes e antagónicos, numa primeira abordagem em seus significados, os conceitos do efémero e do arquivo assim como as repercussões a eles associadas poderão ser afinal adequados para responder à questão que norteia o presente artigo.

Embora correlacionados, de certa forma, à volatilidade, poderão os blogues de viagem, enquanto artefactos, ser percebidos como arquivos de memórias transculturais?

Com recurso à análise do blogue do escritor-viajante português Filipe Morato Gomes, *Alma de Viajante*, que em 2021 celebrou vinte anos de existência, pretende-se responder a essa pergunta e, ainda que de forma exploratória, perceber-se melhor as intricadas relações entre os conceitos de arquivo e efémero num determinado contexto e ambiente, o digital, ao qual se costuma associar não a memória, mas antes a transitoriedade.

## Efémero e arquivo: a literatura em movimento e os blogues de viagens

Ainda que a primeira definição aqui contemplada esteja mais associada ao universo das artes visuais, o blogue de viagem é um exemplo de uma interdependência e cruzamento de meios de representação, de um crescente esboroamento de fronteiras, patente na sociedade contemporânea e, portanto, parece ser adequada para pensar, de forma introdutória, as relações possíveis entre o efémero e o arquivo. Conforme afirma Paulo Freire de Almeida (2012, p. 4), em "Apresentação: Arquivo como Memória Expandida", "o arquivo tornou-se um modelo de organização do trabalho onde se permite a consolidação de material por vezes residual e efémero". Ao expandir o conceito de arquivo, para além do meramente documental, propõe-se um entendimento renovado com novas funcionalidades deste espaço que é *a priori* de conservação. A partir das memórias arquivadas é possível criar novas ligações e relações. Esta nova funcionalidade do arquivo aproxima-se do hipertexto e dos múltiplos itinerários propostos aos leitores num ambiente hipermedial.

Ao considerarmos a multissecular Literatura de Viagens como um género híbrido e poroso que, em última instância, transforma o efémero associado ao movimento em narrativa e memória (analógica/digital), poderemos corroborar a afirmação feita por Tzvetan Todorov ([1991]2006, p. 240) de que neste "magma imenso" constitutivo da Literatura de Viagens a "viagem e [o] relato [se] implicam mutuamente". De acordo com este autor, no artigo "Viagem e seu relato", em que enceta o esforço de determinação das balizas conceituais para a narrativa de

viagens, "o limite, de um lado é a ciência; de outro a autobiografia; o relato da viagem vive da interpenetração das duas."

Neste sentido, a narrativa de viagem é uma literatura duplamente em movimento. Enquanto género tradicionalmente aberto à diversidade de formas e conteúdos, não só transpõe em si mesmo constantemente as fronteiras estilísticas e discursivas como assimila as mais variadas áreas epistemológicas. Ottmar Ette, no seu livro *Literature on the move*, (2003, p. 31) clarifica este manifesto hibridismo da narrativa de viagens em que a oposição entre *fiction* e *diction* está esbatida, posicionando-a numa área da literatura que considera ser "friccional".

A narrativa de viagem posiciona-se como um relato em que se estabelece com o leitor "um pacto autobiográfico" (Lejeune, 2005, p. 27), ou seja, em que o narrador-viajante, na primeira pessoa, escreve, à semelhança do que sucede no género da autobiografia, a partir da experiência pessoal que é supostamente factual. Em consonância, Nünning (2010, p. 220) confirma que

> as reflexões do narrador na primeira pessoa mostram de forma clara que a memória individual e a capacidade de memorizar devem ser encaradas como actos de construção activa [em que] de facto, (…) as autobiografias podem, de forma paradigmática, mostrar o complexo modo de funcionamento da memória pela exploração que fazem da relação entre recordar e esquecer.

Embora o blogue[3] possa ser definido de forma estrutural como uma "página de internet regularmente atualizada, que contém textos organizados de forma cronológica, com conteúdos diversos (diário pessoal, comentário e discussão sobre um dado tema, etc.) e que geralmente contém hiperligações para outras páginas" (cf. Infopedia), interessa-nos, para o presente artigo, a sua definição enquanto artefacto cultural na sua qualidade de intensa mutabilidade gerando autorreferências de índole diversa. Neste sentido, um blogue é "uma personalização do seu autor que é expresso a partir de suas escolhas de publicação" (Amaral, Recuero e Montardo, 2009, p. 33) e em que "essa expressão individual é tomada como uma qualidade de apropriação" (idem, p. 34) constituindo-se como um espaço de *escritas de si* (Sibilia, 2004) e de "auto-edição" (Amaral & Sousa, 2009, p. 9).

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3    O termo "weblog" foi primeiramente usado por Jorn Barger, em 1997, para referir-se a um conjunto de sites que "colecionavam" e divulgavam *links* interessantes na web (Barbosa e Granado, 2004). Para uma tipificação mais atualizada dos blogues ver A. Primo (2008)

Em termos de arquitetura, poderemos indicar semelhanças nas estruturas entre os blogues e os arquivos: o conteúdo é organizado em caixas, etiquetas ou *tags* que facilitam a pesquisa contribuindo para a acessibilidade dos conteúdos e tornando-os assim *user-friendly*, para convocar aqui um termo relacionado com o universo digital dos blogues. Neste contexto, os blogues de viagens podem ser qualificados como novos espaços literaturizados, marcados por vivências, experiências e memórias que poderão ser consideradas mais recetivas ao contacto e troca, transcendendo barreiras e contribuindo, potencialmente, para a observação dos processos culturais com as "lentes transculturais" (Erll, 2011, p. 15).

A metáfora de um "gabinete de perdidos e achados" a que Aleida Assmann (2010, p. 106) recorre em "Canon and archive", para explicar a dinâmica inerente ao arquivo e à memória cultural serve-nos como ponto de partida para uma reflexão sobre os blogues de viagem, neste caso em específico, de blogues de autores portugueses, que entendemos como um artefacto igualmente provido dessa dupla dinâmica de esquecimento e lembrança.

> Cultural memory contains a number of cultural messages that are addressed to posterity and intended for continuous repetition and re-use. To this active memory belong, among other things, works of art, which are destined to be repeatedly re-read, appreciated, staged, performed, and commented. This aspiration, of course, cannot be realized for all artistic artifacts; only a small percentage acquire this status through a complex procedure which we call canonization. (Assmann, 2010, p. 99)

No mesmo artigo, Assmann também estabelece um diálogo entre a Internet, que, segundo Manuel Castells (2001, p. 12), "processa a virtualidade e transforma-a constituindo a sociedade em rede que é a sociedade em que vivemos", e a memória cultural. Assim como "a internet cria uma estrutura para comunicação em grandes distâncias no espaço, a memória cultural cria uma estrutura de comunicação através do abismo do tempo." (Assmann, 2010, p. 97).

Embora salvaguardando as devidas diferenças, a ideia de uma "segunda vida" de que nos fala Assmann em relação aos artefactos culturais arquivados poderá ser transposta, de certa maneira, para os *posts* que são reorganizados numa proposta de memória adquirindo um novo significado, uma nova vida, uma renovada interpretação com ligações diferenciadas num dispositivo, a Internet, que de acordo com Lejeune (2014, p. 397) "concilia, numa mesma experiência, o recolhimento e o retorno ao outro."

## Alma de Viajante – viagem e memória

Esta perspetivação da internet como um novo meio multimodal e multifuncional de construir e transmitir cultura vai também ao encontro das conceptualizações da memória e suas mediações propostas pelos mais recentes *Cultural Memory Studies*. De acordo com Astrid Erll (2014, p. 178), no contexto global em que nos inserimos, a memória é fundamentalmente transcultural, sendo os arquivos e os repertórios de memórias ("repertoires of memory") cada vez mais interconectados. Seria, então, uma *travelling memory* – uma memória em movimento.

Neste sentido, a análise, ainda que breve, do histórico do blogue de viagens *Alma de Viajante* da autoria de Filipe Morato Gomes oferece-nos pistas para responder à pergunta inicial a que este artigo se propõe responder: Embora sendo geralmente associados ao efémero e à volatilidade, os blogues de viagem, enquanto artefactos, poderão ser percebidos como arquivo de memórias?

Para elucidar esta hipótese, recorreremos à análise do referido blogue selecionando os seguintes artigos: i) ("Experiências de viagem mais marcantes"), atualizado em 14 de outubro de 2022; ii) (*Alma de Viajante* comemora 20 anos de existência"), postado em 24 de fevereiro de 2021; iii) ("Ser *blogger* de viagens nos dias de hoje"), publicado em 31 de julho de 2019.

Como hipótese, afirmamos que o facto da permanência na blogosfera[4] durante vinte anos do blogue *Alma de Viajante* contraria uma tendência associada especificamente a esta forma de representação digital, cuja representatividade, no contexto português, poderá ser balizada, de acordo com alguns estudos sobre o tema, entre dois marcos temporais: 2003 e 2008, que delimitam, respetivamente, o crescimento e afirmação dos blogues e o anúncio do seu fim em vários textos publicados na imprensa. No entanto, esta situação poderá não corresponder à realidade do recorte mais específico dos blogues de viagem, que no contexto português apresenta uma dupla dinâmica, para além da acima referida: expansão e consolidação e em que muito contribuem as características do blogue enquanto artefacto cultural.

Segundo Braga (2012, p. 54), "o usuário torna-se conteúdo, e o meio torna-se mensagem, sentido, significado", afirmação que remete para a definição pioneira de Marshall McLuhan de que "qualquer tecnologia cria gradualmente um ambiente totalmente novo." (2008, p. 16).

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4    No contexto português poderemos identificar dois marcos temporais: 2003 e 2008. "Em Portugal, 2003 terá também sido o ano da grande (a uma outra escala) afirmação dos Weblogs" (Santos e Zamith, 2004) e "em novembro de 2008, multiplicaram-se os textos sobre o fim deste universo." (Amaral & Sousa, 2009). A este propósito ver o artigo https://www.publico.pt/2012/01/08/p3/noticia/uma-decada-depois-do-boom-o-que-e-feito-dos-blogues-1812708publicado    no    jornal "Público" (2012): "Uma década depois do boom, o que é feito dos blogues?

A blogosfera poderá ser considerada como esse ambiente novo a que se refere McLuhan, ainda que na altura das suas observações ainda nem sequer existisse a internet. Conforme Sérgio Barreto Costa descreve no recém-publicado *A blogosfera portuguesa – Da Coluna Infame ao ocaso de uma era*, a blogosfera é "um ambiente que encoraja a conversa interativa com os leitores e o diálogo entre blogues, que permite o mecanismo de hiperligações, e que favorece a vertigem do imediatismo." (2021, p. 27). Muito embora reconheçamos que o blogue, mais do que um produto, é uma repercussão das modificações instauradas pela revolução digital, em que a "vertigem do imediatismo" referida por Sérgio Barreto Costa corrobora a assunção da volatilidade associada a este médium.

Como um indício desta complementaridade, no *artigo* "Ser blogger de viagens nos dias de hoje", atualizado em 31 de julho de 2019, Filipe Morato Gomes estabelece uma comparação entre o papel do *blogger* de viagens no passado e na atualidade recorrendo, naturalmente, à memória do seu próprio blogue *Alma de Viajante.* Neste *post* são evidenciados diversos aspetos importantes para a reflexão proposta no presente artigo. Filipe Morato Gomes afirma que no início do projeto, há vinte anos, "as coisas eram feitas sem imediatismo" reconhecendo que, na atualidade, se sente "apanhado nesta voracidade informativa" que modifica a forma de viajar: "Faço atividades em viagem que não faria se não tivesse *blogs* ou redes sociais que é *preciso* alimentar."

Em relação à memória e ao próprio conceito do arquivo, Filipe Morato Gomes sugere algumas pistas para repensar a viagem e a narrativa de viagem em blogue: (i) "guardar tudo na memória, no coração, no papel"; (ii) "quem sabe desenhar[5] em vez de fotografar"; (iii) "e talvez escrever um livro, muito depois de regressar"; (iv) "ou não fazer nada, além de guardar as memórias para todo o sempre". A este respeito, justifica-se a seleção de alguns comentários dos internautas ao artigo em análise. O excesso das fotografias, da exposição nas redes sociais e do imediatismo foram amplamente referidos pelos usuários num reforço da reflexão proposta pelo *blogger*, como é possível constatar nos comentários a seguir:

> "Há tantos detalhes, tanta particularidade, tanta magia nas viagens, que não caberiam sequer em uma foto, em um texto, em uma página." (M. A.); "Sinto muita saudade da época em que, após voltar pra casa, daí alguns dias fazia outra viagem em cima das fotos, quando reunia familiares e amigos para compartilhar as histórias

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5   Ao clicar na palavra *desenhar* o usuário será direcionado para a página intitulada "Diário Gráfico" em que o escritor-viajante Filipe Morato Gomes afirma: "Inspirado por talentosos *urban sketchers*, aqui se junta uma espécie de diário gráfico contendo *sketchs* feitos nas minhas viagens. Desenhar em viagem é uma paixão recente, que gostaria de explorar mais a fundo."

vividas." (M.G); "(…) acho que não se dão conta do que perdem quando passam constantemente a ver os locais pelos olhos do *smartphone* (…)." (J.)

Poderemos afirmar que da leitura dos comentários citados é percetível uma certa nostalgia pelo passado, no que se refere ao modo de viajar e à maneira de registar as viagens já vivenciadas.

Contudo, há também comentários, como o do *blogger* português Rui Barbosa Batista[6], que confirmam uma tendência revelada por Huyssen (2008, p. 386) em que "a memória mediática só por si não será claramente suficiente, ainda que os media ocupem parcelas cada vez maiores da perceção social e política do mundo."

> Continuarei a fazer muitas viagens sem postar uma única foto e manterei o princípio de muitooooo[7] raramente integrar uma imagem a ilustrar os meus textos: quando o faço, não é gratuitamente, tem um motivo especial (para mim ou grupos que lidero).

Estes comentários são representativos de uma espécie de antídoto contra "a comunicação generalizada e a superinformação [que] ameaçam todas as forças humanas de defesa" (Han, B. C., 2015, p.10) em que a memória seria, então, um (contra)fluxo que contestaria o excesso provocado pelo desenvolvimento tecnológico. Conforme Sarlo (2007, p. 22), seria "mais importante entender do que lembrar, embora para entender também seja preciso lembrar". Igualmente relacionado com o abrandamento do ritmo, ou pelo menos com a vontade e tentativa de uma desaceleração, está a questão do desenho mencionado no *post* em análise e que é alvo de uma maior explanação. No que diz respeito ao uso do *urban sketching* (desenho urbano) e sua relação com a viagem, Filipe Morato Gomes afirma:

> A câmara intimida, cria uma barreira com as pessoas, e o *sketch*, ao invés, une, cria laços e oferece uma oportunidade de ver e sentir os lugares da forma que mais gosto: devagar[8]. É toda uma nova forma de viajar que se abre à minha frente.

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6    Rui Barbosa Batista é vice-presidente da Associação de Bloggers de Viagem Portugueses (ABVP) – autor do blogue https://bornfreee.com/ e do livro *BORN FREEE – O Mundo é uma Aventu*ra.

7    De acordo com a grafia original.

8    Num exemplo inequívoco de hiperligação, ao clicar na palavra *devagar* o internauta é direcionado para a leitura do artigo "As vantagens de viajar devagar". Consultado em https://www.almadevia-jante.com/vantagens-de-viajar-devagar/.

A opção pelo desenho revela, por um lado, uma diferenciação entre meios de fixação da memória, entre a fotografia e o desenho, em que o segundo exigirá do seu autor um maior tempo de observação da realidade que se pretende retratar e, por outro, uma maior aproximação à tentativa de uma assinatura própria sem intermediários. Esta afirmação está notoriamente em diálogo com as palavras de Eduardo Salavisa (2021, p. 130) que, ao compreender o desenho como "um forte documento de memórias", defende a ideia de que ao desenhar "fazemos parte daquele acontecimento. Somos parte integrante do que está a acontecer." Recorrendo ao Manifesto dos *Urban Sketchers*[9], do qual Eduardo Salavisa foi um dos fundadores, pretende-se clarificar esta hipótese. Conforme o disposto no ponto número 1 do referido Manifesto, "[d]esenhamos *in situ*, no interior e no exterior, registando diretamente o que observamos." Já no ponto 2 afirma-se que "[o]s nossos desenhos contam a história do que nos rodeia, os lugares onde vivemos e por onde viajamos." A questão do tempo e do espaço não é negligenciada no ponto seguinte: "Os nossos desenhos são um registo do tempo e do lugar." Estes três primeiros pontos antecipam a seguinte súmula que merece ser destacada: "Somos fiéis às cenas que presenciamos." Pode-se afirmar que estes pontos do Manifesto dos *Urban Sketchers* dialogam com o disposto pelo próprio *blogger* Filipe Morato Gomes quando afirma que o *sketch* "cria laços e oferece uma oportunidade de ver e sentir os lugares da forma que mais gosto: devagar."

Ainda sobre esta questão, é possível estabelecer uma relação com a proposta teórica de Walter Benjamim em "Pequena história da fotografia" (1987 [1931]), na qual convoca uma diferenciação de natureza entre a câmara e o olhar: "A natureza que fala à câmara não é a mesma que fala ao olhar; é outra, especialmente porque substitui a um espaço trabalhado conscientemente pelo homem, um espaço que ele percorre inconscientemente" (p. 94).

Reconhecendo que a fotografia e a imagem são recursos presentes quer nas narrativas de viagem impressas quer em formato digital, a diferenciação referida por Walter Benjamim contribui para (re)pensar a reflexão proposta por Filipe Morato Gomes no artigo já analisado ("Ser blogger de viagens nos dias de hoje") no sentido de uma busca pela autenticidade dos *bloggers* enquanto autores que tentam esbater, o mais possível, os artifícios de intermediação entre os seus leitores e os seus relatos. A dinâmica consciente-inconsciente referida por Walter Benjamim exige um equilíbrio constante no ato profissional do registo das viagens: as impressões, sensações e formulações deverão ser, tendencialmente,

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9    Para além dos pontos supracitados, o Manifesto dos Urban Sketchers apresenta demais pontos que poderão ser consultados em: https://urbansketchers-portugal.blogspot.com/p/manifesto-dos-ur-ban-sketchers.html.

transmitidas sem a intromissão de intermediários sejam eles a câmara que inti-
mida, conforme referido por Filipe Morato Gomes, ou a velocidade impressa no
compromisso da atualização constante (para não dizer voraz) de postagens. Neste
jogo, o culto da memória, como fenómeno contemporâneo no ambiente digital,
em formato de blogues individuais e coletivos, é um movimento a ser observado.



Fig. 1: Primeira tentativa de sketch – Leitaria da Baixa – Porto

Outro aspeto complementar a esta reflexão é a organização dos conteúdos
do blogue *Alma de Viajante* em temáticas. Na "Série 20 anos" são as seguintes:
"Experiências de viagem mais marcantes"; "Os melhores mercados que conheci
em viagem"; "Grandes cidades que me conquistaram ao longo dos tempos";
"As melhores praias do (meu) mundo"; "Museus de Guerra e outros museus de
heranças difíceis". No *post* "Experiências de viagem mais marcantes" que inicia a
série comemorativa dos 20 anos, a centralidade está na importância do resgate da
memória e no uso da expressão "baú das memórias" que muito se aproxima em
significado do termo arquivo e que contém "momentos que ficaram para sempre
gravados na memória, seja pela tensão emotiva da experiência, pelas pessoas que
conheci ou pelo deslumbramento do momento."

Pode-se falar de um desdobramento da memória patente, entre muitos outros, no conteúdo do artigo "Museus de Guerra e outros museus de heranças difíceis". Sendo o museu um equipamento intrinsecamente vinculado ao arquivo, muito embora a sua missão arquivística, um pouco por todo o mundo, esteja em processo de reflexão[10], é inegável a associação entre ambos numa dinâmica de coexistência. Neste artigo sobre o Museu da Paz em Hiroshima, no Japão, é possível observar a (hiper)ligação que se estabelece entre os meios e os conteúdos:

> Estava sentado a ouvir testemunhos dos sobreviventes, que relembravam aquela manhã. O que fizeram. Como se salvaram. Relatos em vídeo, na primeira pessoa. Gente com rugas na cara, na altura meninos e meninas. Terei ouvido três ou quatro testemunhos e, aí sim, a emoção começou a tomar conta de mim. Mas o pior foi uma frase deixada no dia anterior no livro de visitantes: "Me desculpe pelo ocorrido."

Já no segmento dedicado ao Museu do Genocídio Tuol Sleng, localizado numa antiga escola em Phnom Penh, no Cambodja, Filipe Morato Gomes recorre à imaginação, "numa espécie de semelhança com o percebido" (Seligmann-Silva, 2006, p. 32), para recriar o ambiente do local visitado influenciado, no momento em que se reproduz o passado, pela circunstância social presente (Halbwachs, 2006), num trânsito entre memórias: "(…) fecha-se os olhos e parece que os miúdos estão ali, por todo o lado, como se a escola não tivesse, de facto, encerrado. Abre-se os olhos e as grades de ferro nas janelas dissipam qualquer ilusão." Estes dois exemplos de vivência em "Museus de Memórias Difíceis" (Gomes, 2021), concorrem para a afirmação de uma certa "textura da memória" proposta por Pereira (2021, p. 198) em que "a apropriação/interpretação de materiais de arquivo, práticas de arquivamento – acúmulo, seleção, classificação, hierarquização e catalogação de materiais – propõem a releitura de imagens, textos, objetos, sons, discursos, silêncios."

Trata-se, portanto, de vestígios de memórias em movimento, ideia que de resto dialoga de perto com as teorias não só da já referida Astrid Erll mas também de Jon Anderson expostas em *Understanding cultural geography: places and traces*. Segundo Anderson (2009), vivemos num mundo de lugares culturais que deverão ser percecionados como uma composição, em contínuo, de vestígios. Para além de vestígios visíveis, é possível perceber estes indícios, estas evidências, de outras formas e modos, sobretudo sensoriais (ouvir; cheirar; degustar; sentir), e refletir sobre eles, bem como, lembrá-los. De certa forma, poderemos

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10    Para uma mais consistente reflexão sobre o tema, veja-se o artigo António Pinto Ribeiro (2016).

considerar que os conteúdos produzidos por blogues de viagem, em termos maioritários no contexto português, traduzem estas duas camadas de perceção dos lugares culturais: materialidade e não-materialidade.


Fig. 2: Museu da Paz em Hiroshima (Japão)


Fig. 3: Museu do Genocídio Tuol Sleng (Cambodja)

No que diz respeito à análise do arquivo digital propriamente dito, agrega-se a ideia de circulação: "isso circula", como afirma Michel Pêcheux (1981) salientando, de acordo com Cristiane Dias em "Análise do discurso digital: sobre o arquivo e a constituição do corpus" (2015), algumas das características relacionadas com o arquivo digital: (i) temporalidade; (ii) instabilidade; (iii) dimensão e heterogeneidade; (iv) autoria; (v) leitura dispersiva.

A própria ideia da edição de um livro que compila as crónicas de viagem publicadas em blogue colabora para a perceção do sentido de arquivo como constructo. Sobre este projeto, Filipe Morato Gomes escreve no *post* "Viagens de uma vida"[11] (atualizado em 12 de dezembro de 2022), "o primeiro livro da ABVP[12] está nas bancas (e inclui um texto meu)". Neste narra-se o choque cultural, já anteriormente partilhado na publicação "Ghardaia, um tesouro milenar no vale do M'Za" e que no referido livro surge com o título "As mulheres de branco de Ghardaia". O texto impresso inicia-se da seguinte forma: "Um olho.

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11   "Pela primeira vez, 25 dos mais seguidos *bloggers* de viagens portugueses, juntaram-se num livro para partilharem as viagens mais marcantes de suas vidas. O livro narra viagens e experiências inesquecíveis da vida de cada um dos viajantes, criando assim uma obra que é no seu todo inspiradora e mundividente, transportando em si uma multiplicidade de lugares, sentimentos, odores, tons e aventuras que nos agarram desde o primeiro parágrafo." Sinopse consultada em https://www.almedina.net/viagens-de-uma-vida-1591714550.html

12   Associação de *Bloggers* de Viagem Portugueses

Apenas um. Mais do que um *niqab*, menos do que uma *burka*. Um olho é o que as mulheres casadas de Ghardaia mostram ao mundo."

No que diz respeito à autoria, esta não se cinge ao produtor do conteúdo, mas poderá ser expandida aos usuários e seus comentários na caixa disponível, para o efeito, nos blogues, fenómeno que Possenti (2002, pp. 112-113) define como outros enunciadores.

Este é um aspeto que, para além da interatividade proposta e distintiva desse meio de publicação e comunicação, também, contribui para uma ideia de permanência, em oposição à efemeridade dos conteúdos, no sentido, em que é gerada entre usuários ou leitores-viajantes, termo utilizado por Filipe Morato Gomes, e blogue/*blogger* uma complementaridade de ações a partir de determinado assunto. A propósito da "Caixa de Comentários" do blogue *Alma de Viajante* sobre o *artigo* "Ghardaia, um tesouro milenar no vale do M'Za", um determinado internauta coloca a seguinte questão:

> Admito que seja um problema meu, mas prezo demasiado a liberdade (minha e dos outros) para me conseguir sentir bem e à vontade nessas culturas. Serão com toda a certeza muito interessantes, mas falta respeito pela VIDA, e empatia e aceitação para com o que é diferente… Alguma sugestão para superar esta minha limitação?

Em resposta, Filipe Morato Gomes escreve: "Acho que a única coisa que pode ajudar é não tentar julgar segundo os nossos valores ocidentais. Não temos de concordar, apenas, não julgar. Até porque temos muito a aprender uns com os outros. Grande abraço e boas viagens."

## Notas finais

Como variável de análise para a hipótese em avaliação, é de referir que a vigência do contexto pandêmico, em que a mobilidade foi fortemente comprometida, nos mostrou uma tendência dos blogues de viagem portugueses, em que o *Alma de Viajante* é também exemplo, de publicarem balanços de viagens já realizadas e listas de viagens a realizar, num claro esforço de compilação de memórias que contribuem para o "circular" dos conteúdos e a manutenção do próprio blogue. Poderá parecer contraditório ou paradoxal, mas o diálogo entre arquivo e novidade, efémero e permanência, é a este respeito deveras evidente. Conforme Lopes (2021), "o viajante e bloguista Filipe Morato Gomes confessa que escreve o seu blogue não apenas para anotar informes, mas sim

como reservatório de imagens", pois "a escrita de viagens é (…) contar histórias com a viagem em pano de fundo" (Gomes, 2018)."

Em síntese final poderemos concluir que i) a longevidade do blogue *Alma de Viajante* indicia que o imediatismo e a volatilidade, termos normalmente associados a este tipo de meio de comunicação, não excluem a ideia de permanência; (ii) o blogue, enquanto artefacto cultural, beneficia do conceito de *travelling memory*, memória em movimento teorizada por Astrid Erll; (iii) blogues de viagens poderão ser percebidos como arquivos de memória transcultural em que a condição do "homo memor", ou seja, um "ser com memória", também seja repensada no contexto da era do ciberarquivo potencialmente infinito" (Seligmann-Silva, 2006, p. 31).

E contrariando o disposto no trecho do poema "Ítaca" de Constantino Caváfis, "Sem Ítaca, não terias partido/Mas Ítaca não tem mais nada para dar-te", a memória de Ítaca inspira a viajar, ensejo que o *blogger*-escritor-viajante Filipe Morato Gomes traduz nas seguintes palavras: "O vento encarregar-se-á de me empurrar para os próximos destinos."

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# The synergy between tourism and culture: the revival of local identities as driver of attractiveness and regional development

ANABELA VALENTE SIMÕES

## The mutually beneficial relationship between tourism and culture

Tourism, one of the most relevant sectors in international trade, is an important agent for development and a driver for socio-economic progress, both globally and locally (OECD, 2020). A complex phenomenon based on the growing needs of modern society for recreation and leisure (Coccossis, 2008), it contributes to the improvement of a destination's economic activity and economic structure by creating jobs, increasing family income and state revenue or improving a wide range of infrastructures (Eusébio & Carneiro, 2012).

A sector of crucial economic, social and cultural importance, in Portugal, tourism had been expanding steadily over the last 20 years – until early 2020, just before the outbreak of the global pandemic (Costa, 2021; World Bank, n.d.). Before this unprecedented challenge to public health and national economies, the tourism sector was the largest exporting economic activity in Portugal, accounting for 52.3% of service exports and 19.7% of total exports, with tourism revenues recording an 8.7% contribution to Portuguese GDP. As shown in Figure 1, during the year that preceded the Covid-19 outbreak, the country welcomed 27 million tourists (+ 7.2% compared to the previous year), which represented revenue of more than 18 billion Euros (an increase of 8.1% compared to 2018).
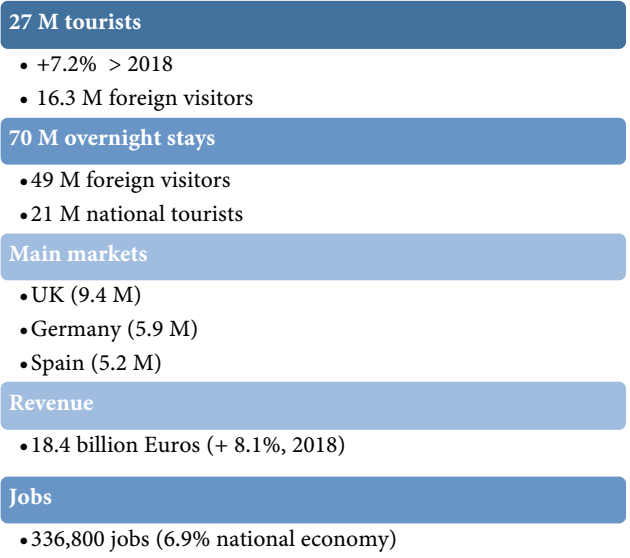
**27 M tourists**
- +7.2%  > 2018
- 16.3 M foreign visitors

**70 M overnight stays**
- 49 M foreign visitors
- 21 M national tourists

**Main markets**
- UK (9.4 M)
- Germany (5.9 M)
- Spain (5.2 M)

**Revenue**
- 18.4 billion Euros (+ 8.1%, 2018)

**Jobs**
- 336,800 jobs (6.9% national economy)

Fig. 1 – Tourism performance 2019.
Source: Own elaboration, based on Turismo de Portugal, 2021.

By analysing the indicator "overnight stays" in Figure 2, we can observe the upward trend that has marked this sector over the course of the last few years. As illustrated below, from 2014 to 2019 the number of visitors staying in hotels, guesthouses and local housing increased by over 40%, which is clear evidence of the effort put into improving the national touristic offer, as well as into the development of effective marketing strategies.

**OVERNIGHT STAYS, PORTUGAL**

| Year | Overnight stays |
|------|-----------------|
| 2014 | 48 711 366 |
| 2015 | 53 074 176 |
| 2016 | 59 122 640 |
| 2017 | 65 385 210 |
| 2018 | 67 662 103 |
| 2019 | 70 158 964 |
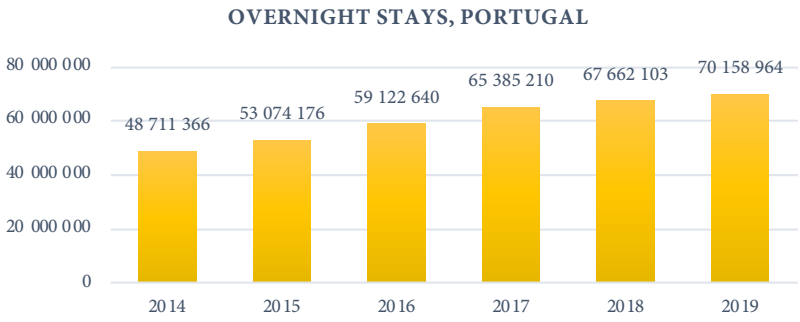
Fig. 2 – Number of visitors staying in hotels, guesthouses and local housing in Portugal (2014-2019).
Source: Own elaboration, based on data provided by the Turismo do Centro office.

Over the last few decades, new tourism profiles have emerged, with tourists' interest in visiting natural and cultural heritage sites gaining increasing importance. Unlike the 1950s–1970s tourists, who for the most part sought sun and beach tourism products (Costa, 2005), the postmodern, global tourist is more active and curious. Keen on learning the local history and the local ways, tourists want to take part in unique, authentic experiences that allow them the chance to escape from everyday life and immerse themselves into the unknown pasts and collective memories of their chosen destinations.

With around 40% of travelers identifying themselves as "cultural tourists" (Global Heritage Fund, n.d.), cultural tourism, which Yvette Reisinger (1994, p.24) describes as a "form of special interest and experiential tourism based on the search for or participation in new and deep cultural experiences of an aesthetic, intellectual, emotional or psychological nature", is one of the most important segments of the tourism. The World Tourism Organization completes the above definition as follows:

> Cultural tourism is a type of tourism activity in which the visitor's essential motivation is to learn, discover, experience and consume the tangible and intangible cultural attractions/products in a tourism destination. These attractions/products relate to a set of distinctive material, intellectual, spiritual and emotional features of a society that encompasses arts and architecture, historical and cultural heritage, culinary heritage, literature, music, creative industries and the living cultures with their lifestyles, value systems, beliefs and traditions. (UNWTO, 2018, p.70)

Due to its rich cultural heritage, one that includes museums, theatres, archaeological sites and historical cities, as well as music and gastronomy, in Europe the convergence between tourism and culture is a fundamental part of the tourism experience and one of its largest and fastest-growing markets (UNWTO, 2018). A generator of economic growth, employment and social cohesion, cultural tourism contributes to not only the sustainability and competitiveness of tourism in the European Union and its neighbouring countries but also to the conservation of cultural heritage (European Cultural Tourism Network, 2016). Culture heritage, "that complex of man's works in which a community recognizes its particular and specific values and with which it identifies" (The Charter of Krakow, 2000, p.5), includes the works of artists, architects, musicians, writers and scientists and also the work of anonymous artists, expressions of the people's spirituality, and the body of values which give meaning to life. It includes both tangible and intangible works through which the creativity of that people finds expression: languages, rites, beliefs,

historic places and monuments, literature, works of art, archives and libraries (UNESCO, 1982).

Indeed, cultural tourism is a major factor in the attractiveness of most destinations, not only in terms of tourism but also in attracting residents and inward investment (OECD, 2009). Because their interplay creates distinctiveness, culture and tourism have a mutually beneficial relationship, one that can strengthen the attractiveness and competitiveness of a region and, concomitantly, enhance culture itself by creating an income to support cultural heritage, cultural production and creativity (OECD, 2009). Moreover, studies on residents' perceptions indicate that the enhancement of cultural heritage, namely through the promotion of traditions, the revival of traditional arts and crafts, the preservation of historical buildings and organization of cultural events, alongside the rise of employment opportunities for locals (for example, by selling their own handcraft products, renting their houses or creating new businesses) are all important aspects that lead to a positive socio-economic impact amongst hosting communities (Carvalho et al., 2016; Eusébio & Carneiro, 2012). Ultimately, through creative venues and experiences, cultural tourism contributes not only to urban regeneration and better quality of life but also to the preservation of local cultures and the strengthening of local pride and identity.

Tourism experiences that connect people and visitors to local cultures are, thus, very important and, in many cases, the theming of destinations is linked to specific cultural events which can also play a catalyst role in this development (OECD, 2009). With the aim of building ever more attractive cultural and creative tourism products, tourism planning, which used to be based mainly on physical attractions such as built heritage, landscapes, monuments or museums, is now resorting to marketing strategies based on images, activities, lifestyles, narratives and atmospheres to better differentiate regions making them stand out amidst a highly competitive market (Richards, 2009) – one that is now populated by tourists with an avid interest in different and authentic experiences.

In fact, this interest in authenticity – one of the constructs that has been most amply discussed in tourism literature since the early 1960s – has made it possible for stakeholders at a destination to present it as a commodity of great economic value (Taylor, 2001). By providing "a physical representation of things from the past that speak to a sense of place, a sense of self, of belonging and community" (Smith, 2006, p.30), the development of tourism around cultural heritage has, thus, become an opportunity to meet the expectations of an ever-growing market.

With tourists eager to find authentic venues to get a feel of the local culture, the tourism industry in Aveiro has made good use of the opportunities offered

by its natural and cultural wealth, not failing to promote heritage-based experiences through which many authentic scenarios are simulated. Either by tasting the local cuisine, riding on a *moliceiro*, taking part in the artisanal salt collection process or even a hands-on experience where visitors have the opportunity to fill and cut *ovos moles*, the local delicacy, these activities represent memories that are brought into the present and shared with visitors. Such experiences are based on representations that serve as a vehicle into the past, into the locals' values, beliefs, knowledge, traditions, rituals and symbols (language, religion, ethnicity, etc.), all of which embody a collection of symbolic and identifying elements that have been passed on from generation to generation and that assume themselves as differentiating characteristics created to symbolise the group, to nourish a sense of unity and community while stimulating the feeling of belonging to a collective entity (Simões, 2014).

However, these experiences are not "authentic", not in the strict sense of the word. They are not real because you cannot mimetically replicate the past, you can only construct a fictionalised version of it. Building on Robert Scholes's theory on autobiographical writing, while offering a portrait of local history, customs and traditions there is no *mimesis*, only *poesis* (as cited in Simões, 2015). Though enjoying a unique and real experience is in many cases a visitor's greatest expectation, in reality, what they find is rather a "staged authenticity" (MacCannell, as cited in Chhabra et al., 2003) or pieces of a "migrating heritage" (Innocenti, 2015). Either way, tourism experiences are not supposed to be mimetic representations of the past; there is a tacit understanding that the offered experiences are rather recreations or interpretations of the past filtered through the host's memory and adapted to the present moment's circumstances and resources. More importantly, they may not be authentic *sensu stricto,* but they are a homage to the original concept (Chhabra et al. 2003) that is being shared by the locals, the recipients of that heritage – i.e., witnesses of a time and place they might have not personally experienced, but that they have received through collective and communicative memory mechanisms (Simões, 2014).

## Aveiro: the rediscovery of the *Ria* and the reinvention of salt

> The *Ria* conquered Aveiro and it became its heart. It is what identifies the city, gives it brightness and life and it has permanently marked local traditions. In Aveiro, everything happens around its 47 kilometres of water next to the sea. (Center of Portugal, n.d.)

Located on the west coast of central Portugal, Aveiro is particularly attractive to visitors due to its rich gastronomy, beautiful *Art Nouveau* architecture, colourful, vibrant city centre, and proximity to the beach, as well as to other important urban centres such as Porto and Coimbra. According to the 2021 census, Aveiro is one of the district capitals of the central region that has gained the most population (+3.1%), rising from 78,450 residents in 2011 to 80,880 in 2021 (INE, 2021).

Dominated by its *Ria*, the vast lagoon estuary where the freshwater of the river Vouga meets the Atlantic, Aveiro has long been associated with sea trade, fishing and salt production. Symbolic elements of an either experienced or received past are present everywhere, from the traditional cobblestone pavements (Figure 3) to the wall tile panels depicting regional scenes (Figure 4) or the shapes of *ovos moles,* the local pastry delicacy (shells, whelks, fish or barrels, as a tribute to the traditional vessels).



Fig. 3 – Cobblestone pavement with nautical designs



Fig. 4 – Ceramic panel by local artist Cândido Teles

Crossed by a network of canals, the city is known for its picturesque *moliceiros,* the colourful vessels once used to collect seaweed (Figure 5), the surrounding saltpans (Figure 6) and the shallow lagoons. Central elements of the locals' collective memory and identity are proudly displayed and constantly celebrated in several large events that occur throughout the year, as well as other initiatives organised by both public and private entities. *Festival dos Canais* (Figure 7), *Festival Dunas de São Jacinto* or *Festival do Bacalhau,* in the neighbouring city of Ílhavo, are examples of events that often combine nature, sports, local gastronomy, exhibits, installations, music and other cultural performances.

By recovering core elements of the city's identitary map, Aveiro has reinvented itself, which led to a notable touristic, economic and social development, especially during the last decade. In Aveiro, visitors are not only greeted with the tangible elements of the city's cultural heritage – its monuments, historical buildings, statues (Figure 8), traditional tiles and ceramic panels, etc. –, they are also offered different tourism experiences that celebrate its local intangible culture heritage, a concept the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, in the *Convention of the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, describes as follows:

> […] practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. (UNESCO, 2003)



Fig. 5 – Moliceiro crossing the Central Canal



Fig. 6 – Troncalhada salt pans
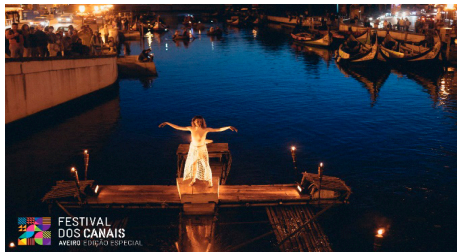


Fig. 7 – Festival dos Canais 2020
Source: Câmara Municipal de Aveiro



Fig. 8 – The iconic figure of the marnoto (salt worker)

In line with the upward trend registered nationally, the inflow of tourists visiting Aveiro increased steadily until 2019. As can be observed in Figure 9, from 2014 to 2019 the number of visitors staying in hotels, guesthouses and local housing grew by nearly 65%.
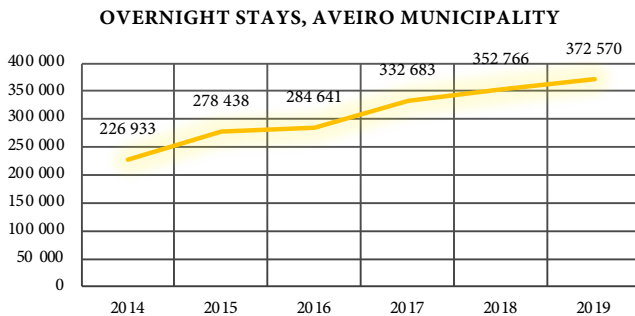
**OVERNIGHT STAYS, AVEIRO MUNICIPALITY**



Fig. 9 – Evolution of the number of visitors staying in hotels, guesthouses and local housing/accommodation in Aveiro (2014-2019).
Source: Own elaboration, based on data provided by the Turismo do Centro office.

According to data provided by the Turismo do Centro office, Spain was the most expressive market, with nearly 53,000 visitors in 2019, followed by France, Portugal's domestic market, Brazil and Germany. Moreover, in a survey conducted by the same entity, visitors identified as main motivations for their visit the following factors: i) the region's gastronomy, ii) the city itself and its cultural heritage, iii) the proximity to the beach, especially to the Costa Nova beach (Figure 9), iv) the city's architecture, especially the extravagant *Art Nouveau* buildings (Figure 10) and v) its monuments and museums.



Fig. 9 – Palheiros in Costa Nova (once used by fishermen to store their fishing nets).
Source: Câmara Municipal de Ílhavo
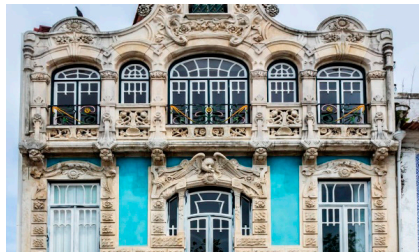


Fig. 10 – Façade of the Art Nouveau Museum

*Moliceiros* are undoubtedly one of the most important cultural symbols of the city and the region. During the 19th century, these vessels were used to harvest *moliço*, the algae and seaweed growing in the *Ria* which, after being laid down on the floor to dry, was used as a fertiliser by local farmers. As *moliço* was progressively replaced by chemical fertilisers, the activity declined throughout the 20th century, with the more than 1,350 boats registered in 1925 being reduced to just 27 in 2019.

Before the turn of the millennium, only a few vessels were docked in the city's main canal. Looking old and abandoned, one of the most important cultural artefacts of the region resembled a lonely remnant of the past in a city that seemed rather stuck in time. However, since the boost in national tourism these boats have gained new life and are now part of the thriving business of boat tours along the city canals. Small and colourful, painted on the bow and the stern with traditional, brightly coloured drawings (Figure 11) representing either historical facts and figures or popular devotion, or even displaying paintings of an erotic nature, these boats not only grace the *Ria* beautifully they also introduce the city to visitors from a different perspective. In 2019, 1.2 million visitors climbed aboard one of these boats. Moreover, to keep up with increasing touristic demand, not only were the old shipyards reactivated (which means the recovery of old, manual manufacturing techniques), new boarding platforms were also built along the main canal.



Fig. 11 – Example of a moliceiro panel with iconic fado singer Amália
Source: Center of Portugal

Due to its privileged geographical situation for salt production, this mineral has always played an important role in the economy of the Aveiro region. Already in the 12th century, Portuguese salt was regarded as a high-quality product in various parts of the world, with the *Ria* becoming particularly important to the

national economy by providing enough salt not only for the whole country but also for large exports abroad (Rodrigues et al., 2011). Locally known as "white gold", it still had significant expression in the 1960s, with about 270 companies producing more than ninety tons per year. However, from 1960 onwards, the activity declined significantly; in 1994, the number of active salt pans was already reduced to only 49, and presently only 9 *salinas* continue to preserve the tradition by using artisanal methods of collecting salt. On these grounds, you can now visit an eco-museum and learn about the salt extraction process, participate in guided tours and watch an actual *marnoto,* the salt-master, as he scrapes the drying salt with traditional tools and gathers it into large pyramid-shaped mounds. The figure of the salt-master is here of utmost importance: by skillfully demonstrating his craft, he is the local authority that conveys authenticity to the scene – which in the end comes to form the core of the cultural experience:

> The involvement of the local communities is an important factor for visitor satisfaction and a prerequisite for product development. Local communities are not just the hosts for tourism, but they are also participating directly in the tourism experience, helping to define the sense of place and atmosphere of regions. (OECD, 2009)

Visitors can also amble around the pans and purchase salt, visit a salt spa and bathe in saltwater or mud, taking advantage of the therapeutic properties of sea salt. From a visitor's perspective, this represents a chance to experience an adventure and, simultaneously, participate in local culture by immersing themselves in the past, in the collective memories that constitute the identity of the locals.

In January 2020, shortly before the outbreak of the ongoing global pandemic, the World Tourism Organization announced that 1.5 billion international arrivals had been registered in 2019, which represented a 4% growth compared to the previous year (UNWTO, 2020). However, those figures and positive outlook for the upcoming years would soon suffer a heavy blow since tourism has been one of the most affected sectors by the Covid-19 pandemic. According to the latest data from the World Tourism Organization, global tourism in 2020 suffered its worst year on record, with international arrivals declining by 74%. World destinations received 1 billion fewer international arrivals compared to the previous year due to travel restrictions and an unprecedented drop in demand (Turismo de Portugal, 2021). As shown in Figure 12, as a result of lockdowns and emergency restrictions implemented worldwide, the Portuguese tourism sector recorded significant decreases in demand, with the overall inflow of foreign visitors dropping by over 75%.

**10.5 M tourists**

- -61.3% > 2019
- 3.9 M foreign visitors (-75.7%)

**25.9 M overnight stays**

- 12.3 M foreign visitors
- 13.6 M national tourists

**Main markets**

- United Kingdom (2.0 M)
- Germany (1.8 M)
- Spain (1.7 M)

**Revenue**

- 7.7 billion Euros (-57.6% > 2019)
- France (€1.5 B)
- United Kingdom (€1.2 B)
- Spain (€1.0 B)

Fig. 12 – Tourism performance in 2020.
Source: Own elaboration, based on Turismo de Portugal, 2021.

One and a half years later and after a successful vaccination campaign – by the end of August, over 80% of the target population (adolescents over 12 years old and adults) had received at least one dose of the Covid-vaccine (Our World Data, n.d.) –, the sector seems to be showing signs of tentative recovery, one that cannot yet be objectively quantified, but that is clearly noticeable in the number of leisure and cultural initiatives that have been resumed during the summer months, or as one observes the once empty streets of Aveiro bustling again with locals and visitors.

**Final remarks**

A basis for commercial activity (Robinson and Smith, 2006), a personal experience for the tourist (Weaver, 2011), a carrier and exponent of collective memory (Walsh, 1992) and a strengthening mechanism for the identity of residents (Selwyn, 1996), all in all, culture and cultural heritage have been of fundamental importance both for the tourism sector and at a socioeconomic level. Specifically, in the city of Aveiro an important virtuous cycle has been created: as the increasing number of visitors are offered a varied choice of venues to learn and

experience local history and traditions, the revenue brought by these visitors not only contributes to regional socioeconomic development, funds are also directed into culture preservation and into the creation of new forms to exhibit (and profit from) local natural resources and cultural heritage. Simultaneously, a sense of belonging and local pride, as well as a strengthened collective identity are also attained. Overall, by recovering history, local traditions and cultural memories, tourism contributes not only to the reinforcement of a region's collective identity and the preservation of cultural and historical heritage, it also contributes to the consolidation of the city's tourism destination image, which can be crucial in the process of the touristic – and, therefore, economic and social – development of the community.

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# Cypriot and northern Levantine influences on the cult of the Canaanite town of Tel Burna

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## Introduction

Tel Burna is medium-sized tell in the Judean Shephelah of Israel (Fig. 1). The medium-sized tell is situated on a hill above Nahal Guvrin, which was its main water source in antiquity, as well as an important thoroughfare connecting the coastal plain to the west and the hill country to the east. While Tel Burna was occupied from the Early Bronze through the Persian period, the majority of remains at the site date to the Late Bronze II and Iron IIA–C (McKinny et al., 2020; Uziel & Shai, 2010). The Iron Age remains (10th through early 6th centuries BCE) seem to be related to a Judahite presence at the site, and the site is likely to be identified with the Judahite town of Libnah (e.g., Isa 37:8 – McKinny & Tavger, 2018). In any case, it seems that Tel Burna was a "third tier" site in the region during the Late Bronze Age (Uziel et al., 2014; Shai et al., 2015, p. 129; McKinny et al., 2019). The entire tell was occupied in this period as made evident by the presence of Late Bronze sherds found in all areas of the summit – Areas A1, A2, G, and B2. In fact, Tel Burna reached its zenith in size (if not intensity) during the Late Bronze as the plateau west and below the summit – Areas B1 and B3 – was only occupied during this period. Besides typical local Canaanite remains, these areas also revealed extensive Cypriot and, to a

lesser extent, Mycenaean imports as part of the prevailing international maritime economy of the Late Bronze Age II.


## Overview of Late Bronze remains at Tel Burna



Fig. 1 – Map of the region of Tel Burna (J. Rosenberg)


The lower western platform is marked primarily by a large Late Bronze, Canaanite enclosure that possessed extensive cultic remains on a bedrock courtyard in its northwestern quadrant (Greenfield et al., 2017; Shai, 2018; Shai et al., 2015, 2019; Shai & McKinny, 2020; Sharp et al., 2015). In the last couple of seasons, we have expanded this area towards the south (Area B3) in order to reveal more of the architecture that was visible on the surface to the south of Area B1 (Figs. 2–3).
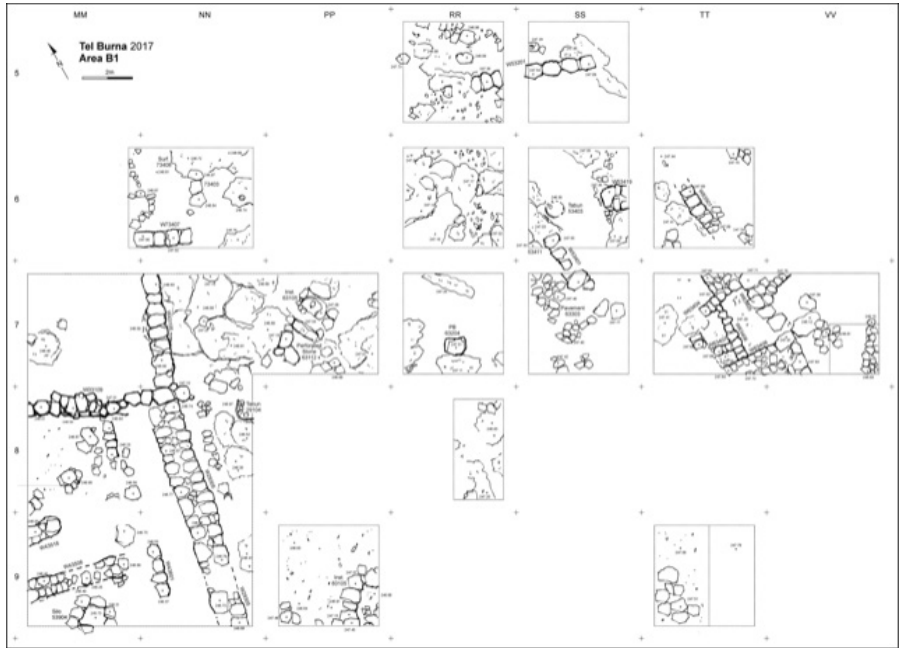
Fig. 2 – Architectural plan of Areas B1 and B3 (J. Rosenberg)



Fig. 3 – Aerial view of Tel Burna from west showing possible removal of Late Bronze remains during the Iron IIB

Here, we should comment on the depth and character of the archaeological deposit in Areas B1 and B3. As noted, this area was only occupied during the Late Bronze Age. Accordingly, the remains are very shallow (c. .5-1m), and it seems that the ancient residents of the site regularly made use of large sections of the *nari* bedrock where it was conducive for their occupational needs (i.e., flat). In the last few seasons within the stepped-stratigraphic trench of Tel Burna's western slopes (Area B2), it has become clear that the Judahite inhabitants of Libnah disturbed the Late Bronze occupational debris of Areas B1 and B2 by removing much of the earlier debris to fortify the outer face of the casemate fortification that dominates the summit of the tell. This is clearly demonstrated by the enormous amount of Late Bronze fill-material – including a high quantity of metallurgical remains – that was deposited as part of an Iron II glacis on the outer (western) face of the Iron II casemate wall (Shai & McKinny, 2020). After pOSL analysis of the glacis, it became clear that it was constructed in a short period, which we can confidently date to the 8th century BCE on account of the ceramic finds found in the glacis (Janovský et al., 2020). In light of this discovery, it seems that a considerable portion of the lower platform suffered from the Iron IIB earthworks (Fig. 3). Still, in several segments of Areas B1 and B3 we were able to find undisturbed contexts that were very rich in in situ finds.

Area B1 is defined by a large enclosure – Building 29305. Most of this structure was disturbed by the Iron II earthworks that removed the Late Bronze occupational layer and placed it along the western face of the Iron II fortifications. The western-most portion of Area B1 – where W29305 – the western wall of Building 29305 – is situated on bedrock – was undisturbed by these Iron II earthworks. This also seems to be the case for Area B3 which revealed large architectural remains with in situ local, Canaanite vessels to the southeast of W29305. It is not yet clear if the architecture uncovered in Area B3 is directly related to Building 29305 (i.e., its southern wall), but it is certainly contemporary with Building 29305. In future seasons, we plan to expand Area B3 towards the west, as well as expand Area B1 towards the northwest along what appears to be the western extent of the Late Bronze lower platform. Throughout Areas B1 and B3 we found typical local Canaanite Late Bronze remains, but we also found evidence of imports from other cultures – especially Cypriot (see below). Within the bedrock courtyard, we also found an Egyptian scarab with the cartouche of Thutmose III, but this is the only evidence of Egyptian or Egyptianized material – and scarabs of Thutmose III are very frequent in Late Bronze contexts. In this same vicinity, we also found a Mittani glyptic-style cylinder seal, which is also a common "prestige find" for the period (we would like to thank Antonio de Freitas for his research on the cylinder seal).

## Cypriot and northern Levantine imports and influences in Area B1

A large quantity of imported Cypriot vessels of various types were uncovered throughout Area B1 (Fig. 4) and in the limited area exposed in Area B3 (Fig. 5). A high concentration of Cypriot vessels was found on a bedrock courtyard in the northwestern section of Building 29305. This courtyard and its immediate vicinity yielded up the richest finds in all of Area B1. In past publications, we have noted the cultic nature of these finds which include an anchor-shaped standing stone (Shai & McKinny, 2020, pp. 5–6), two ritual masks (Shai, 2018), numerous local and imported figurines (Sharp et al., 2015), and chalices and goblets (Shai et al., 2015). There also were a high quantity of burnt bones (Greenfield et al., 2017) along with a collection of grass pea seeds which taken together may potentially be understood as evidence of cultic feasting in this courtyard (Orendi et al., 2017, pp. 180–181). So far, sherds from almost all of the typical Cypriot imported wares were found including white slip (especially "milk bowls"), white-shaved, monochrome, and base ring (especially bilbil juglets and zoomorphic/bull vessels).



Fig. 4 – Imported sherds of various types from Area B1 (B. Yang)

Fig. 5 – Cypriot milk bowl fragments from Area B3 (M. Barbosa)

Several fragments of Mycenaean sherds have been found in Area B1 and B2 (within the LB fill of the Iron II glacis). Most notably, the head of a Mycenaean bull-figurine was uncovered in this courtyard (Sharp et al., 2015, pp. 66–67), and a Late Helladic III bowl was found in the dump of an illicit excavation of a nearby tomb (McKinny et al., 2020, p. 7). Given the cultic context of the finds, the bull figurine should be taken together with the Cypriot bull-shaped vessels. These finds attest to Mycenaean trade connections, but they clearly came from the same trading network as the Cypriot finds, which were found in much higher quantities. In any case, it is quite common to find Cypriot and Mycenean imports in Canaanite sites occupied in the 14th and 13th centuries BCE (i.e., LB IIA-B) with Cypriot imports being much more common than Mycenaean. What is interesting about the Tel Burna Cypriot assemblage is that the Cypriot vessels are found in their highest concentration in the cultic area, which also produced Cypriot imports that are much less common. Moreover, these less common imports were clearly used for cultic activity.

In addition, two massive Cypriot wavy-band pithoi were found embedded into depression of the bedrock courtyard (Shai et al., 2019). These pithoi, which were regularly used in Late Bronze maritime trade to ship small Cypriot vessels, were found in secondary or tertiary use within Building 29305. Here, they were once again used as storage containers for bowls – which were found stacked inside – and other vessels including a Base-Ring tankard. Interestingly,

at least two of the bowls were imported from the northern Levantine coastline (S. Kleiman personal communication). In a previous paper, we suggested that they may have been used for either the storage of water or grain because organic residue analysis did not reveal any absorbed substances on the inner walls of the pithoi (Shai et al., 2019, pp. 71–72, 79). This suggestion can now be disregarded for one of the pithoi in light of the clear evidence of small vessels within the pithoi, which is consistent with their usage at Uluburun (Bass, 1986, pp. 279–281; Pulak, 1998, pp. 203–204, fig. 17). Given their close proximity to other cultic finds, it is apparent that these pithoi and the vessels stored within them used in the cultic activity that took place at this courtyard. We should also note that at least one other Cypriot Wavy-Band pithoi was present in this structure as another base was found north of the courtyard. It is an interesting coincidence that a Cypriot Wavy-Band pithos was used in the same manner in Building 29305 as it was used in maritime trade (Fig. 6), which could potentially be an indication that the inhabitants of Tel Burna were aware of the primary transport function of the pithoi. However, we cannot be certain on this point.



Fig. 6 – Stacked bowls (local and imported) inside Cypriot Wavi-Band pithos in bedrock courtyard in Area B1

Besides the more typical Cypriot imports, we also uncovered a unique three-cupped Cypriot vessel that was found in situ on a flat stone (Fig. 7) that had been placed in a depression of the bedrock courtyard near the pithoi and the standing stone (Shai & McKinny, 2020, pp. 7–8). We have interpreted this as a votive vessel that was likely dedicated to the deity or deities that were worshipped in this cultic enclosure.



Fig. 7 – Cypriot three-cupped votive vessel in situ on bedrock courtyard in Area B1

The standing stone itself may also be reflective of Cypriot and/or northern Levantine influences, as it appears to be in the shape of an anchor (Fig. 8). The anchor-shaped standing stone was cut from the local chalk, which was not regularly used as a building material due to the fact that it is quite soft and easily crumbles (*nari* is the preferred stone building material). It seems that the purpose of using the chalk was to create a cylindrical hole through the standing

stone's center, which causes it to appear like a stone-anchor. Stone-anchor standing stones have not been found in the southern Levant, but they have been discovered at several cultic Late Bronze sites in the northern Levant (Byblos – Dunand, 1950; Baal temple at Ugarit – Yon, 2006, p. 110; Francis-Allouche & Grimal, 2019, p. 113; see also Nigro, 2019, pp. 121–122, fig. 24). It goes without saying that there was a deep cultural connection between the northern Levant and the island of Cyprus throughout the 2nd and 1st millennium BCE, but particularly so during the Late Bronze Age. Regarding the occurrences of votive stone-anchors in the upper story or stairs of temples at Byblos and Ugarit, as well as references to sacrifices occurring on temple roofs at Ugarit, Francis-Allouche and Grimal argue that sacrifices occurring within these temples were used as a navigation signal to lead seafarers into safe harbor (Francis-Allouche & Grimal, 2019, p. 113). Others suggest that these votive anchors represent a connection to the storm-god Baʿal and the sea and may have been offered before or after a sea departure (Brody, 1998, p. 48; Wachsmann, 1998, p. 292; Susnow, 2019, pp. 112, 116).



Fig. 8 – Standing-stone in the form of an anchor(?) next to bedrock courtyard in Area B1

Clearly, Tel Burna is not located in close proximity to the Mediterranean Sea as it is c. 30 km to the nearest LB ports (Jaffa, Ashdod, or Ashkelon). Yet the standing stone seems to be very similar to the contemporary cultic finds from Byblos and Ugarit, which could potentially offer some clues as to the deity or deities that were worshipped in Building 29305. Regarding the anchor, Ba'al is obviously associated with his triumph over the sea-god (i.e., Yamm) in the Ugaritic Ba'al Cycle as well as the famous stele from Ugarit (e.g., see discussion in Smith, 1994). However, it should be noted that Athirat – the Ugaritic mother goddess (i.e., Canaanite Asherah) –also had the epithet "lady of the sea" (e.g., KTU 1.4.III.27), which indicates some association with the Mediterranean. In the cultic remains in Building 29305, we have iconic cultic evidence of local female figurines that could potentially be associated with a goddess (Sharp et al., 2015, pp. 63–66; see also extensive discussion in Locatell et al., forthcoming). Yet, we also have the foreign figurines/zoomorphic vessels of bulls, which is a typical storm-god depiction. Thus, it is uncertain if either of these deities – or perhaps local manifestations of a storm-god and/or mother goddess –was the object of worship within this cultic enclosure. Despite this lack of clarity, the imported Cypriot finds and northern Levantine influences provide insight into the character of Late Bronze Tel Burna.

## Conclusion

In conclusion – we might ask –who were the inhabitants of 14th and 13th century BCE Tel Burna? They were most likely Canaanites who were intimately connected with the Late Bronze maritime trade network that brought Mycenaean, northern Levantine, and especially Cypriot goods and ideas to their town and to other towns in the vicinity (e.g., Tel Zayit, Lachish, Tell es-Safi/Gath, etc.) These imported material goods were not merely part of the everyday life of Canaanite Tel Burna, but were directly connected with the cultic activity that took place in Building 29305 to a degree that is not present at other nearby sites. Unlike cultic finds from nearby temples at Lachish, which show either typical local cultic influence or Egyptian emulation (e.g., various temples from Lachish VII and VI – Koch, 2014; Weissbein et al., 2020; Garfinkel et al., 2021), the cultic remains at Tel Burna indicate a local cult that is heavily influenced by Cypriot (and northern Levantine) culture and religion. This might be expected at a more northern coastal site in the southern Levant such as at Tell Abu Hawam in Haifa (see e.g., Artzy, 2008), but to find such a strong influence at an inland site in the southern Levant is quite unusual.

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## Figures

Fig. 1 – Map of the region of Tel Burna (J. Rosenberg)

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Fig. 6 –Stacked bowls (local and imported) inside Cypriot Wavi-Band pithos in bedrock courtyard in Area B1

Fig. 7 – Cypriot three-cupped votive vessel in situ on bedrock courtyard in Area B1

Fig. 8 – Standing-stone in the form of an anchor(?) next to bedrock courtyard in Area B1

# A Mittanian-Style
# Cylinder Seal from Tel Burna

ANTÓNIO DE FREITAS, CHRIS MCKINNY AND ITZHAQ SHAI

## Introduction

Cylinder seals were ubiquitous in all Near Eastern cultures from Mesopotamia to the Levant and Anatolia. The first seals appear as early as the 4th millennium BCE and were used as pendants representing feminine and masculine sexual organs (Porada 1993). Later, cylinder seals were engraved with figures and writing symbols and used for other purposes, very often to produce an engraving or an inscription on a clay tablet. Thus, cylinder seal production increased in parallel with the writing-in-clay culture. They were often used to mark ownership, and probably for this reason they were also used as amulets, as protectors of the property (Collon 2005, 5–7).

During the Ur III period, cylinder seals played a significant role within the administrative notarial system as they were used by notaries to seal documents to confirm their contents and the participants of a contract would have sealed the documents in order to authorize the acceptance of the conditions, or simply demonstrate their ownership of an inventory. In some cases, the seals were also used to identify envelopes (Collon 2005, 35–39).

The relevance of cylinder seals in ancient Near Eastern cultures was of such significance that a prolific industry of production was developed. During

the Late Bronze Age, the Mitannian Empire became a substantial producer of cylinder seals, with some cities continuing to produce seals even after they had fallen to the Kingdom of Hatti. On account of this, the trade of seals from Mitanni to the southern Levant during the Late Bronze Age was extensive (Matthews 1990, 4–5).

## Tel Burna

Tel Burna is located in the Shephelah of southern Israel along the northern banks of Nahal Guvrin (Fig. 1). According to archaeological survey, it seems that the site was established in the Early Bronze Age II, and settled intensively in the Middle Bronze Age, Late Bronze Age and Iron Age with more scarce activity during the Persian and Byzantine periods (Uziel and Shai 2010; Shai and Uziel 2014). The survey results have been largely corroborated by the excavations which indicate that the Late Bronze Age was one of the two periods (along with the Iron II) in which the settlement at Tel Burna reached its peak (Uziel and Shai 2010; Shai, McKinny and Uziel 2015).



Fig. 1 Map of the region of Tel Burna (J. Rosenberg)

## Archaeological Context

Since 2011, excavations have been carried out on a platform (Area B1 – c. 40 x 100 m; Fig, 2) located below and to the west of the summit of Tel Burna. Before we began excavating this platform, intensive archaeological survey seemed to indicate that this area was settled only in the Late Bronze Age due to the high quantities of Late Bronze Age sherds and the absence of other periods (Uziel and Shai 2010; Shai and Uziel 2014). Already in the first excavation season this determination was shown to be accurate, as we uncovered an extensive Late Bronze layer that was primarily founded on the bedrock directly beneath the top soil.
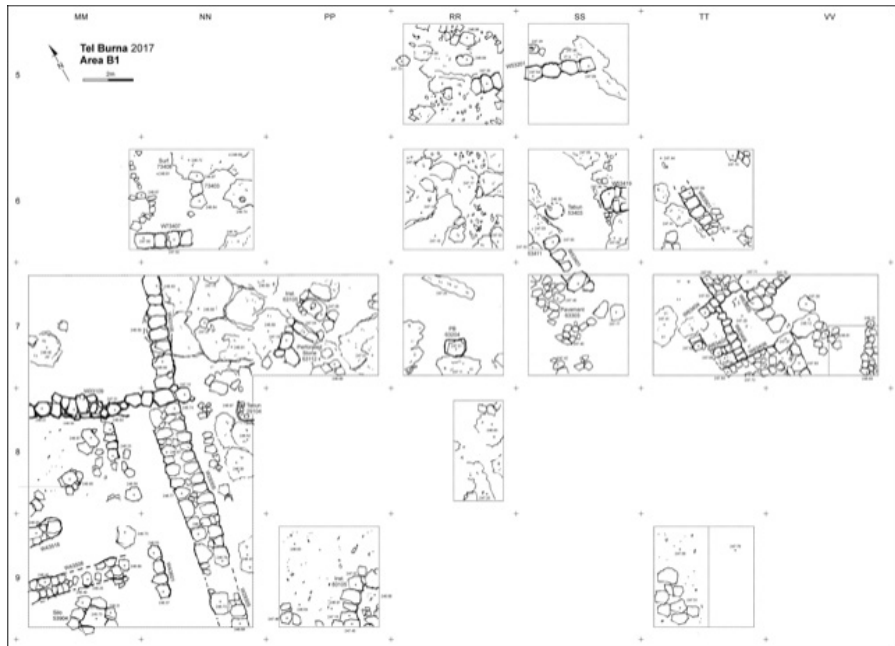


Fig. 2 Architectural plan of Area B1 (J. Rosenberg)

After seven seasons (2011-2017), the excavations have revealed the remains of a large cultic structure with a large courtyard (Building 29305; Shai, McKinny and Uziel 2015; Shai 2018). The exact layout of the structure remains unclear with sections of the building suffering from severe erosion. The western wall of Building 29305 is preserved to a length of 17 meters.

While our interpretation remains tentative, it seems that the building is bounded on the north by a poorly preserved wall (W734007) and on the east and south by walls (W63405 and W63408) that appear to form a corner near the base of the tell's summit. Within the building, we found evidence of two *tanurs* (ovens) (L53403 and L29104), which may be indicative that it was a large open air courtyard.

The most well-preserved and significant section of Building 29305 is located on a flat bedrock courtyard (L33211). This courtyard is demarcated on the west by the western wall of the building and on the east by a tabun (L29104) and what seems to be three standing stones including a large rectangular piece of chalk (L63112 – measuring c. 1 meter long x 30 cm wide x 70 cm tall) with a perforated hole through its center. In addition, two very large Cypriot pithoi of the wavy-band style were found embedded on the southeastern side of the courtyard (Shai et al. in preparation). Besides there being a high quantity of bones (Greenfield McKinny and Shai 2017) and restorable, locally made domestic vessels, the finds in this courtyard point to a clear cultic affiliation of the space. Within the courtyard, we found numerous locally made chalices and goblets (2015, figs. 6–7); locally made figurines (Shai, McKinny and Uziel 2015, fig 8.4; Sharp, McKinny and Shai 2015, figs. 4, 6); Cypriot zoomorphic vessels and Mycenaean figurines (201, fig. 6.1-3; Sharp, Mckinny and Shai 2015:fig. 5); a unique Cypriot three-cupped votive vessel, which was found in situ on top of a flat rock in a crevice of the bedrock (Sharp, McKinny and Shai 2015, fig. 7.11); an Egyptian scarab (Shai, McKinny and Uziel 2015, fig. 6.12); and a Mittani glyptic style cylinder seal (Fig. 3), the latter being the subject of this paper. While other cultic objects were found in different sections of the building (e.g., a Revadim-style plaque figurine - Shai McKinny and Uziel 2015, fig. 8.7; Sharp, McKinny and Shai 2015, fig. 3; and two ceramic masks – Shai 2018), the high concentration of cultic and prestige-related objects on the bedrock courtyard seems to indicate that courtyard L33211 was the focal point of cultic activity within Building 29305.

Fig. 3 Mittani glyptic style cylinder seal

## A Mittani Style Cylinder Seal

During the 2012 season at Tel Burna, a cylinder seal was found in Area B1. The seal is made of steatite (see below for spectrographic analysis). It measures 20 mm in height by 7 mm diameter wide (Fig. 3). It shows a procession of running lions moving towards the right. The procession of animals was a common motif on seals from Kamid el-Loz. Even though there are no examples of seals with such a procession of lions, the use of the steatite and the elongated figures of lions has clear parallels with some of the cylinder seals found in Kamid el-Loz. The presence of two circle border lines on the top and bottom of the seal point towards a Mitannian influence (Kühne and Salje 1996, 55–69). One should also note the uncommon vertical design (Ziffer and Jakoel 2017).

The lions are also associated to the goddess Astarte or Asherah who is often depicted as a naked female standing on the backs of lions (Stuckey 2003, 130, 133-134, 146-147). However, the lion is also sometimes associated with Baal/Hadad, which is the Northwest Semitic name for the Sumerian storm-god Ishkur, and is usually depicted as a 'roaring lion' (Green, 2003, 55). On the other hand, the lion is also an attendant of the Storm-God (Green, 2003, 15, 23, 79) in general and particularly, the Akkadian Adad or Hadad is usually accompanied by a roaring lion (Green, 2003, 85).

## Fourier Transform Infra-red Spectroscopy Analysis

The seal was first analyzed using Fourier Transform Infra-red Spectroscopy (FTIR), in order to identify its mineralogy. A hidden surface of the seal was carefully scratched to obtain ca. 0.2mg of sample. Spectra were obtained by placing the resultant powder into an agate mortar and pestle, grinding and mixing with KBr (IR-grade) and pressing into a pellet using a hand press. Spectra were collected between 4000 and 400 cm$^{-1}$ at 4 cm$^{-1}$ resolution for 32 scans using a Thermo iS5 portable spectrometer. The advantage of this method lies in its ability to provide useful information on the mineral phase present - while only using a very small sample, within a matter of minutes.

The FTIR spectrum (Fig. 4) obtained from the seal along with the spectrum of standard enstatie mineral (wards). It is clearly seen that the two spectra are almost identical, identifying the seal to be made of enstatite ($MgSiO_3$). This mineral is the magnesium end member of the pyroxene-silicate series, and is a common rock-forming mineral in igneous and metamorphic rocks. It can appear in various grades of white, green, grey yellow or brown (depending on exact composition).

By mass, enstatite is approximately 60% silica ($SiO_2$) and 40% magnesia (MgO) and may contain minor quantities of other oxides such as CaO or $Al_2O_3$ and trace to minor Fe-Cr oxides.
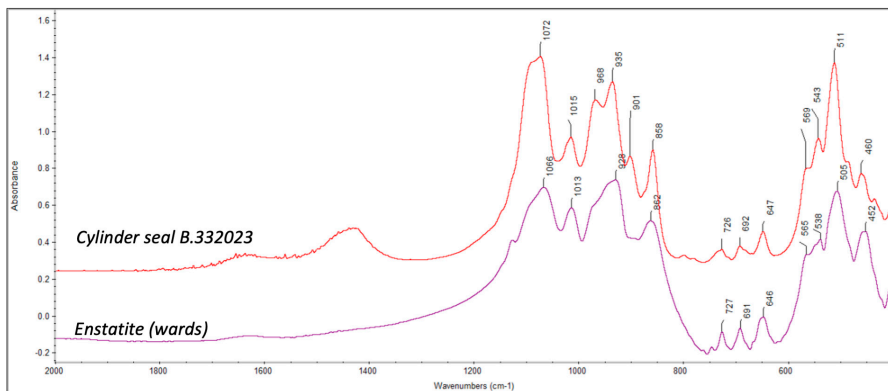


Fig. 4 FTIR spectra of Tel Burna cylinder seal B. 332023 and the mineral enstatite

Enstatite can be synthetically formed by firing of steatite - a hydrous magnesium silicate, naturally occurring rock (also known as soapstone) made up

primarily of the mineral talc. Steatite is soft and therefore easily carved and shaped, and can be also made into a paste to be used in a mold (usually by mixing with other constituents). Upon heating, steatite decomposes and recrystallizes into the more hard and durable form of enstatite. Heat-treated steatite was used from at least as early as the 7th millennium BCE for the production, of small objects such as beads, scarabs and seals (Peltenburg 1971; Moorey 1999; Nicholson and Shaw 2000). The use of glazing applied onto steatite/enstatie is also known and documented.

Under optical microscopy, some surface areas of the seal show metallic copper/gold like luster (which raised the assumption that it might have been covered/gilded in antiquity). The sample was further studied using an environmental SEM equipped with an Oxford EDS analyzer, without further treatment (no surface coating) and was analyzed at low vacuum mode (Fig. 5).

Figure 5 shows areas of the sample at which metallic luster was observed under optical microscopy. Noted are points of EDS analysis (see table below).
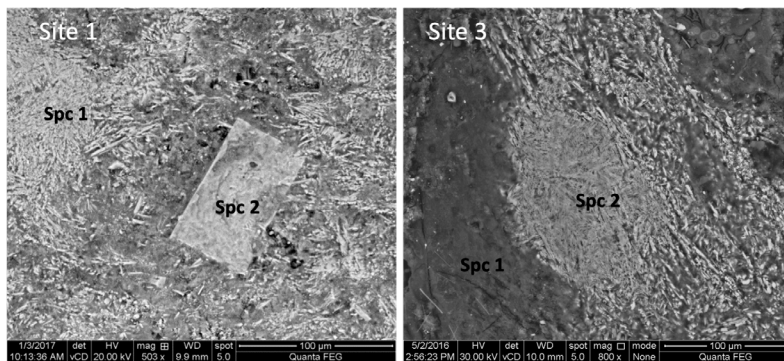


Fig. 5 Scanning electron microscope images

Results show that the general matrix of the sample is indeed composed of high percentage of silica (an average of ca. 53%) whereas the average magnesia content is somewhat lower than expected (see Table 1). However, other constituents were also identified, including minor concentrations of alumina ($Al_2O_3$), lime ($CaO$), potash ($K_2O$), soda ($Na_2O$) and iron, chromium and copper oxides. In some specific points of analysis (not shown in images, see Table 1), high Cr-Fe oxides content was measured – which is well known for steatite/enstatite minerals.

|  |  | Na2O | MgO | Al2O3 | SiO2 | Cl | K2O | CaO | Cr2O3 | Fe2O3 | CuO | SUM |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Site 1: spc1 | Matrix with needles | 1.7 | 14.7 | 4.8 | 55.9 | 0.9 | 2.6 | 7.9 |  | 6.9 | 4.6 | 100 |
| Site 1: spc2 | Matrix with square crystal | 1.5 | 13.8 | 4.8 | 58.0 | 0.9 | 2.0 | 8.0 |  | 6.3 | 4.7 | 100 |
| Site 3: spc1 | Matrix |  | 3.0 | 6.1 | 63.2 | 1.4 | 3.0 | 5.9 |  | 10.4 | 7.0 | 100 |
| Site 3: spc2 | Matrix with needles |  | 22.9 | 2.3 | 58.2 | 0.3 | 0.9 | 4.6 |  | 3.0 | 7.8 | 100 |
| Site 2: spc1 | Chromium inclusion | 1.7 | 7.4 | 7.0 | 28.3 | 0.4 | 1.4 | 4.6 | 28.9 | 17.8 | 2.5 | 100 |

Table 1: Results of SEM-EDS analysis, elements detected represented as oxides and normalized

The relative low magnesia concentration on the one hand and the high concentration of other constituents (especially lime, alumina, potash and soda) on the other may indicate that a glazing layer was applied to the seal surface. Another option is that the seal was made by mixing steatite with other constituents to make a paste and then heated.

Enstatite with a small amount of iron oxides (up to 12%), like in the case of Burna seal, may exhibit a metallic sheen/luster of a bronze-like color, called bronzite (Fig. 5). This phenomenon is known to happen upon weathering of the iron oxides which results in the separation of iron as very thin films along the cleavage/cracks of the mineral.

Results show that the seal is made of enstatite, likely to be made by heating of steatite. Although copper was detected in the seal matrix, in considerable concentrations, traces of metallic copper or gold where not observed. Thus, no evidence for gilding or the application of fine metallic copper surface was found. Copper is usually a pigment used in glazes, resulting in a range of light bluish colors. No remnants of such colors were observed. Whether a glaze was applied to the surface of the seal is impossible to tell without further studying the object by creating a section.

## Conclusion

Under microscopic inspection, the seal showed gleaming elements that we initially thought could have been due to the presence of gold or copper, but the spectrographic analysis showed that those elements are produced by bronzite.

This seal was probably included in a necklace or bracelet and it was most likely produced outside the land of Canaan, which is not surprising due to the international commercial activity that existed in the Levant during the Late Bronze Age. It was likely used as an amulet, perhaps associated with the cult of Astarte or Asherah, consort(s) of Baal. Combining this find with the various imported finds that were recovered within it, the presence of this seal in this specific building supports the interpretation that it was a public building. Thus, it reflects the eclectic nature of the inhabitants of this building.

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# I am your King, because I brought to you a god that so it says.

*Šiu in the Old Hittite Kingdom*

ANTÓNIO DE FREITAS

## Introduction

The text known as Proclamation of Anitta, is the oldest document written in the Hittite language. It reports the deeds of Anitta, son of Pithana, king of Kaneš, when he conquered Hatuša and other cities. The document relates the foundation of the Hittite kingdom, Anitta's proclamation as king of Hatti and his deeds. A copy is preserved from the time of the Old Kingdom and there are several copies from later periods.

From a linguistic point of view, the text shows particularities of the Archaic Hittite language, such as the presence of the ergative, the use of the absolute or zero case and the directive or alliative case.

In Anitta's proclamation we found the word ᵈši-u,[1] in different cases, a word composed by two syllables and the Sumerian determinative for deity *dingir*

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[1]  The words ᵈši-uš-mi-iš and ᵈši-uš-šu-mi-iš are attested in Anitta' Proclamation and they are not found in any other text known so far. This word is composed of the word ᵈši-u, and the enclitic form of the first person plural possessive, -š-mi-iš, or by the enclitic form of the third person plural possessive -šu-mi-iš, in the nominative case. They are marked by the Sumerian determinative DINGIR (ᵈ) which corresponds to the acadian *ILUM*, indicating divine characteristics of the name or substantive that follows it.

(ᵈ). The word šiu is an Indo-European vocable, derived from the Proto-Indo-European *dyeu* meaning 'god' and associated to the light in the sky, it belongs to the common gender. It derives from the sae root as the Greek Ζεύς[2]. The *Hittite Inherited Lexicon*[3], gives an account of the common root for that word in other Anatolian languages. In Palaic the root-word for 'god' is *tiuna-* (also in the common gender) with the singular nominative *ti-ú-na*-as, that in Lydian becomes *ciw-*, also in the common gender and the nominative tested as *ciws*, while the singular accusative being *ciwv* and the plural dative-locative *ciwav*. The dialectology of the word confirms that its meaning is 'god'. However, there remain some problems that we addressed in De Freitas (2011). For example, which god is called by šiu, why does the word šiu need the determinative (ᵈ), does šiu represent a god, the main god or God? Irrespective of the answer, šiu is linked to the foundation of the Hittite Kingdom and its Royal House.

## Anitta's Proclamation

The text is preserved in several tablets that Neu (1974) reconstructs in 78 lines. We give below the translation of the text as edited by Neu (1974) and also the transliteration and translation of some relevant lines[4].

## English translation

Anitta, son of Pithana, king of Kuššara, speak![5]

He was dear to the storm-god of the heaven, as he was to the storm-god, dear (it was) the king of Neša to the king of Kuššara.

The king of Kuššara [came] down from the city with great power, and took Neša by force during night. He seized the king of Neša, but he did not harm any

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2    Chantraine, *Dictionnaire Étymologique*, p. 399. We transcribe from De Freitas (2011) some of the etymological arguments.

3    Kloekhorst, *Hittite Inherited Lexicon,* p. 880-1.

4    See Sazonov (2017) for an analysis of the structure of the text.

5    This phrase translates 'ᵐA-ni-it-ta DUMU ᵐPí-it-ha-a-na LUGAL ᵁᴿᵁKu-uš-ša-ra *QÍ-BÍ-MA*', where *QÍ-BÍ-MA* is an imperative of the Akkadian verb *QA-BÛ*, the order 'speak' is given to the text itself, following the tradition in Akkadian language, where the text itself should be shown? to the ones that are listening.

of the inhabitants of Neša, and made [them] mothers (and) fathers[6]. After (the time of) my father Pithana, I struck down a riot that same year. And whichever country arose, I struck them all with (the help of) Šiu[7]…the king of Hatti I struck…to Neša. The town of Harkiuna during the heat of midday…(I struck)

I took [by force] by night and during the heat of midday. I handed it over to the storm-god of the heaven and the storm-god…again. The cities of Harkiuna and Neša, whoever becomes king after me, no one resettles, unless it is done to the whole population of Neša. Like a lion in the land settles, (I settle) with (the favour of) the storm-god.

Times ago, Uhna, the king of Zalpuwa, had kidnapped (the statue) of our Šiu from Neša to Zalpuwa, but I, Anitta, the great-king, (brought back) (the statue) of our Šiu from Zalpuwa back to Neša. When Huzziya (was) king of Zalpuwa I brought it back to Neša. The city of Hattuša … I got it. But when it (the city) was starving afterwards, they handed my Šiu over the (throne) Halmašuit, the goddess of the throne, and during the night I seized it by force, I sowed weeds in there. Whoever will be king of Hattuša after me and settled against (the city), I will smite him by the storm-god of heaven!

I turned my face to the city of Šalatiwara. But the city of Šalatiwara led (withdrew) its troops from the city, and I brought them to Neša. And in Neša I fortified the city. After the city (fortification) I built a temple for the storm-god of heaven and a temple for our Šiu.

I built a temple for Halmašuit, a temple for the storm-god, my Lord, and a temple for our Šiu. Whatever goods I brought home from the campaigns, I furnished [them] with them. And I made a vow and spoke a curse. On the same day I brought 2 lions, 70 wild-boars, 9 red pigs, 120 wild animals (??), there were leopards, there were lions, there were deer, there were ibex, there were…( to Neša to my gods from everyone). That same year I went into the field against Šalatiwara. The man (the governor ruler) from Šalatiwara arose together with his sons (the people?) and went against us; he left his country and his city, and he occupied the river Hulanna. We set fire to his city, and [the settlement of the city

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6   Beckman translates as 'he made them parents.' The literal translation 'mothers and fathers' means more than parents, recognising them as 'mothers and fathers' it is recognising them as ancestors, probably meaning that the inhabitants of Neša are descendants of the people from Kuššara.

7   Beckman translates Šiu as deity, which is correct, but other content is missing, as we discussed in De Freitas (2011).

consisted of 1,400 foot troops, and 40 horse and carts, he had brought gold (with) him. When I went on campaign [against (the city of [Purušḫanda] the ruler of Purušḫanda [brought] me gifts: He brought[me a throne of iron and scepter(?) of iron as presents. When I [came] back to Neša, I brought the man of Purušḫanda with me. But as soon as he goes into the (throne room), he will sit down in front of me on the right.

## Text transliteration

ᵐA-ni-it-ta DUMU ᵐPí-it-ha-a-na LUGAL ᵁᴿᵁKu-uš-ša-ra *QÍ-BÍ-MA*

ne-pi-iš-za-aš-ta ᴰIŠKUR-un-ni a-aš-šu-uš ẹ-eš-ta

na-aš-ta ᴰIŠKUR-un-ni-ma ma-a-an a-aš-šu-uš e-eš-ta

 ᵁᴿᵁNe-e-ša-aš LUGAL-uš ᵁᴿᵁKu-uš-ša-ra-aš LUGAL-i x x x x [

[LUG]AL ᵁᴿᵁKu-uš-ša-ra URU-az kat-ta [pa-]an-ga-ri-it ụ[- [nu ᵁᴿ]ᵁNe-e-ša-an iš-pa-an-di na-ak-ki-it dạ[-a-aš]

[ᵁᴿᵁN]e-e-ša-aš LUGAL-un *IṢ-BAT Ù* DUMUᴹᴱˢ ᵁᴿᵁNe-e-ša-aš

[i-d]a-ạ-lụ na-at-ta ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki ták-ki-iš-ta

[ ] x an-nu-uš at-tu-uš i-e-et

[nu ᴹPí-i]t-ha-a-na-aš at-ta-aš-ma-aš a-ap-pa-an ša-ni-ya ú-it-ti

[h]u-ul-la-an-za-an hu-ul-la-nu-un ᴰUTU-az ut-ne-e

[ku-it k]u-it-pát a-ra-iš nu-uš hụ-u-mạ-an-du-uš-p[át h]u-u[l-la-nu-u]n

ka-ru-ú ᴹU-uh-na-aš LUGAL ᵁᴿᵁZa-a-al-pu-wa ᴰSi-ú-sum-mi-in

[ᵁᴿ]ᵁNe-e-ša-az ᵁᴿᵁZa-a-al-pu-wa pe-e-da-aš

ap-pe-ez-zi-ya-na ᴹA-ni-it-ta-aš LUGAL.GAL ᴰSi-ú-š[um(-mị-ịn)]

[⁽ᵁ⁾ᴿᵁZ]a-a-al-pu-wa-az a-ap-pa ᵁᴿᵁNe-e-ša pe-e[-tah-hu-un]

[ᴹHu-]uz-zi-ya-na LUGAL ᵁᴿᵁZa-a-al-p[u-wa] hu-š[u-wa-an-ta-an]

 ᵁᴿᵁNe-e-ša ú-wa-te-nu-un ᵁᴿᵁHa-at-tu-ša- x x [

[tá]k-ki-iš-ta ša-an ta-a-la-ah-hu-un ma-a-na-aš [ ]

ạp-pé-ez-zi-ya-na ki-iš-ta-an-zi-at-ta-at ša-an ᴰHal-ma-š[u-it-ti

ᴰsi-i-us-mi-is pa-ra-a pa-is sa-an is-pa-an-di

na-ak-ki-it da-a-ah-hu-un pe-e-di-is-si-ma ZÀ.AH-LI-an a-ne-ẹ[-nu-un]

ku-iš am-me-el a-ap-pa-an LUGAL-uš ki-i-ša-ri

nu ᵁᴿᵁHa-at-tu-ša-an a-ap-pa a-ša-a-s[i]

na-an ne-pi-ša-aš ᴰIŠKUR-aš ha-az-zi-e-e[t-tu]

## Selected lines

For the purpose of this paper we only need to transliterate some lines that is done according to Neu's edition.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | ᵐA-ni-it-ta DUMU ᵐPí-it-ha-a-na LUGAL ᵁᴿᵁKu-uš-ša-ra *QÍ-BÍ-MA* | Anitta, Son of Pithana, King of Kussara, speak! |
| 2 | ne-pi-iš-za-aš-ta ᴰIŠKUR-un-ni a-aš-šu-uš ẹ-eš-ta | He was dear to the Stormgod of Heaven |
| 3<br><br>4<br><br><br><br><br>5<br><br>6 | na-aš-ta ᴰIŠKUR-un-ni-ma ma-a-an a-aš--šu-uš e-eš-ta<br>ᵁᴿᵁNe-e-ša-aš LUGAL-uš ᵁᴿᵁKu-uš-ša-ra--aš LUGAL-i x x x x [<br>[LUG]AL ᵁᴿᵁKu-uš-ša-ra URU-az kat-ta [pa-]an-ga-ri-it ṵ[- [nu ᵁᴿ]ᵁNe-e-ša-an iš-pa-an-di na-ak-ki-it dạ[-a-aš] | and when he was dear to the Stormgod of Heaven, the king of Nesa [verb broken off] to the king of Kussara. The king of Kussara, Pithana, came down out of the city in force, and he took the city of Nesa in the night by force. |
| 7<br><br><br>8<br><br>9 | [ᵁᴿᵁN]e-e-ša-aš LUGAL-un *IṢ-BAT Ù* DUMUᴹᴱˢ ᵁᴿᵁNe-e-ša-aš [i-d]a-ạ-lụ na-at-ta ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki ták--ki-iš-ta<br>[ ] x an-nu-uš at-tu-uš i-e-et | He took the King of Nesa captive, but he did not do any evil to the inhabitants of Nesa; instead, he made them mothers and fathers |
| 10<br><br><br>11 | [nu ᴹPí-i]t-ha-a-na-aš at-ta-aš-ma-aš a-ap--pa-an ša-ni-ya ú-it-ti<br>[h]u-ul-la-an-za-an hu-ul-la-nu-un ᴰUTU--az ut-ne-e | After my father, Pithana, I suppressed a revolt in the same year. |
| 12 | [ku-it k]u-it-pát a-ra-iš nu-uš hụ-u-mạ-an-du-uš-p[át h]u-u[l-la-nu-u]n | Whatever lands rose up in the direction of the sunrise, I defeated each of the aforementioned |
| … | … | … |
| 39<br><br><br>40 | ka-ru-ú ᴹU-uh-na-aš LUGAL ᵁᴿᵁZa-a-al--pu-wa ᴰSi-ú-sum-mi-in<br>[ᵁᴿ]ᵁNe-e-ša-az ᵁᴿᵁZa-a-al-pu-wa pe-e-da--aš | Previously, Uhna, the king of Zalpuwas, had removed our Siu from the city of Nesa to the city of Zalpuwas. |

| 41 | ap-pe-ez-zi-ya-na ᴹA-ni-it-ta-aš LUGAL. GAL ᴰSi-ú-š[um(-mi̯-in)] [⁽ᵁ⁾ᴿᵁZ]a-a-al-pu-wa-az a-ap-pa ᵁᴿᵁNe-e-ša pe-e[-tah-hu-un] | But subsequently, I, Anitta, the Great King, brought our Siu back from Zalpu-was to Nesa. |
| 42 | | |
| 43 | [ᴹHu-]uz-zi-ya-na LUGAL ᵁᴿᵁZa-a-al-p[u--wa] hu-š[u-wa-an-ta-an] [ᵁ]ᴿᵁNe-e-ša ú-wa-te-nu-un ᵁᴿᵁHa-at-tu--ša- x x [ | But Huzziyas, the king of Zalpuwas, I brought back alive to Nesa, The city of Hattusas [tablet broken] |
| 44 | | |
| 45 | [tá]k-ki-iš-ta ša-an ta-a-la-ah-hu-un ma-a-na-aš [ ] | contrived. And I abandoned it, but |
| 46 | ạp-pé-ez-zi-ya-na ki-iš-ta-an-zi-at-ta-at ša-an ᴰHal-ma-š[u-it-ti | afterwards, when it suffered hunger, my goddess, Halmasuwiz, handed it over to me |
| 47 | ᴰsi-i-us-mi-is pa-ra-a pa-is sa-an is-pa-an-di | handed it over to me |
| 48 | na-ak-ki-it da-a-ah-hu-un pe-e-di-is-si-ma ZÀ.AH-LI-an a-ne-ẹ[-nu-un] | And in the night I took it by force and in its place, I sowed weeds |
| 49 50 51 | ku-iš am-me-el a-ap-pa-an LUGAL-uš ki-i-ša-ri nu ᵁᴿᵁHa-at-tu-ša-an a-ap-pa a-ša-a-s[i] na-an ne-pi-ša-aš ᴰIŠKUR-aš ha-az-zi-e--e[t-tu] | Whoever becomes king after me and settles Hattusas again, may the Stormgod of Heaven smite him! |



Fig. 1 Bronze dagger of the Hittite king Anitta from Kaneš-Neša18th century BC
Length 29 cm, above enlargement of the cuneiform script. Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara.
(Author Klaus-Peter Simon)

## Šiu and Anitta

The Hittite language, following the Akkadian tradition, uses the Sumerian determinative DINGIR before the names of the gods or deified objects to indicate its divine character. This raises a problem, as the word Šiu means god, why was the determinative DINGIR attached to it? The most immediate answer to this is that Šiu is the name of a god, as in the case of the Greek, Zeus, and therefore, it calls for the use of the determinative. But, the hypothetical god 'Šiu' is not part of the Hittite pantheon, there is no evidence to support that idea.

The word Šiu was used in Anitta's text, but is no longer. Gillan, Hrozny and other researchers, in the early days of the hittites studies, suggest that Šiu was the name of a particular god. We disagree with that position for etymological reasons. Determining which god or deified object we are talking about is not a simple task due to the only attested forms of the word in one case ᵈSiusumi (our Šiu) and the other is ᵈSiusmi (their Šiu), the nominative case being reconstructed as we said before.

In order to provide a solution to this problem, Neu (1974) in his edition of Anitta's Proclamation identifies Šiu with the solar god ᵈUTU. His argument is based on the fact that the word Šiu has remained linked to the original Indo-European meaning *dyeu*, which represents the god of the light of heaven or the deified light of heaven, which will soon be replaced by the Hatian form of the solar god, Estan , and later as Istanu. Neu's interpretation is shared by Carruba and Tischler. Later, Starke identified Šiu with the deification of the throne, Halmasuit.

Following Starke's proposal, Singer suggested a Solomonic solution. For Singer, the reference to Šiu as our god, ᵈSiusummin, appears associated to the statue that was brought back by Anitta to Neša from Zalpuwa, the place where it had been taken by Uhna. For this, Singer, in line 46, reconstructs Halmašuit as ᵈHal-ma-š [u-it-ti], the dative case, placing the deified throne as an indirect object of prayer, instead of using Hal-ma-š [ui-iz], which would put Halmašuit as the subject of the prayer, in which case we should read: «But when this (Hattusa) [...] subsequently had the plague of hunger, Halmasuit, ‹their god ›, he surrendered it (to me) and I took it by night, in a timely manner «. However, this reconstruction put Šiu as a god venerated by Anitta, and we know that the Anitta and Pithana names were non-Indo-European. How do we explain that a non-Indo-European invading king was concerned with recovering the statue of an Indo-European god to settle in an Indo-European city and call that god ‹our god›? This concern is more complex to explain than to suppose that Šiu was the god of the Hatians, which is why Anitta brought back the statue and declared himself as a venerator

calling him 'our god'. With that affirmation Anitta justified his 'royalty', implying that by Šiu's will he had the right to sit on the sacred throne.

We can affirm that the statue of Šiu was brought back to Neša by Anitta who called him 'our Šiu' in order to legitimate himself as king of Hatti. We know that he called 'my Lord' to the storm-god of heaven but not to Šiu. Anitta recognises Šiu[8] as a god, and he is also protected by the storm-god of heaven. In fact, the Royal House of Hattuša is protected by the Storm-God of Heaven, and the King is the Great-Vizier of the Storm-God. Until the end of the Empire, the King will be recognised as the representation of the Storm-God.

Accepting that the people that venerated Šiu were living in the Anatolian Peninsula meets Lord Renfrew's[9] hypothesis that the birthplace of the Indo-European people is in Anatolia. This additional hypothesis would explain the antiquity of the word itself, associated with the same concept of deity.

As we saw, there are many problems to solve before having a full understanding of Anitta's Procalmation, and for that we need to have a better knowledge of the religious problem of Anatolia in the second millennium.[10] At the same time, it would be necessary to develop a particular analysis for clarifying sharply what characterises a god for the Hittites. However, it is clear that there is a deep link between the foundation of the Hittite Kingdom and Šiu, involving migrations and memories. The people that colonised Hattussa, perhaps in the 21st to 20th century BC, they migrate from the Black Sea banks, bringing with them the Indo-European gods and culture, that after several attacks to Hatti, they managed to conquer that territory and stablished themselves. The memory of the main god Šiu was the support for they own culture, even though they mixed and absorbed the Haitian culture, including their gods in their own pantheon. The Attic language remained as asubstrate for the Nessitte or Hittite language, creating a new culture, that will be open to absorb other cultures surrounding their new home, that will become one of the largest empires of the Bronze Age.

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8     The use of the Sumerian determinative appended to the Hittite word Šiu, taking into account that there is no doubt about Šiu's etymological derivation, means god, i.e., why add the determinative deity to a word that means god? One explanation would be to accept that the word in question has lost its meaning or that it has been forgotten, and that this word has come to mean the name of a particular god. It can also indicate that the god Šiu was a single or main god, which would agree with the Kryszat hypothesis outlined earlier. This may indicate that 'our god' and 'their god' made reference to a single god worshiped by the Hatians.

9     Renfrew (1987).

10    Taracha (2009).

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# The Fantastic Run of Šulgi and the Art of Sumerian Hymnology

WANG XIANHUA

The Sumerian royal hymn Šulgi A, probably dated to the Ur III period, is one of the most popular texts of Sumerian literature in Old Babylonian scribal schools. This may be explained by its inclusion in a collection of ten literary texts presumably studied by relatively advanced apprentice scribes, collectively known to modern scholars as the Decad.[1] Significant for its dating, the incipit of Šulgi A occurs in a Ur III literary catalogue known from the Yale Babylonian Collection (YBC 3654), besides attestations in various Old Babylonian literary catalogues.[2] In his edition of the hymn, Jacob Klein gave the title "Šulgi King of the Road" to this hymn, since the most characteristic of its content is the poetic narration of King Šulgi's construction of caravan stations and the recounting of his fantastic run from Nippur to Ur and back to Nippur to celebrate the ešeš-festival in both cities on the same day.[3] Vacín in his dissertation work on Šulgi reported ten years ago that there were 75 duplicates of Šulgi A known to

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1    Delnero 2006, 25. See especially Robson 2001, 52-53 for a more nuanced picture of the Old Babylonian scribal schools and the varied curricula they followed.
2    Hallo 1963, 170-173; Klein 1981, 168-169 with fn. 261.
3    Klein 1981, 178-179.

him, and this number would likely continue to grow as new duplicates may be expected from museum collections or even new excavations.[4]

In addition to detailed philological discussions, which are to be expected given the number of duplicates available to scholars,[5] one of the questions concerning Šulgi A that continued to interest students of Sumerian literature is the interpretation of the fantastic run recounted in the narrative part of Šulgi A. Right after the prologue, the royal hymn started to tell that Šulgi inspected the roads of the land, had them divided into dannas with lounges built at the end of each danna, complete with gardens and resting places and staffed with experienced personnel so that travelers coming from whatever direction could refresh themselves or spend the night there (lines 26–35).[6] This section of the hymn has with good reason been related to the event commemorated in the year name of Šulgi 6 (mu giri$_3$ nibru$^{ki}$ si bí-sá).[7] Šulgi in his year 6 seemed to have strived to maintain all the roads within his realm and make them safe for travelers as the year name celebrates Šulgi´s efforts with respect to the usual royal duty of constructing, maintaining and safeguarding roads.[8]

However, for what follows in the royal hymn, the sections that contain depictions of Šulgi's return trip from Nippur to Ur and back to Nippur, it is not so easy to explain them by recalling the year name of Šulgi 7 (mu lugal-e uri$_5^{ki}$-ta Nibru$^{ki}$-šè ì-nigin$_2$) though some continue to do so.[9] From line 36 to line 83, using Klein's line numbers, the hymn tells in poetic narrative that Šulgi ran from Nippur to Ur as if it were a distance of just one danna. Upon arrival at Ur he entered Nanna´s temple Ekišnugal, made offerings there, listened to music and feasted before he set out for Nippur. A thunderstorm broke forth with raging winds, lightning and rumbling thunder so strong that it made the earth quake. Hailstones of all sizes, coming from low-level clouds, beat Šulgi´s back. However, as it was told in the hymn, Šulgi was not afraid, he galloped joyously until he successfully reached Nippur, thereby managing to celebrate the ešeš festival in both cities in one day, which time limit of a single day for the round trip is not attested in the year name of Šulgi 7.[10]

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4    Vacín 2011, 163.

5    See Delnero 2006, 1858-1909 and Vacín 2011, 268-287 for editions of new duplicates of Šulgi A, especially those identified since the publication of Klein 1981, 167-217.

6    Klein 1981, 179-180.

7    BE 1/2 125, obv. l. 2´: "Year in which the Nippur road was put in order". Cf. Frayne 1983, 739-740 with references.

8    Frayne 1983, 739-743.

9    RTC 277, rev. l. 4´: "Year in which the king made a round trip between Ur and Nippur". Cf. Frayne 1983, 739 with references.

10   Klein 1981, 192-199.

As Vacín acknowledged based on common sense, Šulgi could have hardly covered twice the distance between Ur and Nippur, which is in real geography "some 160 km in a beeline", in a single day even in a donkey-drawn chariot, let alone on foot. "Therefore, the real course of the event described in Šulgi A must have been quite different from its literary rendering."[11] Vacín quoted Civil for the latter's suggestion as to rationalize the fantastic run, that the festival celebrated in the hymn on the same day could actually have been celebrated by the king in Ur and Nippur on different days because the two cities used different calendars, thus it is possible for the king to arrive back at Nippur a month later, yet seemingly on the same day as in Ur a month earlier.[12] Civil had no interest in relating real events to what is told in the hymn when he made this passing suggestion without elaborating on it, and it is difficult to substantiate this suggestion more than it is.

More recently Steinkeller referred to the similar case of Išme-Dagan of Isin who is reported to have probably conducted similar feat, for the suggestion that the royal hymn could have had a very prosaic albeit practical *Sitz im Leben*, possibly a ritual during which the king races for his physical prowess, but did not elaborate much on it except for offering a few insightful remarks.[13] It was not the central concern of his study, so the central theme of the royal hymn in general terms seemed acceptable to Steinkeller as the superhumanness of Šulgi the king, and the fantastic run of the king remains an unexplored literary hyperbole which is however to be expected of a royal hymn about an ancient king. In other words, the fantastic run of Šulgi is assumed as a fiction since it cannot be textually proven as factual, while it is only in the latter case that the narrated run in the royal hymn could serve the modern historian.

But an often neglected fact is that the fantastic run of Šulgi as known from Šulgi A sounded like more than just a hyperbolic fiction at least to the ancients, as it made its way into both roughly contemporary and later textual sources. A "summary" of Šulgi's deeds from a fragment of an unknown Šulgi hymn says of the king that "praise be sung for him" because he "traversed to the shrine of Nippur, and to the road leading to Ur", he marched a distance of thirty dannas, with unmistakable reference to the event in Šulgi A.[14] Another "summary" comes from a fragmentary passage of hymn Šulgi C where the king boasts of himself similarly: "Since the rise of Utu from his 'house' until his setting, I traversed a road of 30 'miles.'" Other royal hymns such as Šulgi C and D+X also contain puns

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11    Vacín 2011, 164.
12    Civil 1980, 229-230, as quoted in Vacín 2011, 165.
13    Steinkeller 2017, 150. Cf. Frayne 1983; Klein 1985.
14    Klein 1993, 129 on lines ii 10'-11'.

that point to the king's fantastic run, as likely some Old Babylonian literary let-ters or omen literature.[15] Admittedly all of these could be explained away as likely the self-replications of a literary hyperbole that however gained its own life in the literary sphere, but the rationale for the first creation of this image of king Šulgi the runner has yet to be accounted for.

Given the involvedness of the question, it is no wonder that the interpre-tation of the fantastic run of Šulgi goes to extremes. A paper in the *Journal of Sport History* made a bold comparison of the fantastic run of Šulgi with those by modern ultramarathoners: "Two records are of particular pertinence to Shulgi's purported run. During the first forty-eight hours of the 1985 Sydney to Melbourne footrace, Greek ultramarathoner Yannis Kouros completed 287 miles. This impressive distance was accomplished without pausing for sleep. In the 1970s, a British athlete running on a track completed 100 miles in a time of eleven hours and thirty one minutes."[16] "The latter distance is comparable to that which separates Nippur and Ur", by directly comparing Šulgi's fantastic run recorded in a Sumerian royal hymn to those of modern ultramarathoners, one may note that the most impressive modern record only covers half of the distance of the round trip of the king, the sport historian Lamont made the jump of faith as to effectively honor king Šulgi with a medal for a true athlete and the royal hymn a true historical document which literally recorded the run of the super ultramarathoner that was king Šulgi.

The mainstream of modern interpretations of the fantastic run of Šulgi, on the other hand, find a safer ground taking it simply as a literary trope, since the king taken as a supernatural hero, even physically, is attested in history well enough, with Šulgi being one of the earliest and archetypical. As to be expected for a literary trope, the factuality of Šulgi's run becomes less than relevant than the numerical symbolism that seems to be present in the composition of the hymn. According to Demsky, the literary narration of a return trip from Nippur to Ur and back to Nippur is necessitated by the making of a total of 30 dannas, so to agree with the number symbolism of the moon god Suen or Nanna in Sumerian, who from ancient times was the patron deity of the city of Ur, the capital of the kingdom under Šulgi.[17]

It can be agreed, indeed necessary to recognize, that the composition of the hymn may well involve some numerical symbolism to do with Nanna, but this does not render the problem of actuality disappear. It may be observed that, on

15    Vacín 2011, 166-167.

16    Lamont 1995, 214.

17    Demsky 2005, 87-88.

the other hand, taking the royal hymn Šulgi A as purely literary work without any reference to reality, as Demsky effectively tries to do, in fact agrees with the sport historian Lamont in ignoring a most significant aspect of the hymnal narrative, namely the construction of the fantastic run in the royal hymn in the first place.

In the passage quoted above and in support of his suggestion of a ritual background for the fantastic run of Šulgi, Steinkeller quoted the Egyptian Sed Hed festival for a case in comparison, as in part of which the Egyptian Pharaoh was required, usually after thirty years of his reign, to run a race in order to prove that he was still physically fit for the office.[18] Without involving the details of the Egyptian race, which of course does not require the king to run 320 kilometers in one day, a most significant hint can be notified here: The concept of the speed by which to calculate the totality of the run. While it is to date unknown that modern ultramarathoners could make it in a single day, in order for Šulgi to complete a total of 320 kilometers using the time from sunrise to sunset, he just needed to achieve in theory a racing speed of circa 400 meters per minute, which is well within the capacity of a physically fit man who does not need to be any superman athlete at all.[19] The actuality of the fantastic run of Šulgi does not lie in its taking place in the real world whole and complete, but in its being based on a mathematical calculation which is easy and simple.

Therefore, in my understanding the critical question to be asked of the royal hymn is not so much how the year names of Šulgi 6 and Šulgi 7 could factually explain the royal hymn but the truth claim of it perhaps building on the year names but with a significant and probably decisive mathematical touch. The practical basis of this mathematical touch could be some kind of ritual race the king personally took part in, of course. As the *Sitz im Leben* of the royal hymn cannot be reconstructed with exactitude, and the dating of its composition is by far an approximation with only one point certain, that the royal hymn cannot be composed earlier than the 7th year of Šulgi, more likely much later if not after his death,[20] this observation makes it necessary to approach such a literary masterpiece in ways other than philological. It is in this line of thinking that Šulgi A seems to be a perfect testimony of the solidarity of the scribal tradition in Ur III to Old Babylonian society, despite its lines of explicit self-person praises by the protagonist.[21]

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18   Steinkeller 2017, 150, with references.

19   The calculation is simple: 300 km / 12 hours = 25 km/hour = ca. 400 m per minute.

20   Hallo 1988, 61 dated the hymn by the year name, as quoted in Demsky 2005, 86. For a more moderate dating, see Klein 1981, 181.

21   Steinkeller 2017, 3 and elsewhere uses the term Managerial Class to more or less refer to the scribes of ancient Babylonia. I am hesitant to follow up here, but see the edited volume Walker 1979 on

We will see if we need a professional dub.sar NIG.ŠID, "mathematician", to write and read Šulgi A, but the connection between the royal hymn, noted is its mathematical orientation, with the scribal tradition needs a bit elaboration and clarification.[22] For this purpose, one may borrow from the analytical frame explicated by the anthropologist of art Alfred Gell who developed a methodology to deal with art objects in general, which he theorizes as the Index. According to Gell, the Index as material entity is "secondary agent", the Artists and Recipients as humans are "primary agents", and the Prototypes are either secondary or primary agents depending on contexts, thus an analytical frame that Gell named the art-nexus.[23] In the context of Šulgi A, so long as it is taken as an Index to the superhumanness of the king, the relation of its narrative content to king Šulgi the narrated royal protagonist may be clarified with the help of the Gellian art-nexus.

The most relevant and historically significant parties in this nexus are the artists and the recipients who were the composers and the intended audience of the royal hymn. It is easier to see the artists of the royal hymn as trained scribes but the identity of the recipient is more subtle, since the *modus operandi* of Šulgi A as an artistic representation of the image of king Šulgi may be formulated as either [[[Šulgi → scribes] → Šulgi A]] → Šulgi]]] or [[[Šulgi →Scribes] → Šulgi A]] → scribes]]], with quite different implications.[24] It is interesting to see that the first formula agrees well with the relationship of the corresponding parties in volt sorcery as understood by Gell: "The verisimilitude, so to speak, of volt sorcery resides in the fact that the victim appears twice; once as the prototype who causes the index to assume its particular form, and once as the recipient, whose injuries stem from the injuries that the index has received."[25]

Though it is not entirely impossible that the royal hymn, an artifact in verbal form, had a hidden agenda to serve as the Index of a kind of volt sorcery against king Šulgi, this would be extremely difficult to argue for. Appealing to common sense again and back to daily language, the fantastic run of Šulgi is not taken here as constructed in the first instance for the harm or the entertainment of the king. The royal hymn is more likely intended to be received by other scribes within the scribal tradition. In other words, insofar as the fantastic run could only be mathematically or scientifically true, the agency of the composers will be better served if first of all for the consolidation of the scribal school particularly in educational

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Professional Managerial Class (PMC) in modern contexts.

22    Barmash 2020, 213 with reference to Landsberger 1954. For the Old-Babylonian scribal school in practice, see Robson 2001.

23    Gell 1998, 28-29.

24    These are simplified adaptions from Gell 1998, 102-104, with the pointed dash, →, representing agency.

25    Gell 1998, 103.

contexts. The fantastic run of Šulgi as well as the royal hymn as a whole seems therefore an artistic construction by the scribes and for the scribes first, though the memory of king Šulgi the protagonist of the hymn is at the same time promoted. The latter, however, is unlikely its immediate purpose.

"That my name should be established for distant days" (line 36 of Šulgi A). Such explicit first person acclamations in the name of the protagonist Šulgi abound in the royal hymn seem to contradict our observation that seems to downgrade the promotion of the memory of Šulgi as a kind of by-product or unintended consequence by which chance the memory of Šulgi the king lasted. It does not necessarily have to be so. At least the two purposes of the hymn seem well combined, only that the self-praising parts of the hymn now need to be taken as evidence that the scribal tradition had consciously not been imbued with a royal memory *a priori*, into which the story of the fantastic run was integrated or contained. The praising phraseology has to find its own explanation but this is not the main concern here. The doxology of the royal hymn, nevertheless, "Nisaba be praised" (line 102: ᵈNisaba zà-mí), seems to agree well with the immediate scribal concern of the royal hymn as the concluding praise is directed to the scribal goddess Nisaba but not the king.

In the beginning of this chapter, we noticed that Šulgi A was one of the so-called Decad and as such was one of the most popular pieces of Sumerian literature in Old Babylonian scribal schools. Though direct evidence is lacking for the explanation of the initial reason for this popularity, the play on mathematics is indeed an element to be expected for such a popular text in the scribal circle. The hymn was considered essential probably for the second phase of learning in the Old Babylonian scribal school.[26] More to the point, in her study on the excavated scribal school in House F of Nippur, the historian of Mesopotamian mathematics Eleanor Robson pointed out: "A metrological thread ran right through the curriculum, from ordered lists of metrologically-related objects in the second-phase thematic noun lists, through contextualised metrology in fourth-phase model contracts, to enumerations of metrological constants in the Sumerian literary composition 'The Farmer's Instructions'".[27] As evidence of support, Robson listed many a mathematical reference in texts that are termed literary, to which we may safely add Šulgi A now as well.[28]

The acknowledgement of Šulgi A as an artistic construction in the category of Sumerian hymnology but meaningful first of all within the scribal

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26   Veldhuis 1997, 35-36.
27   Robson 2002, 361.
28   Robson 2002, 348-352.

school that seemed to be inclined to combine mathematical education with the scribal art *per se*, that of writing skills and literature, will perhaps not ultimately end philological debates on the factuality of Šulgi's run. But it can be stressed that, for the fantastic run of Šulgi or other fantastic events similarly held true, verbal or material artistic objects have continued to be created and put for good use regardless of whether Šulgi the king was a true and superhuman athlete or whether there were ultramen living on other planets. The most important task for the interpretative mind is to find out how such artistic objects worked, and for whom. In this sense, Šulgi A may be compared to works of sci-fi, with its stories scientifically probable but practically unachievable. It is interesting to imagine picturing how exactly the scribal trainees actually enjoyed this royal hymn in Old Babylonian Nippur. Less than likely that he, or she, would read from it an ultramarathoner who reached a record to last forever. He or she would have to do the math first.

With this understanding of the hymn in general and the fantastic run in particular, we may look into other aspects of the story, particularly for its geographical content. The king as a pacifier of the land and highway builder for the realm is a well-known theme from the ancient Near East as well as from other times, so not much more can be said of it other than in such general terms.[29] The geographical perspectives that are taken for granted in the narrative of the fantastic run in Šulgi A, however, call for serious attention, especially when the hymn is now taken as an artifact created within the scribal tradition and for scribal use first. As briefly introduced earlier, the geographical description in the narrative, with the mention of the Anzu bird (line 45) and the storm (lines 62-69), seems so natural that one forgets it presumes certain perspectives towards the heartland of Sumer and Akkad. It can be suggested that such descriptions should be taken as mental mappings so to be subjected to analytical methods developed in the study of mapping, for which cartographic perspectives or points of view are telling qualities.

In fact, it may be argued that the trip of Šulgi from Nippur to Ur as narrated in the corresponding section (lines 36-59), the beginning of which mentions the Anzu bird, takes a bird's eye view or generally speaking a panoptic view towards the land, while the narrative for the trip from Ur back to Nippur utilizes a rather uncommon perspective also cartographic in nature, that of a "soundscape".[30] The narrative of the first trip includes mentioning of the people (lines 46-47): "The (inhabitants of the) cities, which I had founded in the land, came out to (meet)

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29    Frayne 1983, 740-743.

30    Borrowed from Reddleman 2018, 119-143, an analysis of Bill Fontana's *River Sounding*.

me. The black-headed (people), as numerous as ewes, gazed at me with admiration."[31] It is not as clear that these are meant to be descriptions of the welcoming people or scenes seen from the perspective taken by the protagonist that was king Šulgi, since both interpretations would move beyond bare philological readings. But it may be reminded that, as Reddleman points out, "the key idea in the panoptic mode of viewing is its disciplinary effect on the viewed subject", the mentioning of the people is therefore more likely to stress the disciplinary power of the king on the people than to simply show the friendliness of the commoners.[32]

The mentioning of the storm (lines 62-69), here tentatively taken as evidence of a soundscape perspective, is more nuanced. "On that day, the storm shrieked, the west wind whirled, the north wind and the south wind howled at each other, lightning together with the 'seven winds' devoured everything in heaven, the thundering storm made the earth quake, Iškur roared in the broad heavens, the clouds of heaven mingled with the waters of the earth, their small (hail-)stones (and) their large (hail-)stones were striking on my back."[33] The mode of experience by the protagonist in such a context may be said to be "positioned as 'immersed' within a soundscape and within a cartographically constructed conceptual space",[34] or at least some comparable cartographic perspective is involved with similar effect that is assumed by the hymnist but incapable of being described by the simplistic terminology, that of soundscape. In any case, the construction in the narrated soundscape by the protagonist Šulgi of a conceptual space particularly on his way from the city of Ur to the city of Nippur is presumably at play.

Be that as it may, what is paradoxical concerning the interpretation of the royal hymn Šulgi A as a whole and the fantastic run in particular is that, as the seemingly panoptic and soundscape cartographic perspectives assumed in the narrative by the hymnist for the protagonist would evidence, the geographical conception or imagination of the hymnist is in full agreement with the standpoint of the king. As such it is perhaps not far off the mark to conclude our re-reading of the fantastic run of Šulgi as recounted in Šulgi A, that although the mathematical underpinning identified in the narrative helps locate the royal hymn in the scribal tradition, the scribes who were both the artists and the recipients of the hymn were however themselves taking the royal standpoints in their

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31  Klein 1981, 194-195. Delnero 2006, 1885-1886 updated the reading of the lines as uru ma-da$^{ki}$-gar-gar-ra-gu$_{10}$ ha-ma-su$_8$-su$_8$-ge-eš-àm un-sag-gi$_6$-ga X-gin$_7$ lu-a u$_6$-du$_{10}$ hu-mu-ub-du$_8$. Note the latter re-numbered the lines as 44-45.

32  Reddleman 2018, 150.

33  Klein 1981, 196-197.

34  Reddleman 2018, 141.

cartographic imagination. In the context of Šulgi A which is plausibly dated to later Ur III to early Old Babylonian period, I would take the royal perspective to be given *a priori*, thus comes second to the immediate scribal concern of the hymn. In lieu of a conclusion, it is perhaps safer to paraphrase the title of a recent study on the Laws of Hammurabi,[35] that Šulgi A seems to be another classical text at the confluence of the royal and scribal traditions, with members of the latter using their professional skills in the fabrication of texts, first for their own use, but simultaneously giving out their own deeper *Weltanschauung*.

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