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**Diminished Returns: Mozambican Masculinities in José Craveirinha's  
*Xigubo* and Paulina Chiziane's *O Sétimo Juramento***

## **Diminished Returns: Mozambican Masculinities in José Craveirinha's *Xigubo* and Paulina Chiziane's *O Sétimo Juramento***

### **Abstract**

In the last fifteen years, gendered analysis of Mozambican cultural expression has become increasingly popular. This engagement with the country's cultural output has successfully elucidated the gendered meanings underpinning both Portuguese colonial endeavour and the Marxist-Leninist rhetoric of the Mozambican anticolonial struggle. However, despite this growing interest in the sexual politics of the nation's cultural texts, Mozambican masculinities remain understudied. This article recentres masculinities in works by two Mozambican authors: poet José Craveirinha, dubbed the founding father of Mozambican national literature, and contemporary novelist Paulina Chiziane, hailed as Mozambique's foremost woman writer. Poststructuralist gender theory is used to propose that Craveirinha's attempt to provide a counternarration to colonial mythologies of black masculinity through engagement with an aesthetics of negritude ultimately perpetuates imperial imaginings of black femininity. Chiziane's text, meanwhile, is shown to make strategic use of realism and parody in order to satirize the gender politics at the heart of early anticolonial writing.

### **Keywords**

Mozambique, literature, masculinity, gender, sexuality, race, postcoloniality, poststructuralism, feminism, Lusotropicalism

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The task of foregrounding the historically marginalized experiences of women has remained axiomatic to feminist gender scholarship since its earliest inception. In a world in which the putatively universal subject of philosophical and political endeavour is still assumed as male, and in which attempts to alter this status quo are diminished in academia as specialist or niche efforts, the privileging of women's histories has rightly been recognized by scholars of gender as a foundational priority. The late 1980s rise of theoretical schema expounding the contingency of gendered categories served to spark an increased engagement of feminist theory with the study of men as gendered subjects themselves, but the development of masculinity studies has nonetheless remained a slow process; as Scott Coltrane affirms, 'research on men is as old as scholarship itself, but a focus on masculinity, or men as explicitly gendered individuals, is relatively recent'.<sup>1</sup> The study of gender in African contexts, itself a nascent field, has presented in a similar pattern, with the default universality of the male subject precluding gendered analysis of masculinity right up until the early twenty-first century.<sup>2</sup>

Mozambique is no exception to this tendency in African studies, and what little scholarship has emerged on men and masculinities in the country is limited almost exclusively to primary qualitative anthropological and sociological research, leaving a clear space for the critical discussion of Mozambican masculinities as constructed in cultural texts.<sup>3</sup> This article makes use of that space to recentre black masculinities in works by two writers credited with making very different, and yet equally gendered, contributions to the development of the Mozambican literary canon. Poet José Craveirinha comes imbued with the patriarchal authority granted by his symbolic role as the founding father of Mozambican literature, with a career spanning four tumultuous decades of the country's recent history.<sup>4</sup> Paulina Chiziane, meanwhile, became the nation's first woman novelist with the 1990 publication of *Balada de Amor ao Vento* [Love Song to the Wind],<sup>5</sup> and has henceforth been hailed as the foremost literary and journalistic voice of Mozambican womanhood.<sup>6</sup> With these gendered interpellations firmly in mind, this paper will take as its primary

focus a comparative analysis of works by each writer in which masculinity features most prominently: Craveirinha's first published volume, *Xigubo*,<sup>7</sup> and *O Sétimo Juramento* [The Seventh Oath], Chiziane's third novel and her first to focus on a male protagonist.<sup>8</sup> First, however, it is necessary to provide a brief theoretical background to the study of masculinities and the ways in which the Mozambican case both reflects and challenges academic consensus on the same.

Perhaps the best-known, and certainly the most widely utilized contemporary theory of masculinity can be found in R. W. Connell's 1987 text *Gender and Power*, in which Connell sought to problematize what she perceived as the simplistic tendency among feminist thinkers to posit masculinity as a dominant monolith, while maintaining the basic feminist tenet of culturally institutionalized male domination over women.<sup>9</sup> Aiming to articulate a more nuanced and pluralized understanding of power relations both between and among genders, Connell developed a theoretical framework based around 'hegemonic' and 'subordinated' masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity is here understood as 'constructed in relation to various subordinated masculinities as well as in relation to women', and is necessarily heterosexual and usually white: a cultural ideal of manhood grounded in collective fantasy that 'need not correspond at all closely to the actual personalities of the majority of men' but nonetheless works to sustain male domination.<sup>10</sup> The maintenance of the hegemonic-subordinated binary implies 'a large measure of consent', with the majority of men on both sides in tacit collaboration to preserve hegemonic supremacy in order to reap the benefits of women's subjugation.<sup>11</sup>

While Connell's framework remains the *sine qua non* of masculinity studies, the years since the publication of *Gender and Power* have seen the proliferation of theoretical texts that challenge the uncritical use of her schema. Drawing Connell's work into dialogue with postcolonial and poststructuralist gender theory, Elahe Haschemi Yekani emphasizes the complicating impact that the processes of colonialism, resistance, and postcolonialism have on sociocultural negotiations of masculinity, shoring up the limited value of the hegemonic-subordinated binary for gendered analysis of postcolonial contexts. She notes that the inherent ambiguity of masculinity in

postcolonial texts demands a more nuanced approach that acknowledges its ‘narrative patterns of “*in-between-ness*” and *hybridity* as well as *guilt* relating to the after-effects of colonialism’.<sup>12</sup>

Lisa A. Lindsay and Stephen Miescher echo Yekani’s concerns in terms of the specific complexity of postcolonial Africa, demonstrating that repeated and often violent attempts by colonial regimes to acculturate indigenous African subjects to European value systems created a landscape of competing ideologies wherein ‘it was *not* always obvious which notions of masculinity were dominant, or hegemonic, since understandings of gender depend on the specific context and on actors’ different subject positions’.<sup>13</sup> They underscore the need to exercise caution when applying Connell’s model to the contexts of postcolonial Africa.<sup>14</sup> Likewise, Sofia Aboim and Robert Morrell, writing respectively on urban Mozambique and South Africa, warn of the limits of a methodology that defines hegemonic masculinity in multiracial societies as necessarily white and thus attempts to force neat racial dichotomies out of far more complex social realities.<sup>15</sup> To buy into such simplification, Morrell affirms, is to wrongly assume that colonialism was successful in dissolving preexisting social hierarchies and values, implicitly crediting the imperialist notion of precolonial Africa as a primordial *tabula rasa*.<sup>16</sup>

Morrell’s critique furthermore functions as a warning against extrapolating theories arising from the study of black Western masculinities to black masculinities in Africa. Increased academic interest in black masculinity in the USA and Britain closely followed the emergence of masculinity studies as a whole, and while the resulting research enriches both the study of masculinity and critical race analysis, its focus on societies in which black men occupy an indisputably subordinate societal position severely limits its use as an approach to African contexts.<sup>17</sup> The situation of men in postcolonial sub-Saharan Africa is far more complex: while black men today represent numerical and power majorities across the region, that status cannot erase the lasting legacies of colonialism, state racism, and anticolonial struggle that continue to loom large in the collective living memories of many African nations. The ethnic and class tensions, political heterogeneity, and pervasive Western economic pressure specific to Africa further complicate issues relating to masculinity in a

way that Western-centred scholarship cannot account for. Moreover, as Morrell demonstrates, such scholarship is of little to no use for understanding the influence of indigenous social institutions upon quotidian life in postcolonial Africa, and nor can it be used to analyse the role of those institutions in forging a sense of national unity during independence struggles and subsequent nation-building projects.<sup>18</sup>

This tight knot of influences, struggles, and tensions lies at the heart of gendered negotiations in Mozambican national and literary discourses, and brings the methodological difficulties of approaching the country's literary portrayals of masculinity into stark relief. The inadequacy of established frameworks with which to understand these complexities perhaps goes some way to explaining the critical silence around the gendered aspects of Craveirinha's poetry. Despite the relatively high degree of academic engagement with Craveirinha, including Ana Mafalda Leite's dedicated monograph, a rare phenomenon indeed in Mozambican literary criticism, gender and sexuality have so far not featured in a single piece of accessible published scholarship on his work.<sup>19</sup> Nonetheless, as this article seeks to demonstrate, gendered meanings are fundamental to his early output and deserve detailed consideration.

Craveirinha's perceived location within a tradition of negritude is a common touchstone for analysis of his poetry, particularly in terms of his construction of a poetry of 'Moçambicanidade' or essential Mozambican-ness.<sup>20</sup> Despite Craveirinha's self-proclaimed ignorance of the 'Négritude' movement itself – that is to say, the 'specific literary movement born in Paris in the [nineteen]-thirties' – it is certainly true that many of his best-known early poems reflect the stylistics of 'negritude', where negritude is defined, per Patrick Chabal, as 'the attempt to recover, redeem and proclaim African indigenous culture as the basis for African literature'.<sup>21</sup> Russell G. Hamilton describes Craveirinha's early work as 'convey[ing] an African regionalist fervor' that speaks to a discourse of black affirmation;<sup>22</sup> similarly, Chabal sees these first published poems as 'stand[ing] the values of the European coloniser on their head as a way of redeeming that which is Africa'.<sup>23</sup> Leite, meanwhile, finds the stylistics of negritude embedded in Craveirinha's attempt to 'establish a

new concept of beauty, linked to the notion of race, and to a civilization and culture normally rendered invisible or strongly marginalized in the colonial context'.<sup>24</sup> Craveirinha's early espousal of a poetic approach resonant with the aesthetics of negritude is thus critically identified as a means of revindicating black Mozambican subjectivity in the face of institutionalized racial and cultural oppression, while asserting the author's strategic anti-assimilationism through the claiming of solidarity with black subaltern identity despite his biracial heritage and recourse to the educational and class privilege therein.

What these established analyses overlook, however, is that the racial solidarity Craveirinha affirms in his early poems has a strongly gendered identification at its core, tied to the reclamation of a specifically southern, black Mozambican masculinity. Representing far more than mere poetic devices, masculinity and male subjectivity are the foundations upon which his delineation of Mozambican identity rests. An idealized vision of black masculinity is established as a leitmotif in *Xigubo* with the eponymous opening poem, which begins:

Minha Mãe África  
 meu irmão Zambeze  
 Culucumba! Culucumba!<sup>25</sup>

[My Mother Africa  
 my brother Zambezi  
 Culucumba! Culucumba!]

Establishing an immediate filial connection between poet and land, this first stanza implicitly figures Africa as woman, mother, and passive object of address, while the poet is cast in the role of active male subject. This paradigm is further reflected in the fourth and fifth stanzas:

E negro Maiela

músculos tensos na azagaia rubra

salta o fogo da fogueira amarela

e dança as danças do tempo da guerra

das velhas tribos da margem do rio.

E a noite desflorada

abre o sexo ao orgasmo do tambor

e a planície arde todas as luas cheias

no feitiço viril da insuperstição das catanas

[And the black man Maiela

muscles tense on the red spear

leaps over the flames of the yellow fire

and dances the dances of wartime

of the old tribes from the riverbank.

And the deflowered night

opens her sex to the orgasm of the drum

and the plains burn every full moon

under the masculine magic of knives beyond superstition]

Craveirinha here juxtaposes two images, both palpably corporeal: the first a textual close-up of a black male character's musculature, in visible tension around his phallic spear, and the second an erotic evocation of the night as a passively open and penetrated vagina. This latter image functions as a means of consolidating the phallic masculinity of the male subject through the oppositional



constitution of a sexually available and passive female object, itself an abstract extension of the opening stanza's feminization of the African landscape. The sexual penetration of an objectified, symbolic feminine enacted in these lines is framed as a climactic moment, prefacing the scene of indigenous unification and uprising that ends the poem:

E as vozes rasgam o silêncio da terra  
 enquanto os pés batem  
 e enquanto a planície vibra os ecos milenários  
 aqui outra vez os homens desta terra  
 dançam as danças do tempo da guerra  
 das velhas tribos juntas na margem do rio.

[And voices shred the silence of the land  
 as feet stamp  
 as drums beat  
 and as the plains vibrate with thousand-year-old echoes  
 here once again the men of this land  
 dance the dances of wartime  
 of the old tribes together on the riverbank.]

While the desire reflected in 'Xigubo' to return to a lost Africa of maternal origins has hitherto been identified as a means of voicing universal black solidarity and collectivity, what becomes clear with a gendered reading of the piece is that this African 'origin' is essentially sexed: it is both embodied by, and in turn serves to symbolize, the feminine.<sup>26</sup> The imagined 'return' of the male subject to this mythopoetic feminine 'origin' is presented as an act of racial and cultural empowerment, in Leite's words 'an act of legitimation', but it is couched in a semiotics of sexual

conquest that casts that empowerment as a male preserve predicated on women's sexual subjugation.<sup>27</sup> The revindication of black Mozambican identity is thus framed as a consolidation of masculinity necessarily enacted in and through the female body.

Craveirinha's espousal of an anticolonial racial empowerment consolidated through the reinforcement of black male subjectivity is once again reflected in the final stanza of 'África', a poem that confronts the erasure of precolonial Mozambican cultures and the internalized racial degradation that ensued:

E ao som másculo dos tantãs tribais o eros  
do meu grito fecunda o humus dos navios negreiros...

[...]

e na insólita brancura dos rins da plena Madrugada  
a necessária carícia dos meus dedos selvagens  
é a tácita harmonia de azagaias no cio das raças  
belos como altivos falos de ouro  
erectos no ventre nervoso da noite africana.<sup>28</sup>

[And to the masculine sound of the tribal drums the eros  
of my cry seeds the soil of slave-ships...

[...]

and in the sudden whiteness of the loins of the Dawn  
the longed-for caress of my savage fingers  
is a silent harmony of spears in the races on heat  
beautiful like proud phalluses of gold  
erect in the nervous womb of the African night.]

Reducing the feminized night to an open womb, Craveirinha here reinscribes the paradigm of sexual penetration employed in ‘Xigubo’ and intensifies its evocation of corporeality by introducing an implicit element of violence into the text’s active male-passive female binary, thereby reinforcing its gendered power matrix. At the same time, the pluralization of the explicitly phallicized ‘spears’ frames the sexual penetration of Craveirinha’s imagined Mother Africa as a collective event, a means of consolidating male unity and solidarity by means of shared sexual conquest. Intrinsic in the poet’s offer of a path to anticolonial resistance through reconnection with a mythopoetic African authenticity is the tacit assumption of male dominance leading the way.

‘Manifesto’, the poem that most clearly illustrates Craveirinha’s subscription to the aesthetics of negritude, uses the black male body as a touchstone for this essentially masculine imagining of anticolonial resistance. A celebratory reclamation of the narrator’s black southern Mozambican maternal heritage, characterized by its abundant use of Ronga, a precolonial language of south-west Africa, and by its incantatory repetition of the first-person pronoun ‘eu’, the poem posits virility at the centre of black masculine physicality:

Oh! E meus belos dentes brancos de marfim espoliado  
 puros brilhando na minha negra reencarnada face altiva  
 e no ventre maternal dos campos da nossa indisfrutada colheita  
 de milho  
 o cálido encantamento da minha pele tropical.

Ah! E meu  
 corpo flexível como o relâmpago fatal da flecha de caça  
 e meus ombros lisos de negro da Guiné  
 e meus músculos tensos e brunidos ao sol das colheitas e da carga  
 e na capulana austral de um céu intangível

os búzios de gente soprando os velhos sons cabalísticos de África.<sup>29</sup>

[Oh! And my beautiful white teeth of polished ivory  
 pure and shining in my face reborn majestic black  
 and in the maternal womb of the fields of our uneaten crop  
 of maize  
 the burning wild enchantment of my tropical skin.

Ah! And my  
 body lithe as the lethal lightening strike of the hunting arrow  
 my smooth black Guinean shoulders  
 my muscles tense and bronzed from bearing the loads of harvests in the sun  
 and the southern *capulana* of an untouchable sky  
 resounds with the mysterious ancient sounds of Africa.]

Defined by its subjective sexual agency and physical potency, the black male body as metonym of essential male selfhood is once again defined in opposition to the abstract passive femininity symbolized by the ‘southern *capulana* of an intangible sky’.<sup>30</sup> The image of the body as a ‘hunting arrow’, echoed later in the piece by the line ‘eu azagaia banto’ [I, Bantu spear], invokes the possibility of military struggle against the oppressor, but its juxtaposition with the ‘maternal womb of the fields’ recalls the violently phallic imagery of previous poems. In so doing, the image serves only to recentre the matrix of male dominance and female passivity in the anticolonial struggle, the latter rendered figuratively telluric through its transposition onto the Mozambican terrain.

The poem’s sixth stanza reinforces this symbolic interchangeability of woman and land, this time through the use of a sexualized illustration of northern Mozambican Makonde women:

Ah, Mãe África no meu rosto escuro de diamante  
 de belas e largas narinas másculas  
 frementes haurindo o odor florestal  
 e as tatuadas bailarinas macondes  
 nuas  
 na bárbara maravilha eurítmica  
 das sensuais ancas puras  
 e no bater unísono dos mil pés descalços.

[Ah, Mother Africa in my dark brilliant face  
 with its beautiful large masculine nostrils  
 twitching as they savour the forest's smell  
 and in the naked  
 tattooed Makonde dancers  
 in the barbarous eurythmic wonder  
 of pure and sensual hips  
 and in the unified beating of one thousand bare feet.]

Having recalled the implicit filial relationship between land and narrator established in 'Xigubo' and 'África' with the invocation of the 'Mother Africa' trope, these lines furthermore serve to condense Craveirinha's drive toward a romanticized black solidarity into the bodies of 'naked | tattooed Makonde dancers', who are here cast in the role of embodied gatekeepers and guards of the authentic Mozambicanness previously presented as the catalyst for black male liberation. Restricted to the status of sexual or maternal object, the abstract feminine becomes no more than a symbolic counterweight with which the narrator can elevate his essentially masculine understanding of Mozambican subjectivity. The climactic achievement of pan-Mozambican black male solidarity

following this objectification of femininity, expressed through the narrator's espousal of the diverse subject positions of 'chefe zulo' [Zulu chief], 'negro suaíli' [black Swahili], and 'xiguilo no batuque',<sup>31</sup> further affirms that Craveirinha's understanding of anticolonial subjectivity hinges on the perpetuation of women's object status.

The work discussed thus far, in addition to offering clear evidence of Craveirinha's early engagement with a stylistics of negritude, present an imagining of anticolonial masculinity that speaks to its inherent complexity, exemplified by the latent tension reflected in the poems between Craveirinha's biraciality, his identification with a black pan-Mozambican masculine solidarity, and his reinforcement of a specifically southern Mozambican idealization of masculinity. Moreover, the symbologies of masculinity typified by these poems provide a firm reminder of the legacy of Portuguese colonialism in Mozambican literary culture, specifically the sexual and gendered elements that made the late Portuguese imperial era unique. In the euphemistic rhetoric that defined the period, which owed heavily to Lusotropicalist pioneer Gilberto Freyre, the putatively innate virility of the Portuguese man made him the natural vector for a romanticized 'racial democracy' achieved through the 'whitening' effect of miscegenation imposed on local populations.<sup>32</sup> This framing of Portuguese masculinity relied upon the wholesale denial of native women's sexual agency and power to consent,<sup>33</sup> which, as Mark Sabine notes, in turn demanded 'the concomitant and brutal imposition on black men of the label of inadequate or aberrant masculinity'.<sup>34</sup>

The deification of the black male subject in Craveirinha's work is a clear attempt to shake off this imposed masculinity, challenging the myth of the white man's greater grasp on 'civilization' by providing a counternarrative of the black male hero. The latter half of 'África', following the heroic scenes detailed above with a detailed list of white male atrocities, exemplifies this pattern:

E aprendo que os homens que inventaram  
a confortável cadeira eléctrica

a técnica de Buchenwald e as bombas V2  
 acenderam fogos de artifício nas pupilas  
 de ex-meninos vivos de Varsóvia  
 criaram Al Capone, Hollywood, Harlem  
 a seita Ku-Klux-Klan, Cato Manor e Sharpeville<sup>35</sup>

[And I learn that the men who invented  
 the comfortable electric chair  
 the machinery of Buchenwald and the V2 bomb  
 lit fireworks in the pupils  
 of the once-living children of Warsaw  
 created Al Capone, Hollywood, Harlem  
 the Ku-Klux-Klan, Cato Manor and Sharpeville]

But while Craveirinha's words appear to push back against Lusotropicalist mythologies of the superiority of white masculinity, the means of his resistance are ultimately predicated on the equally pernicious Portuguese colonial notion of black femininity. If Lusotropicalist ideology held black women as merely the means by which the Portuguese mission of miscegenation was enacted, giving them meaning 'only insofar as they [were] penetrated and inseminated', in the poems discussed here they are likewise divested of agency, reduced at best to the status of obligatory reproductive bearers of a telluric and ahistorical 'subjectivity', and at worst to disembodied sexual or reproductive organs.

Craveirinha's perpetuation of colonial ideology in his early attempts to revindicate black Mozambican subjectivity can be fruitfully analysed by engaging his work with the broad theoretical framework of compulsory heterosexuality, in this case understood as the basis on which racially delineated imperialist gender dynamics are constituted and upheld. While the critical concept of

compulsory heterosexuality, originally popularized in Adrienne Rich's essay 'Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence' and later extensively developed by Judith Butler and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, has long been rightly perceived as resoundingly Western-centric, its adaptation to certain specificities of Portuguese imperialism can shed potential new light on the resilience of colonial gender ideology within anticolonial sentiment.<sup>36</sup> For Butler, the achievement of discursive intelligibility, understood as the societal recognition and validation of one's identity and autonomous selfhood, within a system of compulsory heterosexuality depends upon the subject's ability to 'institute and maintain relations of coherence and continuity among sex, gender, sexual practice, and desire'.<sup>37</sup> To fail to maintain this cohesion is to be relegated to the peripheral zone of the abject, against which the discursively intelligible shape their identities.<sup>38</sup>

Viewed through this conceptual lens, the racially-motivated emasculation imposed by the Portuguese colonial regime on African societies can be interpreted as a means of perpetually destabilizing the cohesion of the black male subject's body, desire, and sexual practice, rendering him abject and subhuman and divesting him of agency and subjectivity, as a way of bolstering white male dominance. In this way, black masculinity is pushed out of the realm of the colonial self in order to assuage the profound gendered anxieties identified by Anne McClintock as intrinsic to imperial thought.<sup>39</sup> Within this dynamic, the reconsolidation of masculine identity becomes axiomatic to the reclamation of anticolonial male subjectivity — and if masculinity as a naturalized discursive construct represents the apex of a hierarchical gender binary enforced through compulsory heterosexual practice, then its consolidation is necessarily contingent upon the performative enactment of male sexual control over women. To borrow Andrea Dworkin's terse phrasing on the matter, 'the legitimacy of a man's civil dominance depends on the authenticity of his masculinity, which is articulated when he fucks'.<sup>40</sup>

In Craveirinha's case, the reclamation of black masculinity from the abject realm of the colonial regime is enacted by means of an excessive reinscription of compulsory heterosexuality that requires black women to be sexually available and, significantly, fundamentally maternal.



Maternity, within this framework, represents the crystallization of compulsory heterosexuality, the embodied proof of continuity between biological sex, gender identity, and heterosexual practice. Craveirinha's repeated invocation of the metonymical African or Mozambican 'womb' thus becomes a reiterative act of consolidation of black masculine identity, which nonetheless depends on an imperial imagining of authentic African-ness as passive, telluric, and female, and on the framing of reconnection with that authenticity as an exclusively male prerogative. Meanwhile, his casting of female objectification and penetration as a group act, aside from confirming black masculinity as a collective identification, serves to reinforce male hegemony by allowing individual men to symbolically share in sexual dominance, reflecting Sedgwick's proposal that such an act offers a way for men to 'participat[e] in a supra-individual power over women'.<sup>41</sup>

It is the reiterative nature of this gendered paradigm, however, that makes its subversion possible. For Butler, gender is fundamentally fragile, consisting of nothing more than the 'sedimented effect of a reiterative or ritual practice',<sup>42</sup> meaning that the performance of a gender that appears substantial thus requires the subject to repeatedly disavow that which is 'masculine' or 'feminine' in a 'tacit collective agreement to perform, produce and sustain polar genders'.<sup>43</sup> It is in the spaces between these repeated acts — the fissures left behind by a performance of gender that can never be fully materialized — that potentialities for destabilizing the hierarchical gender binary manifest.<sup>44</sup> If Craveirinha's work demonstrates the necessity for a confirmation of masculine identity through a ritual reinscription of the gender hierarchy that tacitly perpetuates colonial gender ideology, then it also reveals multiple possibilities for deconstructing that exclusionary identity. In Chiziane's *O Sétimo Juramento*, through the strategic interarticulation of hyperbolic excess, parody, and realism, these fissures and spaces in Craveirinha's poetry are thrown wide open.

*O Sétimo Juramento*, Chiziane's third novel, was received upon publication in 2002 as something of a departure from her previous work. While her last two novels, 1990's *Balada de Amor ao Vento* and 1993's *Ventos do Apocalipse* [Winds of the Apocalypse]<sup>45</sup> foregrounded women protagonists, *O Sétimo Juramento* narrates the story of a man, with less of the intense

lyricism that had come to be associated with her storytelling.<sup>46</sup> The novel tells the story of David, an ethnically Changaan Maputo factory owner and former independence fighter. On hearing of the probability of strike action by workers at his factory in response to failed wage payments, the result of gross incompetence and corruption on his part, David chooses to pin his misconduct on his wife Vera, and beats her.<sup>47</sup> Fleeing the house, he finds sanctuary in a bar, and encounters his old friend Lourenço, who encourages David to turn to the supernatural order of precolonial southern Mozambique to resolve his difficulties.<sup>48</sup> David dismisses his advice as nonsense and heads instead for his favourite brothel, wherein he purchases the services of Mimi, a young girl, and rapes her.<sup>49</sup>

Days later, David's factory workers revolt, and he learns that his fellow company board members are plotting to oust him.<sup>50</sup> In furious desperation, he contacts Lourenço, who guides him through a series of increasingly fantastical supernatural encounters and rituals that culminate in a journey to Lourenço's parents' mansion in rural northern Mozambique. David learns that Lourenço's father is the legendary sorcerer Makhulu Mamba, a figure of terror in the Tsonga mythology native to southern Mozambique.<sup>51</sup> It is here that David makes the Faustian 'seventh oath' of the novel's title, swearing absolute loyalty to Makhulu Mamba in exchange for supernatural abilities. To maintain his power he is ordered to make a sacrifice to the sorcerer: a virgin 'escolhida entre as mais queridas' [chosen from among [his] most beloved].<sup>52</sup> Complying with the order, David sends Vera and their son Clemente to Swaziland, and, in their absence, drugs and rapes his young daughter Suzy.<sup>53</sup> Thereafter, David's luck seems boundless: his factory, including the paperwork incriminating him, is destroyed in a fire; his secretary and lover Cláudia, and young sex worker Mimi, both pregnant by him, are killed in a freak car crash.<sup>54</sup> However, unbeknown to David, Vera and Clemente have also sought supernatural help, and have become aware of the danger David poses. Clemente receives training as a *curandeiro*, a traditional healer, and confronts David. Face to face with his son's superior powers, David ultimately dies, deranged by terror.<sup>55</sup>

The initial chapters of the novel display various characteristics of the standard contemporary narrative of an inner ‘crisis of masculinity’, identified by Yekani as so common among male narratives that ‘it is in question whether there has ever been a “stable” male identity which was not constructed as being in crisis’.<sup>56</sup> David feels emasculated by Vera, perceiving her as financially exploiting him, and extrapolates his feelings to the behaviour of all women: ‘As mulheres delicadas, bonitas, sensíveis, são aranhas. [...] Escravizam-te. Como bruxas da meia-noite, sugam-te o sangue, o suor e obrigam-te a cometer loucuras por amor a elas’ [These delicate, pretty, sensitive women are spiders. [...] They enslave you. Like witches at midnight, they drink your blood, your sweat, and drive you to madness with your love for them].<sup>57</sup> His persecution complex extends even to the factory workers whom he has failed to pay, whose revolt provokes a deep sense of anguish, causing him to weep uncontrollably.<sup>58</sup> In one particular comment, so typical of mainstream discourses on male ‘crises’ as to render it wryly comical, he blames Vera’s supposed exploitation of him on feminists, who are ‘por todo o lado, reclamando direitos sobre coisas que nunca construíram’ [everywhere, demanding rights over things they had no part in creating].<sup>59</sup>

However, with the actions David takes to resolve this perceived crisis, Chiziane’s tale takes a darkly satirical turn away from the relative ordinariness of its premise, to a point where the text can be read as a somewhat irreverent echo of the eroticized fantasies reflected in Craveirinha’s poetic rendering of anticolonial ideology. Evidence of this turn to the parodical can be found in Chiziane’s use of lurid sexual images, which increase in both frequency and obscenity as David becomes more and more entangled in the world of sorcery. David’s participation in the macabre ceremony that cements his initiation into the supernatural world provides an especially compelling example of this use of sexuality. Arriving at the event, David is presented with six smiling virgin ‘girls’, identically dressed, and his mind fills with memories of ‘as orgias antigas: amor a quatro, troca de casais, bebedeira, soruma e tabaco, aventuras perigosas’ [the orgies of days gone by: group sex, wife-swapping, drinking, marijuana and tobacco, dangerous adventures].<sup>60</sup> Imagining himself as the proprietor of a vast harem, he feels elevated, liberated. As the ceremony progresses, he

watches one of these women collapse in visible pain while dancing, as if stabbed with an invisible dagger, but minutes later she appears to have recovered, and approaches David, beckoning to him in seductive tones.<sup>61</sup> David is perturbed, recalling myths of women possessed simultaneously by both virgin and prostitute, who rape, strangle, and drink the blood of their male victims.<sup>62</sup>

Coupled with David's affective responses and viewed within the context of his ongoing quest for lost power, the resonance of these images with the sexual symbology discussed in Craveirinha's work is clear. The six subservient virgins, whose presence evokes a feeling of calm and confidence in David, recalls Craveirinha's 'naked | tattooed Makonde dancers' with the 'pure and sensual hips' that soothe and empower the narrator of 'Manifesto', consolidating his masculinity through an exoticized performance of femininity.<sup>63</sup> Likewise, the scene in which one of the six appears to be stabbed with an invisible dagger reflects Craveirinha's figurative descriptions of weaponized sexual penetration. Chiziane's specific framings of these tropes, however, demonstrate a careful use of abjection and excess, consistent with Butler's proposed tactics for the subversion of hierarchical gender constructs, which allows her to satirically deconstruct the masculinist negritude underlying their presentation in Craveirinha's work while at the same time critiquing the southern ideals of masculinity at the forefront of the Mozambican anticolonial movement. The strategies Butler identifies, namely 'hyperbole, dissonance, internal confusion, and proliferation', allow the subject that espouses them to destabilize gender categories by rendering their place within the gender binary uncertain or unintelligible, thereby foregrounding the abject realm.<sup>64</sup> Given that the repudiation of the abject is the means by which subjects are originally constituted, in a disavowal that must be repeatedly enacted, the deliberate exhibition of abject elements 'presents a threat to the subject — to destabilize/disrupt its base assumptions'.<sup>65</sup> While Butler sees her proposed tactics most clearly embodied by drag performance, in which subjects enact an excessive version of a gender discontinuous with their bodily makers, the ambiguous and diffuse potentialities suggested by her strategies can be identified in a hypothetical multitude of gender identities and expressions.<sup>66</sup>

A closer reading of Chiziane's dancing woman uncovers this subversive effect. Her initial demeanour is virginal and submissive, and she serves David as if she were part of his fantasized harem, but following her violent penetration she transforms into an excessively sexual 'sedutora' [seductress].<sup>67</sup> With this rapid about-face, she comes to embody both the passive femininity and compulsory heterosexuality underpinning Craveirinha's work, but in a performance so hyperbolic and mercurial that it ultimately exceeds itself. Her performance of a constructed femininity is so outlandish, so grotesque, that it threatens to expose the artifice of femininity itself, troubling the naturalized understanding of femininity on which male hegemony relies.

The anxiety that David experiences as he watches the woman, channelled into the profound fear that she might sexually violate him, makes clear the disturbing impact of her performance; he feels that she could literally transgress his physical boundary between 'inner' and 'outer', 'self' and 'not-self', destroying the illusions of corporeal impermeability and safety from the abject sphere provided by his maleness.<sup>68</sup> Later in the ceremony, in a visceral display of sexual excess and violence, he has sex with the dancing woman in a ritual bath of blood, taken from a black female goat that has been stabbed in the neck with a sphere. As the blood washes over the pair, the woman is returned to a submissive state, while visions of bullets, daggers, and bayonets race through David's mind. He feels his masculine power has been restored, renewed.<sup>69</sup> The sequence, with its obscenely graphic images of violent sexuality and penetration, thus comes to represent a hyperbolic rewriting of the drive toward male sexual domination latent in anticolonial narratives like those employed by Craveirinha, satirizing the reinscriptions of compulsory heterosexuality central to the negritude aesthetic while exposing the anxiety underpinning them.

A later sequence in which David engages in a series of tests to prove his loyalty to Makhulu Mamba provides a further example of Chiziane's parodic use of hyperbole and excess regarding the narratives of masculinity underlying the negritude style. Prior to beginning his quest, David, along with other men seeking alliance with the sorcerer, is ordered to remove his clothes and replace them with a loincloth to cover his genitals, and is given a spear for hunting. David feels 'um guerreiro

antigo' [an ancient warrior] being reborn within him.<sup>70</sup> As the hunt progresses, David passes through an increasingly fantastical primordial landscape, filled with extinct creatures, dinosaurs, insects the size of birds, and carnivorous plants.<sup>71</sup> Finally, he is required to hunt and kill a lion and succeeds, stabbing it in the mouth, and is pronounced a hero, envisioning himself as a Bantu king imbued with the 'poder [e] ousadia dos gladiadores romanos' [the power and daring of the Roman gladiators].<sup>72</sup>

As Hilary Owen affirms, here David 'anxiously reinforces his new sense of ancestral masculinity by performing an exaggerated version of Bantu male identity'.<sup>73</sup> His sudden bloodlust and adoption of the stereotypical loincloth and phallic spear, alongside the delusions of grandeur that accompany his hero's return, act as performative elements of this hyperbolic masculinity. In an oppositional reiteration of the virgin-seductress's dance, David's self-consciously gendered performance embodies a romanticized idealization of Bantu – specifically Changaan – masculinity so obsessively that it becomes cartoonish, absurd. Taking the mythopoetic role of masculine hero that dominates anticolonial literature like that of Craveirinha, and having an otherwise autonomous and three-dimensional character perform it to caricatured excess, Chiziane here exposes the absolute fictitiousness of the role itself, exposing the hero, as the pinnacle of idealized masculinity, as nothing more than a mirage. In so doing, she troubles the notion of idealized masculinity in its entirety, shifting and rocking its place at the apex of the gender hierarchy. The latent misogyny of the masculinist hero motif common in anticolonial artistic expression is thereby brought to the fore, while more local discourses of southern manhood are revealed as absurd fantasies.

While the initiation ceremony and the hunt sequence emphasize the vital role of hyperbole and excess in Chiziane's scathing critique of the Changaan masculine ideals embedded in Mozambican anticolonial rhetoric, realism also has a firm place in her arsenal, acting as a means of shedding light on the material lives and bodies in which that rhetoric is staked.<sup>74</sup> Her unflinching portrayal of the rape of child prostitute Mimi, first encountered as David attempts to resolve his affective emasculation, is a clear case in point. As David waits in the brothel, madam Lúcia

attempts to soothe the sobbing young girl with promises of bread, a bed, and pretty clothes. In a moment of dark irony, she turns on the radio and is reminded that rural women often played drums and music during childbirth, in order to keep nearby children ignorant of parturient women's pain; then, presenting the pacified girl to David, she wishes him 'bom apetite'.<sup>75</sup> After a fleeting moment of deliberation over whether or not he should have sex with Mimi, who he places at an age similar to that of his young daughter, David concludes that if he desists she will be raped by someone else all the same. Having given her whiskey in lieu of anaesthetic, he aggressively strips and rapes her.<sup>76</sup>

Upon waking beside Mimi following the attack, David experiences a wave of rejuvenation, and muses on the refreshing properties of the child prostitute's body, deciding to 'fazer dela uma dama' [make a lady of her] by negotiating her purchase from Lúcia.<sup>77</sup> During his next visit to Mimi, he feels 'uma vontade louca de despedaça-la' [a wild urge to tear her apart], and attacks her; she is, after all, 'simples puta' [just a whore].<sup>78</sup> Immediately after this incident, David learns that she is pregnant. The message here seems resoundingly clear: that the gender binary upon which the rhetoric of Mozambican nationhood is implicitly predicated is enforced in and through the bodies of women, and that the romanticized imagining of Mozambican women as the vessels for the genesis of the independent nation often conceals a quotidian reality of exploitation and violence. Chiziane's figuring of David, a former independence 'hero', as resolving his crisis of masculinity through the rape of war orphan Mimi, acts as a crystallization of sexual politics in a society that is ostensibly postcolonial but in which women remain manifestly colonized. If, as Isabel Fêo Rodrigues and Kathleen Sheldon propose, the maintenance of masculine power in postcolonial lusophone Africa 'rests on specific forms of silence aimed at maintaining social control', Chiziane's representation of the relationship between David and Mimi shatters that silence, bringing the reality of the Mozambican nationalist 'hero' narrative into stark relief.<sup>79</sup>

Chiziane reiterates this desire to reveal the violent truth behind anti- and postcolonial hero narratives with David's incestuous rape of Suzy, his 'sacrifice' in exchange for further powers from Makhulu Mamba. When viewed as a successive event to the rape of Mimi, this scene charts the

logical progression of a masculine hegemony predicated on female passivity; while David relied on Mimi's desperation for her compliance, he renders Suzy's body literally passive by drugging her.<sup>80</sup> His literal violation of Suzy's physical boundaries through rape denies her coherent selfhood and autonomy, confirming in Dworkin's terms that as a girl she is 'intended to have a lesser privacy, a lesser integrity of the body, a lesser sense of self, since her body can be physically occupied and in the occupation taken over'.<sup>81</sup> In the specific context of southern Mozambican cultural nationalism, it furthermore acts as a grotesque inversion of the 'Mother Africa' trope frequently employed by Craveirinha. While Craveirinha's male heroes successfully pursue power and fortitude through the penetration of a passive and telluric 'Mother Africa', David's quest reaches its climax with the forceable penetration of his young daughter's inert body.<sup>82</sup> This disturbing image of father-daughter rape takes the sexual subjugation of women implicit in the eroticized nationalist 'Mother Africa' motif to its excessively grotesque extreme. Chiziane's violent breaking of the incest taboo turns the poetic trope inside out, rendering it abject and unthinkable, while David's role in the process of abjection troubles the seemingly hermetic contours of his masculinity, destabilizing gendered boundaries in a way that sets the scene for the novel's subversive denouement.

The climactic ending of *O Sétimo Juramento* serves to consolidate the troubling of masculine hegemony that Chiziane lays out throughout the novel, exemplified most significantly by David's death, the physical manifestation of his terminal loss of internal coherence and selfhood.<sup>83</sup> Her presentation of the protagonist's demise, 'de medo, num estado de absoluta loucura' [from terror, in a state of absolute madness] underlines the ultimate fragility of the masculinity he has constructed for himself; his repeated repudiation of femininity, enacted through the degradation of women and girls including his own daughter, in pursuit of a pure masculinity has ultimately destroyed him. Chiziane thus reveals pure masculinity to be a mere fantasy, demonstrating, in line with Lynne Segal, that such masculinity 'depends upon the perpetual renunciation of "femininity"', and that 'while the "feminine" may be dispatched in the insouciant bravado of masculine endeavour, it will always return to haunt the conquering hero'.<sup>84</sup> David's terror confirms that his



attempts to consolidate his masculinity by repeatedly inscribing male domination on the bodies of the women around have served only to underscore his subconscious fear of femininity's encroachment. And, in the end, it is the feminine — embodied by Vera and by Clemente, who consistently fails to disavow femininity enough to 'correctly' perform masculinity — that obliterates him entirely.

By framing David's death as the ultimate consequence of his attempt to achieve an unshakeable hegemonic masculinity, Chiziane exposes the fragility of both southern Mozambican masculine ideals and masculine hegemony as a whole. Her parodic portrayal of David as the cartoonish embodiment of the anticolonial Mozambican hero works to reappropriate the 'return to origins' narrative underpinning Craveirinha's early poetry, removing it from its masculinist foundation and recasting it as a means of threatening male dominance in order to liberate women from their colonized status in the putatively postcolonial nation. While the character of David, as Owen demonstrates, does indeed chart 'the continuity of patriarchal and patrilinear structures through Christian colonialism, [anticolonial] Marxist-Leninism, resurrected Bantu tradition, and neoliberal capitalism', his ironic demise also disrupts that continuity by displacing the naturalized fundamentality of masculine domination.<sup>85</sup> If Craveirinha's engagement with the negritude style represents the assertion of a counternarrative to the oppressive Lusotropicalist mythology of white male heroism that nonetheless perpetuates colonial narratives of black femininity, then Chiziane's novel acts as a wholesale rejection of the shared foundation of each: a means of returning to mythic origins, only to uproot them.

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<sup>1</sup> Scott Coltrane, 'Theorizing Masculinities in Contemporary Social Science', in *Theorizing Masculinities*, ed. by Harry Brod and Michael Kauffman (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994), pp. 39-60, pp. 24-25.

<sup>2</sup> *Men and Masculinities in Modern Africa*, ed. by Lisa A. Lindsay and Stephen Miescher (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2003), p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Sofia Aboim, 'Masculinidades na Encruzilhada: Hegemonia, Dominação e Hibridismo em Maputo', *Análise Social*, 43:187 (2008), 273-95. Notable exceptions to this rule can be found in Phillip Rothwell's *A Postmodern Nationalist: Truth, Orality and Gender in the Work of*

*Mia Couto* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2007), and Mark Sabine's article 'Gender, Race, and Violence in Luís Bernardo Honwana's *Nós Matámos o Cão-Tinhoso*: The Emasculation of the African Patriarch', in *Sexual/Textual Empires: Gender and Marginality in Lusophone African Literature*, ed. by Hilary Owen and Phillip Rothwell (Bristol: Bristol University Press, 2004), pp. 23-44.

<sup>4</sup> Hilary Owen, *Mother Africa, Father Marx: Women's Writing of Mozambique, 1948-2002* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2007), p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> Paulina Chiziane, *Balada de Amor ao Vento* (Maputo: Associação dos Escritores Moçambicanos, 1990).

<sup>6</sup> Patrick Chabal, *The Postcolonial Literature of Lusophone Africa* (London: Hurst & Co., 1996), pp. 91-93.

<sup>7</sup> José Craveirinha, *Xigubo* (Lisbon: Casa dos Estudantes do Império, 1964; repr. Maputo: Alcance Editores, 2008). The Ronga word *Xigubo* refers to 'a wartime dance from southern Mozambique that serves as a preparation for a defensive or offensive attack, or as a call to arms' (p. 3).

<sup>8</sup> Paulina Chiziane, *O Sétimo Juramento*, 3rd edn (Lisbon: Caminho, 2000, repr. 2008).

<sup>9</sup> R. W. Connell, *Gender and Power* (Cambridge: Polity, 1987).

<sup>10</sup> Connell, pp. 183-85.

<sup>11</sup> Connell, p. 185.

<sup>12</sup> Elahe Haschemi Yekani, *The Privilege of Crisis: Narratives of Masculinity in Colonial and Postcolonial Literature, Photography and Film* (Frankfurt a.M.: Campus, 2011), p. 36. All italics in original texts.

<sup>13</sup> Lindsay and Miescher, p. 6.

<sup>14</sup> Lindsay and Miescher, p. 6.

<sup>15</sup> Aboim, p. 276, and Robert Morrell, 'Of Boys and Men: Masculinity and Gender in Southern African Studies', *Southern Africa Studies*, 24:2 (1998), 505-630, p. 612.

<sup>16</sup> Morrell, p. 612.

<sup>17</sup> See, for example, Máirtín Mac an Ghaill, 'The Making of Black English Masculinities', in *Theorizing Masculinities*, ed. by Harry Brod and Michael Kauffman (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994), pp. 183-200; Lynne Segal, *Slow Motion: Changing Masculinities, Changing Men* (London: Virago, 1990); Sallie Westwood, 'Racism, Black Masculinity and the Politics of Space', in *Men, Masculinities and Social Theory*, ed. by Jeff Hearn and David Morgan (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), pp. 55-72.

<sup>18</sup> Morrell, p. 611.

<sup>19</sup> Ana Mafalda Leite, *A Poética de José Craveirinha* (Lisbon: Vega, 1991).

<sup>20</sup> *The Postcolonial Literature of Lusophone Africa*, p. 41.

<sup>21</sup> Patrick Chabal, *Vozes Moçambicanas: Literatura e Nacionalidade* (Lisbon: Vega, 1994), p. 97.

<sup>22</sup> Russell G. Hamilton, *Voices from an Empire: A History of Afro-Portuguese Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1975), p. 202.

<sup>23</sup> *The Postcolonial Literature of Lusophone Africa*, pp. 42-43.

<sup>24</sup> Leite, p. 43.

<sup>25</sup> Craveirinha, pp. 17-18. *Culucumba* is a Ronga word meaning 'My God'. cf. Porto Editora, 'Culucumba', *Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa com Acordo Ortográfico* <<http://www.infopedia.pt/dicionarios/lingua-portuguesa/culucumba>> [accessed 10th December 2014].

<sup>26</sup> See, for example, *The Postcolonial Literature of Lusophone Africa*, pp. 8-11 and 41-42; Pires Laranjeira, *A Negritude Africana de Língua Portuguesa* (Oporto: Edições Afrontamento, 1995), pp. 414-26; Leite, pp. 31-33.

<sup>27</sup> Leite, p. 38.

<sup>28</sup> Craveirinha, pp. 20-22.

<sup>29</sup> Craveirinha, pp. 38-40.

- <sup>30</sup> The *capulana* is a length of woven fabric, the staple item of Mozambican women's traditional dress. Unless otherwise stated, all definitions of Ronga terms are taken from the 'Glossário das Literaturas Africanas de Língua Portuguesa', <  
[http://lusofonia.com.sapo.pt/glossario\\_africano.htm](http://lusofonia.com.sapo.pt/glossario_africano.htm)> [accessed 9th December 2014].
- <sup>31</sup> *Xigui* denotes a war dance; a *batuque* is a performance of dances characterized by rhythmic drumming.
- <sup>32</sup> Owen, pp. 18-19.
- <sup>33</sup> Luís Madureira, 'Tropical Sex Fantasies and the Ambassador's Other Death: The Difference in Portuguese Colonialism', *Cultural Critique*, 28 (1994), 149-73, p. 163.
- <sup>34</sup> Sabine, p. 25.
- <sup>35</sup> Craveirinha, p. 21.
- <sup>36</sup> Adrienne Rich, 'Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence (1980)', in *Adrienne Rich's Poetry and Prose*, ed. by Barbara Charlesworth Gelphi and Albert Gelphi (New York: Norton, 1993), pp. 203-24.
- <sup>37</sup> Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 23.
- <sup>38</sup> Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. xiii.
- <sup>39</sup> Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 24.
- <sup>40</sup> Andrea Dworkin, *Intercourse* (New York: Basic Books, 2007), p. 188.
- <sup>41</sup> Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (Chichester, NY: Columbia University Press, 1985), pp. 36-37.
- <sup>42</sup> *Bodies that Matter*, p. xix.
- <sup>43</sup> *Gender Trouble*, p. 190.
- <sup>44</sup> *Bodies that Matter*, p. xix.
- <sup>45</sup> Paulina Chiziane, *Ventos do Apocalipse* (Maputo: The author, 1993).
- <sup>46</sup> Inocência Mata, 'O Sétimo Juramento, de Paulina Chiziane — Uma Alegoria sobre o Preço de Poder', *Scripta*, 4:8 (2001), 187-91, p. 188.
- <sup>47</sup> *O Sétimo Juramento*, pp. 38-40.
- <sup>48</sup> *O Sétimo Juramento*, p. 45.
- <sup>49</sup> *O Sétimo Juramento*, p. 52.
- <sup>50</sup> *O Sétimo Juramento*, pp. 66-71.
- <sup>51</sup> *O Sétimo Juramento*, p. 139.
- <sup>52</sup> *O Sétimo Juramento*, p. 176.
- <sup>53</sup> *O Sétimo Juramento*, pp. 181-82.
- <sup>54</sup> *O Sétimo Juramento*, pp. 241-42.
- <sup>55</sup> *O Sétimo Juramento*, p. 265.
- <sup>56</sup> Yekani, p. 18.
- <sup>57</sup> *O Sétimo Juramento*, p. 39.
- <sup>58</sup> *O Sétimo Juramento*, p. 40.
- <sup>59</sup> *O Sétimo Juramento*, p. 38.
- <sup>60</sup> *O Sétimo Juramento*, pp. 92-93.
- <sup>61</sup> *O Sétimo Juramento*, pp. 100-01.
- <sup>62</sup> *O Sétimo Juramento*, pp. 102-03.
- <sup>63</sup> Craveirinha, p. 39.
- <sup>64</sup> *Gender Trouble*, p. 43.
- <sup>65</sup> *Bodies that Matter*, p. xiii.
- <sup>66</sup> *Bodies that Matter*, p. 181.
- <sup>67</sup> *O Sétimo Juramento*, p. 101.
- <sup>68</sup> *Gender Trouble*, pp. 180-81.
- <sup>69</sup> *O Sétimo Juramento*, pp. 108-09.

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- <sup>70</sup> *O Sétimo Juramento*, pp. 161-62.  
<sup>71</sup> *O Sétimo Juramento*, p. 163.  
<sup>72</sup> *O Sétimo Juramento*, p. 164-65.  
<sup>73</sup> Owen, p. 197.  
<sup>74</sup> Owen, p. 171.  
<sup>75</sup> *O Sétimo Juramento*, p. 51.  
<sup>76</sup> *O Sétimo Juramento*, p. 52.  
<sup>77</sup> *O Sétimo Juramento*, p. 63.  
<sup>78</sup> *O Sétimo Juramento*, p. 120.  
<sup>79</sup> Isabel Fêo P. B. Rodrigues and Kathleen Sheldon, 'Cape Verdean and Mozambican Women's Literature: Liberating the National and Seizing the Intimate', *African Studies Review*, 53:3 (2010), 77-99, p. 79.  
<sup>80</sup> *O Sétimo Juramento*, pp. 181-82.  
<sup>81</sup> Dworkin, p. 155.  
<sup>82</sup> *O Sétimo Juramento*, p. 182.  
<sup>83</sup> *O Sétimo Juramento*, p. 265.  
<sup>84</sup> Segal, p. 114.  
<sup>85</sup> Owen, p. 195.
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