

© Copyrighted Material

# Fortifications, Post-colonialism and Power

## Ruins and Imperial Legacies

JOÃO SARMENTO

*University of Minho and University of Lisbon, Portugal*

**ASHGATE**

© Copyrighted Material

www.ashgate.com www.ashgate.com www.ashgate.com www.ashgate.com www.ashgate.com www.ashgate.com www.ashgate.com www.ashgate.com www.ashgate.com www.ashgate.com

© João Sarmento 2011

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without the prior permission of the publisher.

João Sarmento has asserted his right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as the author of this work.

Published by  
Ashgate Publishing Limited  
Wey Court East  
Union Road  
Farnham  
Surrey, GU9 7PT  
England

Ashgate Publishing Company  
Suite 420  
101 Cherry Street  
Burlington  
VT 05401-4405  
USA

www.ashgate.com

**British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data**

Sarmento, João.

Fortifications, post-colonialism and power : ruins and imperial legacies. -- (Heritage, culture and identity)

1. Fortification, Portuguese--History. 2. Portugal--Colonies--History.

I. Title II. Series

355.7'09469-dc22

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Sarmento, João, 1969-

Fortifications, post-colonialism and power : ruins and imperial legacies / by João Sarmento.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-4094-0303-6 (hbk) -- ISBN 978-1-4094-0304-3 (ebook)

1. Fortification, Portuguese.

2. Fortification--Portugal--Colonies. 3. Postcolonialism--Portugal.

4. Portugal--Colonies--Civilization. I. Title.

UG429.P6S37 2011

355.709171'2469--dc23

2011017999

ISBN 9781409403036 (hbk)

ISBN 9781409403043 (ebk)



Printed and bound in Great Britain by the  
MPG Books Group, UK.

# Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>List of Maps</i>	<i>ix</i>
<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>xi</i>
<i>Preface and Acknowledgements</i>	<i>xiii</i>
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	<i>xv</i>
1 Ruins and Imperial Legacies: Global Geographies of Portuguese-built Forts	1
2 Portugal's 'Weekend at the Coast': Fort Jesus and Empire Celebration in Kenya	17
3 (Post)colonial Voices at Fort Jesus, Kenya	39
4 Mitigating the Past: Landscapes and Memory Fabrications in Cape Verde	57
5 A Neglected Trophy, Elusive Oil and Re-workings of Memory in São Tomé e Príncipe	79
6 In the Shadows of Mazagan: The Medina of Azamour, Morocco	109
7 Conclusions	135
<i>Bibliography</i>	<i>139</i>
<i>Index</i>	<i>157</i>

## List of Figures

2.1	Fort Jesus, Mombasa	26
2.2	The Malindi Monument	35
3.1	Fort Jesus Museum	46
3.2	Guiding through Fort Jesus, Mombasa	51
4.1	Fort São Filipe, Cape Verde	62
4.2	Tarrafal Camp, Cape Verde	68
4.3	Sambala Resort, Cape Verde	74
5.1	Fort S. Sebastião	102
5.2	Fort S. Jerónimo	103
5.3	Three statues outside the Fort	103
5.4	Destroyed monument of Fernão Dias	104
5.5	Provisional monument of Fernão Dias	104
5.6	Future site of Fernão Dias Monument with pieces from old monument	105
6.1	The Cashbah at Azamour	124
6.2	Meditating in El Jadida Angel Bastion	129
6.3	Mazagan Beach Resort	132

## List of Maps

1.1	Portuguese-built Forts: a global geography	6
2.1	The island of Mombasa, Kenya	20
4.1	The island of Santiago, Cape Verde	59
5.1	The island of São Tomé, São Tomé and Príncipe	82
6.1	The location of Azamour, Morocco	117
6.2	Plan of Azamour, Morocco	119

## List of Tables

2.1	Itinerary of the first day of Pedro Teotónio Pereira's visit to Kenya (29 October 1960)	31
3.1	Number of visitors to Fort Jesus	44
3.2	Interviewed Guides at Fort Jesus, August 2007	49

www.ashgate.com www.ashgate.com www.ashgate.com www.ashgate.com www.ashgate.com www.ashgate.com www.ashgate.com www.ashgate.com www.ashgate.com www.ashgate.com

## Preface and Acknowledgements

I did not intend to write this book four years ago, but my involvement with the contemporary resonances of various Forts throughout Africa and Asia made me think it would be valuable to compile a series of case studies in a single publication. My work raises issues in the development paths of Postcolonial Geography and critically points towards the present dominance of single minded spatialisations of the past. But I also like to think of it as a work that highlights the power of geographical knowledges and a contribution to a reinforced focus of Cultural Geography on the sheer uneven materiality of the lives of people affected by the colonial present.

While this book has been written under the increasingly pressured interstices of life as an academic, I am clearly aware of the privilege of being a western academic, of having the opportunity to look and reflect upon Africa, even if all I can provide is a partial and exclusionary analysis. For this luxury, I have to thank the Geography Department at the University of Minho for allowing me to have a sabbatical year in 2007–8, and to make quick journeys to various places around the globe in the past 10 years. I also acknowledge the Centre for Geographical Studies of the University of Lisbon (CEG), where I have been a researcher since 2008, for funding part of my research in São Tomé and Príncipe and in Morocco. To the Science and Technology Foundation of the Ministry for Science, Technology and Higher Education, I must thank the financial support of the Sabbatical Scholarship (SFRH/BSAB/731/2007) that allowed me to be a visiting professor in the University College Cork, Ireland during the end of 2007 and parts of 2008, and to conduct fieldwork in Kenya and Cape Verde in those same years. The Portuguese Institute of Developing Aid (IPAD) facilitated my stay in São Tomé, and António Correia kindly introduced me to the practicalities of town. Jorge Correia from the University of Minho and André Teixeira from the New University of Lisbon made my journey to and in Morocco smoother. At CEG, José Manuel Simões was always very supportive of my various requests.

I am also grateful to numerous colleagues and friends for ongoing conversations or specific engagements with versions of one or more of the chapters that follow. As part of the process of thinking through some of the ideas in this book, I have presented material on Forts, landscape and memory at a variety of conferences, seminars and lectures. It would be impossible to thank everyone who has influenced my ideas over time, but I would like to acknowledge just a few: Ana Francisca Azevedo, Carlos Ferrás, Carlos Macía, Francisco Armas, Jafar Jafari,

Maria Alexandre Lousada, Patrick O’Flanagan, Paul Claval, Paul Fryer, Petri Hottola, Roberto Lobato Correia and Zeny Rosendahl. João Carlos Garcia, José Ramiro Pimenta and Eduardo Brito Henriques, friends and geographers I admire, have kindly commented in detail parts or the full manuscript. I appreciate their generosity and support.

I clearly owe immensely to the many people who have talked to me during my periods of fieldwork in Kenya, Cape Verde, São Tomé e Príncipe and Morocco. Their patience, humour, generosity, willingness to help, offering their expertise and time while refusing any kind of compensation, is truly monumental. Denis Linehan has been a key person in this endeavour. He has always encouraged me to write about the Forts, opened his doors in Cork and in Nairobi (thanks also Kathy), and quite frequently we discussed personally and through Skype, many issues throughout the last years. Without Denis’ crisp geographical view and fertile lines of enquiry, I would not even have made it to the middle of this book.

To my parents, sister, brother in law and nephews, who often have to put up with a cranky man frequently absent – I would like to acknowledge their love and patience. Finally, I would like to say a special thanks to Marisa Ferreira, my wife and the home’s honorary cultural geographer, who has accompanied me in many visits to Forts, archives and libraries throughout the world. She has tolerantly helped me in the most varied tasks, looking at ruins under pouring rain, talking to people in the street under the tropical sun, always gently making insightful comments throughout this journey. Without her support, love and kindness I could have never completed this book.

João Sarmento  
Guimarães



## List of Abbreviations

AHSTP	Arquivo Histórico de São Tomé e Príncipe, São Tomé
ANTT	Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon
CPLP	Lusophone Community of Countries of Portuguese Language
DGS	General Administrative Office of Security, Portugal
EG	Equatorial Guinea
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
JDZ	Joint Development Zone
KNA	Kenya National Archive, Nairobi
KTB	Kenya Tourism Board
KWS	Kenya Wildlife Service
LB	Luís Benavente fund, ANTT, Lisbon
MENA	Middle East and North Africa Region
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NMK	National Museums of Kenya
PAICV	African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde
PAIGC	African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde
PIDE	International Police of State Defence, Portugal
STP	São Tomé e Príncipe
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
WHS	World Heritage Service

*To the many people who warmly helped me in Africa.*

# Chapter 1

## Ruins and Imperial Legacies: Global Geographies of Portuguese-built Forts

Are academics located in the West, or working in Western conceptual and narrative paradigms, incapable of opening up the perspectives within which we can view the non-Western world? Or have they adopted reactive perspectives which lock them into a reductive position whereby they can return the colonial gaze only by mimicking its ideological imperatives and intellectual procedures?

Ania Loomba (1998: 256)

Never does one open the discussion by coming right to the heart of the matter ... to allow it to emerge, people approach it indirectly by postponing until it matures, by letting it come when it is ready to come. There is no catching, no pushing, no directing, no breaking through, no need for a linear progression which gives the comforting illusion that one knows where one goes.

Trinh T. Minh-ha (1989: 1)

Decadence begins when a civilization falls in love with its ruins.

Derek Walcott (1964: 3)

### Doing Cultural Geography

Over 20 years ago, Pierre Nora (1989) argued that in the modern period not only was there a decline of 'real environments of memory' (*milieux de mémoire*), that permanently and organically recreated the past, but there was also the emergence of sites of memory (*lieux de mémoire*), that is, specific places where both formal and popular memories are produced, negotiated and take root. In these *lieux*, the material, symbolic and functional coexist, creating mixed, hybrid and fluid atmospheres. Partly following on these concerns and processes – the ways in which memory attaches itself to places – a growing number of cultural geographers (together with academics from fields such as anthropology, film studies, history, literature, sociology, and others) have been attempting to understand how heritage, seen not as a single story, but as plural versions of the past socially constructed in the present (Lowenthal 1998), and heritage sites, are increasingly mobilised as important cultural, political and economic resources in our contemporary world (Graham 2002).

Cultural geographers have extended this agenda by exposing, undermining and complicating simplistic readings of places and their pasts (Atkinson 2005), connecting these to wider transnational spatial processes, and questioning significant geographical categories of belonging and difference. Turnbridge and Ashworth (1996), for example, have focused on heritage sites as nodes where 'dissonant heritages' of different social groups collide, and explored the possibilities of a more inclusive and plural heritage in multicultural societies (see also Graham, Ashworth and Turnbridge 2000 on this large and growing literature). Johnson (2003) examined the articulation of remembrance, and the ambiguity between remembrance and forgetting, in the context of the political and cultural turmoil of Ireland post-WWII (see also Heffernan 1995 and Withers 1996 on monuments dedicated to nationalism and war). As an alternative to the fixed explanations of formal heritage, Crang (1994 and 1996) examined popular expressions of social memory by looking at the ways in which individuals and groups engage and articulate their senses of heritage through everyday artefacts and ephemeral materials such as photographs and postcards. Edensor (2005), looking at industrial heritage ruins in the west, argued for a destabilisation of the notion of ruins as signs of dereliction and waste, a notion constructed upon aesthetic judgements which widely differ from the tradition of attributing celebratory accounts to non-industrial ruins. Contrasting with mainstream ideas, Edensor is concerned with the possibilities, effects and experiences which ruins can provide, reclaiming industrial ruins from negative depiction.

At the same time, in the past decades, cultural geographers have been significantly influenced by developments in postcolonial theory and practice (Pratt 1992; Blunt and McEwan 2002; Nash 2002; Blunt 2005; Sharp 2009; Yeoh 2009). Inspired by early works of Frantz Fanon, Aimé Césaire and Léopold Senghor, among others, which attempted to bring anti-colonialism and ideas about African unity to a global audience, and by Edward Said's Orientalism, Homi Bhabha's hybrid and ambivalent identities and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's work with the Subaltern Studies Group, cultural geographers have joined some of the postcolonial turn concerns. Postcolonial theory can be understood as '... a theoretical resistance to the mystifying amnesia of the colonial aftermath' that insists upon revisiting, remembering and interrogating the colonial past (Gandhi 1998: 4), and most usefully, it embraces a variety of critical perspectives on the diverse histories and geographies of colonial discourses, practices, impacts, and their legacies in the present (Nash 2002). As Ryan (2004: 470) argues, 'the interest in postcolonialism marks one of the more striking ways in which cultural geographers (and indeed human geographers more generally) have been concerned to respond to major intellectual and theoretical currents within the social sciences and humanities in the last two or three decades'. Thus, many cultural geographers have been examining the complex topographies of memory and forgetting on which colonialism depended and which postcolonial nations have inherited.

Cultural geography and postcolonialism have been criticised along similar lines. On the one hand there has been an apprehension about cultural geography's 'preoccupation with immaterial cultural processes, with the constitution of intersubjective meaning systems, with the play of identity politics through the less-than-tangible, often-fleeting spaces of texts, signs, symbols, psyches, desires, fears and imaginings' (Philo 2000: 33). On the other hand there are concerns regarding the neglect of the material processes 'which are the stuff of everyday social practices, relations and struggles, and which underpin social group formation, the constitution of social systems and social structures, and the social dynamics of inclusion and exclusion' (Philo 2000: 37).

This book, encouraged by the new debates that the postcolonial turn promoted concerning questions of 'geography, colonialism and postcolonialism' (Power, Mohan and Mercer 2006: 231), takes a critical look at this evolving situation. I am concerned with material heritage, with 'dissect[ing] post-colonialism as threaded through real spaces, built forms and the material substance of everyday biospheres' (Yeoh 2009: 562), and involved in the re-materialisation proposals that emerged in Cultural Geography in the past years (Driver 1996). But I also attempt to offer an alternative approach to free heritage from its own confines of monumental materiality, by emphasising the particular kinds of social and cultural relationships that are established among different users of a heritage site. Whereas it is long recognised that historical sites as public monuments are critical places which capture and help to constitute individual and collective meaning (Barthes 1957), increasing attention should be paid to the spatiality of public monuments, where the sites are not merely the material backdrop from which a story is told, but the spaces themselves constitute the meaning by becoming both a physical location and a sight-line of interpretation (Johnson 1995). Material heritage sites should no longer be viewed merely as innocent aesthetic embellishments of the public sphere, but instead attention should be placed on their contextual spatiality.

Although today even more insidious and totalising forms of colonialism are at work (Venn 2006), there is a varied degree of continuity and discontinuity between colonial relationships and structures of power and privilege in the past and present. The 'post' in postcolonial does not signal the end of colonialism nor the stationary reproduction of the colonial in the present (Yeoh 2009), but, as Nash (2002) puts it, the 'post' represents the mutated, impure and unsettling legacies of colonialism, signaling also an emancipator project (Venn 2006). It is the continuation, although in transformed ways, of the forces that established the Western form of colonialism and imperialism, that constitute what Mbembe (2001) names the Postcolony. Thus, postcolonial nations are challenging places to think about the cultural geographies of memory, as the historical experience has created disruptive landscapes in which to consider the relationships between public memory, the production of knowledge and cultural self-definition.

## Ruins and Legacies

For more than 500 years (1415–1974), during the Age of Discovery and colonialism, the Portuguese built or adapted fortifications along the coasts of Africa, Asia and South America. While these Forts were constructed under the aegis of one European power, with the profound global political changes of the nineteenth and especially the twentieth centuries, they are presently located in the political boundaries of at least 25 independent states,<sup>1</sup> all in the Global South. At a macro scale, mapping these buildings reveals a gigantic territorial and colonial project. While deeply connected at the start with the re-conquest of Iberian medieval kingdoms and with dreams of a unified Christendom that could subdue Islam in a multi-pronged conflict, these Forts became part of a network of power, acting as junctions between the colonial and the metropolitan in a particular system of governance. They also functioned as nodes in a mercantile empire, shaping early forms of capitalism, transforming the global political economy, and generating a flood of images and ideas on an unprecedented scale. The goal was to penetrate the commercial networks of Africa and gain control over the gold trade from Sudan. To a large degree, following Grosfoguel's (2007) argument in relation to 'what arrived' in fifteenth-century America, Forts were an integral part of the entangled global hierarchies (European, capitalist, patriarchal, military, Christian, white, heterosexual, male) that were imposed on arrival. Yet, as Davidson (2001: 172) argues in relation to sixteenth century West Africa Forts and castles, from an African point of view they were merely of local importance, since what mattered to coastal Africans was not 'these minor European ventures' but the major pressures of powerful states of the inland country.

Today, these audacious architectural forms can be understood as active material legacies of empire that represent promises, dangers and possibilities, which are deeply understudied by academics, including geographers. It seems clear then, that as a global imperial system and a complex of postcolonial legacies shaped by local and diverse political contingencies, this network of fortifications presents critical opportunities to construct a cultural and political geography that can inform our understandings of the 'colonial present'. Post-colonialism, memory and amnesia, celebration and forgetfulness, contact zones, cultures of travel, dominance, governance, resistance, etc., are some of the concepts that are travelled through in this book.

Although my attempt is to participate in the contemporary understanding of the meaning of these Forts, I cannot claim a radical and alternative knowledge and a history and geography 'from below', since to a large degree this is a study about the subaltern and not a study with and from a subaltern perspective. Yet, while

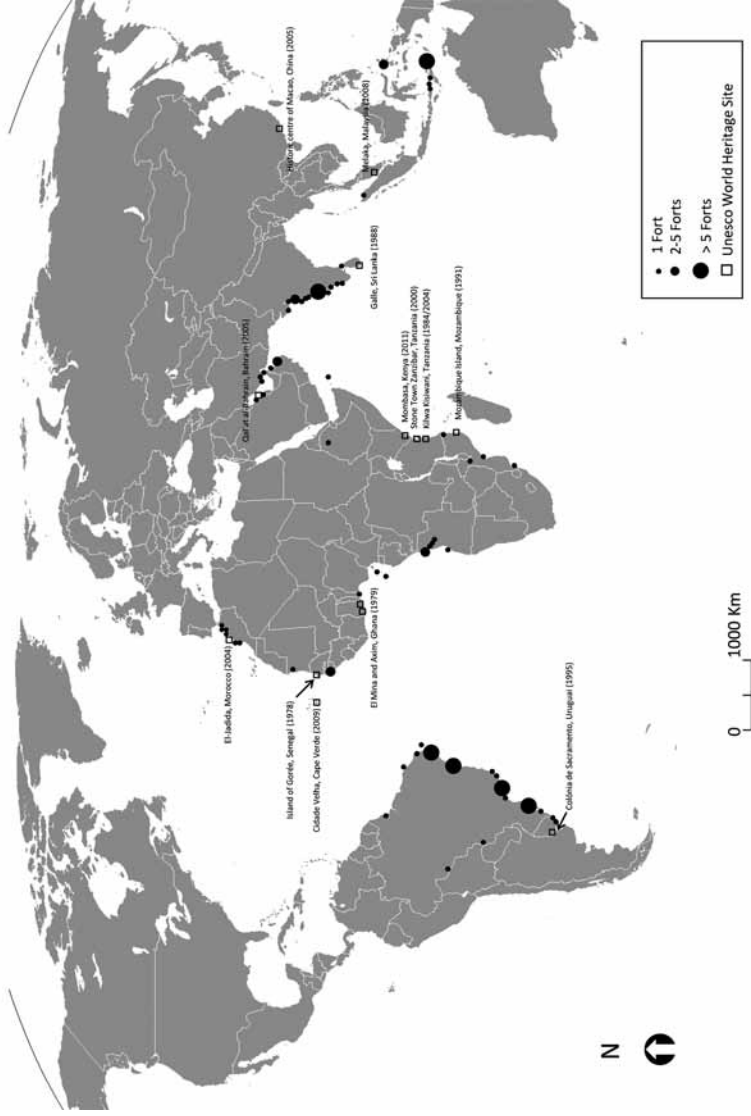
---

1 Morocco, Mauritania, Cape Verde, Senegal, Guinea Bissau, Ghana, Benin, São Tomé and Príncipe, Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania, Kenya, Ethiopia, Yemen, Oman, Bahrain, Iran, India, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Indonesia, East Timor, China (Macao), Brazil and Uruguay.

recognising the situated position of my knowledge (Haraway 1988), I understand this work as a contribution to a deeper and needed decolonisation of the Forts.

Mirroring the spatiality of the Portuguese imperial project until the second half of the twentieth century, Map 1.1 illustrates a predominantly coastal geography. To a certain degree this representation is deceptive and not only ignores flows, fluxes and changes, but does not do justice to the spatial processes that defined imaginary borders and territorialised the unknown. There are nonetheless some remarkable exceptions to the prominence of coastal sites: Massangano (on the UNESCO tentative list of since 1996), Muxima and Cambambé (both in ruins) in the Cuanza high plateaux and valley, Angola; the Forts along the Amazon river in Brazil, as far as the border with Peru (for the most part disappeared: see Dias 2008); the eighteenth-century Forts along the later established western border of Brazil; the Fort St Tiago Maior in the Zambezi river, Mozambique; and various Forts on the border of the state of Goa (prior to 1961 part of Portuguese India), India. When the empire was threatened in the nineteenth century, and also when it started to collapse in the twentieth century (see Sidaway and Power 2005), other fortifications were built inland, mainly in Guinea Bissau, Angola and Mozambique (Lobo 1989).

The immensity and remoteness of the newly encountered spaces required fortifications to be (deceptively) self-sufficient (Lemos 1989), creating a discontinuous geography of micro settlements of varying sizes and degrees of isolation, an *archipelago of empire*. However independent, the centralising and surveillant power from Lisbon meant that people, reports, plans, instructions, etc., travelled back and forth, constructing a dense network of knowledge. Archival material related to the reconstruction of Fort São Sebastião, in São Tomé, reveals, even in the twentieth century, the anxieties of builders in relation to the long months of wait before the architect in Portugal made decisions regarding issues such as use of materials, colours, and so on. The Forts were utterly international in their architectural, engineering and even social aspects. Nothing from local arts was incorporated on the projects or on the buildings. The construction masters were people that worked in Portugal, and only occasionally travelled to the construction sites. In many cases even materials like stones were taken from Europe. Muslim art for example did not attract any attention (see Dias 2008a). Despite this centrality and authoritarianism, from Macao to São Paulo there were also colonial communities that were small and dynamic republics (Cortesão in Curto 2007: 314).



Map 1.1 Portuguese-built Forts: a global geography



Lisbon scrupulously determined the guidelines for the Forts' location: the existence of a good port, preferably in a naturally fortified location (island or promontory), a salubrious place (avoiding swamps or bogs) adequate for commercial activities, and the existence of a fresh water source difficult to sabotage (Teixeira 2008: 159). Thus, despite some remarkable exceptions, explained by different geopolitical agendas, the preferred location of Forts was on coastal islands: i.e. Mozambique Island and Sofala, Mozambique; Kilwa Kisiwani, Tanzania; Mombasa, Kenya. In fact, the Portuguese spatial model of colonising the inhabited Atlantic islands consisted on an offshore Fort that would supply Forts on the mainland (Bethencourt 2007). That was the case of Madeira and North African Forts, Cape Verde and the Guinea's rivers Forts and São Tomé and the Gulf of Guinea Forts. When Socotra (presently Yemen) was conquered, there was an (failed) attempt to export this model to the Indian Ocean (Bethencourt 2007).

At times, maintaining a military force on inhabited islands was unsustainable, such as in Fernando Pó (presently Bioko, in Equatorial Guinea) or Socotra – as they presented serious challenges to control population. Seashores could also be artificially transformed into islands by opening a moat, such as in Galle (Sri Lanka), Cannanor or Cochim (India). If seashores were impractical, estuaries and marshes like Baçaim and Chaul (India) or Triquimale (Sri Lanka), and headlands like Muscat (Oman), Malacca (Malaysia) or Ternate (Indonesia), were chosen.

A brief look into the shifting control of this complex of Forts illustrates the colonial entanglements and the nuanced and ephemeral reality of imperial endeavours as Forts changed hands between Dutch, French, British, Spanish, Omani, Moroccan, and other local and regional kingdoms. Some Forts were lost even when their construction was not finished (which often started by building a provisional wooden fortification), and others changed hands consecutively (nine times in Mombasa). Remarkably, two served as royal gifts: Tangiers and Bombay were offered to England in 1661 as a dowry gift for the marriage of Princess Catarina of Braganza with Prince Charles II. This rich history of diplomacy, enterprise and resistance is visible and imprinted in the combination and overlapping of many architectural styles and construction techniques, reflecting the hybrid nature of these landmarks' heritage (i.e. Galle) and the relentless changes that took place.

According to Bethencourt (1998: 404), the Portuguese built 244 Forts from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, from which six were located in Cape Verde, 15 in the West African Coast and 20 in the East African Coast and Persian Gulf. Smaller Forts, an uncountable number of these have simply disappeared. In Brazil, from an estimated number of 450 historic defensive buildings, only 109 are known and 40 are legally protected. Many of these Forts the central pieces in complex networks of defence buildings which no longer exist, while others had an important role in the layout of towns and cities (i.e. Chaul, Bassein [north Mumbai] and Daman in India); some were encircled and embedded in the urban fabric (Fortaleza and Macapá in Brazil) or ended up supplying stone for various buildings (Colombo is a remarkable example, and what little is known of the

Fort's formation results from the limited interpretations of Dutch iconography); and many were simply engulfed by tropical forests and left to decompose.

Whereas earlier Forts or castles were still medieval, advances in artillery required Forts to be built in a transitional style, lowering towers, reinforcing walls and introducing changes to support heavy weapons (Moreira 1989a). During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was a tremendous renovation of many Forts (no longer castles), an effort that represented a phase of absolute belligerent engagement on a global scale, a rehabilitation of colonialism, a signature of mercantilism, and above all a step in the transformation from adventurist colonialism to capitalist imperialism. Yet one of the more critical transformations in these buildings' tangible and intangible dimensions is connected to the transition brought by the 'winds of change' that blew through Africa and Asia especially in the second half of the twentieth century (early nineteenth century in South America). To various degrees these ruins and imperial legacies articulated the postcolonial status of various nations. Official and popular attitudes towards heritage varied and obviously changed with time after the emotionally charged spirit of the immediate post-independence periods. One of the present challenges for geographers is to attempt to understand who controls the Forts and their meanings, and what roles do different groups have in the maintenance and development of the sites. This network of Forts can contribute to our understanding of the manner in which postcolonial states resolve the ambiguous relationship with their heritage, the public treatment of colonialism in contemporary postcolonial states as well as the present in public memory.

Forts can be understood as marks and wounds of the history of human violence, but also as timely reminders that buildings never last forever, highlighting the fluidity of the material world. They are palimpsests. Some may comprise no more than empty shells of debatable authenticity, but derive their importance from the ideas and values that are projected on or through them. Many are open to visitors in a range of museums, from military history to culture and ethnography. UNESCO has classified 13 of these Forts as World Heritage Sites (WHS): one (Kilwa Kisiwani in Tanzania) has been on the danger list since 2004, and illustrating the power and politics of UNESCO procedures, actions and classification (see Boniface 2001), none is located in Brazil. Part of an imagined community, WHS are powerful symbolic markers of international cultural politics carrying with them promises of economic benefits. Significantly, in their postcolonial after-life, some of the Forts that represent this history of colonial expansion and struggle are now government buildings or official residences of high figures of state: i.e. Fort Dona Paula or Cabo Palace is the residence of the Governor of Goa, India; Fort Sohar (Oman), is a government building and since 1993 it has housed a history museum. Forts Jalali, Mirani and Mutrah, in Muscat, Oman (all thoroughly rebuilt by the Portuguese in the late sixteenth century) are presently in good condition, but closed to the public. The former, used as a prison and later as the official residence of the Oman Sultan, is currently a museum of Omani heritage and culture for visiting heads of state and royalty.

Among all inland Forts in Brazil, only Fort Coimbra participated in military action (1801 and 1864–70). Nowadays, Fort Príncipe da Beira, 3,000 km from the coast, is home to 58 soldiers whose everyday practice is patrolling the border with Bolivia. By contrast, Fort Nossa Senhora da Vitória (built in 1507 and renamed Nossa Senhora da Conceição in 1515), located in Hormuz Island, Iran, has retained its key geopolitical importance, as 90 per cent of all Persian Gulf oil leaving the region on tankers passes on this narrow waterway. Achieving an understanding between the Iranian and the Portuguese authorities (negotiating since 2006) to reconstruct this common heritage depends mostly on the degree to which global tensions materialise on the Strait and on the advances and retreats of Iranian-EU geopolitics. Not far from Hormuz, in Qeshm, the larger island of the Persian Gulf and a Free Area Authority since 1989, are the ruins of another Portuguese Fort (1607), now further damaged by the 2005 earthquake and purportedly located next to 60 (of the 75) Iranian Saccade missiles (Cordesman and Kleiber 2007).

Tourism has been one of the most powerful industries in appropriating these imperial legacies in diverse ways, and promising, to various degrees, economic development and benefits. Yet, the circumstances are tremendously diverse. While the Fort at Colónia do Sacramento (Uruguay), one hour by high-speed ferry from Buenos Aires, became a well established tourist destination, receiving thousands of tourists every weekend, the communities at the Forts of Mozambique and Ibo Islands in Mozambique (the former was the country's capital up to 1898) helplessly watch as the crevasse separating absolute poverty and heritage decay from luxury and exclusive tourism paradises widens and deepens.

Illustrating the enclave nature and the disregard for the environmental, social and cultural sustainability of many tourism developments, a luxury hotel was built in Goa in the 1970s within the complex of fortifications of Fort Aguada. The Hotel, advertised as 'built on the ramparts of a sixteenth-century Portuguese Fortress' and named after the Fort – Fort Aguada Beach Resort – was developed on 73 acres of an historic site, and its narrow public area strip is considered a very fashionable spot to watch the sunset. Paradoxically, while part of Aguada's fortification complex is still a state prison, the Fort's historical role is widely and loosely re-appropriated within the cultural economies of contemporary tourism. One other example is Fort Tirakol, located in a northern Goa enclave. It is now a seven-room up-market heritage hotel, where ancient quarters and cells were transformed into rooms and lavish bathrooms with views towards the Arabian Sea. As a prelude to Goa's liberation (or occupation) in the mid 1950s, freedom fighters occupied the Fort for some days on several occasions and raised the Indian flag. Understanding the opportunities and drawbacks that tourism and heritage pose in the Global South, and the complex role they play within the national and socio-cultural reconstruction of post-conflict and postcolonial societies needs to be urgently addressed.

Whereas conservation and heritage development can be used as a tool for political reconciliation and for creating dialogue opportunities and cultural meeting grounds, it is crucial to understand the disputes over the authority to create, define,

interpret and represent collective pasts and the ways in which these processes are understood by different interest groups. At the Forts of Cape Coast and Elmina in Ghana, plaques proclaim that these sites remind us of 'such injustice against humanity' (MacGonagle 2006: 259). Here, while the story of slaves surpasses the story of masters, the youth appropriates the spaces of the Forts differently, partying and dancing in the dungeons and courtyards of these 'sacred' sites (Bruner 1996, 2005). Despite the Forts' resonance as sites of extreme brutality and violence, having participated in the circulation and trafficking of people and commodities, the cultural engagement of these colonial structures is often manifestly apolitical. Bruner's (2005) work on Elmina Fort in Ghana, highlights the tourism-inspired project of mummifying memory and landscape in order to create normative sites where a single way of narrating or experiencing space is privileged. This strategy is defined within the Western travel project solely in terms of their relevance to the Western 'experience' (Dunn 2004). As discussed in chapter four, the recent reconstruction of Fort São Filipe in Cape Verde has been described as participating in the construction of an unproblematic, painless and uncontested past, excluding acts of resistance to capture, and silencing the contours of slavery. Financed by international aid agencies, the Fort's story emphasises the role of western masters, architects and engineers, and totally overlooks the contemporary history of the African archipelago. This is only one example of the danger of the continued popularity and convenience for postcolonial government elites to appropriate colonial mechanisms of public memory control for the dissemination of their own ideological purposes.

Forts also generate profound and rich geographical imaginations. One anecdotal way of appropriating these imperial legacies takes place in Fort Chapora, north Goa. After being the setting of the Bollywood movie *Dil Chahata Hai* [Do your thing] (2001), hundreds of Indians, for whom Portuguese built heritage is quite distant, visit the site every weekend to pose, capture and sit on the same landscapes and stones where movie stars once were. Their experience is not about the resonances of the colonial past, but about modern contemporary India.

At the same time, due to their symbolic and emotional value, Forts can play a significant role in cultural politics and considerably rework the relationship between postcolonial nations and their former colonial powers. Perhaps representing better than any other event what Lowenthal (1998) refers to as the 'Heritage Crusade', is the recent contest to select 'The Seven Wonders of Portuguese Origin in the World'. Between December 2008 and June 2009, about 240,000 people participated in this contest sponsored by the Portuguese government. Announced on Portugal Day (10 June) in the Algarve tourist centre of Portimão, two of the winners were Forts (16 Forts in the 27 nominees). The event rapidly raised protests from academics, activists and other intellectuals, since the organisers attempted to construct a benign story of the colonial encounter, neglecting the clear entanglements of these imperial legacies with the Atlantic Slave trade. Despite official discourses endorsing advertising and education as the key drivers of the contest, the whole event engaged in promoting a neocolonial global-national heritage landscape,

cartographically represented by a hierarchical spatial network centred in Lisbon. Some critics established an online petition protesting against these omissions while freedom fighters in Goa objected to the appropriation of 'their' heritage as Portuguese symbolic landscapes. Postcolonial heritage is clearly intertwined with the strategic agendas of the political forces that promote and sustain it. Its relationship with conservation management forces and their shifting positions towards authenticity and historical purity has arguably become more multifaceted and contradictory. This global but chameleonic network of Forts poses fascinating challenges for geographers interested in both the geopolitics of Empire and in their postcolonial legacies. Forts present unique opportunities to investigate, with a firm view toward the performance of the colonial present, the intersection of colonialism, memory, power and space in the postcolonial Lusophone world and beyond.

### **Goals and Scope of the Book**

What I set to do in this book is to analyse in detail some Forts, in a series of case studies. And case studies are nothing more nothing less than stories (Domosh 2009 in Price 2010). Deciding which ones to include in this study was a difficult and complex task, not only because they are numerous and varied, but also because my approach involves a direct contact with the buildings and especially with the surrounding environments and peoples. This book should not be seen as comprehensive in terms of coverage, whether geographically, thematically or in terms of approach. It should be clear from the beginning that the case studies result not only from a planned and pondered choice, but also from organic, intuitive and even random events that took place in my professional and personal life in the past years. Due to time, space and financial constraints I was limited to an approach that included five or six cases at the most. Representativity was not an issue, as the aim here was not to generalise but to study in-depth. Still, at first I considered to include one case study from each significant macro region where Forts were built: South America, North Africa, West Africa, East Africa, Middle East, India, Southeast Asia and Far East Asia. This could provide a global panorama on Forts and their meanings, but the task was just too ambitious, since establishing connections between one site on each of these regions, acknowledging its historical relations and contemporary challenges would be the assignment of a large team working on a long term project. I also considered selecting the most important examples at particular times in history (although this is not an innocuous issue among historians): Arguim in Mauritania, El Mina in Ghana, Sofala in Mozambique, Baçaim in India, Malacca in Malaysia, could justify this choice. Still, it did not satisfy me, since I also wanted to include other sites where apparently the Forts had a less important historical role. I eventually decided to focus on African Forts, and on the condition of memory in Africa itself. While leaving aside important realities of South America, especially Brazil, and Asia, especially

India, this move allowed me to narrow my study, despite concentrating still on a huge continent and on this loose and ill defined geographical and cultural entity. As Mbembe (2001: 1) argues, speaking about Africa rationally is not something that has even come naturally. It was here that the Portuguese colonial enterprise lasted the longest: from 1415 with the conquest of Ceuta (nowadays an Spanish enclave in North Africa) to 1975 with the independence of Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe. As Nash (2002: 228) argues, postcolonial geographies work through the tension between understanding colonialism as general and global, and particular and local, between the critical engagement with a grand narrative of colonialism, and the political implications of complex, untidy, differentiated and ambiguous local stories. While it is not my goal to claim for a coherent, enduring and grand narrative of the Portuguese Empire or to attempt to reinforce a study field within Lusophone studies, by insisting on case studies that have a clear connection with Portuguese colonialism, my aim is to stress the spatial connectedness of postcolonial heritage, bringing into sharp focus the challenges facing countless heritage landscapes around the world today. At the same time, I acknowledge that there is a dearth of geographical works devoted to questions of memory, heritage and postcolonialism in the Lusophone world. With few exceptions (see Feldman-Bianco 2001; Pimenta, Sarmiento and Azevedo 2011; Power and Sidaway 2005; Sidaway 2000a; Sidaway and Power 2005) the vast majority of accounts of the European colonial system and its developments, have disregarded the 'Portuguese Empire and colonialism' and considered Portugal as a 'marginal' player (Miller 1993). A significant issue here was the time dimension and the length and endurance of Portuguese colonialism. Thus, I selected sites where the memory of Portuguese colonialism seems very present since it lasted long and is recent, and sites where the memory of Portuguese colonialism is apparently remote and fleeting, despite not less violent.

In the initial stages of field work began in Kenya, I stumbled upon very interesting material in the National Library of Kenya Nairobi. Together with Denis Linehan, from the University College Cork, Ireland, we examined various folders with documentation related to the reconstruction works in Fort Jesus, Mombasa, the funding of the Fort Jesus Museum by the Gulbenkian Foundation, and a whole range of documents regarding the diplomacies, politics and details of the late 1950s and early 1960s on the Kenyan Coast. Later on I conducted some fieldwork in Mombasa, and Fort Jesus emerged naturally, as one of the most important historical buildings in sub-Saharan Africa, and where Portuguese, British and Omani colonial enterprises intersected. I then had the opportunity to travel to Cape Verde, to the island of Santiago, and to São Tomé and Príncipe. That allowed me to conduct fieldwork in these two former Portuguese colonies and archipelagos on the West of Africa. Finally I decided to go to include a case study on Morocco, the closest African country to Portugal, but positioned in Arab Africa.

Despite using four Forts or fortifications built around the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – Azamour in Morocco (1513–42), São Sebastião in São Tomé (1566–75), Santiago in Cape Verde (1587–93) and Fort Jesus in Kenya

(1593–1630) – as departure points for discussing heritage, identity, landscape and power, my work is also constructed upon the knowledge and information from various periods of fieldwork conducted since 2000 in various Forts in North and East Africa (Morocco and Tanzania), India (mostly Goa and Daman), East Timor, Sri Lanka and South America (Brazil and Uruguay). Moreover, these Forts took me in tangents to various other stone and cement buildings, which in some cases acquired an equivalent importance in the discussion. These other buildings have allowed me to have a broader look at ‘sites of memory’ and to widen the discussion, and at times directed me to places out of my initial itinerary. But it could hardly be otherwise in order to engage with power, landscapes and memory in the postcolonial world. The Malindi monument in Kenya, Tarrafal concentration camp and Sambala resort both in Cape Verde, Fernão Dias monument in São Tomé and Príncipe and Mazagan Resort in Morocco were the sites I chose.

Fieldwork included several formal and informal interviews with key actors, such as museum curators, politicians, administrative staff at the Forts and responsible entities, journalists, etc., visits to many cultural institutions, museums and libraries and interaction with local people. Archival work was also conducted mostly in Lisbon, Nairobi, Mombasa, Praia and São Tomé. In some cases I have engaged also with online discussion forums (especially in the case of Sambala’s resort in Cape Verde) and online tourist comments (the case of Azamour in Morocco). But perhaps the most important method followed was the meandering through all these sites, merely observing people and stones, attempting to grasp the inherent sensuality of the experience of travelling through Forts and monuments. In this sense this work is shapeless and impressionistic, it is experimental and at times speculative.

It is important to stress from the start that one of the strategies used to enquire about the landscape transformations and memory work throughout this book is to engage in multiple other entwined processes that connect places from local to global scales, following on Nora’s (1989) quest of exploring the links between apparently unconnected ‘sites of memory’. Therefore, throughout the various chapters I ‘travel’ back and forth from Goa and Nairobi to Lisbon, from São Tomé e Príncipe to Equatorial Guinea, and from Azamour to Fes. The aim is to stress the fact that scholars of tourism and heritage, cultural geographers included, need to pay greater attention to the cultural politics of development and postcolonial theory than they have done previously. Whereas there are clearly multiple contingencies in the case studies presented, they do offer a provocative insight into larger processes beyond the local. Moreover, these local ‘ethnographic’ portraits offer an empirical grounding for often vague concepts and processes such as neocolonialism, the construction of memory, neoliberalism, and provide a useful grounding research into the politics of global heritage. In brief, the principal aims of this book are i) to construct a cultural and postcolonial geography that can inform our understandings of the performance of the colonial present; ii) to investigate how memory attaches itself to places; iii) to discuss how contemporary postcolonial states resolve the ambiguous public treatment of colonialism and the

colonial present; iv) and to understand the role of various imperial legacies in the construction of memory and identity.

This book is divided into seven chapters. Following this first introductory chapter, Chapter 2 – *Portugal's 'Weekend at the Coast': Fort Jesus and Empire Celebration in Kenya* – discusses empire celebration in the late 1950s and early 1960s, at Fort Jesus in Mombasa, one of the most important public buildings on the continent, and a key site of the colonial expansion into East Africa. It focuses on the transformation of the Fort from a prison into a museum, a conversion that was funded through the assistance of the Portuguese government who grasped the opportunity to restore the Fort as part of their public commemoration of Prince Henry the Navigator, a central figure in Portuguese national and imperial identity. The birth of the museum in Fort Jesus, a result of the convergence of British and Portuguese colonial enterprises, has lasting consequences in the contemporary heritage presentation. As western institutions created in colonial regimes, postcolonial museums are still largely colonial presentations, burdened with the politics of memory and challenged with the reconstruction of new identities, which for political reasons, have not always been taken as far as they could.

Chapter 3 – *(Post)colonial Voices at Fort Jesus, Kenya* – explores the challenges facing tourism development in Postcolonial Kenya through the analysis of the ways in which a sample of local guides engage with tourists and with the heritage and memory of Fort Jesus, Mombasa. It is discussed how the lack of alternative narratives of the past has prevented a more inclusive political condition of public memory of the present, and the degree to which Fort Jesus has not escaped the orbit of colonialism. Guides are somehow trapped in an interpretation that largely escapes their control.

Chapter 4 – *Mitigating the Past: Landscapes and Memory Fabrications in Cape Verde* – examines the construction of landscape and memory in Cape Verde. It deals with the different ways in which three sites in the island of Santiago – an old Fort and a historical town; a concentration camp; and a global resort – participate in the erasure, maintenance and creation of memory, forging new ways of collective identity. It discusses how praising western technical achievements in Cidade Velha is relegating slavery and African heritage to a second role, how the colonial violence has been forgotten and erased in a concentration camp that presents a very weak pulse, and how landscape and memory are being played at a 'fortified' tourist resort.

Chapter 5 – *A Neglected Trophy, Elusive Oil and Re-workings of Memory in São Tomé e Príncipe* – attempts to unpack meanings related with two stone monuments in São Tomé and Príncipe, in West Africa. It deals with a Fort built in colonial times and a memorial built in a postcolonial context, and with the geographical, economical and political contexts in which the islands are presently living. My aim in presenting these sites and stories is to trace the connections between places, to unravel some of the interpretation and representation performances of the past and how the construction of multiple temporalities and



