Narrating the Past and Inventing the Future

Memory, History, and Narrative in Pedro Páramo and Terra Sonâmbula

ABSTRACT: In this article I analyze how the novels *Terra Sonâmbula* by Mozambican writer Mia Couto and *Pedro Páramo* by Mexican writer Juan Rulfo articulate history as persistence and repetition. I argue that in both novels the past arises as a phantasmagoric experience that returns under new forms in the present and threatens to continue into the future. I consider how in rewriting a central theme in Latin American literature, Mia Couto not only adapts it to the Mozambican context but also transcends it, seeking a way out of the "labyrinthic" patterns of memory that prevailed in Juan Rulfo's novel.

KEYWORDS: Juan Rulfo, Mia Couto, history.

If geography separates Latin America from Lusophone Africa, a shared historical experience brings these two regions together. The first instance of this convergence happened with the transatlantic slave trade, which forcefully transferred to the Americas a large number of African populations, influencing the cultural and ethnic formation of the region. In the twentieth century, these two areas of the world would converge again after the Cuban military and ideological intervention in post-independence Angola. Beyond these direct exchanges, Lusophone African countries share with Latin America a history of social and ethnic divide, political instability, and institutional violence. In both areas, the persistence of deeply entrenched structures of power produced a lasting feeling of a violated history and a traumatic memory.

But it was on the grounds of a resistance to these historical developments that Latin America and Lusophone Africa would converge again in meaningful ways. The fight for political, cultural, and mental emancipation brought the interest of Lusophone African writers to an array of artistic and cultural movements such as the Caribbean Négritude movement, the regionalist and modern-

ist Brazilian literature, and, more recently, the Latin American narrative of the Boom era. The Boom writers had conducted a critical revision of Latin America's history, while simultaneously trying to achieve an autonomous mode of literary expression. They were experimenting with aesthetic forms that could at once translate the specificity of the region and effect its insertion in world literature. A similar drive can be found in the literatures of postcolonial Lusophone Africa, where, according to Patrick Chabal, writers found themselves concerned with the "consolidation and future developments of literature in their country," as well as "the place of that literature in the world" (Chabal, Postcolonial Literature of Lusophone Africa 11).

In his Nobel Prize acceptance speech, Gabriel García Márquez stated that one of the challenges of his generation was to find adequate forms to translate the complex Latin American reality: "Todas las criaturas de aquella realidad desaforada hemos tenido que pedirle muy poco a la imaginación, porque el desafío mayor para nosotros ha sido la insuficiencia de los recursos convencionales para hacer creíble nuestra vida" (1). It could be argued that one of the features that García Márquez sought to make "believable" concerned a particular mode of history based on persistence and repetition of the past. Latin American writers of this era tried to give shape to a historical experience that seemed to reproduce itself in a succession of tyrannical governments, in the everlasting hierarchic power structures, and in the traumatic memory of those who suffered it all. In other words, Márquez's repudiation of "conventional resources" could stand for the belief that Latin Americans historical experience should be narrated in aspecific way, one that could convey a recurring pattern of domination and oppression.

In this article I analyze the similar imagery and narrative strategies that the novels Terra Sonâmbula by Mozambican writer Mia Couto and Pedro Páramo by Mexican writer Juan Rulfo deploy to articulate an idea of history as persistence and repetition. I argue that in both novels the past arises as a phantasmagoric experience that returns under new forms in the present and threatens to continue into the future. Attentive to the novels' specific context and the authors' personal approach, I try to consider how in rewriting a central theme in Latin American literature, Mia Couto not only adapts it to the social and political reality of Mozambique but also transcends it, seeking a way out of the "labyrinthic" patterns of memory that prevailed in Juan Rulfo's novel.

This essay is underlined by a larger effort to understand the literary and intellectual convergences between Lusophone and Hispanic American cultures. In

the second half of the twentieth century, exchanges among postcolonial countries became more intense. Informed by ideologies of Third Worldism and by ideals of transnational solidarity, these international exchanges bore a political significance. Historically it meant that the European canon, although still relevant, ceased to be an exclusive reference for the literary expression of postcolonial areas that passed through a specific process of domination and contestation.²

History as Repetition

Although not directly portrayed in the novel, the Mexican Revolution is an important reference in Pedro Páramo. A defining moment in Mexico's history, the conflict mobilized an enormous portion of the population in a war against the dictatorship of Porfírio Diaz, bringing to an end decades of despotic rule. The official discourse came to celebrate the revolution as the advent of a new social and political era, even though the event did little to dismantle the power structures that existed prior to the revolution. In Pedro Páramo, Juan Rulfo reconstructs the conditions that triggered the revolt, focusing the narrative around the figure of the landowner, who in Latin American agrarian societies was the source of an exclusive political and economic domination. In the world portrayed in Rulfo's novel, the landowner Pedro Páramo is the boss, the master, the father, and, as such, the arbiter of life and death.

The narrative follows the journey of Juan Preciado, one of Páramos's unrecognized offspring, who returns to his hometown with the set intention to search for his father. He makes the journey to fulfill a promise made to his mother on her deathbed: "No le vayas a pedir nada. Exígele lo nuestro. Lo que estuvo obligado a darme y nunca me dio . . . El olvido que se nos tuvo, mi hijo, cóbraselo caro" (Rulfo 64). Although the return has the implied intention of demanding filial recognition and birthrights, it is particularly significant the mother's last words refer not to these demands, but to the "olvido" (oblivion) to which Pedro Páramo subjected both mother and son. Eventually it comes to mean that Preciado's quest has to do with both recognition and cognizance—or, in other words, with having his origins (and thus his rights) acknowledged, but also with uncovering what was forgotten. In fact, on his return to Comala, Preciado will find not his predecessors or the town his mother left behind, but the memory of them.

In his paradigmatic journey to the past Juan Preciado learns that the collective history encompasses his own. The history of the town is narrated in a frag-

mentary fashion from the many different viewpoints of the old inhabitants of Comala, whose personal life was marked by their tormented relationship with Pedro Páramo. Each new person Preciado meets in Comala recounts the process through which he or she came to met and fell under the spell of the landowner. In these narratives the relationship between Pedro Páramo and the population is invariably mediated through extortion, spoliation, and violence, but also through favor exchange and collaboration.

On the one hand, the reconstruction of the collective experience leads Rulfo to pose the oligarchic power as an inescapable force behind the social, economic, and even affective relations in the region. On the other hand, it also exposes the role of the individuals themselves in sustaining this order, whether through an incapacity to recognize the powers working against them, or voluntarily cooperating in the relations of exchange and vassalage that characterizes Pedro Páramo's patronage system. The novel represents the interplay of these opposing forces as something embedded in the region's history and collective unconscious, and symbolically extends these forces' influence beyond the limits of life itself.

Juan Preciado descends into Comala only to find out that most of the inhabitants of the town, including his father, have long been deceased, and that the stories they whisper are the foundations of their own self-inflicted condemnation. The novel re-creates a "Dantesque" universe where people are condemned to eternally reenact the tale of their failure. The constant retelling of the mistakes and traumas of the past works as a punishment. Filled with guilt and remorse, these accounts do not give way to a therapeutic expurgation; on the contrary, the process of repetition perpetually actualizes the past in the present. As a result, the people of Comala become subjected to a process of remembering that escapes their own control. Memory appears to gain a life of its own. In the structure of the narrative, this is reflected in the absence of properly recognizable narrators: many of them remain unidentified, existing only as echoes of the collective memory. Some of the stories seem to narrate themselves, as flashes of memory without an individualized consciousness, or a dream without a dreamer.

These incorporeal voices are situated outside time, in a limbo-space that does not either participate in the real moment or totally belong to the realm of death: "Por qué esse recordar intenso de tantas cosas? Por qué no simplemente la muerte y no esa música tierna del pasado?" (170). Here the repudiation of memory as a source of suffering contrasts with the absence of memory (the "olvido")

that informs both Preciado's search for origins and his mother's request for vengeance. Ultimately, neither forgetting nor revolt takes place. Preciado wants to reclaim his origins, demand his legacy, and reconnect past and present in an intelligible totality. However, what he hears in Comala raises only fear and terror, not revolt. He cannot resist the primeval desire to learn about what was, but, like an unchained Ulysses, he falls prey to the incessant "song of the past," which ends in death. As for the people of Comala, the task of remembering only helps to reify the trauma, now converted into a haunting memory. Incapable of understanding or recognizing the economic, political, and psychological forces that lie behind their suffering, they go through death as through life, reenacting the same errors that eternally haunt them. The past produces no knowledge, no illumination. And in this sense, Comala becomes history's dead end.

The revolution, as a forceful break with the past, could have changed the course of things. However, in contrast with the official discourse, Rulfo's novel presents a disenchanted version of the revolution, portraying it as an event that was unable to significantly undermine the structures of power that shaped Mexican society. When the revolution reaches Comala, Pedro Páramo soon co-opts it, skillfully neutralizing any threat it could pose to his domination. However, this intervention is only partially responsible for the failure of the revolution. The rebels themselves fail to identify and contest the social mechanisms that caused their oppression, thus they return to the old practices of negotiation and compromise with the landowning class. Instead of overthrowing the forces they were up against, the rebels paradoxically reinforce the structures of power that led them to fight. Therefore, the transformative potential of the insurrection is lost, and the hierarchies and powers that it should have neutralized are instead restored. The failure of the revolution to end the traditional power structure parallels the failure of Comala's ghosts to end the repetitive torment of memory. In life as in death, they succumb to the pressure of a hegemonic ideology that pervades consciousness itself, giving shape to a reality that becomes inescapable.

In the novel Terra Sonâmbula, Mia Couto rewrites the idea of a haunted past that torments and reshapes the present. The ghostly atmosphere of Comala reappears in the deserted roads and abandoned towns that compose the novel's landscape. Although not directly represented, the Mozambican Civil War informs the context and the background of the narrative. The violent conflict, which followed the end of the War of Independence in 1974 and lasted almost twenty

years, had devastating consequences for the country, causing more than one million people to die and leaving thousands of others displaced.³

In the novel, the war appears as a threat that constantly haunts the individual and collective destiny. The narrative unfolds into two stories: the central one, narrated in the present, is set at the tail end of the Mozambican Civil War; the second one is set in the period prior to it, between independence and civil war. The frame narrative follows the journey of Muidinga, an orphan of war, and Tuahir, an elderly man, who after saving the boy from death becomes his main caretaker. Together they attempt to escape the conflict while using literature and imagination to cope with their fear and with the horrific reality that surrounds them. The second narrative comprises the journal that they read, which was found with the body of one victim of the war. It describes the journey of a man named Kindzu as he travels through an unstable country in the aftermath of the independence.

The split narrative technique permits the novel to retrace the recent history of Mozambique, focusing on its transitional moments. It shows the country's political and ideological problems that after independence would lead to the civil war. The narrative also follows Mozambique's first steps into the global economy, anticipating some of the problems that awaited the country in its path to reconstruction. Although focusing on these two distinct moments of historical rupture, Mia Couto's novel underlines the deep continuities that remain between them.

In Kindzu's narrative the rough debut of the independent nation is symbolized in the story of a boy named Vinticinco de Junho, in homage to Mozambique's Independence Day. The name, meaning "The Twenty-Fifth of June," stands for the hope and optimism surrounding the event that would end the colonial system of domination. However, soon after his birth, Junhito (Kindzu's younger brother) is forced to metamorphose into a chicken in order to avoid being kidnapped and enlisted in the fight. In Mia Couto's stories, the fantastic often functions as an artifice to represent some of the horrific effects of the conflict in people's lives. Here the metamorphosis serves also as a powerful metaphor for the evolution of the conflict that went from a valid instrument of national liberation to an internal clash for power. As the war evolved to an inhumane battle, it also lost all its initial transformative meaning.

It can be inferred from Mia Couto's novel that, although independence brought about significant institutional changes, the postcolonial state still maintained

some of the basic problems that characterized the old order. The violence, corruption, and domination of the new regime, portrayed in the novel, demonstrate that independence was not enough to produce a significant break with a history of exploitation and subjugation. The new elite in power profited from the war itself, manipulating fear, hunger, and the internal disorder to harvest political gains. Focusing on the new political order established after the fall of the colonial administration, the novel points out that oppression did not cease to exist but, rather, that it had new agents.

An important representation of this persistence takes the form of the ghost of the Portuguese settler, who returns to reclaim the political and social position he held during the colonial period. As he learns about the independence and the political shifts that have occurred since his death, the old colonizer manages to associate himself with the new elite in power. The return of the ghost of Romão Pinto points to the permanence of colonial structures of power even after independence. The association between the old colonizer and the new government functions as a reference to the partnership between the internal elite and the international capital during the reconstruction period. It questions the terms that governed Mozambique's entrance into the global economy.

Terra Sonâmbula was published in 1992, the same year that saw the end of the Mozambican Civil War. Once again, this is a moment of important historical transition, a moment in which the nation had to be reconstructed, the past reconsidered, and the future reinvented. Politically it meant the end of the socialist experiment and the adoption of international capitalism. As in other African nations, the reconstruction was financed by international economic organizations, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, which meant heavy borrowing and high international debt (Chabal, History of Postcolonial Lusophone Africa). As a public intellectual, writer Mia Couto on several occasions questioned whether this path would fix the social, economic, and political damage produced by a history of colonialism and internal conflict, or whether it would merely produce new forms of dependency: "O colonialismo não morreu com as independências. Mudou de turno e de executores . . . Não só se naturalizou como passou a ser co-gerido numa parceira entre ex-colonizadores e ex-colonizados" (interview in Pensatempos 11).

Mia Couto clearly feared that the association between the internal elite and the international capital ("ex-colonizadores e ex-colonizados") would reinscribe old relationships of dependency and exploitation into the new context. In other

words, in his opinion, although the country had achieved independence, it was still far from reaching autonomy and breaking the cycle of subordination that characterized its past. Thus the notion of history that prevails in the novel and writings of Mia Couto is that of a cyclical repetition, in which the ghost of the colonial past still haunts the present and threatens the future: "Roubaram-vos tanto que nem sequer os sonhos são vossos, nada de vossa terra vos pertence, e até o céu e a terra serão propriedade de estranhos. Será mil vezes pior que o passado pois não vereis o rosto dos novos donos e esses patrões se servirão de vossos irmãos para vos dar castigo" (Terra Sonâmbula 201). The human consequence of a history of oppression is collective trauma, which in the passage cited manifests itself as an incapacity to dream, to conceive of another world. This conception of trauma is similar to the one prevalent in Pedro Páramo: not being able to dream is not being able to control the production of meaning and, ultimately, falling victim to an imposed history. As theorists Katharine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone argued, memory is "provisional, subjective, concerned with representation and present rather then fact and the past" (2), and as such it does not bear a straight equivalence with the event it refers to. Similarly, although an event can be traumatic, the manifestation of the trauma itself is a symbolic resignification of the experience that caused it. Thus to process the trauma is to own the past, which necessarily has to do with the control of meaning and representation. Comala's people, for example, who are unable to understand the motivation of their own "recuerdos," have no other choice than to constantly reenact them. Not producing meaning out of experience is what permits this experience to return and reproduce itself as a haunting memory. Mia Couto's novel, however, offers an alternative to the determinist cycle of historical repetition.

Memory as Invention

As in Pedro Páramo, the actions in Terra Sonâmbula revolve around a paradigmatic voyage of self-discovery that passes through an investigation of the past. However, instead of a persistent memory, the narrative explores the theme of memory loss, both as a consequence of the extermination of entire communities and as a result of the trauma affecting those who survived. While in Pedro Páramo the process of forgetting, as well as that of remembering, is negatively associated with alienation and estrangement, in Terra Sonâmbula these processes are complementary and work as a strategy of survival, which, as I will argue, allows the past to be reinvented.

Like Juan Preciado, Muidinga is moved by the primeval desire to learn about his origins and reconstruct his own identity. However, in his journey to the past, Juan Preciado becomes the repository of a collective memory, which he receives first from his mother and later from her community. Muidinga, on the other hand, loses his memory and his family to the war, and has nowhere to return to. As he moves through the empty roads, nothing that remains reminds him of an experience beyond the conflict; the ruins only tell a story of violence and terror. In the face of the brutal reality of the war, Tuahir urges Muidinga to embrace amnesia in order to avoid releasing the pain that his mind might have locked away.

The impasse between the old man's rejection of the past and the young boy's need to know stands for the postwar national struggle, which Hodgkin and Radstone described as having to do with "producing an agreed narrative that gives meaning and value to collective struggle, but simultaneously allowing for the expression of moments of dissatisfaction and suffering" (101). In other words, the novel seems be posing the following question: how can the past be reconciled with the present to produce a narrative that simultaneously heals the wounds of the past and provides a space for the reconstruction of the scattered community?

Mia Couto offers an alternative way to deal with the traumatic memory, one that is both collective and individual, that refers back to the past while directed to the future, and that profits as much from remembering as from forgetting. This alternative way is related to an active reinvention of the past, a process of critical interpretation, in which individuals take charge of the construction of their own history, selecting from the raw material of memory what will compose the narrative of the past. Paul Ricoeur, referring to Freud, calls this process of selection and reinvention a "recollection-memory," which presupposes a movement of distancing, objectification, and interrogation of the past. The author contrasts it to what he calls "repetition-memory," which compulsively acts out the past and resists criticism (14). In the novels analyzed here, "repetition-memory" describes the kind of memory that Tuahir fears, one that "can swallow up" people; it also accounts for the compulsive memory to which the people of Comala lose themselves. Mia Couto's novel, on the other hand, favors a "recollectionmemory," which emphasizes how experience comes to be signified and how the past can be collectively re-elaborated in the present.

While the incessant narration that goes on in Comala is fatal to Juan Preciado, who succumbs to the fear and terror that it inspires, narrative is what saves Muidinga from the constant threat of death: "O que lhe prediam àqueles destroços na

estrada? Então lhe veio a resposta clara: eram os cadernos de Kindzu, as estórias que ele vinha lendo cada noite" (Terra Sonâmbula 51). The difference between the experiences of the two characters is that Preciado is swept over by the collective memory he hears, whereas Muidinga is actively involved in the process of selecting, interpreting, and rebuilding the collective memory. Confronted with the brutality of a war that turns life insignificant, in a world that lost all human sense, to produce meaning becomes a struggle to reach sanity and regain humanity.

Terra Sonâmbula employs several mechanisms to enact a critical reassessment of the past: dream, invention, imagination, storytelling, memoir, and conversation. The dual structure of the novel, a narrative inside of a narrative, also reflects the working of a critical memory that reads and interprets the past. In the main narrative, taking place in the present, Muidinga reads the "Cadernos de Kindzu," which narrates events that took place in the past. At first this memoir functions as a means of entertainment and distraction during Muidinga's journey through the devastated country. Later it becomes a source for the composition of Muidinga's lost identity, as he first pretends to be Junito, Kindzu's lost brother, and then to be Kindzu himself. As the narrative progresses, Kindzu's notebook takes on the role of reconstructing the past, offering indirect glimpses on the situation before the war, and revealing some of the causes of the conflict. By doing so, Kindzu's narrative becomes a source Muidinga can use to rebuild his own lost memory.

According to Paul Ricoeur, "if history is to be able to engage critically with memory one needs to give meaning to the notion of collective memory" (10). Kindzu's narrative is composed of several different stories he collected during his journey around the country. His notebook becomes the depository of a collection of memories belonging to people of diverse ethnic, racial, and national backgrounds. As such, it destabilizes any notion of a homogeneous or uniform history by offering varied perspectives on the event. These stories reflect the ethnic tensions, social fragmentation, and conflicts that informed the historical background of the war. Notably, most of the people Kindzu describes in his notebook are estranged from their original community, lost or not completely integrated in their new social environs. For example, this is true of Kindzu's friend Surendra, an Indian merchant who suffers persecution and harassment after independence. It is also the experience of Fárida, who was displaced from her tribe and separated from her family before the war. Similarly, Gaspar, who was conceived as a result of a rape and who is later abandoned in an orphanage.

Virginha, Fárida's Portuguese adoptive mother, is another displaced character, far from her home country and impeded from returning to it.

Kindzu's memoir is a metonymy of Mia Couto's own book. It functions as a space for the elaboration of a narrative that takes into consideration the multiplicity of voices that form the collective memory. The freedom that Couto concedes to fictional imagination is, in a way, what permits himself to dream about a more inclusive reorganization of the Mozambican society itself, one that could accommodate the country's social, ethnic, and cultural diversity.

Mia Couto's narrative participates in the effort to reconstruct the country's national identity, a task in which the reassessment of the past plays a fundamental role. In his nonfictional writings, Mia Couto rejects what he calls "essencialist discourses," which propose the recuperation of an original African identity prior to the process of colonization. He considers this return impossible given the country's past and current diversity. The reconciliation of Mozambique, according to Couto, would entail the construction of a multicultural society that could acknowledge and include the different cultural groups that exist within the country. In the novel, this ideal takes the form of cooperation across ethnic traditions and across different forms of cultural registers, such as the oral and the written, which converges in a collective national narrative. In other words, if difference is inscribed in the core of collective memory itself, it should also be incorporated in the form that shapes the narrative about the past.

But in order for this cooperation to happen, the authority of written over oral language also had to be reconsidered. Mia Couto seems to be conscious that this cooperation usually conceals a hierarchic objectification of the oral tradition, often taken as a source narrative to be reworked and preserved in written form. This perception also implies the writer or the intellectual as the savior of the collective memory, responsible for producing the articulation between traditional and modern forms. In *Terra* Sonâmbula, the intellectual represented by Kindzu is far from being a leader of the masses or a rescuer of a dying oral tradition. In fact, his mission to reconnect families and people scattered during the war fails. His memory survives only because others seize and make use of it. In the novel, the intellectual becomes only one of the agents in a collective process of narrating the past, based on a wide chain of interpretations, reappropriations, and exchanges between different sources of memory.

This process is better illustrated in the ways in which Muidinga and Tuahir interact with and appropriate of Kindzu's memoir. Muidinga is an active reader

who takes control over the stories and turns them into his own. He not only performs the stories, embodying the characters and using them as subsidies for the construction of his own self, but also intervenes in the development of the story itself. By doing so, he blurs the lines between what is recorded and what is imagined. At a certain point, Tuahir questions whether the stories Muidinga tells are actually written in the notebook, or whether he only pretends to read them. The question destabilizes the hierarchies between reading and writing and, as such, between the oral and written traditions. It implies not only that reading/retelling determines meaning by a retrospective act of interpretation, but also, in a Borgesian alteration of the logical causality, that these actions collaborate in the very process of creation. In other words, Muidinga becomes not only the story's reader/interpreter but also its author. As they retell, reenact, and redevelop the narrative, both Muidinga and Tuahir become responsible for actualizing this narrative in the world, renewing its meaning in the present and assuring its continuity in the future.

According to Ricoeur, "The past acquires its double sense of having been and no longer being only in relation to the future" (9). Mia Couto not only writes about moments of change; he himself is also writing from a moment of historical transition. With the end of the civil war and the beginning of the reconstruction, the past and future collapse into one another: in order to continue, to move forward, it was necessary to first deal with the ghosts of the past, to heal the wounds and reveal the traumas. The meaning extracted from this revision would offer the material from which the future could be molded. This double movement of looking at the past to envision the future also shows that, although the past cannot be undone, its meaning, as Ricoeur puts it, "is not fixed once and for all" (14). Through reenactment-reinterpretion-reinvention, Mia Couto shows that imagination can free the past to reshape the future. If the advantage of fictional representation over History is that it can reenact the deep structures of historical experience, it also has the power to break the spell of historical determination, and reshape destiny as possibility.

NOTES

- I. For more information on this topic, see Chabal, The Postcolonial Literature of Lusophone Africa.
- 2. Mia Couto has recognized Latin American literature (specifically citing the writers García Márquez, Juan Rulfo, and Guimarães Rosa) as an important reference for his

work. For more information, see his interview for the Brazilian TV show Roda Viva (2007).

3. For more information on the Mozambican Civil War see Chabal, A History of Postcolonial Lusophone Africa.

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THAYSE LEAL LIMA is a PhD candidate in Portuguese and Brazilian studies at Brown University. She is currently working on a dissertation about intellectual exchanges between Brazilian and Hispanic American literary critics during the second half of the twentieth century. Her research interests include twentieth-century Brazilian, Hispanic American, and Lusophone literature, intellectual history, and literary criticism. She can be reached at thayse_lima@brown.edu.