

Art Topples Monuments: Artistic Practice and Colonial/Postcolonial Relations in the Public Space of Luanda

ABSTRACT: Even though there have been very few modern and contemporary artworks in the urban space of Luanda in the years after independence in 1975—and especially after the end of the civil war in 2002—there are two works by Angolan artists that are of particular interest: the sculpture *Mitologias II* (1984) by António Ole (b. 1951) and the photographic series *Redefining the Power* (2011) by Kiluanji Kia Henda (b. 1978). Both works address the possibility of using contemporary art as a symbolic form of the replacement of power, since both are built on pedestals that had previously supported monuments of Portuguese colonial power. They might, therefore, be read as a form of substitution for monuments that would commemorate and celebrate independence or the end of colonialism. This article also discusses whether these two artworks can also be regarded as counter-monuments and this contributes to the discourse on the visual and material culture of Lusophone Africa.

KEYWORDS: Angola, Luanda, Contemporary Art, Urban Space, Memory, Monument

RESUME: No espaço público em Luanda, há dois trabalhos de artistas angolanos particularmente interessantes: a escultura *Mitologias II* (1984) de António Ole (n. 1951) e a série das fotografias *Redefining the Power* (2011) por Kiluanji Kia Henda (n. 1977). Ambos os trabalhos falam sobre a possibilidade de usar a arte contemporânea como uma forma de substituição aos símbolos de poder colonial—como uma forma de substituição de monumentos que comemorariam a independência (1975) ou o fim do colonialismo. Este artigo pergunta se as duas obras também podem ser consideradas como uma forma de “contra-monumento” e contribuem para o discurso sobre a cultura visual e material da África lusófona.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Angola, Luanda, arte contemporânea, espaço urbano, memória, monumento

Introduction

The engagement with public space on the African continent is part of the recognition of the role of the environment on social processes that entered the humanities within the context of the spatial turn.¹ Within art studies specifically, the relationship of artists with place and space is of increasing interest.² Research on art in public space not only deals with commemorative sites that carry official history or sculptural works that, often commissioned, are designed to sit within the public space and are therefore site-specific, but also considers more temporal, often performative, artistic interventions in the public environment. These have the potential to raise questions by testing the limits of normativity and of the social boundaries of the private and the public.³ In these practices, the city is more than just a neutral stage for artistic engagement. It is rather the specific history inscribed into the urban space and its architecture that is often the main focus of the artists' attention. The city is conceptualized as a script, an archive of collective memory, a palimpsestic carrier of the layers of history.⁴

The artistic strategies dealing with this shared memory space may use documentary approaches to depict the specificities of urban space, such as in the recent photographic series by the 2013 Venice Golden Lion Award winner Edson Chagas (b. 1977) and his artwork *Found Not Taken* (2009), where, in a sort of field-work, the urban space is mapped.⁵ In this project, Edson Chagas took found objects from the streets of Luanda, London and Newport, and photographed them at new, carefully chosen sites. His perspective offers another view of these abandoned objects that have a very short life in the consumeristic societies in which he worked. Other artists fictionalize the space and use it as a setting for narratives that intervene in the reality script. One such work is the photographic series *Redefining the Power* by Kiluanji Kia Henda, which will be discussed below. Here, the city is seen as imaginative, a space that gives place for staging and performing different realities.⁶ The urban space is, therefore, not a given reality, but one that is actively created by the artists' imagination. These imaginative aspects can be utopian, phantasmagorical or even irrational.⁷

In this article, I question both whether and how art offers forms and practices that deal with the public space in Angola's capital, Luanda, in ways which are different from official commemorative practices. This study is based on extended research visits to Luanda over the past ten years and a number of conversations with artists and academics in the field of art and memory studies. Building upon studies that deal with the so-called archival turn in the visual

arts, I am interested in investigating how collective memory is rendered through contemporary art and in the relationship between the ethics and aesthetics of postcolonial thought.⁸ How do artists seek to subvert the colonial archive—also manifest in the urban space—and the historical order it implies? Sometimes in this process, those who deploy such practices might be seen to be imagining alternative futures. A close reading, analysis and interpretation of two selected artworks from two different generations of artists will explore these questions from a visual culture perspective.

In the examples discussed, contemporary art is used as a form of physical replacement, since both are built on pedestals that had previously supported monuments of Portuguese colonial power. Can we consider them as a substitution that would perhaps commemorate independence or the end of colonialism? Can these two works be regarded as counter-monuments for an alternative commemoration of the colonial history of the Angolan capital? I will first present the urban space in Luanda, specifically, in relation to art and aesthetic practice since independence. I will then introduce the history of some colonial monuments and their toppling in the context of the decolonisation of the urban space. An in-depth analysis and interpretation of the artworks—*Mitologias II* (1984) by António Ole and *Redefining the Power* (2011) by Kiluanji Kia Henda—will be the focus of the final part of this article.

Art and Urban Space in Luanda

In Luanda, engagement with the urban space is mostly a phenomenon of the post-civil war era, beginning in 2002. The history of over forty years of armed conflict—first against the Portuguese colonial power, then, after independence in 1975, between several independence movements—is engraved into the city, even though Luanda has only rarely been the actual stage for hostilities.⁹ Until the late colonial period in the 1970s, there had been several urban planning initiatives, which remain visible in the modern architecture still dominating the city center. During the 1950s and 1960s, the city was growing rapidly. These new buildings were mainly the work of Portuguese architects, such as Vieira da Costa (1911–1982) and Fernando Simões de Carvalho (b. 1929), who, following the modernist ideas of Le Corbusier, shaped the city at that time. During the war decades—with a growing urban population—city planning was neglected, but so was the development of an infrastructure to support the arts and culture. Facilities, such as studio spaces for artists and gallery spaces, were scarce, and

there were no art museums. Except for support from the national artist union UNAP,¹⁰ there were no other state-funded fine arts projects.¹¹ After 2002, a new wave of reconstruction tried to create a Dubai-like face with the “Marginal,” a restored and altered road that runs along the coast, which showcases rows of palm trees shipped from Florida. This trend also led to the demolition of several buildings from the early 1900s as well as others from the late colonial period in order to create space for shopping malls, hotels and car parks. The new cosmopolitan metropolis is based on the booming economic sectors.¹²

Nevertheless, in spite of these challenging conditions, there has never been no artistic practice. The first generation of artists after independence consisted of a cosmopolitan urban elite, but their main point of reference were the rural areas in their nostalgic motivation to (re)connect to what was believed to be the lost authentic arts of the pre-colonial period.¹³ It was only after the end of the civil war that walking in the city became a common public practice, which today is also seen in the appropriation of the urban environment through open-air sports and other spare time practices. Nevertheless, contrary to other African cities such as Douala, Kampala and Dakar, contemporary art in the public space of Luanda is virtually non-existent. For many years after 2002, the urban space was not considered a space for the arts, regardless of whether these were state-sponsored public sculptures or ephemeral sub-cultural manifestations in the form of graffiti or street art. The city’s significance as a space for contemporary art increased with the establishment of the Luanda Triennial in 2005/6, an art event with an international outreach that has been directed by the Angolan artist and curator Fernando Alvim.¹⁴ The organization reconstructed empty spaces into art-spaces, and content-wise young artists such as Yonamine, Kiluanji Kia Henda and Ihosvanny worked with and within the urban space.¹⁵ Luanda has not only been “acted on,” but, since 2002, it has also provided space for art that created new spheres of action through the temporary establishment of galleries and workshops. In addition, artistic media related to subversive and popular practices, such as street art and graffiti, became visible in the early 2000s, though still in comparatively small quantities. Nevertheless, a young post-war generation of artists came together at UNAP, the *Teatro Elinga*¹⁶ and in the new spaces of the Luanda Triennial, and they began to formulate their visions of the future and the role of the artist in it. Art practice in early post-war art started to be re-invented in the context of the re-structuring of the local art world. The Luanda Triennial and an increasing internationalization of the art-scene through the

participation of artists such as António Ole, Fernando Alvim, Kiluanji Kia Henda, Yonamine and Edson Chagas in events such as the Biennials of Venice, São Paulo and Guangzhou were part of this process.

In this context, art was seen as a tool of social action and as a means to deal with abandoned or invisible places in the center of Luanda. Action was mainly taken by the curators and artists themselves; despite some nominal support the government has not yet seriously invested in the cultural infrastructure. Therefore, artists depend on private donors and collectors as well as local industries and the bank sector as sponsors. Still, the relationship of Luanda's artists with their city is today one of hate and love—"ódio e amor." This ambivalence is expressed in art works, including nostalgic reflections on the city's past and the significance of its peripheries, as in António Ole's *Township Walls* (a series of installations that began in 2003).

One of the first major events in the public space was the art exhibition *Pela Paz* (*For the Peace*) by the young artist collective *Os Nacionalistas*¹⁷ in 2003 on the streets in front of the *Teatro Elinga* and the headquarters of UNAP on the occasion of the commemoration of the birthday of Angola's first president, Agostinho Neto.¹⁸ Despite the fact that the government typically monopolizes this date to perform commemorative events, *Pela Paz* successfully staged what was probably the first self-organized art exhibition after the official end of the civil war in 2002. Although the artworks had no political content, the exhibition itself made a political statement by being held on the same day as the government's commemoration. What the artists did was to explore a new format: a collaborative public space exhibition where they displayed the variety of their aesthetic practices. This event was something new for the art world in Luanda and reflected the urge to re-appropriate the city, which was once a quite hostile space, and to invent new, unexpected spaces for art in the urban expanse. The partly collaborative artworks shown in the streets of Luanda have been path-breaking for the artistic practices of the years that followed, which have been more process-oriented and experimental than previous practices.

A Journey to the Sun

Art in the urban space of Luanda is directly connected to colonial and post-colonial histories and their manifestations in the cityscape. The creation of official sites for commemoration is commonplace. But instead of actively engaging with history, it has often "been stopped" here by official images that provide a fixed

version of the event. The engagement by artists with sites of the aftermath of colonialism can be considered a form of “memory work” that is fundamentally different from official sites of commemoration. Reference points in the cityscape, such as the omnipresent *Mausoleum of Agostinho Neto* (1980/2011), are re-interpreted in works of art and this enables an alternative reading of their possible meanings, as in, for example, Kiluanji Kia Henda’s *Icarus 13: The First Journey to the Sun* (2007). (Fig. 1) Here, the mausoleum—a monument and, as such, part of the cityscape—not only becomes a spacecraft, but is connected to a (post) socialist and even Afro-futuristic imaginary space—an imaginary city. In this work the artist plays with the heroic past and its political icons—in this case the mausoleum of Angola’s first president, Agostinho Neto (1922–1979). Construction began on it in the 1980s with financial support from the Soviet Union, but the building was never completed. Nevertheless, it epitomizes the material concreteness and imaginative power of the utopia of socialism. When Neto died in Moscow in 1979, the USSR decided to offer the new Republic a monumental mausoleum that would, according to Marxist-Leninist tradition, host the embalmed body of Angola’s first president and symbolize his greatness. In 1980 a team of now-unknown Soviet designers from the Design Institute of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics started work on the conception of the building, which was to be erected in Luanda. Two years later, in 1982, the laying of the cornerstone took place, but due to the fall of the USSR, the long-lasting civil war, and the economic and political crisis in Angola, the completion of the Mausoleum was postponed for more than twenty years. In 1998 the Angolan government decided to restart the project and intended to transform the Mausoleum into a cultural center. In 2005 construction of the project was taken over by the North Korean company MANSUDAE, which completed work in 2011. One year later, in 2012 the building opened to the public, and today the 120 meter-high concrete structure of the Mausoleum is a public venue and one of the most visible landmarks of Angola’s capital, Luanda. The sarcophagus of the former Angolan president is stored, as is Lenin’s sarcophagus in his mausoleum in Moscow, in a central block, which also serves as the pyramidal base of the constructivist tower which is composed of concrete juxtaposed plastic elements. The contrast between the rough and brutal elegance of the Mausoleum’s exterior, the airport-like interiors and the Dubai-like design of the surrounding area reveals the long building history of the project and the shifting paradigms between the early independent government and the current one. Neto’s Mausoleum represents a specific

Eastern European constructivist tradition of monuments. The bright socialist future embedded in Neto's engraved words, and in the beauty of the original design of the monumental building, clashes with the current social issues that are evident in Luanda and throughout the country. At the present moment, the building could be seen as an architectural metaphor of a failed utopia, or of the modernist melancholia of this late socialism, when the architecture of the present has been monumentalized in order to project itself into the future. Moreover, it could be interpreted as part of Soviet Modernism with its references to space travel and hyperbolic modernity. Surprisingly, the most popular nickname for the futurist building is not the 'space rocket' (*o foguetão*) which can be found not only in public discourses, but also in contemporary artworks, such as Kiluanji Kia Henda's *Icarus* 13.

The Empty Pedestal

An important reference point in the city, the memorial is unique in its architectural design. The rest of the inner city offers insights into other historical layers of the urban space. Apart from the late colonial modern architecture from the 1940s to the 1970s which still dominates the city center, very few houses from the earlier colonial period remain visible in the urban space. The ones that are standing consist of some pre-modernist buildings, which were falling apart and which were removed to make space for the real estate boom of the early 2000s. Today, few of them have been renovated. This includes the structure, built by a rich Portuguese family at the end of the nineteenth century, that since 1976 has housed the Museu Nacional de Anthropologia in Coqueiros and the former Grand Hotel, which was transformed into the Brazilian Cultural Center after it had nearly completely deteriorated.¹⁹

In addition, some artworks from the late colonial period, such as a mural by the colonial artist Neves e Sousa at the international airport 4 de Fevereiro, have survived in the ever-changing cityscape.²⁰ But the absence of direct markers of coloniality is quite evident. During the colonial period, monuments to historic Portuguese personalities had been scattered all over the inner city. These included, among others, sculptures of the voyager Diogo Cão, who arrived on the Angolan coast in 1485, created by António Duarte in 1948 and of Paulo Dias de Novais, who founded the city of Luanda in 1576. Former colonial monuments were toppled by the new political power during the course of independence in 1975/6 with the iconoclastic motivation to make the old regime invisible.²¹ In contrast to many European

countries, where former colonialists still have visibility in the urban spaces as equestrian sculptures, the toppling of monuments outside the West is a strategy that is often employed to mark political change. This happened with the colonial statues in the city-space of Luanda. Some of the pedestals have been given new figures. Perhaps the most radical toppling took place on Kinaxixi Square, then called *Largo Maria da Fonte*, when the Victory monument by Portuguese artist Henrique Moreira dating from 1937 was dynamited in 1974 and replaced by a Soviet tanker. It is said that this was the very tanker on which Angola's first president Agostinho Neto entered the city to proclaim independence with his revolutionary movement MPLA.²² The tanker was later replaced by the sculpture of the historical heroine Queen Njinga (1582-1663) that was also intended to mark victory over the colonial power. Njinga is perhaps the most important symbol of the anti-colonial struggle in Angola. Throughout her life she refused to acknowledge the imperial power of Portugal. From her local queendom of Ndongo and Matamba, she fought the colonial power from the interior. After independence, she started to become a national heroine. This sculpture was removed from Kinaxixi Square in 2008 as part of the demolition of the modernist market building (1950-52) in order to make space for a new shopping center, and it was then transported to the Military Museum at the old colonial fort. (Fig. 2)

The works by António Ole and Kiluanji Kia Henda that are discussed in this article are erected on pedestals that had previously supported monuments of Portuguese colonial power, and these had been toppled in the context of the independence process as an anti-colonial gesture. They form a counter-visibility to the official commemorative monuments of the colonial and socialist past by working with traces of the aftermath of colonialism and the ways in which it marked the urban landscape of Luanda.

Mitologias II

Next to the official monuments of the socialist era, such as the statues of Rainha Njinga and Agostinho Neto—both produced in bronze at the North Korean art-craft factory of Mansudae,²³ and both, therefore, epitomizing a “socialist realist” style²⁴—the metal sculpture *Mitologias II* by António Ole from 1985 can, as of 2018, be considered the only state-sponsored modern artwork in the public space of Luanda. It is positioned in front of the German embassy situated along the coastal avenue known as the Marginal. The sculpture was commissioned by the Angolan state-owned petrol company *Petromar* for the city of Luanda. This

new contemporary artwork replaced the colonial sculpture of the Portuguese seaman Vasco da Gama. (Figs. 3 & 4)

The sculpture consists of four vertical figurative elements, two of them anthropomorphic, one zoomorphic and one abstract. On the bottom, between the four figures, is another element in the form of a snake. The metal figures are painted in bright colors, such as yellow, red, blue and white, and one of the anthropomorphic elements is brown. They are distributed equally over the pedestal, with the yellow and orange bird-like figure and the brown human-like figure facing outward on the two narrow sides. Between them is the smaller human-like figure in yellow and brown and the abstract figure that resembles a striped tower with a half-round top in blue. There are also step-like elements that lead to some of the figures. The work resembles not only the pop-art style of a number of António Ole's paintings from the 1980s, but also the surrealist art of the Portuguese artist José de Guimarães with its clearly distinct color fields and simple forms. Guimarães served in the Portuguese military in Luanda in the late 1960s and curated António Ole's first exhibition at the Museu de Angola in 1968. The sculpture also anticipates the colorful installation of his later *Township Walls* that earned him popularity in the international art world.²⁵ However, the sculpture plays a rather minor role in Luanda's profile as a cosmopolitan African city.²⁶ Instead, it serves to underline the absence and not the presence of art in the public space. Nevertheless, *Mitologias II* can be seen as a late modern response to the colonial city by replacing an empty pedestal with a new work embedded in the nationalist discourse on modern art in Angola that was circulating around definitions of "authenticity." "Angolanidade" was a key term in the formation of the modernist aesthetics of the post-independence period as late as the 1980s.²⁷ The partly nostalgic motivation to reconstruct Angolan identity also had an impact on fine arts practice. Socialist modernity was combined with the idea of a rooted African culture, fuelling the artistic imagination in the late 1970s and early 1980s. *Mitologias II* is one of the last manifestations of this period in Angolan art-making and an important work that embraces this aesthetic discourse both formally and in its positioning in the public space.

Redefining the Power

The monuments by the young artist Kiluanji Kia Henda²⁸ create alternative narratives of the past. In his photographic series *Redefining the Power* (2011) he works performatively with the pedestals of historic monuments in Luanda's cityscape. (Fig.

5) Some of them have been re-appropriated by socialist monuments. Others have remained empty and almost invisible—a dysfunctional architecture in the space of the city. The photographs form part of the series *Homem Novo* (New Man), which is a reference to the Angolan national anthem and reflects the nation's aspiration to reinvent its national identity following independence in 1975. The socialist notion of the “New Man” conceptualized a modern “wo_man” on the way to a communist society.²⁹ Based on the Soviet model, the concept has also been applied to the post-revolutionary cultural politics of the former Portuguese colonies.³⁰

This work may be interpreted as the next step for Angolan artists who not only work with the visual/material traces of history, but who also creatively redefine it. The ephemeral performances are later translated into high-quality photographic work, and enter distribution within the art world and art market. The issue of monuments as a form of official commemoration of historical events or personalities comes into play in this work. Monuments reveal the complexity of official commemorations: on the one hand, they manifest a will to remember, while, on the other, they freeze memory in stone. Kiluanji Kia Henda is tracing this frozen history of the colonial monuments in Luanda—an archive in itself—by working both with the empty pedestals in the city-space, from where the former colonial statues had been removed during the moment of liberation, and with the removed statues themselves. In *Redefining the Power*, the artist stages new images with new “figures”—his “cultural heroes”³¹—on top of the pedestals, thereby filling the gap, the void left on top of the pedestals. He has collaborated with other artists from the local cultural scene who work in different genres, such as the fashion designers Shunnuz Fiel and Didi Fernandes and the dancer Miguel Prince, and who have posed as living sculptures on the pedestals in various costumes. These costumes partly resemble wedding dresses (designed by Mwamby Wassaki) or ball gowns, and they add in this way a queer aesthetic to the work—an aspect that Kiluanji Kia Henda has also explored in his photograph *Poderosa de Bom Jesus* (2006).³²

The aspect of performance as ephemeral aesthetic strategy, which is enacted only in a certain moment is crucial here. It creates a specific relationship with space and time, and this is still visible in the photographs. In this work, Kiluanji Kia Henda chooses one of the most ephemeral of media: fashion. By working with the textile creations of Angolan contemporary fashion designers, he proposes a new form and medium for the manifestation of power: a bright, moving and queer body representing the new Luanda, the new post-war, post-socialist

and post-colonial Angola. He is also blurring the line between bodies as living human media and lifeless mediating objects. The “new wo_men” on top of the pedestal are consciously ephemeral, fluid and queer, but at the same time they perform an act of world-making³³—or even future-making. The optimistic hopes for a new future become reality in the very moment of the staged performance on top of the pedestals.

Kiluanji Kia Henda uses the body to hint at an absence, a part of history, which had to be made unseen in the course of the implementation of a new state and its ideology. His new men on top of the pedestals are performing the optimism of the post-war period and the artist argues, that “[...] every city should have empty pedestals that could be customized regarding our passions, instead of having representations in cold stone of dead people that no one really cares about today and most of them are connected with wars or political power.”³⁴ In one photograph from the series, the artist reveals this history and his intervention. The new image with the staged living sculpture is juxtaposed with a picture of the empty pedestal but also with a historical photograph of the colonial monuments with the respective historical figure on top, the founder of the city, Paulo Dias de Novais. (Fig. 6)

A related work, based on the toppled monuments themselves, is *Bulumuka* (Ambush) (2010). (Fig. 7) Here, the artists depicted the dismantled, partly fragmented colonial statues depicting Luis Vaz de Camões, Dom Afonso Henriques and Pedro Álvares Cabral, among others, which were gathered together next to tanks and cannons in an almost theatrical way, recalling a cemetery, at the Fortress of São Miguel (built by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century). The formally and aesthetically diverse sculptures not only represent different periods in colonial art history, but they also, in the way the artist depicts them, seem to be engaged in a silent dialogue that crosses time and space and even holds the flow of time for a while. Kiluanji Kia Henda considers “those monuments [as] clandestine citizens with expired visas: they should be deported to their place of origin after paying the fine for illegal permanence.”³⁵ After the reopening of the Military Museum in 2013, the abandoned figures, led by the bronze statue of Rainha Ginga, were lined up in the courtyard without any further explanation, thus silencing the history of oppression and power relations of the colonial period.

Kiluanji Kia Henda’s artworks can be understood as the creation of new images and narratives that speak about Luanda’s heterogeneous present. At the same time, they provide a critical rereading of the past through a performative

intervention. He is questioning the symbolic power of monuments by introducing the possibility to break it, commenting on the post-war society in transit. Furthermore, the work is also a transmission into the future, for the new, staged figures speak about a queer Luanda yet to come. Posing in the clothes and fabrics of emergent Angolan fashion designers, the artist constructs his models as the incarnation of a new Luandan: a bright, queer and moving body.

Future is regarded as something to be envisioned, a process which is, at the same time, rewriting the past by toppling monuments and anticipating new heroes. Through this juxtapositioning, Kiluanji Kia Henda uses the imaginary to reflect on numerous moments and perhaps versions of the history of the country, and in so doing, could be seen to be projecting a future for Angola. He provides an alternative to how history is perceived and comments on the (non)permanence, significance and historical heritage of objects of history.

Intervention in the Urban Script

In the interpretation of the works above I understand the city as an urban archive³⁶—as a knowledge base that can be reactivated and redefined through artistic enactment. The artworks question the relationships between colonial memory and public space. Through the performative act, the symbolic system is re-actualized, which makes it possible to inscribe new meanings.

Artistic practice offers manifold means of questioning the archive and, in the process, redefining the power. These new artworks filled a gap—not only a spatial one, but also a temporal one—because they were created by the erasure of a historical marker, the colonial monument—with new images and narratives that address Luanda's heterogeneous present.

The works of both António Ole and Kiluanji Kia Henda are redefinitions of colonial power structures embedded in the urban landscape by intervening into the urban script. The need for this kind of artistic intervention can be compared to similar initiatives on the African continent, such as the Rhodes Must Fall movement in South Africa, where monuments are toppled and streets are renamed.³⁷ In the seamless connections between fiction and non-fiction, history is told anew and thereby redefined. New heroes and new power structures are defined and the old narratives are questioned by working on monumental places that are carriers of history. Their works—whether a metal modernist sculpture or an ephemeral performance translated onto photographic paper—fill a void at the core of the urban archive—with new images and narratives that address Luanda's

heterogeneous present. They creatively redefine (a certain) history's visual traces, bringing them into the here and now and imagining a future with new aesthetics and heroes for the city yet to come that stands in radical contradistinction to the old "heroes" carved in stone.

NOTES

1. See e.g. Ana Balona de Oliveira and Edson Chagas, *Found Not Taken* (Heidelberg: Kehrer Verlag, 2016).

2. cf. Okwui Enwezor, *Under Siege, Four African Cities Freetown, Johannesburg, Kinshasa, Lagos* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2002).

3. Akinbode Akinbiyi, et al., *Africas: The Artist and the City: A Journey and an Exhibition* (Actar, 2002).

4. cf. Sarah Nuttall and J.-A. Mbembé, *Johannesburg: The Elusive Metropolis* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 8.

5. Ana Balona de Oliveira and Edson Chagas, *Found Not Taken*, (Heidelberg: Kehrer Verlag, 2016).

6. cf. Murray und Myers, *Cities in Contemporary Africa*, 27.

7. cf. Filip de Boeck and Marie-Françoise Plissart, *Kinshasa* (Antwerp: Ludion, 2004); James Donald, *Imagining the Modern City* (Continuum International Publishing Group, 2005).

8. Hall Foster, "An Archival Impulse," *October*, vol. 110, 2004, p. 3.

9. The city of Luanda itself has rarely been the site of violent armed struggle. One occasion was the failure of the Bicesse Accord and the first presidential elections in 1991, when government troops attacked the oppositional party UNITA. See, Fernando Batalha, *Angola: arquitetura e história* (Vega, 2006); Patrick Chabal and Nuno Vidal, *Angola: The Weight of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007); Silvia Baptista Leiria Viegas, "Luanda, cidade (im)previsível?" February 2015, <https://www.repository.utl.pt/handle/10400.5/10063>.

10. The National Artists Union (União Nacional dos Artistas Plásticos) was founded with a strong socialist impetus in 1979 to support artistic practice and education. It offered courses in different techniques, access to studio space, and opened a gallery in the city center. The union still exists, but has only very limited financial resources. Its headquarters and gallery is situated in an old, deteriorating building from the early twentieth century in the city center.

11. Nadine Siegert, *(Re)Mapping Luanda: Utopische und nostalgische Zugänge zu einem kollektiven Bildarchiv* (LIT Verlag, 2016), 55ff.

12. Fabio Vanin, "Physical and Ephemeral Devices for Urban Security: the Case of Luanda," in *Urban Safety and Security*, edited by Emanuela Bonini Lessing (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2015), 82.

13. Siegert, (Re)Mapping Luanda.

14. Christian Hanussek, *Memórias Íntimas Marcas*. Interview mit dem Künstler Fernando Alvim über den Aufbau eines afrikanischen Kunstnetzwerkes, Bd. x, 2 (Springerin: Hefte für Gegenwartskunst, 2004); Sue Williamson, "The Trienal de Luanda is coming: a new vision for art events in Africa," *Artthrob*, N. 97 (September 2005); Delinda Collier, *Repainting the Walls of Lunda: Information Colonialism and Angolan Art* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016); Siegert, (Re)Mapping Luanda.

15. Nadine Siegert and Ulf Vierke, "Urban Memories and Utopias—Contemporary Art in Luanda and Nairobi," in *Living the City in Africa: Processes of Invention and Intervention*, edited by Veit Arlt, Birgit Obrist, and Elisio Macamo (LIT Verlag Münster, 2013), 135–52.

16. The theater is located in one of the old colonial buildings in the city centre and is one of the most important cultural venues in Luanda with a program of theater and music, and a nightclub. Some artists such as António Ole also (temporarily) use it as their studio space.

17. The loose artist collective consisted of mainly young contemporary artists and had been founded in 1999. They explored experimental formats and events over the previous years, mostly at *Teatro Elinga*. The core group was active until 2005. With the name *Nacionalistas* the group refers to the cultural patriotism of the Angolan art-scene, sometimes they also used the addition *Os Nacionalistas / Internacionalistas*.

18. Siegert, (Re)Mapping Luanda, 217.

19. Nilsa Massango, "Grande Hotel de Luanda é futura Casa do Brasil," *Jornal de Angola*, March 1, 2014, http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao/sociedade/grande_hotel_de_luanda_e_futura_casa_do_brasil; Pedro Cardoso, "Museu de Antropologia," *Rede Angola* —Notícias independentes sobre Angola, July 17, 2014, <http://www.redeangola.info/roteiros/museu-de-antropologia/>.

20. The green and white graphite mural measures 345 square meters and shows linear human figures. It features an exoticizing scene of different ethnic groups of Angola, depicting them in their everyday work and social life.

21. Berta Maria Oliveira Jacob, "A toponímia de Luanda: das memórias coloniais às pós-coloniais," 2011, <http://repositorioaberto.uab.pt/handle/10400.2/1866>; Vera Mariz, "The Understanding of the Touristic Value of Portuguese Overseas Monuments: The Case of Angola (1959-1974)," *Journal of Spatial and Organizational Dynamics* 4, Nr. 2 (2016): 157–68.

22. The MPLA (*Movimento Popular Libertação de Angola*) was a former independence movement that became the governing party after independence in 1975. Until 1991, it was ideologically informed by Marxism-Leninism and acted as single political party. After 1991, the state officially became a multi-party system, but the MPLA has remained the ruling party until today.

23. The Mansudae Overseas Project manufactured a number of bronze statues for the African continent and also built commemorative sites. All of these works were state-commissions; a recent one was the *African Renaissance Monument* in Dakar. The socialist aesthetics that dominate these works seems to fit the ideals of beauty of states with a totalitarian tendency.

24. Ferdinand de Jong and Vincent Foucher, "La tragédie du roi Abdoulaye? Néomodernisme et Renaissance africaine dans le Sénégal contemporain," *Politique africaine*, N. 118 (November 15, 2012): 187–204; Paul van Riel, Luca Faccio, and Martin Sasse, "All official portraiture of North Korea's reigning Kim family is made by Mansudae Art Studio," *COLORS Magazine*, January 10, 2013, <http://www.colors magazine.com/stories/magazine/87/story/all-official-portraiture-of-north-koreas-reigning-kim-family-is-made-by-man>.

25. António Ole has exhibited widely at the Biennials of São Paulo, Havana, Johannesburg and Venice, and has had solo shows in Lisbon, Luanda, Salvador, Washington and Bayreuth.

26. Vanin, "Physical and Ephemeral Devices for Urban Security: the Case of Luanda," 84.

27. cf. Marissa Jean Moorman, *Intonations: A Social History of Music and Nation in Luanda, Angola, from 1945 to Recent Times*, New African Histories Series (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2008).

28. Kiluanji Kia Henda is one of the most prominent Angolan artists today. He started to work professionally during the first Luanda Triennial in 2005/6 and has had a number of solo and group exhibitions since then, including the Biennials of Venice, São Paulo and Guangzhou.

29. Yinghong Cheng, *Creating the "New Man": From Enlightenment Ideals to Socialist Realities* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2009).

30. The concept has also been applied in former French colonies, such as the Republic of Congo (Greani 2013).

31. Kim Knoppers, "Interview with Kiluanji Kia Henda," Foam Fotografiemuseum Amsterdam, accessed May 9, 2016, <http://www.foam.org/talent/spotlight/interview-with-kiluanji-kia-henda>.

32. In this work, Kiluanji Kia Henda confronts the colonial gaze with a staged portrait of a transgender person who is dressed in a female dress of an ethnic group from southern Angola. Nadine Siegert, "The archive as construction site—Collective memory and trauma in contemporary art from Angola," *World Art*, April 2016, 103–23.

33. Nelson Goodman, *Ways of Worldmaking* (Hackett Publishing, 1978), 106.

34. Knoppers, "Interview with Kiluanji Kia Henda."

35. Knoppers.

36. Vyjayanthi Rao, "Embracing Urbanism: The City as Archive," *New Literary History* 40, n. 2 (22. November 2009): 371–83, <https://doi.org/10.1353/nlh.0.0085>; Michael Sheringham and Richard Wentworth, "City as Archive: A Dialogue between Theory and Practice," *Cultural Geographies* 23, Nr. 3 (July 1, 2016): 517–23.

37. Minesh Parekh, "On #RhodesMustFall and what it means," *History Matters* (blog), January 29, 2016, <http://www.historymatters.group.shef.ac.uk/rhodesmustfall-means/>.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Akinbiyi, Akinbode, Kan-Si, Bodys Isek Kingelez, Yacouba Konate, Simon Njami, Pep Subiros, Anapa, et al. *Africas: The Artist and the City: A Journey and an Exhibition*. Actar, 2002.
- Amin, Ash, and N. J Thrift. *Cities: Reimagining the Urban*. Cambridge: Polity, 2002.
- Batalha, Fernando. *Angola: arquitetura e história*. Vega, 2006.
- Boeck, Filip de, and Marie-Françoise Plissart. *Kinshasa*. Antwerp: Ludion, 2004.
- Cardoso, Pedro. „Museu de Antropologia.“ *Rede Angola—Notícias independentes sobre Angola*, 17. Juli 2014. <http://www.redeangola.info/roteiros/museu-de-antropologia/>.
- Chabal, Patrick, and Nuno Vidal. *Angola: The Weight of History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.
- Cheng, Yinghong. *Creating the „New Man“: from Enlightenment Ideals to Socialist Realities*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2009.
- Collier, Delinda. *Repainting the Walls of Lunda: Information Colonialism and Angolan Art*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016.
- Donald, James. *Imagining The Modern City*. Continuum International Publishing Group, 2005.
- Enwezor, Okwui. *Under Siege, Four African Cities, Freetown, Johannesburg, Kinshasa, Lagos*. Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2002.
- Hall Foster, „An Archival Impulse,” *October*, vol. 110, 2004, p. 3.
- Freund, Bill. *The African City*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Goodman, Nelson. *Ways of Worldmaking*. Hackett Publishing, 1978.
- Hanussek, Christian. *Memórias Íntimas Marcas*. Interview mit dem Künstler Fernando Alvim über den Aufbau eines afrikanischen Kunstnetzwerkes. Bd. x. 2. Springerin: Hefte für Gegenwartskunst, 2004.
- Jacob, Berta Maria Oliveira. „A toponímia de Luanda: das memórias coloniais às pós-coloniais,” 2011. <http://repositorioaberto.uab.pt/handle/10400.2/1866>.
- Jong, Ferdinand de, and Vincent Foucher. „La tragédie du roi Abdoulaye? Néomodernisme et Renaissance africaine dans le Sénégal contemporain.“ *Politique africaine*, N. 118 (November 15, 2012): 187–204.
- Knoppers, Kim. „Interview with Kiluanji Kia Henda.“ *Foam Fotografiemuseum Amsterdam*. Zugriffen May 9, 2016. <http://www.foam.org/talent/spotlight/interview-with-kiluanji-kia-henda>.
- Mariz, Vera. „The Understanding of the Touristic Value of Portuguese Overseas Monuments: The Case of Angola (1959-1974).“ *Journal of Spatial and Organizational Dynamics* 4, N. 2 (2016): 157–68.
- Massango, Nilsa. „Grande Hotel de Luanda é futura Casa do Brasil.“ *Jornal de Angola*, March 1, 2014. http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao/sociedade/grande_hotel_de_luanda_e_futura_casa_do_brasil.

- Moorman, Marissa Jean. *Intonations: A Social History of Music and Nation in Luanda, Angola, from 1945 to Recent Times*. New African Histories Series. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2008.
- Murray, Martin J., and Garth Andrew Myers. *Cities in contemporary Africa*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Nuttall, Sarah, and J.-A. Mbembé. *Johannesburg: The Elusive Metropolis*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.
- Oliveira, Ana Balona de, and Edson Chagas. *Found Not Taken*. 01. Heidelberg: Kehrler Verlag, 2016.
- Parekh, Minesh. „On #RhodesMustFall and what it means.“ *History Matters* (blog), January 29, 2016. <http://www.historymatters.group.shef.ac.uk/rhodesmustfall-means/>.
- Rao, Vyjayanthi. „Embracing Urbanism: The City as Archive.“ *New Literary History* 40, N. 2 (November 22, 2009): 371–83. <https://doi.org/10.1353/nlh.0.0085>.
- Riel, Paul van, Luca Faccio, and Martin Sasse. „All official portraiture of North Korea’s reigning Kim family is made by Mansudae Art Studio.“ *COLORS Magazine*, January 10, 2013. <http://www.colors magazine.com/stories/magazine/87/story/all-official-portraiture-of-north-koreas-reigning-kim-family-is-made-by-man>.
- Salm, Steven J., and Toyin Falola. *African Urban Spaces in Historical Perspective*. University Rochester Press, 2009.
- Sheringham, Michael, and Richard Wentworth. „City as Archive: A Dialogue between Theory and Practice.“ *Cultural Geographies* 23, N. 3 (July 1, 2016): 517–23.
- Siebert, Nadine. *(Re)Mapping Luanda: Utopische und nostalgische Zugänge zu einem kollektiven Bildarchiv*. LIT Verlag, 2016.
- . „The archive as construction site—Collective memory and trauma in contemporary art from Angola.“ *World Art*, April 2016, 103–23.
- Siebert, Nadine, and Ulf Vierke. „Urban Memories and Utopias—Contemporary Art in Luanda and Nairobi.“ In *Living the City in Africa: Processes of Invention and Intervention*, edited by Veit Arlt, Birgit Obrist, and Elisio Macamo, 135–52. LIT Verlag Münster, 2013.
- Simone, Abdou Maliqalim. *For the City Yet to Come*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.
- Soja, Edward W. *Postmetropolis*. Wiley-Blackwell, 2000.
- Vanin, Fabio. „Physical and Ephemeral Devices for Urban Security: the Case of Luanda.“ In *Urban Safety and Security*, edited by Emanuela Bonini Lessing, 81–92. Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2015.
- Viegas, Silvia Baptista Leiria. „Luanda, cidade (im)previsível?“ February 2015. <https://www.repository.utl.pt/handle/10400.5/10063>.
- Williamson, Sue. „The Trienal de Luanda is coming: a new vision for art events in Africa.“ *Artthrob*, N. 97 (September 2005).

DR. NADINE SIEGERT is Deputy Director of Iwalewahaus at the University of Bayreuth, and member of the research project *Revolution 3.0* at the Bayreuth Academy of Advanced African Studies. She teaches modern and contemporary African arts and curatorial studies. She published her Ph.D. thesis *(Re)mapping Luanda* on nostalgic and utopian aesthetic strategies in contemporary art in Angola (LIT 2016). Her current research project is on socialist aesthetics in Africa. She has also worked on a number of exhibitions such as António Ole—*Contrary Alignment* (Nairobi, 2010), *GhostBusters I & II* (Berlin, 2011 & 2013), *Mashup* (Bayreuth 2015), *FAVT: Future Africa Visions in Time* (Bayreuth 2015, Nairobi and Salvador de Bahia 2017). Since 2015, Siegert has led the project *African Art History and the Formation of a Modernist Aesthetics*, which explores the history of the art collections at Iwalewahaus, the Museum of World Cultures (Frankfurt) and the Makerere Art Gallery (Kampala).





Fig. 1 Kiluanji Kia Henda, *Icarus 13: The First Journey to the Sun*, 2007, Eight photographs on aluminium, 80 × 120 cm each. Model, 100 × 50 cm.



Fig. 2 Queen Njinga, late 1970s, Bronze. (Photograph by Nadine Siegert)



Fig. 3 António Ole, *Mitologias II*, 1985, painted metal. (Photograph by Nadine Siegert)



Fig. 4 António Ole, *Mitologias II*, 1985, painted metal. (Photograph by Nadine Siegert)



Fig. 5 Kiluanji Kia Henda, *Redefining the Power IV* (with Miguel Prince), from the series *Homem Novo*, 2011, photographic print mounted on aluminium, 120 × 80 cm.



Fig. 6 Kiluanji Kia Henda, Redefining the Power III (Series 75 with Miguel Prince), 2013, Triptych, photographic print mounted on aluminium, 120 x 80 cm each.



Fig. 7 Kiluanji Kia Henda, Balumuka—Ambush, 2010, photographic print mounted on aluminium, 30 x 40 cm each.