

# The Construction of Natural-Geographical Space in Cape Verdean Literature

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**Abstract.** Located at a distance of five hundred kilometers off the African coast, the archipelago of Cape Verde constitutes a typical case of “distant insularity.” Although Cape Verde is situated in the middle of an ocean and has a dry tropical climate, Cape Verdeans have always turned to agriculture instead of opting for fishing; they consequently depend on the uncertainty of the rain. This situation of the extreme dependency on the land made Cape Verdeans feel a profound love and connection to the land. This is manifest not only in their day-to-day life and in the temperament of Cape Verdeans, but also in their literature. In those poets and writers who came before the *Claridade* movement (Pedro Cardoso, Jorge Barbosa and José Lopes), love for land is related to their mythical vision of their country’s origin. In the texts by the writers of the *Claridade* movement, the drought, the shortage of corn, and emigration were the key themes. This came of the famine that occurred as a result of the various droughts in the first half of the 20th century. In Cape Verdean literature emigration to a far-away place always had several facets, whether the desire to leave or a desire to stay and have to leave. Homesickness and the anguish of longing are at the origin of many poems, *mornas* and *funanás*. Today, in this age of globalization and quick communication, the space that separates Cape Verde from the rest of the world has become almost non-existent and literature has moved in new directions: where there is no sea, no longing, no distant country, no drought, no hunger.

### 1. The Cape Verde archipelago within a mythical frame

Located at a distance of five hundred kilometers off the African coast, the archipelago of Cape Verde constitutes a typical case of "distant insularity." The distance that separates it from the continent constitutes an obstacle to the spontaneous introduction of animals and vegetable species; in order to arrive at the islands, they would have to overcome the barrier of an ocean. At the same time, the volcanic origin and nature of the islands, marked by prolonged activity from the middle of the Tertiary period<sup>1</sup> until our present day, might have destroyed incipient vegetation or cultivated vegetation, as a result of the streams of lava and the ash emitted by the volcanoes.

To make worse this scenario of isolation and volcanic activity, the fact that Cape Verde lies within a zone of arid climates severely limited the development of vegetation and other sources of biomass capable of supporting human settlement during the prehistoric age. Even when we accept the possibility of the climatic changes possible in the last hundred thousand years, such changes in the ecosystem do not signify anything special that we will be examining for the modern-day Cape Verdean.

Volcanic insularity, the sharp relief of most of the islands, the lack of continuity, the climatic zone to which it belongs—with its arid climate and frequent and periodic droughts—are perhaps the natural characteristics most evident in the landscape of the archipelago; they are the ones with the greatest effect on the history of the people of these islands.

Studies of the flora and fauna began as far back as the fifteenth century. When these studies emphasize those species that preceded human occupation, they reveal a scarcity of vegetation and a lack of alimentary plants capable of supporting human life. Wild fauna is limited to bats, small reptiles, birds and insects—all a characteristic of a distant insularity.

For humans, it was only with the development of nautical sciences and with the ability to navigate in the high seas that people could have access to these shores. The possibility that Cape Verde could have been known about in the days before Portuguese expansion is not entirely fanciful, although it remains a mere intellectual exercise. Various possibilities have been raised about earlier visits to the islands of Cape Verde.

Duarte Pacheco Pereira, the Portuguese geographer from the fifteenth/sixteenth centuries, identifies the islands of Cape Verde as being the Hesperides, which Pliny had located south of the Canary Islands:

pois já temos escrito do Cabo Verde, e como se antigamente se chamou aspérido promontório, assim devemos escrever das ilhas que cem léguas em mar dele estão, as quais também naquela antiguidade foram chamadas aspérída, segundo Plínio na natural história no seu sexto livro, capítulo trinta e um [...].<sup>2</sup>

[because we already have records of Cape Verde, and, according to Pliny, in chapter thirty-one of his sixth book on natural history, because that cape was formerly designated as harsh [*aspérido*], then we should speak of those sea islands that are a hundred leagues from that cape as being the ones that were also known as harsh [*aspérída*] during antiquity (...).]

What is more, the Hesperides would be located somewhere on the southern edge of Plato's Atlantis; that is also where, according to Graeco-Roman mythology, Hercules was to find his golden apples.

If, on the one hand, the developments of the natural-historical sciences at the end of the eighteenth century and in the nineteenth century put aside the possibility of some sort of civilization in the eastern Atlantic that had vanished into the sea, it was these naturalists themselves who invented the concept of the nummulite Atlantis, temporally located in the first half of the Tertiary period, in order to explain the likeness in primitive flora and fauna verified in a group of archipelagos that lay between latitudes 15°N and 40°N; these islands would include the Azores, Madeira, the Selvagens, the Canary Islands, and Cape Verde—Macaronesia, or the Fortunate Islands, alluding to a name that navigators had originally attributed to the Canary Islands (land of dogs).<sup>3</sup>

Despite the fact that the two conceptions of Atlantis, the one historical, the other geological, refer to different time phases, the allure of Atlantis, including the toponymy harking back to this mythical continent, has contaminated the terminology of naturalists. It is in this context that some plant species common in Cape Verde were designated by terms such as *Artemisia gorgonum* (absinthe), *Aenonium gorgoneum* (houseleek), *Papaver gorgoneum* (Cape Verdean poppy), where the reference is to the island of the Gorgons, also known as the isle of the dead, a mythical place around lost Atlantis.

Geological studies in the first half of the twentieth century gave credence to the possibility of a nummulite Atlantis; at the same time the interest in studies of the fauna and flora of Cape Verde also subsided. However, in that same period, the Cape Verdean poets Pedro Monteiro Cardoso and José Lopes da Silva, partaking of a certain Creole patriotism (or "matriotism," as some

would have it), and seeking some sort of mythical-historical identity for their Cape Verdean brothers, inserted the archipelago within the mythical framework of the legendary Hesperides. This mythical framework is a consequence of the classical education they had received at the *Seminário / Lyceu* [Seminary / Secondary School] on the island of São Nicolau. Like Camões did in his epic poem *Os Lusíadas*,<sup>4</sup> José Lopes da Silva dedicated *Hespéridas* to the Cape Verdean youth.<sup>5</sup> In his poem in praise of the islands of Cape Verde entitled “Minha Terra” [“My Land”], he traces the history of the islands from Atlantis, which “*inspira a narrativa de Platão e outros sábios, que a tinham por verdade*” [“is the inspiration behind Plato’s story and that of other sages who took it for the truth”] through to the hope that the Hesperidian country will become “*a mais brilhante pérola africana*” [“the most brilliant African pearl”].

In Cape Verde, the legend of islands lost amidst the great Atlantic Ocean acquires, at times, a populist twist. In the beginning of the 1960s there was a legend circulating in the island of Santiago about the existence of an eleventh island hiding under the ocean. According to the legend, it is the largest of all the islands, and the only one that is truly green, and all that is scarce in the other island is plentiful on this one. This island symbolizes the true Cape Verde. It arises, for a fraction of a second, at midnight on the feast day of St. Sylvester, Old Year’s Eve; the length of time it will linger on the surface of the water will depend on the quick glimpse cast by a sinner. If that person should glance at the horizon, no matter how discreetly, at the exact direction where it is located, even though they may know that they are doing so, in the exact moment when the New Year is born, that glimpse would rescue the population from the worldly tragedies of droughts and hunger, of the lack of water and corn—all those things that the ten “little grains of land” that were left on the surface of the water suffer from.

## 2. The settlement of the islands and socio-cultural evolution

A text from the end of the eighteenth century<sup>6</sup> makes mention of one tradition, according to which, at the time when it was discovered, the island of Santiago was inhabited by black-skinned Jalofof.<sup>7</sup> This position is shared by authors from the same period, such as the naturalist João Silva Feijó<sup>8</sup> and António Pusich<sup>9</sup>—who in all probability obtained this information from the document we have made mention of. Different opinions about the Jalofof settlement have been argued, but the lack of convincing documentation on this matter has rendered the debate a mere confrontation of possibilities.

What there is no doubt about is that Cape Verdeans as a people arose as a consequence of the settlement initiated in 1462, when a small group of settlers headed by António de Nole, one of the discoverers of the islands, settled in Santiago. The information we have from the period suggests that the environment was not very hospitable, and that this was the reason why [Prince] Dom Fernando, the proprietor of the islands, requested the concession of special privileges from the king in order to get people to settle in Cape Verde. The set of privileges benefited trade and navigation. Although it is not made clear, it is possible that the climatic conditions constituted an obstacle to settlement. There is a general consensus that those privileges were the principal driving force behind European settlement in the archipelago.

Taking full advantage of its geo-strategic position, the archipelago, and especially the island of Santiago, became an obligatory port-of-call for ships travelling along the sea routes between Europe, Africa, the East and, later still, America. The archipelago played an important intermediary role in trade and in the dissemination of the plants of economic interest for the tropics. It was through this process that a slave-owning society was created; it did not take too long for blacks, transported from the close-by African coast, to add their demographic weight to Cape Verdean society.

But reality is such that, whilst trade with the Americas gained in importance in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, trade with the islands entered into a period of decay as a result of pirate raids and as a consequence of change in the sea-trading routes.

The port city of Ribeira Grande, the main trading center, had a fast ascension in the first half of the sixteenth century; it was granted the status of city and head of a diocese in 1533, but, according to Sena Barcelos,<sup>10</sup> by 1545, the city, and the entire archipelago, had already fallen into decay.

The way the economy was organized, the excessive dependence on external resources connected to trade and navigation, the organization of the countryside, which was dedicated to cattle rearing in an insular-Sahelian ecosystem, quickly dragged the economy of the islands down—into long-lasting misery, with the consequent result that settlers left the country and, later, emigrants were exported to distant shores.

The decay of Ribeira Grande also manifested itself in the dispersion of the population into the rural areas and into the other islands, this in an attempt to better make use of the meager local resources. A notorious fact is the slow process of occupation of the archipelago in its totality; in the period of more



than five centuries, one island (Santa Luzia) still remains uninhabited, and at least two (São Vicente and Sal) were only settled less than 200 years ago.

Turned back on its own resources, Cape Verde has had to face droughts and the progressive destruction of its island ecosystems. This is a result of the unbalanced use of the soil and overgrazing by untamed cattle which has resulted in a process of desertification; once again this upsets the equilibrium of meager resources.

Already in his day, Duarte Pacheco Pereira<sup>11</sup> had described the barren scenario of the islands in the first 40 years of human presence:

e estas ilhas são esteireis porque são vizinhas ao trópico de câncer e têm muito pouco arvoredo por causa de nelas não chover mais dos ditos 3 meses; são terras altas e fragosas e serão más d'andar.<sup>12</sup>

[and these islands are barren because they are so close to the Tropic of Cancer and they have very few trees because it does not rain for more than three months; these are high and craggy lands and are not good to walk on.]

This text quickly dispels the notion that in the first days of the occupation there was a green [*verde*] island floating on the ocean.

What is more, the consequences of the disequilibrium between population, resources and the arid scenario are well noted in the beginnings of the seventeenth century by Baltazar, who describes “*uma tão grande fome, por não chover*” [“such great hunger because it did not rain”] that “*foi necessário que desse reino viesse sustentação, e se este remedeio lhe faltara sem duvida se despojava de todo*”<sup>13</sup> [“it was necessary for the Kingdom to come to the aid of the country, and if this solution were lacking then surely the entire country would have been completely depopulated”].

Hunger, its death toll, and emigration as a consequence of the drought, became so frequent that they became part of the fabric of the daily life of Cape Verdeans.

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were full of devastating droughts, with the consequence that the economy and the entire society, in fact, were thrown into disarray. The images of this chaos are still alive in the memory of Cape Verdeans, who continue to live with the uncertainty of rains and try to survive in an ecosystem which is subject to desertification. It is an ecosystem where, according to the poet Ovídio Martins,<sup>14</sup> even “*as cabras ensina-*

*ram-nos a comer pedras para não perecermos*” [“the goats have taught us to eat stones so that we will not perish”]. Hunger is the constant background scenario in all the *Ti-lobo*<sup>15</sup> [“Uncle Wolf”] stories (and the stories of Chibinho, Uncle Wolf’s nephew) that are told to Cape Verdean children.

Some commentators found the dependence of Cape Verdeans on the land, the dominance of agriculture and the rural economy, somewhat strange. A comment in this respect by a governor at the beginning of the nineteenth century was to become famous; António Pusich asked why Cape Verdeans did not turn to the sea because, according to him, it was rich in fish (today we aware that this “richness” is not entirely correct, although there are some fish), instead of living tied to the land and the corn cob.

If hunger in Cape Verde is tied to the lack of corn, and the lack of corn to the lack of rain, it is worth asking why people on the islands, living as they did within an almost desert Sahelian ecosystem and where there was a shortage of land and irrigation, should have turned to agriculture.

The answer to this question requires that we have some knowledge of the scenario behind the consolidation of Cape Verdean identity. This insular country was dependent on the uncertain rains and on the sometimes forced cohabitation of adventurers, traders, ecclesiastical, military and administrative personnel that arrived from Europe in search of better lives, black princes curious about the lives or the wisdom of whites, African slaves and European convicts, both brought to these shores forcibly. The decline of the activities of the harbour and the loss of control over trade on the African coast forced those who stayed behind to depend on the resources of the land (the abundance of stones, lava, sand, wind, sun and sea).

The history of the islands in the seventeenth century was marked by the flight of whites (who returned to Portugal) and the disappearance of coinage. The dream of a land of business opportunities came undone; what was left was an isolated, arid land without resources and with meager potential.

If for whites the solution to the crisis was to return to Portugal, the same was not true for the native-born whites, the mulattoes, the freed blacks, the slaves; they had no choice but to adapt to the land, to live off its resources, and to depend on it.

Instead of regarding their country as an unwanted land, a warehouse for slaves, or a place where trade was stagnant, the extreme dependence on the land and the uncertainty of the rains made Cape Verdeans develop a strong bond with the islands.

### 3. From an Island-Sahelian World to Literature

Rather than revulsion, their extreme dependence on the land made Cape Verdeans feel more love and a deeper connection; this is manifest not only in their day-to-day life and in the temperament of Cape Verdeans, but also in their literature. The connection with the land is a recurring theme, not only among those poets and writers who were behind the *Claridade* movement, but also those who preceded them. If, on the one hand, Pedro Cardoso and José Lopes look at Cape Verde and incorporate it within the mythical frame of the Hesperides, they begin from the mythical isles in order to arrive at the real archipelago with all its daily problems. Jorge Barbosa,<sup>16</sup> on the other hand, created a genuine poetic geography of Cape Verde, to the point where he would highlight specific details of each of the islands or each of the rural or urban landscapes. This poetic geography is well expressed in his poem about the islands, in which the poet describes his travels around the archipelago, from Santo Antão to Brava. Interestingly, his poem ends in America, evoking the diaspora about which Eugénio Tavares had sung.

The poem "Panorama" seems to establish a link between the Hesperides of Pedro Cardoso (or those of José Lopes) and Jorge Barbosa's Archipelago—although this particular poem pays more attention to Cape Verde's great environmental problems, which are related to the drought and to hunger. He also raises questions about its origin:

Destroços de que continente,  
De que cataclismos,  
De que sismos,  
De que mistérios?...

Ilhas perdidas  
No meio do mar,  
Esquecidas  
Num canto do mundo,  
Que as ondas embalam,  
Maltratam,  
Abraçam...

[Detritus from what continent,  
From what cataclysm,



From what earthquakes,  
From what mysteries?

Islands lost  
In the middle of ocean,  
Forgotten  
In some corner of the world,  
That is rocked by the waves,  
Or else ill-treated by them,  
Or embraced by them ...]

The famine that occurred as result of the successive droughts in the first half of the twentieth century, and Porto Grande's gradual decay, had an immense influence on the *Claridade* writers. Agriculture, the drought, the shortage of corn, the dependence on the rain and on the land, the migrations that took place as a result of the drought, were all transformed into recurring, almost obsessive, literary themes by the members of this literary movement.

What is interesting, and to an extent something worth inquiring about and reflecting on, is the fact that this movement was anchored on an island with meager agricultural potential. It was this movement, however, that demonstrated that Cape Verdeans were, culturally speaking, agriculturalists who lived dependent on the rain, even the intellectual class, which was not directly connected to the countryside.

This brings us back to António Pusich's observation: the theme of the sea is integral to our literature, but the sea is rarely regarded as a place of resources by our poets; at most it is that sea-lane that emigrants take to flee the drought, in other words, to flee from the failure of agriculture, or it is just an obstacle that makes the flight from the drought more difficult.

The dependency on the land, the uncertainty of the rain is dealt with by Jorge Barbosa in a poem dedicated to the writer Manuel Lopes, entitled "Terra"<sup>17</sup> ["Land"].

Terra fértil  
Das bananeiras, das laranjeiras  
Dos acajus  
Dos cafeeiros, das uvas, dos batatais;  
Do milho, que dá cachupa, o cuscúz,

A batanca, o gufongo;  
 Das canas  
 Que dão o grogue e o mel...  
 [.....]

se não cai a chuva,  
 —o desalento  
 a tragédia da estiagem!—  
 —as encostas áridas, as planíceis secas,  
 sulcadas,  
 emitem rictus de uma dor profunda  
 e fantasiam carnes ao sol mumificadas...

—ai o drama da chuva,  
 ai o desalento,  
 o tormento  
 da estiagem!

[Fertile land  
 Of banana trees, orange trees  
 Cashew-trees  
 Coffee-trees, grapes, potato plantations;  
 Of corn, which gives us *cachupa*, couscous,  
*Batanca*, *gufongo*;  
 Of sugar cane  
 Which gives us grog and honey...

if the rain doesn't fall  
 —the discouragement,  
 the tragedy of drought!  
 —the barren hillsides, the dry plains,  
     furrowed,  
 give out the rictus of a profound sorrow  
     and dream of flesh mummified in the sun ...

—Oh! the drama of rain,  
 oh the discouragement,

the torment  
of the drought!]

The poem “Terra” contrasts, especially in terms of theme and meaning, with “Paisagem” [“Landscape”]. In terms of the argument we are developing, these two poems represent the two poles around which converge all the strengths and internal dynamics of the poems from the *Claridade* movement. On the one hand, we encounter hope in the rains that will eventually fall, bringing in a time of plenty, wealth and unity among all of Cape Verde’s children; it will send hunger and the drought away and will stop the flow of men leaving the country and will give them a chance to remain on the land, although, towards the end, there is always the possibility that this paradisiacal scenario will be reversed. On the other hand, we are faced with human impotence against the wiles of (Sahelian) nature and all the dramatic consequences that this will have on the lives of living beings. If not, we see:

Paisagem

malditos  
estes anos de seca!

Mete dó  
O silêncio triste  
da terra abandonada  
esmagada  
sob o peso  
do sol penetrante  
[.....]  
pobres enxadas  
que não servem mais!  
esquecidas nos cantos dos quintais,  
cobertas  
de poeira e de estrume...

[Landscape

goddamned

these years of drought!

It's painful to watch  
The sad silence  
of the abandoned land  
crushed  
by the weight  
of a scorching sun ...

pitiful hoes  
that serve no purpose anymore!  
forgotten in some corner of the backyard,  
covered  
in dust and manure ...]

Besides being one of the islands of Macaronesia, Cape Verde is also part of the Sahel, and it is precisely its Sahelian characteristics that may help us to understand the problem of drought and hunger; but it was not, however, in this African region that Cape Verdean writers found the source for their literary inspiration. Here what mattered more than anything else was language and the transportation routes. The literature of the Brazilian northeast, whose works arrived in Cape Verde thanks to the steamers that docked in Porto Grande, was taken as a point of reference: the themes of drought and of misery in rural areas suffering from the depression as well as the migrations were accepted as being similar to what was occurring in Cape Verde. In effect, for this comparison to have been made, the microclimatic scenario, at least as it was understood by the *Claridade* writers, was the most important aspect. Thus, the microcosm of islands cut off from each other by the sea was compared to the Brazilian northeast, that area on a continental scale with wide spaces and a multiplicity of landscapes; it was only in the literature that such a world could be said to resemble the small universe of the islands.

If, on the one hand, the theme of emigration from the Brazilian northeast was predominantly within the country and from a rural to an urban area, in Cape Verdean literature, on the other hand, emigration was predominantly outside the country, far from the country. In Cape Verde, emigration to a far-away place always had several facets, from the desire to leave to a desire to stay and yet have to leave. If, in the novel *Chiquinho*,<sup>18</sup> escape to America was seen

as a desirable way-out in search of new horizons, in the *Certeza* movement, on the other hand, the dominant idea is that of wanting to stay; leaving the country is regarded as a kind of dictatorship of circumstances.

Nostalgia for the distant country and the anguish of homesickness, which were behind so many poems, *mornas* and *funaná*s, perhaps have their days numbered as a result of the greater availability of telecommunications. The arrival of a letter, with a delay of months, provoked an anguish of uncertainty on the part of the sender. Having a letter in one's hand did not mean that the one who wrote it was in good health. There are cases of letters that arrived at their destination long after the person who wrote them had died. With the appearance of the telephone in rural areas letter writing became something almost old-fashioned; people could speak to each other directly, without the need of intermediaries, and those in despair no longer had to say things between the lines. The relative distance that separates any part of the world has also become the time needed to dial a number on the telephone: "If he's not in, I'll call back later."

#### 4. New horizons for a country that lives within a global community

With the expansion of air travel the distance and time between the islands were shortened. With the revolution in telecommunications the distance that separates these places has lost significance. Thus in *Tempos da Moral moral*<sup>19</sup> [*In the Time of moral Morals*], the young anthropologist preferred to travel by boat because he could not bear this Helios who made him lose all notions of time and space. The sea had ceased to be that ancient obstacle to quick and immediate contact.

We live in a period where the idea of space-time has been shortened by technology. For common Cape Verdeans their country exists as much in the archipelago as it does in the communities in the diaspora, in quite specific countries in America, Europe and Africa. The community living outside the islands is a dynamic one; it promotes music and dance and the image of the islands in the world outside the archipelago; the borders of this archipelago have increasingly become almost fictional. Despite the almost obsessive opposition of many against it, annually many emigrants come back on vacation bringing deluxe cars and showing off the latest fashions of the community where they happen to live. The cellular phone permits direct contact between a rural village on the island of Santiago and Providence, or between Morrinho de Maio and Rotterdam; that is why to write letters is, to say the least, romantic and somewhat "pre-historic."



It is in the context of this new scenario, in this new conception of space, that we have to understand Cape Verdean literature. Our understanding of space is now different; the old themes have become *démodé*, as it were. The lack of rain on the islands is not reason enough to lower the consumption of rice,<sup>20</sup> wheat, beer, or the Mediterranean fruits that are sold everywhere. The drought is not only a climatic characteristic of the islands, it can also become a source of wealth, for the abundance of sun favors beach tourism. Regarding the theme of the sea, in other words, of fisheries as a resource, we should recall that Cape Verde's territorial waters and exclusive economic zones cover an area on the order of 700 000 Km<sup>2</sup>.

Mr. Napumoceno<sup>21</sup> got rich because there was a once-off rain shower in the city of Mindelo; it was not because he sowed corn, but because he sold thousands of umbrellas that he had in his warehouse. The novels of Arménio Vieira may take place in Memphis or in Hell; the truth is that he speaks to us neither of emigration nor of whiplashes of the drought.

Faced as we are by this new space imposed on us by globalization, communication, information technology, how will our literature represent this new geographical space?

Those who wish to visit Pasárgada, as well as other things, will find this a useful link: <http://www.pasarganet.com.br>.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Cape Verde is an archipelago of volcanic origin. The formation of the islands is associated with volcanic activity that occurred before the Miocene Epoch in the Tertiary period. On the island of Maio there is limestone from the middle of the Jurassic Period (Secondary period). It is important to state, nevertheless, that the existence of this limestone is a result of the volcanic activity that was at the origin of the formation of the island.

<sup>2</sup> Duarte Pacheco Pereira, *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*, Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1991.

<sup>3</sup> The name of the Canary Islands (island or land of dogs, *cannis*) is associated with a reconnaissance trip organized by King Juba under the orders of the Roman emperor; it is on the basis of the accounts of this voyage that heraldry has symbolized this archipelago with the image of two dogs holding the arms. Surprisingly, the name of the archipelago has been more closely associated with the bird *Serinus canaries*.

<sup>4</sup> In Camões's days it was believed, beyond all doubt, that Cape Verde corresponded to the Hesperides.

<sup>5</sup> *Hespéridas Fragmentos de um Poema Perdido em Triste e Miserando Naufrágio*. Cabo Verde, Edição do Autor, 1930.

<sup>6</sup> Anonymous. *Notícia Corográfica e Cronológica do Bispado de Cabo Verde... 1784*. Apresentação

de António Carreira. Lisboa: ICL, 1985.

<sup>7</sup> The term is equivalent to the Franco-Senegalese term “Wolof.”

<sup>8</sup> António Pusich. *Ensaio e Memórias Económicas sobre Cabo Verde (século XVIII)*. Apresentação de António Carreira. Praia: ICL, 1986.

<sup>9</sup> “Ensaio Físico-Político de Cabo Verde—1810,” António Pusich, *Ensaio e Memórias Económicas sobre Cabo Verde (século XVIII)*. Apresentação de António Carreira. Praia: ICL, 1986.

<sup>10</sup> Senna Barcelos—Subsídios para a História de Cabo Verde e Guiné.

<sup>11</sup> Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Padre Baltazar Barreira—carta anual da missão de Cabo Verde do ano de 1610 até Julho de 1611. In *Monumenta Missionária Africana (Africa Ocidental—1600-1622)* de António Brásio. Lisboa: AGU, 1968.

<sup>14</sup> In the poem “os flagelados do vento leste,” Ovídio Martins. *Gritarei Berrarei Matarei, não vou para passargada*. Rotterdam: Edições cabo-verdianidade, n.d.

<sup>15</sup> The wolf is the hero of popular tales in all the islands; it plays the role of the hyena (a stupid and gluttonous animal) in stories from black Africa. The *Cannis lupus* (wolf) is not indigenous to West Africa; in Guinea-Bissau a hyena is still referred to as a “wolf.”

<sup>16</sup> Jorge Barbosa, “Ilha,” *Poesias I*. Praia: ICL, 1989.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> A novel by the Cape Verdean writer Baltasar Lopes.

<sup>19</sup> A novel by the Cape Verdean writer Vasco Martins.

<sup>20</sup> Corn has ceased to be the staple food, having been supplanted by rice, something the country does not grow.

<sup>21</sup> In the novel by Germano Almeida.

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