

RIVER OF CONQUEST:

**COLONIAL ENCOUNTERS IN THE
N'DONGO KINGDOM OF CENTRAL WEST
AFRICA
(c. 1575 – 1641)**

by

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CO-SUPERVISOR: MS JP BEHRENS**

JULY 2011

STATEMENT

I declare that

***River of Conquest: Colonial Encounters in the N'dongo
Kingdom of Central West Africa (c. 1575 – 1641)***

is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted
have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete
references.*

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**Note:* The candidate suddenly passed away on 21 August 2010
and is hence unable to vouch for the above. In lieu of this the
supervisors of the dissertation therefore sign the declaration on his
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Date: 15 July 2011

REMEMBERING JORGE HAYES E'SILVA (21/12/1949 – 21/08/2010)

By Dr Ute Seemann

Jorge Hayes E'Silva was born on 21 December 1949 on a farm in northern Angola, probably called 'Shebeya'. He was the fourth son and has a twin sister. His mother was a descendant of the *Dorsland (Thirstland) trekkers* of the late 19th century. His father was a farmer and big game hunter, originally from Coimbra in Portugal.

Jorge grew up in a Portuguese-speaking home. He attended primary school with the nuns in Elizabethville (today Lubumbisha) in the then Belgian Congo. He and his siblings were taught in French.

Following the uprising in the Congo during the early 1960s, the family relocated to southern Angola and then, at the beginning of the Angolan Civil War and Independence from Portugal (1975), fled to Namibia. Jorge always said he educated himself 'in the Angolan bush'. He had a tendency to roam by himself and collect natural history specimens. He had an innate sense of 'bush survival skills'.

He finished his schooling at Jan van Riebeeck High School in Tamboerskloof, Cape Town, having been 'thrown into' an Afrikaans language environment. Aged 17/18 he served his military duties with the South African Navy, based in Simon's Town. He mentioned to me that he was rejected for submarine duties because 'he was too individualistic'. He then worked as a draftsman on an oil rig in the Amazon Delta, Brazil.

Jorge met his wife Anita in 1978 in Windhoek; by then he was nicknamed 'papillon' because of his almost compulsive collecting of butterflies, scorpions and spiders. Anita says when they got married and moved into his flat in Tamboerskloof, it was full of terrariums with live scorpions and spiders.

Their son Sebastian was born in 1979 and daughter Ruby in 1981. From the early 1980s Jorge worked for Grinaker / LTA Construction in the safety / health / and environmental field in which capacity he spent five years (from 2002 to 2007) in Luanda, Angola, directly after cessation of hostilities.

In East London in 1991, Jorge enlarged his collections with crocodile and other large predator skulls, acquiring frozen specimens and boiling the flesh off in a make-shift garden cauldron. I met Jorge in 1991 in Hout Bay when excavating the East and West Forts for my master's degree in archaeology, working during weekends and any spare time we could get. Both of us were in full-time employment, but united in our passion for archaeology. Jorge had experience in excavating fossils in the Karoo.

He achieved his UNISA undergraduate degree in about 1992, supported fully by his wife and children and everybody who had befriended him. He then went on – as his time allowed – to complete a BA (Honours) at the University of Cape Town and eventually a master's degree with UNISA, based on his experience as site manager on most of my research - and contract archaeological sites within the context of historical archaeological work.

Jorge's professional transfer to Angola made it possible to use his expertise in early colonial fortifications (achieved by assisting me and discussing my own work over many years in detail) as a basis for his work on early Portuguese fortifications along the Kwanza River, which we visited during my stay with him and Anita in 2002.

Jorge retired from work in 2008, to devote his time fully to his passion for the natural world and to write up his dissertation.* He was a passionate archaeologist, a gifted naturalist and linguist, and an amazing friend in his quiet and dignified way.

His untimely death (from an inherited illness) came as a great shock to all who knew him.

***Supervisors' note:** When Jorge Hayes E'Silva passed away on 21 August 2010, he was busy preparing the final draft of his master's dissertation. He had already collated all the revised chapters in a single document, but undoubtedly would have wished to edit and improve the manuscript even further. We are much indebted to Dr Ute Seemann who, aided by Jorge's wife Anita, provided us with the most recent version of the manuscript as well as with Jorge's research notes. We have endeavoured to resolve some textual inconsistencies and incomplete references, but have refrained from making any major changes to the contents of the most recent draft.

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This dissertation was researched and partly written in Angola and completed in South Africa. I thus firstly thank and acknowledge the invaluable contribution of my Angolan field assistant and driver, Adriano Luis Pascoal, who was always enthusiastic and dedicated to the completion of this project. I also thank my local field guides, Manuel Matias Mucaji (Massangano, Dondo, and Cambambe) and Castro Pedro Gonçalves (Muxima) for sharing their local knowledge with me. Charles van der Bijl was always prepared to listen and read parts of my manuscript for which I am grateful.

I thank my supervisor Prof. J.C.A. Boeyens and joint supervisor Ms J.P. Behrens at UNISA for making this dissertation possible. Dr. Ute A. Seemann was a constant source of advice for which I am most indebted. A warm thank you goes to my daughter and son-in-law, Ruby and Anthony de Gouveia, for their assistance in solving challenges with my computer. Last but not least my sincere appreciation to my wife Anita for all her patience and encouragement during the completion of my dissertation.

DEDICATION

IN MEMORY OF MY BROTHER ANTONIO "TEX"

WHO WALKED AMONG THE TALL GRASS
WITH THE IMPALA
AND THE LEOPARD
IN THE KINGDOM OF THE N'GOLA

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ABSTRACT

Portuguese global expansion was initiated by the capture of Cueta in 1415. Voyages of discovery along the West African coast ensued, resulting in the conquest and colonisation of the N'Dongo Kingdom. This dissertation comprises an archaeological survey of the Lusitanian Empire in the Republic of Angola. The Portuguese first established a settlement at Luanda in 1576, after which they set forth into the interior, following the Kwanza River upstream. The strategy for conquest was to take possession of the river with the objective to control the indigenous population, subjugate the N'gola, and, ultimately, to reach the silver mines at Cambambe. Various settlements developed along the margins of the river with associated forts and churches. Fortifications dominated the landscape while the churches expressed religious idealism. Social contact between the Mbundu people and the Portuguese at the colonial frontier is discussed. Post-colonial theory is used as the research methodology.

KEY WORDS

Eurocentricism, post-colonial theory, N'gola, Mbundu, conquest, colonialism, Lusitanian Empire, Portuguese expansion, Kwanza River, social contact.

EXTRACT

“....., nestes tempos heróicos e maravilhosos das nossas Descobertas e Conquistas, que assombraram o mundo inteiro, a Cruz e a Espada andavam sempre íntimamente unidas e ligadas e inseparáveis.....A religião Católica e as Quinas Lusitanas, foram sempre, hão-de ser sempre essa força sagrada e invencível com que afrontaremos os perigos,.....não desonrando as cinzas de nossos modelares antepassados.”

Padre Garcia Simões (1579)

“....., in these heroic and marvelous times of our discoveries and conquests, that cast a shadow over the whole world, the cross and the sword were always intimately united and bound [together] and inseparable.....The Catholic religion and the Lusitanian coat of arms, always were, will always be that sacred and invincible power with which we confront perils,.....without dishonoring the ashes of our model ancestors.”

Padre Garcia Simões (1579)
(Pombo, 1926: 63)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 CHAPTER OUTLINE

This chapter deals with the available published historical literary sources included in this dissertation and provides comments on the authors' work. The N'Dongo Kingdom is contextualised geographically and chronologically. The objectives of the research are stated, including the research questions for which answers were sought. The chapter concludes with an outline of the research methodology employed in this dissertation.

1.2 PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Little is known in South Africa about the archaeology of the early Portuguese colonial period in Angola. This is not only the case in South Africa but also in Angola itself as well as in Portugal. South African archaeologists have not been able to fully explore Lusophone historical sources mainly due to the unavailability of original material in South Africa, a lacuna compounded by the language barrier. Very little archaeological research has in fact been undertaken in former Portuguese colonies in Africa, particularly since independence from colonial rule in 1975 in Angola. The extant Anglophone historical data that have been unearthed are mostly dated to the pre-liberation struggle era and are largely restricted to describing the role of the coloniser. Inevitably the historical narratives, with no exceptions, viewed Central West African colonialism merely from a historical perspective that did not inform on the archaeology of conquest and early colonisation. No historical archaeological research is known to have been conducted in Angola.

The archive for historical documents in Angola (*Arquivo Histórico de Angola*), situated in Luanda, contains material that has not been consulted by historical archaeologists. Sadly, some of these documents are deteriorating due to the lack of resources in conservation facilities and training. Portuguese colonists

largely recorded their own history and not that of the colonised. Archives in Angola and Portugal contain historical texts (including Francophone research data) describing, *inter alia*, initial contact with the Bakongo and the Mbundu people from a European perspective.

Lusophone historical research on the Angolan conquest was most recently recorded by Ilídio do Amaral (1996, 2000) (of the *Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical* (Institute of Tropical Scientific Investigation)). Rosa Cruz e Silva (1995a, 1995b, 2000) is one of the foremost contemporary researchers of early Angolan history and was the incumbent director of the Angolan archives. Her research dealt with Angolan slavery, indigenous resistance to colonisation, fairs and some aspects of the colonial sites along the Kwanza River. Virgílio Coelho (1998/1999, 2000) is an anthropologist who has recently conducted research on the Mundongo people. His work sheds light on the religious system of the Mundongo and explains their religion and superstitious beliefs. He also provided details of the Mundongo Royal City. Anglophone narratives include works by Joseph Miller (no date, 1972, 1975, 1976, 1988, 1996, 2000), who has written extensively on the social system of the Mbundu people, including a doctoral dissertation. Other Anglophone works include the historians C.R. Boxer (1952, 1961, 1963, 1978, 1991) and David Birmingham (1966, 1972, 1999, 2000), who researched the Portuguese Empire. David Birmingham (1965) also produced a PhD thesis on the conquest of Angola.

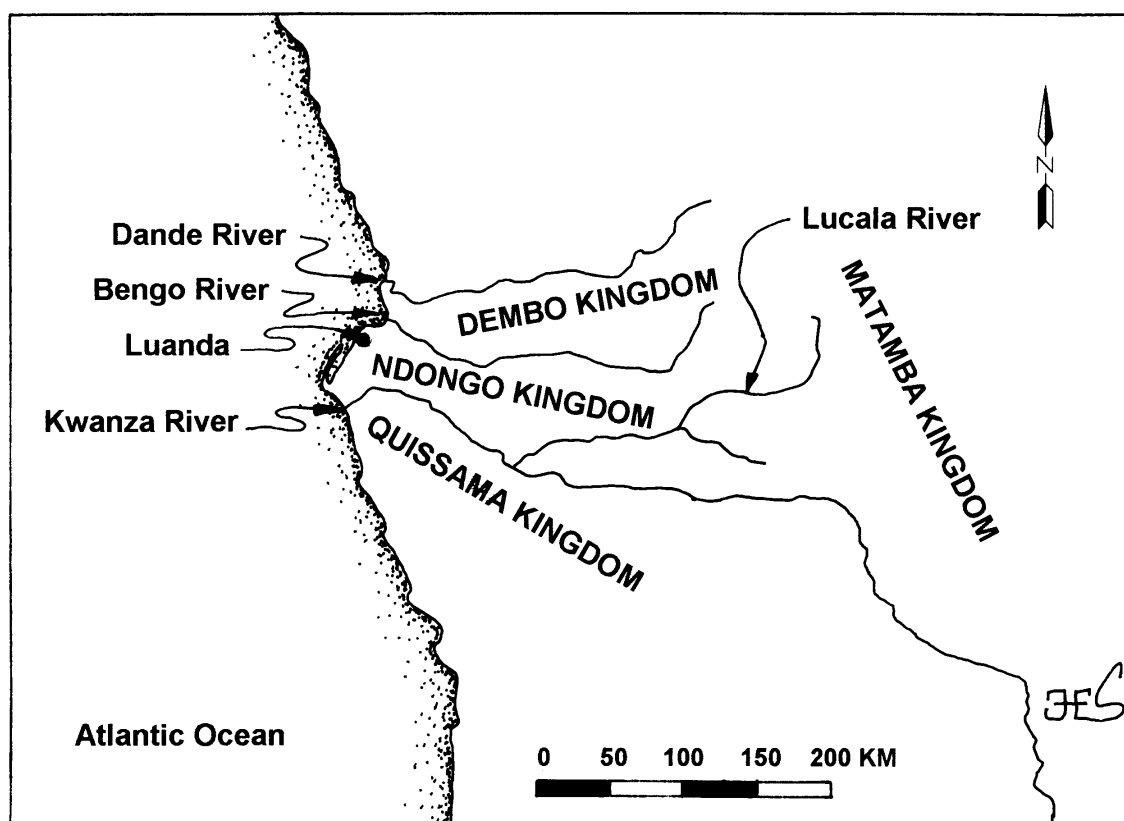
Although the history of Angolan colonisation has been extensively researched and recorded by these various authors, there are gaps in the literature. These gaps may be filled by archaeological endeavour. For example, extant literature gives little attention to the landscape and material culture. The exact locations of sites in terms of geographic co-ordinates are not given in the historical literature, which makes the placing of the sites in the landscape problematic. Physical features in material culture remains that are not mentioned in texts may augment our knowledge of the past. Such factors, for instance, may include the architectural layout of structures and details of everyday life manifested in dumps of household waste. The mundane details of such household waste may contribute to a fuller understanding of daily life

at the colonial frontier. This is, however, an endeavour for future excavation and is not dealt with in this dissertation. Archaeological enquiry may also be used to reinterpret historical narratives by correlating evidence in the physical environment and artefacts with the narrative. This may also be included in longer-term research involving excavation.

1.3 TIME AND SPACE

This project focuses on the Portuguese conquest period from the second arrival of Paulo Dias de Novais in February 1575 until about the conquest of Luanda in 1641 by the Dutch West India Company (WIC). Paulo Dias de Novais was dispatched by the King of Portugal with specific instructions to conquer and colonise the Mundongo people of the N'Dongo Kingdom (Castelbranco, 1932; Birmingham, 1965, 1972; Miller, 1976; do Amaral, 1996, 2000; Cruz e Silva, 2000). The Dutch coveted the Portuguese Central West African possession for strategic and economic reasons.

The N'Dongo Kingdom stretched from the Bengo River in the north to the Matamba Kingdom in the east beyond Pungo-a-Ndongo, the Kwanza River in the south, and the Atlantic Ocean in the west (Fig.1.1). The people the Portuguese encountered forming the colonial frontier in central West Africa (Castelbranco, 1932; Miller, 1976; Birmingham, 1965; do Amaral, 2000) comprised a number of autonomous kingdoms: the Mundongo in the centre surrounded by the Dembo in the north, the Matamba in the east, and the Quissama in the south. They were united by a single language, Quimbundu, and were interdependent through marriage alliances and treaties. These kingdoms were collectively known as the Mbundu.



(Fig. 1.1) Map indicating Mbundu Kingdoms in the interior of Luanda.

1.4 OBJECTIVES

My archaeological research taps into the historical sources to derive a fuller understanding of the conquest and colonisation of the N'Dongo kingdom by the Lusitanian Empire in Central West Africa. This dissertation builds upon a paper on general Angolan archaeology submitted to the University of Cape Town as partial fulfilment of my BA (Honours) degree in Archaeology (Hayes E'Silva, 2005).

The most basic objective of the archaeological research was to chronicle the conquest of the N'Dongo Kingdom by the Portuguese at Luanda and along the Kwanza River by locating, surveying and documenting material culture structures. This was achieved through archaeological fieldwork and research of relevant literature.

The justification for exploring this topic was to better understand how the Lusitanian Imperialists set about conquering the N'Dongo kingdom. The problem with current historical data describing the conquest is that the reconstruction is incomplete due to the lack of archaeological input. Archaeological research can derive additional information to supplement the historical record or repudiate the historical narrative. The potential contribution of archaeological study is that it could enhance our knowledge of the conquest and give an insight into the mindset of the coloniser. It may inform on how judgement mistakes were made by the coloniser through an in-depth investigation of the landscape as exemplified by the Santa Cruz settlement at Tombo. The settlement at Tombo was abandoned shortly after it was established as it was founded in an adverse location. The mere presence of forts in the landscape attests to the resistance of the indigenous population and supports historical records. Archaeological evaluation of colonial structures potentially may reveal former historical structures incorporated within existing buildings. Archival sources in such a case are useful in identifying the position of the first original fort built in Luanda that may have been encapsulated within *Fort São Miguel*. Although literature recorded the strength of the garrison at *Fort Masangano*, it could only be established by archaeological survey that the soldiers were accommodated outside the fort. The fort could only have been used for defensive purposes at a time of threat as it was too small to house a garrison. Tented accommodation or other structures outside the fort must have been erected to house the soldiers. The location of these structures may be identified by applying archaeological methods, thereby reappraising the historical source. The literary information given by Coelho (1998/1999) on details of the Mundongo Royal City may be used to archaeologically search, locate, and confirm the site for future archaeological exploration.

The research questions that mainly emanated from the archaeological component of the research project were as follows:

1. Why did Paulo Dias de Novais establish his first settlement on the mainland and not on the *Ilha de Luanda* as instructed and as was the norm to settle on islands at the time?

2. What was de Novais's basic strategy to conquer the Mundongo?
3. With what materials were the early buildings constructed? Did the Portuguese use local material or did they import construction materials?
4. What impact did these structures have on the landscape?
5. What effect did the unification of the Portuguese and Spanish crowns have on the conquest of the N'Dongo Kingdom? Did it influence architecture or change the form of administration?

Further objectives included the following:

6. Assess the current state of preservation of material culture such as forts and churches.
7. Locate potential archaeological sites related to the conquest in Luanda and along the Kwanza River and record their geographic co-ordinates.
8. Establish a baseline description of Portuguese colonial architecture that can be used to date various early colonial buildings.
9. Evaluate conquest architecture with reference to religious symbolism.
10. Elucidate existing Eurocentric historical narratives exalted by Lusophone chroniclers using the landscape and colonial architecture to better understand religious zeal and triumphalism. The extract written by Padre Garcia Simões in 1579 (Pombo 1926), and quoted at the beginning of this dissertation, is an example of this religious zeal and triumphalism.
11. Interpret the landscape of conquest settlements.
12. Search and record evidence for the presence of traders and the potential location of a market place at Dondo.
13. Elucidate the conundrum around the location of Cabassa.
14. Compare the N'Dongo Kingdom with other Lusitanian Empire colonies along the Swahili Coast in East Africa, including the conquest of the Zambezi River by the Portuguese.
15. Establish a benchmark for future researchers.

1.5 METHODOLOGY

A survey was conducted in the *Arquivo Histórico de Angola* (Historical Archive of Angola) which archives literature relating to the Portuguese conquest. The *Biblioteca Nacional de Angola* (National Library of Angola) in Luanda, museums such as the *Museu Nacional de Antropologia* (National Anthropology Museum), the Catholic University in Luanda, and the Agostinho Neto University Department of History library were visited with the view to researching relevant literary sources. For instance, the Military Museum housed at the *fortaleza* (fort) *São Miguel* in Luanda contains historical wall tiles depicting early encounters between Portuguese and indigenous people, maps of settlements, etc, a priceless historical record. These historically valuable wall tiles are deteriorating at an alarming rate. I was able to translate relevant Lusophone (as well as Francophone) literary texts as my home languages are Portuguese and French. Anglophone research material obtainable in South Africa broadened this research base. I was unfortunately unable to explore archival sources in Portugal.

Methodological challenges were encountered when integrating historical and archaeological data with reference to the delineated research questions. The archival material did not clearly refer to the physical location of recorded events. Thus archaeological fieldwork was used to locate the areas of interest and the historical and archaeological data were then integrated through the interpretation of the physical evidence. For example, according to historical sources, Paulo Dias de Novais had instructions to establish a settlement at the *Ilha de Luanda*. Why did he then disregard the instructions from his king and found his first settlement on the mainland? Fieldwork at the *Ilha* provided environmental clues that confirmed the unsuitability of the sandy island for settlement. Conditions on the hill of *São Miguel* were far more favourable in terms of defence and subsistence strategies for establishing a settlement. Literary sources were thus integrated with archaeological fieldwork. As an archaeological research project, the research questions were primarily of an archaeological nature that could only be answered through fieldwork. Some

historical sources were useful in highlighting research questions for which answers were elucidated by applying archaeological fieldwork methods in the landscape.

Historical structures relating to the early conquest and colonisation period of Angola were located by searching the banks of the Kwanza River by vehicle and on foot. Local indigenous people were questioned and guides were recruited to lead me to the sites. Once found, the sites were surveyed from an archaeological perspective. These structures, viewed as material culture, include the remains of settlements, military fortifications and religious structures such as churches. Selected forts and fortifications were surveyed to produce ground plans and detailed section drawings/photographs. General and detailed digital photographs were taken as an archaeological record of the subject matter. Access to some historical churches still in use was problematic as services were conducted that continue all day, seven days a week. Satellite imaging technology is highly advanced and programmes, such as Google Earth, are readily available for research. Aerial views of some sites were used to produce site survey maps and to illustrate points discussed in the text. The Kwanza River flood plain between Tombo and Calumbo was surveyed by boat under the guidance of the Quissama Nature Reserve Director, Roland Goetz. This section of the Kwanza River was part of the pre-colonial frontier between the Quissama and the N'Dongo Kingdom. This fieldwork was conducted during the course of 2005 and 2006.

Archaeological fieldwork in Angola was challenging with a number of restrictions. The lack of an infrastructure conducive to the study of archaeology in terms of public bureaucracy and the lack of heritage conservation legislation was frustrating and compounded by post-civil war suspicions. Photographs could not be taken at will of any man-made structure or persons due to the legacy of the civil war and local superstitious belief. Taking photographs of individual persons was taboo in that it could be used in malevolent magic rituals to invoke evil against that person. Likewise, taking pictures of objects/structures that belonged to the government could be used to subvert the government. Protocol dictated that permission had to be

obtained from the local police to photograph the forts and churches at every archaeological site. The measured recording of archaeological structures with a tape measure was regarded with much suspicion and placed the archaeologist at risk. Although no legislation existed against these activities, police could impose a penalty by impounding vehicles and equipment and incarcerating perceived offenders. Release could be obtained with the donation of a monetary contribution.

Roads to most of the fort sites along the Kwanza River were in very poor condition and could only be accessed with four-wheel drive vehicles. Some of the roads have deteriorated to the point where they no longer exist. The local guides that were recruited to find the sites had to proceed with utmost caution and local knowledge to avoid the realistic threat of land mines. Some heavily mined areas, such as Pungu-a-Ndongo, were not accessible. Water-borne diseases along the Kwanza River that plagued the Portuguese *conquistadores*, such as malaria and bilharzias, are still rife and as deadly as in historical times.

1.6 DISSERTATION STRUCTURE

Where Chapter 1 introduced the subject matter of the dissertation, Chapter 2 discusses the historical basis of the dissertation from an archaeological perspective. It identifies the shortcomings of the historical approach in terms of the marginalised African voices which were muted during the culture contact situation of colonialism. The archaeology of colonialism is viewed from a modern world perspective and seeks to give voice to the voiceless Africans in the shadow of Eurocentricism. Historical archaeology is defined in this chapter while a benchmark for future archaeological research is proposed.

Chapter 3 is a prelude to conquest and places the N'Dongo Kingdom in context with the Portuguese state, imperial expansion, and Portuguese colonisation in the 15th and 16th centuries. The chapter explores the alliance between the state and the church with insights into religious idealism, triumphalism, and the Eurocentric worldview of the coloniser. The first contact

between the Portuguese and the indigenous people of Central West Africa, namely the Bakongo, is described.

Chapter 4 discusses the arrival of Paulo Dias de Novais at the Kwanza River during his first voyage in 1560 and the first contact between the Portuguese and the N'Gola. The second voyage of Dias de Novais to the kingdom in 1575 follows where the Portuguese *conquistadore* had received instructions to specifically subjugate, conquer and colonise the kingdom. De Novais establishes his first settlement at Luanda and Santa Cruz, and marches up the Kwanza River to conquer the interior while establishing other settlements along the river margin. His march of conquest upstream of the Kwanza River is described to contextualise the historical narrative and the archaeological sites and structures such as forts and churches. The rise of Queen Jinga is described which heralds the fierce resistance of the Mundongo to Portuguese colonisation.

Chapters 5 to 7 describe and discuss the archaeological fieldwork and present the survey results of the identified archaeological sites. These sites are situated at Luanda (Fort *São Miguel* and colonial architecture), and follow Paulo Dias de Novais's journey of conquest upriver from *Santa Cruz (Tombo)* to *Calumbo, Muxima, Massangano, Dondo, Cambambe, and Pungo-a-Ndongo*. Each of these sites was surveyed and forms the archaeological focus of the dissertation.

Chapter 8 identifies and discusses the religious iconography of colonialism, as derived from the colonial architecture, and discusses Eurocentricism. The *padrão* (stone marker) planted on the littoral of Central West Africa is interpreted with regard to its symbolic meaning while other aspects of religious symbolism are explained.

Chapter 9 discusses the wider historical issues of the Lusitanian Empire such as the impact of the unification of the Spanish Crown with the Portuguese Crown. The continuous wars between the Spanish Habsburg kings and the Protestant Dutch ushered in the beginning of the decline of the Lusitanian

Empire. The Portuguese conquest of the Swahili Coast along the east coast of Africa is briefly investigated as a comparison to the conquest of the N'Dongo Kingdom.

Chapter 10 presents the conclusions of the study.

CHAPTER 2

AN HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

2.1 CHAPTER OUTLINE

Epistemology concerns how we know what we know and how we approach the past. This chapter critically analyses historiographical sources in view of the marginalisation of the colonised within the cultural contact situation. This dissertation, as an archaeological survey, constitutes a benchmark for all future historical archaeological studies of the early conquest of Angola. Historical archaeology is discussed in terms of definitions that privilege chronology, method or 'the modern world'. In addition, various aspects of colonialism, including Eurocentricism, are considered. General archaeological theory is defined and the role of theory in context with historical archaeology is discussed. Post-colonial theory as proposed by Gosden (2004) is detailed in terms of the middle ground model, the *terra nullius* model, and colonialism within a shared cultural milieu model. Examples pertinent to the conquest and colonisation of the N'Dongo Kingdom based on these theoretical models are highlighted.

2.2 HISTORIOGRAPHY

Most early historical sources pertaining to the conquest of Angola are Eurocentric, presenting the narrative from the single perspective of the coloniser while the colonised remained mute. Portuguese chroniclers of the period were particularly biased in recording events from their own point of view while glorifying their own agenda. Religious zeal and self-aggrandisement pervade their narratives to the extent that the historiographical value of the work is distorted. Such narratives include Padre Garcia Simões (1579), Padre Pombo (1926), Cordeiro (1892), Peres (1959, 1983) and others. At the other end of the spectrum, Cruz e Silva (1995a, 1995b, 2000) and Cruz e Silva and Neto (1997) tend to overcompensate by being biased towards the colonised. The historical record in certain cases requires reappraisal to present a more inclusive study of colonialism.

It has been assumed in the past that material culture and written sources represent separate lines of evidence. Both data sets, however, have been important to confirm or repudiate literary texts. A case in question was the discovery of Troy by Schliemann in 1875 that successfully tested literary evidence. It is imperative to apply both types of data to fully understand the past (Galloway, 2006: 42). Martin Hall (2000: 16) uses the principle of James Scott's idea of "transcripts" defined as "a web of relations that entwine both objects and words" as his fundamental criteria in the practice of historical archaeology. Transcripts connect cultural material with texts and must be studied in isolation from one another to create a more representative view of the past (Hall, 2000: 16).

2.2.1 MARGINALISING THE AFRICAN VOICE

An example of the dilemma of Eurocentricism was extrapolated from the 1893 work of the American historian Frederick Jackson Turner, who presented a study of the American frontier, where he believed the American personality originated. As the frontier was a place of encounter between "savages and civilized people", Turner concluded that the area was in constant transformation. From this evolutionary process emerged the American personality, the "typical American region", "the line of most rapid Americanization", and where democracy, individualism, self-reliance, and nationalism developed (Penn, 2001: 19). The colonised in his view had no role to play. These views were emulated by Leo Fouché in 1909 in South Africa by incorporating the same views in the study of the early Dutch colony at the Cape. The colonial frontier conditions led to the emergence of the Trekboers who, according to Fouché, "made the land clean for the white man that followed" (Penn, 2001: 20). The Afrikaner historiographers' obsession with Afrikaner identity was prevalent by excluding the colonised while the frontier was construed to have only affected the coloniser. The historian was blind to the frontier being a place where both the colonised and the coloniser were undergoing a process of complex social, political, and economic entanglement (Penn, 2001: 19-21). As late as the early 1940s, the historian

P.J. van der Merwe was still writing along similar views as Turner. In his account of the Trekboers of the Cape Colony before the Great Trek, he denies the Khoekhoen space in his narrative. Likewise the 'Bastaards' of the frontier were essentially absent while the Griquas were only included as a political entity after 1825. The frontier was, for the historian, mainly a place of conflict between the Boers and the San. This kind of historiography became a stumbling block that stifled rather than encouraged academic discourse (Penn, 2001: 22-24). Little interest has been expressed in sites that were occupied by indigenous people or slave communities (Lawrence & Shepherd, 2006: 70). The early Portuguese chroniclers of the N'Dongo Kingdom conquest were no different.

2.2.2 CULTURAL CONTACT

The frontier was, more significantly, a place of cultural contact and inclusion between different social groups. Martin Legassick realised in 1970 (Penn, 2001: 27, 28) that the frontier was more than a place where different cultures were at war with each other. It was a place where a new society was being forged with new economic and social relationships. It was a place where different cultures co-operated or were in conflict with each other, resulting in ramifications pertinent to all the societies involved. A number of examples exist where European colonisers and indigenous colonised interacted with each other in mutual support (Penn, 2001: 27-29). This holds true for the early Cape Colony as it did for the N'Dongo Kingdom.

2.2.3 THE VOICELESS

According to Pikirayi (2006), the most important aspect of the study of culture contact in Africa was to access the "voiceless", which can be achieved through the study of material culture remains. The interlude of the Atlantic slave trade saw varied and extensive cultural contact between Europeans and West Africans augmenting the number of the voiceless (Pikirayi, 2006: 230, 233). Archaeological approaches to early Euro-African contact research in West Africa focused on the preservation and restoration of historical

European forts. Archaeological research in search of the voiceless continues at Goree Island off Senegal, in Gambia, Cape Coast Castle, Castle São Jorge da Mina, Fort St. Jago in Ghana, and Ouidah in Benin. Extensive archaeological excavations were conducted by DeCorse (2001) at Elmina Castle in Ghana, which had been founded by the Portuguese in 1482. Proposed future research is to be undertaken at associated African settlements. Such an approach would yield a more balanced and informative perspective on the early contact period between Europeans and Africans (Pikirayi, 2006: 235, 236). The conflict that was precipitated by the slave trade is historically well documented and is complemented by archaeological studies of pottery, fortification structures and artefacts (Pikirayi, 2006: 237).

2.2.4 ARCHAEOLOGICAL BENCHMARK

The Lusophone historiography of the N'Dongo Kingdom in particular leaves a chasm in our knowledge of cultural contact between the Portuguese and the Central West Africans where the voiceless are silent. Where archaeological research of fortifications is well advanced along the Gold Coast, such as through the work of DeCorse, almost no archaeological research was available for the N'Dongo Kingdom. Intensive archaeological research in the Central West African kingdom concerning cultural contact between the Portuguese and the Africans is essential. This is to give a voice to the voiceless. This dissertation is a general survey to establish the archaeological status of the region and does not focus on the African absence. Historiography must make way for historical archaeology to ensure that the voiceless, ultimately, may be heard.

Identifying the processes of culture contact is, however, not as simple as merely sifting through indigenous material remains. Establishing categories of artefacts can reveal the speed and level of indigenous acculturation. Artefacts may tell us something about how indigenous people were integrated into European technology, ways of thought, action, and ways of being (Orser, 1996: 60-66). The analysis of material culture to derive elements of

acculturation is, however, complex as colonialism was not simply about an exchange of material goods (Orser, 1996: 62).

This dissertation, as an archaeological survey conducted at Luanda and along the Kwanza River, constitutes a benchmark for all future historical archaeological studies of the early conquest of Angola. The site surveys are a prelude to potential archaeological research in the form of sample excavations which should eventually bring research on par with the work conducted along the Gold Coast. Potential sites for productive archaeological excavations include the area around the church of *Nosa Senhora da Muxima* and, more importantly, the fort at Massangano (keeping in mind that an African settlement was established there) and the fort at Kambambe, including the *Nosa Senhora do Rosário* church. Selected archaeological excavations at Dondo may reveal information about the Portuguese traders and their relationships with African slaves.

2.3 HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

The term 'historical archaeology' has different meanings to different people. Some researchers do not refer to their work as historical archaeology but label it in terms of a general historical period, such as post-medieval, Egyptology, or Classical Greek. The term has been used to establish the distinct boundary between 'prehistory' and 'history' as a separate category of investigation. Historical archaeology was labelled as such in 1967 to denote the study of post-Columbian and literate colonial societies from pre-contact native histories (Hall and Silliman, 2006: 1). This was a period in European history when technologies in transport, supply and agriculture became sufficiently advanced to permit migration to the New World (Gosden, 2004: 4). If we accept the premise that history equates to literacy, we may accept that historical archaeology ranges from about 3000 BCE to the present. This implies that every society that had a written form of communication is a legitimate candidate for historical archaeological studies. Exact definitions are, however, not always agreed upon between archaeologists (Orser, 1996: 24). What historical archaeology does offer is an opportunity to shed light on the

lives of the poor, slaves and ethnic minorities as these groups often kept no written historical records (Gosden, 2004: 21). The subject has, through time, been defined in three principal ways, namely: it has a time period, it is used as a method of research, and it concerns the modern world.

2.3.1 TIME PERIOD

The time period of this dissertation concerning the Portuguese conquest and colonisation of the N'Dongo Kingdom is firmly placed between c.1575 and 1641.

2.3.2 METHOD

The view that historical archaeology is a method for researching the past was absolute in the sense that the subject concentrates on literate cultures. Troy was after all located by Heinrich Schliemann by reading Homeric texts (Orser, 1996: 24). Taylor argued in 1948 that historical archaeology was simply a technique that employed non-archaeological sources such as history. Historical archaeology investigates the past by applying a wide variety of multi- and interdisciplinary methods, including oral traditions of indigenous people. Yet, to relegate historical archaeology to methodology does the subject a disservice (Orser, 1996: 25). The more fundamental concept is rather that historical archaeology is the study of the modern world (Orser, 1996: 26).

2.3.3 THE MODERN WORLD

The notion that historical archaeology concerns the study of modern life originated with Robert Schuyler in 1970. James Deetz perfected this definition when he stated in 1977 that historical archaeology could be defined as “the archaeology of the spread of European culture throughout the world since the fifteenth century and its impact on indigenous peoples” (Orser, 1996: 26). This has since become an accepted definition. The study uses many different sources of information, concentrates on the research of literate people of the

past, and actually is about the world we live in today. Historical archaeology is about the universal nature of modern life. The approach is still concerned with the story of the world after CE 1500, that is, 500 years since the first voyage of Christopher Columbus to the Americas. This means that research incorporates elements of global colonialism and Eurocentricism among other topics (Orser, 1996: 26, 27).

2.3.4 COLONIALISM

The fact that historical records are written by the conquerors and thus present biased views is not new. Although not completely true, it has left a distorted record (Gosden, 2004: 6). Colonial archaeology has been used to attempt to rectify the imbalance. To put it simply, colonial archaeology is the archaeology of European places outside Europe. This places colonialism as an intricate part of historical archaeology and an unchallenged component of modern life. Colonialism constitutes the relationships between Europeans and indigenous people where the Europeans encountered the local inhabitants in the New World. Historical archaeologists research the architecture of European colonial buildings to infer the ways of life of the colonists and how they applied subsistence strategies to survive in alien environments. Historical archaeologists are very interested in the types of artefacts Europeans made and used that would reveal something about the lives of the colonists, that is, how the Europeans adapted to the unfamiliar environment that constituted both natural and cultural landscapes. The responses of the European colonists to these new conditions are emphasised (Orser, 1996: 58, 59).

The question is what is a colony? Finley (1976) considered a colony as being a settlement in which the population was composed of large-scale immigrants from a homeland. The settlers had dispossessed the indigenous people of their land and subjugated them. The colonists instituted formal political and economic control from the homeland and controlled the indigenous labour force. The motivation for migrating from an original location to found a colony elsewhere includes trade, to disperse excess population, for military advantage, to escape religious persecution, and to acquire new natural

resources (Gosden, 2004: 126). The colonists consisted of people with different genes than the local population, had different cultures or customs and spoke a different language, used different artefacts and buried their dead in different ways (Gosden, 2004: 2, 3).

The colonial situation inevitably resulted in cultural contact between Europeans and the local indigenous population that led to a process of acculturation (Orser, 1996: 59). This process required responses from both Europeans and the indigenous people and affected both societies (Orser, 1996: 60). Both the coloniser and the colonised reacted to the contact and some aspects of their lives were changed. This is a factor that has been ignored by earlier archaeologists who describe histories from a Eurocentric perspective that only includes Europeans. The indigenous people were simply absent from texts. The reaction of the local people to European dispossession of land and encroachment of cultural life was not recorded (Orser, 1996: 59). This was the case in Lusophone texts describing events in the conquest of the N'Dongo Kingdom.

2.4 ARCHAEOLOGICAL THEORY

The first question that is often asked when dealing with theory in archaeology is whether there is in fact such a thing as archaeological theory. The term 'theory' is, however, not easy to define. There are different views that define 'theory' in different ways. Archaeologists often also confuse theory and method. Simplistically, theory relates to the 'why' question while method concerns the 'how' question. For example, theory deals with why we dig a particular site and the method dictates how we dig the site. Although this is a simplistic way of defining theory, most archaeologists include reasons why we do archaeology in their concept of theory and also include aspects of the social and cultural context of archaeology (Johnson, 1999: 2). The definition of theory used by some archaeologists may depend on personal theoretical viewpoints. For example, some positivists define theory as a set of propositions that could be set up and tested against data. Theory is thus defined as a set of general propositions, which are either generalisations

concerning the archaeological record or how archaeology is undertaken. The most important objective is the testability of the data. The question which the methods seek to answer may be theoretical, but the methods and the data are outside the scope of the theory. On the other hand, postprocessualists maintain that methods or techniques and data are “theory-laden” and argue that archaeologists must theorise “interpretation at the trowel’s edge” (Johnson, 1999: 176).

Why is theory critical or relevant to the practice of archaeology? It is firstly important to justify what archaeologists do and to provide a clear idea of what archaeology is about. Secondly, theory is used to order data and to establish degrees of importance placed on various strands of evidence. It is required to evaluate interpretations of the past to distinguish which is the strongest or weakest explanation. Archaeologists cannot simply rely on common sense to do this. Thirdly, archaeologists must be explicit about what is done by being open about personal biases or preconceptions and approaches rather than pretending these do not exist. Finally, all archaeologists use theory in the sense that all archaeologists use concepts and ideas and make assumptions when analysing the past. If archaeologists did not use a set of rules to make meaningful sense of the past, archaeologists would merely be mindless collectors of old junk (Johnson, 1999: 3-7).

Archaeological artefacts, as such, tell us nothing of the past. The past cannot be touched and it cannot be seen. The past is dead and gone. Artefacts actually belong to the present, as they exist here and now. The past can only exist in the things that are said about it. It is up to the archaeologist to discover things about the past by using archaeological material in the present. Archaeologists borrow a number of theories from other disciplines to interpret the past as there does not seem to be any specific archaeological theory (Johnson, 1999: 23.13). One example is post-colonial theory that is specifically concerned with the historical archaeology of colonialism.

2.4.1 POST-COLONIAL THEORY

Post-colonial theory as proposed by Gosden (2004) has been selected to approach the research of this dissertation. Post-colonial theory was a response to Eurocentric theoretical concepts and originated after the demise of the former European colonies throughout the world. It deals with the consequences of racism and other elements of western triumphalism. Central to post-colonial theory thought is the need for local histories rather than global perspectives (Gosden, 2004: 18). Post-colonial theory stresses that colonial cultures were created by all participants in that all had agency and social effect, radically changing both coloniser and colonised (Gosden, 2004: 25). It recognised local differences in power relations and has been used to criticise broader models such as World Systems Theory. Resistance to colonialism, from armed conflict to subtle cultural subversion, has been an aspect of research in this approach. Post-colonial theory explains and emphasises the nature of power and examines varying modes of power created through relations between people and material culture. Material culture is the thread that connects the history of colonialism. Values were created and carried through relations to material culture (Gosden, 2004: 24).

Three models of colonialism are proposed by Gosden (2004, 26), namely the middle ground model, *terra nullius*, and colonialism within a shared milieu (Gosden, 2004: 26). These models are not cast in concrete and are an attempt to simplify a vast and complex concept and have been produced for heuristic purposes. These models may be modified to fit different case studies. It must not be viewed as a linear progression from one model to the next, and all three models may exist at the same time within a single colonial entity (Gosden, 2004: 25, 26). The post-colonial theory models are criticised in certain circumstances in this dissertation and alternatives are proposed.

2.4.2 MIDDLE GROUND MODEL

The middle ground model concerns regularised relations through a working understanding of the other's social culture where all parties think they are in

control. The example used to illustrate this model concerns the relationships between Algonkian Indians of North America and French fur traders in the Great Lakes region from the 1650s onwards. Europeans saw two possibilities that were to result from the cultural contact between Europeans and the indigenous population: acculturation or cultural annihilation. However, contact in this event created new cultural structures. Algonkians and the French produced an alliance borne of need and mutual dependence (Gosden, 2004: 30). Neither the Indians nor the French were disadvantaged in the middle ground model or by the relationship that arose through mediation. Decisions were binding through gift exchange with gifts that were culturally appropriate and attractive in value. The values connected to people and things were mutually understood in a practical commensurability of value systems. The alliance disintegrated in the nineteenth century and the Algonkians became mere colonial subjects (Gosden, 2004: 31).

In the case of gift exchange concerning cultural contact, the lack of material culture was not merely perceived as a personal weakness, but rather a social failing. The relationship between coloniser and colonised was to gain cultural and cosmological advantage from the contact. Thus the material culture associated with the values connected to objects was important to gift exchange negotiations. Material culture had aesthetic, social, and cosmological values that merged in the contact situation (Gosden, 2004: 82, 83).

To further understand the complexity of material culture exchange in a culture contact situation, the example of the religious belief of American Indians concerning colours was used. Red represented anti-social behaviour such as violence and war. White and sky blue-green was associated with purposive activity of mind, knowledge, and most communicative forms of being. The lack of the ability to acquire knowledge was interpreted as the black colour. The values attached to indigenous material culture were thus transferred to European trade goods. The symbolic meaning of the European trade objects in terms of colour had to be assimilated into the social transaction. The Indians traded in terms of metaphors while the Europeans exchanged trade

goods for material profit (Gosden, 2004: 85, 86). Clothing and body decoration were later changes in cultural material associated with older values. Lavishly tanned and decorated animal hides that had aesthetic value were replaced with clothing made of European trade cloth from the eighteenth century onwards. The value of trade cloth was mirrored in the earlier aesthetic of decorated hides with black, white, and red being the common choice of colour. Material culture goods were what kept alliances between colonisers and colonised together. Material culture items exchanged for furs in the Great Lakes region that held alliances together also included mundane objects such as beads, copper kettles and mirrors (Gosden, 2004: 87, 88). The middle ground model was, however, not represented in the Lusophone conquest of the N'Dongo Kingdom and will thus not be further discussed. The relationship between the European culture and the African culture in the N'Dongo Kingdom was mainly controlled by the Portuguese and was not based on mutual understanding. The *conquistadores* were set on subjugating and conquering the local population as instructed by their king.

2.4.3 THE *TERRA NULLIUS* MODEL

The *terra nullius* model does not recognise prior ways of life and involves mass appropriation of land also termed a “widowed landscape”. With the rise of capitalism and technological advances in transport, new sources of raw material, markets, and land were sought by European powers. The ideal of *terra nullius* justified a legal basis for the appropriation of land on which to settle. The church, in its need to save souls, provided a global organisation that aided European colonial expansionism. John Locke developed a theory of property to justify English rule in the Americas in the late-seventeenth century by adapting the Roman concept of *res nullius*. He contended that all “empty land” was the common property of all humanity until such time as it was put to some use, which normally was agriculture. He argued that Indians did not utilise the land and therefore had limited jurisdiction over it. This concept provided support for colonists to appropriate the land of the indigenous inhabitants of the New World. The appropriation of land meant that the local inhabitants were not only denied their source of sustenance, shelter

and raw materials, but also their spiritual base from which they connected with their ancestors (Gosden, 2004: 27, 28). The basic concept was not new as similar views were expressed by the Portuguese Crown as early as 1420. When the newly discovered Canary Islands were claimed by the Spanish, the Portuguese declared that all islands discovered by the Portuguese navigators that were not inhabited by Christians were deemed to be the property of the Portuguese crown (Diffie & Winius, 1977: 58).

Europeans did not perceive the value that indigenous people placed on land while the local population did not comprehend the apparently superficial value Europeans placed on the land. Land tenure for the Aboriginal natives of Australia was associated with kinship, marriage alliances, totemism, ancestors and cosmology. The land was connected to people, the natural world and the supernatural. In the modern order, the city of Canberra with its geometric grid pattern of streets was viewed by the Aborigines not as a place of domesticated order, but as a place of “wilderness of primordial chaos” (Gosden, 2004: 122). In this case the ideal of *terra nullius*, the interpretation of what one culture perceives as order, another places as a set of opposing values (Gosden, 2004: 122, 123).

After the Spanish eviction of the Moors from Granada in southern Spain and the Iberian Peninsula in 1492 (termed the *reconquista*), the Europeans became unified by Christian rule for the first time since the Arab conquest in CE 711. The subsequent conquest of the Canary Islands by the Spanish resulted in the appointment of military leaders who undertook self-supported expeditions of conquest. This momentum of conquest of other territories, initiated by the liberation of Granada, was rewarded by the appropriation of land and the servitude of the local population. Such were the land-grabbing expeditions of Cortés and Pizarro in the Americas that were modelled after the *reconquista* military campaigns. The *reconquista* not only created a winning pattern of military conquest, but also had a religious connotation. The sacking of Granada was a war against Islam and a victory for Christianity. Christianity provided a justification for conquest and facilitated the conversion of the pagans in the New World (Gosden, 2004: 123, 124).

The post-colonial model of *terra nullius* is applicable to the conquest and colonisation of the N'Dongo Kingdom. Paulo Dias de Novais was sent to the kingdom in 1575 with explicit instructions from the Portuguese monarch to conquer the people and appropriate the land. A protracted war of conquest followed from Luanda and along the Kwanza River where land was taken by force of arms for colonial settlement. This model is discussed further in the dissertation where appropriate. Elements of the model of colonialism within a shared milieu are also pertinent in the colonisation of the N'Dongo Kingdom, but only in certain circumstances which are discussed in the following subsection (2.4.4).

2.4.4 COLONIALISM WITHIN A SHARED CULTURAL MILIEU

The post-colonial theoretical model of colonialism within a shared cultural milieu is the most contentious and complex model and involves wealth associated with cultural material objects and an elite group. The model also involves colonial relations that developed between a state and non-state polities within a shared cultural milieu. In this milieu, colonisation occurred where culture was shared and dispersed without the use of military force (Gosden, 2004: 26).

Being contentious, the model does not fit well with the general concept of what a colony was and is best perceived as colonialism without a colony. The first such colony was established by Sargon of Akkad who ruled from about 2296 to 2240 BCE. He unified the southern and northern city states of Mesopotamia into a single polity by conquest and diplomatic means (Gosden, 2004: 41). Conquest in this case served as a catalyst that united people who shared the same culture (Gosden, 2004: 60). Power was centralised, with tribute and crafted goods dispatched to the capital city that became the principle location of consumption, and with trading contact with the Indus valley. Weights, as a system of measure, were standardised for long-distance trading. Power was focused on the king who wore a special attire and hair style, and sat on a delicately carved throne wearing royal insignia. Although

power rested on a single person and city, it was effectively distributed throughout the empire (Gosden, 2004: 55).

An example of this model concerns the nature of colonies in the classical Greek period of the Aegean with settlements outside Greece in what Gosden termed colonialism of wealth. Gosden proposed two types of wealth: beautiful and standardised. Standardised objects had fixed values of which money is a good example. This permitted objects to be traded and gift exchange to be conducted free of social obligations and thus allowed transactions outside the individual's own group and social structures. Beautiful objects were characterised by their richness of style, differentiating those who possessed these items into an elite class. Wealthy material culture was acquired through the control of standardised objects linking quality and quantity (Gosden, 2004: 61). The amassed wealth of the elite was used to dominate the behaviour of people by exercising military power to extort material from the general population in a way not previously experienced. This new connection to wealth changed attitudes to land which simply became an object of possession (Gosden, 2004: 63).

Aztec materiality was an example of the unity that existed within the empire through shared systems of value about human bodies and objects. Objects, ranging from pots to elaborate warrior costumes, had aesthetic values that impacted on social networks. Aesthetic values had cosmological connotations in that objects could simulate the divine in the mundane world. The sacrifice of living human bodies appealed to the gods as a source of raw material (Gosden, 2004: 72). At the centre of Aztec cosmology was warfare and tribute that was only effective when manifested as material such as architecture, sculpture, pottery, costume, etc. Aztec rulers empowered themselves with materials in the form of pyramids as tombs and temples, and intricately carved monuments. These material manifestations gave power to the rulers without which they would not have existed (Gosden, 2004: 72, 73).

By the Late Postclassic period (c. CE 1350 – 1520), the Aztec transformed from a state to an empire through alliances and conquest that garnered tribute

from different polities. Its core was in the central Mexican highlands. Tribute included raw materials, food, utilitarian goods and luxuries such as feathers. A commercial network arose, controlled not by the state, but by a class of traders (Gosden, 2004: 74, 75).

In summary, our concept of colonialism is that the coloniser and the colonised originated from different cultures and different geographic locations. In the model of colonialism within a shared cultural milieu, colonialism is viewed more like culture contact and labelled by convention as non-colonial. Colonialism, however, took many different forms which included the relationship between people sharing similar cultural forms. Objects of wealth instead motivated people's desires and behaviour (Gosden, 2004: 80, 81).

Elements of the model of colonialism within a shared cultural milieu may have occurred with the first Portuguese contact with the Bakongo at the mouth of the Congo River in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Initial contact between the Bakongo and the Portuguese did not constitute a colony, but rather a culture contact situation. Initial contact was not brought about by conquest but rather in a situation where culture was shared. Portuguese sailors who remained behind were assimilated in Bakongo culture, while noble Bakongo men were taken to Portugal and were likewise assimilated into Portuguese culture. The Bakongo state was subdivided into "provinces" ruled by governors who answered to the king. The king wore royal regalia and received guests seated on his throne. Power was centralised and tribute was sent to the capital (Mbanza Kongo), which was the main location of consumption. Although the Portuguese and the Bakongo did not share a similar culture, they shared an aspect of culture in the form of religion. The Bakongo had assimilated Christianity from the Portuguese, which connected them spiritually at the same level. Portuguese traders, as an elite class, traded with the Bakongo in slaves, ivory, gold and other commodities. Gold was possibly viewed as a beautiful object of wealth while slaves were standardised goods.

It may also be argued that the relationship between Portuguese traders and the residents of the royal city of the N'Gola Nzinga-a-Mbandi-N'Gola-Quiluanji who traded slaves with the Portuguese in 1578, was underpinned by a shared cultural interest in wealth (see chapter 4 subsection 4.6). The West Africans were not at that time subjugated but both shared a cultural interest in the accumulation of wealth through slaves, who were viewed as goods rather than people. Thus the desire for wealth overrode any humanitarian motivations. The relationship between the Mundongo and the Portuguese was one of culture contact, which existed without any form of military conquest. The group of Portuguese traders did not represent the Portuguese state and were a cultural polity associated with trade interests. To consider the model of colonialism within a shared cultural milieu for this relationship may be contentious, but according to Gosden's proposal, the crucial concern was about the hold that material had on people.

The eviction of the invading Moslems from the Iberian Peninsula led to the sacking of the Moroccan city of Ceuta by the Portuguese in 1415, which precipitated Portuguese expansion and colonisation. The event consolidated the alliance between the church and the Portuguese Crown and alluded to economic and religious motives for exploration. The following chapter thus discusses the prelude to the Portuguese military campaign that ultimately led to the landing of a conquering force at the N'Dongo Kingdom in 1575.

CHAPTER 3

THE CROSS AND THE SWORD

3.1 CHAPTER OUTLINE

The scope of this chapter is to present a prelude to the military conquest of the N'Dongo kingdom. It serves to place the N'Dongo Kingdom in context with the nature of the Portuguese state, imperial expansion and colonisation (15th and 16th centuries CE). This chapter aims to explore the economic and religious motives for expansion initiated by the 1415 sacking of Ceuta in Morocco. The event launched the voyages of discovery which are briefly outlined. These expansions led to the conquest of the N'Dongo Kingdom and the establishment of the Lusitanian Empire. The chapter explores the alliance between the church and the Portuguese Crown with insight into religious idealism, triumphalism and the Eurocentric worldview of the coloniser. It thus alludes to the use of Christian iconography associated with the war of conquest and highlighted by the archaeological survey. The first contact with the indigenous people of the Angolan region occurred with the Portuguese discovery of the Congo River. The Bakongo seemingly embraced Catholicism, forging a cordial relationship with the Europeans. The initially amicable relationship with the Bakongo and a military victory to evict the Jaga from the Bakongo Kingdom in 1574 created a false notion that the Mundongo people further south could be colonised swiftly and with little resistance.

3.2 CEUTA

The forces that influenced the Portuguese voyages of discovery and the eventual conquest and colonisation of parts of the New World are varied according to some scholars of the subject (Birmingham, 1965, 2000; Boxer, 1991; Diffie & Winius, 1977; Peres, 1959; Sanceau, no date). These factors may, however, be lumped into two broad categories when considering this study: the Catholic Church (the cross) and the Portuguese crown (the sword). The idea of expansion is thought to have emerged with the conquest of the

Moroccan Moslem city of Ceuta (Fig. 3.1) in 1415 by King Dom João I of Portugal. The decision to take Ceuta revolved around a number of motives, including economics, religion, and geopolitics. The Portuguese and Spanish of the Iberian Peninsula had, by the inception of the fifteenth century, managed to evict the Moslem Moors (with the exception of Spanish Granada) who for centuries had occupied their territories (Diffie & Winius, 1977: 46-56).

The three sons of D. João I, including Prince Henry (1394-1460) later referred to as “the Navigator” (Fig. 3.2), are supposed to have claimed that it would be “holy to conquer Ceuta” (Sanceau, n.d.: 18). The king of Portugal, who was brought up as a knight in a crusading order, won the battle for Ceuta for the Christian faith and thus the campaign was considered a holy war (Sanceau, n.d.: 18-23). The military capture of Ceuta therefore had a strong religious incentive (Diffie & Winius, 1977: 46-56). Boxer (1991) concurs that the “Age of Discovery” arose from a combination of religious, economic, strategic, and political factors. The four fundamental motives for Portuguese expansion according to Boxer (1991) are:

- Crusading zeal against the Moslems.
- Acquisition of Guinea gold, particularly for the minting of coins.
- The quest for Prester John.
- Spices from the Orient.

The Portuguese believed that the imaginary Christian potentate named Prester John would have been an invaluable ally against the Moslems once located somewhere in Ethiopia (Boxer, 1991: 17-20). The objective for the Ceuta campaign was mainly economic: seizure of land, people (slaves) and material wealth (Birmingham 2000: 28). The expedition was, however, cloaked in religious ideology confirmed by the support of the Pope in Rome. This was a holy war and therefore had just cause according to Birmingham. These two criteria were a hallmark of the medieval crusades.

The fall of Ceuta in 1415 revealed the wealth of goods that emerged from across the Sahara Desert on camel caravans from the south and the east,

from lands called Guinea and India respectively. The princes and future kings of Portugal who participated in the battle were impressed with the quality and quantity of the captured trade goods. With the advancement of the “commercial revolution” (Peres, 1959: 13), or rather the rise of capitalism, the idea of seeking an alternative sea route to the source of the profitable trade goods may have become inviting to the princes, particularly Prince Henry. The quest for a maritime route to Guinea and India would be launched southward along the west coast of Africa shortly after the fall of Ceuta (Fig. 3.3). Markets in Asia, using traditional overland routes, were already being exploited from *circa* 1240-1350 (Boxer, 1991: 16). The Venetian brothers Nicolau and Mateus Polo explored central Asia in 1260 and were followed by their cousin Marco Polo in 1269.

3.3 VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY

At the inception of the fifteenth century, the Canary Islands, already known to Roman geographers as the Fortunate Isles (Boxer, 1991: 16) but forgotten during subsequent centuries, were rediscovered by the Genoese (Peres, 1959: 13-16; Diffie & Winius, 1997: 58). When Juan II of Castile granted rights of conquest of the Canary Islands not held by other Christians to Alfonso de las Casas in 1420, Portugal adopted the view that any island not occupied by Christians may be taken as a prize of conquest (Diffie & Winius, 1977: 58). This became policy for future discoveries. The accidental discovery of the first island occurred when two mariners in Prince Henry’s service were blown by a storm to the uninhabited islands of Madeira between 1418 and 1425. Settlement and colonisation was only initiated after the islands were granted to Prince Henry by his eldest brother after 1433. King D. Duarte had ascended the Portuguese throne after the death of their father D. João I. Prince Henry the Navigator had become the major force behind an expansionist policy and he pushed his brother the king to forge ahead with the exploration voyages. The Azores were discovered by the Portuguese in 1427. The passage of Cape Bojador below latitude 27° north was as much a physical as a psychological barrier as it was the limit of the known West African coast at the time of Portuguese exploration voyages. This hurdle took

twelve years and fifteen attempts to conquer for fear of mariners not being able to return due to strong southerly currents and perceived sea monsters lurking in the depths of the sea (Diffie & Winus, 1977: 56, 58, 59-61). Once the dreaded cape was passed in 1433, access to the unknown African west coast was secured (Fig. 3.4). Guinea was within reach and the passage beyond what was later called the Cape of Good Hope to the Indies was just a matter of time.

Gold became available for trade at a small forest village inhabited by Akan-speaking people some 1100 km beyond Sierra Leone, an area that became known as the Gold Coast. The Portuguese settled at the location, which was named Elmina (the mine in Portuguese) and a *feitoria* (trading post) was established in 1481 with a fort named São Jorge (05° 05'N, 01° 21'W) in 1482 (DeCorse, 2001: 7) (Fig. 3.5). Elmina also served to provision vessels on their southward and returning voyages to and from the east. This was the first commercial defensive work that was constructed on the mainland to protect Portuguese capitalist interests in tropical Africa. Elmina is one of the most extensively archaeologically excavated and researched sites in Africa relating to the Portuguese voyages of discovery. The archaeological exploration was conducted by Christopher R. DeCorse, then of the Smithsonian Institution. The results were published in 2001 (DeCorse, 2001). Lucrative trade developed along the west coast of Africa in gold, horses, iron, salt, textiles, slaves, ivory, pepper, and other commodities made possible by the development of the *caravela* (Fig.3.6) (Birmingham, 2000: 33-38, 43, 44). Settlement of conquered islands and locations of trade interest converted the Portuguese from “crusading capitalists” and pioneers of new worlds into colonisers (Birmingham, 2000: 31-44; Boxer, 1991: 27; Diffie & Winus, 1977: 154).

3.4 THE PAPAL BULLS AS SANCTION FOR CONQUEST

Constantinople fell to the Ottoman Empire in 1453, an event that “sent a stream of refugees and tremors of fear, shock and despair throughout Christendom” (Diffie & Winius, 1977: 107). The Turkish conquests in Europe, such as parts of the Balkans and the Black Sea, may have stimulated further promulgations of papal bulls affirming Portugal’s ambition to secure a stronghold on African soil (Diffie & Winius 1977: 108). There were three most significant bulls promulgated around the time of the fall of Constantinople related to Portuguese expansion and conquest.

In the first papal bull, designated *Dum diversas*, of June 1452, the Pope authorised the king of Portugal to conquer and subdue Saracens, pagans, and other unbelievers. Their goods and territories could be seized and the people could be subjected into slavery, their lands and properties becoming the property of the king of Portugal. The second papal bull was even more detailed and may be regarded as the ‘Charter of Portuguese Imperialism’. *Romanus Pontifex* consolidated Prince Henry’s achievements of discovery, conquest and colonisation since 1419. He was eloquently praised as a true soldier of Christ, defender of the faith, compelling unbelievers into the arms of the Church even in the remotest and, to date, undiscovered lands. The bull credited Prince Henry with the maritime circumnavigation of Africa and contacting the people of the Indies. Prince Henry was duly authorised to subdue and convert pagans encountered between Morocco and the Indies. He was lauded for capturing a large number of African slaves who were baptised. Pope Nicholas V decreed that future conquests made beyond Cape Bojador and the Indies by the Portuguese were legitimate and explicitly recognised by the Pope. Importantly, all other nations were prohibited from infringing on the Portuguese monopoly of discovery, commerce and conquest. The bull was publicly proclaimed in the presence of foreign dignitaries. This bull was only challenged almost one hundred years later by the Dutch and the English after the Reformation, and the emergence of the Protestants. The third papal bull, *Inter caetera*, proclaimed by Pope Calixtus III in March 1456, confirmed the terms of *Romanus Pontifex*. Prince Henry, as the administrator,

governor and Grand Master of the Order of Christ, was ceded spiritual jurisdiction over all conquered regions supported by the Portuguese Crown (Boxer 1991: 20-24; Thomas 2004: 59). The sum of these papal bulls gave the Portuguese religious sanction to adopt a superior moral attitude and thus a Eurocentric worldview over all peoples they subjugated. These factors infer religious zeal for the persistent voyages of caravels sent by Prince Henry and his successors to explore, conquer, colonise and exploit peoples and lands beyond Cape Bojador.

3.5 THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS

The military/religious Order of Christ was a derivative of the financially wealthy Order of the Knights Templar. The Order of the Knights Templar was present in Portugal between 1143 and 1190 when its members were involved in regaining Portuguese territory from the Moors. The liberation of the Iberian Peninsula from the Moors was regarded as a crusade (Riley-Smith, 1977: 24). The Portuguese crown granted them land in Tomar (Fig. 3.7) near Santarem in gratitude for their assistance where they constructed a castle in 1160 that survives to this day together with other structures. Tomar became the stronghold of the order in Portugal and is today a declared UNESCO World Heritage site. The Portuguese Knights Templar continued to hold a favourable position throughout subsequent reigns of Portuguese kings. Following accusations of sodomy, blasphemy and witchcraft, the Order fell into disrepute in Europe and was condemned in 1307. Portugal and Castile issued a joint policy that the Knights Templar was exonerated of all charges within the Iberian Peninsula. With the promulgation of the papal bull *Ad Providam* issued in 1312, all property of the Knights Templar was bequeathed to the Order of St. John. King Dinis I (1279-1325) of Portugal subsequently turned from protector of the Order to protector of his own political interests (Butler & Defoe, 1998: 4)

D. Dinis argued with the Pope that properties were only granted to the Templar Knights in perpetuity and thus actually belonged to the Portuguese Crown once the order was disbanded. Thus all Knights Templar forts, castles,

and chapels in Portugal became the property of D. Dinis. King Dinis I converted the Order of the Knights Templar in Portugal to a new military/religious Order, which he named the Order of Christ. The new Order of knighthood was confirmed by the papal bull *Ad ea exquibis* issued by Pope John XXII in 1319. The bull *In apostolice dignitatis specula*, issued in 1420, conferred on Prince Henry the title of Grand Master of the Order of Christ as requested by his father, King João I. Prince Henry now had manpower, an armed fleet, and financial resources to pursue his destiny of Portuguese exploration. The red cross of the Order of Christ (see Fig. 8.1) emblazoned on the white sails of the exploration fleet represented the newly founded merger of Christian doctrine and the might of the Portuguese Crown. The cross and the sword were united. The mastership of the Order eventually passed to the monarchs of Portugal in 1495 from the reign of King Manuel I onwards (Butler & Defoe, 1998: 4, 5).

It is generally assumed that the procurement of new markets for capitalist gain during the rise of the West also motivated Portugal to undertake voyages of discovery that culminated in the colonisation of overseas territories. According to the UNESCO World Heritage website for Portugal, Prince Henry, as the Grand Master of the Order of Christ, actually converted the knights into navigators. Their mission was to expand the Portuguese territory and spread the Christian faith through maritime discoveries. It appears that the ideal of a crusade was not abandoned. Instead it took a new form and adapted to new conditions. The *Societas Jesu*, more commonly known as the Jesuits, was a religious order founded by Ignatius Loyola and its foundation was approved by a Bull of Pope Paul III in 1540. The organisation of priests was approved for the spreading of the Christian faith in the conquered lands by Pope Pius II in 1450. The Jesuits, also known as the Company of Jesus or simply the Company by the Portuguese, were declared the official clergy for the expansionist and conquest enterprise (Pombo, 1926: 12). There is no doubt that the Catholic Church and its religious ideals played a major role in Portuguese expansionism throughout its overseas conquests, including the kingdom of the N'Gola. The kings of Portugal eventually became the leaders of the Catholic Church within colonial boundaries, and often used the clergy

for diplomatic missions (Diffie & Winius 1977: 335). As Jesuit Padre Garcia Simões, who accompanied Paulo Dias de Novais to conquer the N'Gola, observed in 1579: “the cross and the sword were always intimately united and bound [together] and inseparable” (Pombo 1926: 63). In Angola, the vestige of this bond between the Portuguese Crown and the Catholic Church is most poignant in the ruins at Cambambe where the early Portuguese conquest period fort embraces the church of *Nossa Senhora do Rosário* (1606) within its rampart walls. This kind of “diumvirate” (Cary & Scullard, 1997, 249, 283) is equally discernable at Muxima and Massangano where the Portuguese Crown forts are closely associated with Catholic Churches.

3.6 THE REFORMATION INFLUENCE

The papal bull *Romanus Pontifex* issued to the Crown in 1455 granted the Portuguese *conquistadores* dominion over African territory as a divine reward for their effort in conquering the infidel. Additionally, “[a]ny profits and advantages that the Portuguese Crown might derive from its new territories represented a just reward for its service to God, and a reparation for losses and damages that it suffered in the process” (Elbl, 2000: no page number). The right of conquest belonged to the Portuguese Crown by divine order. This view is challenged by Hodder and Hutson (2003), who argue that the Catholic Church was authoritarian and did not sanction the pursuit of gain at the expense of the church. This would have inhibited capitalist enterprise. These scholars further maintain that capitalism was associated more with the rise of various forms of ascetic Protestantism after the Reformation (Hodder & Hutson, 2003: 132).

It was argued that the economics of the conquest and colonisation of the N'Dongo Kingdom was strongly influenced by Papal Bulls as proclaimed by incumbent Popes. This was not surprising in that Christianity, as propagated by the Catholic Church, was the most fundamental aspect of Western thought at the time (Braudel, 1993: 339). That was at least while the Popes in Rome had divine power of jurisdiction over the New World. That changed dramatically with the emerging influence of Martin Luther (1483 -1546) and his

Protestant movement during the Reformation. Religious motivation for colonisation seems to have shifted to a more capitalist incentive after the Reformation. It was the Protestant English and Dutch Europeans who challenged and eventually repudiated the Roman Catholic Pope's stranglehold on the Portuguese possessions (the Dutch West India Company attacked and took possession of Luanda only in 1641). Protestant Europeans ceased to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope in Rome as arbiter of political power. The Protestants championed the division within states (polities) between spiritual and secular power, that is, the division between church and state. It was only after this ideological and spiritual fissure that capitalism became the true motive for colonialism that is historically associated with the rise of the West.

3.7 ENCOUNTER WITH THE BAKONGO

Diogo Cão, sailing against a current of sweet water flowing from the direction of the African littoral at around 6° south latitude in about 1482/4, realised he was entering a vast river when he noticed land on either side of his fleet. These mariners were the first Europeans to enter the mouth of the Nzadi River, meaning 'Great River'. The river acquired the European designation of Zaire in subsequent documentation. It was much later called the Congo River (among other names) derived from the kingdom of Kongo (Cordeiro, 1892: 65, 1936: 303, no date: 886-891; Diffie & Winus, 1977: 154-156; do Amaral, 1996: 21; Felgas, 1958: 19-21). Sources on the Diogo Cão voyages are unfortunately contradictory and vague regarding the date of the arrival of Diogo Cão and the number of voyages he subsequently undertook. Some sources consulted propose 1482 (Diffie and Winus, 1977; Felgas, 1958; Tavares, 1936); 1482-1484 is proposed by do Amaral (1996), and 1484 is proposed by Cordeiro (1892), while Boxer (1991) avoids the issue by not referring to a date. David Birmingham (1965: 6) places the event in 1483. The most notable is that the Portuguese had arrived in the territory that ultimately became known as the Republic of Angola that incorporates the N'Dongo Kingdom. On discovering this new land, Diogo Cão planted *padrões*

(inscribed stone pillars) on the littoral announcing the appropriation of the land in the name of the king of Portugal (see chapter 8).

The news of the arrival of Diogo Cão and his small fleet was quickly conveyed to the Bakongo king Nzinga Nkuvu at his royal city of Mbanza Kongo. The territory of the Bakongo spread on both sides of the Congo River and they spoke a form of Kikongo, which is different from Quimbundu spoken by the Mundongo of the N'Dongo Kingdom (Hilton, 1987: 1-3). Introductions between the Portuguese and the Bakongo were mutually cordial. The first encounter was, in fact, so amicable (do Amaral, 1996: 22) that on his return to Portugal, Diogo Cão was accompanied by some Bakongo nobles while some Portuguese sailors remained behind (Castelbranco, 1932: 71, 72). The fleet was laden with trade goods such as copper, ivory and slaves for which markets existed in the Bakongo Kingdom (Thornton, 1983: XV; van Wing, 1938: 23). The most lucrative trade was later made in slaves, who were embarked to the sugar plantations in Brazil. People were captured by the Bakongo, who raided the Mbundu and sold their captives to the Portuguese as slaves (Birmingham, 1965: 7).

The fleet under the command of Rui de Sousa returned to the Congo River within fifteen months, during which time the Bakongo nobles had learned to speak Portuguese, were introduced to European culture, and were converted to Catholicism. King D. João II and the queen of Portugal themselves became Godfather and Godmother to one of the converted named Caçuta during the baptismal ceremony. The baptised Mukongo (singular) (Thornton, 1998/1999: 135) received the Portuguese Christian name of D. João da Silva, a practice that was to persist throughout the Portuguese conquest period. D. João dispatched Franciscan and Dominican missionaries with the returning fleet to convert the *manikongo* (Bakongo king) and all his subjects to Christianity. The Portuguese king considered the Bakongo king as an equal after his Christian conversion. Some sources suggest that the majority of the Bakongo people converted to Christianity and the religion of ancestor worship was replaced (Felgas, 1958: 21, 22, 24, 27, 28, 62). Conversion to Christianity imposed strict obligations on the converts by demanding radical changes to their daily

lives, particularly relating to their 'superstitious' beliefs. The Pope in Rome, however, accepted that Christianity had become the official religion of the Bakongo (Thornton, 1983: 62, 64).

The Bakongo king was overthrown and banished from the Bakongo Kingdom by a Jaga invasion (Vansina, 1968: 64) and the Portuguese were likewise expelled by 1569. The Jaga were fierce, nomadic people who originated from the east in the Lunda Empire, They are also called Imbangala in Portuguese historical literature. The Portuguese reclaimed the Bakongo Kingdom in 1574 and restored the *manikongo* to his throne. The restoration of the kingdom by the use of fire arms gave the Portuguese confidence to conquer the N'Dongo Kingdom (Birmingham, 1965: 11, 12).

The capital city of the Bakongo kingdom was called Mbanza Kongo (6°16'S, 14°15'E) and was the seat of government, spiritual centre, place where justice was meted out, and where wealth was accumulated. At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, the buildings were constructed of mud and daub with thatch roofs. The city was surrounded by a defensive palisade with a large central square and royal palace. The city also accommodated the religious leader from whom the population sought advice in times of need in their practice of ancestor worship. The city is deemed to have been established towards the end of the fourteenth century (Thornton, 1998/1999: 135-137; Vansina, 1996: 7). The main economic activity was agriculture, which produced a surplus to subsistence requirements. The people tilled the soil to produce crops by using the slash and burn technique to produce yams and cereals like sorghum and millet (Hilton, 1987: 5). Inspired by cross-cultural contact, the *manikongo* transformed the mud and daub city into a city built in stone from 1509 onwards. The Bakongo assimilated European culture through the process of acculturation where churches and a palace were built in stone modelled after the Portuguese style. The Jesuits erected a Church they dedicated to *Jesus Salvador* in 1548, after which the capital was referred to as *São Salvador*. This name for the city was used by the Portuguese until 1975 when it reverted to Mbanza Kongo after independence (Thornton, 1998/1999: 138-140). Although the history of the Bakongo is well

documented, no archaeological research is known to have been undertaken there.

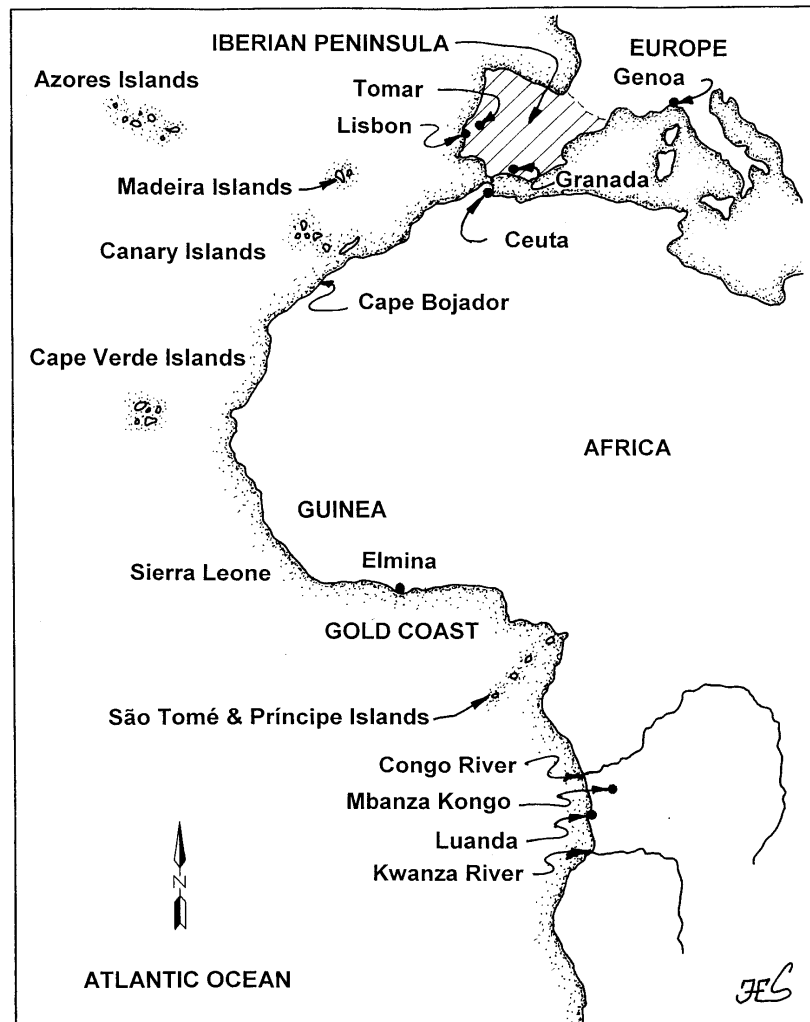
The words inscribed on the stone pillars were prophetic as almost one hundred years elapsed between the first contact with the Bakongo and Portugal's return to the Central West African littoral with intentions of conquest. The relationship between the Portuguese and the Bakongo remained amicable for most of the time while trade and the conversion of the indigenous population continued unabated. With the determination of the sea route to India accomplished and the seaborne Empire in the east secured, Portugal turned its attention to the N'Dongo Kingdom. The Bakongo's relations with the Europeans were so lucrative to the Africans that word eventually reached the N'Gola in the N'Dongo Kingdom further south. N'Gola Kiluanji Kia Samba sent a delegation to Portugal through the *manikongo* in 1556/7, requesting equal commercial opportunities and Christian conversion (Birmingham, 1965: 9, Castelbranco, 1932: 83, do Amaral, 1996: 176, 185, 186). This was to be the catalyst that eventually launched Portuguese *conquistadores* to subjugate the N'Dongo people. The N'Dongo Kingdom was destined to be assimilated into the Lusitanian Empire with the arrival of Paulo Dias de Novais at Luanda in 1575, but not without local resistance. However, the Portuguese crown was lulled into complacency by their successful victory over the Jaga when they reclaimed the Bakongo Kingdom from them in 1574. The Portuguese expected a swift victory over the Mundongo after the amicable experience of the Bakongo interlude.



(Fig. 3.1) An artist's impression of the fortified city of Ceuta in Morocco
(British Library: <http://www.imagesonline.bl.uk/>)



(Fig. 3.2) Prince Henry the Navigator (1394-1460) (<http://www.britanica.com>).



(Fig. 3.3) Portuguese discovery of the African west coast.



(Fig. 3.4) Artist's impression of the Portuguese landing on the shore of the Senegal River in 1444 (<http://www.pbs.org>).



(Fig. 3.5) Fort São Jorge at Elmina in Ghana built by the Portuguese in 1482 (<http://www.antislavery.org>).



(Fig. 3.6) A Portuguese caravel (<http://www.library.thinkquest.org>)



(Fig. 3.7) Former Templar castle and Convent of the Order of Christ at Tomar
(UNESCO World Heritage Site, Tomar, Portugal).

Table 3.1: Abridged chronology of the Lusitanian Empire

PERIOD	ACQUISITION
1415	Ceuta (Morocco)
1418	Madeira Island
1462	Cape Verde Islands
1573	São Tomé and Príncipe Islands
1482	Elmina (Ghana)
1498	Malindi (Kenya)
1499/1500	Greenland
1500	Brasil
1501	Terra Nova (Newfoundland)
1503	Zanzibar
1505	Sofala (Mozambique)
1505	Kilwa Kisiwani Island (Tanzania)
1507	Mauritius
1510	Goa (India)
1511	Malacca
1511	Angoche (Mozambique)
1515	Hormuz
1519	Nova Scotia
1520	Timor
1526	Papua New Guinea
1534	Mumbai
1535	Diu (India)
1543	Tanegashima Island (Japan)
1553	Macau (China)
1575	Angola
1593	Mombasa (Kenya)
1597	Ceylon (Sri Lanka)
1609	Ibo Island (Mozambique)

CHAPTER 4

FROM KINGDOM TO EMPIRE

4.1 CHAPTER OUTLINE

The history of the conquest of Angola is well known as indicated in the Introduction (Chapter 1). Only a synopsis of the arrival of the Portuguese *conquistadores* and subsequent march of conquest following the Kwanza River upstream is discussed in this chapter, with particular notes on the establishment of settlements, forts and churches along the banks of the river. The scope of the chapter thus commences with an introduction of the N'Gola; the voyages of Paulo Dias de Novais (1560 and 1575); the establishment of the first settlement named São Paulo de Loanda in 1576; and ends with the construction of the fort and church at Cambambe on the margin of the river in 1605. The objective of the chapter is to contextualise the historical narrative with the archaeological sites that were located, surveyed, and documented. The archaeological investigation of cultural material remains may in this way be followed systematically in the archaeological fieldwork reports in Chapters 5, 6, and 7. The identification of potential archaeological sites is discussed, with some additional notes on landscape and post-colonial theory.

4.2 THE N'GOLA

A great leader arose among the Mundongo chiefs who established power over the scattered chiefdoms and formed a political union of these chiefdoms. He ruled, calling himself N'Gola Inene, meaning Great N'Gola. The N'Dongo Kingdom was also referred to as the land (or kingdom) of the N'gola (*íxi yá Ngòlá*). Portuguese colonisers called it the Kingdom of Angola. The word N'Gola means sovereign or king. The N'Gola was based at Mbanza-a-N'Dongo, which was the principal city, as well as a religious, political, administrative, cultural and socio-economic centre. This residence or royal city of the N'Gola was also referred to as Kabassa. This name place is difficult

to pinpoint as the name appears in various geographic locations. This problem is discussed in Chapter 7. The Mundongo were united by a single language, Quimbundu, and were interconnected through marriage obligations and treaties. The larger group was collectively known as the Mbundu (see Fig. 1.1) (Coelho, 1988/1999: 219; do Amaral, 1996: 176, 180, 181).

According to Miller (1976), the Mbundu believed that the earth was created when N'Gola Inene arrived from a distant land to where the Mbundu now live. The Bantu language spoken by the Mbundu is associated with people who today occupy Nigeria. The N'Gola had access to special spiritual forces, including objects associated with the *mulemba* tree (*Ficus psilopoga*) that symbolised power (Tavares & Santos, 2000: 258), and was the mediator between the dead and the living (these factors are further discussed in Chapter 7 where the term 'Kabassa' is likewise elucidated (Miller, 1976: 55-63). The Mbundu were subjected to raids of marauding bands of Jaga people infiltrating from the Lunda Kingdom in the northeast of Angola. The Jaga were also known as the Imbangala and were nomadic people who possessed no land and no domestic animals. They lived by attacking and sacking indigenous Mbundu villages, for food and by taking women, children and men. Some were used as slaves, and young men were integrated into their warrior ranks. The Jaga/Imbangala as well as the Mundongo practised ritual cannibalism. These were the peoples that the Portuguese encountered during their quest to colonise the N'Dongo Kingdom. These encounters formed the frontier of Portuguese colonialism in central West Africa and are the subject of focus in this dissertation (Coelho, 1998/1999: 179, 180; do Amaral, 1996: 218,219, 177).

The N'Gola, having become aware of the lucrative trade being conducted between the Portuguese and the *manikongo* (Bakongo king), dispatched a delegation to Portugal in 1556/7 requesting equal commercial opportunities (Birmingham, 1965: 9; Castelbranco, 1932: 83). N'Gola Kiluanji Kia Samba added the request for priests to be sent to convert his people to Christianity (do Amaral, 1996: 176, 183, 186).

4.3 THE FIRST VOYAGE OF PAULO DIAS DE NOVAIS (1560)

The messengers eventually reached the regent queen of Portugal, Donna Catarina, who reigned on behalf of her grandson D. Sebastião, who was a minor at the time. D. Catarina dispatched Paulo Dias de Novais, a grandson of Bartolomeu Dias and knight of the Order of Christ, who arrived at the Angola River mouth (the river was later named the Kwanza River possibly after a local chief called *manikwanza*) in May 1560 (Fig. 4.1) (do Amaral, 1996: 173-175, 179). Paulo Dias de Novais was accompanied by four Jesuit priests, including Brother Antonio Mendes and Brother Francisco de Gouveia.

A delegation from the N'gola eventually arrived, including Mundongo warriors with bodies decorated in yellow paint and with bird feathers in their hair. The entourage paddled up the Kwanza River as far as a place called Massangano (Fig. 4.1). Paulo Dias de Novais later founded a settlement at this location during his second journey, including a fort and a church, *Nossa Senhora da Victoria*. An archaeological survey of this location was possible as building structures still exist in various states of preservation. This is discussed in Chapter 6.4 (do Amaral, 1996: 193, 195, 196; Hayes E'Silva, 2005: 8, 9).

The party continued the journey overland and reached the royal city where the N'Gola was residing, one month after having left the river mouth. The city is located at Dongo or Ndongo or even Cabassa in historical texts, which creates a lot of confusion. Researchers of this subject assume that the location where Paulo Dias de Novais was taken during his first voyage was Pungo-a-N'Dongo among the giant boulders of *Pedras Negras*. This assumption is, however, not conclusive and will be discussed separately in Chapter 7, based on an archaeological survey (Coelho, 1998/99: 172, 173; do Amaral, 1996: 196, 107). The reception of the N'Gola was amicable at first with the exchange of gifts from the queen of Portugal and food and fermented palm wine for the Portuguese delegation. Ndambi-N'Gola-Kiluanji (Quiluanji), who had originally invited the Portuguese mission, had since passed away and the reigning ruler was his son, N'gola-Mbandi-Kiluanji (do Amaral, 1996: 181, 186, 187).

The N'Gola received a message from the *manikongo* in the north, after which he accused the Portuguese of treason. The message stated that the N'Gola should not trust the Portuguese as they were only after gold and silver and would dispossess him of his kingdom once they had found the mines. Paulo Dias de Novais and his companions were subsequently imprisoned by the N'Gola at the royal city. Brother Antonio Mendes was kept captive for about two years after which he was released and returned to Lisbon in 1562. Brother Francisco de Gouveia remained captive for fifteen years after which he died from disease in 1575. The Jesuit priest managed to send some letters, which still exist today, to his superiors in Portugal during his period of captivity. In these letters, the priest advanced the idea of military conquest and political dominion to secure mineral wealth, including silver. He also advocated that preaching could only be done by the sword, thereby justifying war on account of the refusal of the N'Gola to listen to the word of God (Birmingham, 1965: 10).

Paulo Dias de Novais was imprisoned by the N'Gola for about five years until 1565. During his captivity De Novais apparently surreptitiously conducted chemical tests at night on stones he picked up during the day to test for silver (Cruz e Silva, 1995a: 417, 418). It is suggested that it was then that he became obsessed with possessing the “mountains that glittered with silver” at Cambambe (Felner, 1933: 154). The condition of his release was to return to Portugal and to bring military reinforcements to help the N'Gola control a powerful Bakongo vassal named Kiluanji Kia Kongo who had rebelled. In exchange for his liberty, N'Gola Ndambi would enter into a trade agreement with the Portuguese (Coelho, 1998/1999: 173, 174; do Amaral, 1996: 195-202). The eventual reciprocal return of Paulo Dias de Novais would bring even greater devastation to the N'Gola, leaving a trail of archaeological evidence along the margins of the Kwanza River. The Portuguese fort at Cambambe (1604), on the northern bank of the Kwanza River, may owe its existence to the prophetic words of N'Gola Mbandi. The fortification was constructed to secure the alleged silver mines that were alluded to.

4.4 THE SECOND VOYAGE OF PAULO DIAS DE NOVAIS (1575)

Back in Lisbon Paulo Dias de Novais was given a charter by King Dom Sebastião, who had ascended the throne, to subjugate the N'Gola of the N'Dongo Kingdom. Dias de Novais was primarily to conquer and colonise this kingdom (Birmingham, 1965: 12), and convert the people to Christianity. De Novais was the obvious choice to lead the mission due to his knowledge of the territory and the people's culture and language, learned during his first voyage to the kingdom (Pombo, 1926: 37). The Portuguese crown did not finance the enterprise in any way, not even with boats, arms, gunpowder, food or any other thing. Paulo Dias de Novais was given a Captaincy (form of Portuguese Administration of overseas possessions) and had to seduce capitalists and financiers for financial loans with fertile imagination and promises of mountains of silver at Cambambe and trees with veins of gold (Felner, 1933: 121-123). Ultimately, the financial responsibility for the conquest and colonisation of the N'Dongo Kingdom was left to one man. The capitalist interest of the conquest and colonisation of the N'Dongo Kingdom may simply have been a means to an end. The enterprise had to finance itself.

The Captaincy system mandate received by de Novais from his king was very explicit and informative regarding the Eurocentric Portuguese monarchy and mindset of the coloniser. The contents of the document also offer motives for the colonisation of the kingdom. The first instruction of the king was for Paulo Dias de Novais to take priests of the Company of Jesus for the conversion of the kingdom to Christianity for the purpose of the salvation of their souls. The king commanded the establishment of settlements and donated vast tracts of Mundongo land to de Novais free of taxation in the "to be" conquered territory. All land was to be cultivated or otherwise utilised. For this purpose, de Novais was to provide at his own cost, a small fleet of vessels, 400 fighting men with arms, carpenters, stonemasons, farmers, a doctor, a barber, 6 horses, etc. Sufficient provisions were to be taken to feed everybody for one year. Three forts were to be built along the coast within 10 years and an additional 2 forts along the [Kwanza] River. Churches were to be built and all relevant religious

paraphernalia were to be provided (Felner, 1933: 122-128, Pombo, 1926: 37-49). Paulo Dias de Novais had to raise a considerable sum of capital for the venture of conquest, in accordance with the Portuguese Captaincy Donation rules by which colonies were governed.

Paulo Dias de Novais landed at the *Ilha de Loanda* (Fig. 4.2) in February 1575 where he found 40 Portuguese refugees from the Kongo Kingdom in the north due to an invasion of Jagas in 1569-1574 (Imbamba, 2003: 64). A fleet of slave ships was also at anchor to load slaves purchased from the N'Gola. The Portuguese traders had friendly relations with the local indigenous population, including the N'Gola who profited handsomely from the slave trade. The slave trade in fact unintentionally aided in creating a powerful kingdom (Birmingham, 1965: 14). The Jaga/Imbangala were also present at the *Ilha de Loanda* where they also traded in slaves with the Portuguese traders. The relationship between the Portuguese, the N'Gola, and the Jaga/Imbangala created a hostile situation as the arrival of de Novais was not welcomed (Birmingham, 1965: 17, 18). The trade in slaves was considered illegitimate by the Portuguese Crown as taxes were not being paid.

The island owned by the Bakongo was a stone's throw away from the mainland and was a source of the *zimbo*, marine molluscs that the Bakongo used as currency (Fig. 4.3) (Cardoso, 1954: 10; do Amaral, 1996: 178). The Portuguese refugees had built a church they called *Nossa Senhora do Cabo* on the island before the arrival of Paulo Dias de Novais. The founding date of the building is stated as 1575 by some authorities but this date is debatable considering some historical sources. A publication of the Provincial government of the Province of Luanda on the other hand states that the church was built by Paulo Dias de Novais. An archaeological survey, discussed in Chapter 5, resolved the issue concerning when the church was built, who built it and what it really was called. De Novais made contact with the reigning N'Gola, Nzinga Mbandi (do Amaral, 1996: 186), and presented false motives for his presence in his kingdom. De Novais informed the N'Gola through an emissary that he had not come to make war with the Mundongo, but to assist the N'Gola in his wars. Peace between the Portuguese and the

Mundongo prevailed for three years after gifts were exchanged. The ruse gave Paulo Dias de Novais time to establish the settlement of *São Paulo de Loanda* on the mainland, which was a more suitable location than the *Ilha* (do Amaral, 2000: 92-94, 99-101).

The meaning of the exchange of material culture between the Europeans and the N'Gola as gifts is somewhat problematic, that is the meaning of the gift exchange between Paulo Dias de Novais and the reigning N'gola in 1560 and again in 1575. Material culture in a post-colonial theoretical perspective re-contextualises the meaning of objects, which acquire a new significance. Capitalism regards objects as commodities to be acquired at low cost and sold at a profit. In the system of gift exchange, the value is less on the object exchanged and more on the social relation that is established. The cultural material in gift exchange sets unbreakable links with those involved in the transaction even if the object itself acquires new significance. As was the case with the *padrões* Diogo Cão erected along the central West African littoral, the stone markers acquired new significance. The Europeans were perceived to have power and that power attached itself to European material culture. It is, however, the social connection that is created with the act of gift exchange that is more significant. In the first act of gift exchange in 1560, the N'Gola reversed de Novais' request to convert the Mundongo after having accepted the gift from the Portuguese crown. Paulo Dias de Novais and his companions were imprisoned instead. The act of gift exchange did not establish an unbreakable relationship. On the other hand, de Novais deliberately created a false meaning of peace when exchanging gifts with the N'Gola in 1575. The social connection created by the gift exchange was deliberately severed not long after the exchange took place by an act of war. According to Gosden (2004), a broad comparative framework rather than local variations of thought, feeling, agency and resistance may elucidate differences and contradictions within different colonial contexts (Gosden, 2004: 20).

4.5 SÃO PAULO DE LOANDA

The reason for Paulo Dias de Novais having abandoned the sandy island to establish his first settlement on the mainland seemed to have been a pragmatic one rather than political. The island appeared to have no natural water source and was vulnerable to attack from a European power as it could easily have been cut off from the mainland. The island had no natural resources such as building materials and firewood. The mainland provided the required natural resources and a more suitable strategic defensive position from which to defend the colony.

The appropriation of the territory where Paulo Dias de Novais established his first colonial settlement in 1576 was unchallenged. The Portuguese first settled on a hill forming a small peninsula jutting out to sea they called *Morro São Miguel* where the first defensive fort of the same name was built. The *São Sebastião* Church, named after the young King Sebastião of Portugal, was also built on the hill to commemorate the arrival of the Portuguese following instructions of the monarch. This was the first Portuguese stone building erected on Mundongo soil during the colonisation initiative. The building no longer exists and the exact location of the ruin foundation is unknown. Dwellings of temporary construction with grass roofs arose on the hill and were later replaced by more permanent stone buildings as the village developed. The administrative authorities and the clergy occupied the rim of the plateau facing west while colonists associated with commerce and the sea occupied a strip along the beach. The port that developed was frequented by numerous vessels. Trade goods from Brazil and Portugal were bartered, and slaves, ivory and other products were exported. A *feitoria* (trading post) to serve trade interests was built, but by 1606 Luanda was still a village with little military defensive capability. Trenches and ramparts or walls were constructed parallel to the beach reminiscent of the sea lines built at the Cape of Good Hope in the eighteenth century (Seemann, 1993: 48, 50, 64, 65). This defensive structure was weak with no artillery in place and would not withstand an attack from another European power (do Amaral, 2000: 101). The archaeological fieldwork detailed in Chapter 5.2 analyses the settlement's

defensive works, including the *fortaleza São Miguel*.

The economy of the fledgling settlement was mainly based on the Atlantic slave trade (Fig. 4.4) and was aimed at providing labour for the sugar plantations of Brazil (Fig. 4.5) and São Tomé. Although a number of buildings were erected during the lucrative early slave trade period, the settlement did not benefit regarding physical development (Fig. 4.6). Colonists came from Portugal to cash in on the profitable trade, to earn a good living only to lose their life due to the extreme climatic conditions and unhealthy environment. Many who arrived at the settlement from Portugal were classified as *degradados*. They were convicted criminals such as murderers, assassins, common thieves, bandits, political dissidents, etc., who were banished to the colony (Imbamba, 2003: 72). Fresh water was scarce and rains were intermittent. At times up to 400 slaves were incarcerated in different compounds around the settlement where they slept, ate, and performed their bodily functions without suitable sanitation. From there epidemics spread to adjoining dwellings and on to the whole settlement. The spread of disease was exacerbated by the hordes of flies that were attracted by the flaked fish exposed everywhere to dry on walls, racks, fences, and roofs. Dried fish was the staple food of the slaves. The surviving colonists arrived at the colony to make a quick profit with the least effort and return to Portugal as quickly as possible. The settlement still had only 400 inhabitants by 1621. This figure is unrealistically indicated as 50 by Cardoso (no date: 27-32; Cardoso, 1954: 7-13, 47-50). An archaeology of the settlement was determined from the development of fort *São Miguel* and the interpretation of the paintings on the wall tiles within a ceremonial building within the fort. Certain architectural features of historical buildings in present Luanda were analysed and recorded for the purpose of deriving a chronological sequence of buildings in colonial frontier settlements. The result of the exercise was compared to a datum sample of early colonial forts and churches with secure dates. Architectural features were analysed to date certain structures and to resolve a polemic concerning the origin of the *Nossa Senhora do Cabo* Church for example. These factors are discussed in Chapter 5.

With the establishment of the settlement, Dias de Novais planted a strong foothold in the Kingdom of the N'Gola. Paulo Dias de Novais, however, had yet to subjugate the N'Gola and take possession of the silver mines at the mountains of Cambambe in accordance with instructions from the Portuguese monarch. He would later turn to the Kwanza River as a fluvial highway to reach the silver mines (Birmingham, 1965: 16). The veteran Portuguese *conquistadores* were to become known by the indigenous population as the *samba* or *zambo* (the name is derived from the Quimbundu word *n'zamba* meaning elephant) as they devastated everything in their path. The Portuguese campaign of conquest along the Kwanza River was compared to a herd of elephants that stormed into the interior “like a herd of stampeding elephants” (Felner, 1933: 168). Paulo Dias de Novais had adopted a scorched earth policy.

4.6 SANTA CRUZ

The restless peace that existed between the Portuguese and the indigenous population was shattered in 1578 when the N'Gola killed all the Portuguese that were in his court to buy slaves (Birmingham, 1965: 15). This event was instigated by the Bakongo King Alvaro II in the north, who warned Nzinga-a-Mbandi-N'Gola-Quiluanji that the Portuguese were only interested in dispossessing him of his kingdom (Castelbranco, 1932: 87, 88). The event ushered in the beginning of Mbundu resistance to Portuguese conquest. Paulo Dias de Novais had in the meantime founded the second settlement on the northern bank of the Kwanza River, which he named Santa Cruz, today known as Tombo (09°10'S, 013°14'E) (Fig. 4.1). This location was, however, not suitable as a settlement and was totally abandoned by 1606. An archaeological investigation, including a ground survey and satellite imagery analysis, suggests a possible reason for abandonment in Chapter 6.2.

4.7 ANZELE

On hearing the news of the massacre of the Portuguese, Paulo Dias de Novais sailed upstream on the Kwanza River towards the court of the N'Gola.

After receiving a threat from the N'Gola, the Portuguese moved away from the river to a defensive position at Anzele where they built a temporary fort. Fort Anzele consisted of a trench and timber palisade armed with two pieces of artillery. In preparation for an attack from the N'Gola, Paulo Dias de Novais requested reinforcements from the Portuguese crown. Two years were to elapse before the reinforcements arrived during which time Fort Anzele was attacked several times. The fort was relieved in February 1580 with the arrival of 150/200 Portuguese men of arms. Paulo Dias de Novais returned to the Kwanza River in August of the same year with the objective of reaching the silver mines at Cambambe and the Royal City (do Amaral, 2000: 132, 133; Paias, 1949: 20-24).

The Portuguese established other settlements along the way (Fig. 4.1). The location of Fort Anzele is unknown to this day as no geographical co-ordinates or precise location descriptions appear in any historical texts. Oral traditions likewise do not mention its whereabouts. Questioning of local authorities and the local population revealed no clues. A foot survey in the general area of the site is potentially risky due to the possible presence of land mines. Therefore no archaeological survey was possible at this location. Potential future searches for the fort's location may look for the remains of complex patterns of trenches, obstacles and palisades, the way in which fortifications were constructed (Thornton, 1988: 370).

4.8 MUXIMA

Paulo Dias de Novais continued his scorched earth policy by sacking and burning N'Dongo villages as he continued his advance upstream, taking possession of all the food and livestock he could find to feed his troops. The Portuguese soldiers marched along the margin of the river while ammunition and provisions were conveyed in vessels following along on the river. The column paused at the village of a Quissama chief, called Muxima Quintangombe, who was at war with the N'Gola and thus considered the Portuguese allies. A fort and a church were later in 1595 erected at this location. Fort Muxima (Fig. 4.1) was archaeologically surveyed and a floor

plan was produced together with a full report in Chapter 6.3. The conquest church at Muxima, named *Nossa Senhora da Muxima*, is associated with the heart of Mary, mother of Jesus, who is worshiped as the deity of Muxima. It was also archaeologically investigated.

According to historical texts, a change in the weather caused many of the soldiers to become sick, particularly the recently arrived reinforcement troops from Europe. The landscape was rife with malaria and other tropical diseases. The environment of the slow-flowing water of the Kwanza River flood plain with many stagnant lagoons was a perfect breeding ground for such diseases. Evidence in the landscape supports the historical narrative.

Birmingham attributes the founding of a fort at the salt mines at Kisama to Governor Jeronimo de Almeida, presumably in 1594 (Birmingham, 1965: 22). It is assumed that the fort in question is the fort at Muxima. This statement is contradicted by Paias who argues that the fort was constructed by Governor João Furtado de Mendonça in 1595/6 (Paias, 1949: 39, 40). Governor de Almeida had been replaced by Governor João Furtado de Mendonça in the beginning of 1594 (Paias, 1949: 39).

4.9 MACUMBE

Continuing the march, the column reached a location called Macumbe (do Amaral, 2000: 135) situated three days march downstream from Cambambe. As the location was suitable as a defensive position, the Portuguese remained at the site to rest, convalesce or die in peace. The Portuguese remained there for the next two years pinned down by the incessant attacks of the Mundongo. The Portuguese numbers had dwindled to about one hundred soldiers due to disease, fatigue, and as victims of battle (do Amaral, 2000:134, 135; Paias, 1949: 24, 25).

Portuguese soldiers, demotivated and battle weary as a result of Mbundu resistance, started deserting Macumbe and returned to Luanda. Although

beleaguered at Macumbe by constant Mbundu attacks, Paulo Dias de Novais held his position until sometime in 1582. As at Anzele, Fort Macumbe consisted of no more than a trench fortified by a timber palisade with a church probably built with mud and daub. He subsequently resolved to advance upstream to a location at Massangano where he could build a more permanent fortification (Fig. 4.1). The N'Gola had succeeded in temporarily stopping the advance of the Portuguese colonising forces and thus resisted the conquest of the N'Dongo Kingdom by the Lusitanian imperialists. The exact location of Fort Macumbe is also unknown, except that it was situated on the northern bank of the Kwanza River, downstream of the western margin of the Lucala River and three days march from Massangano (do Amaral, 2000: 235-237; Paias, 1949: 25-27). An archaeological survey was thus not undertaken. Again, future searches for this location would have to look for the remains of the defensive trenches and remains of the church to find the site.

4.10 CULTURAL MATERIAL

Christian conversion of the local population meanwhile continued unabated. All indigenous religious idols were broken to pieces and burned while preaching the word of God. Local religious beliefs were destroyed and replaced with Christian doctrine. The power of attributing rainmaking to 'sorcerers' or witchdoctors was challenged with divine providence from God by the Jesuit Padre Baltazar Afonso, who took it upon himself to purge witchdoctors from the kingdom. A goat kept by an Mbundu nobleman as a source of divine power was killed, cooked, and served to the local population to abolish superstitious African belief. The Jesuits strove to convince the local people that every time an idol was burned, God made an offering of water; that is to say, burning idols would cause rain to fall on the area where the idol was burned, but not anywhere else. Mbundu material culture, such as religious idols, was replaced with European cultural material in the form of Christian crosses (do Amaral, 2000: 137-141; Paias, 1949: 28, 29). This occurred not as a gradual process of acculturation but as a forceful act of violence. In the process of Christian conversion, local men were assimilated

into the Portuguese colonising forces to fight against their own brothers who were not baptised.

4.11 MASSANGANO

Paulo Dias de Novais completed the construction of a small square fort within metres of the northern bank of the Kwanza River at Massangano upstream from the confluence of the Lucala River in 1583 (Fig. 4.1). Warriors of the N'Gola amassed around Massangano in preparation for an attack while the Portuguese were reinforced by the numerous troops of chief Songa, a recently converted Mbundu chief. Paulo Dias de Novais led his depleted troops to Tacandongo away from Massangano in February 1583 followed by the warriors of his African allies. The ensuing battle was fierce, lasting a few hours after which the Portuguese were victorious. The noses of their enemy that were cut off for transportation to Luanda as proof of victory was said to be so numerous that it took thirty porters to carry them (Birmingham, 1965: 16).

A name search for the Tacandongo location may be conducted by future researchers. The battle location may be identified by the use of metal detectors to search for cannon balls or grapeshot most likely used during the battle. Other metal remains will consist of assegai and arrow metal points used by the indigenous allies of the Portuguese during the battle. Potential human remains of the battle may be identified through cut marks around the nasal cavity on victim's skulls. A full archaeological report of Massangano including detailed line drawings and digital photographs appears in Chapter 6.4.

The location that the Portuguese were occupying was henceforth officially known as *Nossa Senhora da Victória de Massangano* (Our Lady of Victory of Massangano). The church that was built at Massangano likewise acquired the name of *Nossa Senhora da Victória* (do Amaral, 2000:143, 144; Paias, 1949: 30, 31). Massangano was in time considered the capital of the Portuguese conquest and was the central point around which historical events revolved. Two major defeats suffered by the Portuguese at the hands of the combined

forces of the N'Gola and the Imbangala followed which prevented the progress of conquest up to a decade after the establishment of Massangano (Birmingham, 1965: 19).

4.12 THE DEATH OF PAULO DIAS DE NOVAIS

Still the silver mines of Cambambe eluded Paulo Dias de Novais. Indigenous chiefs continued to oscillate their allegiance between the N'Gola and the Lusitanian conquistadors according to the vagaries of Portuguese victories or defeats by the N'Gola. Having established Massangano as the capital of conquest, Paulo Dias de Novais died at Massangano in May 1589 where he was laid to rest without reaching his destination at Cambambe. He was buried in front of the main entrance of the *Nossa Senhora da Victória* Church. Leadership of the Portuguese conquest was passed on to Governor Luís Serrão (do Amaral, 2000: 155-158). Although large tracts of land in the N'Dongo Kingdom were dispossessed by the Portuguese colonisers, the N'Gola was still resisting occupation after 14 years of struggle. The archaeological investigation concerning the church and the burial place of Paulo Dias de Novais is reported in Chapter 6.4.

4.13 CAMBAMBE

Governor Manuel Cerveira Pereira sailed up the Kwanza River while subjugating rebellious chiefs in 1603. Once at Massangano, he ordered his troops to engage the N'Gola forces in the north. Governor Pereira took possession of Cambambe the following year and built a fort on the northern bank where the Kwanza River is no longer navigable due to cataracts (Paías, 1949: 39-41) (Fig. 4.1). The possession of this location was not without resistance from chief Cambambe. Numerous assaults were directed against the fort at Cambambe as the indigenous population did not accept defeat. Not even simultaneous attacks by allied forces from all sides of the fort could dislodge the Portuguese from their fortification. The attacks against the fort continued in undeterred resistance until 1614. With the realisation that the silver mines were simply a myth, prospecting exploration was abandoned. A

Catholic church, called *Nossa Senhora do Rosário*, was erected within the rampart walls of the fort in 1606 (Castelbranco, 1932: 101-103). An in- depth archaeological investigation was conducted recording details of structural features and various other relevant aspects and is detailed in Chapter 6.6.

4.14 QUEEN JINGA

The period from 1575 to 1605 was marked by the search for minerals, such as silver, and the appropriation of land. The period from 1605 to 1641 was characterised by great strides towards the conquest of the N'Dongo Kingdom to stimulate the slave trade which became the basis for Portuguese prosperity. This intensive trade in slaves, reaching over 13 000 slaves exported annually, effectively brought the economy to its knees by depleting the source for slaves (Birmingham, 1965: 24, 26).

The reigning N'gola during the period of the arrival of Paulo Dias de Novais and early colonisation, Nzinga-a-Mbandi-Ngola-Quiluanji, was killed by some of his vassals in 1617. He was succeeded by a son born of a slave woman, Mbandi-a-Ngola-Quiluanji, who reigned for a very short time. N'gola Mbandi followed in his father's footsteps in his resistance to Portuguese colonisation and Christian conversion. He continued to honour the belief of his ancestors, which was the preservation of the political independence of the kingdom (Cruz e Silva, 1995b: 8). To secure his position as N'Gola, he ordered the decapitation of potential rivals and poisoned the son of his sister Jinga. A Portuguese force from Massangano defeated the newly crowned N'Gola in 1618 and destroyed his Royal City. N'Gola Mbandi fled and took refuge on an island in the Kwanza River. The tenacity and acute political prowess of N'Gola Mbandi's sister, Jinga Mbandi (c. 1581-1663) (Boxer, 1961: 669), ushered in an era of unprecedented resistance to colonisation following her usurpation of political power.

Governor Luis Mendes de Vasconcelos, who governed between 1617 and 1621, raised a large military force, which included the Imbangala, and succeeded in annihilating N'Gola Mbandi and destroying his Royal City in

1618. The N'Gola fled into exile. This was a victory the Portuguese *conquistadores* were fighting for forty years to achieve. The carnage brought about by this military campaign, however, destroyed the market system as the slave trade depended on the co-operation of the Mundongo. Successive governors had to have an African trading partner for the slave trade to function effectively (Birmingham, 1965: 27-29). An intensive historical search for the location of the Royal City is still required of future researchers. This site could then be investigated archaeologically according to guidelines proposed in Chapter 7.

Jinga approached Governor João Correia de Sousa in 1621 to propose the reinstatement of her brother to the throne. A peace accord was finally concluded with the restitution of the N'gola to his throne. Jinga demonstrated at the negotiation that she was an intelligent, astute politician and was admired for her eloquence that was not expected of a 'savage'. While at the Governor's court, Jinga expressed her interest in the Catholic faith and consented to being baptised. The baptismal ceremony was concluded in 1622 and she chose the Christian name of Ana de Sousa (adopting the Governor's surname). It is postulated that conversion to Christianity may have been a way to passively circumvent colonisation. According to Cruz e Silva (1995b: 13), the baptism of Jinga was not about the conversion to Christianity but the ceremony merely symbolised or formalised the peace accord. N'Gola Mbandi was killed by being poisoned by his sister Jinga, who avenged the death of her son who had been poisoned by her brother some years earlier (Paías, 1932: 109-111).

The death of N'Gola Mbandi left the N'Dongo throne vacant as the legitimate heir to the throne was still a minor. Although ruling political power was not her right, Jinga assumed the throne, presumably having been nominated by her brother, the deceased sovereign. The legitimacy of her nomination was questioned by her being a woman, the daughter of a slave woman, and by not having any affiliation to the lineage of such an elevated social position within the Mbundu social system. She, however, did not assume the title of queen and only referred to herself as the 'Lady of Angola', but history conferred on

her the title of Queen Jinga. She reigned unimpeded as her nephew and legitimate heir soon received a death sentence (Cruz e Silva, 1995b: 14-17).

Jinga established an alliance with the Jaga/Imbangala and also adopted their culture and rituals to foster legitimacy. She returned to the historical geopolitical past of the region by assuming the political power of the Matamba Kingdom. Past N'Dongo sovereigns had ruled Matamba jointly with the N'Dongo Kingdom. Jinga therefore considered the conquest of Matamba as legitimate (Cruz e Silva, 1995b: 17-21). The Matamba queen continued to resist Portuguese colonisation of the N'Dongo kingdom until she had to confront a new threat in 1641 with the invasion of the Dutch West India Company. The arrival of the Dutch ushered in a new era of European conquest.

More needs to be said about the commercial influence and its role in the conquest and colonisation of the N'Dongo Kingdom as African markets or trade fairs (*feiras*) were an integral part of Mbundu society. These markets, which were located along the banks of major rivers, were a dynamic socio-economic link between the people of the region. These pre-colonial links were impacted by the intervention of the European colonisers, which affected the whole economic system of the N'Dongo Kingdom. These events are considered in context with the rise of global capitalism associated with colonialism, and the establishment of Dondo as a market by the Portuguese (Fig. 4.1).

4.15 THE IMPACT OF THE WAR OF CONQUEST

The military campaign initiated by Paulo Dias de Novais in 1578 by following the Kwanza River upstream to the silver mines at Cambambe negatively impacted on the trade markets. As the military campaign progressed along the course of the fluvial highway, fortifications as symbols of domination were established on the northern bank of the river to secure the landscape. As it happens the selected positioning of the fortifications and associated churches was not arbitrary. They are positioned at points of greater population densities

associated with market centres. The markets were the principal points that connected the various population centres. The Portuguese had installed themselves along the Kwanza corridor at Calumbo, Muxima, Massangano, and Cambambe by 1605. This effectively enabled the Portuguese to control commercial activities along the river. Conditions for the permanent Portuguese presence were thus established with the construction of the forts that played a significant role in the political and economic sphere of the N'Dongo Kingdom (Cruz e Silva, 1995a: 414-416).

The economic system of the N'Dongo Kingdom was inevitably disrupted by the war of conquest (Birmingham, 1965: 28) and resistance. The merchants and missionaries as well as the military were anxious to load their cargos of slaves and other goods to Europe and Brazil, which contributed to the alteration of the pre-existing trade system. Other trade goods included ivory, copper and iron. All trade activity was impeded causing the markets to shut down (Cruz e Silva, 1995a: 415-417).

As Lusitanian military power gained territory in the interior of the N'Dongo Kingdom, it should have become easier for them to control commercial activity. Some locations that were traditionally exclusive spaces for African markets came under the control of the Portuguese. However, these spaces became a tool for African resistance as contested space. The circulation of slaves and other commodities by the indigenous population was suspended (Cruz e Silva, 1995a: 417, 418). Without physical spaces to trade, slaves to sell or purchase, and without provisions to barter, it became difficult for the Portuguese to govern. Africans, in effect, still controlled commercial spaces as a passive form of resistance

4.16 MARKETS RE-OPEN

Governor Fernão de Sousa received a mandate to resolve the dilemma in 1624 according to Cruz e Silva (1995a). A truce on the war of conquest was provisionally declared while retaining positions already gained. Queen Jinga received the request to reopen the markets favourably as the indigenous

population also suffered from the closure of the markets. A truce was effectively enforced on the Portuguese by the closure of the markets. Dondo was created as an officially controlled market by the Portuguese on the Kwanza River where goods were received from the interior and conveyed downriver to Luanda. These trade goods, such as slaves and ivory, were then redistributed to other continents from Luanda. Trade goods started flowing again while other markets in the kingdom reopened. The short period that followed experienced peaceful co-operation between the two powers while commercial products circulated through the markets. New markets opened for slaves to satisfy the insatiable demand for cheap manual labour destined for the sugar plantations in Brazil. The truce was short-lived as Governor de Sousa declared war on Queen Jinga in 1626 (Paías, 1949: 52). The capture of slaves by the military after gaining battle victories was incidental to the quest for the silver mines before 1605. The sale of prisoners of war into slavery was one of the ways in which captives were disposed. It was after 1605, and particularly after the war conducted by Governor Vascoçelos (1617-1621), that the slave trade was stimulated by intensifying warfare specifically for economic gain for the colony to prosper (Birmingham, 1965: 24, 28).

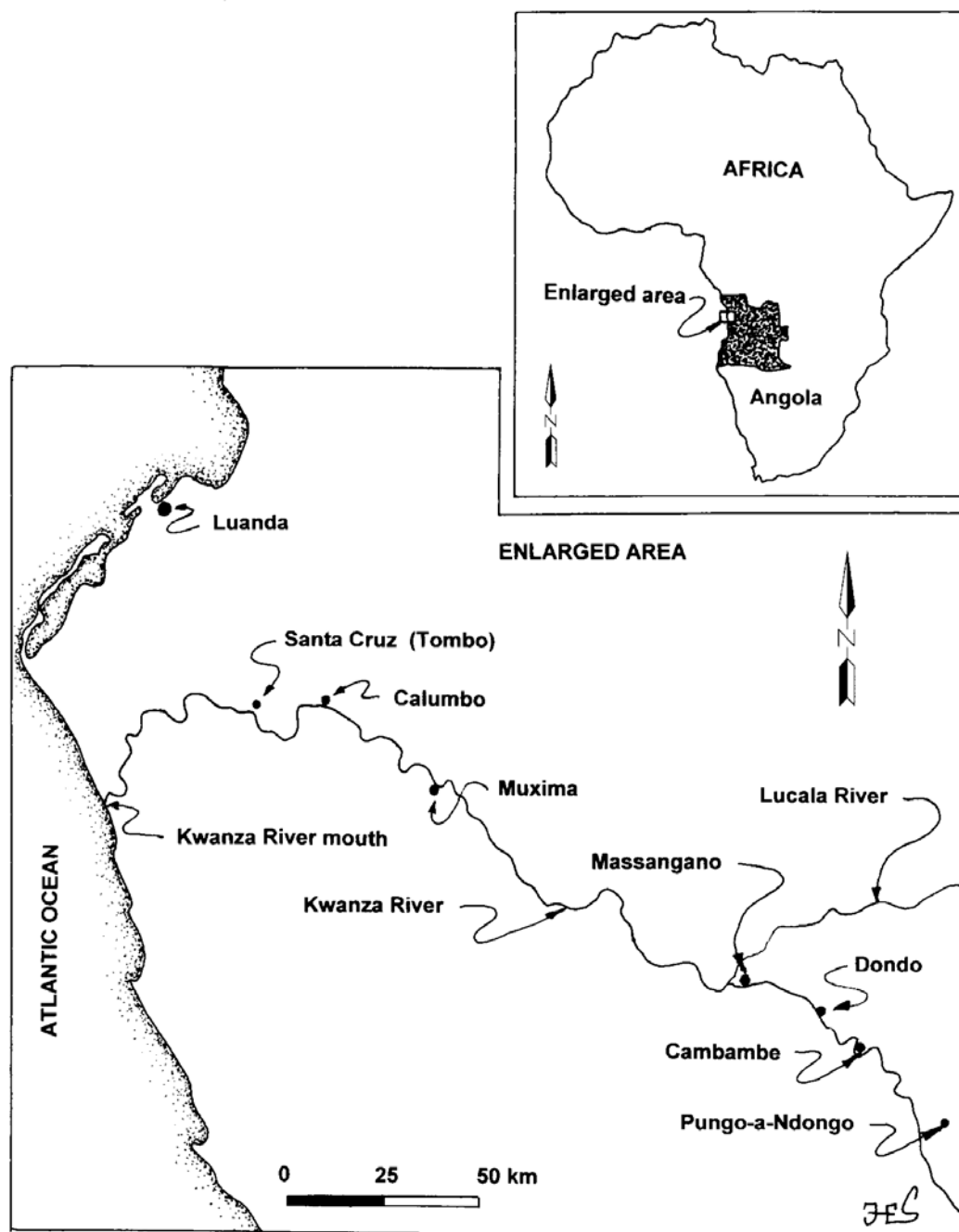
Having described the march of conquest of the Portuguese upstream of the Kwanza River, the fieldwork and survey of the identified archaeological sites along the route will be presented next. The fieldwork and survey results follow in Chapters 5, 6, and 7.

Table 4.1: Chronology of Portuguese conquest and colonisation

1307-1319	King Dinis I of Portugal converted the Order of the Knights Templar in Portugal to the Order of Christ.
1319	The Order of Christ confirmed by papal bull <i>Ad Ea Exquibis</i> .
1415	Ceuta in Morocco was sacked by King João I (1385-1433). It remained a Portuguese possession until 1640.
1418	Madeira Island was the first new land discovered in the voyages of discovery. Colonised in 1420.
1420	The papal bull <i>In Apostolice Dignitatis Specula</i> confirms Prince Henry 'the navigator' as Grand Master of the Order of Christ.
1420	Portugal adopts a policy that claims all land not occupied by Christians as prize of conquest.
1433	King Duarte I became the king of Portugal after the death of his father and reigned until 1438.
1434	Cape Bojador at latitude 27° north was passed which opened the sea route to the south.
1450	Jesuits declared the official clergy by Pope Pius II for conquest, colonial expansion and the spread of Christianity in the New World.
1452	The papal bull <i>Dum Diversas</i> authorised the king of Portugal to reduce Moslems, pagans and other unbelievers to slavery.
1453	The Ottoman Empire invades Europe.
1455	The papal bull <i>Romanus Pontifex</i> sanctified the appropriation of non-Christian lands discovered during the Age of Discovery and encouraged the enslavement of indigenous people.
1456	The papal bull <i>Inter Caetera</i> ceded spiritual jurisdiction over all conquered land to the Order of Christ.
1481	A <i>feitoria</i> was established at Elmina followed by the construction of Fort São Jorge the following year.
1482/4	Diogo Cão discovered the mouth of the Congo River and made contact with the Bakongo.
1494	The Treaty of Tordesillas divided the New World between Portugal and Spain.
1495	Mastership of the Order of Christ was passed on to the Portuguese monarchy.
1517	The Protestant Reformation was initiated by Martin Luther (1483-1546).
1556/7	N'Gola Kiluanji Kia Samba sent a delegation to Portugal via the Bakongo requesting equal commercial opportunities and Christian conversion for his people.
1560	The first voyage of Paulo Dias de Novais, who was sent to the N'Dongo Kingdom to make contact with the N'Gola.
1560	Paulo Dias de Novais was incarcerated by N'Gola Mbandi together with his Jesuit companions.
1562	Jesuit brother Antonio Mendes was released from incarceration.
1565	Paulo Dias de Novais was released from incarceration.
1569	The Bakongo king and the Portuguese are expelled from the Bakongo Kingdom by a Jaga/Imbangala invasion.
1569-1574	Portuguese traders built the makeshift church on the <i>Ilha de Loanda</i> they named <i>Nossa Senhora da Conceição</i> .
1574	The Portuguese reclaim the Bakongo Kingdom and restore the Bakongo king to his throne.
1575	Jesuit brother Francisco de Gouveia dies in captivity.

Table 4.1 (continued): Chronology ...

1575	Paulo Dias de Novais was sent to the N'Dongo Kingdom to conquer the N'Gola and integrate the kingdom into the Lusitanian Empire.
1576	Paulo Dias de Novais established his first settlement on the mainland and named it São Paulo de Loanda.
1578	Paulo Dias de Novais established his second settlement on the banks of the Kwanza River which he named Santa Cruz - today known as Tombo.
1578	The N'Gola Ndambi killed all the Portuguese in his court after receiving news that they wanted to dispossess him of his kingdom.
1578	Paulo Dias de Novais commenced his march along the Kwanza River to conquer and subjugate the <i>Mundongo</i> people, and to colonise the territory.
1578-1580	Paulo Dias de Novais was besieged by the forces of the N'Gola at Fort Anzele. The unification of the Portuguese and the Spanish Crowns known as the Iberian Union.
1580	
1580-1582	Paulo Dias de Novais was besieged by the forces of the N'Gola at Fort Macumbe. Paulo Dias de Novais completed a small fort at Massangano and built the <i>Nossa Senhora da Victória</i> church after the victory at the battle of Tacandongo near Massangano.
1583	
1589	Paulo Dias de Novais died at Massangano.
1595/6	The Portuguese built a fort at Muxima and the <i>Nossa Senhora da Muxima</i> church.
1604	The Portuguese built a fort with four bastions at Cambambe.
1606	The <i>Nossa Senhora do Rosário</i> church was built within the rampart walls of the fort at Cambambe.
1617	Ndambi-Ngola-Quiluanji was killed by his vassals. He is succeeded by his son Mbandi-a-Ngola-Quiluanji.
1618	Ndambi-a-Ngola-Quiluanji was defeated by the Portuguese and his Royal City was destroyed.
1621	Continued war between the Spanish Habsburgs king and the Protestant Dutch ushered in the start of the decline of the Lusitanian Empire due to the Iberian Union.
1621	Queen Jinga (c.1581 - 1663) approached the governor to conclude a peace accord that included the restitution of the deposed N'Gola to his throne.
1621	Founding of the Dutch West India Company (WIC).
1622	Queen Jinga was baptised and adopted the name Ana de Sousa.
1622	Queen Jinga poisoned her brother Ndambi-a-Ngola-Quiluanji to death to avenge the death of her own son who was in turn poisoned by her brother.
1622	Queen Jinga assumed both the throne of the N'Dongo Kingdom and the throne of the Matamba Kingdom in the east. She continued to resist colonialism until her death.
1623/5	The <i>feira</i> at Dondo was established.
1628	The Spanish Habsburgs king waged war against France and other European powers which impacted negatively on the Lusitanian Empire.
1638	The Dutch WIC attacked Fort São Jorge and occupied Elmina.
1641	The Dutch WIC invaded Luanda and the surrounding area of the Portuguese colonial capital.



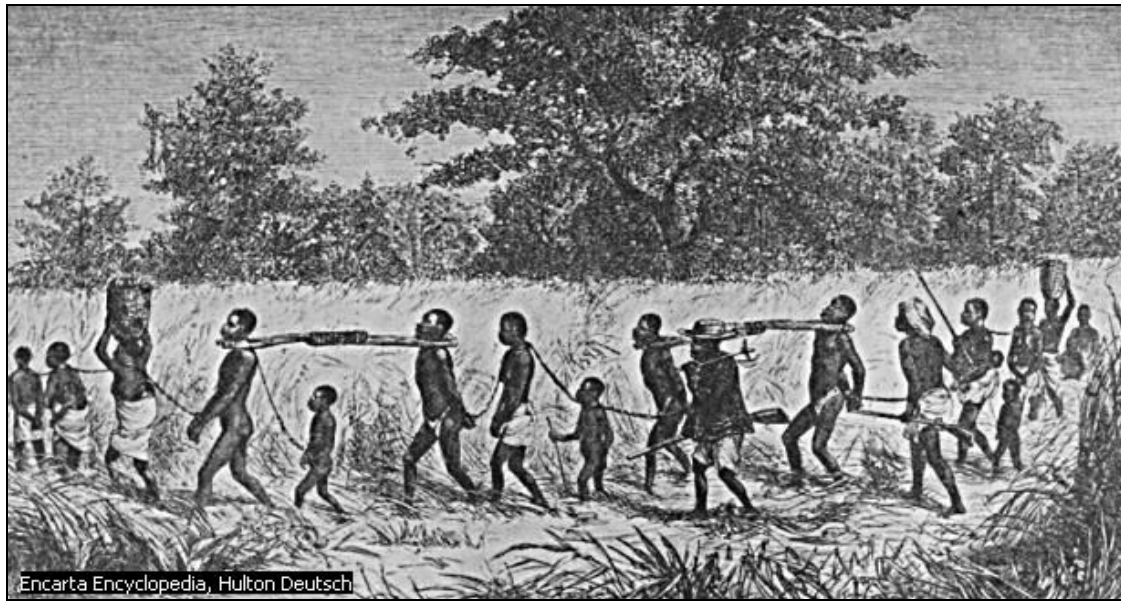
(Fig. 4.1) Location of sites researched along the Kwanza River.



(Fig. 4.2) The *Ilha de Luanda* is today connected to the mainland by a causeway.



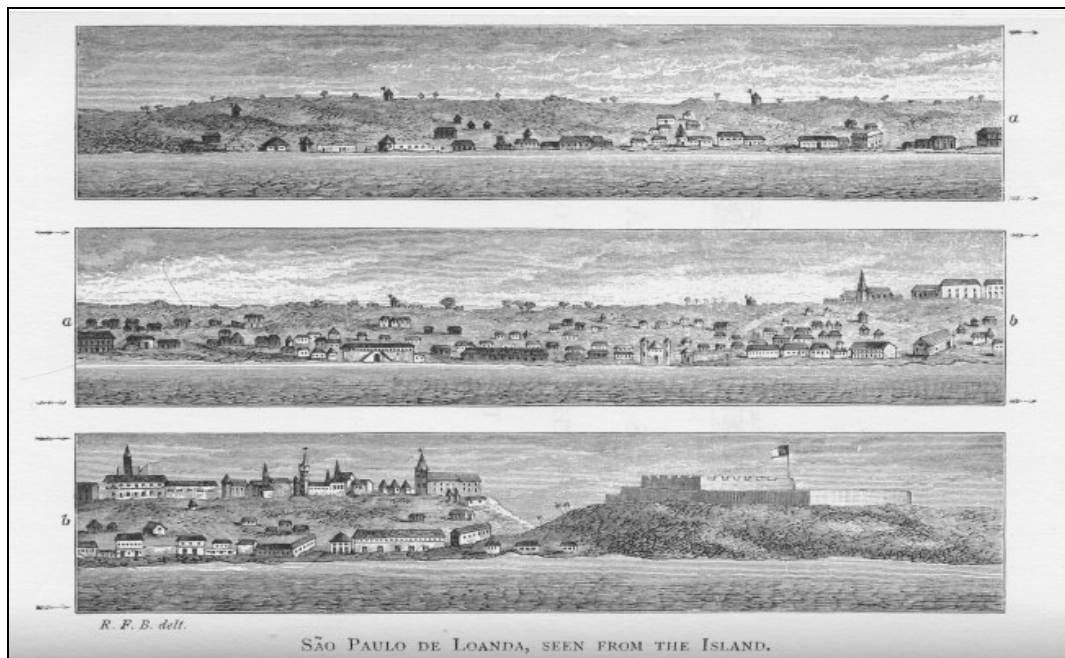
(Fig. 4.3) Example of zimbo shells used as currency.



(Fig. 4.4) Captured Africans on their way to Luanda to be sold as slaves
(<http://www.xenohistorian.faithweb.com>).



(Fig.4.5) Angolan slaves working in a sugar mill in Brazil
(<http://www.antislavery.org>).



(Fig. 4.6) São Paulo de Loanda viewed from the *Ilha* in the eighteenth century
(Burton, 1876).

CHAPTER 5

SÃO PAULO DE LOANDA

Archaeological fieldwork and survey results

5.1 CHAPTER OUTLINE

The chapter describes the result of Fort *São Miguel*'s archaeological survey, followed by a discussion of the architectural analysis of historical buildings in Luanda. The fort was analysed to reveal a possible location of the original small square fort encapsulated within the existing fort structure. The general layout of the fort is discussed, including the blue and white wall tiles of the rectangular building depicting historical scenes. Some historical scenes are described and the scenes are interpreted in terms of Eurocentric worldviews. Characteristics of architectural features of historical buildings in Luanda were surveyed and are presented here. Some features are compared with known early colonial period buildings, such as securely dated forts and churches.

5.2 FORT SÃO MIGUEL

According to historical sources, the original fort *São Miguel* appears to have been a temporary construction that was probably designated a redoubt rather than a fort. It consisted of an earthen rampart reinforced with trenches and timber structures vaguely described in historical texts. It had to be constantly rebuilt due to weathering since first being erected by de Novais. His mandate from the Portuguese crown was to erect a square fort most likely of stone and mortar. This became the typical construction method as deduced from the other period forts at Massangano (1583), Cambambe (1604) and Ambaca (1614). A plan of the town, dated 1647, indicates a square fort with four bastions at the location of Fort *São Miguel* and also indicates weak sea defences (Anon, no date) (Fig. 5.1). The drawing may have been compiled during the Dutch occupation of Luanda (1641 – 1648). In fact, a Portuguese military inspector of fortifications, General Francisco Xavier Lopes (Lopes, 1954: 9-14), who inspected the forts in Luanda in 1846, had the records of the

dimensions of the original fort, confirming that a stone and mortar fort was indeed built on the hill of *São Miguel* before 1647. The small square fort seems to have been inadequate for defence against a major attack by another European power. The threat was not only from the Dutch West India Company, but also from French Corsairs and later the war between the British and the Spaniards as Portugal became allied to Britain. The construction work of additions and alterations that superseded the square fort culminated in a substantially larger fortification that was complete by the middle of the seventeenth century. According to Castelbranco (1932: 123), the Dutch had retreated to Fort *São Miguel* when a relieving force from Brazil liberated Luanda from the Dutch West India Company in 1641. The Dutch garrison that ensconced themselves inside the fort was eleven hundred in number plus one thousand indigenous people. It was not likely that the small square fort could have housed over two thousand people within its rampart walls. It was more likely that the fort was extended to its present form during this event. The name of the fort was not changed.

The measurements for the original square Fort *São Miguel* given by Lopes (1954) are: 15 x 15 *braças* square floor space area, 30 *palmos* rampart wall height, and 5 *palmos* wall thickness. One Portuguese *palmo* equals 22 centimetres, which means that the rampart walls were 6.6 metres high and 1.1 metres thick (conversion by <http://www.onlineConversion.com>). The conversion for the Portuguese *braça* could not be established, but considering that Portugal was ruled by the kings of Spain from 1580 to 1640 (Philip I, Philip II, and Philip III), the Spanish *braza* was used for the conversion. One Spanish *braza* equals 167 centimetres. The floor area of the fort was thus 25.05 x 25.05 metres square.

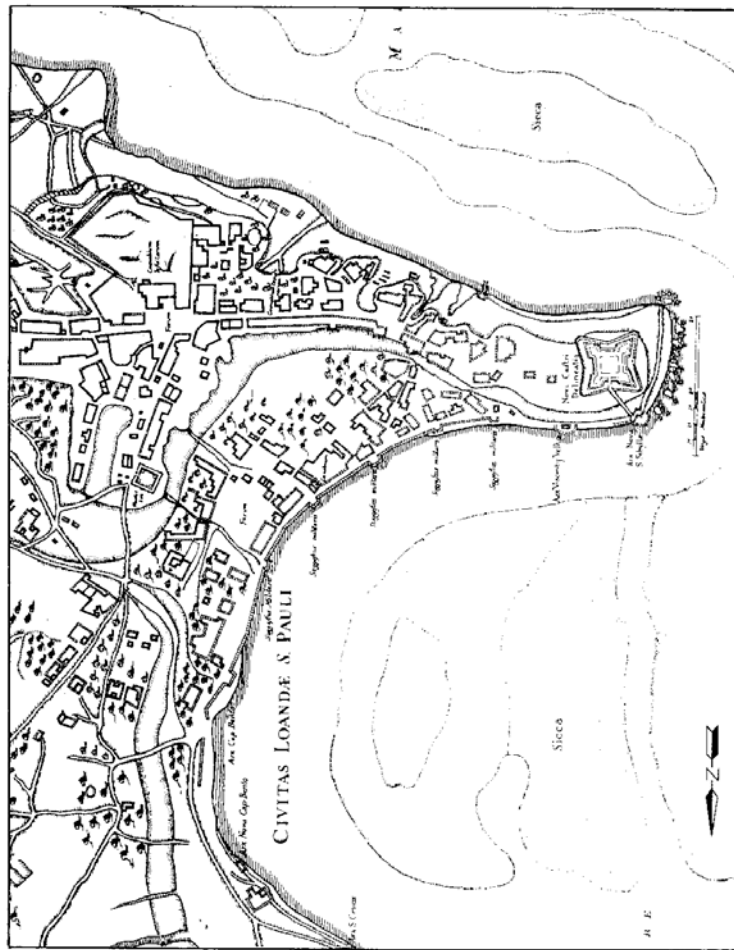
CONVERSION TABLE	
1 Portuguese <i>braça</i>	?
1 Spanish <i>braza</i>	167 centimetres
1 Portuguese <i>palmo</i>	22 centimetres

Superimposing these measurements on the floor plan of the existing São Miguel fort keeping the square shape of the original fort in mind, the location of the original structure incorporated within the existing fort may be located. The suggested location is indicated in (Fig. 5.2). The subsequent construction work to the original square fort incorporated the north and east rampart walls and a portion of the west wall into the existing fort. The south wall may still remain below the courtyard floor of the existing fort. The overall rampart wall height of the new fort was increased, the new walls being built on top of the original fort walls (Fig. 5.3). A trench excavation across the area where the west and south rampart walls of the original fort used to be may confirm the location of the original square structure. The removal of a vertical strip of external plaster around 6.6 metres above ground level along the north wall may reveal the joint between the original square fort wall and the existing fort wall. This could also confirm the existence of the original square fort below.

The floor plan of the existing fort is atypical and does not generally conform to any standard design. This 'asymmetrical' floor plan may have been acquired during the alteration design stage that adapted to the contour of the top of the hill (Fig. 5.4). The width between the two bastions facing inland to protect an attack from the land side is just short of 70 metres. The west wall is about 127 metres long. A building with various rooms straddles the entrance corridor with ramps, providing access to the topmost levels. The top of the rampart walls is provided with embrasures all around the perimeter, and bartizans (sentry boxes) occurred at every point that jutted out. A drawing of the town, dated 1862, depicts the fort in its existing form, including a rectangular building with an open centre court in the middle of the fort courtyard (Cardoso, 1954: 21). The function of this rectangular building appears to have been ceremonial. It has a vaulted ceiling and the interior walls are covered with decorative blue and white wall tiles depicting scenes of historic events (Fig. 5.5). The depictions represent historical events that occurred from the arrival of Diogo Cão in 1482/4 to the end of the nineteenth century during the scramble for Africa. The wall tiles, therefore, may be dated to the end of the nineteenth century. This was confirmed by the present commanding officer of the fort who has the invoice for the work on file. Some panel scenes show

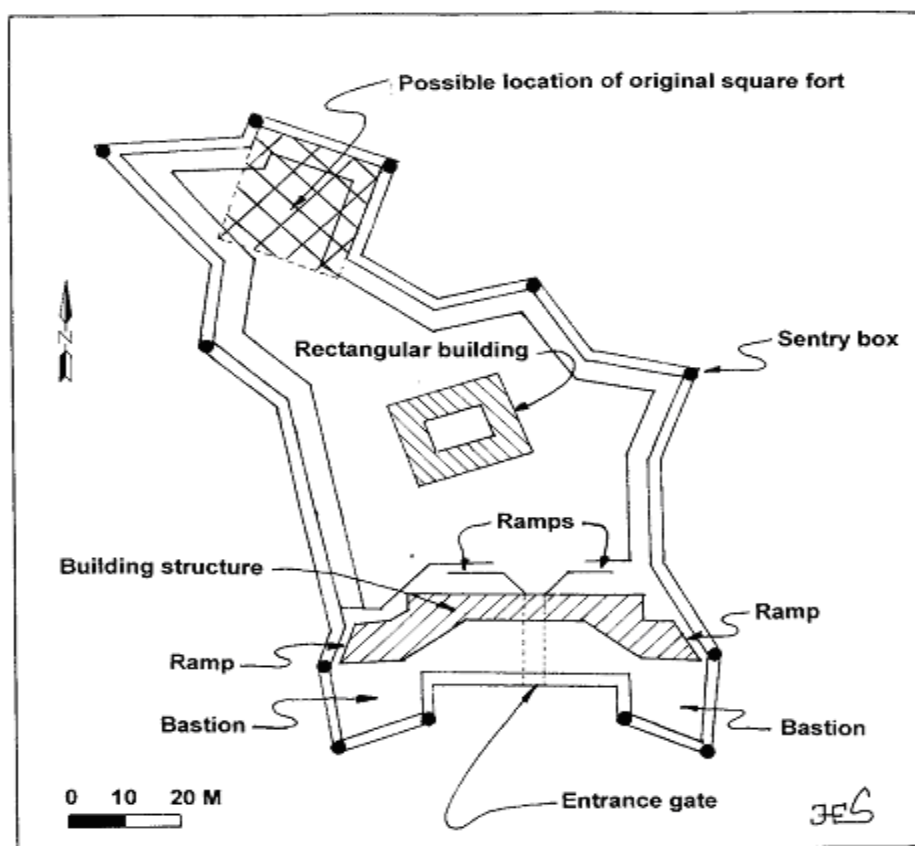
different associated events while others indicate unrelated events, and still others show a single isolated historical event. These panels measure about 800 x 800 millimetres. Large panels measuring 1.6 x 1.2 metres depict a local animal such as a *Ceratonyx simus* (white rhinoceros) (Fig. 5.6) and *Loxodonta africana* (African elephant) and not a historical scene. Some large historical panels that depict three different scenes measured 4 x 1.2 metres. Such a panel, for example, depicts the Christian funeral (1663) of the N'gola (queen) Jinga or Nzinga Mbandi of the Matamba Kingdom, who played a major role in the resistance to colonisation (Cruz e Silva, 1995 a & b). This depiction is more interesting for the choice of subject matter than the artistic or interpretative value of the depiction. The queen, who was a fierce opponent of Portuguese colonisation, is depicted dead (conquered) (Fig. 5.7) and converted to Christianity (Christian burial). Both notions symbolise victory of the colonisers over the Mbundu queen. The central depiction is a map of an area in the south of the Republic of Angola, and the third panel depicts the fort and church at Muxima.

Other depictions represent the erection of a *padrão* by mariners in the presence of armed soldiers and scribes to chronicle the event (1482/4). The scene is presented as a formal solemn ceremony (Fig. 5.8). This scene presents a Eurocentric view in which the Portuguese are portrayed as perfect superior human beings that legitimately conquered the landscape and subjugated the pagans. The *padrão* with the Order of Christ cross mounted on top is central to the scene.



(Fig.5.1) 1647 Map of Luanda showing the square fort on *Morro São Miguel*
(Anon, no date)

Some scenes depict the baptism of Bakongo kings and the reception of the Portuguese at Mbanza Kongo. All human figures at the reception and other scenes are depicted as Caucasians and are dressed in European period clothes while most of the material culture is also European (Fig. 5.9). The difference between the indigenous people and the Portuguese is mainly determined by the locals being topless and barefoot. Being barefoot and barebreasted may suggest that they are uncivilised and therefore inferior in a Eurocentric way. With the exception of the figures with the *manikongo* (Bakongo king) on the scaffolding platform, the indigenous people are prostrated or raising their arms in humble submission to the king. On the other hand, the postures of the Portuguese nobles, soldiers, and priests are defiant and unsubmitive. The Portuguese obviously have no allegiance to the Bakongo king and are at his court as superiors or at best equals. Even the depicted landscape is Eurocentric, incorporating fine plastered stone buildings and other European material culture. The physical landscape was not acknowledged as natural phenomena as it was appropriated by Eurocentric ideology. The landscape is thus dominated by the Europeans while the indigenous masses are marginalised. Individual indigenous people in traditional clothing are also depicted, besides local animals. These individuals are, however, painted in a more naturalistic way as Negroids, not Caucasians. One scene appears to be the depiction of a *Mumhuila* or Himba woman from the southwest of Angola.



(Fig. 5.2) Plan view drawing of Fort São Miguel indicating the possible location of the original square fort incorporated into the existing structure.



(Fig. 5.3) Front façade of the existing Fort São Miguel facing east.

Suggested location of original square fort



(Fig. 5.4) Aerial view of Fort São Miguel.

(<http://www.nossoskimbos.projecto-design.com>).



(Fig. 5.5) General view of the interior of the rectangular building with vaulted ceiling and Portuguese blue and white wall tiles.



(Fig. 5.6) Panel depicting an African white rhinoceros (*Ceratotherium simum*).



(Fig. 5.7) The funeral of Queen Jinga depicted on blue and white wall tiles.

Padrão being erected



(Fig. 5.8) A *padrão* being erected by Diogo Cão to claim tenure of central West African territory.

Portuguese *conquistadores*

Manikongo



(Fig. 5.9) The *manikongo* receiving the Portuguese *conquistadores* in his court at Mbanza Kongo.

5.3 PORTUGUESE COLONIAL ARCHITECTURE IN LUANDA (1575-c. 1641)

Certain characteristic architectural features of buildings in Luanda are surveyed and compared with known early colonial period buildings, which are used as a datum sample correlated to the securely dated forts and churches. The purpose of this exercise is to make assumptions about the relative chronological sequence of buildings in colonial frontier settlements such as Dondo. Viewing the city from a high vantage point, the high-rise buildings may be imagined as tall trees in a forest. The grass and shrubs growing closer to the ground in clearings of the 'forest' would be single-storey dwellings and low buildings. Imagining the city in this way, it was easier to then locate potentially earlier historical buildings in the clearings of the 'forest'. Architectural details of windows and doors of possible historical buildings are recorded such as:

- a) The shape of reveals below the lintel (round or square).
- b) The shape of decorations above the lintel (ornate, simple, or absent).
- c) The shape of the raised plaster 'frame' around the edge of the reveal.
- d) Absence of any decorative feature.
- e) Protruding or flush window sill.

These features are compared with the architectural characteristics of windows and doors of the forts and churches of Massangano and Muxima, as well as the *São José de Calumbo* Church. The architectural characteristics of these forts and churches, dated between 1577 and 1604, form the datum base for comparison. The assumption is then made that similar architectural features or variations thereof could potentially date the frontier buildings elsewhere to about the last quarter of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Fort *São Miguel* construction alterations to the existing structure may, for example, thus be approximately dated according to the architectural features of the windows and doors. These *São Miguel* features are similar in design to the datum sample (Figs. 5.10 & 5.11). Based on this assumption, it may be inferred that the existing *São Miguel* fort may have been built around the middle of the sixteenth century (1577 – 1604).



(Fig.5.10) Door detail at Fort São Miguel.



(Fig.5.11) Window detail at Fort São Miguel.

These details were compared with the same architectural features of dwellings at Dondo.

A Spanish fort in Cuba may further illustrate similarities between Portuguese and Spanish architecture during the unification of the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns (1580 – 1641). This comparison relates to the use of the Spanish *braza* for the conversion measurements of the original *São Miguel* square fort and the architectural dating technique. The architecture of the *Castillo de los Tres Reyes del Morro* (castle or fort of the Three Kings of the Hill) in Havana, built between 1589 and 1630, has identical features to the Portuguese forts in central West Africa (Fig. 5.12) (Pickman, 2006). The bartizan (sentry box) of the Cuban fort is of identical design to the *São Miguel* fort (Fig. 5.13). Likewise the architectural design feature around the reveal of the window of the Cuban fort is identical to the window architectural detail of Fort *São Miguel*. These factors, including the use of the Spanish measurement, may support the date for the construction of the existing *São Miguel* fort to about the time of the Iberian Union.

The *Nossa Senhora do Cabo* Church on the *Ilha*, said to have been built by the Portuguese refugees or Paulo Dias de Novais in 1575 and possibly renovated in 1669, was archaeologically surveyed (Fig. 5.14). When Paulo Dias de Novais landed at the *Ilha de Loanda* in 1575, a church built by the Portuguese refugees from the Portuguese Kongo already existed. De Novais received the emissary from the N'gola and made overtures of peace at a prepared location adjacent to this church shortly after landing. The Portuguese refugees who had built this church were traders, not tradesmen, and would thus probably not have had the skills to build a permanent church of stone and mortar of any durable quality. The church they would have built was most likely a temporary makeshift structure of mud and daub or timber and grass. The church these Portuguese refugees built is recorded as being named *Nossa Senhora da Conceição* and not *Nossa*

Similar window frame as occurs at Fort São Miguel

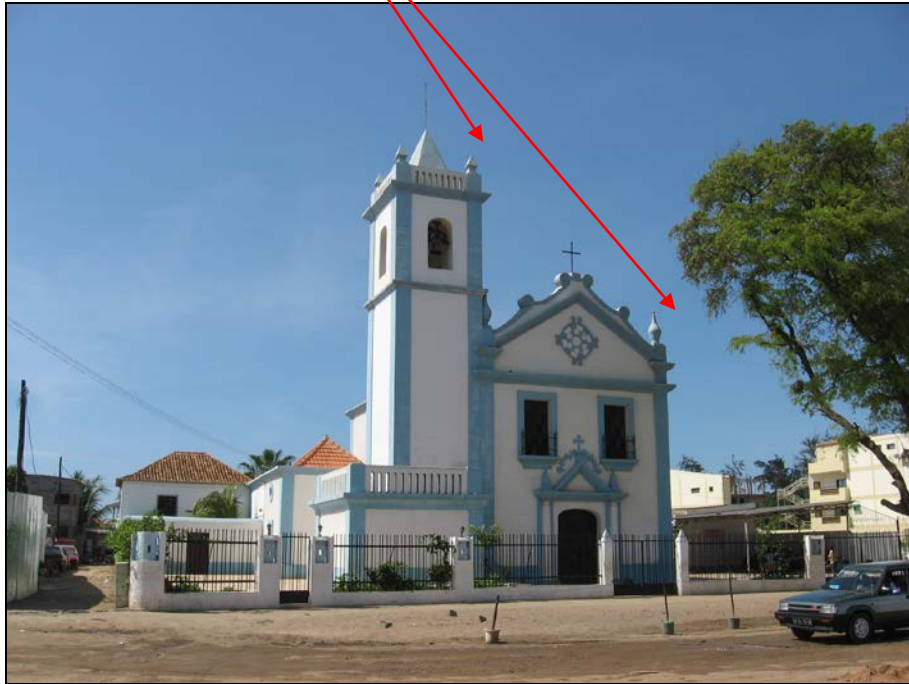


(Fig. 5.12) *Castillo de los Tres Reyes del Morro* - Cuba (1589-1630)
(Pickman, 2006).



(Fig. 5.13) Bartizan at Fort São Miguel is similar in design to the Cuban fort
bartizan in Fig. 5.12.

Equilateral triangles as religious symbols



(Fig. 5.14) *Nossa Senhora do Cabo Church – Ilha de Luanda (1669).*

Senhora do Cabo (do Amaral, 2000: 90). This was confirmed by the current (2006) Archbishop of Luanda (Muaca, 2001: 52). The *Nossa Senhora do Cabo* Church was therefore not the church built by the Portuguese refugees in 1575. The *Nossa Senhora da Conceição* Church no longer exists and its original location is unknown.

The *Nossa Senhora do Cabo* Church was built in 1669 according to Catholic Church records and the incumbent priest, Padre Vincente (*pers. comm.*). The architectural design of the building was contemporary with the other churches of the period exhibiting typical religious iconography. The iconography of this church is discussed in Chapter 8.

Table 5.1: Site survey in Luanda (08° 50' S, 013° 14' E)

Suburb/Location	Site name	Address	Type	Conservation
Morro São Miguel	Fortaleza São Miguel	Morro São Miguel	Fort	Good
Cidade Baixa	Nossa Senhora Da Nazaré	Praça Do Ambiente	Church	Good

CHAPTER 6

RIVER OF CONQUEST

Archaeological fieldwork and survey results

6.1 CHAPTER OUTLINE

The scope of this chapter is to describe the advance of the Portuguese conquerors following the Kwanza River upstream. The Portuguese established settlements along the margins of the river with forts to dominate the landscape and churches to convert the local population. These settlements include Santa Cruz (Tombo), Calumbo, Muxima, Massangano, Dondo, and Cambambe. Each of these sites has been surveyed archaeologically, the results of which are presented in this chapter.

6.2 SANTA CRUZ (TOMBO)

The location of Santa Cruz is today known as Tombo and is situated on the northern bank of the Kwanza River at 09° 10.191' S, 013° 14.954' E. The site has been investigated as the second settlement founded by Paulo Dias de Novais in the colonisation process of the N'Dongo Kingdom. The settlement, however, did not flourish and was abandoned a few years later. Historical texts do not allude to the reasons for the abandonment of the location.

An on-site survey suggests a geographic reason for the abandonment of the settlement. An insight into the strategic concept that Paulo Dias de Novais may have had for colonisation relating to the indigenous people's social and physical dependence on the river also became apparent. In fact, two factors are striking when first entering the settlement location. First is that the question of why the settlement was abandoned could only be answered from the air through satellite imagery due to the low-lying topography of the environment. The reason as to why the location was selected by de Novais or his captains in the first place could also be deduced from the air. The second striking factor that could be elucidated on site is the social and economic

dependence of the current inhabitants of the local village on the river.

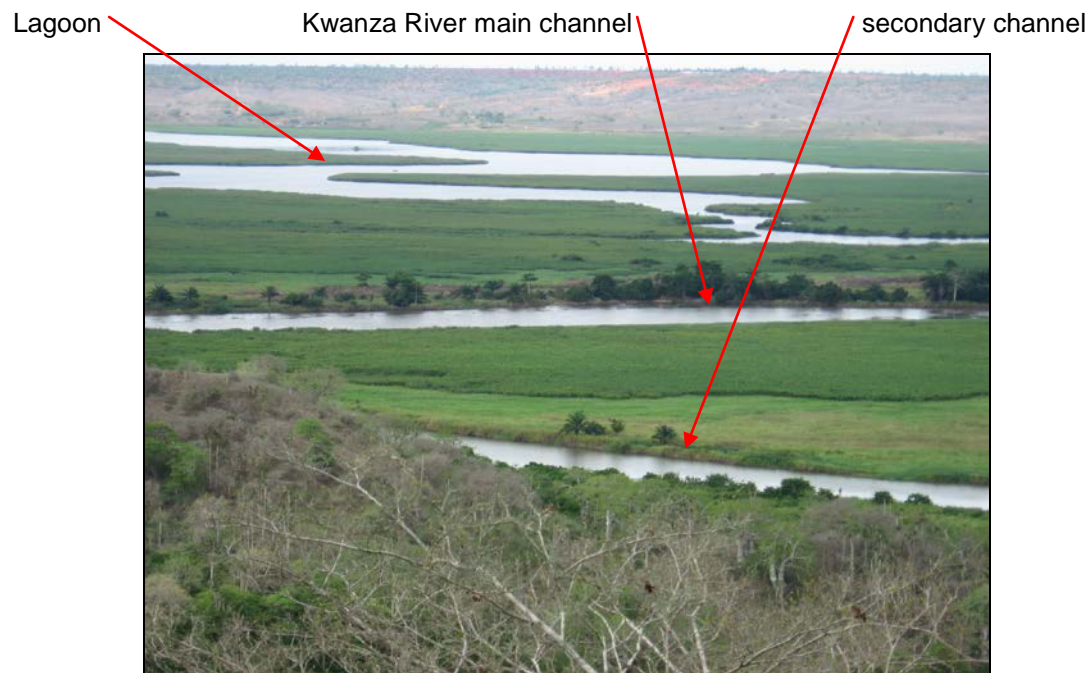
The most fundamental factor concerning Santa Cruz is, however, the fact that Paulo Dias de Novais selected a location on the banks of the Kwanza River to establish the second settlement in the N'Dongo Kingdom. This infers that the *conquistador* leader had by then already identified the Kwanza River as the fluvial avenue by which to reach the interior. He knew by then that the river was navigable (Fig. 6.1) and that it could have taken him with his fellow *conquistadores* to the N'gola royal city and seat of indigenous power. He also knew that the river flows past Cambambe and the silver mines. This information was probably gleaned during his first voyage and incarceration in 1560.



(Fig. 6.1) The Portuguese knew that the Kwanza River was navigable for about 200 kilometres upstream.

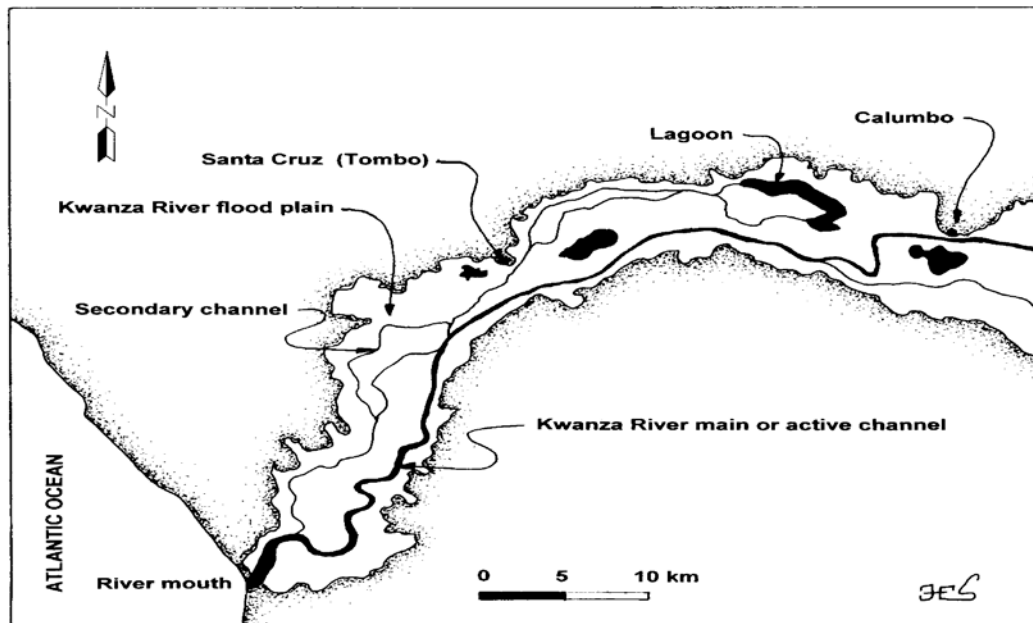
The Kwanza River originates in central Angola at an altitude of 1590 metres above sea level and has a total length of 960 kilometres. It initially flows north before turning west towards the Atlantic Ocean where the volume of water discharge is 26.4 cubic kilometres per annum with a mean of 58 cubic metres per second (Welcomme, 1979). A particular characteristic of the Kwanza

River is an extensive associated flood plain when viewing the geography of the area from the air. This flood plain stretches on both sides of the river from Dondo (09° 40' S, 014° 25' E) to the river mouth. The Kwanza River is geologically known as a braided river where the main river channel (Fig. 6.2) or active channel meanders within the flood plain from which flowed numerous secondary channels (Rothery, 1997: 122). The river flood plain was measured as 11 kilometres across at a point south of Calumbo. These secondary channels flowed away from the active channel and rejoined it further downstream, often forming large water bodies which the Portuguese called lagoons. The geology of the river is complex with many side branches of the main channel resembling tributaries that flowed in and out of wetlands, marshes and extensive stagnant water bodies (Fig. 6.3). The complex system of the deep and swift flowing water of the active channel contrasts with the shallow and narrow secondary channels that form an integral part of a single watercourse. Meandering channels create islands covered in *Cyprus papyrus* vegetation (Figs. 6.4a & 6.4b) that occasionally served as refuge for defeated Mundongo armies. Secondary channels are kept open by the passage and feeding habits of *Hippopotamus amphibious* (hippopotami) (Smithers, 1983: 587), *Crocodylus niloticus* (crocodiles) (Branch, 1988: 215), and *Trichechus senegalensis* (manatees) (Haltenorth & Diller, 1980: 129). The course and water level in the channels fluctuated seasonally according to the wet and dry seasons.



(Fig. 6.2) The extensive Kwanza River flood plain between Santa Cruz and Calumbo during the dry season.

The labyrinth of these water courses is confusing when viewed from the ground. It was thus fairly easy for the Portuguese to have selected a location on a shallow secondary channel which was too far from the main river channel. The location of the settlement had to be close to the navigable main river channel to be suitable. Santa Cruz was mistakenly located on the banks of a shallow secondary channel (Fig. 6.5). Access to the active channel could only be reached by sailing downstream along a secondary channel for some distance. This was not desirable considering that the Portuguese were aiming to sail upstream of the river towards the interior of the land. An extensive marsh also extended between the secondary channel and the land that had to be traversed.



(Fig.6.3) The Kwanza River showing the general geology of a braided river.



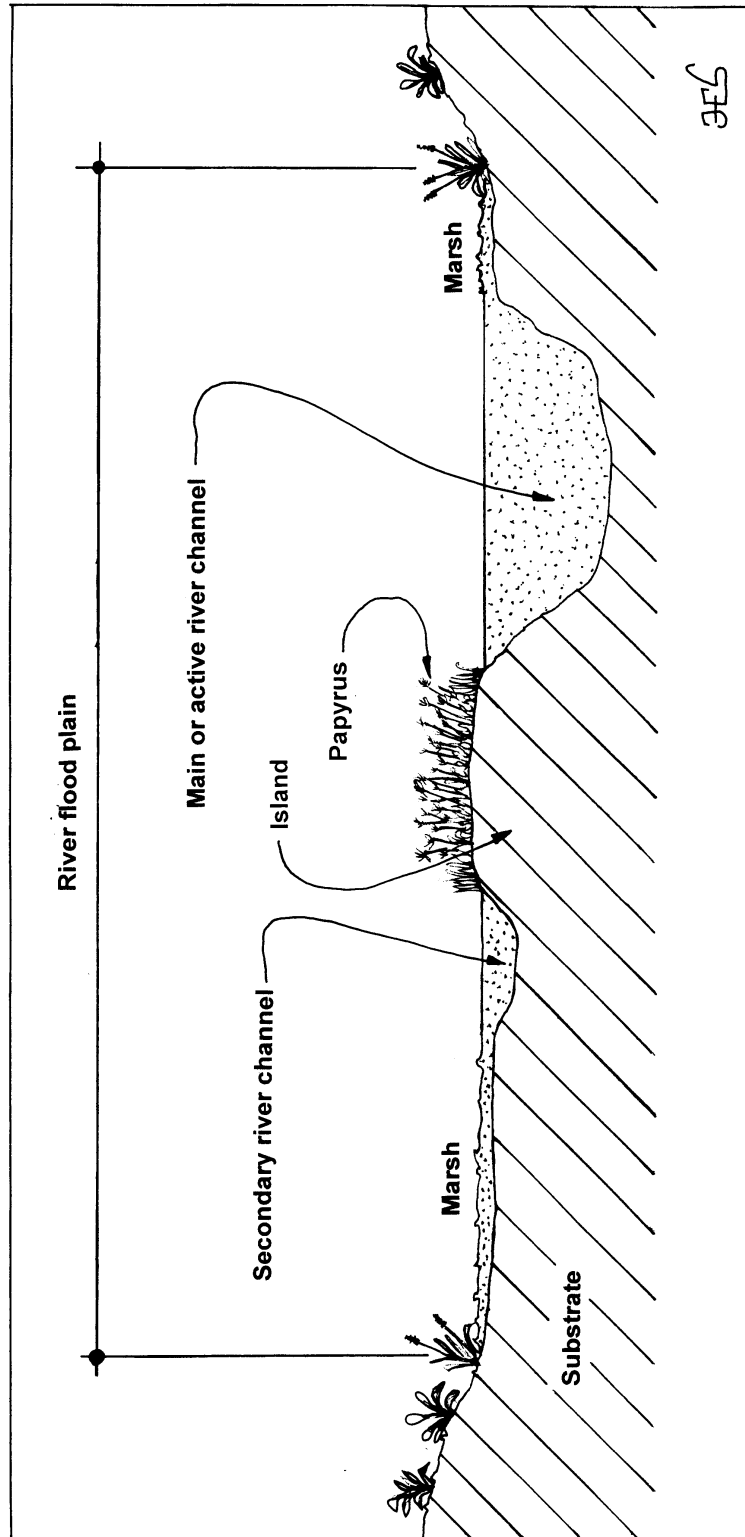
(Fig.6.4a) Island covered with mangrove type grass with papyrus growing in higher ground.



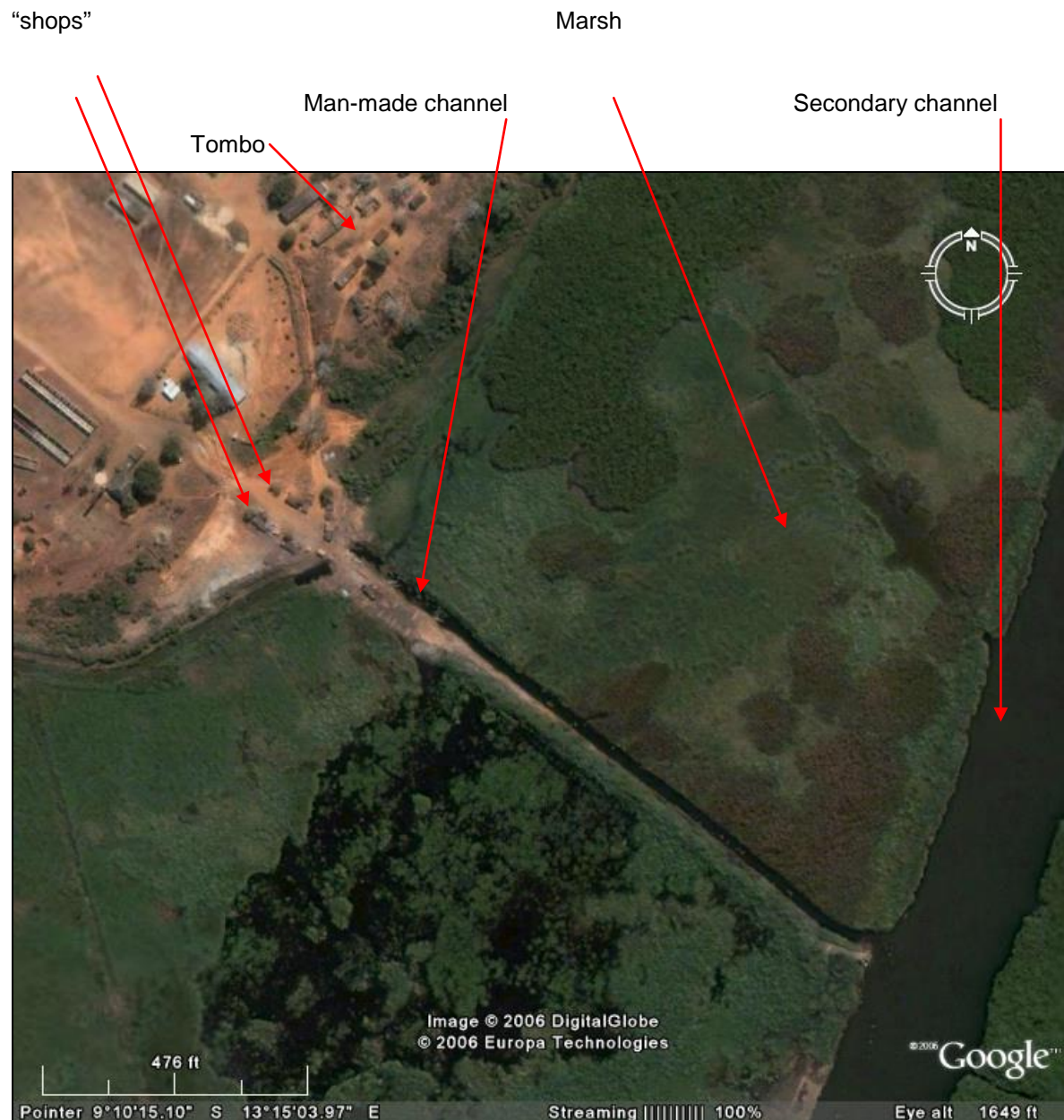
(Fig. 6.4b) Close-up of *Cyprus papyrus*.

The present inhabitants solved the problem of crossing from the land to the river channel by hacking open a passage through the marsh deep enough for the use of dugout canoes. This single access creates a bottleneck of activity that reflects the community's dependence on the river. The close to 400 metre long man-made channel that acted like a symbolic umbilical cord that feeds essential goods and services from the river to the population on land, must have been a hindrance to the Portuguese colonists (Fig. 6.6). It is a point of contact for the indigenous population where the wider world is brought into the village from distant locations. It connected people that relied on commerce for their existence and provided a harbour for disembarking trade goods and a point from which produce was dispatched up and down river. The economy and subsistence of the Mbundu river dwellers was inextricably bound to the ebb and flow of the river (Fig. 6.7). The access channel provided a channel of communication between communities along the river, between extended families, and between the N'gola and his subjects. Today as may have been in the past, water taxis ferry people to clinics, political rallies and social functions like soccer matches and weddings. The life of the village dwellers revolved around this narrow strip of cleared marsh that may have been observed by Paulo Dias de Novais during his first voyage in 1560. Living conditions along the margins of the river should have been similar to today. The Portuguese *conquistadores*, having noted the dependence of the indigenous population on the river through this window, may have realised that whoever controls the river controls the people dependent on it. Besides using the river to navigate into the interior, it could at the same time be used to subjugate the inhabitants of the hinterland.

Fieldwork investigation at Tombo revealed no visible evidence of sixteenth-century European structures or material culture. More recent twentieth-century



(Fig. 6.5) Schematic profile of active and secondary river channels.



(Fig. 6.6) Satellite image of the man-made channel that connects the shore with the secondary river channel.

colonial dwellings are scattered haphazardly with no evidence of a symmetrical layout of streets that could allude to a European settlement. A derelict military camp dating to the recently ended civil war with an associated colonial dwelling that may have lodged the military command is present. Four brick houses that serve as MPLA political offices remain besides the mud and daub dwellings of the present inhabitants that today comprise the village of Tombo. The existence of the early colonial settlement of Santa Cruz at this

location can thus not be confirmed or repudiated. It may be that the exact location of the settlement has been lost or that the settlement has indeed not developed into a formal colonial settlement.



(Fig. 6.7) The man-made channel seen from the ground at Tombo. A similar scene may have been observed by Paulo Dias de Novais that would have suggested the dependence of the indigenous population on the river.

6.3 MUXIMA

The *fortaleza da Muxima* was constructed in 1595 at 09° 31' S, 013° 57' E on the southern bank of the Kwanza River by Captain Baltazar Rebelo de Aragão by order of Governor João Furtado de Mendonça (Paías, 1949: 39, 40). The Quissama had laid siege to Fort Massangano at the beginning of the same year and were defeated by the Portuguese garrison from the fort. The governor, fearing further resistance from the Quissama and interference with navigation on the river, sent the captain of the Portuguese fort to establish the fortification. A further possible reason for the construction of the fort at Quissama may have been to control the salt mines in the area. Salt was used as a currency by the Mbundu at the time (do Amaral, 2000: 206-208). This site acquired significance for the association between religion and colonisation as well as the assimilation of Christianity with influences of African magic. The location where the fort was built may have been at the settlement of a chief named Muxima, where Paulo Dias de Novais was delayed for two weeks due to torrential rains during his march to Cambambe in the early 1580s. The river is deviated at this location by 90° due to a rocky hill, causing the river to narrow and deepen. The fort was most suitably built on top of the rocky hill with a commanding view of the surroundings that dominate the Quissama Kingdom. The narrow width of the active river channel can be controlled from the fort and the river was deep enough to afford mooring for European vessels. The active river channel has no other secondary channels at this point of the river flood plain, forcing all traffic on the Kwanza River to pass under the shadow of the fort.

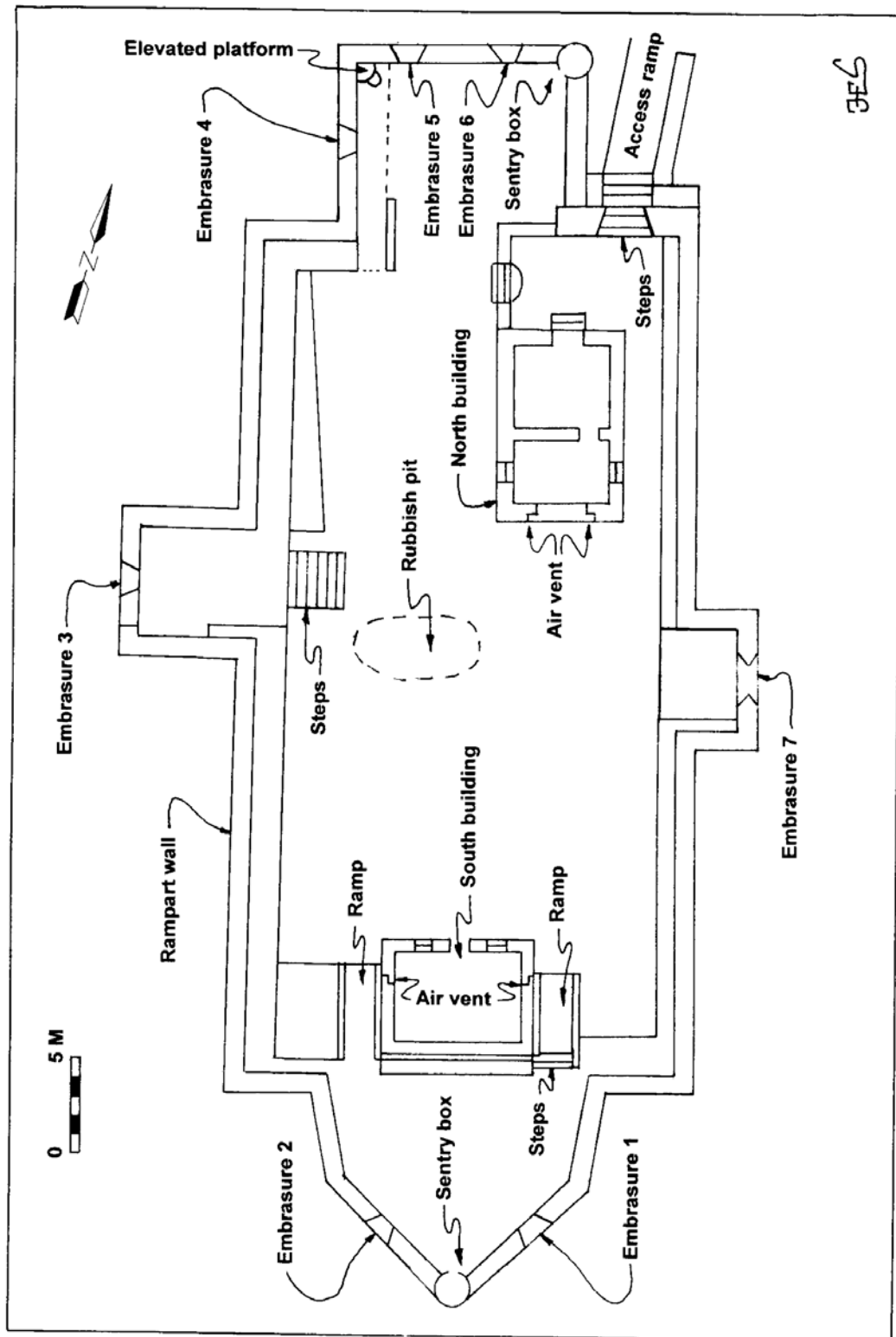
The favourable defensive position of the Muxima fort may have been the reason why a fort was not built at Calumbo. The first fortification that would be encountered by another European colonial power sailing up the Kwanza River had to have all the characteristics necessary to withstand such an attack. The Calumbo location may have been suitable to erect a fort against an attack from local indigenous people brandishing assegais, and bows and arrows, but not against European warfare technology. Despite Fort Muxima having defensive advantages, it was attacked by a combined force of Queen Jinga, a

Bakongo army, and 500 Dutch soldiers in 1647. The Portuguese garrison at Muxima was unable to withstand the attack from the Dutch alliance and were defeated. The Portuguese soldiers were killed to the last man and Fort Muxima fell into the hands of the Dutch invaders, sealing Portuguese access to the sea (Paías, 1949: 69, 70).

Like the present Fort São Miguel, the shape of the fort at Muxima follows the contour line of the top of the hill, resulting in an asymmetrical floor plan (Fig. 6.8). An access road leads from the bottom of the hill in the south to about half way up the slope of the hill from where a stone ramp (Fig. 6.9) winds up to the fort gate facing north. The ramp width varies by up to 3 000 mm and is paved with stone with protective side walls. The ramp starts from a flat platform where a very tall white Christian cross was erected in 1960 to commemorate Paulo Dias de Novais. The white cross was used by the Portuguese in various historical sites within the research area as a marker to designate a national monument. A set of six steps leads from the upper end of the ramp through the gate into the yard of the fort (Figs. 6.10 & 6.11). These steps are odd in the sense that they are the only location in the design of the fort that does not have a ramp to facilitate the hauling of cannon.

The wall thickness where the entrance gate is situated is massive, measuring 1500 mm. The rampart walls of the fort are narrower in comparison, measuring only 700-750 mm. A fine-grained mudstone plaque in which the Portuguese coat-of-arms is engraved and inscribed decorates the outer rampart wall above the entrance gate (Fig. 6.12). The inscription reads:

” *O capitão Francisco de Navaesafes 1655*” (The captain Francisco de Navaesafes 1655).



(Fig. 6.8) Floor plan of Fort Muxima.



(Fig. 6.9) The ramp leading to the fort entrance gate.



(Fig. 6.10) View of the *Nossa Senhora da Muxima* Church through the fort entrance gate.

Inscribed plaque



(Fig. 6.11) The entrance gate of the fort viewed from the access ramp.



(Fig. 6.12) Inscribed plaque above the entrance gate of the fort.

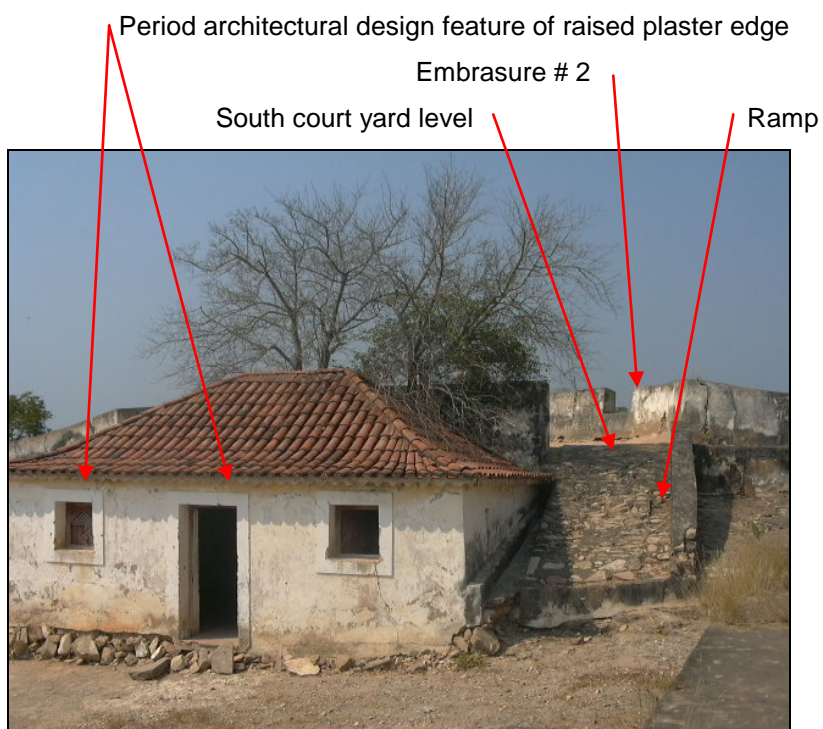
The date and inscription indicates that the plaque was erected in 1655 by the captain who may have been commanding the fort at that time. Similar plaques erected at the forts in Massangano and Cambambe postdate the year when the forts were constructed and include a person's name.

Compared with Fort Massangano, the rampart walls of Fort Muxima are up to approximately 10 metres high and are therefore comparatively higher. On the other hand, the fort at Cambambe had comparatively lower rampart walls at 3 metres in height. Why is the height of the rampart walls of the fort at Muxima so much higher than the other forts? It may be that because Fort Muxima was built in Quissama territory south of the colonial frontier, in enemy territory yet to be seized, there was an expectation for frequent assaults. Yet the fort at Cambambe was more frequently assaulted by the indigenous population than at Muxima and the much lower rampart walls were never breached. Another explanation may be that the fort was specifically designed to confront attack from a European power. The high rampart walls and the massive walls around the entrance gate may have been designed to withstand cannon ball fire. The high rampart walls were also plastered on the outside preventing it from being scaled. Alternatively, the rampart wall height is simply relative to the height of the natural hill.

The courtyard within the fort is not paved with stone and has an inclination sloping from south to north. This would cause any artefact deposited in the court yard to migrate to the north side of the site. Besides the courtyard floor turning into a quagmire during the rainy season making life difficult for the Portuguese garrison, there is evidence that substantial soil erosion has taken place. The soil would have been discharged over the rampart walls through storm water ducts as there was no accumulation of soil in the north of the court yard. It signifies that archaeological excavation in the yard will not yield any significant number of artefacts. Evidence for soil erosion is discernible at the bottom of the south bartizan (Fig. 6.13), the south building (Fig. 6.14), and at ground level at the downslope of the access ramps. A rubbish pit excavated



(Fig. 6.13) South bartizan where offerings to the deity of Muxima were placed.



(Fig. 6.14) The south building with the ramp leading to the south courtyard.

in recent times, and currently open in which waste is burnt in the centre of the northern courtyard, exacerbates the dilemma of ever finding historical material culture remains buried in the courtyard. The fort courtyard may be divided into two separate levels. The elevated south courtyard is semi-circular in shape and is situated south of the south building or the southern end of the fort. The difference in level between the two courtyards is more than 3 metres. Access from the main or northern courtyard (Fig. 6.15) to the southern courtyard is by means of ramps on either sides of the south building, that is one ramp on the west, and the other on the east side. The upper slope of the east ramp has a set of steps that may have been introduced in more recent times. The ramps were probably used to facilitate the hauling of cannons to two embrasure positions in the southern courtyard. A bartizan is situated at the southern end of the fort that would serve to guard the approach from the interior of the Quissama territory. A semi-circular platform (Fig. 6.16), shaped like two large steps, is present at the northwest corner of the courtyard at the corner of the north and west rampart walls. Similar structures also occur in corners of the forts at Massangano and Cambambe. It is speculated that these structures were observation platforms.



WEST

EAST

(Fig. 6.15) The east and the west lateral views of the north courtyard seen from the south courtyard.



(Fig. 6.16) Raised platform similar to that which occurs at Massangano and Cambambe forts.

Buildings were found at the fort in Muxima as occur in all the other forts included in the survey. The two buildings within the fort currently have tiled roofs supported by timber roof trusses. These roofs are recent additions as the timber trusses are clearly manufactured using recent building techniques and electrical sawing equipment. The original roofs were most likely covered in reeds from the river supported by an appropriate network of raw tree trunks. Vestiges of a former tile roof structure were visible below the present roof (Fig. 6.17).

Previous tiled roof structure



(Fig. 6.17) Roof tiles detail showing previous roof structures.

The ironmongery on the present shutters of the buildings suggests a renovation date in the late nineteenth century. No original timber could have

survived the humid local climate. Terracotta floor tiles on the floor of the building are recent introductions as the early colonial period floors would probably have been stone. The decorative architectural features surrounding the reveal of windows (Fig. 6.18) and doors (Fig. 6.19) of the buildings are consistent with the other early colonial period architecture. The detail of the square, raised plaster motif with a square lintel occurs in the earliest lower city of Luanda. The same architectural details occur in dwellings in the village of Muxima (Fig. 6.20). Roosting bats presently occupy the interior of both buildings.

A building designated as the south building in the south of the main courtyard consists of a single room with two shuttered windows and a door facing north towards the interior of the fort. These building apertures would thus have been protected against enemy fire over the sides of the rampart walls. The rear wall of the south building abuts the slope of the south courtyard. The east and west walls include vents for the introduction of fresh air into the building as windows would have been exposed to enemy projectiles. The other building designated as the north building consists of two rooms with an external double-leaf door facing north. An internal partition divides the interior of the building into two separate rooms with an inter-leading door. The room in the south of the north building has a window facing east and another facing west. This contradicts the premise that windows did not directly face the rampart walls where the building apertures could be compromised by enemy projectiles, as in the case of the south building. The position of the north building is such that windows on the south wall would not directly face enemy fire. Air vents were instead built in the south wall. The position of windows and vents in the two buildings faces the opposite way and does not seem to conform to specific convention. The front room does not have any windows or air vents. The massive wall at the entrance gate would, however, have adequately protected the door of the north building. The purpose of these rooms can only be speculated about as no evidence was found *in situ* to

Frames around reveals



(Fig. 6.18) Fort building window.

Terracotta floor tiles



(Fig. 6.19) Fort building door.



(Fig. 6.20) Dwelling at the village of Muxima indicating early colonial period architectural features around windows and doors which are identical to the windows and doors at the fort buildings.

suggest their purpose. The rooms may have been used for the storage of provisions such as food and water, to protect gunpowder from the elements as well as light armament, and may have been used as sleeping quarters for officers.

A total of seven embrasures from where cannons were fired occur in the rampart walls. The only material culture found besides the building structures were six cannons at embrasures 1 (Fig. 6.21), and 3 to 7. Only embrasure 2 did not have cannon. All the cannons were lying on the ground and no timber carriages were present. The cannon details are as follows:

- Embrasure no. 1 cannon: An engraved fleur-de-lis appears on the top of the cannon in front of the firing fuse opening with the following Roman numerals:
III: VIII: XVI :.
N: XXI :.
The letters VB are embossed on the right trunnion while the left trunnion bears the number 1178. The cannon barrel has an 86 mm internal diameter bore.
- Embrasure no. 3 cannon: The cannon has no markings. The barrel has an internal diameter bore of 117 mm.
- Embrasure no. 4 cannon: The cannon has no markings. The barrel has an internal diameter bore of 86 mm.
- Embrasure no. 5 cannon: The cannon has no markings. The barrel has an internal diameter bore of 86 mm.
- Embrasure no. 6 cannon: An engraved fleur-de-lis appears on the top of the cannon in front of the firing fuse opening with the following Roman numerals:
III: VIII: X :.
N: LXX :.
The number 1178 is embossed on the left trunnion. The right trunnion is not visible as the cannon is lying on its right side.

- Embrasure no. 7 cannon: The cannon barrel has no markings while the left trunnion marking is not legible. The barrel has an internal diameter bore of 86 mm.



(Fig. 6.21) The cannon at embrasure 1 at the fort.

The origins of the fleur-de-lis cannons are unknown, but the motif may infer a French origin. The details of these two cannons were analysed by the secretary of the Cannon Association of South Africa, Gerry de Vries, and found to be of Swedish manufacture. The date of manufacture is actually reflected on the left trunnion of each cannon in that the number 1178 should probably read 1778. The number was incorrectly recorded due to the decaying action of rust and time which made it difficult to read in the field. The date of manufacture for both the cannons is most likely 1778. The letters VB embossed on the right trunnion stands for Von Berchner who was the master founder at the Stavsjo foundry in Sweden. The first line of Roman numerals denoted the weight of the cannon in Skeppspund, Lispund, and Pund. According to De Vries, the calculation of the weight of the cannons amounted to 467 kg each. The bore diameter of the cannon confirms that the cannons are four-pounders that should weigh approximately 450 kg \pm 5% each. The second line of Roman numerals is the number of the cannon attributed by the

manufacturer. The Swedes apparently sold artillery to anybody with whom they were not at war. In times of war, armament was purchased from anybody who had the material in stock for sale, even if the guns were already engraved with the manufacturer's markings. There was no time to cast cannon to order during conflict. The Dutch, the British and the French all purchased cannons from the Swedes. Larger 24-pounder cannons manufactured in Sweden with the date of manufacture (1752) embossed on the trunnion were found in the Dutch phase of the West Fort at Hout Bay in Cape Town (Seemann, 1993: 253, 264).

The general condition of the fort showed signs of degradation in that the rampart walls were bulging outwards at places, creating a zigzag effect on top of the walls. Massive buttresses were erected at places sometime in the past to support the rampart walls. Part of the east rampart wall collapsed and stones from other sections of the structure were crumbling away. Past renovations, in an attempt to preserve the structure, have altered the historical context of the fort. The recent whitewash painting of the fort in August 2006 and the clearing of the grass have probably caused more harm than good. The site was spruced up in preparation for an annual pilgrimage to the *Nossa Senhora da Muxima* church. The work was conducted by local school children with no training or due consideration for the monument with the result that weeds that were pulled out of the structure also removed chunks of masonry and dislodged stones. The whitewash was splashed on the building haphazardly while floors and even the cannons were painted white while graffiti proliferated. Although contempt for the monument was expressed by the 'renovators', lack of adult/knowledgeable supervision was probably the cause as the local population respects the structure and even reveres it. Reverence for the fort is associated with the church and the deity of Muxima.

The *Nossa Senhora da Muxima* church (Fig. 6.22) was built on the margin of the Kwanza River shortly after the fort was completed at Muxima. The church is similar in design to the church at Massangano and four extension phases can be identified. The structure could, however, not be measured and studied in detail as services were being conducted continuously throughout the day,

all week. The three extensions can be deduced from the different roof structures and various other architectural features. The original church consists of the main church building and bell tower. The architecture of this church is more ornate than the church at Massangano, but generally conforms to the early colonial period. Two adjoining buildings have since been added on at the rear of the church (south) at different times. One roof (east) is pitched with four sides joining at a single point at the centre. The other double-sided roof (west) forms a continuation of the original roof at a lower level with the roof apex running along its length. A long roof the width of the bell tower to the east side of the original building behind the bell tower was added that runs along the length of the original church building. These extensions suggest the success of the church in attracting a progressively growing congregation.



(Fig. 6.22) The *Nossa Senhora da Muxima* Church viewed from the fort with the Kwanza River in the background.

6.4 MASSANGANO

The precinct of Massangano is located at 09° 38' S, 014° 16' E on the northern bank of the Kwanza River. It consists of a fort and a church built in 1583 (Paias, 1949: 31). The square fort (Fig. 6.23) with no bastions is located 2 to 3 metres from the edge of a steep river embankment approximately 30 metres high. The fort faces north with its rear wall to the sheer drop to the river below. This defensive position prevented the likelihood of an attack from the rear of the fort as deduced from the rampart wall facing the river not having embrasures. The top of the wall simply sloped outwards in a 45 degree angle. A more or less circular valley stretches out in front of the fort, forming a deep bowl around which flat ground extends east and west. The church is located a short distance west of the fort while several building ruins and recent buildings are situated in the east along the rim of the valley. During the early colonial period the valley was occupied with numerous indigenous mud and daub dwellings that formed the village of Massangano. The village *per se* no longer exists as only a handful of grey cement block dwellings remain in the west side of the valley near the church. The precinct consists today of the dilapidated church and the grass overgrown fort, while three historical ruins remain with a manned police station and MPLA representative office and an administration office. The ruins located on the east and northeast of the fort are designated ruins 1 to 3. These ruins are only briefly discussed as they form part of a later history beyond the scope of this dissertation. Ruin 1, adjacent to the fort, is the first municipal building erected after the Dutch were expelled by the Brazilian force in 1648. Massangano was declared a village with its own municipality in 1677 for the major role it played during the Dutch occupation (Paias, 1949: 90). Ruin 2, located close to the north of the present police station, may be the remains of a hospital built in 1660 as deduced from its numerous rooms (Paias, 1949: 85). A record of the hospital mentions that it was built in 1645 and burnt down in 1813 (Pratt: 1948: 47). Ruin 3 may have been a convent that was mentioned by David Livingstone in 1854 when he visited Massangano on his journey back to the east coast of Africa



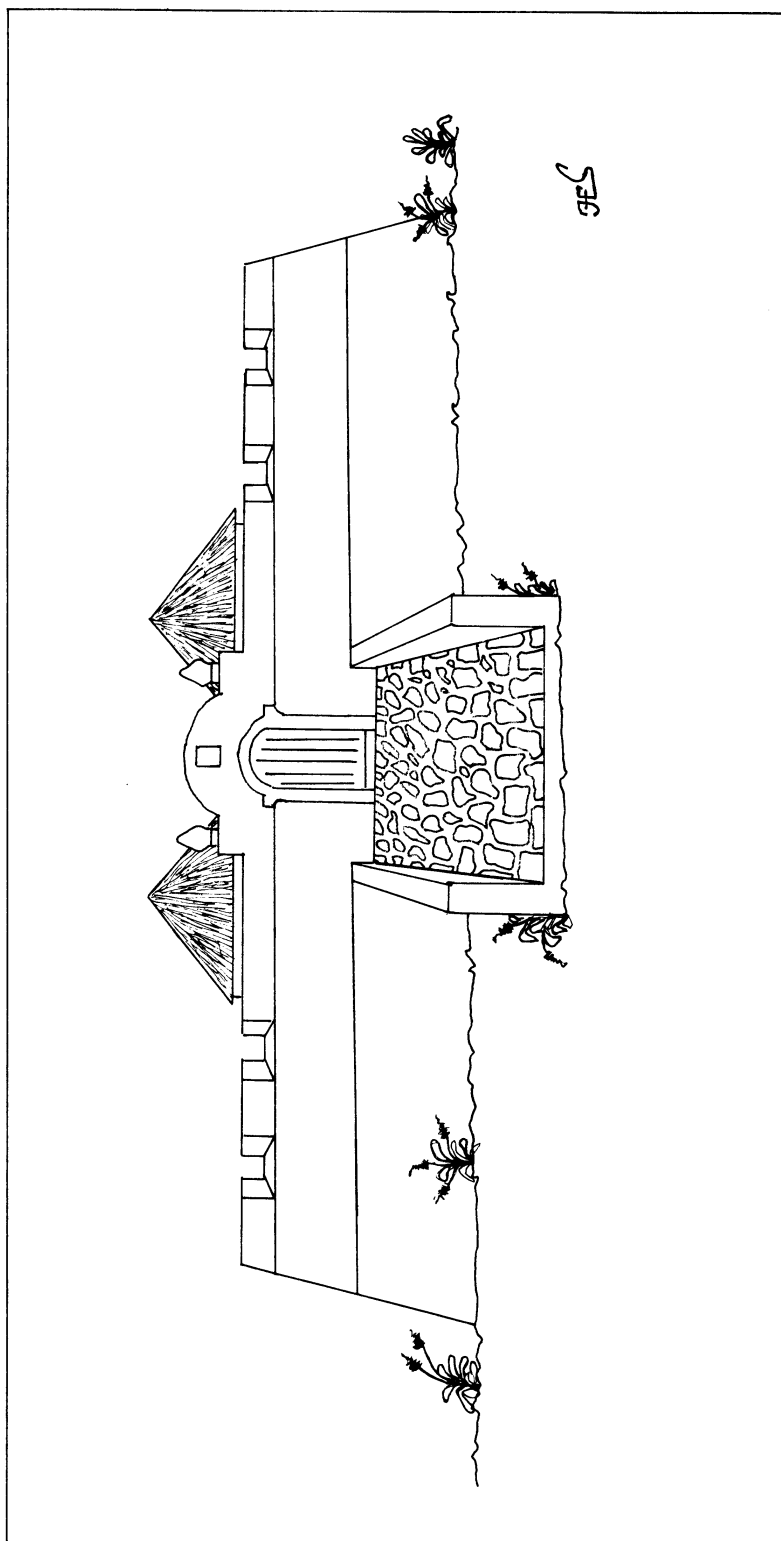
(Fig. 6.23) Fort Massangano.

after having crossed the continent from east to west. Livingstone (2006) also mentions a hospital at the village. Ruin 3 may be classified as a religious establishment due to the presence of numerous large pinnacles (pyramid shapes) mounted on top of the parapet walls flanking the stairs to the front terrace of the structure. These pinnacles were common and closely associated with religious buildings in Portuguese colonial architecture. Ruin 3 is situated in the north across the valley from the fort. The number of buildings in the village reached 600 with only two built of stone (no date) and a large population of *mulatos* or people of mixed blood (Pratt, 1948: 46). A possible maximum population of 10 910 inhabitants plus 950 slaves is recorded for Massangano (Cruz e Silva, 2000: 166). Paias (1949: 103), however, claims that Massangano had as much as 13 600 inhabitants in 1885. According to Livingstone (2006), the village was already waning during his visit in the mid-nineteenth century with only one thousand residents remaining.

The square fort, although overgrown with vegetation, now faced the empty valley in the north (Fig. 6.24). It measured 30 x 30 metres with a low-walled, open terrace extending 11 metres north of the main fort structure that may have served as a parade ground. The rampart walls are slightly sloped

inwards and vary from approximately 5 metres to about 7 metres in height as the natural ground sloped from south to north. The top of the west rampart wall has 5 embrasures as did the east rampart wall. Two embrasures are situated on the west side of the north rampart wall as well as the east side. Most rampart walls are in a fairly good state of preservation and have not required buttresses to support them. No original timber, such as window and door frames, roof trusses, and the like, has survived the wet and humid climate. Any timber present in the structure has been introduced more recently through renovation.

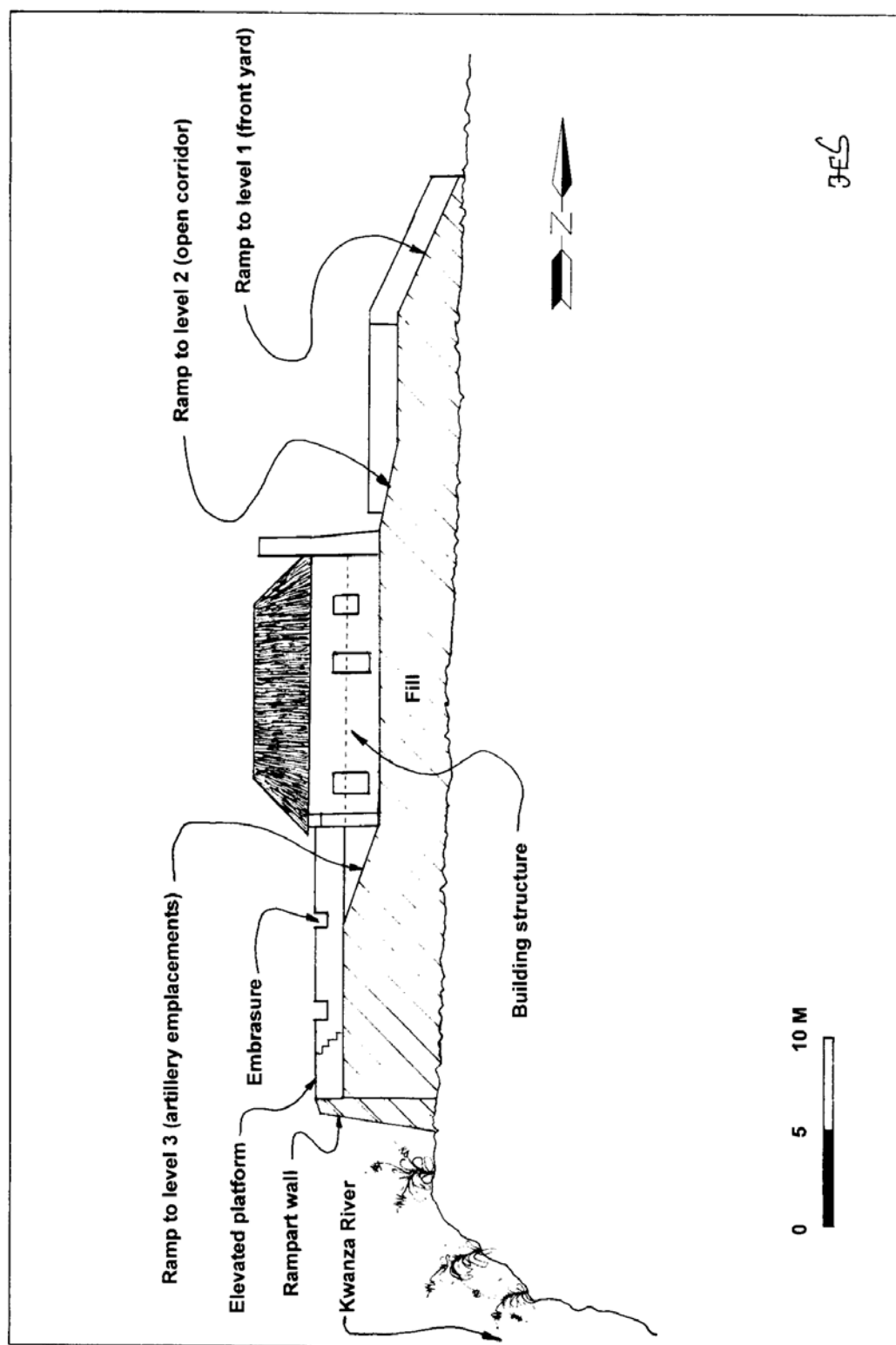
The three terrace levels of the fort have no access steps but are connected by means of ramps probably to facilitate the hauling of cannon similar to the fort at Muxima (Fig. 6.25). Access to the fort is gained by a ramp at the north that leads onto the level 1 open terrace, designated as the parade ground or front yard. A ramp leads from level 1 up a ramp to level 2 through the fort entrance gate (Fig. 6.26), culminating into an open corridor separating two building structures (Fig. 6.27). The corridor that separates the two buildings is shown to have a roof in an aerial photograph taken in the early 1960s (Fig. 6.28). This roof was most likely introduced during renovation but this is based on assumption rather than fact. The ramp leading from level 2 to level 3 is exposed to the elements that would have discharged storm water into the corridor.



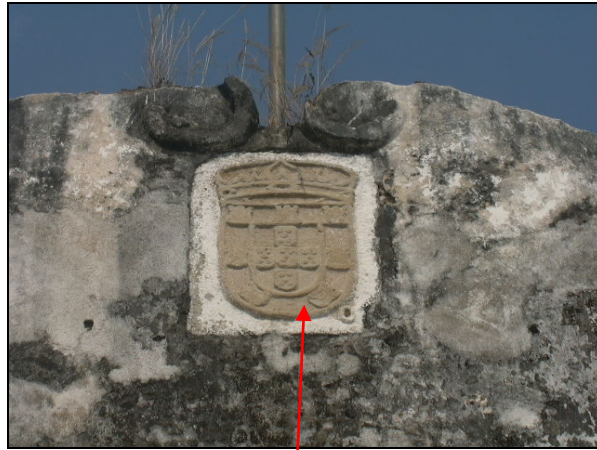
(Fig. 6.24) The front façade of Fort Massangano.

The rainwater in the corridor would then have flowed out under the entrance gate of the fort. There is no evidence at roof level of the corridor that it had a roof in the early colonial period. The third ramp leads to level 3 where the uppermost floor accommodates the cannons. The north, east, and west rampart walls at level 3 have a total of fourteen embrasures. The construction of the ramp leading from level 1 to level 2 is not contemporary with the rest of the fort as it is composed of recently manufactured bricks. The stone access ramp leading to level 1 is likewise not contemporary with rest of the fort as the mortar binding the floor stones is dated to the late twentieth century. All floors of the fort are paved with stone.

The buildings straddling the corridor consist of two rooms each, totalling four rooms altogether. Each of the four rooms has a door opening into the corridor and a window opening onto the level 3 terrace with one exception. The first room to the right on entering the fort has an additional window opening onto the corridor, supporting the argument that the corridor had no roof. A window would not otherwise have been required (Fig. 6.29). The level of the room floors is 400 mm higher than the corridor floor level that would have prevented rain water from entering the rooms. All floors of the rooms are paved with stone and otherwise have no other visible features alluding to room function. The architectural features around the windows and doors of these rooms are similar in design to the windows and doors of the church in Calumbo (Fig. 6.30). Whatever the function of these two buildings, it is noted that both the forts at Muxima and Cambambe also have separate buildings within the forts, suggesting a common function for the buildings.



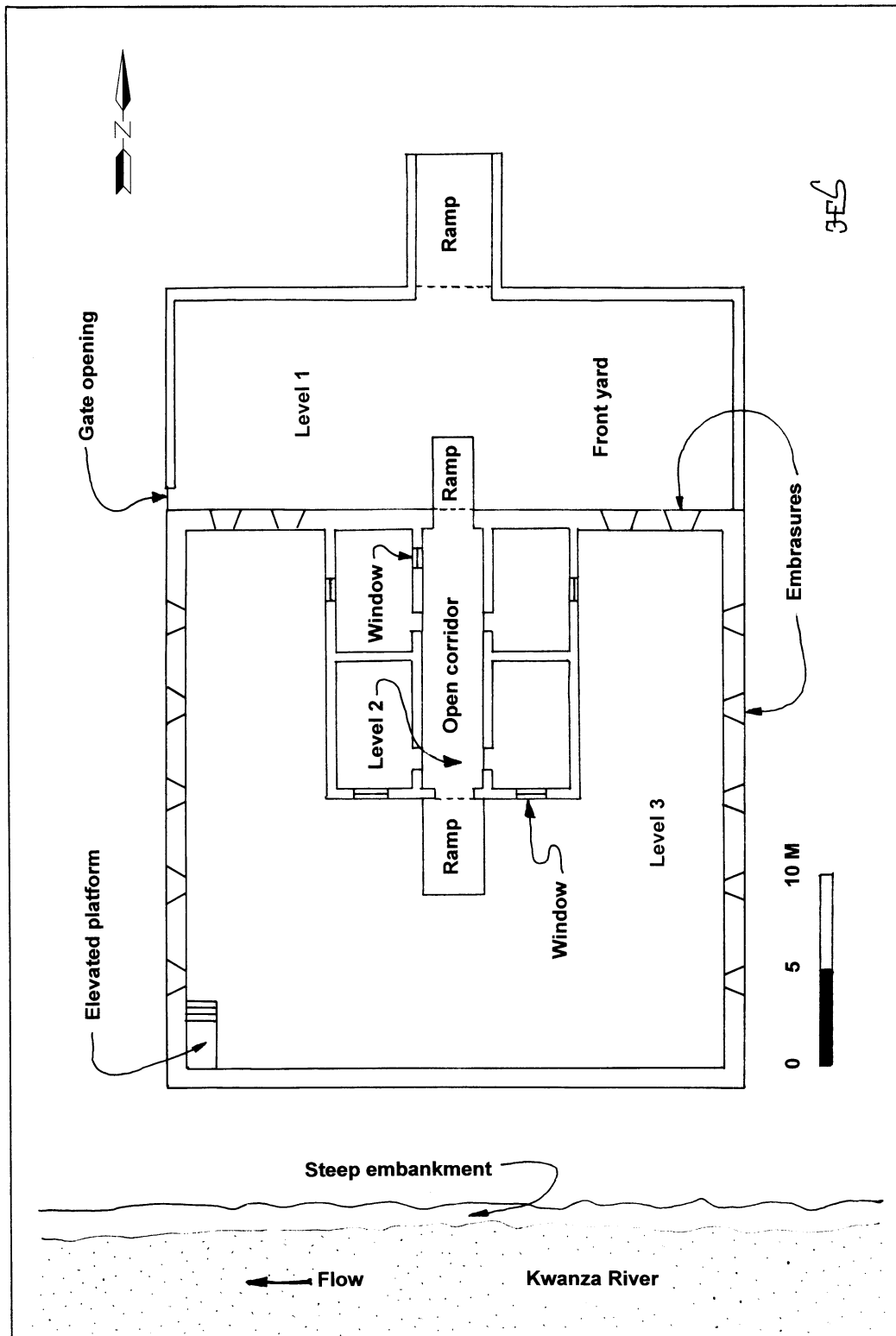
(Fig. 6.25) North/south cross section of Fort Massangano.



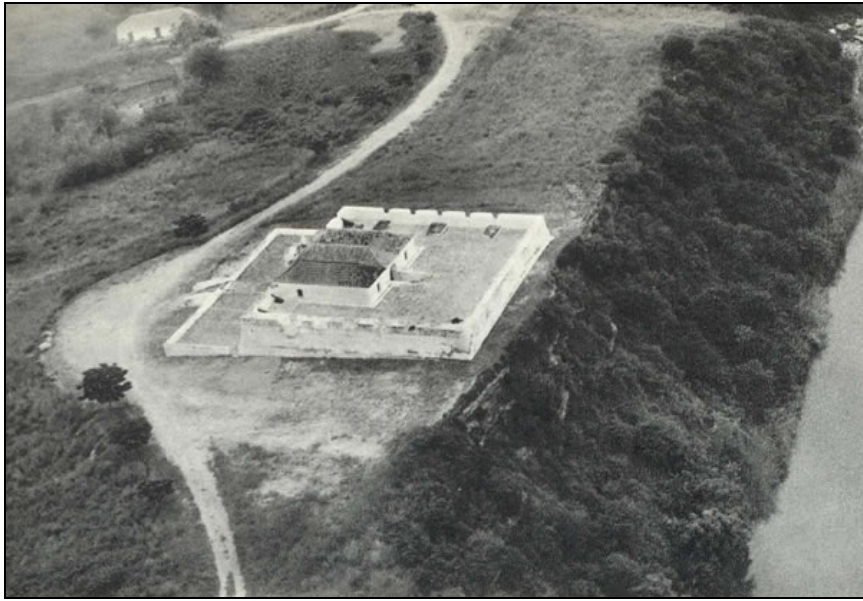
Close up of plaque.



(Fig. 6.26) Front entrance gate and access ramp of Fort Massangano with a plaque above the gate that only bears the Portuguese coat-of-arms with no inscription or date.



(Fig. 6.27) Floor plan of Fort Massangano with Kwanza River in the south.



(Fig. 6.28) Aerial view of Fort Massangano with the Kwanza River on the right.



(Fig. 6.29) The corridor between the two building structures.



(Fig.6.30) Door of the south room west of the corridor.

Texts mention that military personnel were accommodated outside the fort. Lists of such military staff not only included soldiers in the service of the Crown (Fig. 6.31), but also their families, including wives and children (Paias, 1949: 44, 45, 95, 96, 104, 105). The amount of personnel present at Massangano at any one time could simply not have been accommodated within the fort.

For example, a list of the garrison at Massangano dated 27 April 1612 includes the following among others (Paias, 1949: 44, 45):

Fort Captain – António Bruto
 Flag bearer – António Nunes
 Captain of artillery – João Batista
 His wife - Gimar Dias
 His son – Pascoal D'alfaro (child)
 Captain – João Banha de Sá
 His wife – Maria da Silva
 His daughter – Ana da Silva
 His daughter – Isabel Banha

Sergeant – Pedro da Costa (blind)
Teenager that guides him – Pedro Martins
Harquebusier – Mateus Correia
His wife – Cecilia Fernandes
Musketeer – Domingos de Faria
His wife – Leonor Lopes
His son – Manuel de Faria (child)

Convalescing soldiers were accommodated amongst the indigenous population within the village. The gate opening west of the level 1 open courtyard may have been used as a short cut from the fort to some form of accommodation for military personnel. According to Pratt (1948), the house of the fort captain is situated on the west side of the fort (Pratt, 1948: 45). A surface survey of the area west of the fort revealed no visible evidence of any past dwelling structure. Only systematic exploratory trenching could reveal evidence for the residential occupation of the surrounding area of the fort. The fortification appears to have been used as a refuge and as a last resort in a last stand situation and not for everyday use. Battles described in texts have always been fought at a tactically chosen location away from the fort. No battle has ever been recorded to have taken place at the precinct. The fort itself has never been directly attacked even as it had been encircled several times by Mbundu forces.



(Fig. 6.31) Period *arquebusier* soldier armed with a sword and two
harquebusiers.

(<http://www.dynamicscience.com>)

An elevated platform with steps leading to it is part of the structure at the southwest corner of level 3. As already mentioned in the case at Muxima, this platform may have been an observation platform. Three 24-pounder cannons are situated at the same level, one of which occupies an embrasure on the west rampart wall (Fig. 6.32). The two other 24-pounder cannons are at embrasures east of the fort entrance gate facing north. Another small calibre field cannon is placed at an embrasure west of the fort gate facing north. A similar small calibre field gun adorns the boundary fence of the Administration building. The cannons do not have any markings except for one 24-pounder cannon that has an engraved motif symbolising a triangle (Fig. 6.33).



(Fig. 6.32) Twenty-four pounder cannon. (Fig. 6.33) Triangular motif on cannon.

The walls of the various buildings, including the ruins, differ from each other in the size and materials used for construction. The fort building material is small (Fig. 6.34) compared with the other buildings at Massangano and the fort at Muxima. This may imply that the fort was constructed at a different period than the other buildings and that the stones for construction may have been gathered at a different location. The size of building material used for the



(Fig. 6.34) Small stones used in the construction of the fort building walls.

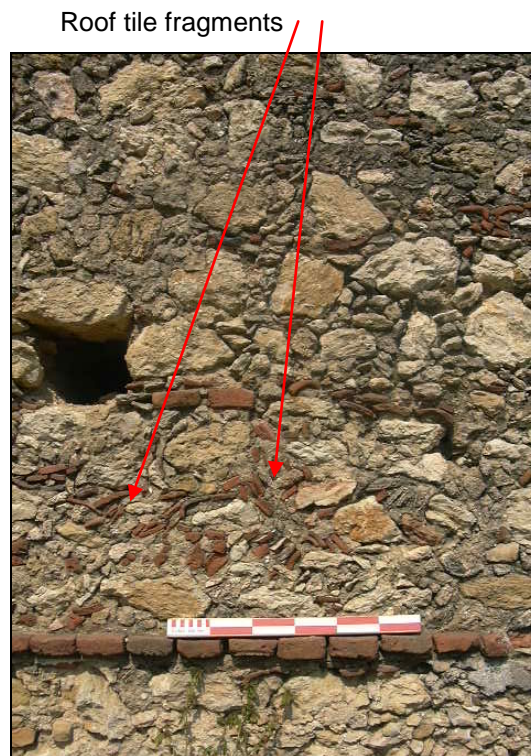
Municipality building is mixed and incorporates larger as well as smaller stones as used at the fort, with the addition of broken roof tiles used in the wall construction. A source of larger stones may have been discovered after

the construction of the fort that were perhaps more suitable for building construction. A factory to fabricate roof tiles was established at Massangano in 1820 (Paias, 1949: 96). Future research may establish whether these roof tiles originate from the Massangano factory, placing the construction date of the building to a later period than recorded in texts. Ruin 1 (Figs. 6.35a & 6.35b), Ruin 2 (Fig. 6.36), and Ruin 3 (Fig. 6.37) are constructed of generally larger and similar stones than the fort.

Massangano was used as a hub around which the Portuguese conquest revolved and was later the seat of government and capital during the Dutch occupation from 1641 to 1648. It was from here that other forts in the region were replenished with arms, gunpowder and ammunition, personnel reinforcements, as well as provisions (Paias, 1949: 80). A large amount of these provisions and materials had to be stored at Massangano before being forwarded to wherever it was required. This must have required large stores and possibly warehouses. No such structural remains are visible at the site. The largest building structure of the village is the church that Paulo Dias de Novais built in 1583.



(Fig. 6.35a) Municipal building designated as Massangano Ruin 1.

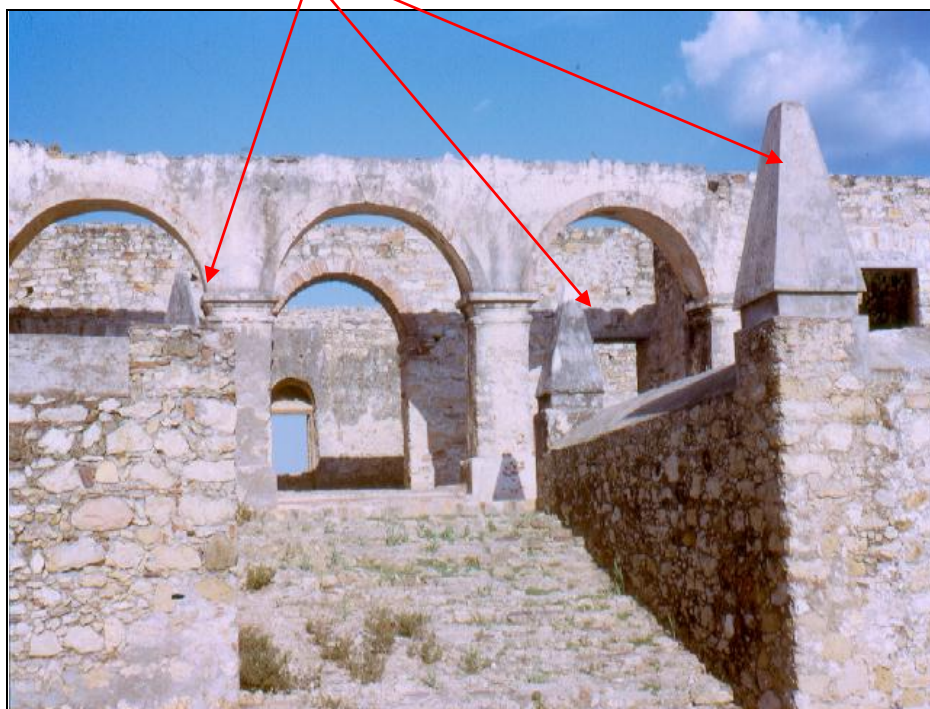


(Fig. 6.35b) Massangano Ruin 1 construction materials including roof tile fragments.



(Fig. 6.36) Massangano Ruin 2 and possible ruins of a nineteenth-century hospital.

Pinnacles as religious symbols



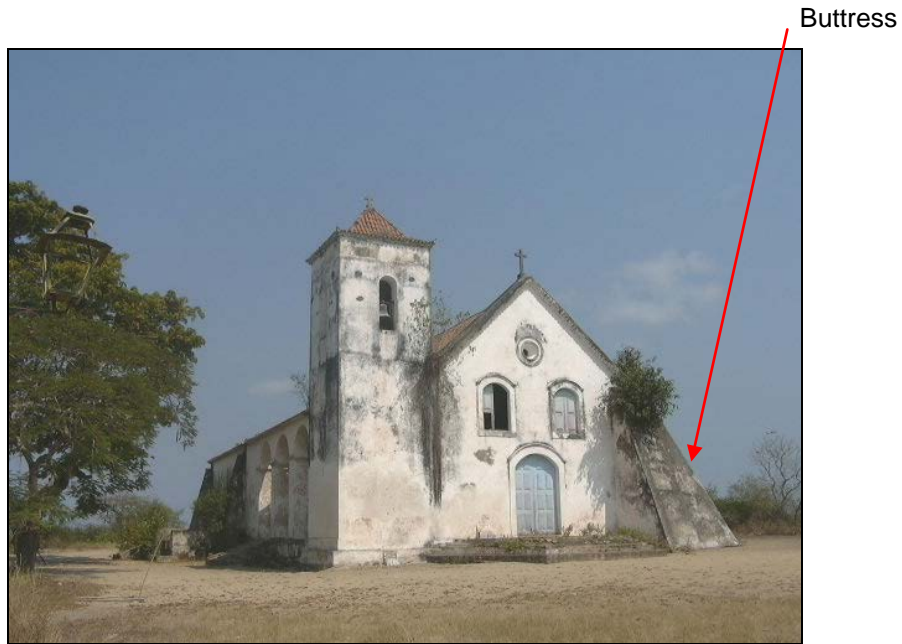
(Fig. 6.37) Massangano Ruin 3 and possible nineteenth-century convent.

The *Nossa Senhora da Victória* Church (Fig. 6.38), although still standing and occasionally used for mass, is in a dilapidated condition. The tile roof is sagging due to perishing roof trusses, and missing tiles create gaping holes through which birds fly in and out at will. Windows facing north are broken and falling apart. The northwest corner of the church is supported by a massive buttress extending north, built at some time in the past, to prevent the walls from collapsing. The roots of a *Ficus* spp. tree growing on top of the buttress are forcing the stones of the structure apart and will eventually cause the collapse of that section of the wall. Other buttresses around the church provisionally hold up the walls (Fig. 6.39). The balcony at the rear of the church, which accommodates worshipers, and the stairs leading to it are partially collapsed. The church burned down in 1820 after which the roof material was replaced with roof tiles in 1846, suggesting that the roof consisted, before the fire, of reeds from the Kwanza River flood plain. The church front doors, as well as the religious images within the church, were burned by the priest in 1893 as these were in poor condition, causing great indignation among the parishioners (Paías, 1949: 98, 103). An undated

photograph of the church, taken from inside, shows the interior front façade in very poor condition, almost a ruin that suggested abandonment (Paías, 1949: 53). It is evident from these factors that the church was not always kept in a good state of repair and thus was not always regarded as an important building. It somewhat contradicts its early history of reverence. The church at Muxima survived in a far better condition, most likely due to the influence of the deity of Muxima.

Judging from the poor building maintenance record and neglect of the church, the extensions to the building through time were less significant than that of the church at Muxima. As was the case at Muxima, the east side of the church behind the bell tower and the width of the bell tower were covered under a roof the length of the original church, constructed sometime in the past. An additional extension was built behind the church that effectively increases the total length of the church with a lower roof. According to an informant, the annex was used to accommodate the priest. These are the only two discernible building extensions.

It was not possible to produce a floor plan of the church as an authority to request permission to do so, as required by protocol, could not be found. A survey of the church revealed a few pews at the front of the church with some figurines of a religious nature occupying purpose made niches (Fig. 6.40). A baptismal font was present at the rear of the church. The indigenous population was converted and baptised at the church. Churches in Portuguese society also served to bury notable people and a number of Portuguese officials are buried in the church, the most famous of whom is Paulo Dias de Novais. He died at Massangano in 1589 and was buried in front of the church entrance at his own request where his tombstone still stands (Figs. 6.41a & 6.41b). Jesuit priests, however, exhumed his mortal remains in 1609 and reburied them at an unspecified Jesuit church in Luanda. The whereabouts of his remains have since been lost (Paías, 1949: 34).



(Fig. 6.38) The *Nossa Senhora da Victória* Church at Massangano.



(Fig. 6.39) Buttresses on the east side of the Massangano church.

Others have been buried inside the church like the military captain Banha Cardoso in 1628 (Paías, 1949: 53). A grave was noted covered with a 2 metre inscribed slab at the eastern side door of the church. Unfortunately the text on the slab has been worn by parishioners walking over it, resulting in the text

becoming worn and almost illegible at places. The text abbreviated in the Latin style stated that: ".....died here.....". The local inhabitants were questioned about an historical cemetery in the vicinity and a search was conducted for the burial ground during the survey but no historical cemetery was found.



(Fig. 6.40) The interior of the church at Massangano.

The landscape at Massangano is dominated by the church and not by the fort as may be expected. The fort was fairly small and compact with a low relief against the skyline. The fort was only imposing when viewed from the river, where it perches high above the river embankment. This approach would deter an enemy with the added obstacle of the high embankment. The location of the fort against the river, in context with the village layout, is marginalised. The church, in contrast, occupies an elevated position overlooking the valley where the inhabitants lived. The structure of the building is high with an extensive footprint larger than any other early colonial period church surveyed. The spire of the bell tower towers above all the surrounding trees dominating the valley.



(Fig. 6.41a) The *Nossa Senhora da Victória* Church with the tombstone of Paulo Dias de Novais in the foreground.



(Fig. 6.41b) The tombstone of Paulo Dias de Novais.

6.5 DONDO

The Kwanza River emerges from the African escarpment plateau where it is restricted to narrow gorges and cataracts into a more level plain at Dondo. The river gradually widens into an extensive flood plain once it flows past the colonial village of Dondo, located at 09° 40' S, 014° 25' E. The river is still restricted to a single active channel as it flows past Dondo, creating a sufficiently deep, navigable channel with gently flowing water ideal for a river port. A gently sloping beach leads to a flat plain well above flood water level where the village is situated on the northern margin. A stretch of about 200 metres of open land separates the river from the colonial port village. It is proposed that the historical market of the river port of Dondo was situated in this open stretch of land flanking the river (Fig. 6.42). Vessels could have beached in the shallow water margin from where goods could have been offloaded manually by slaves wading waist deep in the water. Trade goods from the interior such as ivory, food products, slaves, and even items from across the continent, from east coast Sofala, were bartered or sold for salt at the Dondo market. Trade commodities were shipped downstream to the river mouth where it was delivered to the Luanda harbour by sea. Some goods may have travelled only as far downstream as Calumbo whence they were transported overland to Luanda. Many of the trade commodities purchased by Portuguese traders were exported to other continents from Luanda, such as the export of slaves to South America. Dondo was the economic hub around which revolved the conquest of the N'Dongo Kingdom (Cruz e Silva, 1995a: 409-417; 2000: 168, 171).

Fieldwork at Dondo consisted of a survey to establish the probability that a port market could have existed at the village founded by the Portuguese colonists in 1623/5. The survey was to establish evidence for the presence of Portuguese traders and trading, and to locate the actual location where trading took place. The survey was also an attempt to elucidate the question of Cabassa in context with the N'gola's royal city and the place where Paulo Dias de Novais and his companions were incarcerated in 1560. A suspicion arose that the location of Dondo and Dongo were used intermittently in

Lusophone texts to denote the same location. The result of the survey regarding this question did not produce any conclusions at Dondo. Textual evidence is discussed in the Pungo-a-Ndongo chapter (see Chapter 7).



(Fig. 6.42) Satellite image of the Dondo village.

The street layout in the centre of the village on the margin of the river is consistent with the European symmetrical grid system while the urban sprawl around the hub has no particular street pattern. Very tall trees line both sides of the main central avenue in perfect straight lines. The street pattern is evident when viewed by satellite imagery, identifying the Portuguese sector with the symmetrical layout of streets that contrasted with the urban sprawl around the periphery of the settlement. The urban sprawl seems to have

spread in more recent times, probably as rural communities moved into the village for safety during the civil war as the dwellings are contemporary with shanty towns around Luanda. The principal streets of the original settlement run parallel with the river while street blocks are formed by streets running at ninety degrees to the river.

The origins of the stone dwellings that line the streets of the oldest part of the village are architecturally consistent with early Portuguese colonial period architecture. In general, structure openings such as windows and doors are 'framed' with a raised plaster edge around the reveals. Some of the raised plaster frames are scalloped with a decorative kink at the upper edges (Fig. 6.43). A protruding window sill is absent in windows. The reveal of windows and doors at the lintel is curved (Fig. 6.44) in some buildings and square in others (Fig. 6.45). All these architectural features are notably present at the *Nossa Senhora da Victória* church at Massangano about 20 kilometres west of Dondo. The raised plaster frames around the reveals of windows and doors are a common feature at Massangano, Muxima, Calumbo, Fort São Miguel, and other buildings in the lower city of Luanda. The reveals at the lintel of windows and doors are curved at Massangano and Calumbo while square at Muxima. The decorative 'eyebrow' motif above openings is absent in the dwellings at Dondo. This decorative architectural feature is, however, only present in official establishments such as government and religious buildings, and not in private homes.

The village of Dondo was declared a port market between 1623 and 1625 by Governor João Correia de Sousa (Paías, 1949: 51) or Governor Fernão de Sousa (Cruz e Silva, 1995a: 418) (the exact date and governor are not certain). This decision was as a consequence of prolonged war activities having disrupted the flow of trade goods along the colonial frontier marked by the Kwanza River. The constant skirmishes conducted by Queen Jinga against the colonial power and their indigenous allies restricted commercial activities. This commercial activity was crucial for the survival of the indigenous population and for the economic requirements of the Portuguese conquest (Cruz e Silva, 1995a: 407, 408). The slave market under

Portuguese control ceased to trade as the European governors extracted a tyrannical tribute from the merchants. One slave out of every ten slaves was taken as tribute by the colonial power. Agents for the governors selected the best slaves for their masters while leaving the infirm and children for the others. Slave traders reacted by marketing their 'pieces' in remote markets away from the tyrannical jurisdiction of the Portuguese (Cordeiro, 1881: 15).

The trade system has its origins during the pre-colonial period which was first observed by Paulo Dias de Novais during his first voyage in 1560. While being conveyed by the N'gola's entourage upstream along the Kwanza River, the Portuguese noticed commercial transactions taking place at the margins of the river. Local production generated a surplus of goods that was bartered at the local markets while there was a cash market that used salt as currency. Trade goods were generated through agricultural cultivation and animal husbandry, and even from a small home industry. The sailors that brought Dias de Novais to the Kwanza River mouth traded for fresh produce and other goods from the local market system to provision their vessels for the homeward journey. Long- distance trade existed in the N'Dongo Kingdom long before the arrival of the Portuguese (Cruz e Silva, 1995a: 409). Long-distance trade was only introduced by the Portuguese after 1575. Although this is the case concerning European trade, the Mundongo traded with traders from the African east coast before the arrival of the Portuguese. This is evident from the letters of the Jesuit Brother Francisco de Gouveia, who met such long-distance traders during his incarceration in the 1560s (Felner, 1933:121).

The buildings lining the symmetrical streets with avenues of tall trees are thus identified with the homes of Portuguese traders who plied the bank of the river in search of bargains (Fig. 6.46). Most of these dwellings are dilapidated due to lack of maintenance while others have collapsed into ruins (Fig. 6.47). The topography of the river margin is suitable for a port while the open area adjacent to the river is likely to be the market place where trading took place (Fig. 6.48). No evidence was identified of actual trade goods that could have been traded or buildings that may have been associated with the storage of

trade goods. Such evidence may be found by exploring and excavating the homes of traders.

Notch in raised plaster edge identical to designs found at the *Ilha de Moçambique* on the Swahili Coast



(Fig. 6.43) Raised plaster frame detail around a Portuguese trader's house.



(Fig. 6.44) Curved lintel in windows and doors (photo by Rui Ribeiro – <http://www.sanzalangola.pt>)



Rua do centro do Dondo - 1972

(Fig. 6.45) Square lintel in windows and doors (photo by Adriano Cardoso – <http://www.sanzalangola.pt>).



(Fig. 6.46) Portuguese colonial trader's house in tree-lined avenue.



(Fig. 6.47) Dilapidated and collapsed Portuguese colonial trader's house.



(Fig. 6.48) Area adjacent to the Kwanza River that may have been used as a trading market from 1623/5.

6.6 CAMBAMBE

The Kwanza River is navigable from the river mouth to the first cataract at Cambambe. A hydroelectric scheme was established on the northern bank at this cataract in the 1960s to supply electrical power for Luanda. A concrete dam wall was erected above the cataract flooding the river valley above (Fig. 6.49). The area is fenced off with an electrified fence and has been under heavy guard since the beginning of the civil war. The river flowed fast and furious through a high gorge in a cascade of white water before the dam was built, plunging from an altitude of 1500 metres towards sea level. The landscape is semi-arid, mountainous and rugged. The Portuguese *conquistadores* sailed up river as far as the last cataract in the river before climbing a steep ravine to establish a fort on the northern bank in 1604, after a protracted war with the N'gola.

The fort at Cambambe is situated at 09° 44' S, 014° 21' E where a church was built within the rampart walls in 1606 (Fig. 6.50). The square fort with bastions at each corner was established with the lure of silver mines among the mountains that never existed. The fortification was held, despite numerous attacks from the Mbundu and Jaga allies led by the Matamba Queen Jinga, and later expanded into a colonial frontier outpost. Neither Lusophone nor Anglophone texts elaborate on what structures existed at the site except describing historical events associated with the fort. Thus the archaeological survey set out to investigate the fort after having established that a Portuguese fort actually exists at the location, and to establish the state of the structure. The survey revealed a total of 8 associated ruins at the site as follows:

1. The fort is designated as Ruin 1 and has been measured, drawn, and digitally photographed. Satellite aerial images of the area were taken as part of the survey.
2. The *Nossa Senhora do Rosário* church within the fort, designated as Ruin 2, has also been measured, drawn, and digitally photographed. This is the only early colonial period church that could be measured as it is in

ruins and therefore accessible.

3. Ruin 3 consists of a third building ruin constructed along the west rampart wall within the fort.



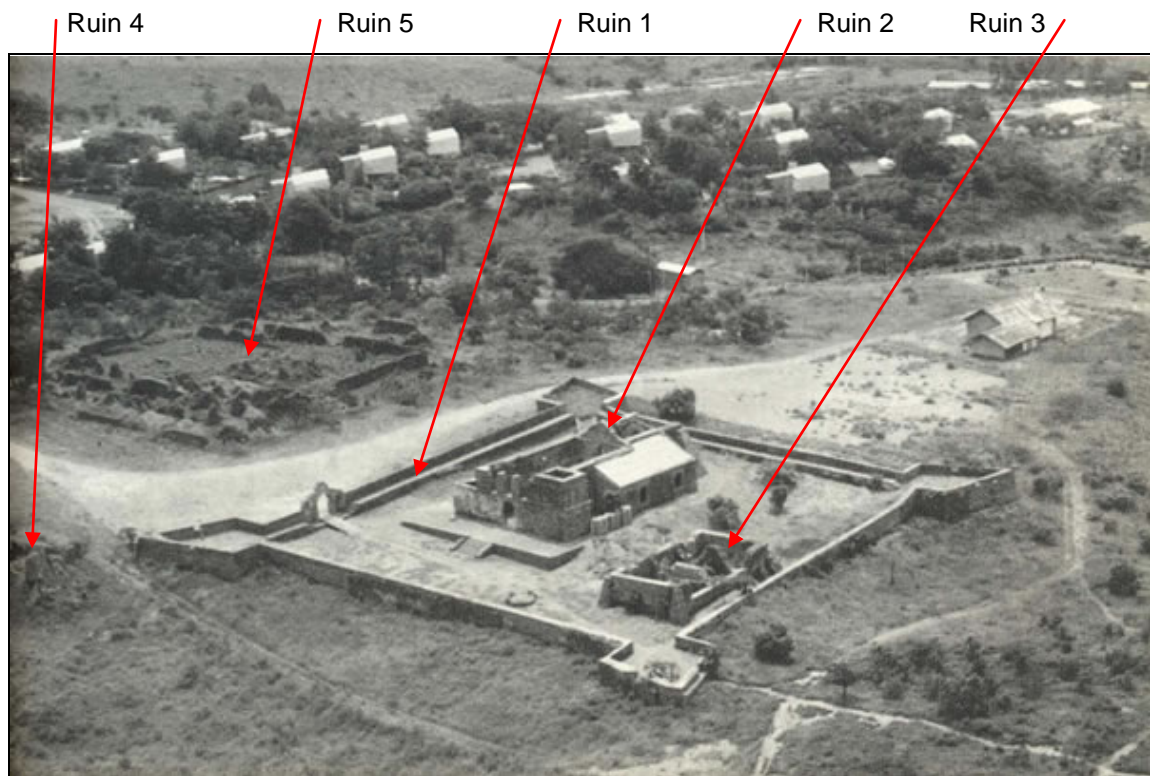
(Fig. 6.49) Satellite image of Fort Cambambe within the hydroelectric facility.

4. Ruin 4 is a two-roomed building ruin built within a few metres of the northeast bastion.

5. Ruin 5 is a large building, or a collection of closely associated individual building ruins, which may have been a warehouse complex according to a plaque found on site that dates the structure to the eighteenth century. The ruin is situated opposite the east rampart wall about 35 metres away.
6. Ruin 6 is an individually standing structure measuring about 4 metres square with other associated walls. The ruin stands halfway between Ruins 4 and 7. Ruins 4, 6, and 7 form a straight line roughly from west to east suggesting that a road connected the buildings as it does today.
7. Ruin 7a is a substantial edifice composed of a number of rooms with archways and windows including ornate window sills. A pinnacle about 700 mm in height dominates the entrance to the building and may associate the structure with a religious function.
8. Ruin 7b was initially thought to be part of Ruin 7a, but aerial satellite images later established that it may be a separate building ruin due to wall alignments not matching.

Ruins 1 and 2 are discussed at length as early colonial period ruins associated with the conquest of the N'Dongo Kingdom. The other ruins, from Ruin 3 to Ruin 7b, will only be briefly discussed as these ruins have been established to form part of a later historical period beyond the scope of this dissertation.

The fort is situated on the edge of a slope falling towards the Kwanza River far below to the north. Level ground surrounds the other rampart walls while the courtyard within the fort slopes approximately 15° from east to west. This slope has the effect that the rampart walls on the eastern half of the fort are higher than the western half of the fort. The east rampart wall is thus about 4 metres high and the west rampart wall is about 3 metres high. The height of the rampart wall around the northwest bastion is about 2.5 metres high. The external face of the rampart walls slopes towards the interior of the fort and is plastered on the exterior. The plaster has mostly fallen off leaving the stones of the structure visible, highlighting the fine workmanship of the stone



(Fig. 6.50) Aerial photograph of Fort Cambambe taken in the 1960s
(<http://www.sanzalangola.pt>).

masons. The stones of the rampart walls and other building walls are generally composed of sandstone and mudstone shale. The larger, semi-dressed sandstone forms the bulk of the wall while the shale is packed in horizontal lenses filling the cavities in between the sandstone. The effect is rows of horizontal building stones neatly packed against each other without any apparent mortar to secure the stones together. The walls have the appearance of having been constructed by skilled artisans and not the rank and file soldiers. The early conquest campaigns did include skilled labour such as artisans, masons and bricklayers (Boxer, 1961: 668). This physical evidence confirms the historical source. Small swatches of plaster remain at places on the exterior of the rampart walls (Fig. 6.51).

The elaborate fort entrance gate on the north rampart wall with the Portuguese coat-of-arms above (Figs. 6.52a & 6.52b) appears to have been a later addition to the fort as is the case at Fort Muxima. The original gate may have been a basic gate to allow access to the fort. This is derived from the



(Fig.6.51) External plaster remains on the east rampart wall.

inscription below the coat-of-arms that reads:

" *Este forte mandou fazer o s D. João de Lancastro..... D.1691*"

(This fort was ordered to be built by *Dom* João de Lancastro.....in 1691).

It is deduced that the plaque was introduced by João de Lancastro in 1691 and that the elaborate entrance arch structure above the gate was ordered to be built by that person, not the whole fort. Evidence for this is the different plaster used on the gate arch and the fact that the plaster on this entrance structure still exists. All other external plaster on the original rampart walls no longer exists, except for a few patches. The plaster on the rampart walls is much coarser than on the gate arch. The interior of the rampart walls is not plastered, which contrasts with the interior of the gate arch that is plastered. The conquest was assured and the Dutch were successfully expelled from the kingdom by 1691. The ornate nature of the gate arch suggests that it may have been erected as a commemoration of the achievements of the *conquistadores* and the role the fort played in this. The gate arch at Fort Cambambe resembles a triumphal arch.

Each of the four bastions contains two embrasures with ramps leading up to it to facilitate the hauling of cannon. The bastions were connected with a curtain



(Fig. 6.52a) Portuguese coat-of-arms and inscription above the fort entrance gate.

wall with an elevated walkway on the interior of the fort from where soldiers were able to shoot small arms (Figs. 6.53 & 6.54). A series of steps around the walkway leads to the different levels of the walkway. The northeast bastion (Fig. 6.55) contains two sets of stepped elevated platforms, possibly used for observation, which also occur in the forts at Muxima and Massangano (Fig. 6.56). The only cannon found at Cambambe lay abandoned on the ground of this bastion. The cannon has no markings.



(Fig. 6.52b) The plastered entrance gate arch of the fort.

Most intriguing is the presence of a collapsed bartizan in the middle of the courtyard 4.5 metres away from the north rampart wall (Fig. 6.57). Although in a state of collapse, it is recognisable by its round base with a 1 metre long and 400-mm-high ramp leading to the entrance. The diagnostic roof of the sentry box is lying on the ground and is still intact. The purpose of a bartizan in that location is unusual and cannot be explained.

The fort is partially in ruins with part of the north rampart wall collapsed and the southwest bastion partly collapsed. There is a gap in the northwest bastion where staff from the hydroelectric facility damaged the bastion wall to create a short cut to walk to work through the entrance gate. More damage is being done by the local high school (school No. 139 – *Baragem do Cambambe*) situated adjacent to the fort. The school principal, Lorenzo de Andrade, organises the school students to clear the ruins of vegetation every six months with good intentions, as part of their history education. The method employed by the students of pulling grass tufts by the roots was witnessed to dislodge structural stones together with the roots of the plant. Larger tree branches were fortunately trimmed and otherwise left in place.

The *Nossa Senhora do Rosário* church occupies the southeast quarter of the fort courtyard and dominates the internal space of the fort. Ruin 2 is in total ruin with no roof, collapsed walls, and *Ficus* spp. trees growing on the walls (Fig. 6.58). The main entrance of the church faces north, with side doors facing east and west. It consists of a nave where the congregation sat facing the sanctuary (Fig. 6.59) from where the priest conducted ceremonies and preached. The apse is situated behind the sanctuary where the priest dressed in his official robes. A lancet window in the rear wall illuminates the interior of the apse during the day. The remains of the bell tower rise from the northwest corner of the church. The structure is identified as the bell tower as the walls rise above all the other walls of the church. A room has been added in the opposite northwest corner. Two more rooms are situated on the southwest side of the church with a connecting door to the nave and a window opening into the sanctuary. Three massive buttresses constructed sometime in the past support the walls of the church. One buttress is placed on the east side

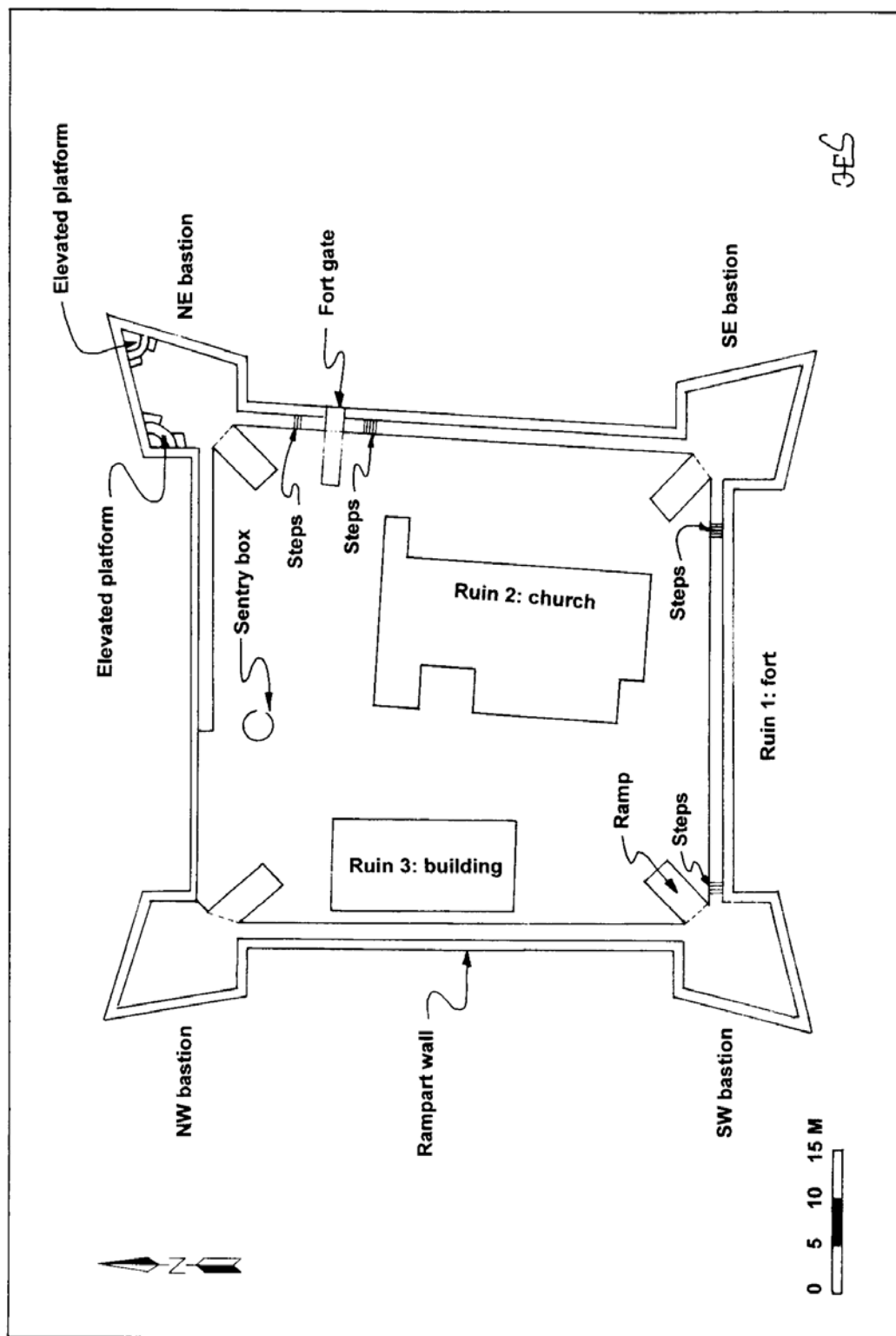
of the nave/sanctuary and the other two at the rear corners of the apse (Fig. 6.60).

The rear of the nave at the main entrance has two columns on either side of the door that probably supported a mezzanine floor as in the church at Massangano. It has two niches to accommodate religious figurines or other items of Catholic devotion with another two similar niches facing the congregation on either side of the sanctuary. The niches are architecturally decorated with recessed colonnades and arches with a stone altar at the bottom of each niche. The niches are ornately finished in fine plaster work by skilled artisans (Figs. 6.61; 6.62 & 6.63).

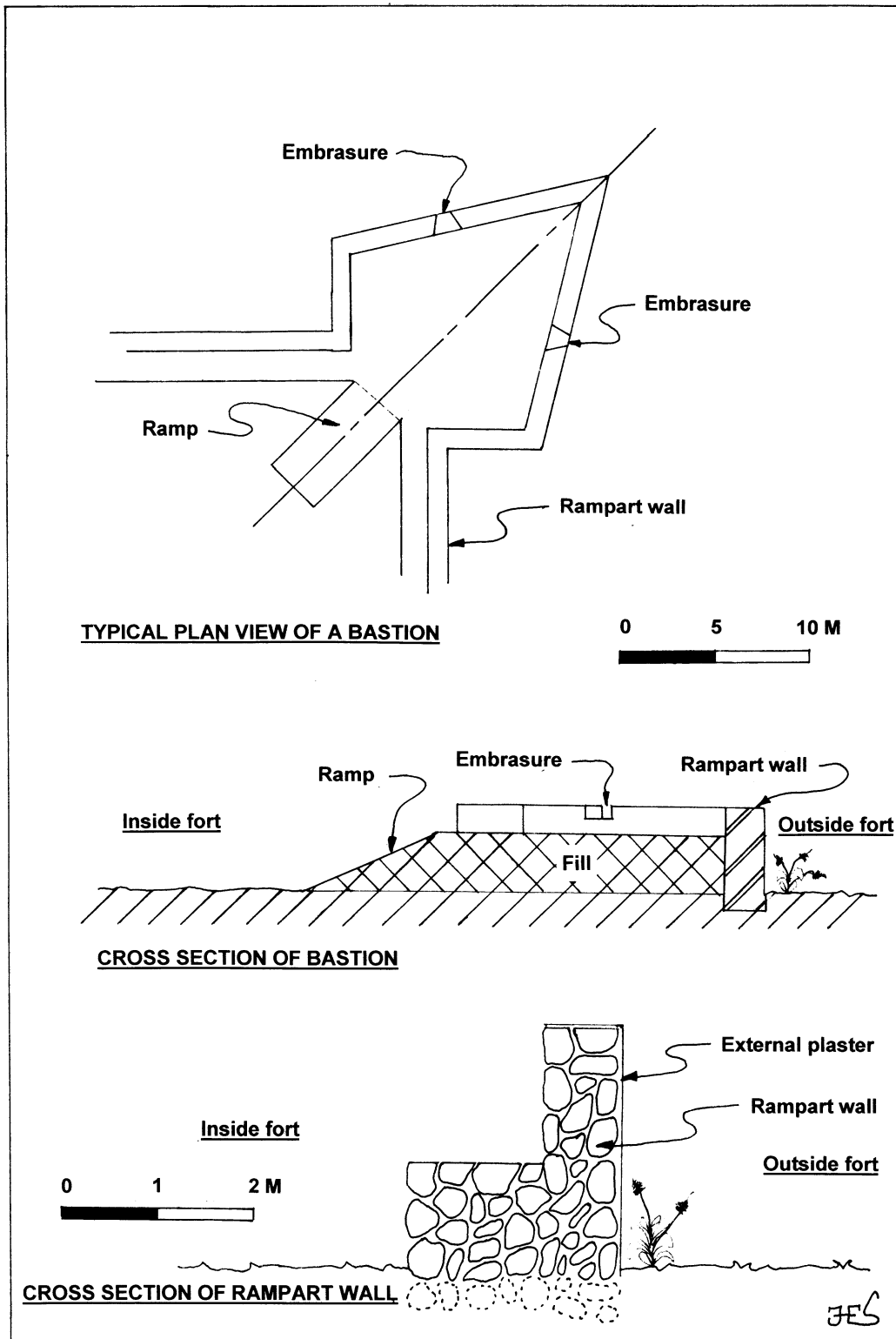
The niches at the sanctuary facing the congregation have been observed at other Catholic churches during the survey and contain either a picture or figurine of Mary in one niche and Jesus in the other niche (Fig. 6.64). A single 150-200 mm step is situated across the nave, between the two niches on the lateral sides of the nave, while another step is located at the high-arched entrance to the sanctuary.

The sanctuary has two levels with two steps separating the levels. The lower level contains a grave while the upper level contains the stone altar with an arched window opening behind it. Small doors on either side of the altar lead into the apse through which the priest had to bend low to get through. A window to the east opens into the courtyard and a window in the west opens into a room. An 800-mm-high recess on either side of the sanctuary within the internal partition wall close to the roof of the church is used to contain a religious figurine.

The recess is architecturally decorated with a square colonnade on one side and a whorled colonnade on the other (Fig. 6.62). A plain recess is situated above the ornate recess on either side of the sanctuary in the outer wall of the building. The grave at the lower level is marked with a marble slab on the floor of the sanctuary with an inscription (Fig. 6.65).



(Fig. 6.53) Floor plan of the fort with the church and the Ruin 3 building.



(Fig. 6.54) Details of the fort structures (Ruin 1).



(Fig. 6.55) The northeast bastion of the fort with the church within the rampart walls.



(Fig. 6.56) One of the elevated platforms in the northeast bastion.



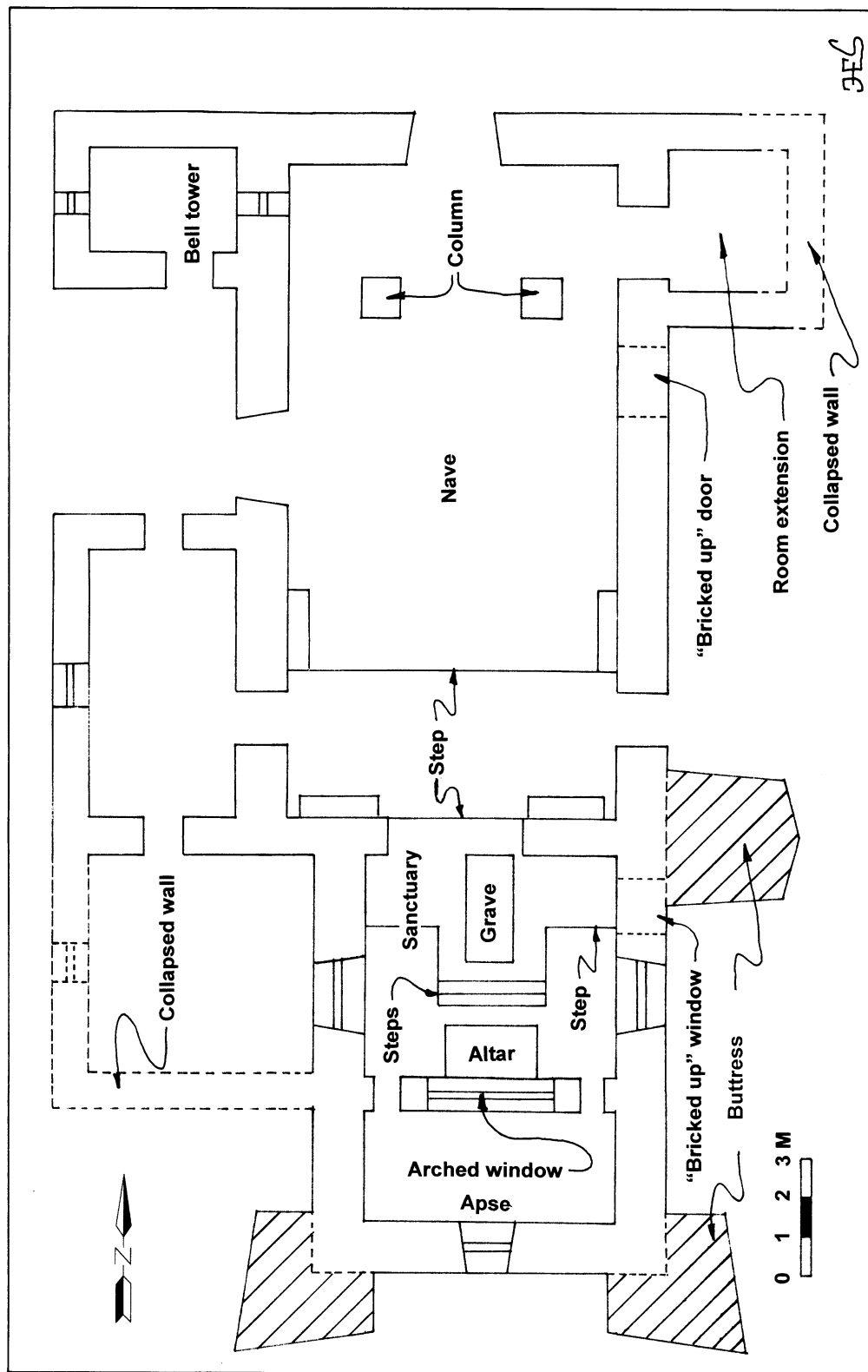
(Fig. 6.57) Remains of the bartizan near the north rampart wall.



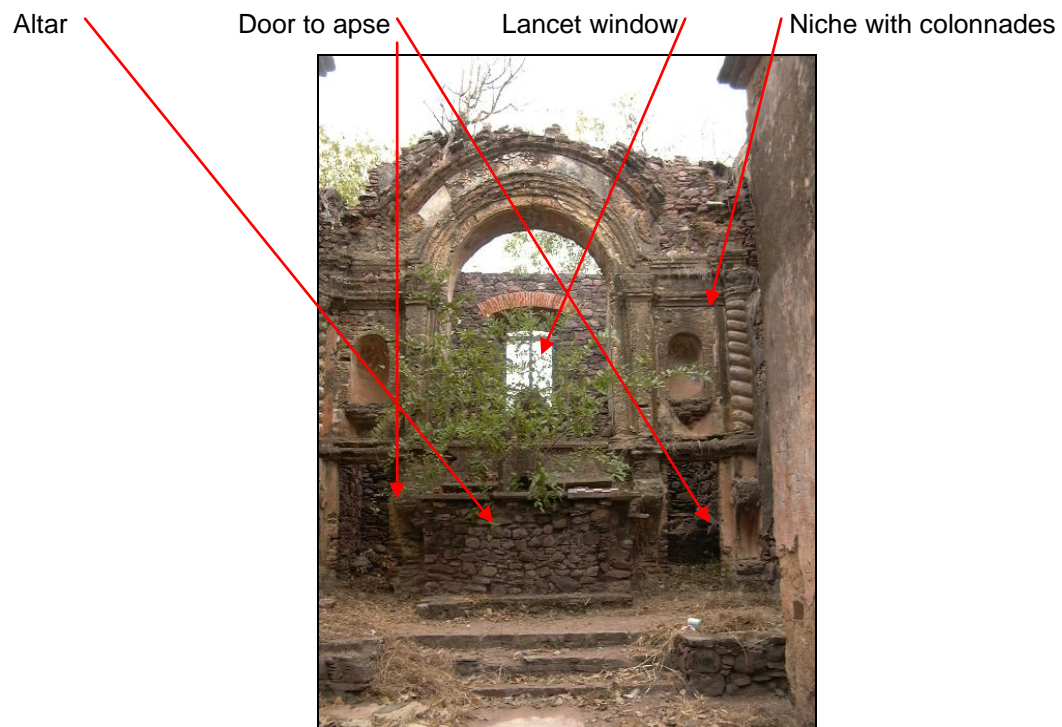
(Fig. 6.58) The ruins of the *Nossa Senhora do Rosário* Church (Ruin 2).



(Fig. 6.59) General aspect of the front of the church viewed from the main entrance door, with arched niches and a *mulemba* tree growing on the wall.



(Fig. 6.60) Floor plan of the *Nossa Senhora do Rosário* Church.



(Fig.6.61) The sanctuary.



(Fig. 6.62) Niche with colonnades.



(Fig. 6.63) East wall niche.



(Fig. 6.64) The interior of the *Nossa Senhora da Nazaré* Church (1664) showing similarities in niche design and general layout of sanctuary. This design is very common in all early period Portuguese churches including Mozambique (Angola Travel Magazine, [file:///E:/Luanda photos.htm](file:///E:/Luanda%20photos.htm)).

The inscription is translated as:

“Here rest
the mortal remains
of
Antonio de Moura Soares e Andrade
who was born on 12 October 1786
and died in 2 May 1846
was married
To
Donna Mathilde da Silva Teixeira
It is as a gesture of gratitude
and mourning
that this gravestone is erected
for his eternal memory”



(Fig.6.65) Gravestone
in front of the sanctuary.

The name of the person buried here is not found in historical texts, but he was obviously a prominent member of frontier society. The man buried in this grave is a contemporary of the person who ordered the fort gate arch to be built. It can be inferred from the inscription on the gravestone that the church was still in use during the middle of the nineteenth century.

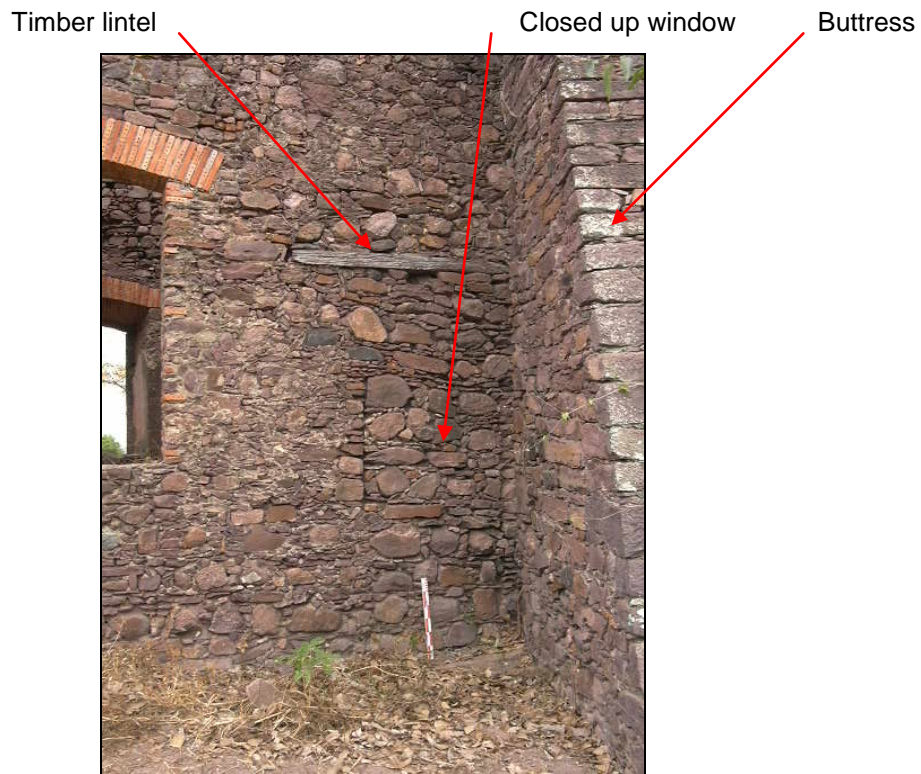
A few modifications to the church structure are noted. The isolated room on the northeast corner of the church is partially collapsed and the stones of the external walls do not interlink with the original stones of the church walls. The thicknesses of the room walls are thinner (750 mm) than the overall thickness of the church exterior walls (1.3 metres). These factors suggest that the room is an addition added on sometime after the church structure was completed. The door opening in the nave facing east that is closed up adjacent to the room is unusually very close to the wall of the added room, reinforcing the argument that the room is a later added structure (Fig. 6.66). The closed-up window in the



(Fig.6.66) 'Bricked up' doorway through the wall east of the nave.

sanctuary facing east adjacent to the buttress is clearly visible with a timber lintel beam still imbedded in the stonework (Fig. 6.67). The two rooms on the west side of the church also appear to have been added at a later date (Fig. 6.68). This is suggested by the sanctuary west window opening onto the south room and by one of the nave western doors leading into the north room. The southern section of the south room has collapsed and both rooms lost their roof some time since the 1960s, as evidenced by an aerial photograph taken at that time (Fig. 6.50).

The internal plaster works in the ornate niches and recesses are preserved while the plaster work on internal straight walls has not been preserved. This may indicate that a different kind of plaster was used for the more delicate work. No fragment of wall tile was found that could cover the walls as is the case in later period churches like at the *Nossa Senhora da Nazaré* church (1664) in Luanda. The plaster on the exterior walls also did not preserve except in patches. The shell content of the plaster work in the reveal of the door leading into the northeast extension room was briefly analysed on site to establish the source of



(Fig. 6.67) Closed-up window through the east wall in the sanctuary.

the plaster material. Freshwater mollusc such as the bivalve *Mutela wistarmorrisi* (Unionoida) occurs in the Kwanza River, but is not well known. (Graf and Cummings, 2006: 163-194). This mollusc would, however, not occur in sufficient numbers to be exploited for plaster and construction mortar. The shell fragments in the section of wall analysed seem to rather originate from marine mussels such as of the *Mytilidae* family (Kilburn and Rippey, 1982: 158). The fragments were too small to make a positive species identification. It is more likely that the shells for the plaster and mortar were transported to the site from the sea via the Kwanza River. The 1.3 metre wide walls seem to be very thick for a building of this nature and it may result from the church being built within a fort.



(Fig.6.68) Doors of the west side partly collapsed room extension.

The design of the church seems to lack the Baroque type of window at the front façade which is present in most other early colonial period churches. The reveals of windows and doors are curved, as is the case in the architecture of Massangano and Calumbo. A number of the lintels in the church have been replaced in recent times which appear to be the original shape as deduced from the closed up door in Fig. 6.66. The internal design of the church seems to be similar to the church in Massangano, but smaller in scale. Yet the décor of *Nossa Senhora do Rosário* is comparatively more opulent, on a grander scale than the other early colonial period churches. Although the church dominates the inner space of the fort, the two structures cannot be distinguished from each other in the general landscape. The cross and the sword were indeed inseparable.

Ruin 3 appears to be an official building judging from its wide arched front entrance with 1 metre thick stone walls (Fig. 6.69). The building is situated 2.75 metres away from the west rampart wall with four separate rooms of which the extremity rooms have windows facing the interior of the fort (Fig.

6.70). The front door leads into two smaller rooms situated in the centre of the building. The floor of the building is covered in debris and stones from the partially collapsed walls with the result that it could not be investigated for possible clues as to the function of the structure. The most significant evidence for the dating of the



(Fig. 6.69) Arched entrance door of Ruin 3.



(Fig. 6.70) Ruin 3 building with buttresses.

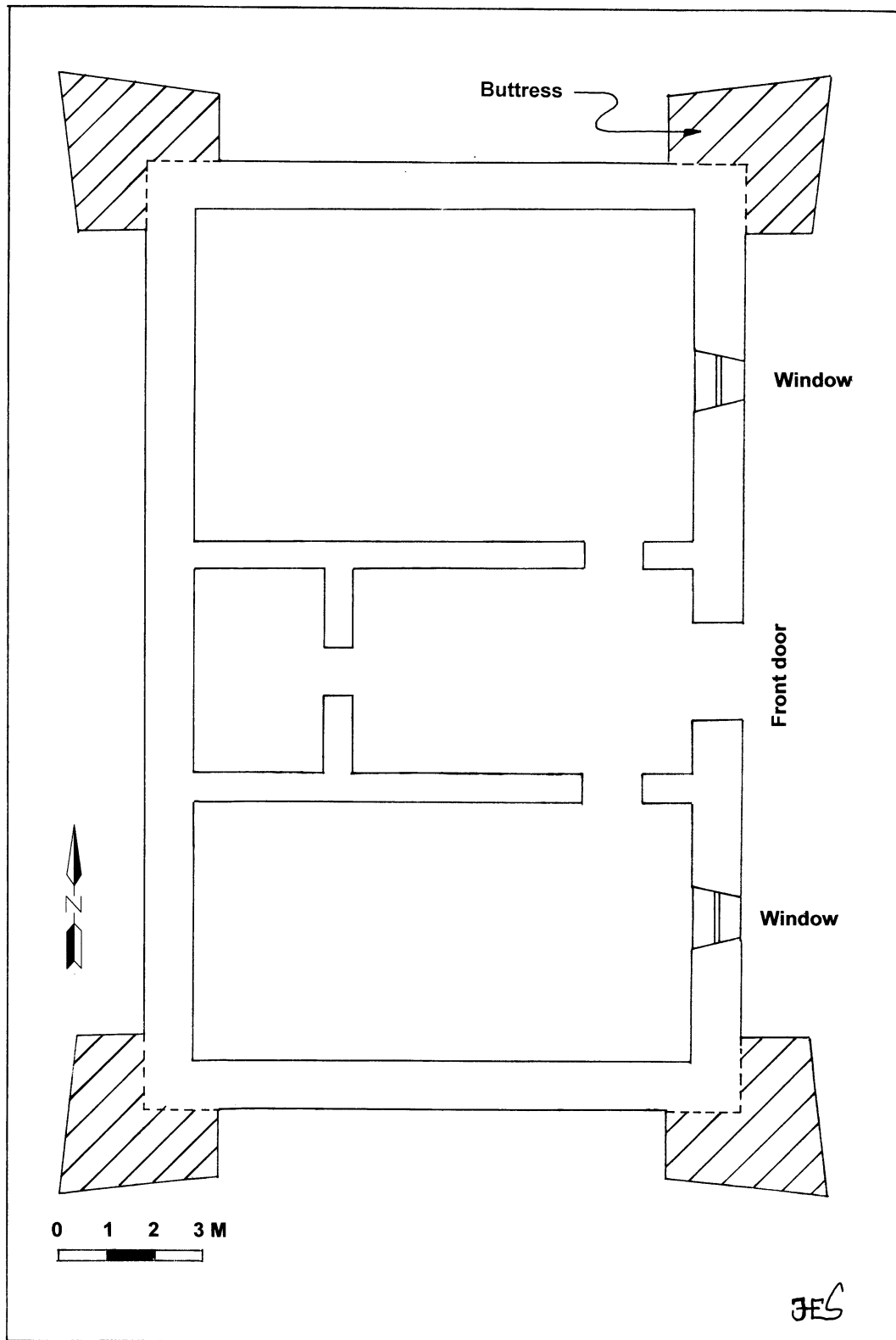
building is the fragments of roof tiles incorporated into the walls of the structure. These roof tile fragments are placed into the wall structure like the shale is used in horizontal layers interspersed with rows of sandstone material. The roof tiles are thus used intermediately with mudstone shale. It was a construction method mirrored in the Municipal Office building at Massangano post-dating 1646. Not a single roof tile fragment was found on site that could suggest that the church roof was composed of tiles and therefore these tile fragments may have originated from the surplus of that structure. That is to say, if the two buildings were contemporary. The incorporation of roof tiles in the construction of walls thus appears to have been introduced into the fort at a later date and may indicate a construction date around 1646 (Fig. 6.71).

Ruin 4 has very few parts of the walls still standing as most of the walls have collapsed (Fig. 6.72). The rectangular structure is oriented along an east/west line and consists of two rooms, the western room being at least twice the

length of the eastern room. The function of the building could not be ascertained by a visual inspection. It is however inferred, from the proximity of the structure to the northeast bastion of the fort, that it was constructed after it no longer mattered whether the building obstructed the field of fire for artillery in the northeast bastion (Fig. 6.73). It is thus deduced that Ruin 4 may have been constructed after the fort was made redundant, possibly after the threat of attack was eliminated.

Ruin 5 as previously mentioned may have been a warehouse complex according to an inscribed plaque found at the fort dating the structure to the eighteenth century. A second plaque was also found that names the church. The extent of the building ruin complex, considered together with the ordinary layout of the remaining walls, suggests that the structure could not have supported a single roof. The warehouse most likely consisted of a number of closely integrated buildings possibly forming a storage complex (Figs. 6.74, 6.75 & 6.76). This assumes that the complex was a warehouse as declared by the plaque. The eastern wall of the warehouse complex incorporates fragments of roof tiles (Fig. 6.77) identical to the construction method of the Massangano Municipal Office building and the Cambambe Ruin 3 structure inside the fort. Thus the three structures appear to be contemporary with each other. This raises the question of whether the Municipal building in Massangano was constructed during the seventeenth century or the eighteenth century. Alternatively the Cambambe buildings incorporating roof tiles in the wall construction are dated to the middle of the seventeenth century.

Ruin 6 is an isolated building that was only briefly investigated and recorded and is most likely associated with a later period. Little information could be deduced on site for this structure.



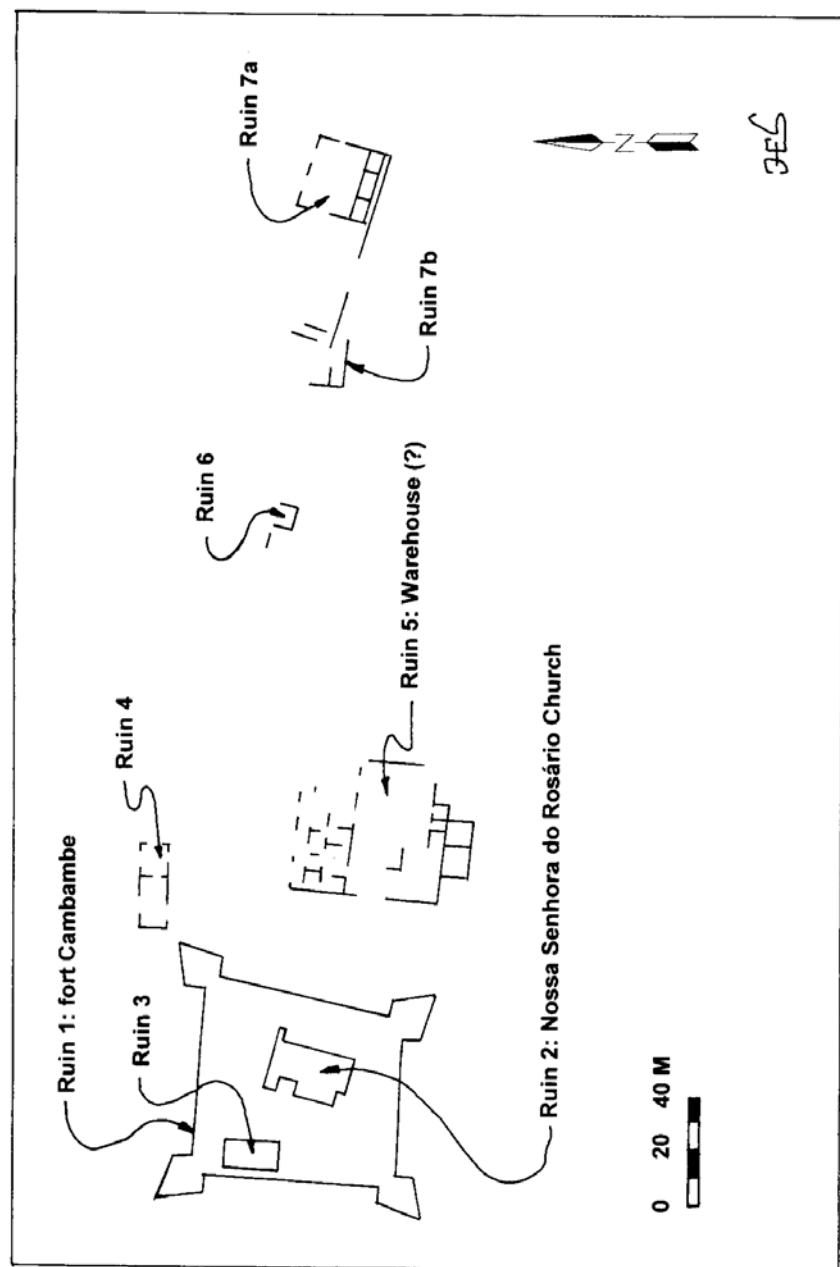
(Fig. 6.71) Floor plan of Ruin 3 building.

Kwanza River



(Fig. 6.72) Remains of Ruin 4 building with the Kwanza River in the distance.

Ruin 7a with the pinnacle symbol (Fig. 6.78) dominating the entrance may have been a convent as commented by David Livingstone at Massangano. Ruin 3 at Massangano is very similar to Ruin 7a at Cambambe in that both have large pinnacles at the entrances, a veranda at the front of the building, arched doorways (Fig. 6.79) and several rooms. The ornate window sill (Fig. 6.80) suggests that the building interior may have been lavishly decorated. The floor of the ruin is covered with stones from the collapsed walls which covered any potential artefacts that could possibly allude to the function of the structure. The date of origin of the ruin could not be established positively and the function could only be attributed to a possible religious purpose. The association between the Massangano Ruin 3 and the Cambambe Ruin 7a is left for future research.



(Fig. 6.73) Aerial view drawing of the building ruins at Cambambe.

Ruin 7b consists of a few straight, low wall remains forming ninety degree angles alluding to the presence of a building ruin. No investigation was possible as excavation at the site was not an option.



(Fig. 6.74) Satellite image of the fort with associated Ruins 4 and 5.

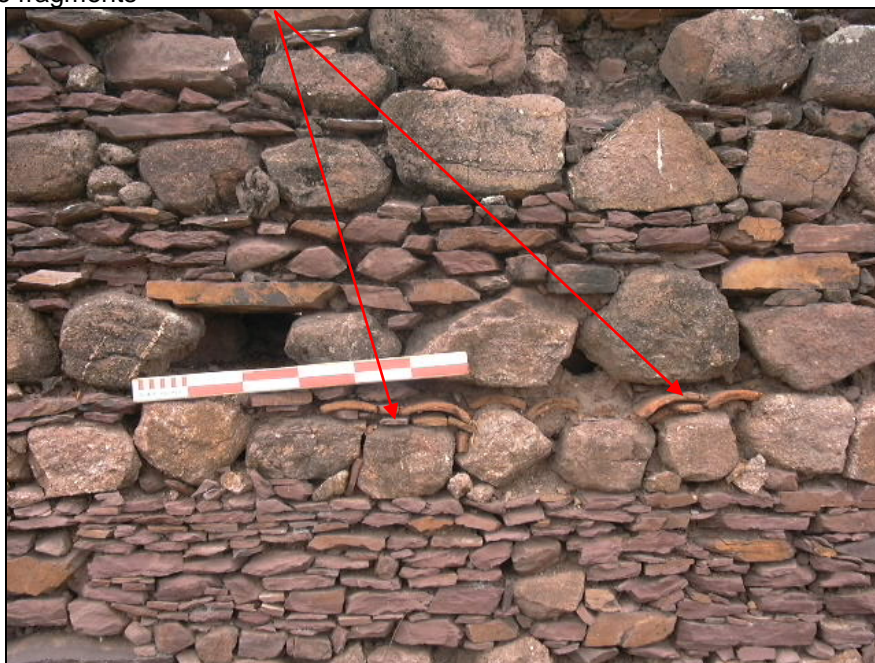


(Fig. 6.75) South wall of Ruin 5.



(Fig. 6.76) East wall of Ruin 5.

Roof tile fragments



(Fig. 6.77) Roof tile fragment detail in east wall of Ruin 5.



(Fig. 6.78) The equilateral pyramid on the verandah of Ruin 7a.



(Fig. 6.79) Remains of the arched door in Ruin 7a.



(Fig. 6.80) Ornate window sill in Ruin 7a.

Table 6.1: Site survey along the Kwanza River

Location name	Site name	Approximate distance in kilometers from Luanda	Geographic coordinates	Type	State of conservation
Santa Cruz (Now Tombo)	Santa Cruz	29	09° 10' S, 013° 14' E	Settlement	NO STRUCTURES
Calumbo	São José De Calumbo	48	09° 09' S, 013° 28' E	Church	GOOD
Muxima	Fortaleza Da Muxima	173	09° 31' S, 013° 57' E	Fort	FAIR
Muxima	Nossa Senhora Da Muxima	173	09° 31' S, 013° 57' E	Church	GOOD
Massangano	Fortaleza De Massangano	190	09° 38' S, 014° 16' E	Fort	POOR
Massangano	Nossa Senhora Da Victoria	190	09° 38' S, 014° 16' E	Church	POOR
Dondo	Vila Do Dondo	192	09° 40' S, 014° 25' E	Settlement	POOR
Cambambe	Fortaleza De Cambambe	201	09° 44' S, 014° 21' E	Fort	RUINS
Cambambe	Nossa Senhora Do Rosario	201	09° 44' S, 014° 21' E	Church	RUINS
Pungo-A-Ndongo	Mbanza N'dongo	295	09° 39' S, 015° 35' E	Royal city	UNKNOWN

CHAPTER 7

PUNGU-A-NDONGO

Archaeological fieldwork and survey results

7.1 CHAPTER OUTLINE

The chapter explores the location of the Mundongo Royal city and its physical layout. The structure of the city is described in some detail, including religious relics used in social rituals. The scope of the chapter particularly incorporates the significance of Cabassa as the symbolic space of the living and Kakulu as the symbolic space of the dead. The socio-cultural system of the Mundongo, in association with their cosmological belief system, is utilised to formulate a strategy for searching for the archaeological remains of a Royal city.

7.2 THE N'GOLA ROYAL CITY

The royal city of Pungu-a-Ndongo is situated within a geological formation composed of what seemed to be an upwelling of very large basalt boulders forming a maze at the earth's surface. The formation viewed with satellite imagery resembles a mosaic tapestry, measuring approximately 12 x 6 kilometres in extent, among which the N'gola fortified himself in his *Mbánzà à Ndòngò* (Fig. 7.1). The giant boulders, also known as *Pedras Negras*, are located at 09° 39' S, 015° 35' E. This is where Paulo Dias de Novais and his companions were presumably taken prisoners by the N'gola in 1560 during their first voyage. The location is also referred to as Kabassa by the Mundongo but a polemic arises in that this place name has been associated with numerous different geographical locations throughout early colonial history. Padre Francisco de Gouveia, who was incarcerated with Paulo Dias de Novais at Pungu-a-Ndongo, vividly describes in a letter to his superiors in Lisbon, dated 1564, how the royal city burned down to the ground. He further stated that the Kabassa where the N'gola resided at the time is called Angoleme (do Amaral, 1996: 205). Angoleme is recorded to have had 5000 to 6000 huts (Coelho, 1998/1999: 207). Historical texts name Pungu-a-Ndongo

as the royal city where the Portuguese emissaries were held captive.

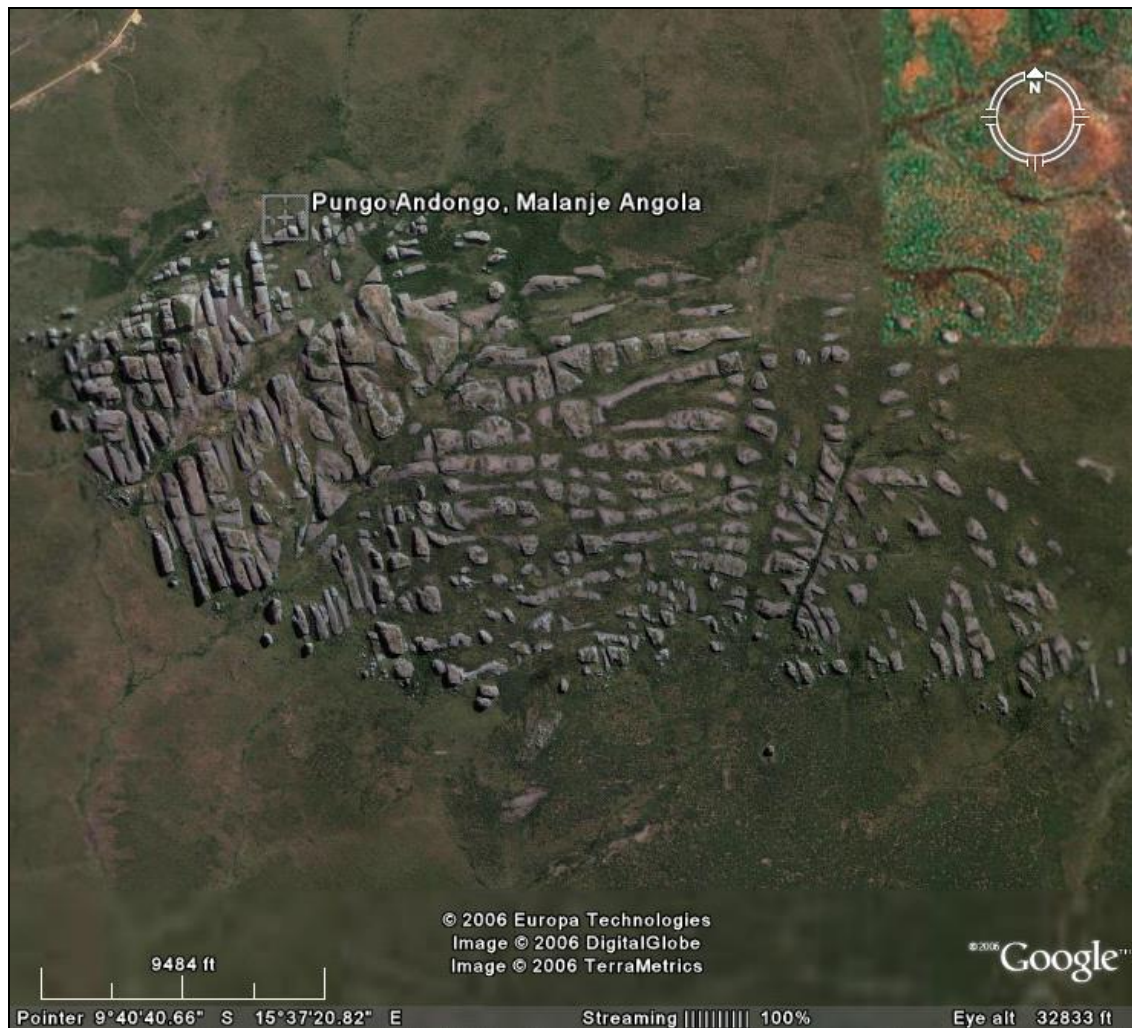
7.3 KABASSA

The question that arises is where Kabassa was actually situated in relation to the geographical location of Pungu-a-Ndongo. Where is Kabassa? The question is pertinent to the archaeological survey and investigation of the Mundongo royal city (Coelho, 1998/1999, 172-174; do Amaral, 1996: 176; Paias, 1949: 53).

The answer to the question is entwined in anthropological interpretation, the meaning of socio-cultural space and symbolic space. The fundamental concept is that the Mundongo sovereign or N'gola in context with his cosmological universe exists at the centre of his world. His royal city was therefore found wherever the N'gola is at any given time regardless of his geographic location. The N'gola does not have a fixed residence within Mundongo social structure.

The social structure in the sovereign's world is divided into two separate symbolic spaces, that which pertains to the space of the dead designated Kakulu (*kákùlù*), and the symbolic space of the living designated Kabassa (*Kábàsà*).

Kabassa, as the symbolic space of the living, is materialised in political, judiciary and other social activities. It is the space where the N'gola interacts with his subjects and strangers. Kakulu, as the symbolic space of the dead, represents sacred space dominated by the world of the dead ancestors. The world of the dead is materialised in specific places, such as the Ndongo temple within the royal city and the royal cemetery. State relics are kept in a box (*músètù*) in the temple where the skulls of deceased N'golas were placed as ancestral symbols of power. The sceptre of chieftainship (*kílùngà*) is also kept here among other relics. The dual scheme of Kakulu and Kabassa



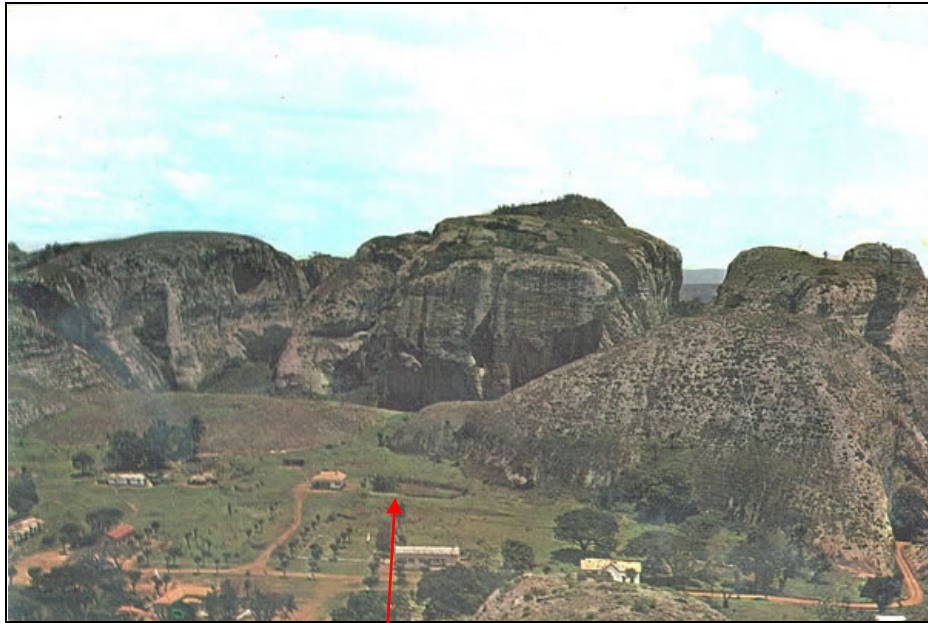
(Fig. 7.1) Satellite image of *Pedras Negras* and the location of Pungo-a-Ndongo where Paulo Dias de Novais and his companions may have been incarcerated in 1560.

connected the extremities of the symbolic spaces together with the centre. Wherever the N'gola is, he always reigned from the centre of the world (Coelho, 1998/1999: 122, 123). It is envisaged that when the Portuguese asked the local indigenous population where the N'gola was, the inevitable answer was always Kabassa, regardless of the geographical whereabouts of the sovereign. The Portuguese, however, accepted that Kabassa was a geographical location and even marked the place name on topographical maps. Thus the royal city of Pungo-a-Ndongo may have been the location where Paulo Dias de Novais and his companions were initially incarcerated, but they did not remain there. The location of the royal city at *Pedras Negras* is the Kabassa where the N'gola received the Portuguese delegation at the

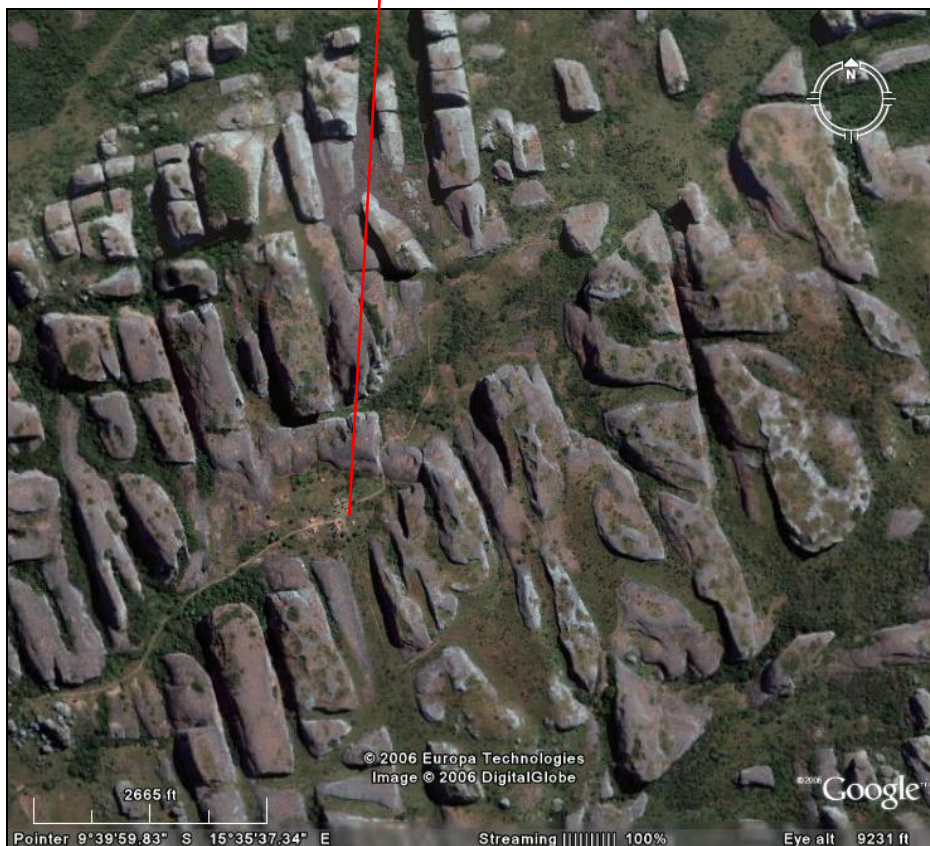
time (Fig. 7.2). The Portuguese captives were thereafter moved along with the N'gola entourage as he moved from one Kabassa to the next. The account of Padre Francisco de Gouveia that the Kabassa burned down when it was situated at Angoleme explains that the royal city had moved from its former location. The place names of Dondo and Dongo seem to have been used intermittently by the Portuguese to denote the same location. This may indicate that Dondo may have previously been the location of a royal city. The royal city is not situated in one place as it periodically moved from one geographic location to another. Relocation is made possible by the city being constructed from natural, perishable materials and is not a permanent structure built in stone. Physical features such as hut floors and refuse dumps were probably left *in situ* whenever Kabassa was relocated and in time became buried underground through natural processes.

7.4 A FUTURE SEARCH FOR A ROYAL CITY: WHAT TO LOOK FOR

The archaeological manifestation of the spatial arrangement regarding Kakulu and Kabassa may be found within the buried remains of the royal city. The social structure of Mundongo society and the concept of dual symbolic space with its physical manifestations offer clues for the future archaeological search and excavation of Kabassa. Historical accounts written by eyewitnesses who visited Kabassa are leads to what may be sought at a potential site of the settlement. Historical descriptions of the layout of Kabassa are recorded by Coelho (1998/1999) where the royal city of Queen Jinga at Matamba is described as being circular. The outer palisade of her royal city was constructed from palm fronds and woven mats. The palisade was of sufficient height to protect the inhabitants from wild animals and had for that reason to be renewed annually as it was constructed of perishable material. An inner



Close-up detail of area.



(Fig. 7.2) The massive black boulders around Pungu-a-Ndongo.

circular palisade was built within the first outer circle of a slightly stronger material that included thorn tree branches. The inner entrance was not directly in front of the outer entrance but to the right of the outer entrance viewed from outside in. The inner circle contained a labyrinth of round huts made from grass with conical roofs and winding passageways in between the three hundred dwellings. An open courtyard was located within the labyrinth with the quarters of the queen on the rim of the opening and the other huts forming a semi-circle around the queen's hut. The houses of the common people were as tall as a man with no window and one small door through which only a seven-year-old child could walk without bending down. The small dimension of the doorway enabled the resident to defend the house from the inside from wild animals and enemies. The house of the queen was the same as the others except that it was four times bigger (Coelho, 1998/1999: 194-198). In the case of a male N'gola, 300 to 400 wives and their children had to be accommodated (Coelho, 1998/1999: 205).

A reference was made in a 1563 text to a large house in the city that had two doors that were guarded. One door was used exclusively as an entrance while the other door served exclusively as an exit. The entrance led to a patio with large, shady trees with ample space for social, judiciary and political activities. The trees were most likely to have been *mulemba* trees (*Ficus* spp.) that are attributed with connecting the living with the dead. It was a reception space where the N'gola received audiences from his own subjects as well as strangers. The area was adorned with decorated woven reed mats and with great columns of tree trunks. A cultural function of the patio was also to lay the body of a deceased N'gola in state before proceeding with the final burial ceremony (Coelho, 1988/1999: 198, 199).

The most elevated position in the religious system of the Mundongo was occupied by their ancestors. The N'gola was deified as well as dignitaries in the higher echelons of the political and social hierarchy. The expression of emotion like crying was not permitted during the burial ceremonies of such high dignitaries by pain of serious punishment. Music was rather played in public places using instruments such as trumpets made of animal horns,

particularly ivory elephant tusks. The skull of the N'gola was not buried with the postcranial body as it was removed, defleshed and treated for storage in a box as a symbol of power. The bodies of the N'golas were buried in a royal cemetery, place of permanence (...*kùlù*) of the ancestors (*ákùlù*). The space occupied by the royal cemetery was known as *kákùlù* (Coelho, 1998/1999: 200, 201). Thus *kakulu* was associated with the dead (ancestors) and power (skull of deceased N'gola, royal cemetery, etc.) that existed within Kabassa with a sacred dimension that linked the two symbolic spaces in the Mundongo belief system. That sacred dimension was known as *ndóngó*, the name by which the kingdom was known. The ancestors were consulted by a shaman through the intermediacy of gods that inhabited Ndongo. This was accomplished at the temple or house of the ancestors and the place of the spirits or through idols (Coelho, 1998/1999: 204). These were the idols that the Portuguese *conquistadores* and the Jesuit priests destroyed and replaced with the Christian cross.

A ground survey at Pungu-a-Ndongo was not conducted due to the potential risk of landmines restricting research to aerial satellite imagery. However, the information that may be gleaned from the cultural belief of Kabassa and Kakulu, together with the physical descriptions of the royal city, may be summarised as a guide. Such a guide, as summarised below, may be used for a possible future search and eventual excavation of the Mundongo cities even though the data are scant:

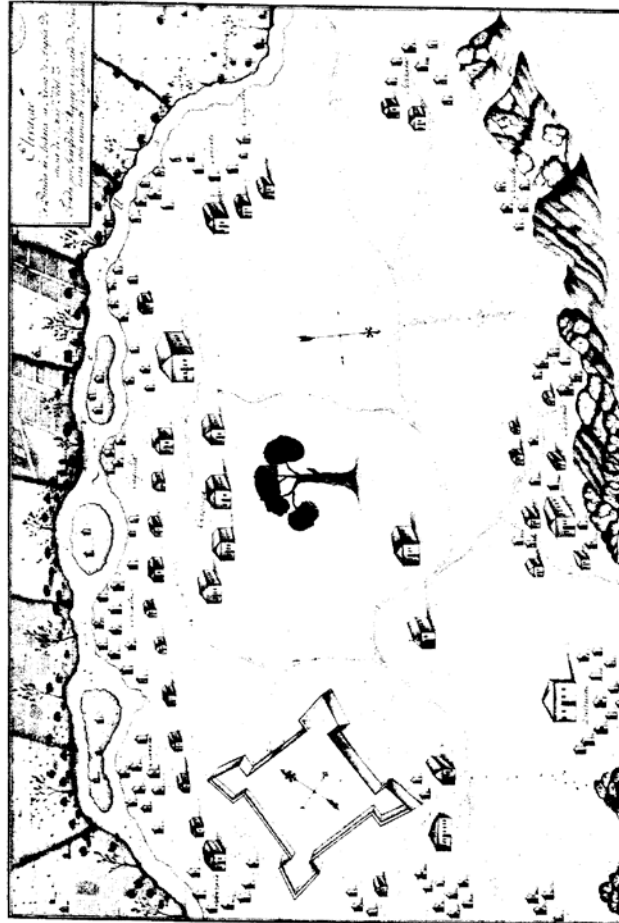
- The extent of the royal city may include 5 000 to 6 000 huts. This is a large space.
- At least one of the royal cities was totally destroyed by fire (Angoleme).
- There are a number of royal cities. A search would therefore not be restricted to only one geographical location.
- The city may contain a royal cemetery where an N'gola and/or senior dignitaries are buried associated with a structure known as a temple.
- A postcranial skeleton without a skull buried in the royal cemetery may belong to an N'gola.

- Individual skulls found within an archaeological context in the city may belong to N'golas.
- The sceptre of authority as material culture may be an important find to identify a royal city.
- The city would have a circular outer and an inner palisade fence.
- A larger hut/s compared with smaller common huts may be the dwelling of an N'gola.
- A hut with two entrances and an associated patio may be an official social gathering space, particularly if *mulemba* trees are present.
- Musical instruments, such as ivory trumpets, may be instruments used at an N'gola's funeral.
- Idols may indicate where shamans may have invoked the spirits of the ancestors. This may, however, not necessarily indicate a royal city.
- Possibly the most visual clue to the presence of a royal city may be a stand of *mulemba* trees around which other archaeological clues could be sought. The search focus would thus be for these trees, particularly in an otherwise featureless landscape.

7.5 THE MÚLÈMBA TREE

The *múlèmbà* tree, one species of which has been identified as *Ficus psilopoga* (Tavares & Santos, 2000: 258), is a religious symbol to the Mundongo. Some trees of this genus are known to live for hundreds of years and to grow up to 40 metres in height (Palgrave, 1983: 102-120). Roots of the tree were carried by the shamans, also referred to as the “Lords of the earth”, for planting in new locations where they settled. This included the spot where a new royal city was erected. The tree, as the symbol and link between the realm of the dead and the living, served to contact the gods of the new location and was planted in the centre of every settlement (Coelho, 1998/1999: 187). This is well illustrated in a nineteenth-century drawing of Fort Ambaca (1614) built on the margins of a Mundongo settlement (09° 18' S, 014° 55' E) (Paías, 1949:77). The illustration shows fort Ambaca and the settlement on the northern bank of the Lucala River with a *mulemba* tree

growing in the centre of the settlement (Tavares & Santos, 2000: 258) (Fig. 7.3). It is perhaps ironic that a number of *mulemba* trees today grow on the walls of the ruins of the *Nossa Senhora do Rosário* church at Cambambe.



(Fig. 7.3) Nineteenth-century drawing of Fort Ambaca (1614) on the bank of the Lucala River with a *mulemba* tree growing in the centre of the settlement.

CHAPTER 8

COLONIAL ICONOGRAPHY AND EUROCENTRICISM

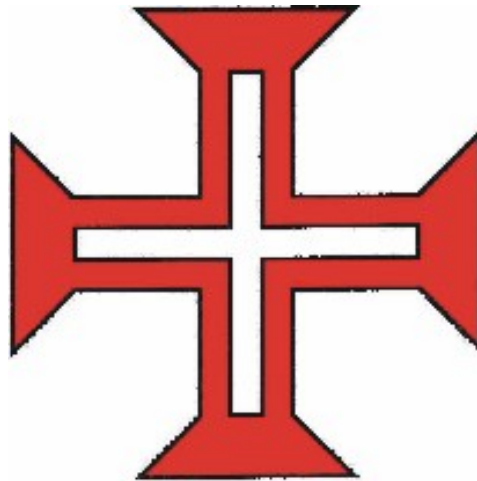
8.1 CHAPTER OUTLINE

The scope of this chapter is to collate aspects of colonial symbolism from all previous chapters (excluding Chapter 7) into a single chapter. Such symbolism includes a background explanation of the cross of the Order of Christ, the meaning of the *padrão*, and explains religious icons that occur in colonial architecture. Eurocentrism and triumphalism are discussed in terms of their origins and Christian doctrine. The appropriation of land by the post-colonial model of *terra nullius*, which provides an ideological justification for the dispossession of land supported by the papal Bulls decreed by incumbent popes, is discussed.

8.2 THE CROSS OF THE ORDER OF CHRIST

The cross of the Order of Christ emblazoned on the sails of the discovery fleet of Prince Henry the navigator is a slight modification of the Knights Templar cross. The Order of Christ emblem is a blood-red cross with arms of equal length flared out at the ends, forming an octagon shape at the outer extremity (Fig. 8.1). This basic design of an octagon is kept from the Maltese cross emblem of the Knights Templar. The eight points or sides of both crosses signify the eight qualities of a knight and are symbolically based on the floor plan of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem (Liungman, 2006: 28: 34). The eight-sided chapel is an architectural design of the Templars that was introduced to some Portuguese colonies in Africa and beyond by the Order of Christ. The São José de Calumbo Church (1577) on the banks of the Kwanza River still bears the cross of the Order of Christ above its gable. The original church of *Nossa Senhora da Muxima* (1595) (Paías, 1949: 91) at Muxima bore the cross of the Order of the Teutonic Knights above its gable which is also known as the 'Portuguese cross'. The *Nossa Senhora da Nazaré* Church (1664) in Luanda as well as the *Nossa Senhora do Cabo* Church (1669) still displays the cross of the Teutonic Knights on top of their gables. This cross is

a symbol on the standard of the Grand Master of the Order of the Teutonic crusaders used in the battle of Grünwald-Tannenberg in 1410. It was a commonly used symbol on crusader knight coat of arms during the Middle Ages in Europe (Liungman, 2006).



(Fig. 8.1) The Order of Christ cross that was emblazoned on the sails of the Portuguese discovery fleet (<http://www.crwflags.com>).

8.3 THE *PADRÃO*: SYMBOL IN STONE

The *padrões* that Cão erected ashore on his first voyage may be the most symbolically significant material culture that characterised the future socio-political history of the region. The stone marker or *padrão* was erected for the first time in foreign soil by the Portuguese on the banks of the Congo River. In general, such a stone marker was about 2.5 metres long with a circular middle shaft about half a metre in diameter. The circular shaft supported a square or rectangular block or 'head' about half a metre in height with two opposite faces which were inscribed. The one face usually showed the Portuguese or the reigning king's coat of arms while the opposite face had inscriptions in Gothic characters abbreviated in the Roman style. Some original 'heads' were inscribed on all faces with a cross of the Order of Christ mounted on top. The bases of the markers were buried along the coast leaving the shaft and the 'head' exposed in an upright position (Cordeiro, 1892: 67).

Diogo Cão placed a total of four *padrões* during his first voyage as follows:

First: *Padrão* named São Jorge positioned at 6°6' south latitude.

Second: *Padrão* named Santo Agostinho positioned at 13°27'15" south latitude.

Third: *Padrão* at Cabo Negro positioned at 15°40'30" south latitude.

Fourth: *Padrão* at Cape Cross (Namibia) positioned at 21°48'0" south latitude.

These *padrões* remained *in situ* for some time and were later replaced with substitutes due to weathering or destruction by human agency (Cordeiro, n.d., 885-894; Cordeiro, 1892: 69-71; Cordeiro, 1936:255-262; Tavares, 1936: 15, 16). Although the markers were intended to warn off other European nations, their erection symbolised the domination and appropriation of the landscape by imposing Portuguese sovereignty and political power.

8.4 THE MEANING IN THE STONE

The stone markers, first erected on the African littoral at the mouth of the Congo River around 1482/4 by Diogo Cão, were symbols of domination in the landscape. The *Padrão* of Santo Agostinho inscription stated that “the Prince King D. João the second of Portugal ordered the discovery of this land, and places this *padrão* by Diogo Cão, knight of his court”. The title of Prince preceding the title of king may refer to the authority of the Pope or *auctoritas principis*, who bestowed legitimacy on the Portuguese conquests. Erecting the *padrão* on land effectively executed the will of God by granting Portugal sovereignty over that land and enslaving the population; Diogo Cão was a legitimate executor of that will. The *padrão* symbolised Portuguese imperialism as manifested by the papal bull *Romanus Pontifex* and the intention was to exercise sovereignty and political power. The *padrão* symbolised the Portuguese international right to sovereignty as decreed by God through the papal bulls. Attested by the cross and the Lusitanian royal coat of arms, the Portuguese were “fighting for the Christian faith that they wished to see the savage Africans embrace” (Tavares, 1936: 8). The *padrão* was a symbol of domination, and the word discovery was synonymous with

the word conquest (Tavares 1936: 9, 15-17). The marker was also intended to warn off other European powers. The *padrão* as part of Lusitanian cultural material was perceived differently by the local population.

It was said by the local indigenous population in 1852 that the substitute São Jorge stone pillar had been fragmented by English bullets. The remains were kept buried in a revered place in the bush as they had supernatural powers or 'magic of the Whites'. Apparently an English steamship arrived a long time ago (specific date not mentioned) and used the stone marker for target practice. The target was hit, reducing it into fragments some of which were collected by the sailors. On returning to the steamship with the pieces, the dinghy overturned, dropping the *padrão* remains to the bottom of the sea together with the six or eight sailors. The informants told the story with reverence saying that it was punishment from God for destroying the monument. The stone fragments still maintained their powerful magic. The Portuguese conquerors were perceived to be beings of power and that power attached itself to their material culture through social connections (Gosden 2004: 20). The *padrão* as material culture was thus imbued with magic power. In the same manner, when James Cook (1728-1779) and his fellow Europeans arrived in Hawaii, they were perceived within the Hawaiian traditional framework to have *mana*. Conflict between European and Hawaiian traditional perceptions resulted when Cook was killed transferring *mana* to everything that was British (Hodder & Hutson 2003).

8.5 FORT SÃO MIGUEL

A scene of a white and blue wall tile panel in Fort *São Miguel* that may have represented the baptism of N'gola Nzinga Mbandi (1622) shows three figures on a cloud surrounded by cherubs. One figure is assumed to be Jesus and the other his mother Mary, both with standard round halos above their heads. The third figure is a seated bearded man with a halo above his head shaped in a triangle (Fig. 8.2).

Symbols have many different meanings to different people (e.g. Jungian psychologists and freemasons) and in different ideographic systems. The equilateral triangle pointing upwards in Christian symbolism is associated with holiness, divinity or divine power and the Holy Trinity (number 3) (Liungman, 2006). This iconography is also associated with early colonial churches as well as various other buildings as integral components of the architectural design. Triangles appear in the shape of four-sided pyramids or cones, sometimes with added ornamental features. The symbolic equilateral triangle occurs throughout the study area, throughout the study period, and is a diagnostic symbol of the colonial period in Luanda. Fort Massangano had two such iconographic features on either side of the fort entrance gate, indicating that the symbol is not restricted to religious buildings but that it confers a religious association to any other structure. The close association between the cross and the sword is again exemplified.

8.6 NOSSA SENHORA DO CABO CHURCH

The church exhibited the crusading cross of the Teutonic Knights (Figs. 8.3a & 8.3b) and a number of equilateral triangles (Fig. 8.4) as exterior architectural features. Equilateral triangles were also a feature of the architectural design at the *Nossa Senhora da Nazaré* Church in Luanda (Fig. 8.5). Decorative vine-like motifs above the main entrance and around the arch separating the sanctuary from the chancel may symbolise thorns, in which case the iconography may have represented the crown of thorns of the crucifixion (Fig. 8.6). Similar features

Triangular halo



(Fig. 8.2) Three figures on a cloud with differently shaped halos of which one is in the form of a triangle, symbol of the trinity.

decorate the *Nossa Senhora da Muxima* Church at Muxima. Symbolic anchors decorate the walls on either side of the lectern (Fig.8.7). Anchor crosses are Egyptian in origin and were used by early Christians in the Catacombs (Liungman, 2006).

8.7 SÃO JOSÉ DE CALUMBO CHURCH

The architectural similarities between the church at Calumbo and other early colonial period churches may have been more noteworthy than the differences. There are architectural features on this church that are common to most other early colonial period churches. These consisted mainly of symbolic decorative features such as the pinnacles at the end of the front façade gables. These are the typical pyramid shapes that also occur above



(Fig. 8.3a) Teutonic Knights cross on church gable apex.

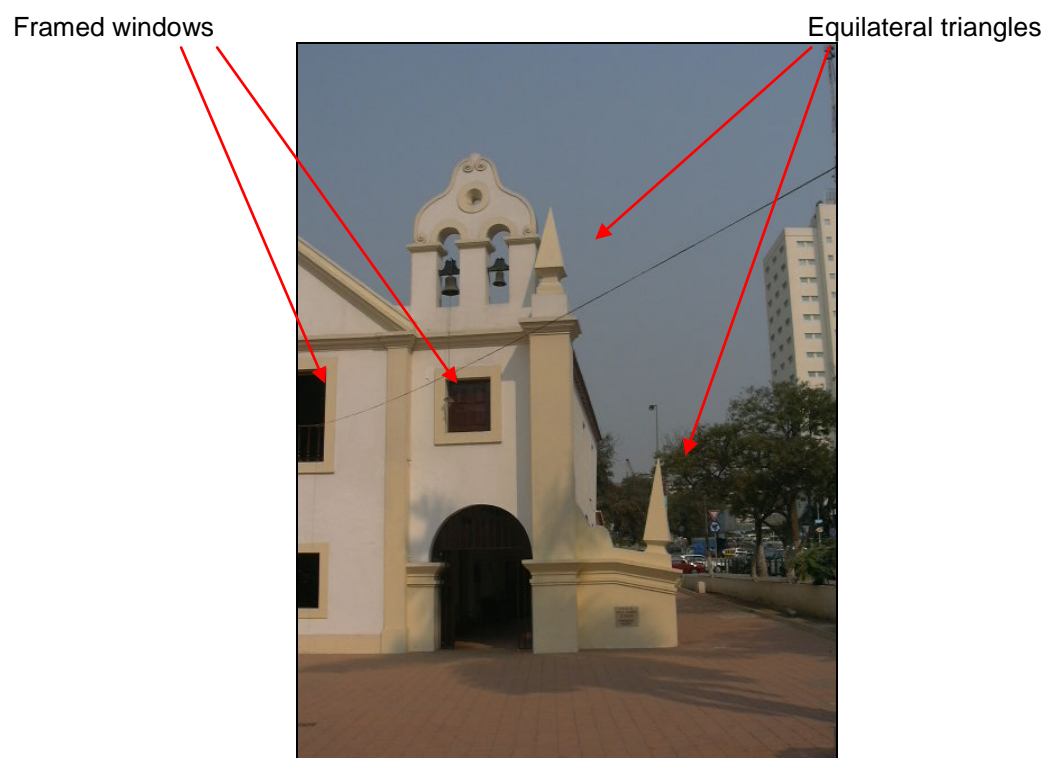


Crown of thorns iconography

(Fig. 8.3b) Teutonic Knights cross at the apex of the triangular motif above the front entrance door.



(Fig. 8.4) Front entrance of church with religious symbolic motifs.



(Fig. 8.5) *Nossa Senhora da Nazaré* Church equilateral triangles.

Crown of thorns symbolism



(Fig. 8.6) *Nossa Senhora do Cabo* Church sanctuary with iconography that may represent the crown of thorns worn by Jesus in Christian symbolism.

Anchor crosses



(Fig. 8.7) *Nossa Senhora do Cabo* Church with anchor crosses on lateral walls.

the fort entrance at Massangano and the *Nossa Senhora do Cabo* church. The raised decorative motifs above the windows and doors of the church are similar in style to those that adorn the building openings of the forts and churches at Muxima, Massangano and other early colonial period structures. More triangle motifs are incorporated into the front façade of the church in a horizontal line below the triangular gable symbolising the Trinity. Triangles are a very common religious symbol incorporated in early colonial period architecture.

8.8 MUXIMA

The popularity of the church at Muxima (Fig. 8.8) may be attributed to the deity of Muxima who is the mother of Jesus, Mary. The Quimbundu translation of the word *muxima* means heart. The word referred to the heart of a bull as previously mentioned (see Chapter 6). The symbolism of the word heart is transposed to Christian belief with reference to the heart of Mary symbolising purity and virginity (Fig. 8.9). The name of the church is thus translated as 'Our Lady of the Heart'. Mary is locally called 'Mother Muxima' and is approached with requests for favours and offerings of gratitude. A dressed up figurine of Mary that is imbued with miracle power within the church is the object of devotion. No less than 60 000 pilgrims flocked to Muxima from all over Angola and the world in 2006 to pay annual homage to the deity (AngolaPress, 18 August 2006; Muaca, 2001: 81). The site is analogous with Fátima and Lorges in Portugal where thousands of Catholics congregate in an annual pilgrimage.

Viewed in this religious context, the fleur-de-lis motifs on the cannons in the fort may reveal an intriguing aspect of their presence at Muxima. The stylised flower has many different meanings for many different people, from decorative element to heraldic emblem, over a long period of history. The fleur-de-lis has been associated with French kings since 1200 CE and also has strong Christian connotations. The white lily symbolises the purity of the Virgin Mary and is associated with the annunciation when the angel Gabriel announced to Mary that



(Fig. 8.8) The front façade of the *Nossa Senhora da Muxima* Church with the fort in the background (photo by Ivo Morgado, 1972 – <http://www.nossosquimbos>).

she would bear the Christ child. The fort at Muxima was painted white in preparation for the pilgrimage even though it was the traditional colour the Portuguese painted their forts.

Pilgrims walk the steep path to the fort where they burn offerings and symbolically donate money, light candles and invoke the favour of the deity of Muxima (Fig. 8.10). The ritual material is placed inside the two buildings of the fort and inside the south and north bartizans. Another form of prayer that took place at the fort involves a strip of fabric that has been knotted along its length and wrapped around a small stone (Fig. 8.11). This stone with ‘prayer knots’ is likewise placed inside the buildings with a lit candle. It was inferred from the symbolic significance of the fleur-de-lis motif on the two cannons that the guns may not have been placed in the fort by chance (Fig. 8.12). These two cannons may have been deliberately placed there to fulfil both a military as well as a religious function.



(Fig. 8.9) The heart of Mary is symbolically associated with the word 'muxima' (<http://ihmhermitage.stblogs.com>).



(Fig. 8.10) Lit candles with donation of money to invoke favours from the deity of Muxima.

Stone with prayer knots in fabric

wax from burnt candle



(Fig. 8.11) A strip of fabric with knots wrapped around a stone as a form of prayer.



(Fig. 8.12) The *fleur-de-lis* engraved on one of the cannons at Fort Muxima.

8.9 EUROCENTRICISM

Narratives of period chroniclers such as Azurara and the Jesuit Padre Pombo demonstrate Eurocentric ideals that reflect the cosmology of the Portuguese *conquistadores*. These narratives exalted the accomplishments of discovery and conquest with the crusading zeal of the church. This stance is mirrored by the action of the kings and the Roman Catholic Church expounded by Padre Pombo in his chronicle describing the conquest and colonisation of the N'Dongo Kingdom (Pombo, 1926). Referring to Padre Garcia Simões who accompanied Paulo Dias de Novais on his second voyage, Pombo (1926: 63) writes about the Catholic Church and the Lusitanian coat-of-arms being an invincible and sacred force. The language of these Lusophone period narratives affirm the Portuguese as superior in every aspect to other non-Christian peoples. God was accepted as the most Supreme Being that ruled on earth and in heaven and the Pope in Rome was his representative. Christians in the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries regarded their religion as being absolutely true and that heathens were miserable souls that required salvation. Christians deeply believed that only their religion was true while all other belief systems were false or the work of the devil. The Portuguese Crown and the Roman Catholic Church considered themselves as the bearers of not only the supreme religion, but also the bearers of a superior culture. The two were inseparably entwined and there was no division between the state and the church. In the opinion of Boxer (1978), the Portuguese were unconscious receivers and conscious givers. That is, they were not consciously prepared to receive or accept anything from other peoples and consciously believed in their superior culture and supreme religious convictions. Those Portuguese who became Africanised and accepted local customs and intermarried did not do so due to official policy (Boxer, 1978: 39, 40).

Concepts of class and nationalism with notions of racism resulted in 'others' being regarded as inferior and primitive. The ideal of western superiority developed a hierarchy of racial types that claimed 'blue blood' and 'breeding' in aristocracies. Black African slave labour in the plantations of the Americas

disposed of the need for white labour, which placed blacks in a position where prejudice thrived. Blacks were seen as exemplifying the animal nature of humans (Gosden, 2004: 135).

Historical archaeology can be considered Eurocentric in the sense that it places Europe at the centre of the world. This factor is sometimes not obvious, such as in the way in which archaeologists denote historical dates as A.D. (*anno Domini*) for example. Referring to a date 'in the year of our lord' is Eurocentric in that although the Lord was not a European, Europeans adopted the cause of Christianity thereby 'naturalizing' Christ as European (Orser, 1996: 66). Archaeologists also record the location of a site in terms of latitude and longitude, which refers to the prime meridian (longitude zero), a line that passes through the Royal Greenwich Observatory used to calculate location co-ordinates. This effectively placed London at the beginning of the universe. Placing Europe at the centre of the world had distorting ramifications for the perception of the past (Orser, 1996: 67).

The Eurocentric notion of perceiving Europe at the centre of the world is a complex concept involving ideology, language, economics, religion, etc. It is a belief in racial superiority differentiating between Europeans and non-Europeans as 'them' and 'us'. Eurocentricism is not a cogent doctrine or a single line of rational thought, and not even a unified belief system. It is a "distorted perspective that claims that non-Western societies can only survive through imitating the West" (Orser, 1996: 69). The narrative of the early Lusophone chroniclers relating to the conquest and colonisation of the N'Dongo Kingdom was absolutely Eurocentric. The language was biased towards Christianity and glorified Portuguese nationality. Aspects of this Eurocentricism, specifically religious symbolism, religious zeal and triumphalism, are investigated in this dissertation.

Medieval Europe may have been the background of Eurocentricism when legends of enchanted kingdoms in faraway places in the world were still inhabited by Amazons, giants, griffons, and dragons. These exotic life forms inevitably guarded precious hoards. These fantasies acquired romantic

nuances of chivalry which cascaded into popular culture. The common thread of these tales was the heroic noble or knight in fantastic lands resulting in a stereotypical ending. The return of the hero from the fabulous distant lands covered in glory and fortune was accepted at the time as factual. These accounts were in fact recorded in print, like the royal decrees and holy writings, giving them credibility. The concept of conquest was thus interpreted as the establishment of domination over people and land by force of arms to extend Christendom. This inevitably resulted in the extraction of tribute and booty at the expense of the pagans. The rationale of discovery and conquest was in this way to acquire dominion over the infidel by a just war culminating in the extension of Christendom. The Pope in Rome could annul the jurisdiction of pagans in their own land and confer political power to Catholic kings, which was accomplished by the issuing of Papal Bulls of Donation. The incumbent Pope was acknowledged as the ruler of the world (McAlister, 1987: 89, 90). It was with this Eurocentric world view that the Portuguese *conquistadores* approached the colonisation of the New World.

8.10 TRIUMPHALISM

The papal bull *Romanus Pontifex* authorised D. Sebastião to seize land from the indigenous people and cede it to Paulo Dias de Novais in a Eurocentric gesture that had dire consequences for the Mbundu people. Land meant provision of raw materials, shelter and food, and was a spiritual landscape that connected the living with their ancestors. According to post-colonial theory, the usurpation meant dislocation, social upheaval and famine leading to 'widowed landscapes'. The ideology of large appropriation of land by a colonising power was influenced by colonial encounters. Justification for such land appropriation in western thought was exemplified by John Locke in the seventeenth century who influenced the basic structure of ideas regarding persons, property and power. His theory of property in the core of political belief was propagated to justify English rule in the Americas that derived from the Roman concept of *res nullius*. The concept declared that "all empty things" including land that was not occupied, was the collective property of all mankind until it was put to some use that was of a usually agricultural nature.

In Locke's agricultural argument, colonists were empowered to take land from the colonised in the Americas as the Native American population did not improve the land. The indigenous people therefore had little legitimacy over the land. This post-colonial model of *terra nullius* provided an ideological and legal basis for the dispossession of indigenous land. *Terra nullius* did not recognise prior ways of life of the colonised and was accompanied by violence (Gosden, 2004: 24-30).

In a critique of this model supported by Gosden (2004), the pope representing the Catholic Church contradicts the notion that unoccupied land is the property of all mankind. All land, "empty" or not, is the property of God according to Christian doctrine. The incumbent pope, as the representative of God on earth, had the right to dispose of it at his will during the 16th and 17th centuries. Christian ideology expounded by the pope, the Jesuits, the Order of Christ and ordinary Christians had the necessity to save the souls of pagans in their quest to dominate world religion. To that end, pagan land had to be appropriated. Still the indigenous populations viewed the dispossession of land as an armed invasion accompanied with mass killing and cultural upheaval, to which they offered protracted but futile resistance (Gosden, 2004: 25-28).

CHAPTER 9

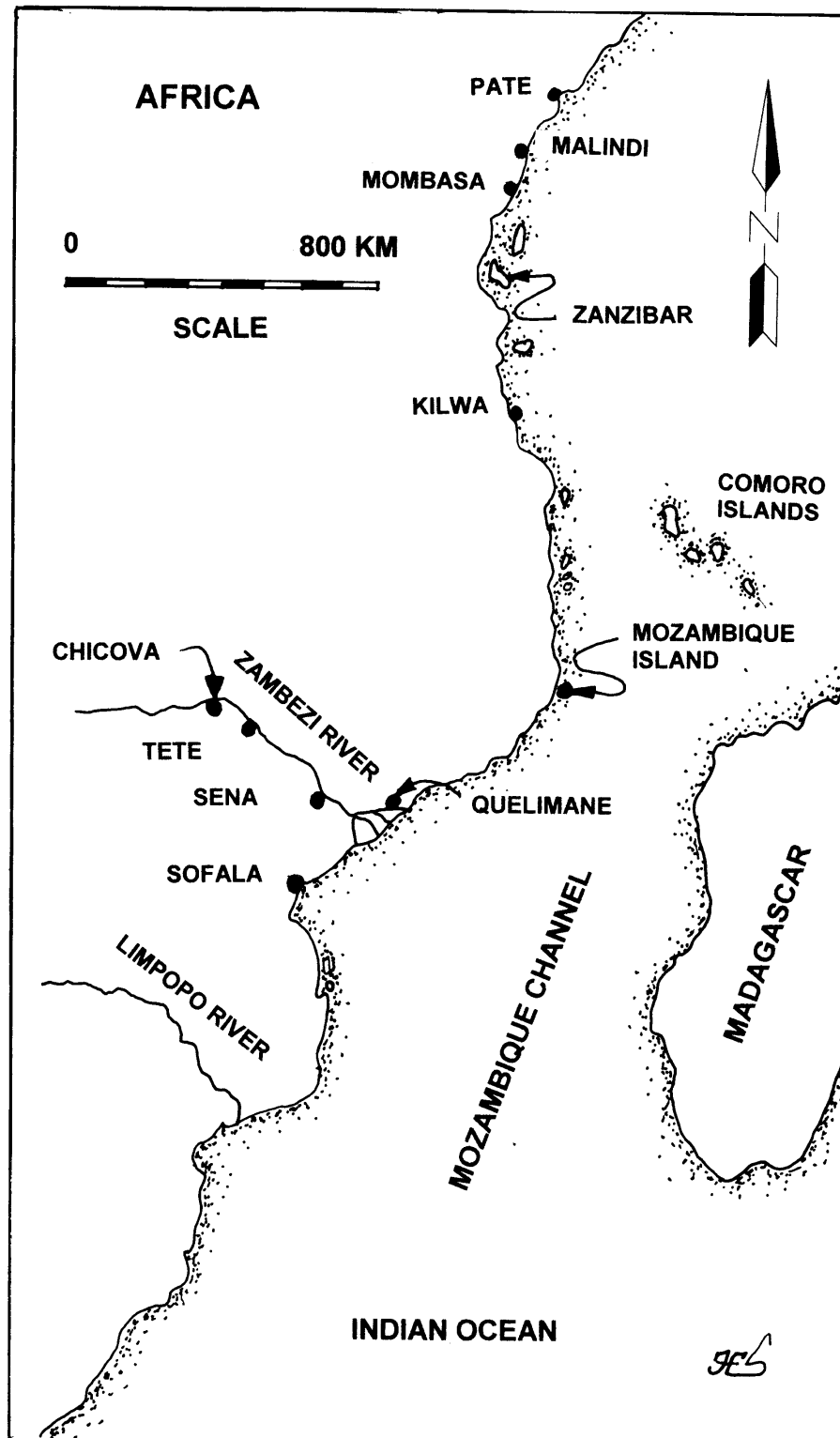
BEYOND THE KINGDOM

9.1 CHAPTER OUTLINE

Relevant authors who researched the Swahili Coast are identified and their research discussed. The Lusitanian Empire in the east is discussed in economic terms to establish the presence of the Portuguese trader in the east. This introduction also sets the scene for the Portuguese entry into the Swahili Coast. Events in Luanda and along the Kwanza River will be compared with other parts of the Lusitanian Empire with an emphasis on the East African Swahili Coast. The *Ilha de Moçambique* (Mozambique Island) as well as the Kilwa Kisiwani Island on the Swahili Coast will be compared with the N'Dongo Kingdom settlements. The Zambezi River will be compared with the Kwanza River while the settlements of Sofala, and Malindi, are briefly discussed in comparison with central West Africa. Differences and similarities between the Portuguese West African and East African possessions are discussed to place the N'Dongo Kingdom in context with the rest of the Portuguese Empire. The archaeology of central West Africa is placed in context with the archaeology of the Swahili coast. This chapter discusses what impact the Iberian Union had on the Portuguese Crown in the Lusitanian Empire with particular ramifications for the N'Dongo Kingdom and the Swahili Coast. The narrative will encapsulate the greater international historical issues involved with the two African colonial possessions.

9.2 LITERARY SOURCES AND AUTHORS

The Swahili Coast (Fig. 9.1) has been archaeologically/historically researched and excavated by various scholars. Some authors researched the pre-Portuguese occupation while fewer researched the Portuguese period. Other researchers concentrated on the study of the local Arab population. This is in contrast with previous research conducted in the N'Dongo Kingdom, which was restricted to the colonial history of the Portuguese during the conquest.



(Fig. 9.1) Area map of the Swahili Coast.

The local indigenous population of the Swahili Coast did not remain voiceless as was the case with the Mundongo.

Kilwa Kisiwani Island was extensively excavated, such as the Arab period structures (the Great Mosque, and two Husumi castles, etc.) including the Portuguese fort near the harbour by J.S. Kirkman (1955, 1957), H.N. Chittick (1959, 1974), and Freeman-Grenville (1955, 1957, 1958) (Strandes, 1968: 337, 339). H.N. Chittick of the then British Institute in Eastern Africa undertook archaeological excavations from 1961 to 1966 at Kilwa. Chittick also conducted excavations more recently while Director of the British Institute of Archaeology in Nairobi (Freeman-Grenville, 1988). Smaller-scale excavations were conducted there by E.S. Materu of the Tanzanian Antiquities Unit from 1990 to 2002. Professor Felix Chami of the University of Dar es Salaam conducted research in 2005 (<http://www.aluka.org>; <http://www.jrank.org>). Other research, although archaeological, was concerned with Islamic history, such as studies conducted by Mark Horton, former Research Fellow at St. Hugh's College, Oxford, A. Lali, and T.R. Wilson (Freeman-Grenville, 1988).

The National Parks of Kenya extensively investigated the Kenyan coastal sites (to the exclusion of other parts of East Africa). The work of J.S. Kirkman between 1948 and 1973 is particularly notable. A summary of studies conducted in Kenya was compiled by T.R. Wilson in two volumes: 'The Monumental Architecture and Archaeology of the Kenya Coast North of the Tana River', National Museums of Kenya, 1978; and 'The Monumental Architecture and Archaeology of the Central and Southern Kenya Coast', National Museums of Kenya, 1980 (Freeman-Grenville, 1988). The Augustinian Order archives in Goa may also be a source of further information on the Portuguese colonisation of the Swahili Coast (Freeman-Grenville, 1988).

9.3 EMPIRE IN THE EAST

The bulk purchase of pepper from India became a financial burden during the early sixteenth century which undermined the Portuguese strategy to secure the trade monopoly there. The Portuguese Crown did not have the financial capability to equip and provision their Indian fleet, nor pay their supplier for the bulk purchase of pepper. Likewise Venice had to finance part of their bulk pepper purchase from India with gold and silver, which drained European bullion to the east. This created financial shortages in Europe during the Middle Ages. Early Portuguese voyages to purchase pepper in India were provisionally financed by German banks. It was not surprising that one of Europe's poorest states had difficulties in raising financial funds for their Indian enterprise. A change in strategy was devised by the Portuguese by making the Empire in the east finance itself, and to establish political power in the east, thereby casting Kilwa and Sofala on the Swahili Coast in a significant role (Newitt, 1995: 16).

Portugal began to participate in the lucrative trade conducted between eastern countries that led to multilateral trade and gave them access to sources of bullion that alleviated the burden of paying for the cargo of pepper. The Portuguese began trading in Cambay and Coromandel cloths, African ivory and gold, and even elephants from Ceylon (Sri Lanka), and other commodities that were exported to Europe. To establish this trade network, Portugal had to apply a "doctrine that it was lord of the sea in the same way that the kings and sultans of the east were lords of the land" (Newitt, 1995: 17). Portugal levied custom dues on all cargos and issued letters of protection to all traders for their merchant vessels. These profits of empire financed the overheads that provided for the military and naval establishment and also assisted in the payment of pepper (Newitt, 1995: 17).

Although the initial approach of the Portuguese to dispossess the local indigenous population of their land was aggressive by means of conquest, the later approach was more based on mutual understanding and friendship. This change was forced on the Portuguese as the Arab traders started migrating

away from the areas occupied by the Portuguese thereby disrupting traditional trade. This scenario played itself out in the N'Dongo kingdom when the war of conquest disrupted the trading system. The Portuguese had to negotiate a peace treaty with Queen Jinga to restore trade and open a new trade market at Dondo (Chapter 4 and Chapter 6).

9.4 THE SWAHILI COAST

The Swahili Coast before the arrival of the Portuguese already had a very mixed population. When Vasco da Gama landed on the coast at the end of the 15th century, Arab and Arab-African settlements were established, the main centres of which included Kilwa, Malindi, Mombasa, and smaller towns like Sofala and Gedi in the interior. The towns had populations which included Hamitic, Bantu, Persian and Indian elements of varying proportions. The principal culture was mainly Arab, while varying degrees of Islam were practised as a religion (Boxer & de Azevedo, 1960: 13). These Africanised Arabs were the people who the Portuguese called 'Moors' as they did all people who were Moslems. The settlements were built on islands or formed harbour states along the coast, which were oligarchic in social structure, and were often at war with each other. The Swahili harbour states were ruled by sultans or sheiks and had other dignified titles while the Portuguese called them kings. They traded in African slaves, ivory, and gold-dust using strings of beads and bolts of cotton cloth as currency although they minted coins among themselves. Trade revolved around the Red Sea, India, and the east using ships (Boxer & de Azevedo, 1960: 14, 15). The fact that they were seldom at peace among each other facilitated the implementation of Portuguese power along the Swahili coast (Boxer & de Azevedo, 1960: 16).

The Portuguese possessions on the Swahili Coast were selected to contextualise the N'Dongo kingdom with other parts of the Lusitanian Empire. Five locations are briefly discussed and compared with elements of central West African history/archaeology and material culture, namely: Kilwa Kisiwani Island, Sofala, Mozambique Island, The Zambezi and Malindi. Fort Jesus in Mombasa, which played a major role in the history of the region, is not

discussed as substantial research is available, such as the work by Boxer and de Azevedo (1960).

9.5 KILWA KISIWANI ISLAND

When the Portuguese first settled in the Kilwa Kisiwani Island on the Swahili Coast (in Tanzania at 8°58'37.84" S. 39°30'50.88" E) at the inception of the 16th century, the local Arabs had, for a long time, monopolised the trade between India and Europe. When Dom Francisco de Almeida arrived at the Swahili Coast as the newly appointed Viceroy of India in 1505, his instructions may be abbreviated as "to conduct war with the Moslems and trade with the heathen" (Strandes, 1968: 56). Viceroy Almeida occupied Kilwa with little resistance (Newitt, 1995: 18). The Portuguese realised earlier on that to maintain a permanent hold of the territory, they would have to build fortifications manned by strong garrisons. This is particularly true if their policy to suppress the Arabs' previous ways of trade was to succeed (Strandes, 1968: 54, 56). The Portuguese had expectations that the trade in gold at Kilwa would assist in the payment of bulk pepper from India (Newitt, 1995: 17).

A fort was established on the shore near the harbour where the fleet could anchor as it navigated through the Mozambique Channel on the way to and from India (Axelson, 1973: 240). It served as a halfway station where fresh water and food was replenished (Newitt, 1995: 18). Remains of a fort (Fig. 9.2) on the island shows that the design of its embrasures was consistent with embrasures found in the Moslem world. These have narrow apertures with a peaked apex as opposed to a wide aperture with a flat apex. The Portuguese forts in central West Africa

Arab design style of embrasures



(Fig. 9.2). The Portuguese fort at Kilwa known as Gereza showing Moslem (Arab) influence in its design (<http://www.wmf.org>).

have typical wide apertures with a flat apex as found in Spain and Portugal. Fort *São Jago* (Saint James) constructed by Dom Francisco at Kilwa in 1505 was 120 square metres with four bastions, and was built to fit twenty heavy cannons. The interior of the fort was built to accommodate quarters for soldiers, store rooms, and accommodation suitable for trade activity which the fort was intended to conduct. The fort was located near the entrance to the harbour with a total garrison of 150 people, including military personnel and officials (Strandes, 1968: 63). The island was declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1980 and was placed in the World Heritage Site in Danger list in 2004 (<http://www.aluka.org>).

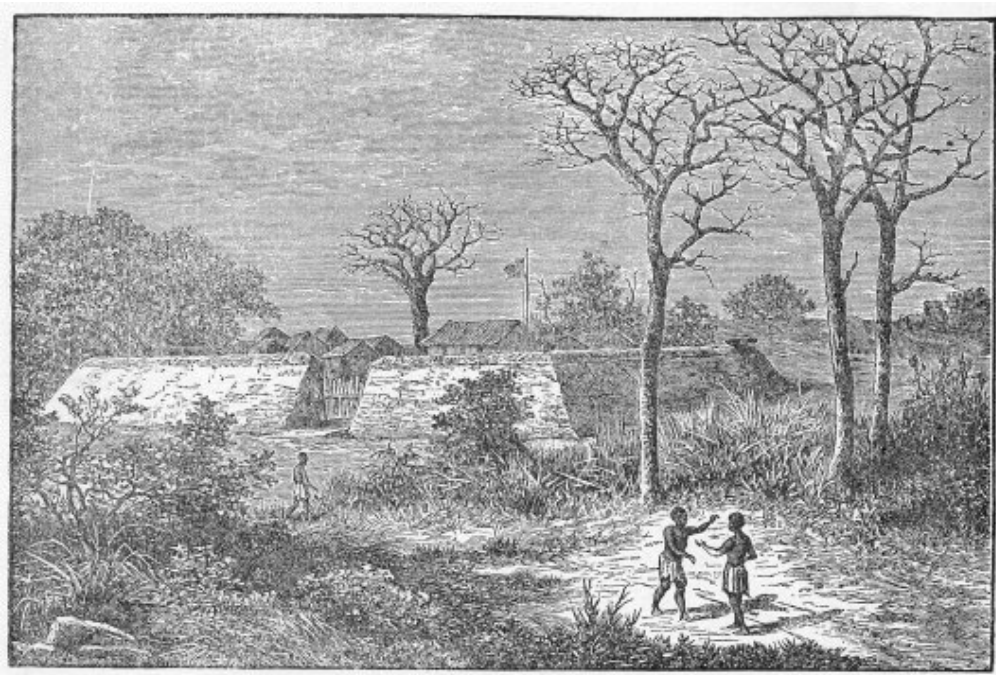
An archaeological remote survey using satellite imagery (Google Earth) identified the remains of a fort near what seems to be the remains of a harbour wall at 8°57'27.96"S, 39°29'57.99"E. The remains of this fort are

indicated as being named Gereza (<http://www.aluka.org>, Google Earth) while a historical source identifies the ruins as Fort São Jago built by the Portuguese in 1505 (Freeman-Grenville, 1988: XI 7). The same historical source also claims that the fort was “dismantled by royal command” in 1513 (Freeman-Grenville, 1988: XI 7). The *feitoria* was also closed down in the same year (Newitt, 1995: 20). Considering that the existing fort remains show distinct Omani Arab architecture, particularly in the embrasure designs, there is doubt whether or not these ruins are the remains of the Portuguese fort. Indeed the reference that the fort was “dismantled” suggests that it no longer exists. The polemic is exacerbated by the current name of the ruins. Gereza is a Swahili word derived from the Portuguese word *igreja* meaning church. The name was associated with the fact that the ruins of a church or chapel exist inside the remains of the fort which was also used as a prison in the past. Subsequently all prisons are loosely called a gereza in Swahili. A Portuguese chapel was apparently still in use at Kilwa in 1712 (Freeman-Grenville, 1988: XI 7). It is possible that the fort was destroyed after the town was abandoned in 1513 to prevent enemy forces from occupying and using the fortifications against them. However, according to Mark Horton, who conducted research on the Swahili Coast, the existing fort is indeed the original Portuguese fort constructed in 1505 (<http://www.jrank.org>). Other archaeological research material on Kilwa Kisiwani Island by various authors is available from <http://www.aluka.org>. The chapel constructed inside the fort provides the same situation compared with the fort at Cambambe in the N'Dongo Kingdom. The symbolism is as meaningful for the N'Dongo Kingdom as the Swahili Coast. The cross and the sword are inseparable.

9.6 SOFALA

Vasco da Gama anchored at Sofala during his second voyage in 1502, after which Sofala played a major historical role in the Portuguese sphere of influence as was the case with Kilwa. Sofala was occupied in 1505 and a fort (Fig. 9.3) named Fort São Caetano as well as a *feitoria* (Axelson, 1940: 79) was constructed for the purchase of gold near the entrance of the bay. The town had been occupied by Arabs when the Portuguese first arrived. The

location of Sofala just south of the city of Beira is presently called Nova Sofala (<http://www.wikipedia.org>). The factor was to proceed as crown agent and purchase all the gold emanating from the interior while trading in cloth and other goods. The trade in gold proved to be very profitable (Axelson, 1940: 85).



(Fig. 9.3) Fort Sofala (<http://www.erbzine.com>).

The social-economic dominance of the Portuguese eventually conflicted with the traditional trade activities of the local rulers who issued trading licenses, authorised sales, set prices and collected tribute. These rulers controlled a trading network which was for some time operational not only in Africa, but also within the wider world of the Indian Ocean. The imperial antagonism of the Portuguese caused the principal trading families to leave Sofala and Kilwa (Newitt, 1995: 19). This move disrupted the traditional trading network, including the trade in gold and the trading fairs in general (Newitt, 1995: 20).

The Portuguese occupation of Sofala and the interior was primarily for the king in Portugal to profit from the gold trade. Wealth was required to pay for the purchase of spices in the east. Sofala, however, produced less gold than what was foreseen, but Castilian gold was fortunately reaching Portugal

during the unification of the Crowns. Silver also became a more coveted precious metal that was more readily accepted for trade in Malabar. Thus silver became more essential than gold as currency in India at the beginning of the sixteenth century for the purchase of spices, cotton, silks and porcelain (Axelson, 1973: 57, 64, 77, 236). While gold was the original reason for the conquest of Sofala, it was the obsession for silver that drove Paulo Dias de Novais to secure Cambambe in the N'Dongo Kingdom.

The fort with a complement of eighty soldiers lived under strict military rule and reported to barracks in the fort by night. The soldiers were apparently prohibited from mixing with the local population. No provision for wives and family was made in the colony (Newitt, 1995: 23). This is a wide contrast to military living conditions in the N'Dongo Kingdom where soldiers did not live within the forts and were permitted to live among the local population. Their families were free to live with the soldiers as attested by the list of the garrison at Massangano dated 12 April 1612 (Chapter 6.5). This fort, like the fort at Cambambe in the N'Dongo Kingdom, contains the ruins of a church within the rampart walls. The church was apparently part of a Dominican mission which existed until the end of the 17th century (Newitt, 1995: 136, 137). The possible remains of the fort may reveal the true situation of living conditions through the application of archaeological excavation.

The captain at Kilwa announced in 1506 that there was ivory available between Kilwa and Sofala which was not traded by the Moslems and that there was great profit to be made if sold in India. A boom in the trade of ivory from elephant and hippopotamus followed, surpassing the trade in gold. The trade in ivory stimulated the foundation of new settlements along the Mozambique coast (Newitt, 1995: 25, 27). While the economic hub of the N'Dongo Kingdom revolved around the Kwanza River and the Atlantic slave trade, the economy of the Swahili Coast revolved around the trade with India, ivory, and gold.

It was also the desire of the Portuguese to spread Christianity that took the Portuguese to the African southeast coast. Evangelisation of the Moslems

was, however, a futile exercise and unlike the successes attained in the conversion of the indigenous population in central West Africa, Christianisation on the African east coast had little impact. Likewise slaves were not exported in any significant numbers from the African southeast coast and the slave trade did not develop compared to central West Africa. A possible reason may be that it was more economically viable for the Portuguese to export slaves from the west coast of Africa due to the proximity of the market in Brazil. The introduction of building methods as material culture may have been the greatest contribution that the Portuguese made on the Swahili Coast during the sixteenth century. These building methods had no effect in the interior (Axelson, 1973: 168, 233-242).

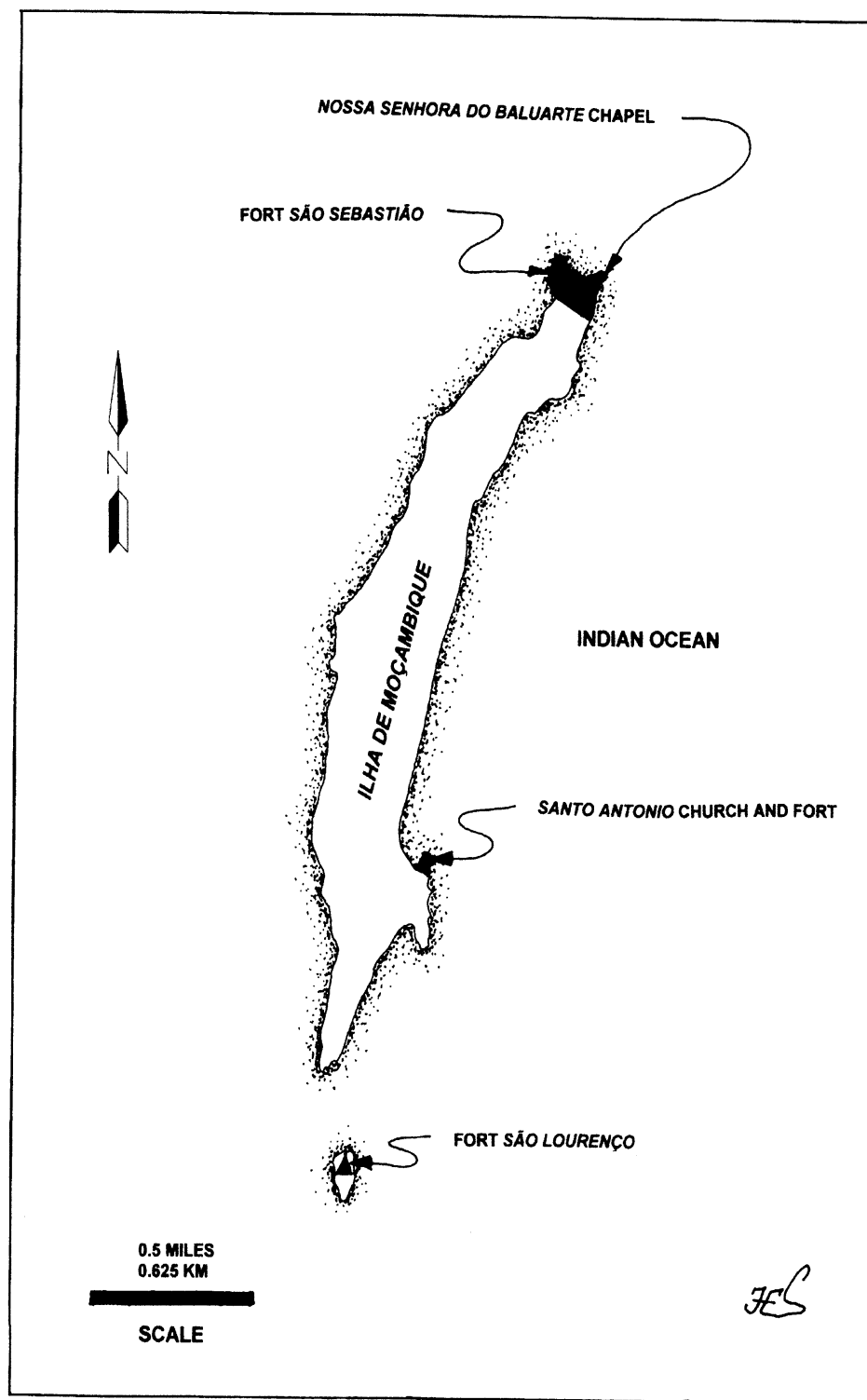
9.7 MOZAMBIQUE ISLAND

Portugal established a halfway station on Mozambique Island in 1507 situated between Sofala and Kilwa Kisiwani Island at 15°02'12.21" S, 40°43'58.33" E. The date of establishment is, however, also stated as having been 1502 (Newitt, 1995: 130). The maritime station was used as a sanctuary to repair vessels plying the spice route to India, to refresh their crews and for the sick to convalesce, and where ships could be supplied with water and victuals. The island also accommodated a trading factory to keep Sofala supplied with cloth from Cambay, which was vital for the gold trade of the region. It was also to supply Sofala and Kilwa with artillery, munitions and other supplies. A small military squadron was stationed on the island with the function of preventing Moslem trading vessels from operating along the coast between Sofala and Malindi. More Europeans perished at this refreshment station due to local fevers and intestinal disease than successfully convalesced as was the case in the N'Dongo Kingdom. The Portuguese custom of burying the deceased below the floor of a church persisted on the Swahili Coast as in central West Africa (Axelson, 1973: 61, 64).

The settlement at Mozambique Island was protected by three forts (Fig. 9.4) with associated churches according to an archaeological survey conducted using

remote satellite imagery and reading literary sources. Fort *São Sebastião* (Fig. 9.5) was started as a fortification tower in 1508, culminating in the largest fort constructed in the east by about 1583. It occupies the whole end of the island in the north with a chapel built in 1522 called *Nossa Senhora do Baluarte* hugging the northern bastion in the exterior of the fort (Fig. 9.6). The original Fort *São Lourenço* was apparently built in 1587 on a rocky outcrop situated south of the island (Fig. 9.4). It was demolished in 1595 and a new fort rebuilt in its place that still exists today (pt.wikipedia.org). Fort *Santo António* was built in the southeast of the island in 1820 and thus does not form part of this dissertation (Newitt, 1995: 130, pt.wikipedia.org). A satellite imagery survey of the island established that Fort *São Sebastião* appears to be in a good state of preservation. Fort *São Lourenço* is a triangular shaped fort that occupies almost half of the northern end of the small rocky island and also appears to be in a fairly good state of preservation. Fort *Santo António* does not seem to have survived. Only the church of *Santo António* exists which seems to have undergone periodic phases of renovation. A wall on the seaward side of the church may be the remains of the fort.

Mozambique Island was twice attacked by the Dutch in 1607 and although they were repelled by the adequate island fortifications, they caused extensive damage. A hospital established in 1538 was, for example, destroyed and was not fully rebuilt until 1637. There were two villages, the one consisting of Arab inhabitants and the other of Portuguese and locals numbering 300 in total. Besides a naval base, the island was also the local headquarters of the Dominicans and Jesuits. There were, therefore, a number of ecclesiastical institutions on the island. These towns were largely destroyed during the Dutch attacks (Newitt, 1995: 130-132). Some buildings with particular architectural features around the reveal of windows and doors have, however, survived. These architectural features are identical to windows and doors found at the houses of traders at Dondo in the N'Dongo Kingdom dating around 1622/5 (Fig. 9.7).



(Fig. 9.4) Mozambique Island forts.



(Fig. 9.5) Fort São Sebastião at Mozambique Island (www.culturaonline.pt).



(Fig. 9.6) *Nossa Senhora do Baluarte* chapel (left) and Fort São Sebastião (right) at the *Ilha de Moçambique* (<http://www.static.panoramio.com>).

Identical Portuguese colonial architectural features appear in Mozambique Island
as in the N'Dongo Kingdom



(Fig. 9.7) Architectural similarities in Mozambique Island mirrored at Dondo and elsewhere in the N'Dongo Kingdom (<http://www.globosapiens.net>).

Both forts *São Miguel* and the fort at Muxima were attacked by the Dutch in the N'Dongo Kingdom at a later date (1641). These forts were, however, taken by the attackers and occupied. Forts in central West Africa were built on the mainland whereas forts along the Swahili Coast tended to be built on islands. Although Paulo Dias de Novais was instructed to settle on the Island of Luanda, he soon abandoned the island in favour of establishing his first settlement on the mainland.

9.8 THE ZAMBEZI

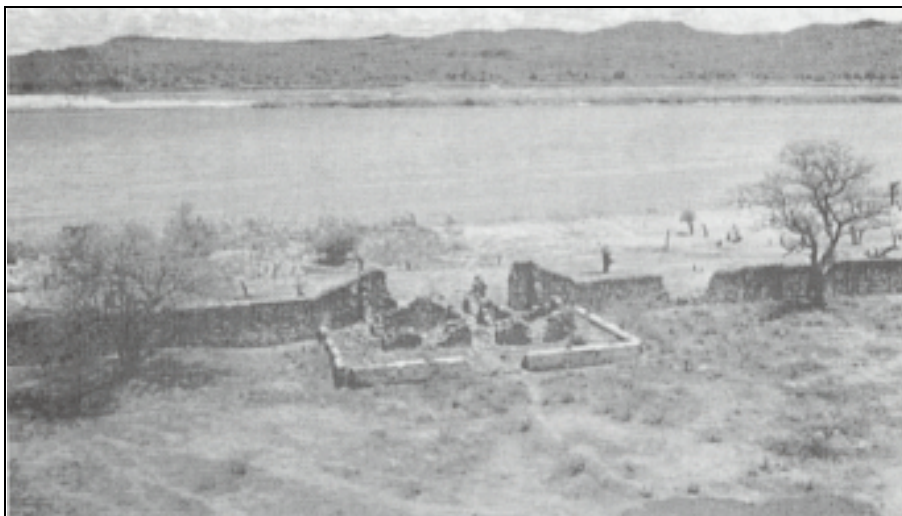
The Zambezi River flows for about 480 km along the Zambezi Valley where heavy perennial rains fall; the flow being seasonal causes extremes of drought and floods (Newitt, 1995: 11, 31). The river becomes a narrow winding stream in the dry season while rainfall in the central African plateau extensively inundates the banks of the river. This seasonal flooding makes most of the margin of the river uninhabitable, and interspersed with drought, mostly perilous to navigate. Settlement on the banks of the river is likewise

risky, thus most settlements are established away from the river. The delta is 80 km wide along the coast while the active channel constantly changes course. The most practical way to enter the Zambezi River was through the northernmost distributary (*Rio dos Bons Sinais*) of the delta on which Quelimane was situated. This town became an important entry port giving access to the Zambezi River (Newitt, 1995: 11). A remote satellite imagery survey (Google Earth) of the town with its symmetrically divided streets reminiscent of Dondo in the N'Dongo Kingdom revealed no remains of the fort or any other historical structure of note. Compared with the Kwanza River in the N'Dongo Kingdom, the Zambezi River is geologically very different providing different living circumstances for the people who depend on it for a living. The harsh geography of the Zambezi River did not facilitate the settlement of the interior like the Kwanza River did. The town of Quelimane, however, is similar to Dondo in function. Dondo provided an entry point to the interior and to the legendary silver mines of Cambambe while Quelimane provided access to the gold of Monomatapa.

Moslem traders sailed upstream on the Zambezi River to reach local trade markets in the interior in defiance of a Portuguese trading monopoly. The exact locations of these trade fairs of the early sixteenth century are not documented but may have operated as far as Zimbabwe. Tete and Sena on the margins of the Zambezi River were not so much fairs as staging posts between the interior and the coast that were later developed into settlements by the Portuguese. Tete and probably Sena were Islamic towns before the arrival of the Portuguese (Newitt, 1995: 139) and were fortified by the Portuguese in 1472. The fortification at Tete was located on the banks of the river and was named the *Carinde* Fort. The remains survived until recently (Fig. 9.8). The fort is also referred to as the *Forte de São Tiago do Tete* (pt.wikipedia.org). An aerial satellite image (Google Earth) survey of the banks of the Zambezi River above and below Tete did not reveal any recognisable remains of the fort. Trade by the Moslems on the Zambezi was later restricted by the requirement for a license issued by the Portuguese authorities in 1600 causing Moslem trade to cease by 1608. Annual shipments of trade goods were freighted upriver from India by the Portuguese to develop trade with the

local population. A string of forts were constructed by the Crown along the Zambezi River to protect their mining and trade interests. Small trade fairs and mining camps built their own fortifications (Newitt, 1973: 41-44).

A number of these fortified settlements have been located and archaeologically surveyed and drawn by unknown researchers, three of which have been archaeologically excavated (Newitt, 1973: 44). It is not known where the research papers are archived. The forts were of a simple structure that had to be constantly rebuilt with palisades and some with earthworks such as ditches. Some fortified enclosures contained buildings used as a commander's residence, store house, and arsenal storage. Portuguese settlers did not live within these fortifications and only used them as places of refuge in times of danger. This is consistent with the practice applied in the forts along the Kwanza River in the N'Dongo kingdom.



(Fig. 9.8) Remains of Fort *Carinde* at Tete, Zambezi River
(<http://www.old.antislavery.org>).

Churches were built at some settlements along the river containing burials of mainly sub-adult males while the larger fairs contained a church with a Dominican priest in attendance. The Dominicans had arrived in the Zambezi River in the 1590s (Newitt, 1995: 141) to occupy the domain of the Jesuits. This was in contrast to the situation in the N'Dongo Kingdom where the

Jesuits were the official clergy appointed by Pope Pius II in 1450. Portugal eventually acquired control over the region by 1629 (Newitt, 1973: 45, 56).

The beginning of this settlement fortification period coincides with the period leading to the rise of the Dutch and English India Companies. This may indicate that the fortifications initiative was not only motivated by local events but also by global geopolitics. The Dutch and English intention to trade with the East Indies challenged the Iberian trade monopoly there and threatened its existence. It may have induced the Portuguese in the N'Dongo Kingdom as well as the Swahili Coast to fortify their positions. Although both rivers on either sides of the continent were settled, their purpose for settlement was different. The Kwanza River was seen as a highway to reach the interior where the N'gola resided and as a means to control the indigenous population dependent on it. In contrast, the Zambezi River was seen by the Portuguese as a Moslem sphere of trading interest in defiance of their trading monopoly, which had to be curtailed. Thus the Portuguese Crown took possession of the river to prevent the Moslems from trading there and to conduct their own trading (particularly for gold) with the local people without competition. The decline of the empire consisting of the unified Iberian Crowns after the 1620s was a worldwide occurrence that was equally reflected in the Swahili Coast as well as in the N'Dongo Kingdom.

The search for mineral wealth was rewarded when the sovereign of Monomotapa ceded his mines of gold, copper, iron, lead and tin to the king of Portugal in gratitude in 1607 after the Portuguese defeated his enemies. The Monomotapa king ceded his mines of silver to Diogo Simões Madeira who was mainly responsible for the victory (Axelson, 1961: 4). After Paulo Dias de Novais frantically searched for the imaginary silver mines at Cambambe in the N'Dongo kingdom, Diogo Simões Madeira directed himself to Chicova on the Zambezi River towards Monomotapa to search for silver there in 1614. He built Fort *São Miguel* on the banks of the river and soon after discovered silver, of which he sent samples to the king of Portugal. Portugal had at long last discovered a source of silver in its southern African possessions (Santos, 1988a and 1988b).

It appears that the Portuguese Empire was divided into two different sets of purposes and administrations. The Swahili Coast was administrated by Portuguese India within the European sphere of eastern experience. In contrast, central West Africa was administrated directly from Portugal enforcing Eurocentric values on the indigenous population. It means that East African governance tended to be influenced by the orient and resulted in the creation of far more peaceful relationships towards the late sixteenth century. Portuguese colonial influence in the orient was mainly concerned with the commerce of inanimate trade goods such as spices, porcelain, gold, etc. Portugal's colonial influence in West Africa was more predominantly associated with violent conquest and the enslavement of African people. Viewed in this context, the global Portuguese Empire may be generally divided into a western hemisphere and an eastern hemisphere with the Cape of Good Hope forming the dividing line. The western hemisphere encompassed the African west coast, including the N'Dongo Kingdom, and Brazil. The eastern hemisphere incorporated the African east coast, all possessions in India and further east.

9.9 MALINDI

A trading factory was established at Malindi in 1509 where the Portuguese had a friendly relationship with the local sultans. A trading factory was also established in Luanda from where trade goods from the interior of the N'Dongo Kingdom, such as ivory and slaves, were exported to Europe and Brazil. This trading factory was, however, not established through friendly relationships with the local inhabitants. The land was claimed by conquest (Axelson, 1973: 71). The trading factory has mostly been destroyed and the town itself has been severely eroded away by the action of the sea (Strandes, 1968: 341). Two Portuguese monuments remain. The *padrão* planted by Vasco da Gama in 1498 still stands with additional support around the shaft. The cross mounted on top of the monument, which was made of Lisbon stone, was declared part of the original pillar by E. Axelson. The other remains consist of part of a Portuguese chapel built within Malindi in the south

of the town. A long historical wall adjacent to the chapel may be part of the remains of the *feitoria* (Freeman-Grenville, 1988: XI 4, Strandes, 1968: 342). The St. Frances Xavier chapel was still partly standing when it was surveyed by Mark Horton in 1982. J.S. Kirkman observed a fresco of the crucifixion on a wall of the chapel in 1954 that was obscured under a coat of whitewash. This is the only fresco of its kind painted during the Portuguese occupation period in east Africa (Freeman-Grenville, 1988).

9.10 IBERIAN UNIFICATION

The unification of the Portuguese and Spanish Crowns had a beginning with the Portuguese King Sebastião (1557-1578) who was a religious zealot. Encouraged by the Christian victory at Lepanto where Spanish and Italian naval forces ended Turkish influence in the Mediterranean in 1571, the young king conceived the chivalric idea of a Portuguese-led crusade in Africa. It was thus in 1578 that the Portuguese king led an ill-prepared, motley army of Portuguese nobles and mercenaries into Morocco to vanquish the infidel Moors. The Portuguese king and his Christian soldiers were met at the Moroccan desert in the field of El Ksar-el-Kebir (Alcácer Quibir) (35°51' N, 05°34' W) by a force of Islam and annihilated. King Sebastião disappeared at the battle. He was believed to have been killed in battle or later perished in a Moroccan prison. The Portuguese king having been very young had not produced an heir to the throne of Portugal. The aged cardinal king of Portugal, who ruled as regent afterwards as the last monarch of the House of Aviz, likewise did not produce an heir due to his vows of celibacy. The king of Spain, Philip II, whose mother was a Portuguese princess (Boxer, 1991: 107), claimed the vacant Portuguese throne. He accomplished this by distributing Mexican currency to reinforce his dynastic claim to influential nobles and by invading Portugal with a Spanish army. He was crowned king of Portugal as Philip I in 1581 after the death of the Portuguese regent king, Cardinal Henry. The union of the Crowns united two world empires and Spain accessed additional resources to control the Netherlands and England (McAlister, 1987: 291, 292, Newitt, 2005: 4, 155).

Philip I of Portugal had several ideals. He felt compelled to give good governance and justice as a Christian prince. He also felt obliged to defend the Holy religion in his dominions as a devout Catholic. This did not clash with Lusitanian ideals. He in fact believed that he ruled directly by God's will. The Castilian king guaranteed that the two world empires were to remain totally separate entities and that Spaniards would not even be appointed to hold offices in Portuguese territory. Portuguese officials could, however, be appointed in Spanish enterprises. The unification of the two Crowns, or the Iberian Union as it became known, was celebrated by the Portuguese nobility who expected lucrative employment in the worldwide Spanish dominions and were soon rewarded with titles, commands, and governorships. Portuguese merchants anticipated trade with Castile and lucrative markets in the Americas. Direct Spanish influence was to be limited although administrative reforms such as replacing the *naus* with galleons and reorganising the archaic Portuguese institutions proved to be a temporary salvation of the Lusitanian Empire. The unification occurred at a time after Portugal was struck by devastating episodes of the plague in 1569 and 1579. The *grande peste* had caused thousands of deaths among the population of Lisbon, weakening the resistance of the people against unification and encouraging a will to unify with Spain. Silver mined in Peru and Mexico could augment the source of bullion much needed for the Portuguese economy. The quest for the mythical mines at Cambambe in the late sixteenth century, however, continued unabated (McAlister, 1987: 291, Newitt, 2005: 174, 175).

The period between 1580 and 1620 was marked with the threat of the newly formed Dutch and English East India Companies. This threat was met in the N'Dongo Kingdom by initiating a programme of building fortifications in Luanda and along the Kwanza River. Commercial activity expanded in all parts of the Lusitanian Empire, trade profits increased in the Indies, while sugar production reached unprecedented growth creating a greater demand for slaves from central West Africa. This period was characterised by positive input from the union. Portuguese colonies were founded emulating the Castilian model of empire (Newitt, 2005: 254).

The most significant aspect of King Philip I of Portugal's rule, however, may be that he was a Habsburg king and as such was committed to defend family patrimonies throughout Europe. This meant that Portugal became drawn into the European wars of the Habsburgs with negative implications for the Lusitanian Empire from 1620 onwards. Although a truce had been implemented between the Castilians and the Dutch in 1609, war was again declared between the two powers in 1621. The result of the union was that Portuguese India and Brazil became the principal theatre of war and major casualties. The Portuguese possessions in Africa initially escaped attention due to not being in the circulating wind system in the south Atlantic for vessels sailing to the east. The founding of the Dutch West Indies Company in 1621 threatened this part of the Lusitanian Empire. The N'Dongo Kingdom would ultimately succumb in 1641 when Luanda and environs were occupied by the Dutch and Fort Muxima was seized. Although the Dutch were not successful in taking Mozambique in 1607, the English, in the form of the English East India Company, became a greater threat as they were using the Mozambique Channel *en route* to the Indies. Spain also waged war against France in 1628 that was unsuccessful. These conflicts between the Spanish Habsburg king and other European powers (the Thirty Years War, the Anglo-Dutch War, and the Franco-Spanish War) began to negatively influence Portugal. With the strain of war, it became difficult for Portugal to maintain the trade monopoly between Europe and the east. The Portuguese were ready to admit that the Dutch had taken over command of the seas. The loss of control of the seas resulted in Portugal losing their possession at Ormuz after a blockade by the English in 1622 (Newitt, 2005: 217-224).

The unification of the Iberian Union introduced influences of the Spanish conquest of the Americas to the Lusitanian Empire. Before unification, Spain had used some ideas of Portuguese commercial expansion such as the quest for gold. Before the discovery of the Americas, most of the gold for the minting of coins in Europe originated from West African rivers such as the Senegal and Niger rivers. The discovery of the Americas by Columbus in 1492 became a primary quest for gold. Columbus also established a trading factory at the Spanish settlement in Hispaniola modelled on the Portuguese *feitoria*. Hernan

Cortés like his contemporary *conquistadores* saw the local indigenous population in the Americas as Moors to be converted and subjugated. Conquest and colonisation was seen by the Spanish as being led by God and seen as religious triumph. The spreading of the faith was the only justification to dominate and capture the wealth of the infidel. Amerindians were forced to receive Christian baptism, attend church services, work in the mines and have Christian burials. The Castilians accepted that the Pope in Rome had ceded the American New World to Spain like Canaan was given to the Jews by God. Spain could thus treat the Indians like Joshua treated the inhabitants of Jericho. The Spanish Crown was regarded as the temporal representative of the papacy. Indian chiefs thought that “the Pope must have been drunk” when he gave so much authority to the Catholic kings to dispose of so much territory that belonged to others (Thomas, 2004: 62-65, 70-72, 129). The Spanish were in the same mindset as the Portuguese regarding the local inhabitants in their possessions in the New World.

The Castilian policy of creating a *municipio* was the main administration system used to establish settlements. The municipality was the system used to organise vast territories, distribute land and other resources. The settlement would be marked out to appear well ordered with a symmetrical layout of streets. The captaincy system was revoked in the N'Dongo Kingdom and replaced with the municipality system, introducing governors who reported directly to Portugal. The Spanish also located their colonial towns in proximity to water with available firewood and building materials. Such an ordered street layout associated with the other criteria required for the establishment of a settlement is evident at Dondo (1622/5). Spanish municipalities' efforts to establish order in colonial settlements sometimes failed due to the choice of the location. The location of settlements had to have strategic value considering aspects such as hurricanes, floods and earthquakes in the New World. In the heat of conquest, founders often made mistakes in the choice of location and had to abandon settlement sites. The experience of the Castilians in this matter was applied in the N'Dongo Kingdom when the settlement of Santa Cruz was abandoned (McAlister, 1987: 133, 134). The Iberian Union established their separate dominions in

the New World in much the same way. The Portuguese were familiar with what the Spanish were doing and attempted to emulate them. The objectives of the Portuguese Crown remained the same after the unification, only some of the methods changed (Birmingham, 1965: 27-29).

In summary, the unification of the Crowns generally brought about some increased prosperity until the 1620s. The association of the Spanish kings with the Habsburgs in Europe and the development of the Dutch West Indian Company together with the English East Indian Company caused the ultimate demise of the Lusitanian Empire after the 1620s. A peasant revolt in 1637 in Portugal was followed by the Dutch West India Company attacking the Portuguese Fort *São Jorge* and occupying Elmina in 1638. Not much changed in the N'Dongo Kingdom after unification until the Dutch attacked and seized Luanda in 1641. It appears that the histories of the two Iberian Empires followed the same course from late in the sixteenth century to the mid-seventeenth century, that is, from greatness to near ruin for much the same reasons (McAlister, 1987: 300, 301, Newitt, 2005: 221).

Table 9.1: List of Portuguese kings (<http://www.wikipedia.org>)

PERIOD	KINGS
KINGS OF THE HOUSE OF AVIZ	
1385 - 1433	João I
1433 - 1438	Duarte I
1438 - 1481	Afonso V
1481 - 1495	João II
1495 - 1525	Manuel I
1525 - 1557	João III
1557 - 1578	Sebastião I
1578 - 1580	Cardinal Henry
IBERIAN UNION: SPANISH HABSBURG KINGS WHO RULED PORTUGAL	
1580 - 1598	Philip I of Portugal
1598 - 1621	Philip II of Portugal
1621 - 1640	Philip III of Portugal
KINGS OF THE HOUSE OF BRAGANZA	
1640	Start of the <i>Guerra da Restauração</i> (Restoration War) that led to the dissolution of the Iberian Union with the Treaty of Lisbon in 1668 when King João IV reclaimed the Portuguese throne.

CHAPTER 10

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This dissertation opens a new scrutiny into the colonial past of central West Africa where archaeological fieldwork enhances the documentary record. However, the African voice remains mute in the N'Dongo Kingdom. This work confirms the existence of historical churches and forts along the Kwanza River and Luanda in support of the historical narrative. The archaeological record is generally consistent with the documentary component while adding to the body of evidence. The archaeological analysis of the material culture remains enhances the historical narrative in the following way:

10.1 MATERIAL CULTURE

1. Drawing the floor plan of the forts provides a record of the architectural design.
2. Form suggests the function of the structure.
3. Location suggests strategic relevance.
4. Building methods and type of materials suggest where the material was collected and infer the division of labour.
5. Architectural details are used as a baseline description of Portuguese colonial architecture that can be used to date various early colonial buildings, adjusting the written record where necessary.
6. Drawings can be used to infer the use of space and infer the possible maximum number of persons that could occupy a structure.
7. Photographs of forts and churches record general and detailed features, as well as the state of preservation of the structure.
8. The archaeological survey of a site suggests the way of life of the occupants of the site.
9. Physically inspecting forts permits an inference about the relationship between the Crown and the church, such as the proximity of a church to a fort.
10. Cannons that remain in the forts provide information on the armaments (material culture) of the coloniser.

11. The potential symbolic significance of dominance and conquest is interpreted through the survey of a site landscape.
12. Floor plans and photographs of the forts provide tangible evidence for the existence of the forts with reference to textual histories.
13. Building plans that may exist in texts will not necessarily reflect how the structure was actually built and may not include alterations and additions. These variations, identified through physical *in situ* observation, may include vital clues to the past.
14. Texts referring to forts do not always include significant details about the structure such as the inclusion of a church within the rampart walls at Fort Cambambe, for example.
15. Historical texts often only refer to events occurring in forts and do not describe the physical properties of the structure. A physical survey of the fort provides vital information particularly useful in the interpretation of the historical subtext.
16. Functioning churches are more difficult to measure and draw as they are constantly occupied by worshippers. Church ruins can, however, be measured.
17. Building additions to churches suggest a local demand for growth, thereby confirming the successful conversion of the local indigenous population.
18. The size of the church estimates the size of the congregation it was originally expected to serve. A small church would indicate an expected small local congregation and *vice versa*. A small congregation may reflect a limited local population or an expected low rate of conversion.
19. Churches provide insights into Portuguese material culture through religious relics.
20. The inspection of churches indicates the permanence or temporary existence of the church. Does it still exist or is it in ruins? The answer to this question may suggest the original purpose and context in which the church was built. The church inside the fort at Cambambe was abandoned together with the fort as no permanent settlement flourished there. This is possibly due to the expected silver mines not

materialising in the region and due to the settlement at Dondo developing a mere 10 kilometres downstream.

Archaeological investigation, following set research questions, provided the following answers:

10.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. It was established that Paulo Dias de Novais did not establish his first settlement at the *Ilha de Loanda* due to the unsuitability of the island for settlement due to the lack of natural materials.
2. De Novais may have observed the local population's dependence upon the river on his first voyage and may have concluded that whoever controls the river controls the people dependent upon it.
3. The buildings the Portuguese erected were built of local materials or were brought in from some distance. For example, the red sandstone to build the fort at Cambambe was quarried locally while the shell for the mortar was brought in from the sea, probably from the Kwanza River mouth. Some building materials were imported from Portugal.
4. The structures, such as the forts erected on the margin of the Kwanza River, imposed a Portuguese military dominance on the landscape. The churches associated with these forts served to convert the local population to Christianity, thus indicating that the sword worked hand in hand with the cross.
5. The unification of the Portuguese crown with the Spanish crown by Philip II of Spain was initially prosperous until the 1620s. The possessions of the Lusitanian Empire thereafter become threatened by the rise of the Dutch and English East India Companies spawned from the rise of the Protestant Reformation (1517). The European wars of the Habsburg kings further embroiled the Spanish king, resulting in the demise of the Iberian Empires.

6. A schedule of the state of preservation of all the forts and churches up to 2007 is included in the study (Tables 5.1 and 6.1).
7. A number of locations have been identified in the text that require further archaeological investigation and possible excavation.
8. Portuguese colonial architecture was evaluated to interpret religious symbolism.
9. Various landscapes were analysed and discussed.
10. Dondo was analysed and investigated in view of proposing a location for the trade market and where traders lived.
11. The conundrum revolving around the elusive N'Gola and Cabassa was resolved.
12. Similarities and differences occur between the N'Dongo Kingdom and the Swahili Coast within the Lusitanian Empire. In general, the Swahili Coast was established to provide support for the spice fleet to and from India with the eventual strategy to maintain peaceful relations with the indigenous population. In contrast with the N'Dongo Kingdom, the voice of the indigenous population was heard and researched by various scholars. The N'Dongo Kingdom was, in contrast, a territory that was categorically conquered and colonised by whatever means necessary and was incorporated into the Lusitanian Empire at a fairly late date (1575) (see Tables 3.1, 4.1 and 10.1). Slave labour for the sugar plantations at São Tomé and Brazil was exported from the N'Dongo Kingdom after these territories were colonised and sugarcane plantations were developed. This had an impact on the N'Dongo Kingdom as the primary supplier of slave labour that greatly contributed to the general economy of the Lusitanian Empire. Sugar at times generated greater profits than the spice trade from India. Equally important to the empire was the conversion of the local population to Christianity. Limited success was achieved at the Swahili Coast with the conversion of the infidel due to the challenge from the Moslems on the African east coast. The conversion of the local population in central West Africa was thus important and complemented the successful conversion of the Bakongo people

north of the N'Dongo Kingdom.

13. A benchmark was firmly established for future research.

10.3 LEGACY

In brief, what did the Portuguese achieve with the conquest and colonisation of the N'Dongo Kingdom in the late sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century? Not much more than incorporating the N'Dongo Kingdom into the Lusitanian Empire and claiming the wealth derived from the slave trade. The lure of precious metals produced little results. It did, however, supply some commodities to Europe such as ivory and it provided a place to banish unwanted criminals from Portugal. Possibly the greatest achievement of the Portuguese in the period was the success of converting a substantial number of the indigenous population to Christianity in central West Africa. The Catholic Church is today firmly entrenched in Angolan society, producing high-ranking clergy of that denomination. The conquest campaign may be considered successful if viewed as some form of a crusade. The Portuguese king who ordered Paulo Dias de Novais to conquer, subjugate and convert the infidel in central West Africa was after all a Christian zealot himself who sacrificed his life during a crusade in Morocco.

What did the indigenous population reap for paying tribute to their colonial master? *Terra nullius* was an immediate consequence, followed by enslavement and the burning of their religious idols. Their social structures were disrupted and their subsistence strategy, which depended on the Kwanza River was appropriated. Conversion divided the population into warring factions. The N'gola was deprived of his kingdom, which had been his sovereignty by divine right according to Mundongo cosmology. Ultimately their surviving N'Gola had to retreat to the neighbouring kingdom of the Matamba.

The conquest of Ceuta in 1415 by the Portuguese is seen to have initiated a campaign of Portuguese expansion along the African west coast. These voyages of discovery led to the eventual conquest and colonisation of the N'Dongo Kingdom in 1575. The Portuguese established their first settlement

at Luanda before proceeding upstream along the Kwanza River to establish other settlements protected by forts. Churches were established at these locations where local trade markets existed within a concentration of indigenous people. The military action, supported by an infrastructure of military forts along the Kwanza River, ensured a stronghold on the banks of the river. The often revealed alliance between the Church and the Crown forms a close bond that is inseparable to the extent that religious symbolism in the architecture pervades military structures. Crusading ideology was propagated by the church while the Crown dealt with political and economic issues. The cross and the sword were indeed inseparable.

It is proposed that capitalism may only have become an influence in colonialism after the reformation as a critique to post-colonial theory as expounded by Gosden (2004). The notion of triumphalism and Eurocentrism is argued to have risen as a medieval legacy associated with the belief that European culture was supreme. Sixteenth-century Europe accepted Catholicism as the only religion on earth and thus the Pope had sole jurisdiction over the fate of pagans. Papal Bulls such as *Romanus Pontifex* and *Inter Caetera* authorised the Portuguese *conquistadores* to appropriate the land of the colonised and enslave the indigenous population.

The resistance of the indigenous population was fierce, resulting in a protracted war of conquest that took the Portuguese by surprise. Portuguese Crown forces were often defeated in battle by the Mundongo warriors and their allies. Resistance was covert such as in the case of the suspension of the African trade markets and overt in the confrontation of the Portuguese advance along the Kwanza River. Queen Jinga was an astute political strategist and formidable opponent in the battlefield. She remained undefeated by the Portuguese as the Queen of the Matamba and today her statue in Luanda symbolises Angolan resistance against the European colonial yoke. This level of resistance by a single individual is seldom replicated in the struggle for African liberation and may be analogous to the twentieth-century struggle of Nelson Mandela in South Africa. The tenacious colonial hold of the Portuguese on central West Africa and indeed on

Mozambique, however, lasted until 1975.

Portuguese colonial rule left a large footprint on Angolan soil as colonial identity survived assimilated in Angolan society until today. Portuguese material culture pervades Angolan culture while the official language of Angola is today Portuguese. Stone buildings gradually replaced grass huts and mud and daub structures while Christian paraphernalia replaced wooden idols. The Mundongo embraced Portuguese material culture and social behaviour, including religious beliefs exemplified by the deity of Muxima where a white Madonna embraces her black children. Both the colonised and the coloniser had agency in that the Portuguese also acquired local culture through assimilation and intermarried into the indigenous population. The footprint of the former colonial master is tangible in Angola.

Future research is difficult to define in the sense that so much work is required before the archaeological remains are obliterated. Most valuable would be to empower the Angolan academics to help themselves. This may be achieved with a formal training programme between universities and museums in Angola and South Africa or other countries as a starting point. Assisting the Angolan legislative authorities in establishing a research infrastructure would be a priority backed up by a sustainable financial plan. Angola offers a vast field of opportunity for archaeological research albeit achievable under restricted and challenging circumstances. Cambambe, for example, could provide an excellent opportunity for future archaeological excavation. The site occurs within an electrified fence which is very secure and the management of the hydroelectric scheme where the site is situated are believed to be amenable to such an enterprise. The complex offers accommodation in the form of staff housing and a 'hotel'. A school is situated adjacent to the site that could stimulate students to participate in an excavation project. The site could provide information *inter alia* on the search for the silver mines, the relationship between the cross and the sword, and the period after the establishment of the fort well into the nineteenth century. This long historical period encapsulated in the ruins outside the fort could elucidate life on the Portuguese colonial frontier.

Table 10.1: Timeline indicating principal economic factors and events of conquest (1575-1641)

EMPHASIS NOT ON ECONOMY		EMPHASIS ON ECONOMY FOR COLONY TO PROSPER			
Slave trade incidental			Intensified military campaign of Governor Luis Mendes de Vasconçelos	Dondo market established	
1575	1605	1617	1621	1625	1641
<u>Focus on:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Search for minerals▪ Appropriation of land▪ Evangelisation			<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ N'Gola defeated & exiled▪ Royal City destroyed▪ Slave trade could not exist without the cooperation of the Mbundu	Portuguese form alliance with Queen Jinga to restore the market economy including the slave trade while continuing to resist colonisation	
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Wars of conquest disrupted the slave trade• The source of slaves depleted		War of conquest intensified to stimulate the slave trade			

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