

9-1-2015

THE PENETRATION OF EUROPEAN
IDEOLOGY IN THE ATLANTIC WORLD:
“OTHERING” AND “DEFORMING” THE
IMAGE OF THE AFRICAN QUEEN NJINGA
OF MATAMBA IN THE NARRATIVE OF
CAPUCHIN MONK FRA. CAVAZZI DA
MONTECÚCCOLO

Celina Cavalcanti-Bennett

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/span_etds

Recommended Citation

Cavalcanti-Bennett, Celina. "THE PENETRATION OF EUROPEAN IDEOLOGY IN THE ATLANTIC WORLD: “OTHERING” AND “DEFORMING” THE IMAGE OF THE AFRICAN QUEEN NJINGA OF MATAMBA IN THE NARRATIVE OF CAPUCHIN MONK FRA. CAVAZZI DA MONTECÚCCOLO." (2015). https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/span_etds/11

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Electronic Theses and Dissertations at UNM Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Spanish and Portuguese ETDs by an authorized administrator of UNM Digital Repository. For more information, please contact disc@unm.edu.

Celina Cavalcanti-Bennett

Candidate

Department of Spanish and Portuguese

Department

This thesis is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication:

Approved by the Thesis Committee:

Kathryn J. McKnight, Chairperson

Margo Milleret

Judy Bieber

**THE PENETRATION OF EUROPEAN IDEOLOGY
IN THE ATLANTIC WORLD:
“OTHERING” AND “DEFORMING” THE IMAGE OF THE
AFRICAN QUEEN NJINGA OF MATAMBA
IN THE NARRATIVE OF CAPUCHIN MONK
FRA. CAVAZZI DA MONTECÚCCOLO**

BY

**CELINA CAVALCANTI-BENNETT
MASTERS DEGREE**

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

Portuguese

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

July, 2015

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During my studies at the University of New Mexico I received support from several individuals to whom I wish to express special appreciation and gratitude. First, to Professor Dr. Kathryn McKnight, who has been a tremendous mentor for me and for her dedication in assisting me to complete this thesis. I am indebted to her for the painstaking readings of my manuscript and her valuable insightful feedback. I have heartfelt gratitude for the other members of my committee, Professor Judy Bieber and Professor Margo Milleret, for serving as my committee members even at hardship. I am also grateful to the Spanish and Portuguese Department for allowing me to grow in my academic pursuit.

A special thanks to my family and words cannot express how grateful I am for all of the sacrifices that you have made on my behalf. I thank all of my friends who supported me in writing, and incited me to strive towards my goal: Ma. de Fátima Sá Fontes, Prof. Iedo Leite Fontes, Prof. Helena Uema, Dr. Rick Strassman, Dr. Rachel Spaulding, Joshua Brown, Lukas Redekopp, Jeffrey Bronfman, and Renata Cassis-Law. Finally and most specially, I express my deep appreciation to my beloved husband Mark Bennett, who spent countless hours accompanying me in the moments when there was no one to answer my queries.

**THE PENETRATION OF EUROPEAN IDEOLOGY IN THE ATLANTIC WORLD:
“OTHERING” AND “DEFORMING” THE IMAGE OF THE AFRICAN QUEEN NJINGA OF MATAMBA
IN THE NARRATIVE OF CAPUCHIN MONK FRA. CAVAZZI DA MONTECÚCCOLO**

by

Celina Cavalcanti-Bennett

B.A., UWW African-American Theater, University of Massachusetts, 1985

M.A., University of New Mexico, 2015

“Truths are illusions of which one has forgotten that they are illusions.”

Nietzsche 1873/1995: 92

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines how language deforms the image of the “pagan and barbarous” inhabitants of the African continent, and specifically that of Queen Njinga of Matamba, through the process of “Othering,” realized by the racist imperialist ideology embedded in European writings. I argue that the representation of Africans and African subjects in Fra. Cavazzi da Montecúccolo’s writings deform their image. Cavazzi’s writings draw from a stockpile of images that circulated in European ideology to represent the “Other” and make inferior all non-Europeans and non-Catholics in order to justify the slave trade and colonization.

I employ Walter Mignolo's argument that the “darker side of the renaissance” is a racist ideology embedded in European language as an ideology of superiority. I buttress his argument

with Mary Louise Pratt's analytical framework, as contained in *Imperial Eyes* (2007), which explores travel literature language that systematized nature "as a European knowledge-building project." Taken together, these frameworks explain how European ideology imposed on native spaces of the Atlantic world via Eurocentric languages and knowledge, as a "transculturation" strategy to justify European exploitation of "Othered" peoples and cultures. I make use of Richard Popkins' "*Pre-Adamism and Racism*" to link the racist ideas that circulated in Early Modern Europe and were transposed to the Atlantic world as a thread to present day racism.

The primary sources examined in this project are the travel writings of Capuchin Friar Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi da Montecúcolo (1621–1678) and letters written by Queen Njinga of Matamba (c. 1582-1663). Cavazzi's writings report about West Central Africa to the Holy See's Propaganda Fide missionary branch first published in 1668. He penned his "eyewitness" narrative from his 1654-1667 travels in the Kongo-Angola-Matamba territory and his visit to the court of Queen Njinga. Cavazzi recorded within his text the twelve letters that he says the queen wrote to Portuguese governors and other European authorities. After thirty years of armed resistance, and aided by missionaries, the queen supposedly wrote these letters expressing her intention to make peace and her desire to be a faithful Catholic. These letters allow me to analyze how the queen represents herself or was represented, thereby revealing her transculturated wisdom, and thus to deconstruct Cavazzi's "deformed" imperialist image of the queen.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|------------|
| INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| Queen Njinga of Matamba | 1 |
| The Deformed Image of the “Barbarian” Wrought through the Language of “Othering” | 5 |
| Defining Terminology..... | 10 |
| Hybrid Spaces and Transcultured Inhabitants in the Atlantic World System | 13 |
| The Barbarous African Queen..... | 17 |
| Systematizing African Nature “as a European Knowledge-Building Project” | 20 |
| Decolonizing the Knowledge of the Contact Zone..... | 26 |
| Chapter Overview | 27 |
| CHAPTER ONE: BETWEEN PASSION AND REASONING: | |
| EUROPEAN IDEOLOGY IN THE GAZE OF CAVAZZI DA MONTECÚCCOLO | 32 |
| Introduction..... | 32 |
| Cavazzi’s Worldview: The Racialist Repertoires Imbedded in Cavazzi's Narrative | 34 |
| The Refashioning of Human Identity from Greek Ideology | 48 |
| The Racialist Worldview Used to Narrate the Process of Colonization in the Atlantic System | 50 |
| From Travel Literature to Culture: How Racialist Ideology Impacted Socio-Cultural Relations..... | 58 |
| Conclusion | 61 |
| CHAPTER TWO: THE BORDERS AND DOUBLE CONSCIOUSNESS OF QUEEN NJINGA..... | 64 |
| A Brief History of Queen Njinga Mbandi Ana de Sousa of Ndongo/Matamba | 65 |
| Njinga Manipulates Signs to Represent Her Intention..... | 85 |
| Conclusion | 91 |
| CHAPTER THREE: FROM SAVAGE TO CATHOLIC SLAVE TRADER: | |
| HOW CAVAZZI’S PROSE DEFORMS QUEEN NJINGA’S IMAGE | 95 |
| Introduction..... | 95 |
| How the “Other” Is Portrayed as “Enemy” | 107 |
| The Combination of Alterity, Barbarism, and Enemy Constructs a Deformed Image | 112 |
| CONCLUSION | 117 |
| Works Cited..... | 123 |

INTRODUCTION

“In the face of this and the intention that all might believe what she was not, she [Njinga] would order to be killed any pregnant women at hand, although this bad temperament may seem more like hatred to children than love for decorum. [...] From every male child that she discovered through her many spies, she herself tore out the heart and ate it.” (Cavazzi, 1965 [1687], Livro Quinto 72, 75).

I first became aware of racial differences in my childhood in Brazil, before the nation became a “racial democracy,” when I was forbidden to walk home from school with a black girl named Solange. I can call that the “loss of my innocence,” for up to that moment I had not noticed we were different. I had not noticed the differences that were interpreted as perverse in order to defend European domination in Africa and the Americas, as evident in Cavazzi de Montecúccolo’s description of Queen Njinga of Matamba [Angola] above. Since this childhood incident, I have been searching for the reason for that perception of difference. In my undergraduate studies, I began researching how the African slave trade became an integral factor of the Atlantic economy, and for the last thirty years, I have been pondering both the moral and the philosophical issues involved in human oppression. Perhaps this research will address my search for the reason why Solange and I were considered different and why it was imperative to keep us separated.

Queen Njinga of Matamba

Queen Njinga is renowned in Atlantic world historiography for her transculturated use of European diplomatic conventions, transposed to the West Central African “contact zone,” as

negotiation strategies to sustain her sovereign power. After 30 years of armed struggle against the Portuguese settled in Luanda, Njinga employed these tactics to secure her throne and her territory. Through her letters, written with the help of missionaries, Njinga projects a mediated image of herself from the Atlantic shores of Africa to Europe, using the imperialistic language of Europeans. Queen Njinga lived in the West Central African kingdom of Ndongo/Matamba, in the first half of the 17th century. Historians consider her the best-documented West Central African ruler of the pre-colonial period (Thornton, 1991, 25). She became famous for three reasons: her armed resistance against the Portuguese invading her territory; her presumable cruelty and immorality [before her conversion] as reported by missionaries Antonio de Gaeta and Cavazzi da Montecúcolo; and her remarkable conversion to the Catholic Faith.

Historically the queen was a controversial personage as documented in different sources: those written by Capuchin missionaries, by Portuguese military and governmental authorities, and in Dutch military reports; all portraying her as an enemy to be feared. (Dapper 369-370; Cadornega, I: 403; Sousa Papers, Heintze 129).

However, because these historical sources were not studied until the 20th century, Queen Njinga survived for centuries only as a legendary figure in her native land, which is now Angola. Queen Njinga is legendary for her Catholic conversion, a kind of miracle proclaimed to Europeans by the above-mentioned missionaries who wrote eyewitness reports (Heywood 39). It is noteworthy to point that Njinga was by no means the first African ruler to convert to Catholicism in that region, and yet Fra Antonio de Gaeta described her conversion as a “marvelous” event. It appears that Cavazzi used her presumable cruelty to contrast with her conversion to showcase the benefits brought to Africa by the Holy See missionaries. Njinga

converted to Christianity in order to make an alliance with the Portuguese, helped by the support of the Italian Capuchins missionaries who were in Matamba; thus, she retained the throne while her own African compatriots viewed her sovereignty with ambivalence. Another legend about the queen is that she spent her life fighting against the Portuguese colonizers, defending the independence of her people. In fact, Njinga did not fight alone against the Portuguese. According to Portuguese sources, she joined the ferocious Jaga (mercenaries known for their cannibalistic rituals) and she became feared by her own people for her cruelty and savagery.

Europeans describe Njinga as an abominable ruler; her image is saturated with ambivalence given her political alliances, her conversion, and her aggressive behavior. Yet the image of her that emerges from her own letters attest to her transculturated wisdom. When Njinga used the European writing practice of diplomacy, she deployed a convention culturally different from her own oral tradition, and took advantage of its performative attributes. By employing this maneuver of rhetorical "performance" Njinga's letters created a language that allowed her to forge a communication in which she manipulates the hegemonic discourse aiming to deploy her agency. She spoke to European values using their own symbols to establish mutual similarities. Her pragmatic approach reflected back to Europeans a great deal of cultural symbolism, which in turn increased her negotiating power, indicating to the Portuguese an opportunity to trade. Njinga presented herself using language that advantageously established her transculturated place within a "contact zone" and secured her sovereignty, though precariously hanging by a thread. Still, many of her tactics and adaptive

maneuvers allowed her to sculpt an identity saturated with ambivalence common in “contact zones”: an eccentric personality, neither African, nor Portuguese.

Njinga’s adaptability and successful survival, despite the many wars against an armed enemy, places her in a unique position making her worthy of attention. Despite the asymmetrical power relations, she faced an invader that had been gnawing away her territory for more than a century, and when she was cornered, she changed tactics and took what she could. The resistance with which she met the Portuguese is evidence that Africans did not just hand over their land and their people to Europeans. The Portuguese invaders were just as tenacious, bellicose, and brutal as any Africans defending their homeland and their economy. Njinga stands out as an African who became a worthy enemy and negotiated tactically. Nonetheless, the racial differences and the heavy ideological arsenal Europeans carried into the Atlantic world, which intellectually inferiorized Africans by making them the African “Other,” were infallible weapons.

When I read four of Queen Njinga's letters in the book *Afro-Latino Voices* (McKnight and Garofalo 38-51), it became clear to me that Africans did not peaceably acquiesce to the European takeover. Though the first West-Central Africans to come in contact with the Portuguese in the 15th century—the Kongoleses—initially shared commercial interests and negotiated with the Portuguese, within a few decades the trade relations deteriorated and armed resistance began. For the next century, West Central Africans attempted to obstruct the unstoppable intrusion of the Portuguese into their territory and in due course acquiesced to becoming the imperial “other.” My thesis aims to bring to light specific instances of the ideology behind racist difference.

The Deformed Image of the “Barbarian” Wrought through the Language of “Othering”

Cavazzi da Montecúccolo documented as an “eyewitness” the Mbundu space in the 1600s. His narrative, however, stems from the lens of a Renaissance man, with a distorted ecclesiastical gaze, which requires cautious against-the-grain reading (Wiget 228). John Thornton maintains that although Cavazzi’s text was posthumously edited, and much of it was not the work of an eyewitness, but based on other sources, his “history of Kongo retains its importance for historians, not so much for what Cavazzi saw himself, but for the lost material visible in the book” (Thornton, “New Light” 260). Jan Vansina suggests that in order to glimpse a less distorted view, one needs to consider in greater depth the Mbundu traditions of the period (Vansina, *Oral Tradition* 6-7). These considerations highlight that Cavazzi is among the many European historians who distorted Africa and is, thereby, one of the primary sources for understanding how the legendary Njinga was created (68).

In 1667, Fra. Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi da Montecúccolo describes Africans in a travel report to the Holy See as follows:

“Estas regiões tem o grande defeito, que se verifica em muitos outros países, do bairrismo, uma elevada estima da sua origem, que apregoam como a mais nobre e excelente de todo o mundo... Como nunca saíram da Etiópia julgam ser esta parte do mundo não só a mais vasta, mas também a mais feliz, a mais rica, e a mais bela de todas... teimosamente afirmam que, na criação do Universo, Deus confiou aos anjos e aos seus ministros a tarefa de regular a ordem de todo o resto da terra, reservando só para si formar as regiões da Etiópia e especialmente o reino do Congo... Esta opinião torna-os cegos, enganados e sujeitos a um orgulho ridículo, que transparece em quase todas as suas ações.

De fato, baseados nessas supostas verdades e na nobreza da sua genealogia, julgam-se os primeiros entre os homens de todo o mundo e não acreditam nas narrações dos europeus acerca da magnificência de tantos reis e monarcas da beleza e outras qualidades de tantos reinos do universo”. (Antônio Cavazzi da Montecúcolo. First Book 82, my translation).

These regions [the people of West Central Africa] have a great flaw, which occurs in many other countries, parochialism, and a high esteem of their origin, claiming to be the most noble and excellent worldwide.... As these people have never left Ethiopia they think this part of the world as not only the most vast but also the happiest, the richest and the most beautiful of all ... they stubbornly argue that in the creation of the universe, God entrusted to the angels and his ministers the task of regulating the order of the rest of the earth, but reserved for himself the task of forming the regions of Ethiopia and especially the kingdom of Congo ... This view makes them blind, misled and subjected to a ridiculous pride, which becomes apparent in almost all their actions. In fact, from these supposed truths and the nobility of their genealogy, they believe they are the first among men worldwide and do not believe the stories of Europeans about the magnificence of many kings and monarchs and of the beauty and other qualities of many kingdoms of the universe.¹

In this passage, while describing the “Other,” Cavazzi da Montecúcolo engages in a common practice carried out by Europeans since the Renaissance that shaped the image of the African “Other” and at the same time formed Europe’s self-identity as a “white” continent. Thus began the evolution of modern racism through the emergence of a racial vocabulary that wrought images that stigmatized blackness (Blakely 87). While engaging in the activity of “Othering,” Cavazzi reveals his own ideology and, in describing European kingdoms, his prose ironically flaunts the very behavior that he criticizes in Africans.

The European ideology imposed on Atlantic world spaces during the Age of Discovery was a belief system elaborated with a self-aggrandizement based on a “rationalizing, extractive,

¹The primary source examined in this study was published in 1687, post-mortem, by the Propaganda Fide, as *Istorica descrizione de'tre'regni Congo, Matamba, et Angola*. Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi da Montecúcolo. Bologna 1687. The translation was published as *Descrição histórica dos três reinos do Congo, Matamba e Angola*. Pe. Leguzzano. Lisboa: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 2 vols., 1965.

and dissociative understanding that imposed functional and experiential relations upon people, plants, and animals” (Pratt 38). Europeans sought to justify a particular political, social, and economic order by distorting parts of the social reality in an authoritative manner that expressed only the interests of a distinctive group, by creating a false consciousness within the group it represented as well as the group it dominated. The core of this ideology saw non-Europeans and non-Catholics as “inferior” beings. This ideological stance was meant to institute a separation between Europeans and the inhabitants of the non-Western spaces they came to occupy. This separation established the hierarchy that advanced European invasive and extractive goals, while not taking into account the worlds over which the imperial “Other” ruled. These advancements undermined local sovereignty, created “peripheral areas,” and disenfranchised their inhabitants (Said 9).

The superiority bias used by authors in the Early Modern period to structure their representations, alerts readers to the possible distancing from reality that the texts generated. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra notes that scholars of the 18th century affirmed that 16th century Spanish witness reports about Amerindian societies were written by authors whom were “either purposefully or unconsciously lying” (*How to Write* 11).² In another study, regarding the demonization of the Atlantic world, Cañizares-Esguerra maintains that, “Early Modern English and Spaniards were ‘cultural twins’ whose narratives of colonization rehearsed the same ‘satanic epic’” (Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors* 35). This points to a general European perspective deployed in written production ordered by Christian lenses imposing the “satanic epic” to justify Spanish and English conquests. Cañizares-Esguerra maintains that this

² Cañizares-Esguerra notes that Adam Smith (1723-1790) is one of the 18th century authors who made this suggestion in his 1776 publication *The Wealth of Nations*.

deformation of the Atlantic world by Europeans was accomplished through the belief that because Satan had established his sovereignty outside of Europe, Europeans had to employ holy violence to defeat his demonic hordes and rescue the heathens, alternately conceived as either the devil's minions or his victims (35). It is with this awareness that I study the ideology behind the gaze that structured one of the principal surviving texts about Queen Njinga, authored by Cavazzi da Montecúccolo, an Italian Capuchin missionary, who wrote three volumes after his thirteen years traveling in the Mbundu territory. My intent is to understand his representation of Queen Njinga in relation to European Renaissance ideology, ideas of superiority, of demonized "Others" and desires to dominate inferior "Others."

The ideas of a human hierarchy used as a rationale to justify the oppression of others have been disseminated by intellectuals in every age. From the Greeks to the Romans to the Renaissance period: the practice insidiously survives in the modern world, as these ideas of superiority have influenced racial segregation in the U.S. and racist politics present in many nations of the globe. I argue that this rationale of superiority is at the core of Cavazzi da Montecúccolo's writings, visible in his rhetorical activity of "othering," which generates a deformed image of Queen Njinga. Therefore, my primary focus is on the images of the "Other" that populate the European imagination of other cultures, images through which texts create subjects who are the "barbarian," the "enemy," and the outsider who is not like "us".

Cavazzi utilizes the language from his social system to structure a representation of Africa and Africans from an ideological slant motivated by specific hegemonic goals. To examine the social structuring of this language, I apply the concepts of representation laid out by Ferdinand de Saussure and Jacques Lacan. In Structuralist theory, Saussure and Lacan argue

that all human actions and social formations are related to language and can be understood as systems of related lexical elements. Saussure's theory of language, as a process of Structuralism, highlights the decisive role of meaning and signification in structuring human life and understanding of language and social systems. Cavazzi's method of constructing text through language is precisely at the core of my argument. He creates his text by layering images from the system of signs inherent in European ideology to project a representation of the inferior African "other." Cavazzi's gaze shapes the representation with meaning embedded in his worldview. The image formed (or deformed) of the subject is produced by weaving layers of meaning that enshrouds the represented, in this case Africans and, in particular, Queen Njinga.

This study privileges a reading of the "Other" by examining what a text may or may not say. In the examination of some of Queen Njinga's letters I tease out how she represents herself. There are voluminous textual productions about the "Other" from the perspective of European males with hegemonic agendas of justification for their enslavement or racial separation. Nonetheless, there are very few instances where the voice of the imperial "Other" is heard. By developing an analysis of Queen Njinga's letters, I reveal her transculturated wisdom. I articulate an understanding of how Cavazzi's text represents Queen Njinga of Matamba with a negative bias. His text produces a subject by denigrating her image as an African to promote her image as a Europeanized Christian. The excesses of Cavazzi's rhetorical activity emphasize Njinga's savagery in order to replace it with a "hybridized" identity, of a former savage turned submissive Christian. By creating a deformed image of Njinga, the text denies her a trajectory in which her image would survive as a successful defender of her

territory engaged in complex, strategic relationships, both local and global within a convoluted “contact zone.”

Defining Terminology

The first key term in my argument that requires a clarification is “ideology.” I use the definition offered by Syed H. Alatas that an ideology is a system of belief that seeks to justify a particular political, social, and economic order by distorting parts of the social reality likely to contradict its main presuppositions (1). This form of ideology is authoritative in nature and expresses the interests of a distinctive group by creating a false consciousness among the group it represents as well as the group it dominates. European Renaissance ideology tends to domination: it seeks to be authoritative and to impose itself as the supreme truth. It reflects an objective reality with goals and agendas like the ideology of colonialism whose purpose and ultimate aim is proto-capitalistic economic activity for the acquisition of greater and greater wealth.

I also employ core concepts of colonialism, namely imperialism, Eurocentrism, contact zones, transculturation, Othering, and racism. Edward Said uses the term “**imperialism**” to describe any system of domination and subordination organized with an imperial center and a periphery. These “peripheral areas” related to imperialist activity are the “contact zones” where one or more cultures previously unknown to each other interact (9). According to Lewis Samuel Feuer, “regressive **imperialism**” is identified as “pure conquest, unequivocal exploitation, extermination or reductions of undesired peoples, and the settlement of desired

peoples into such territories” (4). **Eurocentrism** is the practice of viewing the world from a European perspective and with an implied belief, either consciously or subconsciously, in the superiority of European culture. For Samir Amin, Eurocentrism is the ideological construct that emerged with the birth of capitalism sometime around the Renaissance. Eurocentrism is a paradigm that functions spontaneously in the areas of "common sense" and of what seems obvious and unquestionable. Central to Eurocentrism is "Hellenomania," that is, the rediscovery of Antiquity in the Renaissance (125).

The term “**contact zone**”, coined by Mary Louise Pratt, refers to the European expansion beyond its contemporary borders—including Africa, Asia, and the Americas. This concept relates to the notion of what preceded the “colonial frontier.” The contact zone refers to a more holistic approach toward studying the spatial, temporal, geographic, economic, political, and bodily interactions that exist between people of culturally diverse backgrounds during initial encounters with one another (4-6). According to Pratt, the collision of cultures during initial contact results in the creation of areas of highly contested cultural, social, and political interactions. “Contact zones” are “social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination—like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today” (7). These interactions have been typically documented by historians possessing a European colonialist framework. This perspective gives a unique, but ultimately parochial focus to the documentation. In her use of the term “contact zone,” Pratt refers to the cross-cultural encounters not only as singular Eurocentric meeting points, but rather as wide areas of

ethnographically diverse mutual interactions. The concept thereby incorporates preconceptions, intentions, and motivations from all sides of the encounter.

As the imperialist process developed and produced periphery contact zones far away from the imperial center, the phenomenon of “**transculturation**” took place. Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz coined this term in 1947 to describe the process underlying the merging and converging of different cultures. The word transculturation better expresses the different phases of the transitive process from one culture to another, which necessarily implies the loss or uprooting of a previous culture, and thus the creation of new cultural phenomena (260).

“**Othering**” is a term coined by Edward Said to refer to the act of accentuating the perceived weaknesses of marginalized groups as a way to emphasize the alleged strength of those in positions of power. Othering is a process at the core of the maintenance of unequal relationships, and depends on the subordination of an “Other” group or peoples. Because imperial rule was imposed for the exploitation of land and resources, Othering justifies subordination. The creation of the other is done by highlighting their weakness, thus justifying the “moral” responsibility of the stronger group to educate, convert, or civilize the other (67).

“**Racism**” rests on the assumptions that a correlation exists between physical characteristics and moral qualities. From these assumptions, mankind is divisible into superior and inferior stocks. From a historical perspective racism can be understood as “prejudice plus power,” because without the support of political or economic power, prejudice would not be able to manifest as a pervasive cultural, institutional, or social phenomenon (Operario and Fiske 33). The Greek philosopher Aristotle viewed the Greeks as free by nature and the “barbarians”

(non-Greeks) as slaves by nature, in other words slaves naturally and willingly submit to despotic government. Aristotle argued that people from outside Greece were more prone to the burden of slavery than those from Greece. He defined natural slaves being those with strong bodies and slave souls (unfit for rule and unintelligent), which implies a physical basis for discrimination. He stated that the right kind of souls and bodies don't always go together, implying that the greatest determinate of inferiority and natural slavery versus natural mastery is the soul, not the body (Isaac 257). Benjamin Isaac sees this as a proto-racism, a precursor to modern racism. According to Isaac, the notion of Hellenic superiority present in ancient Greece evidences a proto-racism that was injected into the Renaissance through the Classical education model. This model, based on the study of Greek and Latin that pervaded educational institutions until the 19th century, circulated the ideas and images that formed the European mentality during the European conquests. Hellenic ethnocentrism can be seen as a proto-racism, in continuum to the modern understanding of racism based on hereditary inferiority. In Western history, this ethnocentrism-racism was a driving force behind Greek and Roman conquests and, more recently, the European transatlantic slave trade (Isaac, 253).

Hybrid Spaces and Transcultured Inhabitants in the Atlantic World System

The commercial relations between the Portuguese and West Central African cultures began formally in the 1480s when Kongo entered into an alliance with the Portuguese. Consequently, West Central Africans lived in a hybrid space as transcultured creolized

subjects of the Portuguese Crown and became possessors of an Atlantic Creole culture (Heywood and Thornton, *Central Africans* 49). Transculturation, the exchange of life styles, languages and cultural references, produced creolized inhabitants who crossed cultural boundaries and interacted within both cultures. Over the space of a hundred years of contact, Kongo rulers had converted to Catholicism and religious missions had been established in the Kongo. These Afro-Christian Creoles employed European language conventions to deal with foreign religious, institutional, and mercantile agendas. At first these relationships were of mutual interest but within a few decades conflict began to unfold as the Africans felt their sovereignty undermined (Thornton, "Correspondence" 412)

The region of Kongo-Angola-Matamba became a space where cultures fused together, which can be called a "hybrid space," where inhabitants on both sides of the cultural divide operated from strong belief systems that drove interactions based on mistaken assumptions. Their interactions were impacted by complex factors that shaped their identities and dictated the tight boundaries of their options. Often their assumptions lead to circumstances of "double mistaken identities," a process "in which each side of the cultural exchange presumes that a given form or concept is functioning in the way familiar within its own tradition and is unaware of or unimpressed by the other side's interpretation" (Lockhart 115). It appears that "double mistaken identity," at its most basic level, underscores the way in which ordinary people interacted within the imperial system within a newly formed "contact zone." This theory hinges on a mistake that was made at first contact by people in real time, and, as the mistake was repeated each day, it became legitimized.

At first, natives in the Atlantic shores were slow to realize that they were being called on to relinquish definitively all aspects of their beliefs and traditions, and replace them with Christianity. In the case of Kongo-Angola, a process of transculturation took place as exceptions and adaptations to Christianity existed on both sides of the cultural divide and showed that the “mistaken” perceptions became part of a transculturated cultural pattern that was accepted and justified. For instance, the Bible was called *nkanda ukisi*, which might also be rendered as “charm in the form of a book”, and a church was called *nzo a ukisi* or charm in the form of a building. In this way, Catholic saints were identified with local spiritual entities, and churches built in holy spots. With the help of Portuguese priests, these adaptations defined the way in which Kongolese approached the new religion and in many ways naturalized it (Thornton, “Development” 152). Despite the many adaptations in the practice of Christianity in the West Central African “hybrid” culture, in 1595 the Holy See eventually pronounced the elevation of São Salvador, the capital of Kongo, to an Episcopal See, which suggests the mistaken perception by Europeans that the Kongolese had relinquished their native beliefs (Thornton “Correspondence” 413). To 21st century readers, the elevation to Episcopal See reveals the degree of transculturation in this region. This transculturation, not fully understood by the members of the cultures in contact, gives an inkling of the context in which Njinga’s identity was formed, with multiple threads from the African Mbundu traditions and Portuguese Catholic and secular ideologies. The struggles she faced living between different worlds exemplify the possibilities and perils of interacting in the “contact zones.”

The spaces invented in the Atlantic World to serve as sites for European entrepreneurial experimentation were hybrid places that forced transculturation upon its inhabitants. These

spaces are also referred to as "borderlands" because they are where nations or societies interact with each other. Borderlands Studies are relevant to this discussion because they address what happens when distinct societies interact to cooperate or compete in these in-between spaces that become "hybrid spaces." The events occurring within hybrid spaces were defined by histories that often ignored the internal context of invaded societies. My project analyzes human interactions in these spaces and questions the European representations of a hybrid space, Kongo-Angola, and a transculturated subject Queen Njinga of Matamba.

Nestor Garcia Canclini's term "hybrid cultures" sheds light on the arrangement of the environment in which Queen Njinga interacted with the Portuguese. The frontiers, contact zones, or borders, were liminal spaces where cultures fused together forming a hybridity that exhibited the dual affirmation of an expression that both resembled and lacked its original identity. According to Canclini, hybridization is a social cultural process "in which discrete structures and practices, previously existing in separate form, are combined to generate new structures, objects and practices" (xxv). This enmeshing of cultures accelerated the transformations in the West Central African kingdoms in the 1600's. During this time, a hybrid culture (also called Creole) was emerging from the combined elements of both Mbundu and Portuguese cultures. The inhabitants of these contact zones were transculturated by this process.

As the two cultures were positioned in a cultural divide, those on the African side had to integrate the impositions of European practices in order to adapt and survive. In this case, Queen Njinga had to communicate in a European language in order to be taken serious. The concept of borders is helpful to explain the asymmetrical power relations that developed in her

environment. Mignolo and Tlostanova argue that “Borders” in the 21st century are similar to “frontiers” in the 19th. Frontiers were conceived as the boundary between civilization on one side and barbarism and emptiness on the other. These borders facilitated the European classification of the world into regions, where on the other side of the epistemic frontiers, “people do not think or theorize; hence, one of the reasons they were considered barbarians” (205). This concept of borders allows us to understand the epistemic shifts that took place in the hybrid cultures resulting from the contact between natives and Europeans. Epistemology, knowledge and justified belief, is woven into language and, above all, into alphabetically written languages. Languages are not something human beings *have* but they are part of what human beings *are*. As such, languages are embedded in the body and in the memories of each person: they are geo-historically located. Knowledge and subjectivities have been and continue to be shaped by the colonial and imperial differences that structured the Early Modern colonial world (205).

The Barbarous African Queen

In 1654, when Fra Antonio Cavazzi da Montecúcolo arrived in Luanda to stay in the territory until 1667, he encountered a land ravaged by dynastic conflicts and wars of conquest that had dismantled the cultural patterns of the Mbundu people. At that time Queen Njinga of Matamba, a fierce enemy of the Portuguese, had pulled off many victories, made dangerous alliances with local mercenaries, and remained undeterred. Njinga’s father, King Mbandi Ngola Kiluanji (1592-1617), the fifteenth king of Ndongo, had reined in that hybridized contact zone

and stood in resistance as well. For more than a century, this zone was developed from the mounting political crisis triggered by the presence of the Portuguese.

The Holy See sent missionaries to the region to advance the project of African conversion to Christianity and to serve as mediators in the Portuguese imposition of hegemony (Thornton, "Development", 150). As Njinga's confessors and advisors, these missionaries played an influential role in Njinga's historical trajectory. Fra. Antonio da Gaeta was a key figure in negotiating Njinga's sister Mukambu Mbandi's ransom with the Portuguese governor in Luanda. The sister was eventually released after Queen Njinga paid repeated ransoms with slaves and agreed to become an ally and middlewoman in the slave trade. These negotiations were carried out through letters that Njinga wrote in Portuguese, with help from the missionaries. Njinga did not submit without a fight: she followed the example of her father and her brother, rulers before her, who faced the Portuguese in armed conflict.

After her father and her brother were defeated, Njinga took the throne and continued the armed struggle to preserve the Ndongo kingdom, while the Portuguese attempted to install a puppet king. Being a formidable military tactician, Njinga waged a war of resistance for nearly thirty years against the Portuguese and local chieftains who questioned her legitimacy as a ruler (Thornton, *Warfare* 102). The Portuguese fomented these quarrels as a political strategy to create division in the region. Ndongo was transformed into a combat zone by the transatlantic wars of conquest and enslavement carried out by the Portuguese and Dutch.

To counteract these dismantling invasions, and to carry on her efforts, Njinga entered into high-risk alliances with Imbangala mercenaries, the Dutch, and eventually, with the

encroaching enemy, the Portuguese (Heintze 103).³ As a transculturated subject, Njinga used Creole cultural elements to align herself with the Portuguese, becoming a slave trader in order to retain her sovereignty. She began using Portuguese writing conventions to align herself with the Portuguese authorities in order to secure treaties and retain her sovereignty.

Queen Njinga's kingdom existed insecurely at the center of a growing Atlantic Creole "hybrid" culture imposed by foreign interests. Njinga became a transculturated subject of the Portuguese Crown and participated in the Portuguese imperial project. Her trajectory from African ruler defending her territory, to unconquered fierce warrior, to submissive Catholic queen exemplifies the subjugation process Europeans designed for the African continent. Having learned the European convention of diplomatic parley when she visited Portuguese governors in Luanda in 1622, seeking treaties, she continued to pursue diplomatic dialogue and embraced Catholicism in order to sustain her sovereignty. She sent letters to the Portuguese Crown and to the Holy See. In addition, she made many attempts to negotiate the ransom of her sister, Mukambu Mbandi, imprisoned by the Portuguese, and who eventually assumed Ndongo's throne after her, in 1663 (Thornton, *Legitimacy* 40). Through these diplomatic efforts she acquiesced to the Portuguese imperialistic project by converting to Catholicism and becoming a slave trade mediator (J. C. Miller, "Nzinga of Matamba" 213). Njinga's maneuvers to sustain her sovereignty appear to have been adaptive actions to dodge the growing Portuguese presence in her territory. Her conversion, and hence her reconciliation with the Portuguese were motivated by her perception of renewed Portuguese strength after the expulsion of the

³ The Imbangala were fully militarized bands based entirely on initiation rites as opposed to the customary kinship rites of most African ethnic groups. During the entire 17th century numerous "Jaga" bands roamed about marauding the Kongo-Angola-Matamba region where they became mercenaries or allies to the Portuguese, fought against them or remained largely independent, maintaining primarily commercial ties with them. See also J. C. Miller, "Requiem".

Dutch. Cavazzi da Montecúcolo viewed Njinga's conversion with a suspicion born of the events that his confessor reported to him. Cavazzi's view of Africans drew from a mixture of his own observations, reports provided by local informants, and the writings of others. In fact he also borrowed a great deal of information from texts penned by other missionaries (Thornton, "New Light" 260). Cavazzi not only reported widely on the feats of the queen he also distorted her image in his discourse of colonization.

Systematizing African Nature "as a European Knowledge-Building Project"

Walter D. Mignolo ascribes three main "technologies" to colonialism —language and writing, memory and archiving, and cartography. Mignolo's argument unfolds through a critical analysis of arts, letters, and maps (228, 237, 256). He argues that the classical revival in the European Renaissance was a justification and agent of colonial expansion. The dissemination of European languages into colonial spaces effectively erased the regionality of spoken languages and colonized the voice. The European emphasis on the book and the written word meant that written work was seen as the only repository of religion and knowledge. "Books, in the West, became entrenched with writing and with truth, be it the truth of God by divine revelation in the Holy Book, or be it the truth of human beings by written narratives in historical books" (334). This meant that cultures with alternative modes of inscribing the sacred were rejected as primitive. The European valorization of the book, associated with literacy and authority, was thus closely aligned with the colonization of "bookless" cultures. Historiography and archiving,

argues Mignolo, are Western inventions that are complicit with Early Modern empire-building. The lack of words meant a lack of events—history—and hence it fell to the Europeans to “record” Atlantic World history (315-19). This re-recording of history renders a past that is “a set of possible worlds that cannot be changed and voices that cannot be restored, but we could certainly change our current perception of the past by constructing new images of how things might have been if they were not what missionaries and men of letters told us they were” (168).

European forms of writing such as reports of foreign events and ethnic histories were attempts to colonize genres. According to Mignolo, these attempts to colonize genres were carried out through the rhetoric of colonialism, which encompassed the assumptions and appropriative methods of European genres such as the encyclopedia and the codex. Writing was presumed to have the power to transform—or Christianize—the native. These forms of European writing organized knowledge obtained from various native (non-written) sources in specific ways, so that the alien culture could be made accessible to European (colonial) readers. This was the colonization of memory (168).

Cartography, the rise and development of the European spatial organization of the world, sought to identify and highlight cultural differences. Mignolo argues that the geometricizing the shapes of the human body, landscape, and cosmos in European cartography symbolizes a politics of naming, representing, and, finally, administering the barbarians. Through these technologies, European modernity and colonial epistemological projects went a long way toward achieving political control through cultural means (228).

The history of European development is intimately linked to the forming, or deforming, of the Atlantic world. According to Alison Games non-Africanist historians have yet to find ways to fully insert Africa into Atlantic history beyond the context of slavery and the slave trade. Games maintains that there are alternate ways of thinking about Africa and Africans in their varied relationships with the Atlantic world, for instance through the experiences of individuals who lived in different parts of the Atlantic, and circulated within a specific imperial system (Games 754). Such was the case of queen Njinga, who was ensnared in the slave trade in the 17th century. Queen Njinga of Matamba and the two Capuchin friars who served as her confessors, Antonio da Gaeta and Giovanni Cavazzi da Montecúcolo, represent the intermingling of Europeans and Africans and the lasting impact of these relationships. The former writes of positively of Njinga to promote the miracle of her “marvelous” conversion. The latter is suspicious of her willingness to convert and his narrative is infused with an ideology that emphasizes the African “Other” pointing to the threatening “enemy.” This is a praxis that produced a “deformation” of the image of all non-Europeans, in the interest of transforming the Atlantic World into a space of colonial entrepreneurial opportunities.

According to Saussure, writers can exploit descriptions as representations are at the mercy of the gaze that employs the signifier thus shaping the signified (14-15). Cavazzi’s description in the epigraph to this chapter, Africans (the signifier) as lazy (the signified) evoke the suspicions that Europeans already had the image of the “barbarian” in their psychological associations, encouraging in Europeans readers the perception that Cavazzi speaks the truth because he uses images that are accepted in the European mind.

I employ this concept of interpreting signs to examine the gaze that Cavazzi imposes on his portrayal of the queen. This type of examination has been utilized in recent scholarship by Mary Louise Pratt to examine reports and travel journals, as well as literary works in other genres, to tease out the connection of interests and motivations that affect descriptions of observed and interpreted objects. According to Pratt, employing Eurocentric rhetoric, travel and exploration writing produced “the rest of the world” for European readerships at particular points in Europe’s expansionist trajectory (5). It is apparent that one of Cavazzi’s motivations in his three-volume report is to justify the Capuchin mission’s role in leading Africans towards Catholic conversion in order to promote the missionary work of the Holy See before the Portuguese Crown (Heintze, *Angola* 135-36). Previously the Holy See had granted a combination of rights and duties to the Portuguese Crown and until then the Portuguese Crown was responsible for Catholic missions in various parts of Portuguese domains. This meant that no bishop could be appointed without the permission of the Portuguese king, and no mission could act without his permission minimizing the authority of the Holy See (Alencastro 161). At that time, the papacy went through significant changes in its missionary work. In 1622, Pope Gregory XV established the Holy Congregation of the Propaganda Fide, seeking to reduce the interference of the Iberian Crowns in the work of evangelization. The Portuguese Crown demanded that foreign missionaries had to be authorized by the Portuguese king and remain under its jurisdiction. Still, the papacy set up missions not subject to the Portuguese and Cavazzi was sent to Africa in one of such missions. The period that Cavazzi worked in Africa was the time of greatest conflict between the Portuguese Crown and the Holy See over the control of the missions overseas (161). Since Cavazzi was under the jurisdiction of the Holy See he wrote

copiously about the Capuchin mission in the kingdoms of Congo, Matamba, and Angola in order to justify the Holy See's missions in that region. It is important to note that this is perhaps why Cavazzi is very careful when he refers to the Portuguese.

It can be inferred that, because of the reasons discussed above, Cavazzi seeks to establish a common enemy of the Europeans by focusing intently on the construction of the African "Other." In his writing Cavazzi engages in a process of reading the signs he encounters—the behavior of Queen Njinga and her people—representing their meaning by establishing relationships in his worldview to be interpreted by his audience. The concepts of Vilho Harle (1994), on the logic of culture, can be helpful to illustrate how the case of European identity reveals the functions of the "Other" and the "Enemy". Meaning that "when the distinction is understood to reflect the *struggle between good and evil*, and when good is associated with 'us' but evil with 'them.' If and when somebody is defined as the 'Enemy,' he is not a human being anymore: it (sic) has become a beast to be eliminated in gas chambers or by atom bombs" (Harle 28). In the case of the Africans, the "Enemy" has been successfully described as bestial; therefore their enslavement is justified as is the eradication of their abominable customs.

In colonialism the process of "Othering" is accomplished by the application of structures of knowledge and asymmetrical relations of power in order to create a particular political configuration whose goal is domination (Pratt 4). Therefore, the very act of producing written artifacts, such as travel reports, constitutes a deed of possession and authority. In the Age of Discovery, travel writing represented bodies and spaces in such a way as to establish ownership in the imagination of a European audience desirous of possessions and riches. The diffusion of

these ideas was accelerated in the 16th century, with the mass production of books that the advent of the printing press (c. 1450) enabled.

Publications representing bodies, behaviors, and geographical spaces of the Atlantic world were in vigorous circulation in the 1600s (Rubiés 377). They populated the European imagination and functioned as an incentive to immigration and encouragement to rationalize possession. These texts produced images that portrayed their subjects through the lenses of philosophical and theological ideology drawn from Renaissance contemporary concepts. These concepts, which made the “Other” inferior by representing their image in a deformed manner, provided a system of thought and insights defining the superiority of the Christian-European self-constructed identity. These images are situated in the foundation of the process of “Othering.” Civilized men, bolstered by their urban institutions, agrarian way of life, technological, and economic sophistication, conceived of themselves as superior and expressed their distrust of the “barbarian” by means of stereotyped images. “Barbarism” and its antonym, “civilization”, were the conceptual inventions of civilized man. The contrast with others assumed to exist at lower levels of development, i.e. material, intellectual, and moral, allowed civilized man to glorify himself (Jones 377).

These ideas of the “civilized man” can be traced to the Greeks and Romans. In the Renaissance, a renewed interest in ancient and classical learning was in vogue as the Catholic Church embraced a humanistic educational model. During the Age of Discovery, the Roman Catholic Church established a number of Missions in the Atlantic colonies in order to spread Christianity and to convert the indigenous peoples. The Holy See and the Portuguese Crown sent missions into Africa with the goal of imposing cultural imperialism. Ali A. Abdi argues that

all forms of imperialism inherently endeavor to exterminate the culture of the imperial “other.” European colonization, most notably in Africa, intended the removal of local cultures, worldviews, and epistemologies. This process was accomplished by setting in motion the replacement of native African languages with European ones, imposing extensively interactive regimes, and “heavy contexts of identity deformation, misrecognition, loss of self-esteem, and individual and social doubt in self-efficacy” (Abdi 12). These are the very strategies that were implemented in West Central Africa, as exemplified in Cavazzi da Montecúcolo's approach to his subjects.

Decolonizing the Knowledge of the Contact Zone

The theoretical treatment of travel literature by Mary Louise Pratt in *Imperial Eyes* informs my examination of Cavazzi's narrative. Pratt combines textual analysis with ideological critique to decolonize knowledge, linking the dynamics of the expansion of capitalism to the production of knowledge that reinvented the African colonial space. Pratt describes this use of language, or systematizing strategy, as a phenomenon of “contact zones.” Utilizing these zones, Europeans established the colonial structures that led to the genocide of indigenous populations of the Americas and Africa, the eradication of their traditional cultures, and the inception of the transatlantic slave trade. These experiments proved more profitable than the Europeans had expected. They became the force impulse the production of wealth that fomented the French Revolution and the fundamental impetus of the Industrial Revolution and the mechanization of production (36).

Pratt argues that it is possible to reverse the direction of the European gaze, to look out at Europe from the imperial frontier. This reversal reveals a panoramic view of the Enlightenment processes of standardization, bureaucracy, and normalization. From Pratt's insight emerges the realization that the slave trade and the plantation system were massive experiments in social engineering and discipline, serial production, systematization of human life, and the standardizing of persons (36). When Europeans struggled to overcome obstacles to their domination of West Central Africa, they responded by demonizing the features of those barbarous others in their way, in the same manner that Cavazzi portrays Njinga as a demonized obstacle to Catholicism. European travel writers shaped the events that took place in the 17th century Kongo-Angola-Matamba region with pre-established notions that deformed their subjects as they justified possession of their lands and their right to enslave the inhabitants (Thornton, "Correspondence" 413). Here, Pratt's lens allows me to examine the ideological mechanisms that Cavazzi da Montecúccolo used to produce a discursive field about colonial "others" and their cultures. Specifically, it reveals how this Eurocentric process creates a demonized portrait of Queen Njinga.

Chapter Overview

Chapter One provides an analysis of the Greek roots of European ideology of superiority superimposed on the spaces of the Atlantic world that drove European motivations to economically exploit the shores of the Atlantic system. I support my argument that Cavazzi's narrative utilizes "Othering" and "deforming" strategies by examining Early Modern European

publications that projected images similar to those on which Cavazzi relies to portray a deformed image of Njinga.

Chapter Two lays out Queen Njinga's trajectory from royal diplomatic representative to armed resister of Portuguese domination to willing subject of the Portuguese Crown. This history contextualizes the discussion of how she represents herself in her letters. Queen Njinga's epistolary comprises twelve letters that were recorded by Cavazzi da Montecúcolo. Some are composed with the help of an African interpreter captured by Njinga in 1648, D. Calisto Zelotes dos Reis Magos. It appears that Njinga determined that negotiations with the Portuguese should take place in writing. She employs European conventions of diplomatic exchange to make peace with the Portuguese. The Portuguese in turn accept her alliance in order to neutralize their most terrifying enemy, the Imbangala or Jaga.

The letters of Queen Njinga provide a voice of the "Other" as she attempts to express her view of the conflict and its causes. Against Cavazzi's deformed image of Njinga, I reread the queen through the transculturated knowledge she expresses in her letters. In order to reconstruct a more realistic portrayal of Queen Njinga it is necessary to consider more deeply the traditions the Mbundu nation. Orality was the communication format of the Mbundu culture and Queen Njinga replaces her tradition with the written European conventions. Njinga learned the ways of her enemy in order to establish an avenue of communication and create a common ground.

By negotiating her position as a subject of the Crown in the war-engulfed hybrid space that West Central Africa had become, Njinga straddled two realities. She was an African sovereign defending her territory, and a subject of the Portuguese Crown participating in the

advancement of its imperialistic project to the detriment of her territory. This scenario illustrates the dramatic unfolding of the imperialist design imposed by the Portuguese. American sociologist W.E.B Du Bois's concept of double consciousness is useful to explain Queen Njinga's response to her dire predicament. In order to retain control of her vanishing kingdom, she had to acquiesce to Portuguese authority, by converting to Christianity and becoming a slave trade mediator. In this difficult negotiating position, she employed European writing conventions. Her letters express both her position as a subject of the Portuguese Crown—as she sees herself through Portuguese consciousness—and a sovereign affirming her agency and right to equal treatment—as she retains a vision of herself through her Mbundu consciousness.

Of the queen, we only have a few letters, dictated to and edited by monks with Western colonializing agendas. The mediation of her words, given the very narrow space she had in a letter, was a key factor in order to succeed in conveying her essential message. Njinga was a warrior who fought a well-armed enemy for thirty years, and was not in a position to speak freely. What might her silence conceal?

Pierre Macherey posits that, “What is important in the work is what it does not say” (97). Gayatri Spivak adds that one may elaborate an utterance by means of “measuring silences” using an interventionist analysis that penetrates meaning by interrupting the silence to reveal the consciousness of the subaltern (Morris/Spivak 256). I classify Njinga as an oppressed subaltern, because despite her belonging to the African elite class, she engaged in a form of insurgence that radically minimized her position. Within the dynamic of unequal power compared to the Portuguese empire, her resources were taken and her land was exploited. This

unequal relationship required her subordination and a subsequent subaltern position: Njinga chose to strategically speak the language of the oppressor as an act of agency.

Chapter Three provides develops an analysis of how Cavazzi's text deforms Africans and Africa. Cavazzi's gaze was shaped by the European ideology of his time and his text intentionally creates a subject that justifies the mission of evangelization and European enslavement of Africans. Cavazzi's text constructs a representation of Njinga based on the acquired meanings that he associates with her as a member of her culture. Based on knowledge derived from European social and ecclesiastical concepts, Cavazzi ascribes meaning to and draws conclusions about what he was witnessing; Njinga, a transculturated phenomenon of a newly created hybrid culture of the Atlantic world.

Cavazzi has the privilege of enunciation and represents the queen and her people while at the same time articulating freely his views, his classifications, and his categorizations. The analyses of what Njinga's letters do not say may be considered in juxtaposition with a comparison with the semiotics of Cavazzi's social text, as well as how his "Othering" activity deforms her image.⁴ In his writing Cavazzi engages in a process of reading the signs he encounters—the behavior of Queen Njinga and her people—representing their meaning by establishing relationships to be interpreted by his audience. I employ the concepts of Vilho Harle, the logic of culture, to illustrate how the case of European identity reveals the functions of the "Other" and the "Enemy". I bolster this discussion with Michel Foucault's argument that in Colonialism the strategy of "Othering" was applied in order to control power and subjugate the subaltern.

⁴ Semiosis is any form of activity, conduct, or process that involves the production of meaning from signs. See Paul Bains, *The Primacy of semiosis: An ontology of relations*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. (2006)

CHAPTER ONE

BETWEEN PASSION AND REASONING:

EUROPEAN IDEOLOGY IN THE GAZE OF CAVAZZI DA MONTECÚCCOLO

Introduction

This chapter briefly addresses three main topics: the circulation of racist ideology in literary production in the Age of Discovery (15th & 16th centuries); the roots of European racist ideology; and the process of “Othering.” Western Europeans, like the Greeks and the Romans before them, were obsessed with invasion and take-over. They were impassioned with ideas of civilizing conquest and rationalizing their superiority. Consequently, they were caught between passion and reason, a tension that shaped the gaze of Early Modern writers who produced images of the imperial “others.” These images were expediently used to justify an extractive agenda for economic gain and the creation of hybrid “contact zones.” These “contact zones,” in turn, engendered transculturated individuals such as Queen Njinga of Matamba. Europeans had centuries of experience creating these “contact zones” usually formed through armed invasion.

The motivation to exploit the Atlantic shores was fueled by successive movements of conquest, beginning with the First Crusade as “The wave of expansion moved from east to west, terminating in the New World; in form and content it was one continuous movement” (Solow 711). Throughout the succession of crusades, Europeans were commercially active in exploiting the markets and commodities they encountered along their path of armed takeover which made possible the distribution of products such as sugar to all of Catholic Europe (713).

The “crusader” ideology harbored at its core a Catholic-European self-perception of superiority that took as a duty to bring spiritual and civilizing salvation to the barbarians and heathens inhabitants of “undiscovered” spaces. This worldview is imbedded in the European languages used to describe these spaces and its natives. Using this language to inferiorize Africa and Africans, Cavazzi da Montecúcolo’s text deforms his subject—Queen Njinga of Matamba—to justify the European presence in Africa.

The economic, political, and cultural developments associated with racist ideology in modernity can be summarized as the recycling and reinscription of racial discourses from repertoires accrued during the course of previous centuries.⁵ The epistemological arsenal that defines human identity and diversity gelled during the 16th and 17th centuries, when Europeans involved in overseas expansion utilized the discourse of race to justify their enterprises. The questions that shape this chapter are the following: How were repertoires of racist discourses formed? How was the racist worldview used to narrate the process of colonization in the Atlantic system? How did racist ideology from such narratives impact racial politics? And, as an over-arching question, how did the demands of audience expectations encourage writers to use a specifically biased language that shaped images and expediently steered the content of the narrative?

⁵ See discussions by Mary Louise Pratt, Carmen Nocentelli, and Anthony Pagden.

Cavazzi's Worldview:

The Racialist Repertoires Imbedded in Cavazzi's Narrative

The worldview that shaped the perspective of Renaissance man was a complex mesh of ideologies of superiority and supremacy fueled by centuries of struggle for territorial conquest, societal integrity, consolidation of ruling power, and self-definition. The complexity of Early Modern European lives was shaped by conflicts between theology and economics; spirit and body; contemplation and activity; austerity versus the corpulent desires of the flesh; the imaginary and the factual; indulgence and scarcity; and meshing of the popular and with the aristocratic (Burke 25). Driven by expansionist motivations and caught between passions and reason, Renaissance Europeans indulged in the pursuit of pleasure and piety (Campbell 4). Beyond supplying what was needed to sustain the population, monumental efforts were invested in feeding the passion for luxury and material gain alongside the salvation of the soul. These contradictions and tensions operating on the perspective of Early Modern man were “poised between an external world characterized by European arrogance and a world within riven by the tensions of secular social injustice and racism” (Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write* 6). During the Age of Discovery these tensions collided in a period of intense intellectual, technological, religious, and economic transformations in Western Europe. These are some of the many tensions that shaped the gaze of Early Modern ecclesiastics like Cavazzi da Montecúccolo who wrote texts representing natives on the distant shores of the Atlantic World for Europeans avid for territorial expansion and material riches.

The overall theme of my study traces how Cavazzi da Montecúcolo used the accumulated European knowledge of the Renaissance that he took with him to Africa to negatively represent a territory and its inhabitants in his Early Modern travel report. This report was shaped as a proto-ethnographic exploration narrative—common at his time—inferiorizing Africa and Africans, while defining the superiority of Europeans. Cavazzi’s writings represent Queen Njinga of Ndongo and Matamba, and Africans in general, in a deformed manner. In his text, Cavazzi transposes a European repertoire of racist images to an environment that his worldview defined as “savage.” Earlier travel accounts produced in Europe provided a corpus from which subsequent writers borrowed freely, reproducing images of Native American and African women that resonated with the reader’s desires, curiosities, and expansionist goals (Morgan 169). I develop an understanding of how Cavazzi negatively depicted Queen Njinga of Matamba and her people, whose lives were transformed by a “hybrid” borderland where cultures clashed in a molten “contact zone.” This “contact zone” was exploited by European greed and a self-fashioned sense of supremacy. These depictions were used symbolically to alert readers to the distance between Europeans and Africans, emphasizing a border between the superior European and the sub-human African. When Cavazzi’s travel report was published in 1687, Europeans had already come in contact with, in the century before, a multivolume collection of published travel accounts that contributed to the evolving discourse of European civility and African savagery (Morgan 176). With visual images of overseas encounters in which circulated the “Othered” images of monstrous of alien races, these representations showcased their complex savagery adding to the repertoire of racist images in the lexicon of conquest and exploration that the Greeks kicked off.

Cavazzi follows models of discourse that were present in texts from the time of the Greeks and that resurfaced vigorously in the Renaissance, in which the label “barbarian” was used to categorize all those “others” who were not bona fide citizens of the empire. My thesis tackles the process of “Othering” that Cavazzi employed in his language to strategically deform the “pagan savages,” inhabitants of the African continent, where he traveled as a missionary for thirteen years.

Antonio Giovanni Cavazzi da Montecúccolo (1621-1678) was an Italian Capuchin missionary of the Holy See’s Propaganda Fide branch, with the agenda of spreading the Catholic faith to the distant inhabitants of Africa. He traveled in West Central Africa, between 1654 and 1667 to support the Portuguese colonization efforts in that region. He wrote a three-volume travel report describing the territory of three African kingdoms: Kongo, Angola, and Matamba.

The excerpt below, penned by Cavazzi da Montecúccolo in c. 1665, offers generous material to the study of superiority ideology imbedded in travel reports of the Early Modern period.⁶ Cavazzi utilizes pejorative adjectives to invoke the image of the “lazy native” who was motivated solely by the animalistic need to survive. The myth of the “lazy native” appeared in the Early Modern repertoire of images to justify unjust practices in the mobilization of labor by Europe’s colonializing agenda. “The ideological denigration of the native and of his history and society ranged from vulgar fantasy and untruth to refined scholarship” (Alatas 8). It portrayed a negative image of the natives and distorted elements of social and human reality to ensure a practical maneuver in the construction of the colonial ideology. In the following

⁶ In this study, the term “Early Modern period” encompasses the late portion of the post-classical age, beginning with the Fall of Constantinople in 1453, with the Renaissance period, and with the Age of Discovery and ending around the French Revolution in 1789. The period is known for the engagement of European nations in an aggressive campaign to become involved in global trade. Historians have argued that the most important feature of the Early Modern period was its globalizing character. See Jan De Vries.

passage Cavazzi utilizes this image to characterize the behavior of the Africans who might have been engaged in patterns of adaptation reacting to the impositions and domination strategies of the Europeans, or simply deploying their own contextual wisdom:

Pode parecer incrível que, com todo o vigor com que Nosso Senhor os privilegiou, juntem tanta preguiça e inaptidão nas ocupações diárias e domésticas, às quais se entregam unicamente pela necessidade de buscar os meios da vida. Afirmo isso baseado na experiência, e todo europeu que visitou aquelas regiões pode testemunhar essa realidade, sem escrúpulo nenhum. Os europeus, com efeito, quando não podem andar a pé e se servem das costas destes pretos que, por livre escolha, ou obrigados pelo dever, levam os Brancos nas tipoias ou de outra maneira, gastam frequentemente cinco ou seis dias num percurso que em qualquer outra parte levaria dois. Nisto não há outra razão se não a preguiça deles. Com efeito, demorando-se em folguedos ou no sono, deixam passar a frescura da manhã e da tarde e viajam só quando o Sol é mais ardente. Então, de quando em quando, torturados pelo calor, param, gastando assim horas e horas. Não quero descrever a pena e o aborrecimento dos pobre viajantes, que não podem fazer queixas nem ameaças, para não serem abandonados no meio da floresta. (Livro primeiro 83)

It may seem incredible that with all the vigor with which our Lord privileged them [the Africans in the Matamba region], they combine so much laziness and ineptitude in daily and domestic occupations, in which they engage solely for the need of finding their daily sustenance. I say this based on experience, and all Europeans who visited those regions can testify to this reality without hesitation. In fact, when Europeans cannot walk on foot and use the backs of these blacks, which they offer freely or forced by duty, carrying the Whites in slings or otherwise, these Europeans often take five or six days to make a journey that elsewhere would take two. For this there is no explanation other than their [the Africans'] laziness. Indeed, lingering in diversions or sleep, they let pass the cool of the morning and early evening and travel only when the Sun is hotter. Then, from time to time, tortured by the heat, they stop [to rest] spending thus hours and hours. I do not want to describe the suffering and the aggravation of the poor [European] travelers, who cannot complain or make threats, lest they be abandoned in the forests. (My translation).

When Cavazzi da Montecúccolo wrote the above words as an eyewitness in African territory, his gaze was casing an alien landscape and shaping an image of the “Other” that expressed his European ideology of superiority. Mary Louise Pratt argues that European travelers in their

depictions of native people and their spaces encouraged other Europeans to view less developed countries as ripe for European colonization. The "imperial eyes" of European males (the seeing man) look out and possess landscapes. The core of the European ideology imposed upon the Atlantic world spaces was a belief system elaborated with a "rationalizing, extractive and dissociative understanding that imposed functional and experiential relations upon people, plants, and animals" (38). In the passage above, Cavazzi imposes his belief system by distorting any knowledge that native Africans possessed to justify their actions. His perspective holds a common manifestation of elite privilege, much as noble Europeans practiced elsewhere. One may consider that the jungles of Africa were not places in which to be careless. My hypothesis is that the natives of the region were well aware of the dangers and locals usually traveled on the back of slaves to avoid deadly encounters with ground predators in the forests. Predatory animals are active particularly at dawn and sunset. Another possibility is that perhaps the act was one of resistance, intentionally meant to create greater discomfort to the Europeans.

I suggest that Cavazzi ignores the wisdom of natives and that his distortion aims at demonstrating to Europeans that the African natives are lazy and need the European masters to drive them to productivity. These distorted representations of natives in the Atlantic World present in travel reports were key factors to advance the European project of expansionism and economic development. Jennifer Morgan's article, "Some Could Suckle Over Their Shoulder," focuses on the way in which racist discourse was deeply imbued with ideas used by European men, "who laid the discursive groundwork on which the 'theft of bodies' could be justified relied on mutually constitutive

ideologies of race and gender to affirm Europe's legitimate access to African labor”
(169).⁷

Travel reports or exploration narratives were important to Europeans because these reports became the manuals for colonists and pioneers. Travel reports attended to the expansionist desire of finding new lands and peoples to trade with and to exploit the riches of these new lands. They became tools to provide crucial information about the people, the languages, and the geography of lands considered prime for European colonization. These new images of unknown lands of the Atlantic shore gradually substituted the traditional images of epic and pilgrimage accounts of the medieval period as they highlighted similar conflicts with hostile landscapes and conflicts with the cultures encountered. Their narratives borrowed heavily from the repertoires of images present in European medieval and earlier classical literature that dehumanized the people encountered with views of native civilizations as strange and inferior (C. L. Miller 14).

The representations of these unknown shores were shaped to signify what was desired in the service of European expansionist goals. In travel reports, narrators emphasized a negative perspective of the native civilizations they found to indicate that savages who needed the intervention of a civilizing force inhabited those lands. In such a manner, Cavazzi da Montecúcolo reports at length to the Holy See on Njinga and her people, principally

⁷ Morgan exemplifies the primacy of race and gender regarding the original construction of difference which comprises an enormous theoretical literature. She footnotes as example the work of Henry Louis Gates, Jr., who asserts that “race has become a trope of ultimate, irreducible difference.” [Gates 5] Also Hortense J. Spillers, who similarly argues that slavery—the theft of the body—severed the captive from all that had been “gender-related [or] gender-specific” and thus was an “ungendering” process. She cites as example, Ania Loomba, for cautions on the dangers of erecting hierarchies of difference. Morgan posits that, rather than creating a hierarchy of difference, simultaneous categories of analysis illuminate the complexity of racialist discourse in the Early Modern period.

addressing their savagery and abominable behavior. Cavazzi's language imposes the imperial classification assigned to all bodies that did not comply with the criteria of knowledge established by the white European Catholic and secular men. Cavazzi describes these bodies from the colonial difference produced by the hegemonic discourse endowed to "Other" people, classifying them as inferior. Within the Western Catholic languages and secular discourses of the Renaissance is the foundation of the modern matrix of racism, which emerged as the languages of different European nations imposed what Mignolo calls a "frontier of humanity." This frontier was a hierarchical divide separating those deemed "inferior" from the superior Europeans. "At the end of the 15th century frontiers were constructed not only in geographical terms and related to the extensions and the limits of the Atlantic Ocean but also in terms of the boundaries of humanity" (xi).

Mignolo explains the way language structured racial divisions in the Early Modern period through a critical analysis of arts, letters, and maps; he posits that the classical revival in the European Renaissance was an agent of colonial expansion. Mignolo's opening chapter situates the Castilian language within the core of the larger Spanish project of colonizing the Amerindians. The dissemination of the Castilian language throughout Amerindian spaces effectively erased the regionality of spoken languages and colonized the native's voice. Subsequently, the emphasis on the written word and the book meant that written work was seen as the only repository of religion and knowledge. Thus, cultures that used alternative modes of inscribing the sacred were rejected as primitive and inferior. The Western book became the means of transmitting Eurocentric knowledge and ideas from the metropolis to the colonies, thus implementing colonization via the use of European languages.

Clearly, each European nation developed its particular way of imposing its language through colonization of the Atlantic shores of Africa and the Americas. And in fact, scholars argue that greater attention must be paid to the diversity of colonial discourses, because colonial legacies are diverse in their re-inscriptions into present societies from the different models of colonial experiences (Mignolo ix). Up to now I have used the term “Europeans” to denote a transnational entity because of the way in which colonization through the written language was a common practice among all the European nations involved in the conquest of the New World. My use of the term “European” to indicate a transnational identity also indicates that, for most of these nations, the dissemination of Catholicism as an agenda of the Catholic Church and Western European Crowns, made religion a unifying agent of colonization.

The Church and the Crown were enmeshed in all aspects that drove European expansionism and the intellectual justification for the pursuit of wealth. European powers in the Early Modern period had extensive commercial interests within Europe and around the globe and the Roman Catholic Holy See encouraged and supported these efforts. Under various theological and legal doctrines devised in the European medieval period and during the Crusades, non-Christians and non-Europeans were considered the “Other” and “enemies” of the Catholic faith and, as such, less than human (Harle 28). In 1454, this ideology led Pope Nicholas V to issue the Papal bull *Romanus Pontifex*, granting and directing King Afonso V of Portugal to capture, vanquish, and subdue the Saracens, pagans, and other enemies of Christ, to put them into perpetual slavery, and dispossess them of their personal property and land (Mudimbe 45). This Papal Bull was an opportune instrument to justify economic development through overseas expansion by other European power as well.

Earlier texts, of the same genre as Cavazzi's, served as a guidebook for the efforts of economic development by European nations involved in the offshore expansion of their borders. Having a Classical-Catholic education Europeans such as Cavazzi learned from their histories that the boundaries of their nations had changed over time: conquest was a familiar discourse in the Early Modern ideology. In fact, the history of Europe can be characterized by its endless wars of territorial conquest. During the 12th and 13th centuries the Europeans became obsessed with overseas conquest, like the Greeks and the Romans before them. Beginning with the First Crusade, European expansion that moving from east to west eventually took over the Atlantic shores of the Atlantic World reaching the distant shores of queen Njinga's kingdom of Ndongo. The wars of Reconquista were not just wars to expel the Moors, but crusades against all infidels, all non-Christians and non-Europeans (Solow 711). Christian victories, encouraged by the ideology and the power of Church and Crown, were a structuring force of European supremacy. The same strategies were employed to conquer the New World with an added focus: the salvation of souls.

There were famous controversies over the writings that described the colonization of the natives of the New World. In her acclaimed study on early Latin American narrative, Rolena Adorno examines the foundations of the Latin American literary tradition. She locates these foundations in the writings that debated the rights of Spanish dominion in the Americas and the treatment of its natives (4). Adorno argues that the "polemics of possession" played a crucial role in the development of Latin American literary and political discourse. One element at the core of these discourses was an ideology constituted by concepts that deemed non-Christians as "inferior" beings in need of salvation. This ideological divide was meant to institute a

separation between Europeans and the inhabitants of the alien spaces with which Europeans came in contact, creating the phenomenon of the “other.” Cavazzi da Montecúccolo’s text engages in the process of “Othering” as a strategy to institute a separation between the African “savages” in need of salvation and the Europeans who faced great dangers in order to bring civilization to those alien barbarians: he thus justifies the conquest of their lands. By promoting the conversion of Queen Njinga of Matamba, whom at first he describes as ferociously aggressive, his text offers hope to a European audience poised to invest and support the endeavors to subdue African resisters like Njinga.

The way Cavazzi constructs his text is similar to the way other Europeans shaped their narratives of the “Other” in the alien territories they sought to penetrate. The “Other” is created by promoting its weakness as different from the self and by positioning the stronger self in a place to educate, convert, or civilize (Harle 28). As a verb, “Othering” refers to the act of emphasizing the weaknesses of marginalized individuals or groups as a way of stressing the alleged strength of those in positions of power (Said 133). Othering can be done with any racial, ethnic, religious, or geographically-defined category of people. The practice of “Othering” encompasses differentiating those outside a dominant culture, labeling them as inferior, and identifying them as belonging to a category excluded from a societal center. In geographic terms “to other” means to place outside of the center, somewhere along the margins where the societal norm does not reside (Mountz 328).

In *Orientalism*, a book about the oppressed subaltern, man and woman, Edward Said explains how the Eurocentric perspective of Orientalism produced the foundations and the justifications for the domination of the “Other” by means of colonialism. This awareness sheds

light on depictions and historiographies of other cultures created by authors in the dominant European imperial nations and on their discourses (134). The identification of cultures that a supposedly superior ethnic group deems important to study and of the different aspects of that culture that are defined as either inferior or barbaric relies on the judgment of the ethnic group in power.

In his text Cavazzi recurrently engages in the activity of Othering and seeks to establish the superior morality of Europeans. His definition of the Other as inferior is exemplified in the following excerpt by the pejorative view of African customs held by European upper class circles, a view with which Cavazzi privileges the opinions of those in higher social strata. Cavazzi describes an alien landscape and relates its strangeness to the peculiarities of the social behaviors of its inhabitants. The African landscape and its people is so alien that it clearly located outside of the European center, and placed somewhere along the margins where the societal norm does not reside.

Sobre as margens do Cuanza e do Dande há extensas silvas de árvores chamadas mangueiras [Mangue, *Rhizophora Mangle*]... Dos ramos mais robustos caem até o chão os fios grossos [e] vingados no terreno produzem novos troncos, de maneira que de uma só árvore pode resultar, as vezes, uma mata inteira... Não quero deixar em silêncio uma inteligente observação sobre esse fato. Quando os primeiros descobridores dessas regiões, ao regressarem a Portugal escreveram, entre outras coisas, a natureza desta árvore, uma princesa de sangue real [de Portugal] disse: “Terra que produz tais árvores não pode ser terra da sinceridade; nem pode ser que as mulheres, num clima tão fecundo, sejam muito castas”. Uma sentença tão sábia, dita por aquela grande senhora, incluída entre as bem aventuradas da família real, a propósito da simples descrição de uma árvore, e a comparação que fez sobre os verdadeiros costumes de regiões que lhe eram desconhecidas, levaram alguns a supor que ela fosse sugestionada por uma intuição mais que feminina. (Livro primeiro 41)

On the margins of the Quanza and Dande [rivers] there are extensive mangrove thickets from the most robust branches fall to the earth thick vines that

successfully produce new trunks on the ground, so that from one tree can result, sometimes, an entire forest. ... I do not want to leave in silence an intelligent remark about this fact. When the first discoverers of these regions returned to Portugal they wrote, among other things, about the nature of this tree, [and] a princess from royal lineage [of Portugal] said: "A land that produces such trees cannot be a land of sincerity; nor can it be that women, in a climate so fertile, are very chaste." A sentence so wise, spoken by that great lady, included among the blessed ones of the royal family, referring to the simple description of a tree, and the comparison she made about the actual customs of a region unknown to her, led some to assume that she was influenced by more than feminine intuition. (My translation)

Twice in this paragraph Cavazzi distorts the Africans by making the "Other" seem inferior. The depraved morality of female inhabitants of the African lands, who are compared to the prolific fertility of mangrove trees, and the female member of the royal family both receive his dismissive gaze. Cavazzi determines that such an insightful remark is "more than feminine intuition": since it fits so well within his ideology it could not come from a female. In essence, he places the female subject outside his superior masculine self-perception; the "Other" is placed in a periphery. The ideology behind Cavazzi's gaze, which promotes the image of the "Other" as deprived of morality and good sense, seems to publicize the justification for the concerted efforts of those who saw it as their duty to save the souls of the barbarians. His text, however, is only one among voluminous examples of writings in which Europeans produced and reproduced images of the non-European world, which utilized negative portrayals of Africans. Opportunely, representing African women as strange, animalistic, and hypersexual to justify enslavement. The gendering is an extra level of othering in addition to Africanness. These texts circulated widely in the European milieu in which Cavazzi da Montecúcolo was educated. His depictions of Queen Njinga of Matamba draw heavily from these images, as I discuss in Chapter Three.

Christopher Miller's thesis in *Blank Darkness: Africanist Discourse in French* argues that discourses inferiorizing Africans are deeply rooted in European thought. Miller traces the French literary canon to derive what he calls an "Africanist discourse" (14). Miller's study, engages in a crucial reappraisal of European knowledge inaugurated by Foucault and pursued by Said, maintains that within the general project of reappraisal, "there is more than one 'they' to be analyzed, more than one discourse of otherness to be extricated from its elaborate guise of realism" (15). According to Miller, the "Africanist discourse" begins with the etymology of the word "Africa" that he reports to have had many variations; from these variations of fictional descriptions emerges a meaningful pattern of a place unknown. Africa was a continent of which Europe lacked knowledge and European "science" was all too willing to substitute myth where knowledge was lacking, thus representing "Africa" according to its own desire. These representations of Africa circulated vigorously among European nations' literary production. Cavazzi da Montecúccolo's text was shaped by employing representations of Africa and Africans in a proto-ethnographical style intended to create a learned authority based on the "natural history" style borrowed from the Greeks.

Both Jennifer Morgan and Mary Louise Pratt demonstrate how the male European gaze shaped the perceptions of African subjects by potential Europeans colonizers. Pratt focuses on the theme that European representations in travel narratives of non-European parts of the world, such as Africa, aimed to create an imperial order for Europeans "at home." By representing Africa according to "their own desires" European travels writers were participating in making "imperial expansion meaningful and desirable to the citizenries of European countries" (3). Subsequently, travel narratives stimulated in European readers a "sense of

ownership, entitlement and familiarity with distant lands that were being explored, invaded, invested in, and colonized” (3).

Cavazzi's own Italian compatriots were also engaged in the Mediterranean colonial export-oriented sugar production, utilizing plantation-system slavery that became a model for the modern colonial economy of the Atlantic. The history of sugar production is the history of slavery and it was the bridge over which European civilization was transferred from the Old World to the New (Solow 712). Over this same bridge transited the ideology of superiority harbored by the Europeans that was imposed upon the spaces and the inhabitants of the Atlantic shores.

Men moved feverishly from trade factories in Batavia to plantations in Brazil, from Luanda to Goa and to Pernambuco (Games 743). The migrations of commodities and pathogens are examples of how, from a global perspective, people circulated around the globe as extensively as did commodities and how they transported their accumulated knowledge with them. European nations did this in very similar fashion, utilizing racist ideology in their rhetorical resources to “Other” the populations of the Atlantic World. This ideology, incubating for centuries since the Greeks and the Romans, flourished in the humanist educational curriculum all over Europe during and after the Renaissance.

This is the educational background in which Cavazzi was brought up. His Italian humanist education and ecclesiastical formation shaped his gaze: his text borrows from a repertoire of images that were taught in the classical European curriculum. European thought was indoctrinated by Greek and Roman scholarship since the 1300’s (Woodward 2; Loomis 257). Every reputable academic center of learning followed a curriculum dominated by studies in

Classical Antiquity. In fact, Humanism was the resurgent study of classical antiquity, at first in Italy, and then spreading across Western Europe in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries.

The Refashioning of Human Identity from Greek Ideology

The study of Classical Antiquity became a strong focus in the scholarship of Renaissance man from the ecclesiastical to the secular realm. The concepts of superiority of the Greek citizen were widely emulated by Europeans. The ideology of the Greeks cycled to the Romans into the Renaissance and was transposed to the Early Modern Atlantic World via European projects, all the way to the post-modern era, as Plato-inspired utopias that are still afoot (Morgan 170). The common prejudice against the “barbarian,” and the theory of “natural slavery,” to which both Plato and Aristotle adhered, fomented ideas that were used to shape the deformed image of the “Other” and create stereotypes that continue to survive (Schlaifer 189) As Cavazzi shaped a deformed image of Queen Njinga he used stereotypes to produce distance and a disdain for Africans. This is similar to the rhetorical approaches Greeks used to depict “the barbarians” they conquered.

The Greeks began to identify as a nation during the 8th century B.C. The concept of “Hellenes” was used as a common term for all Greeks. All others were called “barbarians.” The Greeks felt they were superior because they had a written language. A consciousness of superiority, based in the development of their arts and sciences, kept Greek pride alive (Schlaifer 166). Eventually Hellenism became a thing of the spirit rather than of blood and a non-Greek could not become a Greek. Greeks conceived of themselves as personifying a

superior Culture; inferior “others” (barbarian enemies) were natural slaves as they “naturally” engaged in ready submission. From the belief that they embodied a superior Culture the Greeks conceived the natural slavery of the barbarian—barbarians were by nature fitted only for slavery and it was the duty of Greeks to enslave them (Wiedemann 14-16).

The inferiority of slaves, the “barbarian” foreigners and prisoners of war, was eventually associated with their complexion, darkened by their toiling in the fields and ravaged by their nomadic life style. Physically, the slave appeared as a brute, with strength suited to inferior tasks, and lacking the erect physique of the Greek citizen (Schlaifer 187). In Plato’s *Laws*, agriculture as well as industry and commerce were strictly forbidden to the superior Greek citizen. In his *Republic* all the productive classes were members of the third estate: the slaves. To the Greeks, the character of the slave was completely without honor, shame, or any sound element at all, and matched the inferior nature of the menial tasks they performed. According to Aristophanes, the nature of a slave was so evil that even Charon, the ferryman of Hades, refused to carry a slave in his ferry. Aristotle followed Plato exactly in this: the cultivators of the soil should be slaves; if this ideal cannot be realized, then serfs should be used, but never freemen (173). To Aristotle, the characteristics of the natural slave meant that the slave is like a man possessing only part of “reason,” “like a beast in lacking part of it, and is of neither species completely, but sui generis” (194).

The literature of the Renaissance abounds with references to the conquered “Others” placing them in a sub-human category of “animalistic,” “bestial,” and “savage.” The ideology that fueled the colonization of parts of Africa, America, and Asia in the 16th and 17th centuries

reinforced and transformed these stereotypes on a global scale. In *Empires of Love: Europe, Asia, and the Making of Early Modern Identity*, Carmen Nocentelli argues that,

It is not only that the reformation of mores perceived as alien or aberrant was a crucial part of Europe's self-appointed mission to refashion the world in its own image. It is also that the establishment of racially mixed colonial societies quickly turned matters of Eros into matters of Ethnos; sexual practices and erotic proclivities became badges of identity that could evince the truth of one's racial belonging. (9)

Nocentelli refers to the use of stereotypes of animalistic behavior in reference to Africans' proclivities to excessive sexuality. These images have been manipulated in the Early Modern literature to evoke fear by producing entangled emotions related to deviation, aberration, and demonization. The images that circulated inferiorizing the African "Other," were embedded in European ideology for centuries and shaped, reshaped, and were re-used as a rhetorical tool to carve a particular figure of those slotted to be the enslaved of the colonization era.

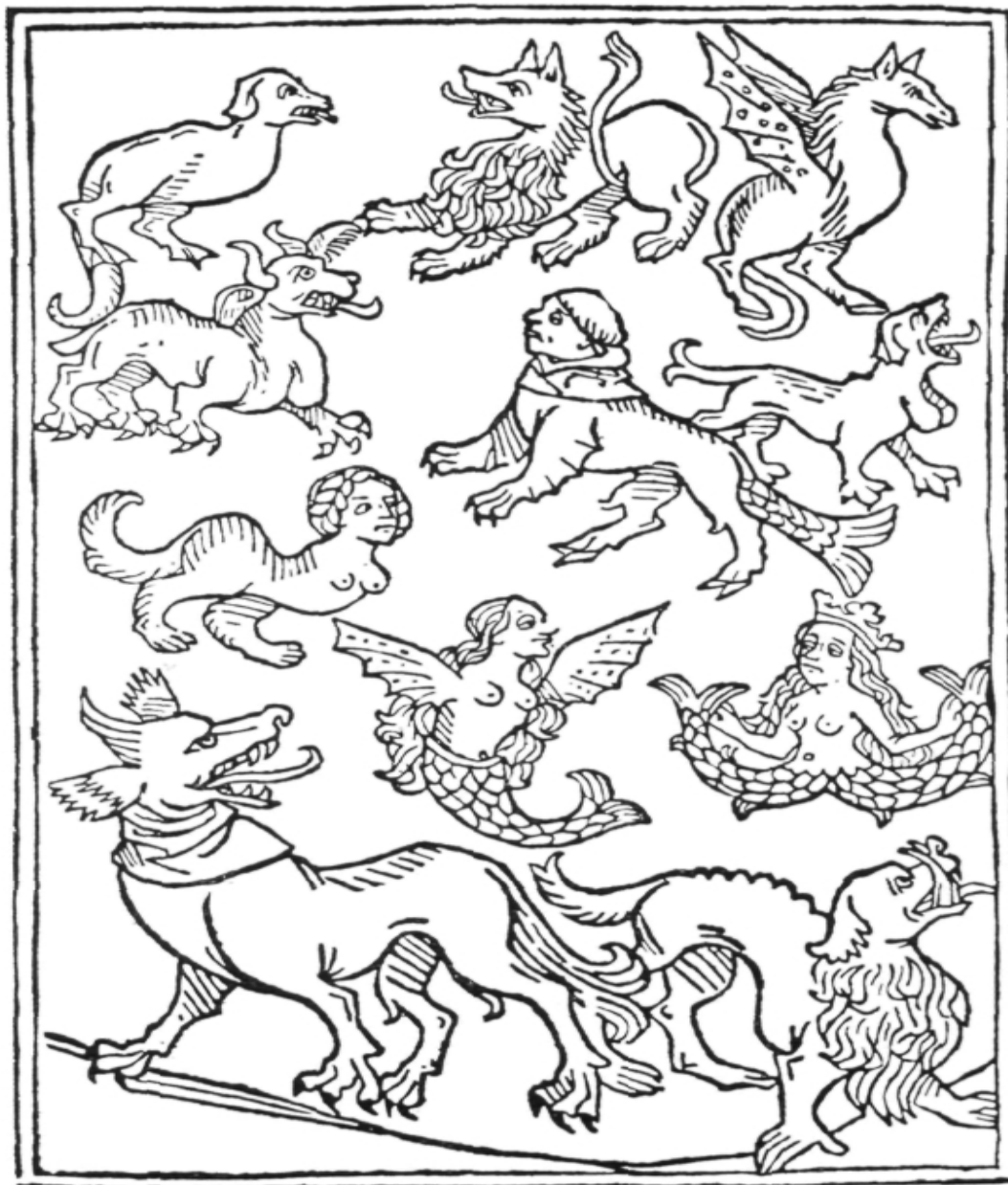
The Racialist Worldview Used to Narrate the Process of Colonization in the Atlantic System

The Greek ideas associated with physical appearance characterizing those with dark complexion as brutish slaves, who had strength suited to inferior tasks and who lacked the erect physique of the Greek citizen, are similar to the ideas at the core of Renaissance ideology of the "other." The texts produced in the Early Modern European overseas expansion, written by conquistadors, sailors, pilots, merchants, clerics, travelers, bureaucrats and missionaries,

sought to systematize accounts of exotic lands and their inhabitants. These texts, most published in the European continent for diverse readership, have in common patterns of representation that shape the inhabitants of the Atlantic World as inferior, naive, uncivilized, bestial, barbarous and lacking morality.

Jennifer Morgan traces the rhetorical figures Early Modern European writers used to construct degrading images of African women as a racist distinction. Morgan compiles journal entries from European explorers that “represented African women’s bodies and sexual behavior so as to distinguish Africa from Europe” (181). In one example, the historian unravels the struggle with perceptions of beauty and assertions of monstrosity in a text by Richard Ligon, who left London in 1647 to establish himself as a planter in the newly settled colony of Barbados. According to Morgan, Ligon's text exemplifies “a much larger process through which the familiar became unfamiliar as beauty became beastliness and mothers became monstrous, all ultimately in the service of racial distinctions” (169). Morgan argues that racist meanings were inscribed well before the establishment of England's colonial American plantations and that Europe had a long tradition of identifying “Others” through the monstrous physiognomy. She cites Pliny the Elder's ancient collection of monstrous races. The image below, by the German Catholic priest Conrad of Megenberg (1309–1374), is an example of the depictions of the natural world that circulated in Europe in the 1400’s. His book, *Buch der Natur*, had its first printed edition in 1475 and it was re-published at least six times before 1500. This text is a survey of all that was known of natural history at that time and was widely read up to the 16th century.⁸

⁸ Megenberg’s images can be viewed at the site below (this one is 169v) last accessed on 4/15/2015.



Conrad of Megenberg (1309–1374)

All European powers involved in the Age of Discovery hoping to exert imperium across the ocean held fundamental ideologies that included desires to encounter an Edenic world, to discover material riches and bring about Christian conversion and “civilization” among barbarous and indigenous inhabitants of the Atlantic World (McMillan 122). Several core ideas focused on desire, prospect, and procedures impacted European expansion into the Atlantic World. There was also an ideological bent to learn about the unknown parts of the world and its peoples, which led to descriptions and representations in a proto-ethnographical style that categorized them in natural histories (Findlen 4).

Paula Findlen’s research in *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* maintains that Europeans in the 16th century, with their curiosity fueled by new voyages of exploration, created vast collections of natural artifacts, called cabinets of curiosity, as a means of knowing the world and used this knowledge to their greater glory.⁹ According to Findlen, intellectual development in the Renaissance, which eventually led to the European scientific revolution, was structured from models whose onset was the ideology of the Greeks with a focus on the natural world. This ideology of possessing nature, its wonders and marvels, has a place in the evolution of the history of the scientific revolution. European naturalists from the high Middle Ages through the Enlightenment used wonder and wonders, the passion for its objects, to envision themselves and the natural world (5).

Monsters, flesh-eating cannibals, and celestial apparitions were the marvels that puzzled

⁹ Notably, cabinets of curiosities and collections of natural objects began suddenly to appear everywhere and continued being developed into more sophisticated and bizarre formats all the way to the first half of the 18th century into vulgar waxworks and freak shows. These cabinets of curiosity captured the imagination of Early Modern men and led to the shifting boundaries between art and nature. The Early Modern European phenomena recounted by physicians, naturalists and alchemists, are Early Modern practices that cultural historians are bringing to light. ‘Cabinets of curiosity’ became increasingly larger, and in time turned into massive buildings holding enormous collections, which are now called natural history museums.

philosophers, lured collectors, and frightened the devout. Wonder and wonders fortified princely power, wove the texture of scientific experience, and shaped the sensibility of intellectuals from the Renaissance to the late Early Modern period (Daston and Park 176). Wonders also drove the desires of Europeans in their quest of other worlds full of riches and Edenic nature. Their imagination was stimulated as much by religious ideology as by travel writings depicting the marvels of unknown lands. Cavazzi depicts Africans with a sense of wonder for their barbaric behavior. Cavazzi posits a question at the end of the following passage that expresses his sense of “wonder” before the inhuman behavior of Africans. He directly addresses the commercial nature of the slave trade as if only Africans participated in the sale of bodies. He distorts their behavior, ascribing to it a “barbaric nature” that pertains exclusively to the Africans:

Mas o que excede toda a credibilidade é a desumanidade e ingratidão de alguns que, por um preço abjeto, como um colar feito de falso coral, um pedaço de vidro, algum vinho da Europa, vendem os pais, os filhos, as irmãs, os irmãos, afirmando aos compradores, com mil pagas e mentiras, que são já escravos e condenados muitas vezes à morte. Poderia imaginar-se barbariade igual? (*Livro primeiro* 86)

But what exceeds all credibility is the inhumanity and ingratitude of some who for an abject price, such as a necklace made of fake coral, a piece of glass, or some wine from Europe, sell their parents, children, sisters, and brothers, swearing to buyers, with a thousand vows and lies, that they were already slaves or convicts condemned to death many times. Could such barbarity be imagined? (My translation).

Cavazzi's indignation communicates this behavior of Africans to be beyond his comprehension. The intemperance of their opportunism stops him in his tracks for a moment of wonder at the excess of their barbarism; however, the behavior of Europeans on the other side of these transactions does not receive his criticism. Cavazzi is not as ingenuous as he seems as he manipulates the reader with his phony sentimentalism. He knows that Portuguese settlers

in the African continent are there to do exactly that: to buy the parents, the children, the brothers and the sisters of the Africans he criticizes. Furthermore, this is a complete fabrication as Africans sold foreigners and prisoners of war, not their own kin (Hartman 5).

Cavazzi also failed to question the humanity of the traders who offered so little for a human life. Moreover, one may also question Cavazzi's lack of critical understanding regarding the value of exotic luxury imports for reinforcing status claims. Perhaps Cavazzi had not come across the recanting of Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas, a century earlier (1561), when he also came to oppose the Atlantic slave trade after realizing the brutality with which the Portuguese conducted the trade (Sweet 91).¹⁰ Referring specifically to the participation of the Spanish who bought slaves from the Portuguese to supply the production of Spanish America, Las Casas regarded the "Spanish buyers even guiltier than the Portuguese and African suppliers" (Sweet 91).

In 1654, Cavazzi da Montecúcolo arrived in West Central Africa with the mission of converting savages such as Queen Njinga and the Imbangala to support the Portuguese project of the slave trade expansion (Thornton, "Development" 147). The Catholic Church viewed the conversion of all non-Christians inhabitants of the earth as a civilizing mission, and this was the foundation for implementation of colonial power. Of the many ideological forces that drove the Europeans to throw themselves onto the seas of the Atlantic, one imbedded within its core as the authority of divine supremacy, was the ideology of the Catholic Roman Church (Pagden 47). Its force was pervasive in Europe as many nations followed its mandates and buttressed their

¹⁰ Las Casas recanted in *Historia de las Indias*. See Casas, Bartolomé de las. *Historia de las Indias*. 1561. Tomo 1: cap. 24-27; Tomo 3: cap. 74; 102-04; 128-29. Ed. Miguel Ángel Medina, Jesús Ángel Barreda, y Isacio Pérez Fernández. Madrid: Alianza, 1994.

actions with the support of its spiritual ideology. The Holy See, or the Vatican, constituted a vast bureaucracy inherited from the medieval Church that pursued the assertion of papal authority throughout the Catholic world. The papacy influenced many European projects of overseas expansion and dictated the activities of European monarchs. The Holy See maintained networks of information on the new discoveries in the Atlantic shores, and provided a theoretical framework to justify the conquest of its “barbarians” under the guise of “converting the gentiles, Africans, and indigenous peoples (Pagden 47).¹¹ Under the guise of ensuring the propagation of the Catholic faith, several papal bulls were issued to assure the marriage of trade, politics, and religion. Pope Nicholas V's *Romanus Pontifex* (1455) placed the Spanish and Portuguese at the heart of the expansion and the discovery of the New World, which rapidly expanded the boundaries of the Catholic world. The growth of two colonial institutions, the *patronato real* and the Inquisition, grounded the spiritual authority of the papacy in the Atlantic world.¹²

Between 1545 and 1563, there were many reforms that promoted missionary endeavors across the globe. Missionary expansion culminated in the creation of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, or Propaganda Fide, in 1622. This expansion of missionary work placed the papacy at the center of key European debates over the justification of conquest, the treatment of colonized peoples, and the enslavement of non-Christians in the Atlantic world.

¹¹ Pagden argues that European Atlantic ideologies were fundamentally informed by medieval perceptions of Christian universal supremacy and classical theories of empire. The Spanish used the language and methods of conquest, while the British and French eschewed that language in preference for mundane methods of settlement.

¹² The *patronato* or *padroado* (literally: “Patronage”) system in Spain and Portugal restricted major appointments of Church officials to the descendants of these monarchies. The resulting structure of royal power and ecclesiastical privileges, was formative in the Iberian colonial empire. It resulted in a characteristic constant intermingling of trade, politics, and religion.

The 15th century discoveries of unknown patterns of oceanic wind currents, the development of new ships, and the mastery of new techniques to navigate in the open sea led the Iberians to realize that an entire “new” world existed in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean. Quickly, the littoral areas of the Atlantic region became the destination of commercial development for the crowns of Spain and Portugal. West and Central Africa became the focus of the entrepreneurial extractive design of the Portuguese (Cañizares-Esguerra, *Iberian Science* 88). The new empires that the Portuguese and the Spaniards began to structure encompassed peoples and bureaucracies on four different continents and became feats of political engineering and military prowess not previously accomplished. The establishment of this overseas enterprise engendered vast networks of goods and knowledge called the Atlantic world. The central axis of this monumental machinery of European mercantilist takeover was the slave market that lasted four centuries and moved upwards of twelve million African slaves (Lovejoy 368).

The Atlantic slave trade began in the 1440s and did not end until the 1860s. By the 1700s the Atlantic slave trade had become one of the most complex international trades developed by Europeans entrepreneurs. When Friar Cavazzi da Montecúcolo went to Africa in 1654 he did so with the permission of the Portuguese Crown in accord with the Holy See. I argue that he was well aware of the tenor of his mission and of his role in the process of colonization. Through the archived documentation we know the detailed communications of the Capuchin missions in Africa and the Holy See (Thornton, "Development" 148). Missionaries like Cavazzi were briefed on the many challenges the Portuguese were facing in West Central Africa and Njinga's conversion could have been the most important item in his agenda. Based

on the above discussion, I suggest that Cavazzi's depictions of Africans with a racist perspective were part of his agenda inferiorizing natives in need of civilizing salvation.

From Travel Literature to Culture: How Racist Ideology Impacted Socio-Cultural Relations

According to Ken McMillan, intellectuals from Europe and the Americas were called upon to envision, execute, and explain colonization in the Atlantic world. This was a complex process to justify their actions both domestically and to the wider Atlantic community. Certain fundamental ideologies were shared by most of the European Atlantic powers. These included the intellectual desires to bring about Christian conversion and "civilization" among indigenous peoples; to utilize legal and political dialogue to justify their actions; to expand the territorial size of their states through colonization or conquest; to improve national economic, political, and imperial power; and to learn about the unknown parts of the world and its peoples (25).

The Early Modern "Other"

As Europeans entered into the trans-Atlantic slave trade the ideology of "blackness" became important to the idea of nation in order to create superiority of the "white" citizen. The construction of blackness derives from the voluminous textual productions that circulated in Europe prior to the formation of the colonies by European nations. In fact, Europeans created the very notion of what it means to be black in the modern world as a consequence of having

been the creators of the trans-Atlantic slave trade to fit their expansionist needs. As Europeans shaped the African Other, Europe's self-identity as a "white" continent was fashioned. This racial divide was fundamental in order to develop class systems to replicate Europe's social structures in the colonial organism (Blakely 87).

As Europeans endeavored to refashion their identities they developed intellectual and rhetorical devices to structure racial divides utilizing racist images from the centuries before. Long before the Enlightenment Europeans were immersed in overwhelmingly negative images of Africans, as if by mutual agreement. The source of this mutual perspective stems from stereotypes developed and disseminated by the ancient Greeks, Romans, and travelers' tales like those of Leo Africanus in the 16th century.¹³ Africanus described the Africans and Moors in pejorative terms such as idolaters, superstitious, vagrants that have a wicked life (I:21). There were many texts available in circulation in Europe that created a generally accepted view of Africans as people whose black skin denoted stupidity, depravity, and barbarism. Descriptions of Africa written by travelers before the 1600's include Azurara's *Chronica do Descobrimento e Conquista de Guiné*; Francisco Alvarez's *Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Abyssinia* (in both Italian and French translations); and the Latin work by John Thomas Frigius called *Historia de Bello Africano* (1580). In English there were, moreover, a number of extracts on Africa in Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*, and the best known, and most compendious source, was John Pory's English translation of Leo Africanus under the title of *A Geographical Historie of Africa written in Arabicke and Italian by Iohn Leo a More* (1600). Leo had originally written his book in

¹³ Joannes Leo Africanus, (c. 1494 – c. 1554) was a Moorish diplomat and author best known for his book *Descrittione dell'Africa* (*Description of Africa*). The book proved to be extremely popular and was reprinted five times. French and Latin editions were published in 1556 while an English version was published in 1600 with the title *A Geographical Historie of Africa*.

Arabic but at the suggestion of Pope Leo, he rewrote it in Italian, completing it in 1526 (Whitney 474).

Cavazzi's text exemplifies this view of Africans in his description of a type of native healer called a *nequita*. Cavazzi invokes various tropes used to depict black-skinned people in the European literature of his time such as the filthiness of the barbarian, their proclivities to sexual behavior, and their monstrosity:

O *nequita* celebra as suas assembléias em lugares remotíssimos e principalmente no fundo dos vales, onde os raios do Sol não chegam para descobrir suas infames torpezas. Portanto, concorrendo grande multidão de pretos, que tem grande inclinação para a sensualidade, torna-se muito incomoda a tarefa dos missionarios em achar a maneira de acabar com aquelas monstruosidades. (Livro primeiro 99)

The *nequita* holds his meetings in extremely remote places and especially in the deep valley bottoms, where the Sun's rays do not reach to expose his wicked filthiness. Therefore, trying to win over [to Catholicism] the multitude of blacks who have a great inclination to sensuality, the work of missionaries becomes an enormous inconvenience in finding a way to end those monstrosities. (My translation)

Stereotypes about blacks were formed and were circulated from the images deployed in texts like Cavazzi's, shaping the perceptions of Europeans for centuries since the Early Modern period. The pursuit of understanding nature as well as interpreting humanity is perhaps the central theme of the Early Modern period. The concepts deployed when Europeans attempted to describe nature were so deeply embedded in the act of seeing and understanding nature that defining nature and defining culture were complementary activities (Chartier 1988). Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra notes that scholars have long suggested that 16th century Spanish witness reports about Amerindian societies were written by authors who were "either purposefully or unconsciously lying" (*How to Write* 11). This historian maintains that this lying behavior "can be read as an engagement with an illusion due to the lack of fundamental elements of self

perception” as the world view of individuals is driven by a conglomerate of ideological concepts that forms, or deforms, identity. It can be said that Early Modern Europeans, educated and uneducated, lived within a conundrum of ideas engendered by fear and self-importance; two forces that shaped their world view and acted as a blue print for their textual productions. Certainly, the impact of the Plague cannot be underestimated as the lack of bacteriologic knowledge limited the possibilities for understanding nature as well as interpreting humanity. At the time, the interpretation of that tragedy was held within the spiritual and religious realms (13).

Conclusion

Europeans traveled the world during the colonial era and formed their intellectual and capitalist empires by invading, taking possession, giving names, and implementing their religious and geographic projects (Tracy 11). In the name of God, ecclesiastical personnel accompanied the military, the mercantilists, and the settlers. Clerics like Cavazzi da Montecúccolo, representing the Holy See’s missionary branch called Propaganda Fide, came to Africa in 1641 to prospect for souls and convert them to Christianity. According to Stephen Greenblatt, travel reports of that period are plentiful with stereotypes used to represent Africa and its inhabitants with an inferiorizing and indifferent European gaze. “Most Europeans turned upon the natives of America the indifferent gaze of men who do not care whether the beings before them live or die” (128). Greenblatt argues that Europeans used written representations of non-European peoples as an act of possession of their bodies and their lands (54). He shows

that “the experience of the marvelous” is central to how Europeans represented the non-European world to themselves and justified their invasions. This ideological gaze encompassed a bias manifested through the languages these emissaries of European imperial powers described these invaded spaces. Italian traveler, Girolamo Benzoni, in his *History of the New World*, begins his narrative with the following description of a native woman in Venezuela:

She was old, and painted black, with long hair down to her waist, and her earrings had so weighed her ears down, as to make them reach her shoulders, a thing wonderful to see [...] her teeth were black, her mouth large, and she had a ring in her nostrils [...] she appeared like a monster to us, rather than a human being. (Quoted in Morgan 73)

Through such descriptions Europeans took possession and re-invented these domains by baptizing landmarks and geographical formations with Euro-Christian names and signs (Mignolo 32). The Europeans who ventured into the New World shared a complex and well-developed technology of power and among the most lasting was writing. All the technology that Europeans brought with them, ships, navigational instruments, tools, and weapons have been replaced by present day megabyte-power technology advancements, except for the power of rhetorical figures of representation. The Early Modern Europeans operated from a clear idea of the “Other” as dangerous, as the enemy and as one to be conquered, subjugated and enslaved. These ideas circulated freely in Europe and supported the European project of world domination. Through representations similar to Benzoni’s, European writings from all nations shaped each other’s confidence.

Stephen Greenblatt explains that the immense confidence of Europeans was fueled by a political organization based on practices of command and submission, the use of coercive violence on both strangers and fellow countrymen, and by a religious ideology centered on the

cult of the one and only God, of supreme power. The acceptance of this God as the only God was the central focus in this religion. The confidence of the Europeans was so immense that they expected perfect strangers like the Arawaks, the Tupi-Guarani, the Kongolese, and other non-Christians and savages of all sorts, to immediately abandon their own beliefs and embrace European ones. A failure to do so provoked impatience, contempt and even murderous rage (9).¹⁴

My claims and arguments above disclose some of the mechanisms behind racist ideologies imbedded in the literary production of the centuries leading up to Cavazzi's writings. These racist ideologies abetted the submerging of the voices of the conquered, dominated, and subjugated peoples of the new world. My study endeavors to unravel and penetrate the deformed layers of constructed perceptions in order to find the hushed utterings of these voices lost in a distant and lamentable past. Fra. Cavazzi da Montecúccolo's *Descrição Histórica dos Três Reinos do Congo, Matamba e Angola (1687)* is constructed from the ideological substance and rhetorical devices available at the time he penned it. The worldview behind his gaze shaped the image of Queen Njinga of Matamba in a deformed manner, unsurprisingly and expediently, to support the Portuguese efforts and to privilege his ecclesiastical missionary agenda of "saving souls." If this is so, what are other possible readings of the queen that could emerge from the content of his text? Fortunately, Queen Njinga is one of the best-documented personages of West Central Africa history. In his travel report, Cavazzi recorded letters that she supposedly wrote to Europeans. Within her letters are, perhaps, the only fragments of the Queen Njinga's utterings, which I discuss in the next chapter.

¹⁴ For an in-depth discussion of Greenblatt's discourse see Beverley.

CHAPTER TWO

THE BORDERS AND DOUBLE CONSCIOUSNESS OF QUEEN NJINGA

In this chapter, I suggest that Queen Njinga of Ndongo & Matamba (c. 1582-1663) became a transculturated African who embraced a “double consciousness.” She shaped her identity by empowering herself as both an African ruler and a Christian subject of Europeans, whose sovereignty depended on her performance as an intermediary in the slave trade. To negotiate her sovereignty Njinga assimilated certain attitudes and actions into her native mode of conduct. These attitudes and actions consisted of yielding to the Portuguese imperial language and diplomatic conventions and embracing a transformed subjectivity, a transculturated identity.

In the Portuguese and Italian reports, Africa predominantly occupies the silenced role of the “distant interlocutor.” However, this chapter will briefly consider how Queen Njinga’s voice *can* be heard in a few letters composed by her and sent to different authorities who represent the Portuguese/European military, economic, and spiritual colonization efforts of the territory in West Central Africa.

Two main questions will be considered in this chapter: How does Queen Njinga cross boundaries to form the transculturated identity she embraces? How do the letters of Queen Njinga letters reveal a “double consciousness”? In order to address these questions, this chapter examines passages from the letters of Queen Njinga, which display her transculturated wisdom. Rainha Njinga D. Ana de Sousa engaged in strategic maneuvers in order to survive and endure in her homeland-turned-“contact zone” under the dominion of the Portuguese. To

overcome the many forms of domination, exploitation, and subjection that she endured, she had to cross the borders between two realms: her native Ndongo/Matamba, which was engaged in armed resistance against the Portuguese, and the Christian “contact zone” imposed by the Portuguese Crown. I use W.E.B. Du Bois’ concept of “double consciousness” to examine the language in Njinga’s letters that represents her internal conflict, which ranges from resistance to submission. I employ Walter Mignolo and Madina Tlostanova’s framework from “Theorizing from Borders” to contextualize the “hybrid” locus that produced the struggles Njinga endured. I examine how Njinga crossed a cultural border to enter a newly created world in her own territory, which was swallowing her culture, devouring her people and consuming her identity. I buttress my argument with Mary Louise Pratt’s view of transculturation as a European strategy to further the imperialistic agenda of possession and extraction.

A Brief History of Queen Njinga Mbandi Ana de Sousa of Ndongo/Matamba

Njinga’s trajectory of transculturation began when she was born (1582) in the recently established Angola “contact zone” (1575). As a member of the Ndongo elite, the daughter of king Mbandi Ngola Kiluanji (1592-1617), she witnessed her father’s armed resistance against the Portuguese intruders.¹⁵ In 1622, she encountered Portuguese authorities, face to face, in

¹⁵ The ambitions of the Portuguese governors and settlers in Angola was preceded by a relationship of vassalage between Kongo and Portugal which dated from the 1570s, when a Portuguese army had rescued Kongo from an invasion of the “Jagas.” The Portuguese governors of Angola were concerned with what they personally hoped to gain from the fairly short terms they were expected to serve in central Africa. Thus Luís Mendes de Vasconcelos came to Angola in 1617 with ambitious plans to conquer the territories from the Atlantic all the way across to the east coast of Africa. He rapidly became involved in extensive wars, first with Ndongo and later with Kongo, eventually leading to the defeat of a Kongolese army at the battle of Mbumbi in 1622 by his successor João Correia de Sousa, Njinga’s godfather. See Thornton, “Correspondence” 413.

Luanda to negotiate a treaty on behalf of her brother, King Ngola Mbandi (1617-1624).

Reportedly, she so impressed the governor João Correia de Sousa with her quick mind and articulation that he became her godfather when she agreed to be baptized taking the name Ana de Sousa.¹⁶ Antonio de Cadornega reported that, “mas ainda foi o assombro quando ouvirão fallar e discorrer, huma mulher creada entre os bárbaros e féreas, com tanta eloquencia, e propriedade de termos, que parecia couza sobrenatural” [even greater was the astonishment when they heard a woman who was raised among barbarians and beasts, speak and discourse with such eloquence and propriety of terms, that it seemed like a miracle] (158; vol. 1, my translation).

The treaty she negotiated secured the Portuguese removal of a fort in Ambaca, built in her brother’s territory. However, since the Portuguese authorities did not honor their commitment to remove the fort and retreat, armed conflict broke out once more in the Kingdom of Ndongo. Before long, her brother defeated and dead, Njinga assumed the Ndongo throne and engaged, yet again, in negotiations with the Portuguese. As in previous attempts, the Portuguese failed to comply, for they had no intention of retreating from their objective to penetrate inland into her territory. This was a crucial moment in Njinga’s trajectory, having her sovereignty undermined she gave up negotiations, took up armed resistance, and crossed back into the realm of her native Ndongo political affairs (Thornton, “Legitimacy” 27).

Beginning in 1625, Njinga wrote a series of letters to Portuguese authorities offering her perspective on the growing conflicts in her territory and seeking their favor.¹⁷ As her requests

¹⁶ João Correia de Sousa was governor of Luanda 1621-1623.

¹⁷ See Carta da Rainha Njinga de Ndongo a Bento Banha Cardoso, 3 de março de 1625 in Heywood, "Queen Njinga Mbandi," 42.

fell on deaf ears, she abandoned the Portuguese conventions of diplomacy, rallied her people, and engaged in armed combat. The queen led her own army into warfare, united first in a perilous alliance with Imbangala mercenaries renowned for their cannibalistic rituals, and later with the Dutch against the Portuguese. In 1648 the Dutch were expelled from the territory and the Portuguese regained control. Realizing that she was cornered, though she remained unconquered, Njinga resorted again to diplomacy in order to make peace with the Portuguese Crown. She wrote letters that functioned as a symbolic bridge that allowed her to cross between the worlds she inhabited.

Queen Njinga Crossed Boundaries and Embraced a Transculturated Identity

“Diplomacy is a continuation of war by other means.”
Zhou En Lai (1898 – 1976) — Chinese diplomat

In 1651, after two and a half decades of armed resistance, Queen Njinga wrote the following words in a letter to the Holy See:

E confesso ser muito obrigada às Senhorias Vossas por este favor; porque agora temos conhecimento do verdadeiro Deus que antes não havíamos, por isso ficávamos enganados na nossa idolatria, em poder do demónio. (Brásio, vol. XI: 70-71)

I confess I am very obliged to Your Lordships for this kindness, for now we have knowledge of the one true God that we did not have before. For this reason we had remained deceived by our idolatrous beliefs, possessed by the devil. (Heywood, "Queen Njinga Mbandi" 45)¹⁸

¹⁸ The letters examined in this chapter are translated in Heywood, "Queen Njinga Mbandi."

We see from these words that Queen Njinga held an awareness of two realities: her native Mbundu traditional culture and the newly acquired consciousness of a European religious ideology. An example of her double consciousness appears in another letter addressed to Governor Sousa Chicorro, where she beseeches him to keep his word in order to uphold the promises made by Captain Manuel Frois Peixoto who appeased her suspicious grandees (Heywood, Queen Niinga Mbandi, 47). The Queen sees herself as a mediator between her grandees and the Portuguese authorities. She mediated between the two camps: the Portuguese and the Mbundu nation and displayed her commitment to maintaining her identity within both realms. In excerpt above, signed as Rainha Njinga D. Ana de Sousa, she thanks the Holy See's Propaganda Fide, the branch of missionary work, for sending the Capuchin friar Antonio Romano, "to preach to us the Holy Gospel." The Queen engages yet another consciousness related to the spiritual realm, which she understood as a superior power above all earthly hierarchy. Perhaps she believed that the Portuguese operated from the same understanding and acted from a place of subservience to the supremacy of God. When Njinga wrote these words, she reveals her transculturation by representing herself as one who imitates behaviors from the social reality to which she is appealing. Ethnographers have used the term "transculturation" to describe how subjugated peoples absorb selected elements that emanate from a dominant culture (Pratt 6). In this case, a transculturated subject transmits these elements, i.e. writing and diplomacy, back to those in power to negotiate her subject position. Transculturation is a phenomenon of the "contact zone" and Njinga defines her identity to Europeans from this place: a resister-turned-convert and transculturated willing subject. Njinga is aware of the power basis within these spaces: Mbundu and Portuguese.

As an enemy of the Portuguese Crown, also entangled in dynastic conflict with local chieftains, Njinga subsists at the periphery of a “periphery area” (Said 9).¹⁹ Njinga also operates from a third space, distant from Mbundu and Portuguese realms. She hides in the impenetrable forests on the fringes of the Mbundu polities. Operating from within the forests in Imbangala Kilombos, she shows her resistance when she crosses over to the spaces Martin Lienhard calls the “mato-refúgio” (the sheltering forest), as this is the interior of the territory to which the Portuguese do not yet have access (Lienhard 98).²⁰

“It represents everything that hinders the advancement of Portuguese penetration.... Fernão de Sousa ... assures that they ‘hid themselves in the bush with the intention of defending themselves, apprehensive because of the crimes they had committed and the eating of human flesh’ (1985: 286). What really troubles the governor is, of course, that the hidden slaves are out of his reach. Instead of recognizing the advantage the knowledge of territory offers to the Africans, he disqualifies them by accusing them of grave crimes against humanity.... When the Africans discovered that the *mato* inspired such horror in the Portuguese, they made it their habitual refuge, patiently negotiating from there with the intruders. Queen Njinga, in Angola, played this game to perfection, thus provoking the increasing anger of the Portuguese. (98-99).²¹

¹⁹ According to Edward, “periphery areas” were areas of imperialistic activity also called the “contact zones” between one or more previously unknown cultures interact (9).

²⁰ According to Lienhard, the hard to reach places, the forest or the rocky areas, were actually the best allies of the Africans who fought against the Portuguese. As they were men from an Atlantic coast, to the Portuguese, the rainforest was an impenetrable and unknown space, a military and theological hell. Citing Cadornega, Lienhard points out that the Portuguese were obsessed with fear of the forests. Because of the abundance of its forests, Angola appeared to them as the expression of a hostile continent. The forests represented everything that hindered the advancement of slavery and the colonial enterprise.

²¹ In this quote Lienhard refers to the citation of Fernão de Sousa by Beatrix Heintze cites in *Fontes Para a História De Angola Do Século XVII*.

From this remote periphery, Njinga crosses the threshold from outside the “contact zone” into the center of the hegemonic metropolis via her diplomatic text by gesturing that she recognizes her value as a convert and an ally.

Though she also uses her native form of communication, oral tradition, to communicate with the Portuguese authorities, she makes sure to also use their writing diplomatic convention to express herself (Lienhard 106)²². Martin Lienhard maintains that Queen Njinga’s oral tradition operates with a degree of veracity that writing European format does contain, and to her, writing is merely a “diplomatic tool,” as is a greeting, and likewise is the faith she professes in her diplomatic letters (108). As a means of diplomatic exchange, the written word has often been used as a “weapon” of deceit and attack, certainly not always as the expression of truth. On the contrary, in the African system of oral communication in Njinga’s time there is an imbedded “ethical code” that guarantees, in principle, the sincerity of the speaker as well as the veracity of the transmitted message (108). To Njinga her expressions in writing may have been very different from the oral tradition of her native culture. In these performative actions Njinga is crossing borders between her native Mbundu awareness and her tactical awareness the Christian and Portuguese manners of diplomacy.

The relations between African rulers and Portuguese authorities in the “contact zone” take place by means of conventions of European diplomacy and wars of conquest (Thornton, “Correspondence” 413). Beginning in 1591, Portuguese literacy has been inserted in the West

²² For a full discussion on this, see the slightly abridged version of chapter two of Martin Lienhard’s *O Mar e o Mato: Histórias da Escravidão*, was translated into English by Ineke Phaf-Rheinberger and the author, and revised by Marina Lienhard. Accessed at <http://www.buala.org/en/to-read/queen-njinga-s-milongas-the-dialogue-between-portuguese-and-africans-in-the-congo-and-the-an> (no page numbers).

Central Africa region and African leaders use writing as diplomatic strategies. Njinga uses these European writing conventions as an instrument of negotiation. In time, through her letters, Njinga indicates that she has disassociated from the Imbangala alliance, and makes public her return to Catholicism. In the 1655 letter above she professes to have given herself over completely to Christianity for she is living with her “body and soul at peace.” She offers her submission to the “one true God,” whose compassion and divine mercy she does not deserve due to her “grave sins.” The grave sins she refers to are probably the Imbangala rituals in which she supposedly participated, and which were said to be “barbarity” as well as the tyrannical edicts she issued, reported in Cavazzi’s report (Livro primero 82).

The question that Mary Louise Pratt asks, “how does one speak of transculturation from the colonies to the metropolis?” (6), can perhaps be addressed from the way Njinga represents herself in her epistolary. We have to assume that these letters generally represent her intentions and also that whoever her scribes were, they would have been particularly careful not to cross the queen, given her ferocious reputation. The reality is that, unfortunately, we are not able to retrieve unmediated African “voices” of this period and the few written “African” sources are the letters that local rulers use to address Portuguese authorities. In these letters the use of European diplomatic conventions does not reveal the unmediated voice of their African authors. We know from the documentation that the relations between the Portuguese and the Africans were carried out through the mediation of transcultural actors who interpreted languages and acted as emissaries between these cultural divide, or in the cultural and political borderlands.

To endure the transformations taking place in her native territory, Njinga engaged in all these forms of mediation. She crossed borders into other cultural realms, employing her skills as a multi-cultural reader and “translated” the communications of the Imbangala, Dutch, and Portuguese to influence and lead her compatriots. Notwithstanding that Njinga sought external support to retain her sovereign status, she never relinquished the quest to justify her right to the throne to the Ndongo people. In fact, her domestic quest appears to have been more important than her search for external alliances (Thornton, "Legitimacy" 26). The evidence that she continuously maneuvered her allies in order to achieve her goal — to be the legitimate queen of Ndongo — suggests an intention to convince her compatriots that she had a right to rule that state. Her desire to remain within the core of Mbundu tradition was perhaps the motivation that led her, at all risks, to maintain control of the Kindonga islands in the Kwanza river, “as a symbolic capital and [she] carefully maintained the burial grounds of her royal ancestors right up to the end of her life, despite the strategic vulnerability of the site” (26). She lived in both worlds, the Catholic world that sustained her rule and the transculturating Mbundu world gripped by the Portuguese hegemony. Using her transculturated skills of negotiation and persuasion, she mediated between her people and the European project in West Central Africa in a role that Stephen Greenblatt calls that of a “go-between” (Greenblatt 145).

These transculturated intermediaries were “representatives bearing representations” who, at times, acted as purveyors of violence (119). Njinga acted as an intermediary, representing the interests of her own culture, skillfully convincing others to take action. From the volumes of documentation about her, it is clear that she convinced her allies that armed

opposition was fundamental, that perilous alliances were a risk worth taking, and later, that a treaty with the Portuguese was vital and justifiable (J. C. Miller, "Nzinga of Matamba" 112). In order to retain her sovereignty, even at the cost of being a pawn of a hegemonic power, Njinga acquiesced to taking on the transculturated identity of the Christian African ruler and a slave-trade mediator.

Transculturation unavoidably involves personal and collective risks such as the destabilization of one's primary identity (Bieber 231). Njinga appears to have formed a new transculturated identity that encapsulates both her native culture and the Portuguese cultural patterns imbedded in the "hybrid" realm in which she functions. She reveals her new identity by employing the rhetoric of European diplomacy. As she manipulates these conventions she becomes a "cultural broker" defining those "who moved freely between cultures and who played important roles in mediating the moments when mutually incomprehensible societies conflicted or engaged in any number of ways" (Games 752). Njinga's letters create a language that allows her to forge a form of "communication" with those in power. As she uses Western writing conventions to signify her willing participation in the hegemonic paradigm she becomes a powerful catalyst who, as Mary Louse Pratt would say, mirrored back to the empire "in ways that engage with the colonizer's own terms" (7). However, according to Martin Lienhard, "No expression of autonomous African thought would fit in a letter which respected the rules of feudal correspondence" (103). Lienhard maintains that by writing or dictating a letter, African kings or chiefs implicitly recognized their submission to the Iberian Crown. For instance, in a diplomatic letter, when a Portuguese governor offered the status of "vassal" to some of the local chiefs, if the chief responded via the same channel he could only declare his acceptance.

That means that the channel or medium, in this case diplomatic correspondence decisively shapes the content of the message. This is evident if we consider that “the medium is the message” (McLuhan 104).

In her communications via the written word, Njinga deploys a dialogue with the metropolitan center, involving an “appropriation of the idioms of the conqueror” (Pratt 7). These expressions are strategically aimed at a specific audience with the objective of eliciting a sincere communicative response from those who hold power. It appears that Njinga realizes that direct communication with the Holy See, as a power base superior to the Crown of Portugal, might prove an endeavor worth pursuing. Using European writing conventions she manipulates the hegemonic discourse to deploy her agency and secure her own power base. She offers herself as a subject by engaging in what Michel Foucault calls the politics of rationality (780).

According to Foucault, the relationship between rationalization and political power is evident. Njinga rationalizes all her past actions as having taken place because she and her people were “seized by the devil” and did not have knowledge of the one True God. In her language she points to a European field of signification whereby she makes obvious that she understands the concept of submission to a hierarchy in which the Christian God is supreme, the Holy See follows immediately beneath Him, the Portuguese Crown is next in line, and Njinga is subordinate to the Crown. As Njinga engages in this rationalization she speaks the language of Europeans who use political rationality proficiently to justify their takeover of the Atlantic World.

Njinga uses the language of the conqueror when she deploys the discourse of indulgences. These favors were granted by the Holy See for the remission of temporal punishment of sins. In the letter to the Holy See [August 15, 1651], she requests, “May our Lord Jesus Christ be served by allowing us to reciprocate the benevolence you confer upon us, so that we may not deserve greater punishment for our sins” (45). It appears that she is cognizant that the Catholic Church “grants” benevolences in order to lower the degree of punishment upon sinners. Her performance here is very explicit to indicate that “her kingdom” is united with the authority of the Roman Catholic empire. She signs this letter using both her Christian and her Mbundu names to uphold her new transculturated identity and surrender of her territory, “Rainha Njinga D. Ana, from our kingdom of Matamba.”

Njinga shapes the Christian identity she wishes the Europeans to perceive, being well aware of the inseparable relations of the Portuguese Crown and the Catholic Church. She knows that Portugal is also under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Holy See, and by professing obeisance to the Catholic Church, she positions herself side by side with the Portuguese. Further, she solidifies an allied future by requesting more friars to assist her people to receive Holy Baptism. Her alliance with the Church may be to her the most significant political relationship, as the Capuchin friars have passage among the different kingdoms of the West African territory. She treats these friars with great respect, as reported by Friar Cavazzi da Montecúccolo, who was her guest at the Kindonga Island, the burial ground of her royal ancestors (Livro Sexto 132).

In her actions, Queen Njinga maneuvers her agency to form her power as a Christian ruler, while she maintains strong bonds to her African identity. She has acquired negotiation

power by remaining unconquered by the Portuguese, while her victories, gained through the alliance of her people, unite her subjects to her sovereignty. With this collateral, she is able to cross the border between African-ruler-in-resistance to “subject” of the Holy See and Portuguese Crown. She has forged of herself a subject in the sense that Foucault gives to the concept: “subject is an entity which is capable of choosing how to act within the constraints of the given historical and cultural context” (Campbell-Thomson 3). Foucault proposes two meanings of the word: “subject to someone else by control and dependence; and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to” (“Subject and Power” 781). Within the constraints of her historical and cultural contexts, Njinga has two choices between two “awarenesses.” She has to move back and forth between two realities: the resister of armed resistance against the invasion of her territory and that of the African ruler in submission to the hegemonic powers. Her letters exhibit awareness of these two worlds and the impact of her agency in these domains. She delineates the borders she crossed, and by embracing a “double consciousness” and acting as a subject within the limitations of the Portuguese Atlantic world, she maneuvers the perception of herself that she wishes the Portuguese to have. Her duality in agency and the conflicting sense of being both an African and a Catholic sovereign exemplifies the contradictions and complexity of the space in which the Queen formed her transculturated identity. It appears that she finally understood her role as a mediator in the Portuguese slave trade and took full ownership of it by remaining on the throne and facilitating the flow of “peças da India” (slaves) exported to furnish the structuring labor force that created the New World. Notably, after Queen Njinga became a Catholic and aided the Portuguese to structure

the Angolan slave traffic, there was a significant increase in that region's slave trade (Curtin 268).

Whether or not her Catholic faith is sincere, her conversion reveals a strategic move to establish yet another alliance. This maneuver may have had multiple purposes; one of them may have served to exonerate her before her own people for the offensive alliance she made with the feared cannibalistic Imbangala mercenaries. This alliance had caused some of her internal supporters, whose loyalty was fundamental in her struggle to keep the throne of Ndongo, to withdraw their allegiance. Another purpose was a tactful way to cautiously distance herself from the Imbangala. And another, that carries far greater weight, was to ally herself with the Portuguese; the stronger party in the transatlantic conflict taking place in her hybridized territory. Njinga's use of language suggests that she understood the scaffold structure constructed by the Holy See and the Portuguese Crown as a power hierarchy. In her trajectory she exemplifies the determination to overcome any obstacles to her sovereignty, integrating the complexities of transculturation into her identity, which allows her to survive the Portuguese attempts to squeeze her out of her own territory.

The Queen's "Double Consciousness" in Her Letters

Queen Njinga wrote several letters to the authorities who encroached on her territory. These are attempts to explain her perspective, to warn them of the possible consequences of their condescension to her sovereignty, and in due course to vow allegiance and submission. When Njinga writes to Portuguese Captain Bento Banha Cardoso on March 3, 1625, she reveals

multiple intentions. Principally, she wants the captain to know that she will respond in-kind to the acts of violence committed against her. She also expects the Portuguese to respect her sovereignty; she conveys her forbearance of the Portuguese presence in her realm; she expresses her obeisance to the King of Spain-Portugal, and last but not least, she manifests her knowledge that the Portuguese intend to destroy her and take over her territory. The entire letter shows the positions of her awareness, chiefly that of a ruler defending her territory. Njinga does this by engaging in “her African oral tradition [which] stands out as she refers to her history of contact with the Portuguese” (Heywood, "Queen Njinga Mbandi" 41). By directly addressing the military commander of the Portuguese forces and denouncing an attack upon her men by Kiluanji Aires, who took her slaves, she engages in a diplomatic embattlement, demarcating her territory.²³ She explains thus:

mandando eu tomar satisfação como a meu vassalo, acertou a minha Guerra encontrar[-se] com uns nove homens que estavam com o Tigre na terra... quis Deus que dos meus fossem vencidos, donde me trouxeram seis vivos, de que me pesou muito de que na Pedra de Aires estivessem Portugueses com Guerra de Socorro a Aires, aos quais faço muito bom agasalho por serem vassalos d'El Rey de Espanha, a quem me reconheço obediência como cristã que sou. (Heywood 42).

I ordered a party to seek redress, as I would against any vassal of mine, it happened that my army encountered about nine of the men who stationed with Tigre inland.... by God's will [they] my men defeated them, six of whom were brought to me alive, this caused me great grief that at Aires' fortress there were Portuguese forces that I have received with great kindness because they are vassals of the King of Spain, to whom I recognize obeisance as a Christian. (Heywood 43).

²³ Banha Cardoso was a military commander under Governor Fernao de Sousa (124-1630) during the governor's campaign against Queen Njinga (Heywood 43).

Queen Njinga faces a domestic adversary the Portuguese chose for the throne with the purpose of taking the kingdom of Ndongo. Though this troubles her, she seems unyielding when she maintains that she will seek redress, just as she would of any of her vassals; thus, appearing unthreatened, she clearly demarcates her sovereignty. Her allegiance is to the King of Spain and she reminds Cardoso that the Portuguese are his vassals. She continues on to negotiate from her subject position as Catholic ruler, and at this juncture she crosses into another realm where she displays the emergence of the conflict of her “double consciousness”; she maintains her African sovereignty while she submits compliance to a distant sovereign who poses an enormous threat. Her “double consciousness” is her transculturation, which permits her to negotiate between both realms.

This negotiation relates to what W.E.B. DuBois asked “how can one be American and Black at the same time?” According to Walter Dignolo, with this question DuBois “establishe[s] the foundation of a ‘double consciousness’ as an epistemic foundation grounded on the racial colonial difference” (“Theorizing” 219). Using this premise, I examine how Queen Njinga of Matamba (1592-1663) embraces a “double consciousness” by empowering herself as both an African ruler and a acquiescent Catholic whose sovereignty depends on her performance as slave trade middle-woman. Nonetheless, according to Samir Dayal, “double consciousness” need not be conceived only in the sense in which DuBois used it, “this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity” (DuBois 16-17). Doubleness can also be conceived as the “in-betweenness” of entering, leaving, or destabilizing the border zones of cultures, fracturing the subject that resists falsely comforting identifications and reifications” (Dayal 48).

According to Dayal, double consciousness' negative value is that it denies the subject's sovereignty and stresses performativity.²⁴ In fact Njinga lives in this "in-betweeness": at times imposing her sovereignty and other times negotiating. In her double consciousness she crosses the borders of two worlds whose clash shaped modernity. Mignolo addresses this double consciousness, as conceptualized by DuBois, as a factor that exists at the core of border thinking as "double consciousness is border thinking and border thinking is double consciousness" ("Theorizing" 211). Njinga can perceive both sides of the border in which she subsisted.

In the 1625 letter to Cardoso, Njinga's approach demonstrates a split between two places of enunciation. This can be viewed as a fracture of her identity, which represents neither one nor the other cultures that formed her "hybrid" identity. This split is evident in the ambiguously distancing language she utilizes with her interlocutor. Njinga, as the subject, shifts between distant honorific language, and proximate familial language in the way she addresses her interlocutor. As she does this she ranges in her subjectivity from forthrightly denying her own sovereignty, to promoting her force, and finally to demanding respect. When she uses European conventions to express deference, greeting the captain in formal diplomatic parlay as, "Vossa Mercê" [Your Honor], she is distant from him. Further, in the same sentence, she diminishes the distance between them when she requests from her interlocutor the familiarity of a father's ear, "para que, como a pai, dar-lhe conta e, como mandando eu *peças* à feira ... saiu Aires com Guerra e me salteou" [so that I may recount to you, as to my own father, how a war party led by Aires attacked the men I sent (with) some slaves to the market]. (Heywood,

²⁴ Performativity is a term for the capacity of speech and communication not simply to communicate but rather to act or consummate an action, or to construct and perform an identity.

“Queen Njinga Mbandi” 43).²⁵ Her request for his attention, like a father’s attention, presumes a relationship of proximity, and presupposes his empathy for her struggles. This doubleness can be read as an “in-betweenness” that manifests in the identity of those who are products of the “contact zones.”

Subsequently, Njinga shares the precise details of the conflict and she maintains that the actions she has taken to rectify the aggression against her, she would take against any of her vassals. With these words, Njinga distances herself from Cardoso by positioning herself as a higher authority in relation to him; as a sovereign with vassals. She maintains that she will not dismiss aggression toward her without retribution. Furthermore, she expresses a warning to Cardoso, by disclosing her awareness of the Portuguese settlers’ dishonesty and ill intentions. Almost immediately thereafter, she declares her position as a Christian Queen who gives obeisance to the king of Spain (and Portugal) and thus she undermines her own sovereignty. She communicates that she is well aware of the rules of being a subject of the Crown, a subject just like he is; and thus she levels their stations. Njinga points to the precarious position of the Portuguese men which she holds imprisoned, and she reveals that she knows what Cardoso's next move will be. She shows him that the prisoner’s lives may be endangered if she is provoked any further; she has made another discursive shift. In this approach she reveals a critical consciousness and an awareness of two distinct spheres of action. She knows that her African compatriots, including specifically Kiluanji Aires, are collaborating with the Portuguese against her and that the Portuguese intend to take advantage of them all. Njinga’s

²⁵ Njinga refers to Hari a Kiluanji (Aires), a relative of Njinga, who the Portuguese imposed upon Ndongo as a puppet king. *Peças* are slaves.

ambivalence—now here, now there—represents the ambiguity of the space she inhabits, the “contact zone,” and shows her internal conflict as a manifestation of its hybridity.

Njinga also exhibits a keen perception, what I call her transculturated wisdom. As a last resort, she asks Captain Cardoso to consider other options that may be wiser and fruitful for both sides:

Sendo que nenhuma cousa se quer levado por força, [pois] isso é fazer-me mal a mim e a eles [the imprisoned Portuguese] sem [guerra] isso se pode fazer tudo por bem [mas] se alguns senhores moradores [Portugueses, por] estarem endividados [comigo e com meu povo], metam [na cabeça do] Senhor Governador e a Vossa Merce que faça guerras para se desendividarem podem faze-lo, [mas] eu não quero nenhuma [guerra] contra o capitão. (Heywood 42).

Nothing is accomplished by force and to do so would bring both, me and them, harm because everything can be done peacefully and without force. And if some of the lords who have settled here have incurred heavy debts and have put it in the minds of Your Honor and the governor that you should wage war in order to get out of debt, they are welcome to so, but I do not want to make war with the captain. (43).

Njinga emphasizes that an exchange of blows is not necessary, even though she knows that this conflict is taking place because, “the lords who have settled here have incurred heavy debt”, and they are using this strategy of armed conflict in order to get out of debt. She embraces a double awareness of being a subject of the king and at the same time threatens to oppose Portuguese hostility as a sovereign exercising her agency. She points out to Cardoso that other subjects of the Crown, the settlers, have overstepped the boundaries of their rights and duties by breaking financial promises they made to her and her people: this violation justifies her right as a subject of the Crown to stand in opposition.

Queen Njinga asserts a moral argument, which belongs to European conventions and mercantile standards (Tracy 5).²⁶ She understands the rules of trade that govern European relationships, which is what Captain Cardoso is there to defend in the name of his crown. She points out to him that either he is being used by a guilty party or he is one of them. In this maneuver Njinga holds Cardoso accountable and at the same time shows her force, her will, and her intelligence to persuade him to leave her alone by staying out of this conflict. These are sophisticated strategies through which she intends to level the field. She is using the same tactical conventions that Europeans use in forming alliances, shifting loyalties and deploying power.

Njinga is exposed to these applications of strategy within the Atlantic Creole world in which she has been socialized. The language she uses in her letters demonstrates the degree to which she has mastered European conventions and she uses them to negotiate her sovereign position through diplomacy. She learned of this diplomatic possibility with the Portuguese in 1622, as an envoy of her brother the king of Ndongo. At that time she crossed over into the world of representatives of the Portuguese Crown in Luanda. She might have become keenly aware that she is living in two realms: the disappearing Mbundu world and the encroaching “contact zone” borderlands of the Portuguese. She is the daughter and sister of rulers who have opposed the Portuguese advances into their territories, and as such, she has access to a coalition of her own: those who also wish to obstruct the Portuguese. In order to placate the Portuguese settlers marauding in her territory she confronts them with hostility and engages them diplomatically.

²⁶ James Tracy's *The Rise of Merchant Empires* (1990) focuses on the complexity of European merchant Early Modern relations.

In her epistolary, Njinga reveals her “double consciousness” when she indicates her awareness of the different worlds in which she inhabits. By embracing this awareness, Queen Njinga not only manages to overcome the cultural barriers to her own rule, but also establishes a lasting precedent for female heads of state in the Ndongo kingdom (Thornton, “Legitimacy,” 40). Njinga crosses a cultural border to enter into a world newly created in her own territory, which demands from her culture new ways of interacting. When she chooses to negotiate with the Portuguese she does so because she realizes that the borders between her native Mbundu culture and the culture of Portuguese military and settlers, whose objectives are to devour her people and consume their identity, are porous.

On account of the Portuguese aggression, a permanent war developed throughout Angola between the intruders and the local chiefs who tried to defend their sovereignty and, at times, their own position in the slave trade. The official Portuguese justification for their penetration in Central Africa was to support the conversion of the autochthonous kings to Christianity (Thornton, "Development" 147). The evangelization of the “savages” was one of the conditions the Pope imposed on the Iberian powers when he divided the “world” among them in the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494. However, even a superficial reading of the Portuguese reports of the conquest of the Kongo-Angola area demonstrates that the actual preoccupations of the conquerors were quite different. The only goal they had in mind was obtaining the greatest possible number of *peças* (slaves) for exportation and they accomplished this via “strategic violence” in order to establish hegemony and domination (Lienhard, *O mar e o Mato* 121).

Njinga Manipulates Signs to Represent Her Intention

Everything that exists for knowledge, and hence the whole of this world, is only object in relation to the subject, perception of the perceiver, in a word, representation There can be no object without subject Everything objective is already conditioned as such in manifold ways by the knowing subject with the forms of its knowing, and presupposes these forms; consequently it wholly disappears when the subject is thought away.

Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860)
*The World as Will and Representation*²⁷

Queen Njinga worked diligently to defeat the Portuguese encroachment in her native territory for almost thirty years. During that period she learned a great deal about her adversary. By the time she realized that she could not defeat the Portuguese, she had learned to change tactics successfully. Njinga utilized the writing convention of Europeans in order to deploy her manipulation of the signs she perceived would get her message across. In 1655, Njinga responded to a letter sent to her by the Governor of Angola, Luís Mendes de Souza Chichorro, displaying her willingness to put behind them the many years of wars. To accomplish this she repeatedly indicated her desire for “peace and tranquility” which meant she was acquiescing to the Portuguese project of the slave trade. In this letter Njinga negotiated the freedom of her sister (imprisoned by the Portuguese for decades) and made a very strong case for succession of the throne. She explained to the governor that if he would return her sister accompanied by the priests to escort her, she would acquiesce,

Tratarei logo de deixar parir e criar as mulheres seus filhos, cousa que até agora não consenti por ser estilo de quilombo, que anda em campo, o que não haverá, havendo paz firme e perpétua. E em poucos anos, se tornarão minhas terras a

²⁷ Schopenhauer 3; 380; 28.

povoar como dantes.... E já me considero com a prenda que desejo e com muita paz e quietação esses dias que viver, que já sou velha e não quero deixar minhas terras senão a minha irmã, e não a meus escravos, que haverá muita ruína e não saberão obedecer a S. Majestade, que Deus guarde, como minha irmã o saberá fazer, pois há tantos anos que assiste com os brancos e é tão boa cristã como me dizem. (Heywood 48).

I will immediately endeavor to allow women to give birth to and raise their children, which I have not permitted until now because we have been living in the countryside, in quilombos.... It would take only a few years for my lands to be repopulated as they once were.... I already consider myself in possession of the gift of peace and serenity that I desire for these few days I [have left] to live, for I am an old woman. I wish to bequeath my lands only to my sister, not to my slave. Otherwise, great ruin will befall it, for they will not know how to obey His Majesty (may God protect him) and my sister, who has dwelled for so many years among the whites and is such a good Christian as they tell me. (49)

Njinga claims that having her sister back assures that the kingdom will be bequeathed to the queen's lineage. She argues that if the kingdom goes to her slaves this may not be advantageous to the Portuguese, but that her sister, having lived among the Portuguese in Luanda for so long, is the best choice. Shortly thereafter, Barbara is returned to Queen Njinga, and succeeds her on the throne in 1663.

Njinga speaks of the concerns of the Portuguese and appears to have their best interest in mind. She manipulates the signs that have meaning to the Portuguese slave trade project: procreation and the maintenance of African submission. Njinga rationalizes that her years as a non-Christian were merely due to being forced by the wars waged unjustly against her by former governors, which made it necessary for her to live like a "*Jaga*" in kilombos.²⁸ This was a brutal life style that she had to repudiate when she embraced Catholicism in the late 1640s.

²⁸ Jaga is the term used by the Portuguese to call the Imbangala mercenaries who lived in Kilombo encampments. Njinga engaged the military alliance of the Imbangala mercenary warriors, just as the Portuguese did. They lived in military encampments called Kilombo. Their nomadic life style reputedly included cannibalistic rituals.

Thornton explains that the Imbangala (Jaga) operated in this *kilombo* system and had many rituals of “bloody sacrifices, cannibalism and child killing” (Thornton, “Resurrection” 32).²⁹ Njinga's objective is to wipe clean the slate and to this purpose she deploys all the elements that make clear to the Governor her intention of peace and acquiescence. These elements are repopulation, truce, normality, submission, and the promise of a secure future. She projects what she expects from Governor Chichorro: to be truthful and carry out respectful and fair negotiations. In exchange she promises that once peace and tranquility are restored, she will permit her people to reproduce and populate the land. By forbidding procreation and the raising of children, due to the military lifestyle of the Imbangala, these Africans have been engaged in a form of resistance, as their actions removed their progeny from the cycle of enslavement. This promise signifies that she will, from this point on, be a full partner in the expansion of the Portuguese slave trade. This is crucial to the Governor as the maintenance of the slave trade is the top item in his agenda. Queen Njinga recognizes that her missive needs to contain all the signs that represent her as a willing and valuable collaborator.

It is remarkable that Queen Njinga sustained her survival on the throne of Ndongo-Matamba against such considerable odds. Perhaps the sign that most assisted her survival was conversion to Catholicism, which she did twice. A strong motive for her second conversion to was to appease her internal alliances as the conversion also had the advantage publically displaying her repudiation of the Imbangala barbaric rituals. Reconversion also allowed her to settle affairs with Portugal, which eventually recognize her hereditary succession in Ndongo

²⁹ Thornton's paper “Resurrection for the Jaga” responds to Joseph Miller's suggestion that the presence of “Jaga” in Kongo is a product of European mythology rather than a historical fact. According to Thornton, non-Imbangala “Jagas” continued to play a part in Kongo history long after 1568, and these “Jagas” are a source of confusion to Miller, and certainly a potential source of confusion to other scholars interested in Kongo history.

politics. Njinga was so resourceful that later she was able to convince Friar Antonio da Gaeta that she had always been a Catholic and had been driven, only by extreme circumstances, to join the Imbangala, in an act of self-defense (Gaeta da Napoli 188-91).

The presence of the Portuguese signified conflicts on several fronts and she actively faced these shifting borders as if she clearly understood the complexity of its moving pieces: the authorities of the Portuguese Crown, the local Portuguese settlers, the native Africans who were allied with them, her own alliances and her own sovereignty. In the letter to Cardoso discussed above, Njinga makes known her distrust of the Portuguese settlers, and cautiously mediates her views about them. Her words signify that the cultural borders in her territory are being re-shaped as Portuguese settlers engage in strategies to manipulate and dominate the local population. At the same time, she makes explicit to the authorities her desire for peaceful relations, with the caveat that she will acquiesce to peaceful relations only on her own terms. In fact, it is soon after this incident, having her terms ignored, that Njinga becomes a fierce enemy of the Portuguese resisting their relentless attacks.

The many complex factors that lead Njinga to stand in armed confrontation, and later to invest in diplomatic relations and treaties, are inherent to the spaces of the Atlantic World. The fragmentation of her region due to armed conflicts and the enslavement tactics of the Portuguese represent an obvious starting place. The slave trade had impacts that are still being measured. Researchers are still examining how the forced enslavement exodus impacts the social and political structures in Queen Njinga's region (Lovejoy 368). One question this study may answer is that of how Queen Njinga, by staying put, contributed to both the affirmation of African traditions and to the structuring of the slave trade. The background considerations of

this question may be at the core of the forces that drove Njinga's trajectory from diplomatic emissary, to warrior queen, to Christian convert, and to slave trader.

Njinga's trajectory was convoluted because life in the West Central African "contact zone" was chaotic and the traditional structures of Mbundu culture were damaged with the intrusion of the Portuguese. Nonetheless, Njinga's history reveals a relentless endeavor to represent herself as embodying self-government. At every step she portrays steady might combined with a capacity to make tactical maneuvers to reach her objectives. Her tactics encapsulate a "clever utilization of time" as she seizes the opportunities presented to her and in this way inserts herself into the foundations of power (DeCerteau 34). In her letters, the queen of Ndongo represents her struggle with the shifting boundaries that are both geographical and cultural, as an invitation to dialogue with the Portuguese. The borders that Queen Njinga crosses to represent her shifting alliances are the borders within a transnational "contact zone" where all active actors constantly reinvented their transculturating identity. Njinga displays her awarenesses of being an African native forced to convert to Catholicism and a sovereign in search of alliances with the party that holds greater power. She holds out for thirty years of resistance before she finally crosses over and swallows the imposition of her external world as an act of "consumption" and "production" (31). She internalizes the resources of the Europeans and produces strategic maneuvers that support the achievement of her own goals. In her letters, she represents herself as one who placed her beliefs and traditions in "quasi-invisibility" in order to produce an obeisance Catholic queen and ally, demonstrating her "art" of using the resources that are imposed upon her (31).

Joseph C. Miller argues that Njinga turned the opportunities available to her into a personal triumph, for example, accepting Christian baptism in order to gain the support of the “devout” 17th century Iberian monarchs. She seems to have recognized the prospect of the resources they offered and to have resolved to control them for her own benefit, and even accepted being baptized as Ana de Sousa. However, what seems to contradict Miller’s argument is that after the Portuguese reneged on the treaties they made with Njinga, she did not hesitate to engage in armed resistance against them. She became a consummate enemy of the Portuguese and they endeavored, without success for thirty years, to destroy her.

The Portuguese Atlantic was a complex inter-colonial space hosting commercial Diasporas far from their metropolitan centers. The population of these "contact zones" was composed of multinational, multiethnic, and polyglot populations with a prominence of mixed-race individuals. Much occurred in the Portuguese Atlantic including commerce, movements of peoples, creation of pan-Atlantic families, settlements, economic production, and boundary crossings. In the Portuguese Atlantic of West Central Africa the frontiers were blurred: negotiation was more effective than mandates; charisma replaced delegated authority; lines between what was legal and illegal were distorted; and application of the letter of the law was negotiable.

The strongest characteristics of the Portuguese Atlantic spaces were transition, porosity, permeability, and elasticity (Russell-Wood 95). In these spaces existed great ambiguity and ambivalence concerning color, race, social status, and identities; both individual and collective. Ambiguity also permeated religious life, as individuals could at the same time be devout

Catholics and devotees of other belief systems. Identities like Queen Njinga of Matamba commonly existed in these spaces. The complexity of the “contact zone” necessitated multiple approaches as complex factors were at the root of conflicts. Adaptations of every kind were a necessity in order to survive in the rough environment of Njinga’s “contact zone”. The actors were fiercely competing for the resources available, desiring to control nature and channel raw materials and humans into the tools to would expand the transnational marketplace that grew monumentally within only a couple of centuries. A marketplace that swallowed, consumed, digested and metabolized commodities and humans alike, evolving into the monstrous machinery of colonial systems.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have analyzed Queen Njinga transculturated wisdom. My discussion has teased out possibilities of understanding how she engaged with her hybrid culture. She accepted interaction with the Portuguese, but without renouncing the defense of her sovereignty. Her shifting attitude toward the Portuguese exposes her perceptive wisdom, which led her eventually to change her tactics and become a Portuguese ally. Unlike her father and brother before her, Njinga recognized that the foreign forces were sufficiently great that they might crush her and her kingdom.

Unbeknownst to her, there was momentum in the European incursion toward the interior spaces of the imperial world, a change from the century-long coastal explorations and commerce. This shift coincided with the consolidation of bourgeois forms of subjectivity and

power, a new territorial phase of capitalism propelled by the search for raw materials.

Europeans extended their coastal trade inland and various European crowns' established imperatives to seize overseas territory in order to prevent them from being seized by rival powers (Pratt 9).

These forces were shaped by European ideology and rationalized by philosophical objectives of a social nature. In the intellectual and cultural history of continental Europe, personal worth had increasingly become measured by the conspicuous display of material objects. Curiosity and memory were elevated as central virtues of civility. Bringing civilization to barbarians—the justification for European objectives in the Atlantic World—and the Catholic discourse of salvation to the heathens—these imposing paradigms fueled the forceful mechanism of domination (Mignolo 7).

Walter Mignolo argues that through the arts, letters, and maps in the European civilizing ideology of the Renaissance became a justification and an agent of colonial expansion. The Early Modern emphasis on the book meant that written work was seen as the only valid repository of religion, knowledge, and consequently, of civilization. This meant that cultures with alternative modes of inscribing the sacred were rejected as primitive and needed to be civilized. Thus, literacy and authority was closely aligned with the colonization of “bookless” cultures. The Western book became the symbol of the letter, conceived of as a carrier of knowledge from the New World to the European metropolis, and, most importantly, as a means of transmitting Eurocentric knowledge and ideas from the metropolis to the colony (Mignolo 122). “Thus, from the Renaissance all the way down, the rhetoric of modernity could

not have been sustained without its darker and constitutive side: the logic of coloniality” (Mignolo and Tlostanova 206).

In the 16th century, European missionaries to Central Africa considered people who could read and write as possessing human intelligence and civilization. Within this context, Queen Njinga’s political performance within Creole cultural diplomatic relations benefited from the use the written language to advance her objectives. The considerations in this chapter point to Njinga fitting the “civilized” category because she used the written language, she had a royal lineage, and she left a successor to occupy the throne of the Matamba-Ndongo. Queen Njinga was also a worthy opponent to her enemies as she embodied will, intentionality, vibrancy, and strength. In her epistolary she demonstrates the degree to which she mastered European cultural conventions to create meaning and negotiate power relations.

Njinga faced the violence perpetrated against her people with cunning, sagacity, and wisdom. Her letters were diplomatic contacts meant to impress and influence the political–military dominance in her territory. These letters reveal how she manipulated the hegemonic discourse by signifying her submission to the power of the Catholic Church and the Portuguese Crown. In her written expressions of submission, as the queen acquiesced and surrendered, she demonstrated her complex knowledge of what mattered to her interlocutor. Through her shrewdness she was able to avoid being destroyed or deported into slavery; she remained queen of Ndongo by securing her position as a middle-woman in the slave trade. Though, she never left the Angola-Matamba territory she was well aware of other places her influence could reach. She had come across different types of Europeans and probably she heard of places far from her land where life was radically different than hers. Kings and queen also populated

those worlds and their alliance could be acquired in the right way, at the right time, and for the right reason. She sent her letters across the Atlantic hoping that the right alliance would arrive at her shores.

CHAPTER THREE

FROM SAVAGE TO CATHOLIC SLAVE TRADER:

HOW CAVAZZI'S PROSE DEFORMS QUEEN NJINGA'S IMAGE

Introduction

In the Age of Discovery, Early Modern Europeans took ownership of their Atlantic World conquests through rituals, ceremonies and symbolic acts of possession. Most importantly, they wrote about these events in order to inform and legitimize their actions to their contemporary fellow countrymen. The travel reports produced by travelers to the Atlantic World were crucial because they established colonial authority in overseas territories making them comprehensible to Europeans at home. These reports were fundamental in the process of colonization as they encouraged Europeans at home to engage in the venture of immigration to these new territories. They served as a propaganda tool to elevate crowns and princes; to delineate the superiority of Europeans, and to justify Catholic proselytizing to save souls.

Giovanni Cavazzi da Montecúccolo's text, *Descrição Histórica dos Três Reinos do Congo, Matamba e Angola [1687/1965]*, a mix of proto-ethnography and travel narrative, constructs an African space of nature that is lush and promising in contrast with its human barbarism and horrific cultural practices. The text showcases the dissimilarity between the barbaric queen Njinga, who engaged for thirty years in armed resistance, and the Catholic convert queen, ally of the Portuguese, and slave trader; which she became in order to retain her sovereignty. The text purposefully deforms her image by characterizing her behavior prior

to her conversion as abominable. This classification appears to have been a propagandistic tactic to justify the presence of Europeans in Africa and their measures to carry out European expansionism.

In fact, however, throughout the Age of Discovery and the appropriation of the Atlantic world, Europeans actively engaged in the same barbaric behaviors ascribed to Africans. The “strategic violence” perpetrated upon the Kongolese by the Portuguese in the 1600s exemplifies such barbaric aggression (Lienhard 121). Lienhard notes that the Portuguese expressed their justification for the violence comparing it to similar acts that took place in Europe. The Portuguese staged,

a mass decapitation of black people (not inferior to that which King Xico inflicted on the Abencerrajes in the City of Granada, or to that of the famous duke of Alba in Flanders), who all had to pay with their heads for the betrayal, an event which would remain immemorial for the future of all the heathens of these astonished and fearful kingdoms: only with rigor and terror, we are able to maintain our domination over these indomitable pagans (Cadornega 1972 [1680]: I, 92, quoted in Lienhard 102).

Unfortunately, the documents written by Europeans tell the story from the perspective of the invader and seldom present the “discourse” of Africans. Fortunately, as a result of recent research into African history one may be able to imagine them. It is certainly easier to construct the perspective of Europeans from the history of their intellectual development. This chapter will focus on how Cavazzi’s ideological lens—informed by Classical Philosophy and Early Modern Christian theology—constructs a text that is silent regarding the Portuguese aggression and strategically denigrates the image of Africans. I argue that Cavazzi’s representation of Queen Njinga of Matamba belongs to the discursive groundwork that circulated, beginning in the Renaissance, in order to justify Europe’s legitimate access to African labor and the “theft of

bodies” (Morgan 169). I apply Jennifer Morgan’s study on the images of African women’s monstrosity, deployed as an ideological maneuver, which juxtaposed the unfamiliar against the familiar: the savage against the civilized. Cavazzi draws from a European stockpile of barbaric images (the unfamiliar) to deform Njinga’s image and later replace it with an image of the submissive Catholic queen (the familiar). His distorted exposé disregards the fact that many of the so-called abominable behaviors of the Africans were human flaws common to every culture in every age, and are even present in today's societies.

How Cavazzi’s text constructs his subject

Cavazzi da Montecúccolo travelled to Africa in 1654 commissioned by the Holy See as a historian of the Congo (Axelson 21), and operating as a representative of the Propaganda Fide missionary branch. Cavazzi’s Capuchin mission had a proselytizing agenda in Africa, to convert souls to Catholicism in order to ameliorate the relations between Portuguese and Africans; missionaries often acted as go-betweens to obtain the acquiescence of Africans. Cavazzi's historiographical project encompassed components essential to propaganda: authority, message, and diffusion. His text authored a tactical message meant to be disseminated in Europe, to the audience to which he performs, in order to assist other missionaries and to inform Europeans of significant details of Africa’s environment and inhabitants. Cavazzi established his authority on the subject by utilizing a writing format familiar to Europeans, which meant to deliver a tactical message that spread a deformed imagery of Africans. According to Morgan the horrific behavior of African women specifically became an icon of

barbarism and “evoked an immutable distance between Europe and Africa on which the development of racial slavery depended” (191). The repetition of their abominable practices and the use of pejorative adjectives deployed images meant to horrify the reader in order to induce the idea that change was necessary. In the 17th century, the images of African women as unfamiliar savages, circulated through the rhetorical propaganda of travels reports, had become familiar (192).

The word “propaganda” brings to mind an activity that has a hidden agenda in order to delude and control. From the similar treatment given to natives of the New World, it can be said that Europeans intentionally produced texts in which abundant negative portrayals of Africa and its peoples, in images that resonated with readers, sought to provoke a specific emotional response (Morgan 169). When Cavazzi invoked these images while depicting Njinga, he conjured up a gendered and racialized figure that demarcated the boundaries of European civility. This maneuver called forth the involvement of Europeans, portrayed as models of morality and superiority, as agents of change. These agents were called into action in order to save the world and save the souls of heathens through the world.

Early Modern travel writings were produced for informative purposes, to publicize the opportunities in foreign spaces, to serve the rationale of world salvation, and to ideologically justify the enslavement of “savages” and the takeover of their territory and bodies. Cavazzi’s text is forcefully focused on demonizing Africans, which makes it appear as a propaganda tactic, as for instance, in the repetitive references to African witchdoctors (*feiticeiros*) and their

iniquity.³⁰ In particular, Cavazzi curses them saying that, “among the dwellers of the pentapolis, they would find themselves in first place” (Livro Segundo 201, my translation). Here Cavazzi is referring to the biblical Pentapolis as the five cities situated south of modern Palestine: Sodom, Gomorrah, Adama, Zeboim and Zoar. By invoking this image when describing the traditional medicine men Cavazzi sentences them to extermination: like the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah.

It appears that the rhetorical manipulation of images in order to denigrate Africans was shaped from an intent to propagate these distorted images; as in propaganda. The word propaganda (propagation) was in fact used by the Roman Catholic Church from 1622 on to denominate a committee of cardinals who supervised foreign missions to propagate the Catholic faith and the training of priests for their mission. The definition of the word in the 20th century still describes the work carried out by the Propaganda Fide missionaries: “the spread of particular doctrines or principles propagated by an organization or movement” (Harper). In fact, in the Renaissance, the Holy See was an organization with a well-defined mission: to drive away infidel invaders, to catholicize the globe, and to consolidate the power of the Catholic Church.

I suggest that in a like manner Early Modern missionary travel reports, such as Cavazzi’s, contributed to the propagandizing exemplified by the Holy See. His text placed emphasis on the opportunities that existed in the foreign spaces he described. For instance, in narratives

³⁰ To clarify the translation of *feiticeiros* to witchdoctors as opposed to sorcerers, Cavazzi uses both meanings to refer to them. Witchdoctor was the common colonial term used in the later periods in Anglo colonial Africa. In Spanish America there was a clear distinction made between sorcery and witchcraft. Witchcraft implied devil-worship, whereas sorcery was the use of materials and incantations / spells that might include invoking the devil, but not worshipping him. In the opening to the section “Os Feiticeiros” Cavazzi use means both, “ Mas os feiticeiros, com violenta perfídia, opõem-se às diligencias dos missionários, para sustentar o partido de Satanás e também as vantagens de suas receitas” (Livro Primeiro, 91) [But the witchdoctors, with violent treachery, oppose the efforts of the missionaries, to sustain the party of Satan and also to promote their (incantation) recipes]” (my translation).

portraying the African natives as “endowed with vigor and laziness” (see quote in Chapter One) he publicized the potential for their acculturation into European work systems and colonial expansionist goals.

Perhaps these narratives exemplify what Walter Mignolo calls “colonial semiosis,” which suggests processes, rather than places where people interact in the colonial frontiers. According to Mignolo, “colonial semiosis” is a performative concept of semiotic interactions that allows one to conceive of colonial encounters “as a process of manipulation and control rather than transmission of meaning or representation” (33). As such, Cavazzi participates in this context of “colonial semiosis” through interaction with Queen Njinga, her culture, and her territory, as a process in which he manipulates and imposes his Catholic agenda, even perhaps full of good intentions, but still ethnocentric in its motivation. Plainly the text represents a consistent attack on the people and the region it describes. Through this process the text is clearly constructed by a Eurocentric narrative with an imperialist racialist lens. The radically unequal distribution of power that lies at its heart exemplifies the inherent proto-racism in its depictions of the African “Other”.

Europeans read widely this genre of travel reports to become familiar with worlds unknown and in turn these fueled their aspiration of overseas adventure. The rise of merchant empires offered to Europeans the opportunity to gain possessions and prominence and to escape the constraints of their social realities (Phillips 69). Cavazzi’s text appears to aid this capitalistic initiative when it offers evidence of the objective to substitute African laziness with productive work models via the taming strategies of the Portuguese. He refers to Africans as passing through a transition from their savage state to a Europeanized way of life. Aristotle had

already widely publicized the image of the “barbarian” as having the strength for labor, and that is what Europeans desired in order to carry out their expansionist projects (Schlaifer 194). The proto-ethnographic style with which Cavazzi constructs his text builds his authority of the subject as he imitates the proto-scientific Aristotelian rhetorical methods to describe nature and its barbaric inhabitants. With clear Eurocentric strokes, Cavazzi paints a picture that positions Europeans as a saving grace to the lethargic African native. This is a picture that encourages Europeans to see themselves in the distant foreign landscapes and as masters whose duty is to domesticate the subjects of his description.

In the following quote Cavazzi constructs the possibility of a long-term agenda whose goal is the domestication of Africans.

Portanto, em comparação com outras nações, não aparece neles [a maioria dos Africanos] espirito de iniciativa para inventar coisa nova. Todavia, desde alguns anos para cá, lidando com os Europeus que os fazem trabalhar por força, adestram-se também em varias artes, conforme nosso sistema. Não passará muito tempo e vê-los-emos suficientemente instruídos, especialmente depois que começarem a gostar do lucro e do proveito do trabalho. (Livro Primeiro 84)

Therefore, compared with other nations, [in most Africans] there is not a visible spirit of initiative to invent anything new. However, for some years now, in dealing with Europeans who make them work under duress, they have become skilled in various arts, as per our system. It will not be long before we see them sufficiently trained, especially once they start enjoying the profit and benefit of the work. (My translation)

The Portuguese, who had been in that region for more than a century, are portrayed as a taming force as they are “breaking them in by forced labor” from their apathetic savage state into trained workers. Notice that the word “adestrar” in Portuguese also means to tame animals and this image is very familiar to Europeans, who were masterful at training animals. This construction of a subject that transforms as a result of the contact with a superior race is

praxis in early European representations of the New World as a maneuver to position the racist ideology of those involved in the slave trade and the colonial matrix (Morgan 170). The following quote exemplifies how Cavazzi frequently drove home the concept that Africans needed taming. Here he deploys their animal-like behavior as they completely undervalued their offspring:

Antes que a Santa Fe chegasse para domestica-los, aqui acabava todo o cuidado dos pais para com os filhos, pouco diferentes, nisto, das próprias feras, que os nutrem e os lambem, mas mais nada fazem por eles. Depois de ter dado a luz, a mulher volta imediatamente para o labor, trabalha com o mesmo vigor e alegria de antes, parecendo até tornasse mais nova. (Livro Primeiro 139)

Before the Holy Faith arrived to tame them, here ended all the parental care for their young, in which they were little different than the beasts that nourish and lick [their offspring], but do nothing more for them. After giving birth, the woman returns immediately to her toil, working with the same vigor and joy as before, even appearing to have become younger. (My translation)

By showcasing their brutish treatment of children, the text suggests that, since the Africans themselves were mistreating their children, or killing them in Jaga rituals, it would be better to preserve them for the noble purpose of saving their souls and tame them into productive beings. Thus the missionary role became ultimately important in this endeavor. Missionaries not only saved souls, they also saved people from a life of idleness without, according to Europeans, the proper human function of productivity. Those who lack productivity are like the beasts of the field, which only produce work if tamed by humans. Cavazzi's text constructs the Africans as savages in a process of transformation that will lead to a fit into the European expansionist design.

In similar fashion, Cavazzi constructs Queen Njinga, with an emphasis on her "savagery" which is later contrasted with her taming as a result of her conversion to Catholicism. This

propaganda activity in Cavazzi's text aims to denigrate and deform the image of the African, while positioning himself (as a European) as the bringer of salvation to these inhuman people. In the following excerpt, Cavazzi shows the Queen as the beneficiary of Divine mercy, which brought her closer to salvation, according to his European religious ideology. Prior to her conversion, the queen is described as an abominable sub-human creature. Cavazzi makes use of Queen Njinga's behavior to deploy the iniquitous temperament of African women and at the same time make propaganda of the transformative power of conversion to Catholicism upon their bestial nature.

Mas não quero aqui sujar essas folhas com a trágica narração das torrentes de sangue derramado por Jinga pelo espaço de vinte e oito anos, durante os quais professou a seita mais bárbara dentre quantas pode imaginar a própria impiedade personificada.

Countou-me ela mesma muitas vezes, detestando a sua vida criminosa, que desejava ardentemente não só imitar, mas superar a própria Temba-Ndumba. Como não podia imita-la sacrificando o filho, quis adoptar um para poder sacrificá-lo. Depois disto ninguém pode achar nenhum pretexto para não fazer a mesma coisa. Todavia este ódio contra o sexo masculino não chegou ao ponto de lhe fazer abominar as pecaminosas relações com o mesmo, pois seria milagre muito grande que sobre a negra fronte das mulheres idólatras brilhassem os candores da pudicícia. Quanto às mulheres Jagas, infamíssimas de profissão, é claro que por um nada mancham a sua aparente continência. [N]Jinga também fez o mesmo com diversos oficiais, mas às escondidas, de maneira que as outras mulheres não pudessem censurar-lhe a fraqueza para com o sexo odiado. Como os vários vícios são por sua natureza coligados entre si como elos duma corrente, é muito raro que a crueldade não seja acompanhada pela sensualidade. ... Não obstante isso e na intenção de que todos acreditassem o que não era, mandava matar quantas mulheres lhe aparecessem grávidas, embora esse mau animo possa parecer-se mais com o ódio às crianças que com o amor à continência. ... Toda a criança do sexo masculino que conseguia descobrir, por meio dos numerosos espiões, ela mesma arrancava o coração e o comia. (Livro Quinto 72)

But I do not want to soil these pages, here, with the tragic recounting of the torrents of blood spilled by Jinga over the course of twenty-eight years, during which time she professed the most barbarous sect among the many that can be imagined by impiety personified.

Hating her [former] criminal life, she herself often recounted to me that she not only desired to imitate Temba-Ndumba, but she aspired to surpass her. As she could not imitate her by sacrificing her son, she adopted one in order to sacrifice him. After this, no one could find a pretext for not doing the same thing. Nevertheless, this hatred of males did not reach the point of making her abhor sinful relations with them, as it would be a great miracle that on the black brow of idolatrous women would shine the candor of modesty. As for Jaga women, renowned for their immoral occupation, for nearly nothing they stain their apparent decorum. Jinga also did the same with several officers, but in secret, so that other women could not censure her weakness before the despised gender. As diverse vices are by their nature related to one another as the links of a chain, it is very rare that cruelty is not accompanied by sensuality. ... Despite this and the intention that all might believe what was not true, she would order to be killed any pregnant women at hand, although this bad temperament may seem more like hatred to children than love for decorum. ... From every male child that she discovered, through her many spies, she herself tore the heart and ate it. (My translation)

Cavazzi's description of Queen Njinga exposes her horrific deeds in order to shape an image of her that is the worst possible. The text invokes an objectionable image and compares Njinga to the legendary Temba-Ndumba, a Jaga leader who allegedly demanded newborns to be killed by their own mothers and their bodies crushed into a paste to be used by warriors as a body rub believed to endow them with imperviousness in war (Cavazzi, *Livro segundo* 178). Perhaps, the abominable deeds narrated in the foregoing passage were meant to symbolize an unequivocal distance between Europe and Africa, to delineate the superior civility of Europeans, and shape the dangerous "Other" as an impending threat. The text's rhetorical maneuvers have a seminal "subject-forming" capacity to deform the image of its subject by combining alterity, barbarism, and the enemy. In the passage, Cavazzi consolidates the barbarism of Njinga, while he deploys the monstrous figure of the "Other," via the ultimate threatening enemy of the enlightened European, Temba-Ndumba. By association, Njinga and all Africans can be construed to be just as deformed as Temba-Ndumba. The depiction of such

abnormal behavior can only point to a malformation of nature that needs to be reshaped by Divine intervention.

The queen, after nearly thirty years of armed resistance, begins a process of acquiescence, through the influence of missionaries. When she received in her court in 1656 a crucifix rescued by one of her generals, Cavazzi reports that the queen was so inspired by the mercy of God she began to transform,

A rainha sentiu em si sentimentos de grande ternura, como em seguida ela própria me afirmou, mas, pelo estado de pecado em que jazia, não pode compreender que se tratava duma chamada da Divina Misericórdia. Apesar de tudo recebeu a santa imagem [o crucifixo] com a pompa devida, mascarando o seu sentimento com o pretexto de que desta maneira queria honrar os brancos, que eram numerosos em Matamba, por interesses comerciais.... Confessou-me ela mais tarde que durante aquela cerimonia só com grande custo sustivera as lágrimas de comoção, para não parecer fraca perante os soldados. Tanto pode o respeito humano numa alma escrava do Demonio! E, na verdade, ao contemplar aquele expressivo e eloquentissimo sinal da imensa piedade do Redentor, como poderia ela deixar de comover-se, de o adorar e de chorar por tê-lo ofendido? [voz da rainha] Eu não conhecia a verdade, por causa das minhas paixões, nem me importava de conhecê-la. Agora é que eu abro os olhos e, por amor daquele Deus que sacrilegamente neguei, peço a sua misericórdia uma paz duradoira para mim e para todos vós. Espontaneamente quero voltar para aquela fé que loucamente abandonei. Detesto a ímpia seita e os sacrilegos ritos dos jagas, expulsando-os do meu coração e do meu reino.... [voz de Cavazzi] Foi este o principio da salvação de tantas almas, que, seguindo o exemplo da sua rainha, se submeteram ao suave jugo da fé católica” (Livro Quinto 91-95).

The queen felt within feelings of great tenderness, as she herself shared with me, but for the sinful state in which she laid, she could not understand that it was a call from Divine Mercy. Despite all she received the holy image [the crucifix] with due pomp, masking her feelings with the pretext that she wanted to honor the whites, who were numerous in Matamba, due to commercial interests She confessed to me later that during that ceremony it was with great effort that she held back the tears, not to appear weak before the soldiers. So much is possible through human respect even in a soul enslaved by the devil! And, indeed, when contemplating that expressive and most eloquent sign of the immense mercy of the Redeemer, how could she fail to be moved, to adore Him, and to cry for having offended him? [Voice of the queen] I did not

know the truth because of my passions, nor did I care to know it. Now I open my eyes and for the sake of the God, who I sacrilegiously denied, ask His mercy for a lasting peace for myself and for all of you. I want to spontaneously go back to the faith that I thoughtlessly abandoned. I detest the wicked sect of the Jagas and their sacrilegious rites; I cast them out of my heart and of my kingdom.... [Voice of Cavazzi] This was the beginning of the salvation of many souls who, following the example their queen, they submitted to the gentle yoke of the Catholic faith. (My translation).

Despite the fact that she went on to serve in the Portuguese slave trade project, the queen, from Cavazzi's lens, was now closer to a degree of civilization that could only be attained by her proximity to Europeans. She grew more human, in his opinion, after she became a moving piece in the European expansion machinery. The juxtaposition of the queen's barbaric behavior with her acquiescence to follow the Catholic faith represents to Europeans the potential that Africans could become a fundamental component in the European goals of expansion. The combination of Europeans, as a civilizing force, and the influence of religion were key factors in the taming of animalistic savages. This is another angle of Cavazzi's propagandist agenda, which indirectly provided a justification for the enslavement of Africans. However, there are other strategies that Cavazzi utilizes to influence the perspective of his readers, one of them is the blame for Africans' behavior on the beliefs spread by witchdoctors.

Throughout his text Cavazzi often evoked the image of the lazy Africans and relates their lack of initiative to their subjugations to witchdoctors and idolatry. Cavazzi focuses at length on witchdoctors and positions them as the "Other" who obstructs the efforts of the missionaries.

Junto à descrição dos ídolos e dos sacrifícios, é preciso dar uma descrição, tão pormenorizada quanto possível, dos feiticeiros,sendo esses criminosos justamente os que prejudicam os progressos da nossa santa fé. (Livro Primeiro 91)

Along with the description of the idols and sacrifices, there must be a description as detailed as possible, of the witchdoctors, as these criminals are precisely the ones who harm the progress of our holy faith. (my translation)

Cavazzi's focus on this element of obstruction to the evangelization of Africans deploys a justification to the many armed conflicts in the region as criminals need to be handled with force. This context is the substrate in which Njinga is at first described in his narrative. This is the environment that she comes from and her conversion is even more significant because there were these detrimental forces against the evangelization of souls. In fact, the *feiticeiros* are utilized to position the eminent danger that looms over the Portuguese project in West Central Africa. Through them, Cavazzi positions the African "Other" at a distance from the civilized European deploying a dangerous inversion of norms. Without the civilizing force of the Portuguese the Africans could harm the significant efforts of civilization; they could be the "enemy."

How the "Other" Is Portrayed as "Enemy"

Since the Medieval period Europeans had been identifying the "Other" through monstrous physiognomy and abominable behavior. According to Jennifer Morgan, Medieval images of female devils were common and a significant part of the iconography of danger and monstrosity. Africans, especially African women, were persistently depicted as deviants and immoral. European travelers to the New World and Africa brought expectations of abominable behavior with them (170). Cavazzi's depiction of Africans and, particularly, of Njinga exemplifies this and offers to his reader abundant images of the African "Other" as wicked and depraved. His major target is the witchdoctor, whom he categorizes as evil and dangerous. He describes

the *feiticeiros* (witchdoctors) in a way that demonstrates his abhorrence of them as he brands them “servants of Satan” and accordingly “enemies of God”:

Estes povos estão agarrados com suma perfídia à idolatria, à feitiçaria, e a todos os outros bárbaros costumes.... Os feiticeiros pretendem curar esses doentes com um tratamento que não me atrevo a descrever inteiramente. Só o descreverei em parte, deixando ao critério das pessoas sensatas o julgar se há ou não intervenção do diabo, como eu suspeito. (Livro Primeiro 25, 27)

These people are so attached with complete perfidy to idolatry, sorcery, and all other barbaric customs.... The witchdoctors claim to cure illnesses with a treatment that I do not dare to fully describe. I will describe it only partially, and leave it to sensible people [readers] to judge whether or not the intervention of the devil is at work, as I suspect it is. (My translation).

It seems that Cavazzi brought with him an expectation that witchcraft was the cause of many ills in the African territory. According to Nachman Ben-Yehuda, before the 14th century witchcraft was neither good nor bad, and the reputation of “witches” depended on the results of their interventions. After the 14th century, the Catholic Church created a systematic theory devoted to witchcraft and the experts in this theory, called “demonologists,” were specialized in identifying a witch (Ben-Yehuda 3). Expert practitioners emerged to legitimately persecute hundreds of thousands of witches. After the publication of the *Malleus maleficarum* [The witch's hammer] in the 1480s, witches became seen as obstacles to religion.

Cavazzi demonstrates intimate knowledge of this subject as he dedicates forty pages in his Livro Primeiro to the subject of witchdoctors and idolatry (91-133), and brings it up often throughout all seven books. He describes at length each type of witchdoctor that he encounters or hears of in his travels. He frequently blames these witchdoctors for keeping the African people from fully practicing the Catholic faith. Cavazzi often alludes to the sacrifices made by the Capuchin missionaries who face immeasurable afflictions in order to bring Catholicism to

heathens of Africa only to be barred by these idolaters. He describes witchdoctors, the spiritual leaders of the “gullible African natives,” as morally “sujo, nojento, impudente, descarado, bestial” (Livro segundo 201). In the translation below, I insert the various English meanings of these words to exemplify the effect that the text is attempting to deploy:

sujo [dirty person, the devil, dirty, filthy, nasty, foul, smutty, unclean, sordid, squalid, indecent, indecorous, corrupt, dishonest, crooked, discredited, untrustworthy]; **nojento** [nauseating, sickening, repulsive, repugnant, loathsome, disgusting]; **impudente** [shameless, shamelessly bold, mischievous, audacious, bold, bold-faced, brazen, brazen-faced, cocksure, cocky, impertinent, nerdy, insolent], **descarado** [shameless person, shameless, saucy, impudent, insolent, barefaced], **bestial** [bestial, beastly, ferine, brutish, irrational, brutal, abominable, disagreeable, resembling a beast], e de tal modo que entre os moradores da Pentapólis teria o primeiro lugar [in such a manner that, among the dwellers of the Pentapolis, they would be one in first place]. (Livro segundo 201. My translation)³¹

Cavazzi’s depictions repeatedly invoke images that disparage Africans to such an extent that it becomes clear he has a specific agenda behind the way in which he constructs his text. Seldom are the instances when he describes the African “Other” with justice, except if they are converts to Catholicism and became submissive to the Portuguese crown or the Church. It becomes clear that Cavazzi’s text is constructed through layers of intentions and purposes that lead him to emphasize some aspects and diminish others. He emphasizes the inhuman behavior of Africans and yet he minimizes the fact that Europeans were historically ruthless as well. In Africans, Cavazzi essentializes and demonizes flaws of human nature, which are common to most cultures. While he depicts the abominable activities of Africans, in the same period the Holy Inquisition was violently burning witches at the stake in Europe (Ben-Yehuda 1); the thirty-

³¹ The biblical pentapolis were five cities situated south of modern Palestine: Sodom, Gomorrah, Adama, Zeboim and Zoar.

year war, known as the most destructive conflict in European history, had just ended (Wilson 735), and lest we forget, Europeans were engaged for many centuries in the wars of Reconquest against the Moors and the Crusades. In fact, Fray Bartolomé de las Casas (c. 1484-1566) described as barbaric the manner in which the Spanish violently invaded the shores of the New World:

Entraron los españoles desde luego que las conocieron como lobos y tigres y leones crudelísimos de muchos días hambrientos. Y otra cosa no han hecho de cuarenta años a esta parte hasta hoy, y hoy en este día lo hacen, sino despedazallas, matallas, angustiallas, afligillas, atormentallas y destruillas [sic] por las extrañas y nuevas y varias y nunca otras tales vistas ni leídas ni oídas maneras de crueldad. (109)

As soon as they discovered them (the autochthonous tribes), the Spanish entered as brutal lions and tigers, hungry for many days. And for forty years, and to this day, they have done nothing else but shred, kill, anguish, distress, torment and destroy them by strange, new, various, and other such never before seen, read, or heard, manners of cruelty. (My translation).

Thus, war and brutality was the European “modus operandi” and they commonly perpetrated violence against themselves and the world at large.

Cavazzi claims that Africans are in the service of Satan, and for this reason he deems them inferior and in need of a civilizing intervention. In the quote below he exemplifies this double standard of judgment. He accuses the Africans of being opportunistically driven to maintain commercial relations with the Portuguese; and yet one can ask why the Portuguese carry out relations with such abominable people? Perhaps the Portuguese were also opportunistically driven? In 1483, Njinga Nkuwu, the ruler of Kongo, and the Portuguese established non-aggression treaties and a commercial relationship based on the exchange of gold, slaves, and European commodities. This was a decisive step toward the expansion of the

Portuguese imperial charter whose main objective was to ensure the supply of slave labor for the colonies of Portugal. This encouraged other Europeans to establish their own relations with Africans. Because the Portuguese had “claimed monopoly over African trade” this difference in perspective presented a problem and became the reason for many armed conflicts (Heywood and Thornton, *Central Africans* 9). Both the Portuguese and the Kongoleses had vested interests in their treaties, but the Portuguese demanded a monopoly. Though both sides of the cultural contact zone display similar opportunistic traits, Cavazzi applies diminishing adjectives that shape the African “Other” and evoke the eminent “enemy.” The following quote illustrates the denigrating generalizations in which Cavazzi engages while portraying some Africans, the allegedly cannibalistic Jagas, who were both suspicious of and opportunistically acquiescent to Europeans:

Vivem portanto aqueles povos pérfidamente obstinados na seita dos Jagas e surdos à palavra de Deus. E embora, para não perderem o comércio com os brancos, demonstrem algum respeito pela nossa religião, todavia, como se tivessem medo de ficar convencidos pela evidencia das nossas argumentações, fecham qualquer caminho aos ministros do evangelho, tapam os seus ouvidos à nossas chamadas e, enfim, miseráveis quanto aos bens materiais, e mais miseráveis pelas muitas enfermidades à que estão sujeitos e pela continua escravidão de Satanás em que vivem, podem ser chamados povos sumamente infelizes. (Livro primeiro 23)

Therefore these people live treacherously obstinate in the sect of the Jagas [cannibalistic mercenaries] and deaf to the word of God. And although, not to lose trade with the whites, they may show some respect for our religion, nonetheless, as if afraid to be convinced by the evidence of our arguments, they close every path to the ministers of the gospel. They cover their ears to our calls and finally, impoverished as they are of material goods, and even more so impoverished by the many diseases to which they are subject and by their ongoing bondage to Satan in which they live, they can be called extremely sorrowful people. (My translation)

In this passage Cavazzi deploys the image of a people in desperate need of assistance from a superior race. He paints an image of a wretched existence that demands the rescue of the Catholic Church, seemingly justifying all that the Portuguese were doing in their territory: invading, warring, enslaving.

The Europeans who are engaged in an overseas takeover use a variety of tactics to raid, conquer or penetrate foreign territory. Three specific ideologies are central in the process of European expansion—the development of the nation-state, new expansionist economics, and proselytizing religion (Abernethy 6). Cavazzi was an agent of European expansion through the proselytizing of Catholic beliefs among a people who fit the bill as an important resource for the expansion machinery. His text was meant to provide detailed information to facilitate the advancement of expansionist goals and the intellectual justification for the European ownership of bodies that he judged inferior, inhuman, and wretched. Commissioned by the Holy See and operating from his association with its place of authority, his writings may have impacted the perception of the African “Other” as a threat if not contained, restrained, tamed and converted.

The Combination of Alterity, Barbarism, and Enemy Constructs a Deformed Image

Judging from the construction of his text, dedicated to inferiorize Africans, it can be said that he took seriously his mission to construct a text to provide support for the economic expansion carried out by the various European nations along with the Holy See. The Capuchin missionary demonstrated that he read the literature that circulated in Europe at his time and is

well aware of the activities of Europeans in the New World.³² Cavazzi is clearly aware of the scope of the activities carried by the Spanish and the Portuguese in the New World. It can be inferred that Cavazzi knows his role as a go-between and endeavors to realize his mission. Perhaps he even saw himself as a key player in the interface between the Holy See and the European nations who are aggressively engaged in overseas economic expansion. Cavazzi came from a world where a conglomerate of nations with similar goals, similar worldviews, and similar histories endeavored to gain access into Atlantic resources.

It appears that Cavazzi's text endeavors to cater to diverse agendas: he is a saver of souls, an informant, and a mediator, and an ally. To achieve his goals his text describes the lush African environment as potential productive lands; he focuses on the Africans in need of domestication; he depicts their abominable practices that need the intervention of missionaries to save their souls, and he provides abundant examples of the immorality and lasciviousness of African women. According to Morgan, narratives showcasing New World native and African women's bodies and deviant behavior, symbolize the shifting parameters of the colonizing venture. Early Modern writers regularly directed readers' attention to the topic of African women's physiognomy and reproductive experience as a ploy to represent the potential of colonial goals: the availability of women's labor and their ease of reproduction (178).

As a propaganda tactic, Cavazzi insists on denying the African morality, often portraying Njinga as the front piece of their savagery. His narrative reflects to his European public what appears to be a new provision of evidence; nonetheless, he is merely deploying images already in circulation in Early Modern European texts (Morgan 169). By imposing repetitive distinctions,

³² For example, he cites the text of Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, describing the Peruvian origin of a dental custom that traveled to Africa with slaves returning from Peruvian mines (Livro Primeiro 172).

his textual construction may be performing what Michel de Certeau calls a “clever coup.” This rhetorical strategy is a technique “immersed in practice ... in temporal and spatial contingency.... [that deploys] many masks and metaphors....undoing the proper place” thus recomposing elements of reality (*The Practice* 79). This concept of “art of narrative coup” is helpful in understanding what Cavazzi does rhetorically in his text to produce what is at least partially a fictional representation of Njinga, her people, and her culture. Through the rhetorical procedure of providing repetitive wide-ranging examples, repetitions of behavior labeled as heinous, and making analytical distinctions based on his religious ideology Cavazzi is able to disturb the African field in which he moves—“undoing the proper place”—as he attempts to impose Eurocentric expectations onto a culture he hardly understands. The text performs countless “coups” by cursing the “Others” and their behaviors with a plethora of negative labels. In this way the text removes other possibilities of comprehension and relativism, fixing a sentence of iniquity upon his subject. This strategy implies condemnation and justification for its destruction in the name of the only “God and lord of the world” represented by the authority of the Roman Catholic Church; the Holy See.

The image of the dangerous native woman had circulated widely in European travel reports in the 16th century. According to Jennifer Morgan, in the 1500s, one of Vespucci’s letters set in motion the imagery embedded in his writings of the dangerous man-slaying woman linking cannibalism as “an absolute indicator of savagery and distance from European norms” (173). In several instances in Cavazzi’s text we can identify the concepts outlined above in action in the text frame. The passage ranks the barbaric Jaga sect that Queen Njinga joined as a creation of the devil (impiety personified). In this way Cavazzi is also naming and cataloging

this element of the dangerous cannibal African in need of taming and how to do it; through conversion to Catholicism. In order to survive, Njinga has made the same political move by flipping sides; she has become an ally of the Portuguese and converted to Catholicism. In one of her letters, Njinga explains why she lived a “Jaga” life and she rationalizes her “Jaga” practices as a political move: a necessity in order to gain the alliance of the Jagas in warfare against the Portuguese. Queen Njinga refers to having joined the “Jaga way” of living due to the needs of the war, which had her running from one place to another (Heywood, 45). In this letter the rare voice of Africans may be perceived, which alludes to the impact of the Europeans in their lives. These voices are seldom heard from the narratives composed by Europeans that described the spaces of the Atlantic from their perspective, inclined to distort the natives.

Narratives that circulated in the Early Modern Europe erased the historicity of local societies, as if there was a gap that needed to be filled by the European rhetoric. In the case of Angola, the political fragmentation and the military conflict between the small kingdoms in the area were interpreted by the Portuguese as an opportunity for mutually beneficial alliances to negotiate weapons in exchange for slaves and gold. This interpretation reflects the way in which Europeans legitimized and ideologically argued that there is reciprocity between them and native societies they encountered and conquered. Mary Louise Pratt points out the fallacy of this interpretation as derived from the discourse of liberal ideologies and the emergent European capitalistic expansionism, which sought to legitimize European intervention in the colonial contact zones. Pratt calls this interpretation the “mystical concept of reciprocity, “thus forging a concept that can also be used to describe the ideological base of the Capuchin missionaries to “bring salvation to Africans” (Pratt 34). It should be possible then, based on

Pratt's perspective, to infer that the narrative of the conquest of Africa, described by various Early Modern visitors engaged in state or ecclesiastical functions such as Cavazzi, Gaeta, Cadornega, and others, makes use of the "eyewitness" resource to establish their literary authority via their association to the state apparatus which are attending to the territorial ambitions of empires.

CONCLUSION

The ideology that motivated the belief of world dominance had been incubating for centuries, since the ancient Greeks. European ideology and its penetration beyond the Atlantic seashores impacted human systems and their reality throughout the colonial period and the post-modern period and continue into the current age. In the above chapters I have briefly discussed the ideological mesh that formed the worldview of Europeans and I have examined a style of textual production that impacted the representation of cultures of the Atlantic world. It is clear that ideology has moved in an ebb and flow as different bodies of knowledge were forgotten and discovered again, like the Greek philosophers who were ignored in the medieval period and regained visibility in the Renaissance. Until recently, the histories of individuals were ignored and hidden behind a dominant concern with imperial historiographies. While the imperial metropolis tended to understand itself as determining the periphery (in the emanating glow of the civilizing mission or the cash flow of development, for example), it habitually blinded itself to the ways in which the periphery determines the metropolis—beginning, perhaps, with the latter's obsessive need to present and represent its peripheries and its "Others" continually to itself. Travel writing, among other institutions, was heavily organized in the service of that imperative. So travel writing is much of Renaissance European literary history (Pratt 6).

Cavazzi da Montecúccolo's text belongs to these phenomena, as the European ideology imbedded in it is an example of how ideas were transposed from one context to another, incongruously, at random, and conflating the subject with the object without reflection. Cavazzi follows models of discourses that were present in texts from the time of the Greeks and were a

common modality of describing the natural world in Europe during the Renaissance. The act of describing nature is an approach to create “an inventory of the world.”³³ This practice also can be read as an act of taking “possession of nature” given its wild state that lacks self-governance, and thus being available for the taking. Shaped in such format, Cavazzi’s three volumes employ language in a way that displays Africa and its inhabitants as a cabinet of curiosities, of sorts. It depicts the “wild” in need of being tamed, even though the territory had an organized political structure with kings and courts, their “untamed” social practices were an indication of their “savage” state. Despite the fact that exposing the wild aspects of the African territory would seem counterproductive for the purposes of colonization, it served another important function. Cavazzi told a story that conspicuously described the savagery that existed in the West-Central African territory. His depiction of the many acts of cannibalism, aggression, violence, and animalistic instinct had the purpose of justifying to the Holy See and to the Portuguese Crown the presence of the missionaries in the African territory in order to mediate relations between Africans and the Portuguese.

Cavazzi’s text also demonstrated the possibility that a savage like Njinga could be tamed and transformed by conversion to Catholicism. His narrative depicted the extreme state of savageness of the queen and her people, only to contrast it skillfully with her later conversion and alliance with the Portuguese. In return for her efforts, as a reward from her willing spiritual cleansing, she remained a queen in her own kingdom: a right granted by the Portuguese, the invaders of her territory.

³³ Paula Findlen details the concept of describing nature in *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy*, which reviews the development of natural history, as it is understood today.

Njinga was a brilliant military and diplomatic tactician, and within the hybrid space that the Kongo-Angola region became, Njinga stood out as a woman of her time, a transculturated, creolized sovereign who learned the ideological map of the Europeans so as to decide upon the appropriate conversations to have and the suitable actions to take. By converting to Catholicism, engaging in diplomatic letter writing and negotiating her subject position vis-à-vis the Portuguese crown, she secured her hegemony and sustained her authority, albeit having to submit to the invader's rules.

Europeans had a wide range of reactions to Africa. Cavazzi's depictions figures among the most negative. He described Africans as inconstant, their vices as deeply ingrained and ineradicable, and in general he considered Africans as inferior people. Cavazzi believed that Njinga was inherently evil, and always had doubts about the sincerity of her conversion. Cavazzi's text engaged in an activity of exposure that now provides a window onto European ideology projected back through the representation that reveals the intentions of the text. The "us" that Cavazzi reveals are the Europeans who were avid to justify their consumption of the subaltern bodies of Africans incarcerated into the prison without bars that very few escaped. This prison was constructed with the attitudes and prejudices of the privileged citizens of the hegemonic systems and each one became enforcers of the ideology that initiated the institutions of forced labor, conquest, subjugation and imperial dominion.

Because this prison's invisible bars were enacted in the social practices, the slave, even when freed, moved within a constrictive space stigmatized by social segregation. These ideological constrains were catapulted through the centuries into the recent past in the United States, as social constructions, sustained in the discourses of American southerners state

governments manifested into the Jim Crow laws. The social constructions lived in the structures of these societies and were projected into the beliefs and behaviors of the citizens who carried out lynchings up to fifty years ago, and murders such as the killing of nine members of the Emmanuel AME Church in Charleston, South Carolina, in June of 2015. These are the very same ideologies that were in circulation in the Early Modern Atlantic world as the Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch, British and other Europeans relentlessly maintained the slave trade in operation for more than 400 years. The ideology in currency that the subaltern was inferior, depicted in many Early Modern texts, acted as anthropological snapshots. Cavazzi's text is full of these barbaric characterizations. In fact, the images formulated by Cavazzi rendered the Africans and Africa as a symbolic justification for Europeans to justify their penetration and intent to eradicate the bestiality of that territory.

By creating the "Other," separate identities are formed and separation is enacted. The "Other" demarcates identities conceived, perceived, perpetuated and reshaped (Newman 13). The "Other", in a formulation of reverse projection, again points to the Europeans, who were invading, tricking, kidnapping, enslaving, coercing, disestablishing and carrying out a campaign of terror. As Cavazzi depicted the Africans as the "Other", the enemy, his text performs a deformation of the subaltern's presence. Although Njinga was a monarch, before the Portuguese she was a subaltern. Although she was a subaltern, she did indeed speak via her armed resistance against the Portuguese. Her utterances have come to us via her the letters she was said to have dictated to those in her court who spoke the Portuguese language. Her letters were acts of agency, and later of acquiescence, fueled by her desire to defend her territory, like her father, her brother and many kings of the neighboring Congo. Nonetheless,

after the thirty years of struggle she became a puppet monarch who served the Portuguese and contributed to their imperial project.

I call her willingness to negotiate peace treaties with the Portuguese (between 1655 and 1663) “acts of acquiescence” that were shaped by her conciliation with the Catholic Church; by her use of European diplomatic conventions; by her willingness to acculturate and transculturate. Her acquiescence meant that she would be exempt from being exiled into plantations of the Americas but would have to serve the system by becoming a pawn in the Portuguese slave trade. She became an example of the “bestial queen who converted to Catholicism,” an action plan for all Africans to follow. Without the Africans who acted as “middleman,” the slave trade might have developed more slowly in Angola. An important consequence of the presence of the Portuguese in Central Africa at that time was the rapid expansion of the slave trade. To the territories of Congo, Ndongo and Matamba, the slave trade became a monster that consumed millions of African bodies, like the sacrificial youth that were fed to the Minotaur by the mythological Greek king Minos of Crete. It is ironic that the slave trade itself became in fact the cannibal entity that the Europeans so much feared.

In Cavazzi’s text the slave trade is justified because those who were being subjected to slavery were baby eaters and base cannibals. The text provides evidence that Africans were nothing but heathens, barbarous, and bestial. The intent of the Portuguese is corroborated and justified, after all the Holy See was supporting the Portuguese efforts with the presence of the missionaries sent by the Propaganda Fide. Texts like Cavazzi’s constitute the origins of the modern ethnology while they intended to provide textual justification of several European crowns to enact colonial appropriations.

Another justification of imperialism that Cavazzi's text provides is that the African natives were lazy and needed the direction of the Europeans in order to be tamed into productivity. Europeans were unable to understand that, to Africans, and to other native groups, the idea that it makes no sense to continue working when one's very modest needs have been met. In fact, this lack of foresight is the cause that catapulted the present environmental crisis. According to Pope Francis's recently issued encyclical on environmental degradation, irresponsible development has produced the excessive consumerism, which is driving planetary destruction.³⁴ The genesis of this ill lies in the project of world domination Europeans launched in the Early Modern period, which destructively swept innumerable traditional cultures that subsisted producing only enough for short term consumption without surplus. Europeans launched in the Early Modern period a pattern of relentless exploitation and destruction of the environment privileging the reckless pursuit of profits.

This value of satisfying behavior is the key to understanding the paradox that Cavazzi notes in his representations of the African. Commitment and hard work in the service of others stands in contrast to the economic inactivity of their traditional life ways. This behavior is easily explicable if one sees work as something without value, beyond the attainment of a basic subsistence. To Europeans, economically productive work was an essential element of life, and there must be something amiss among people who do not interpret life in this way.

³⁴Pope Francis, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/encyclicals/documents/papa-francesco_20150524_enciclica-laudato-si.html].

Works Cited

- Abdi, Ali A. "Globalization, Culture, and Development: Perspectives on Africa." *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences* 2(1): 2000, 1-26.
- Abernethy, David B. *The Dynamics of Global Dominance: European Overseas Empires, 1415–1980*. Yale UP, 2001.
- Adorno, Rolena. *The Polemics of Possession in Spanish American Narrative*. New Haven: Yale UP, 2007.
- Africanus, Leo. *The History and Description of Africa: And of the Notable Things Therein Contained*. Vol. I. Cambridge UP, 2010.
- Alatas, Syed Hussein. *The Myth of the Lazy Native*. London: Frank Cass, 1977.
- Alencastro, Luis Felipe de. *O trato dos viventes: Formação do Brasil no Atlântico Sul, séculos XVI e XVII*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000.
- Amin, Samir. *Eurocentrism*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1989.
- Axelson, Sigbert. *Culture Confrontation in the Lower Congo*. Uppsala: Swedish Institute of Mission Research at Uppsala University, 1970.
- Ben-Yehuda, Nachman. "The European Witch Craze of the 14th to 17th Centuries: a Sociologist's Perspective." *American Journal of Sociology* 86.1 (1980): 1-31.
- Benzoni, Girolamo. *History of the New World: Shewing His Travels in América, from A.d. 1541 to 1556: With Some Particulars of the Island of Canary*. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1857.
- Beverley, John. "Marvelous Dispossession: On 1492, Stephen Greenblatt's Marvelous Possessions, and the Academic Sublime." *Romance Quarterly* 40.3 (1993): 131-40.

- Bieber, Judy. "Mediation Through Militarization: Indigenous Soldiers and Transcultural Middlemen of the Rio Doce Divisions, Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1808-1850." *Americas* 71.2 (2014): 227-54.
- Birmingham, David. *Trade and Conflict in Angola: The Mbundu and their Neighbours under the Influence of the Portuguese, 1483-1790*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966.
- Blakely, Allison. "European Dimensions of the African Diaspora: The Definition of Black Racial Identity." *Crossing Boundaries: Comparative History of Black People in Diaspora*. Ed. Darlene Clark Hine and Jacqueline McLeod. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1999.
- Brásio, António, ed. "*Monumenta missionaria africana: Suplemento (Sécs. XV, XVI, XVII)*." Vol. 15. Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1988.
- Burke, Peter. *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Harper Torchbook, 1978.
- Cadornega, António de Oliveira de. *História geral das guerras angolanas, 1680-1681*. 3 vols. Ed. José Matias Delgado. Lisboa: Agencia-Geral do Ultramar, 1972.
- Campbell, Mary B. *Wonder & Science: Imagining Worlds in Early Modern Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1999.
- Campbell-Thomson, Olga. "Foucault, Technologies of the Self and National Identity." British Educational Research Association Annual Conference, Institute of Education, University of London, 6 September 2011. Academia.edu. Web. 22 June 2015.
- Canclini, Nestor García. *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1989.

- Cañizares-Esguerra, Jorge. *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World*. Stanford UP, 2001.
- "Iberian Science in the Renaissance: Ignored How Much Longer?" *Perspectives on Science* 12. 1 (2004): 86-124.
- *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550-1700*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 2006.
- Cavazzi da Montecúccolo, Giovanni Antonio. *Descrição Histórica dos Três Reinos do Congo, Matamba e Angola* [1687]. Translated by Fra. Graciano Maria de Leguzzano. Lisboa: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1965. Portuguese translation of of *Istorica Descrizione de'Tre'Regni Congo, Matamba, et Angola*. Bologna 1687.
- Chartier, Roger. *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1988.
- Dapper, Olfert. *Description de l'Afrique*. Johnson Reprint Company, 1970.
- Daston, Lorraine, and Katharine Park. *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750*. New York: Zone Books, 1998
- Dayal, Samir. "Diaspora and double consciousness." *The Journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association* 29.1 (1996): 46-62.
- De Certeau, Michel and Steven Rendall. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1984.
- DuBois, W. E. B. *The Souls of Black Folk* [1903]. New York: Penguin, 1989.

- Eden, Richard. *The Decades of the New World [1555]*. Selections from Fernández, de O. V. G, and de T. B. J. Pérez. *Historia General Y Natural De Las Indias*. Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1959. 209-210.
- Findlen, Paula. *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1994.
- Feuer, Lewis S. *Imperialism and the Anti-Imperialist Mind*. New York, Prometheus Books, 1986.
- Foucault, Michel. "The Subject and Power." *Critical inquiry* 8.4 (1982): 777-95.
- Gaeta da Napoli, Antonio. *La Maravigliosa Conversione alla Santa Fede di Cristo della Regina Singa e del svo Regno di Matamba nell'Africa Meridionale*. Ed. Francesco Maria Gioia da Napoli. Naples, 1668.
- Games, Alison. "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities." *The American Historical Review* 111.3 (2006): 741-57.
- García Canclini, Néstor. "*Hybrid cultures: Strategies for entering and leaving modernity*." Trans. Christopher L. Chiappari and Silvia L. López. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press (1989).
- Gates, Jr H. L. "Editor's Introduction: Writing "race" and the Difference It Makes." *Critical Inquiry*. 12.1 (1985).
- Greenblatt, Stephen. *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1991.
- Harle, Vilho. "On the Concepts of the 'Other' and the 'Enemy'." *History of European Ideas* 19.1-3 (1994): 27-34.

Harper, Douglas. "Propaganda." *Online Etymology Dictionary*. Dictionary.com

<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/propaganda>. Web. 25 Apr. 2015.

Hartman, Saidiya. *Lose your mother: A journey along the Atlantic slave route*. Macmillan, 2008.

Heintze, Beatrix. *Angola nos séculos XVI e XVII: estudos sobre fontes, métodos e história*.

Luanda: Kilombelombe, 2007.

----- "The Extraordinary Journey of the Jaga through the Centuries: Critical Approaches to

Precolonial Angolan Historical Sources." *History in Africa* 34.1 (2007): 67-101.

Heywood, Linda. "Queen Njinga Mbandi Ana de Sousa of Ndongo/Matamba: African

Leadership, Diplomacy, and Ideology, 1620s-1650s." Trans. Luis Madureira. *Afro-Latino*

Voices. Narratives from the Early Modern Ibero-Atlantic World, 1550-1812. Ed. Kathryn

Joy McKnight and Leo J. Garofalo. Cambridge: Hackett, 2009. 38-51.

Heywood, Linda M, and John K. Thornton. *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Foundation of the Americas, 1585-1660*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007.

Isaac, Benjamin. *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2006.

Jones, William R. "The image of the Barbarian in Medieval Europe." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13.4 (1971): 376-407.

Klein, Herbert. "Economic Aspects of the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic Slave Trade." *The Rise of Merchant Empires Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350-1750*. Edited by James D. Tracy. University of Minnesota, 1990. 287-310.

Lambropoulos, Vassilis. *The Rise of Eurocentrism: Anatomy of Interpretation*. Princeton, Princeton UP, 1993.

Las Casas, Bartolomé de, and José M. Martínez-Torrejón. *Brevísima Relación De La Destrucción De Las Indias*. Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 2006.

Levy, Evonne A. *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*. Berkeley: U of California P, 2004.

Lienhard, Martin. *O Mar e o Mato: Histórias Da Escravidão (Congo-Angola, Brasil, Caribe)*. Salvador, Brazil: EDUFBA/CEAO, 1998.

Lockhart, James. *Of things of the Indies; Essays Old and New in Early Latin American History*. Stanford UP, 1999.

Loomba, Ania. "The Color of Patriarchy: Critical Difference, Cultural Difference, and Renaissance Drama." *Women, "Race," and Writing in the Early Modern Period*. Ed. Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker. New York, Routledge, 1994. 17-34.

Loomis, Louise R. "The Greek Renaissance in Italy." *The American Historical Review* 13.2 (1908): 246-58.

Lovejoy, Paul E. "The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Africa: A Review of the Literature." *Journal of African History* 30.3 (1989): 365-94.

Macherey, Pierre. *A Theory of Literary Production*. NY: Routledge, 2012.

MacMillan, Ken. *Sovereignty and Possession in the English New World: The Legal Foundations of Empire, 1576-1640*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006.

McKnight, Kathryn Joy and Leo J. Garofalo. *Afro-Latino Voices: Narratives from the Early Modern Ibero- Atlantic World, 1550-1812*. Cambridge: Hackett, 2009.

McLuhan, Marshall: *The Medium is the Message*. New York, Bantam, 1967.

Mignolo, Walter. *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization*. U of Michigan P, 2003.

- Mignolo, Walter D. and Madina Tlostanova. "Theorizing from the Borders Shifting to Geo- and Body-Politics of Knowledge." *European Journal of Social Theory* 9.2 (2006): 205-21.
- Miller, Christopher L. *Blank Darkness: Africanist Discourse in French*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1985.
- Miller, Joseph C. "Nzinga of Matamba in a New Perspective." *The Journal of African History* 16.2 (1975): 201-16.
- , "Requiem for the "Jaga"(Requiem pour les "Jaga")." *Cahiers d'études africaines* 13.49 (1973): 121-49.
- Morgan, Jennifer L. "'Some Could Suckle over Their Shoulder': Male Travelers, Female Bodies, and the Gendering of Racial Ideology, 1500-1770." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54.1 (1997): 167-92.
- Morris, Rosalind C. and Gayatri C. Spivak. *Can the Subaltern Speak?: Reflections on the History of an Idea*. New York: Columbia UP, 2010.
- Mountz, Alison. "The Other." Ed. Carolyn Gallaher et. al. *Key Concepts in Political Geography*. London: SAGE, 2009. 328-38.
- Mudimbe, V Y. *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1988.
- Newman, David. "On Borders and Power: A Theoretical Framework." *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 18.1 (2003): 13-25.
- Nietzsche, Friedrich. "On Truth and Falsity in Their Extramoral Sense." *Philosophical Writings*. Ed. R. Grimm and CM. Vedia. New York: Continuum, 1995. 87-99.

- Nocentelli, Carmen. *Empires of Love: Europe, Asia, and the Making of Early Modern Identity*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2013.
- Ortiz, Fernando. *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar*. Durham: Duke UP, 1995.
- Operario, Don and Susan T. Fiske. "Racism Equals Power Plus Prejudice: A Social Psychological Equation for Racial Oppression." *Confronting racism: The problem and the response*. Ed. Jennifer Lynn Eberhardt and Susan T Fiske. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1998. 33-53.
- Pagden, Anthony. *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain, and France, c. 1500–c. 1800*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1995.
- Phillips, Carla Rahn. "The Growth and Composition of Trade in the Iberian Empires 1450- 1750." *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350-1750*. Ed. James Tracy. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990. 34-101.
- Pratt, Mary L. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Rubiés, Joan-Paul. *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes, 1250-1625*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002.
- Russell-Wood, Anthony Jr. "The Portuguese Atlantic 1415-1800." In *Soundings in Atlantic History*. Ed. Bernard Bailyn and Patricia L. Denault. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2009, p. 95.
- Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage, 1994.
- Saussure, Ferdinand de. *Course in General Linguistics*. Translation Roy Harris. London: Duckworth, 1983.
- Schlaifer, Robert. "Greek Theories of Slavery from Homer to Aristotle." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 47 (1936): 165-204.

- Schopenhauer, Arthur. *The World as Will and Representation*. Vol. 1. Translation by E.F.J. Payne. of *Die Welt als Wille und Vorsetzung* (1819). New York: Dover, 2012.
- Scott, James C. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Have: Yale UP, 1990.
- Solow, Barbara L. "Capitalism and Slavery in the Exceedingly Long Run." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17.4 (1987): 711-37.
- Spillers, Hortense. "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book." *Diacritics* 17.2 (1987): 65-81.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" *Die Philosophin* 14.27 (2003): 42-58.
- Sweet, David G. "Black Robes and 'Black Destiny': Jesuit Views of African Slavery in 17th-Century Latin America." *Revista de Historia de América* 86 (1978): 87-133.
- Thornton, John K. "The Correspondence of the Kongo Kings, 1614-35: Problems of Internal Written Evidence on a Central African Kingdom." *Paideuma* 33 (1987): 407-21.
- "The Development of an African Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Kongo, 1491-1750." *The Journal of African History* 25.2 (1984): 147-67.
- "Early Kongo-Portuguese relations: A New Interpretation." *History in Africa* 8 (1981): 183-204.
- "Legitimacy and Political Power: Queen Njinga, 1624-1663." *The Journal of African History* 32.1 (1991): 25-40.
- "New Light on Cavazzi's Seventeenth-Century Description of Kongo." *History in Africa* 6 (1979): 253-64.

- ."A Resurrection for the Jaga (la Résurrection Des Jaga)." *Cahiers D'études Africaines* 18 (1978): 223-27.
- ." *Warfare in Atlantic Africa, 1500-1800*. London: UCL Press, 1999.
- Tracy, James D. *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350-1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990
- Vansina, Jan. *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology*. Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co, 1965.
- Vansina, Jan. *How Societies Are Born: Governance in West Central Africa before 1600*. U of Virginia P, 2004.
- Wiget, Andrew. "Reading against the Grain: Origin Stories and American Literary History." *American Literary History* 3.1 (1991): 209-31.
- Wish, Harvey. "Aristotle, Plato, and the Mason-Dixon Line." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 10 (1949): 259-60.
- Whitney, Lois. "Did Shakespeare Know Leo Africanus?" *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 37 (1922): 470-83.
- Wiedemann, Thomas E. J. *Greek and Roman Slavery*. London: Routledge, 1988.
- Wilson, Peter H. *The Thirty Years War: Europe's Tragedy*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard UP, 2009.
- Woodward, A. M. "Greek History at the Renaissance." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 63 (1943): 1-14.