

Crossed Gazes in the Indian Ocean: Tourism and Portuguese Heritage in Zanzibar
Olhares Cruzados no Índico: Turismo e Património Português em Zanzibar
Ojos cruzados en el Océano Índico: Turismo y patrimonio portugués en Zanzibar

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Abstract: Tourism is the world's largest industry in the 21st century and a phenomenon structured around dynamic and tentacular connections. Among the forms this phenomenon enshrines is Memory Tourism, which has assumed increasing importance. This form of tourism is based on a colonial heritage whose values are shaped according to memories of a once shared culture and heritage: that of overseas empires. By acquiring a new role, these postcolonial places open up new readings and respond to a societal challenge of contemporary mobility through looking at travel as a way of building culture and defining identities. This is the reason why it is proposed to map Portuguese heritage in the Zanzibar archipelago, a place that was part of the Lusitanian empire for two hundred years and a source of multiculturalism and otherness to which our age is heir.

Keywords: Empire, Indian Ocean, Heritage, Tourism.

Resumo: O turismo é, em pleno século XXI, a maior indústria a nível mundial constituindo um fenómeno estruturado a partir de uma articulação dinâmica e tentacular. De entre as formas que o fenómeno consagra, o chamado “turismo de memória” tem vindo a ganhar relevância, assente numa herança colonial cujas valências se formulam segundo uma reminiscência de uma cultura/património outrora partilhada: a dos impérios ultramarinos. Ao ganharem um novo protagonismo, estes lugares pós-coloniais abrem-se a novas leituras, respondendo a um desafio societal da mobilidade contemporânea através do olhar para a viagem como forma de construir cultura e definir identidades, pelo que se propõe cartografar o património de raiz portuguesa no arquipélago de Zanzibar, lugar integrado no império lusitano durante duzentos anos e fonte de multiculturalismo e alteridade de que o nosso tempo é herdeiro.

Palavras-chave: Império, Índico, Património, Turismo.

Resumen: El turismo es, en el siglo XXI, la mayor industria del mundo, constituyendo un fenómeno estructurado sobre una articulación dinámica y tentacular. Entre las formas que consagra el fenómeno, ha cobrado relevancia el llamado “turismo de la memoria”, basado en una herencia colonial cuyas valencias se formulan a partir de una reminiscencia de una cultura / herencia compartida: la de los imperios de ultramar. Al ganar un nuevo protagonismo, estos lugares poscoloniales se abren a nuevas lecturas, respondiendo a un desafío social de la movilidad contemporánea a través de la mirada a los viajes como una forma de construir cultura y definir identidades, que propone mapear la herencia de sus raíces portuguesas en el archipiélago de Zanzibar, lugar integrado en el imperio portugués desde hace doscientos años y fuente de multiculturalismo y alteridad de la que nuestro tiempo es heredero.

Palabras clave: Imperio, Océano Índico, Patrimonio, Turismo.

Introduction

Tourism has become the industry with the greatest impact on the world economy constituting a global multilevel phenomenon that is tentacular in its scope. In terms of origin, tourism and colonialism are not phenomena of the same order but tourist activity and imperialism are both products of the same context and thereby intrinsically linked since both involve possession of a territory and its exploitation. What is certain is that the rise of European empires in the development of tourism received a strong impetus from the Universal Exhibitions, showcases of overseas territories that, by crystallizing a whole exotic and distant imagery, drove an elite to embark on the colonial journey that would soon become massified, contributing in this way to the contemporary global tourism phenomenon.¹ The motivations underlying this impetus are different, but there is one that has been gaining importance when it comes to choosing a travel destination – postcolonial nostalgia that instils a yearning to visit places frozen at a certain moment in time and not yet fully contaminated by fast-paced urbanity, thereby momentarily giving us an experience that daily life in Western society has long excluded. This type of “nostalgia tourism” has been acquiring fans and we can understand why. Whether due to their architecture, cultural heritage, artistic legacy, appeal to the *Noble Savage* in us or another reason rooted in a common past, former European colonies have become tourist destinations of choice. Furthermore, the fact that tourism is a fundamental ally of economic, social and cultural development, generating significant revenues, has increased pressure on authorities and there is a need to manage this responsibly utilising critical thinking. As a result, it has become an item on government agendas, particularly with regard to the heritage to be preserved, be this tangible or intangible.

Thus, Memory Tourism has been gaining growing protagonism not only within national and regional government policies but also within academic research. Hence this reflection proposes to create a Memory Tourism itinerary for Portuguese heritage in Zanzibar responding to the following question: What heritage with Portuguese roots can be found in the Zanzibar archipelago? The justification lies in the centrality of heritage as a legacy of a shared memory and its primary aim is to act as a facilitator helping to integrate the tourist into history, making them part of it. In other words, by encouraging us to get to know the “other” means

¹ Tourism as a social phenomenon did not of course begin with the Exhibitions; it started at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century with the *Grand Tour*, a movement born within the English aristocracy who proposed to complete their education by observing and visiting past civilisations. However, this journey was always channelled towards the great European artistic centres (first Italy, then France and Greece) and did not therefore include the territories of the empire whose residents and visitors were mainly missionaries, administrators and troops.

that we get to know ourselves better thus becoming fully and more effectively intercultural. To achieve this goal involves research being carried out in synergy and therefore the methodology chosen is anchored in interdisciplinarity (historical science, heritage, archaeology and art history) with a cross-border appeal and value and a pluricontinental emphasis. Since it deals with tangible and intangible heritage, the sources are primarily bibliographic and archaeological and range from Portuguese national archives to the institutions in charge of conservation in the Zanzibar archipelago. As for its importance, this lies in the fact that it answers a tentacular societal challenge of contemporary mobility through looking at travel as a way to construct culture and define identities between visitors and the visited producing knowledge and experiences capable of contributing to an enlightened citizen's science.

Historical and heritage context

As is well known, heritage is essentially memorial in nature and what characterizes it is its symbolic nature, “a kind of immortalizing aura” (LOURENÇO, 2015a, p. 54) of a past moment since all human works have their days numbered. Indeed, cultural diversity resulting from human action over time in a given place has been valued for its pluralism, a characteristic that enables the development of multi-voiced knowledge. After a period when anti-colonialism dominated public opinion, postcolonial tension has slowly given way to a less exclusive understanding of the meeting of cultures where the concern is to preserve this heritage legacy. An example of such an attitude was the creation in 1998 of the ICOMOS International Scientific Committee network² and, within this, the Committee on Shared Colonial Heritage.³ This organisation has been drawing attention to the need to combine efforts to preserve, study and promote heritage assets given the importance of cultural diversity as a source of exchange, innovation and creativity for present and future generations.

Thus, within this dual dynamic (tourism-heritage) UNESCO⁴ has undertaken to classify places, practices and expressions, all of which are recognized as an integral part of a culture. This is exactly what happened in 2000 with Stone Town, the old part of the city of Zanzibar on the island of the same name, which saw the first Europeans arrive in 1503 during the voyages of exploration on the Maritime Route to India.

² International Council on Monuments and Sites. Online <https://www.icomos.org/fr> (accessed 24.4.2021).

³ Online <https://www.icomos.org/risk/2001/colonial2001.htm> (accessed 23.4.2021).

⁴ United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

As the chronicles tell us, the Portuguese were the first Europeans to settle in Zanzibar. Vasco da Gama (1469-1524) on his return from India mentioned the island as recounted in the annals for the morning of 29 January 1499 when the Portuguese were sailing off the coast of Zanzibar (FONSECA, 1998, p. 56):

And on a Sunday, which was the twenty-seventh day of the month (27.1.1499), we set out from here (the shoals of Saint Rafael) with a very good wind blowing aft and we sailed till the following night. And when morning came, we found ourselves near a very large island, which is called Zamgibar, inhabited by many Moors and which must be some ten leagues from land. And on the first day of February, in the afternoon, we stopped off the islands of São Jorge, in Mozambique.⁵

In 1503, Rui Lourenço Ravasco made the Sultan of Zanzibar a tributary of the Portuguese crown. Years later, when already firmly established in Mozambique and Melinde, Vasco da Gama's successors monopolized the trade in East Africa making Zanzibar a Portuguese protectorate in 1522 (CAMPOS, 1935, p. 1-20) although the trading post and hospital were not established until after Nuno da Cunha (1487-1539) visited the island in 1527.

In 1580, the loss of independence of the Portuguese crown to Spain and the consequent weakening of its overseas empire soon led to the loss of certain overseas possessions, namely Muscat (in 1650), Melinde (in 1660) and, finally, Zanzibar in 1698.

From that moment on, between the end of the 17th century and the 19th century, the ruling dynasty that reigned over the island provided a new impetus, Arabising it and filling it with buildings with clearly Islamic features, among which emerged architectures with Indian, African and colonial influences. The latter appeared in the 19th century when the English took over government of the island and turned it into a protectorate. It was precisely around this time that Sultan Barghash (1870-1888) signed the famous 'Treaty of Friendship and Trade' with the King of Portugal in 1879. Then in 1885 the Kingdom of Portugal opened a consulate on the island and appointed Alexandre de Serpa Pinto (1846-1900) as its first consul and later, in the 20th century, between 1911 and 1918, Aristides de Sousa Mendes (1885-1954). In those days, the predominant population on the island with Portuguese roots came originally from Goa. Dozens of families, who were dedicated mainly to trade, had settled in Zanzibar and the Portuguese colony (about 400 people) was second in number only to the British (MELLO, 1890, p. 89).

⁵ It should be noted that before Vasco da Gama, Pêro da Covilhã had already sailed along the East African coast passing the island and gave an account of this in his diary although not very clearly. It is known that he travelled for a long time along the coast of Azania, having joined up with the vessels of some Arab traders who regularly visited ports such as Mombasa, Melinde, *Zanzibar, Kilwa and Sofala*. See Leal Freire, *Pêro da Covilhã*, Gráfica S. José, Castelo Branco, 1964, p. 10.

To now focus on the Portuguese heritage on the island, during the two hundred years when the crown of the Kingdom of Portugal and the Algarves ruled in Zanzibar, the Portuguese erected buildings (a trading post, a church and a hospital) and implemented moves (changing the capital) that would reconfigure the territory although little has survived to this day. However, the traces that do remain know how to speak to those who are willing to listen; it is enough to consider certain testimonies to formulate a heterogeneous itinerary capable of rediscovering part of the Lusitanian heritage on the island.

This Portuguese presence and built heritage in the archipelago of Zanzibar is one of the facets of the Portuguese expansion and presence in East Africa that have not been studied in any great depth although the contributions made by Duarte Barbosa (c.1480-1521), Gaspar Correia (1492-c.1561) and João de Barros (c.1496-1570) are all known. More recent studies by Abdul Sheriff and Mark Horton have since appeared that have highlighted the subject but it is only now, given the growing weight tourism has in the GDP of East African countries, that other historians have taken up the challenge to explore the theme. There could be two reasons for this lacuna: from the beginning, the focus has been on the destination – India – the final objective, relegating to the background those places that served as anchorages on the maritime route to India; secondly, the paucity of specific sources, scattered throughout very different types of documentation, has made it difficult to get a clear picture of the presence of the Portuguese and their experiences in the lands of Zinj. The rarity (if not to say absence) of studies of this specific historical reality has been conditioned and may be explained by two main factors: the huge chronological gaps existing in the information available and the fact that documents, including chronicles, reports, administrative notes and letters exchanged between officials in Zanzibar and the seats of power back in Lisbon, are spread around various archives and have never been catalogued. Even so, the information gathered gives insights into the main aspects of the Portuguese presence in the Zanzibar archipelago at a potential turning point of great historical and cultural significance.

Subsidies for a portuguese itinerary in zanzibar

Designing a tourist route through the tangible and intangible heritage of Portuguese origin in Zanzibar rescues a history that was written at the time of the navigators and the exploration of the four corners of the world in consequential voyages that established it as a global entity and introduced the modern era. It is therefore important to bear in mind that history is made up of layers, layers that overlap one another with the oldest sinking beneath the most recent in an accumulation of sediment and testimonies that consubstantiate parts of the

historical narrative. In fact, it is this past substratum that envelops and justifies part of contemporary Zanzibar so that cataloguing this legacy is an excellent present-day way of understanding and promoting Zanzibar as a tourist destination.

It should be noted though that it is not merely a question of drawing up an exhaustive list of Lusitanian heritage on Zinj soil, but rather of creating a heritage corpus with its own identity. However, this survey will always be provisional and contain multiple readings.

ZANZIBAR ARCHIPELAGO

UNGUJA (Zanzibar Island)

I – Tangible Heritage

1. Stone Town

With garrisons established in the ports of Zanzibar, Pemba and Mombasa, the old Zanzibar capital located at Unguja Ukuu, about twenty-four kilometres south of the present capital, was gradually relocated to a site further to the north-west which would later become known as Stone Town. As stated in the Portuguese manuscript *Relação feita pelo padre Francisco de Monclaro da Companhia de Jesus*⁶, the reason for this was that the port in the south was too “small” for the Portuguese *naus*, or caravels, to anchor there. With the growing number of ships arriving from India, the new capital meant there could be an increased number of caravels and maritime traffic calling in at this port in Zanzibar, thereby reiterating its importance as a port on the Indian Ocean coast.

2. Trading post, Hospital, Church

Following Nuno da Cunha’s visit in 1527, a factory or trading post [*feitoria*] was built in Stone Town as well as a hospital that was most likely attached to a chapel or church. This was situated in the so-called Old Fort (re-)built by the Arabs after they conquered the island from the Portuguese at the end of the 17th century. There are indications that in 1612 there was an Augustinian church there, which is mentioned in the papal bull of 21 January of that year (Gray, 1958:174), and this shows Portugal’s ecclesiastic commitment to East Africa. From the little that is known, it would seem that Portuguese missionaries encountered a society here that was tolerant but firmly believed in its own religion (Islam), which meant evangelisation was limited to just a few individual conversions. According to J.J. Campos’ article, there was a building where the factory and the Portuguese church functioned which was protected by a wall built at a later date by the Arabs. In 1774, Alexander Dalrymple, the Scottish geographer,

⁶ *Relação feita pelo padre Francisco de Monclaro da Companhia de Jesus, da expedição ao Monomotapa, comandada por Francisco Barreto*, Portuguese Manuscript no. 8, fls. 241-265, V., BNP, Lisbon, 1573, p. 344.

claimed in his *Collection of Charts etc. in the Indian Navigation* that this “fort” looked like a ruined church. An inscription in the Beit al-Ajaib museum reads:

Portuguese remains indicate there was a Portuguese chapel built in the 16th century with a cruciform shape and rectangular windows, vestiges of which remained in the west wall of the old fort.

And a few metres away, in the Old Fort, a plaque reiterates that this was

Erected by the Omani Arabs about 1700 using materials from an old Portuguese chapel and adjoining stone residence.

Studies and excavations undertaken recently in 2017 and 2019 have confirmed the authorship of the church⁷ and have raised some new questions about it.

As for the old hospital, this was built following the visit of the future governor of India, Nuno da Cunha, who, after finally conquering Mombasa in 1527, landed with his captain of the guard, Manoel Machado, in Zanzibar where they left behind two hundred sick people in the care of Aleixo de Sousa Chichorro. From then on, the island would serve as a port for the hospitalisation of the sick on the India Route since there was less marsh fever than in Mozambique (Strandes, 1961:118). It was only with the expulsion of the Portuguese in 1698 that the Royal Hospital (on the island) of Mozambique became the main centre for treating sick soldiers and crew members from the kingdom’s *naus*.⁸

3. Beit al-Ajaib (House of Wonders)

3.1. Cannons

At the entrance to the largest (until the last century) building in Stone Town stand two Portuguese cannons.⁹ Both pieces are cast in bronze and bear the arms of Dom João III (1502-1557) in relief with an ornate crown and the royal cipher “J”, with the royal standard being supported by a heraldic lion. One of the cannons is 3.7 metres long with a 20-centimetre calibre and a diameter of 55 centimetres; the other is 3.12 metres long and has an 18-centimetre calibre and a diameter of 44 centimetres. There is still another cannon, the biggest of them all, which stands in the garden of the English Resident’s Palace and is 4.15 metres long.

An inscription, written in Persian and engraved at a later date, reads:

⁷ Online at <https://www.bristol.ac.uk/news/2017/august/early-portuguese-churches.html> (accessed on 24.5.2021).

⁸ The establishing of the Royal Hospital (on the island) of Mozambique dates back to the 16th century and its administration was entrusted to the brothers of the Hospitaller Order of St. John of God in 1681. The following year, in 1682, the hospitallers moved the hospital to the south of the settlement to a zone where the air was considered to be better.

⁹ Online at <http://memoria-africa.ua.pt/Library/ShowImage.aspx?q=/BIVG/BIVG-N026&p=24> (accessed on 21.4.2021).

In the name of God and by the grace of Muhammad Ali it is communicated to the true believers gathered to engage in war the good news of the success and victory in the year 1031 of Hegira.¹⁰ In the reign of Shah Abbas, Safawi, King of Earth and Time, whose power is ever increasing, Imam Kuli Khan, by the grace of the Shah, Defender of the Faith, has conquered Fars, Lar, Mount Kaiwan, Bahrain and the Fortress of Ormuz, and has captured Ibn Ayyub.

The inscription suggests that the cannons were brought from Ormuz after the 1622 siege and that it was the Omani Arabs who transported them to the lands of Zinj.

3.2. Stone

On the ground floor of the Beit al-Ajaib Museum, in a corner and protected by glass, lies a block of grey sandstone in which letters grouped into Portuguese words can be made out. A chisel had carved a sentence of which the following letters are still legible today:

VEL¹¹

LEITAO¹²

G...SEM

TÃO MOR¹³

MEMDES¹⁴

SELO¹⁵

This type of stone does not exist in Zanzibar so it is thought it must have come from Portugal.

As to the name, it is known that work on Fort Jesus in Mombasa was begun by its first captain, Mateus Mendes de Vasconcelos, between 1593 and 1596, and it is also known that the captain who was killed during the attack on the same stronghold in 1631 was called Pedro Leitão de Gamboa. Dating points to the 17th century so that both hypotheses are plausible but more detailed study is required.

As to its purpose, the caption that accompanies the stone says that it is a testimony to “*A burial tombstone from Old Leitão, apparently found in the area of Uroa on the eastern side of the island*”. However, the size of the stone and the engraved words point more towards its having been a commemorative stone since a different type of epigraph tends to be carved on tomb stones.

4. Portuguese Arch

¹⁰ 1622 of the Common Era.

¹¹ Fragment of the word *Notável*? [Notable]

¹² Word referring to the family name *Leitão*? [Leitão]

¹³ Fragment of the word *Capitão-mor*? [Master-Captain, a type of governor]

¹⁴ Word referring to the family name *Mendes*? [Mendes]

¹⁵ Word referring to the surname *Vasconcelos*? [Vasconcelos]

On the corner where Kaunda Road meets Vuga Road stands the so-called Old Portuguese Arch within a small garden. Despite the fact that its construction and erection are shrouded in mystery, its structure and decorative elements are identical to other Portuguese arches scattered around the world. As it has no date, the ogival arch with its Corinthian capitals on either side could be a vestige of the Portuguese presence on the island, or its construction could simply have been influenced by the religious architecture of Portuguese origin found all along the east coast of Africa.

5. Streets

5.1. Portugueza Road

Portugueza Road lay behind the old fort but was rebaptised Gizenga Street. Today it continues to be one of the busiest streets in the capital just as it was more than a century ago when most of the shops found there belonged to Portuguese tradespeople who had come from Goa. In photographs from that time signs can be seen with Portuguese surnames such as Silva or Paixão de Noronha announcing shops specialising in a variety of things such as medicine, wine and photography.

5.2. Souza Street

There is a mention of this street in a 19th century manuscript that describes it as follows:

There were numerous Portuguese Indians, who in Zanzibar make up a large colony whose members are almost all called Souza and who sell alcoholic beverages. There is even a street of the Souzas in the city (ANONYMOUS, 1851: n.p.).

6. Ruins of Fukuchani and Mvuleni

In the Beit al-Ajaib Museum in Stone Town, there is an inscription that says:

In Fukuchani and Mvuleni there existed a group of Portuguese estates or factories in these rural areas with arched doorways and gaps in the outer walls that were used to place firearms in a defensive position.

The remains of the Portuguese houses of Fukuchani and Mvuleni are located in the north of the island. They were probably the former houses of traders and both date back to the 16th century.

In Fukuchani, opposite the island of Tumbatu, the area around the main house has a surrounding wall some two metres high with openings that can easily be made out where guns could be placed. Each of these apertures has a different orientation depending on the angle of the intended target. The main building is today covered by a thatched structure that protects the walls that divide the building into rooms arranged around a central corridor running east to west with verandas at front and back. The doors were designed like *vidaka* arches, typical of the local

architecture. The authorities that deal with heritage sites have carried out several excavations but few remains have been recovered¹⁶ and what there are do not allow their real purpose to be divined.

Less than one kilometre south of Fukuchani, a wall ending in a rusty gate guards Mvuleni. Mvuleni's building plan is almost identical to that of Fukuchani. Here too openings in the defensive wall can be seen which were used to place the owner's guns. The enclosure's eastern wall borders an underground pool fed by a freshwater spring. Unlike Fukuchani, the Mvuleni ruins are overgrown and buried under vegetation; this is already visible in photographs from the early 20th century belonging to the National Archives. In the central part of the façade is a row of doors flanked by ogival windows of clearly Arab influence.

7. Chests and trunks

Zanzibar chests are made of hardwood and decorated with inlaid brass, silver and mother-of-pearl. They reflect the Indo-Portuguese style imported from Goa. Known as *sanduku* (from the Arabic *sandūq*) or *kasha* (from the Portuguese *caixa* or box), these pieces of furniture are used instead of chests of drawers, cupboards and wardrobes. They are passed down from one generation to the next and are treasured as items of great value.

II – Intangible Heritage

1. Vocabulary.

There are still quite a few words in Swahili whose origin can be traced back to Portuguese. Most of these words are connected to the sea for understandable reasons: the Portuguese were the first to dynamise maritime trade on the Swahili coast although there had previously been some trading in the area.

By way of example, below are some common words that can be heard in everyday conversations:

Table 1 - Examples of Swahili words of Portuguese origin:

| | |
|------------------------------|-----------------|
| Almirante = <i>Almiranti</i> | admiral |
| Amarra = <i>Amari</i> | anchor, cable |
| Bandeira = <i>Bendera</i> | flag, banner |
| Barquinha = <i>Barikinya</i> | small boat |
| Batata = <i>Batata</i> | potato |
| Batel = <i>Batela</i> | skiff, longboat |
| Bomba = <i>Bereu</i> | pump |
| Boia = <i>Boya</i> | buoy |
| Bolo = <i>Boleo</i> | cake |

¹⁶ In the surrounding area, recent digs have uncovered beads, Chinese pots and polished red ceramics as well as two coins from the Middle Kingdom dating from the 14th century. These artefacts confirm the presence of the Chinese here before the arrival of the Portuguese.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Bule = <i>Buli</i> | tea pot |
| Caixa = <i>Kasha</i> | box |
| Cárcere = <i>Gereza</i> ¹⁷ | prison, jail |
| Cana = <i>Kana</i> | cane |
| Chapéu = <i>Chepeo</i> | hat |
| Companhia = <i>Kompania</i> | company |
| Copo = <i>Kopo</i> | glass |
| Fronha = <i>Foronya</i> | pillow-case |
| Lenço = <i>Leso</i> | scarf, handkerchief |
| Limão = <i>Mlimau</i> | lemon |
| Manteiga = <i>Manteka</i> | butter |
| Mesa = <i>Meza</i> | table |
| Padre = <i>Padri</i> | priest, father |
| Pão = <i>Pao</i> | bread |
| Parafuso = <i>Parafujo</i> | screw, nail |
| Pistola = <i>Batola</i> | pistol, gun |
| Roda = <i>Roda</i> | wheel |
| Sapato = <i>Sapatu</i> | shoe |
| Tabaco = <i>Tumbako</i> | tobacco |
| Vinho = <i>Mvinyo</i> | wine |
| Xaile = <i>Shali</i> | shawl |

Overall, there are nearly sixty words with Portuguese roots still used today in the Swahili spoken in Zanzibar.

2. Photographs

Various photographs from days gone by were taken by professional photographers with names like Gomes, Coutinho, Souza, Almeida or Silva who remain today in a “sultanate” of photographers of Portuguese ancestry. They have been much studied and so allow us to begin to understand the dynamic of the journey made by residents of Portuguese India to the island of Zanzibar.¹⁸

This movement took place at the end of the 19th century when Goanese families coming from Portuguese India disembarked and opened photography studios. *Coutinho Bros.* was probably the first commercial photography business in East Africa after the Coutinho brothers, both of Portuguese origin, formed a company in 1890 with A.C. Gomes (who had had a studio on the island of Zanzibar since 1870). The sons of A.C. Gomes continued the family business signing as *A.C. Gomes & C^o, photographers, Zanzibar*; a few years later we can find stamps saying *Copyright issued by A.C. Gomes & C^o, Son, Zanzibar* and finally *A.C. Gomes & C^o, Sons, Zanzibar*.

¹⁷ This is the Swahili term for a prison, which comes from the Portuguese *igreja* [church], the origin of which lies in the fact that many Portuguese churches and forts scattered along the African coast were afterwards converted (by the Arabs and the English) into prisons. Hence the analogy.

¹⁸ See studies by Pamela Gupta. Online at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/325077977_Sensuous_Ways_of_Seeing_in_Stone_Town_Zanzibar_Patina_Pose_Punctum (accessed on 20.4.2021)

Today only one shop survives and remains open – *Capital Art Studio* on Kenyatta Road. In business since 1930, the founder was Ronchad T. Oza (? –1993) who, despite not being of Goanese origin, began working as an apprentice photographer at *A.C. Gomes & C^o, Sons* in 1925. Ronchad later became the official photographer of Sultan Khalifa bin Haroub (1879-1960). In 1979 his son, Rohit Ramez Oza, took over the shop, a space that takes us back to a past age as the walls are covered with black and white photographs. In many of these, the streets that are depicted have hanging signs that bear surnames of Portuguese origin so showing the large number of families who until fifty years ago inhabited the streets of Stone Town.

3. All the documentation relating to Zanzibar-Portugal relations may be found in the Zanzibar National Archives (ZNA), Torre do Tombo Archive, Library of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Overseas Historical Archive; these contain a variety of documents exchanged between the sultans of Zanzibar and the Portuguese monarchy.

ISLAND OF PEMBA

1. Chake Chake Fort

It is believed that the fortress of Chake Chake¹⁹ was of Portuguese origin (1594).²⁰ The old building – a sort of 17th century garrison – is thought to have been destroyed by the Omanis to make way for a new defensive building, a fort. Traces of the Portuguese garrison are no longer visible but there are records dating from the beginning of the 19th century that describe it as having a rectangular floor plan with two square and two round towers at the corners topped by thatched roofs. We know that round towers are typical of the Arab and Swahili architecture of the time, but the square towers are uncommon and indicate a possible Portuguese influence. Today the fort is home to the Pemba Museum which shows the history and culture of the island including its early history, polity, maritime culture, colonial occupation and the fight against this as well as the years of politics, independence and revolution.

2. Bullfights

Bullfights were introduced into Pemba during the Portuguese colonisation and take place during certain celebrations on the island such as New Year's Day. Reminiscent of a tradition established in the 17th century, the bullfights are seen as a test of courage of those men

¹⁹ Online at <http://memoria-africa.ua.pt/Library/ShowImage.aspx?q=/BIVG/BIVG-N026&p=17> (accessed on 21.4.2021).

²⁰ Online at <https://books.google.pt/books?id=Zlqv0gSkk-kC&pg=PA8&lpg=PA8&dq=dhow+zanzibar+portuguese&source=bl&ots=mQ6k3Whbvt&sig=ACfU3U2-xP1nOSvgTxn3wVb6sOxmoQnzOg&hl=pt-PT&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi1lpSt6ZXpAhVE4eAKHQuKBVgQ6AEwBnoECAoQAQ#v=onepage&q=dhow%20zanzibar%20portuguese&f=false> (accessed on 2.5.2021).

who own cattle. They are still held within a strong festive and community spirit in small villages such as Chuale and Kangagani.

The above list is not exhaustive and, contrary to Oliver and Mathew's claim that "the Portuguese presence during 200 years contributed nothing to the art and architecture" and that their passage was "a mere lost dream" (OLIVER, 1963, p. 168), it can be seen that it was not merely residual but important in that the Portuguese left a legacy behind that time has undertaken to extinguish. However, in the last few decades the extent of the Portuguese presence has begun to be understood thanks to new research, excavations and analyses that have been carried out through partnerships and protocols with foreign entities. These have brought to light some significant data that have clarified some of the less clear areas of history.

That said, it must not be forgotten that the definitive victory of the Arabs from Muscat over the Portuguese in 1698 as well as the British colonialism that made the island a British protectorate during part of the 19th and 20th centuries both contributed greatly to diluting the traces of previous cultures, as indeed happens with all historical processes.

IV. (NON) FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Having traced the itinerary of part of the Portuguese heritage in Zanzibar, it is important to understand that history is a permanently expanding discovery that is constructed and seen from a dynamic with multiple approaches. How we look at the cultural and artistic goods that make up a country's heritage is constantly reconfigured so there is no unifocal or definitive view; there are, rather, approximations that, being interdisciplinary, transnational and intercommunity, leverage the construction of a responsible and conscious cultural heritage policy. This is because heritage can be an instrument of resilience for local communities as it is a founding element in maintaining a common identity. In fact, it has been used as a forward-looking force able to promote well-being and cohesion, contributing to a more inclusive and sustainable society within a more altruistic and compassionate geopolitical dynamic.

In this sense, if one takes into account the growth of a tourist market sustained by Zanzibar's resources, this could be the catalyst for improving the quality of life of the population and anchoring their cultural identity. Obtaining the right balance in this equation is, of course, challenging and poses a series of questions for those governing the island. Tourism is a recent phenomenon (1970s) in the archipelago but was given a boost when the cultivation of cloves started to decline in 1975. Tourism was seen as a substitute source of foreign currency for the island and is now based on an offer that links not just leisure (holiday resorts) but also

Arab-Swahili culture itself. The success of committing to this option has translated into the fact that tourism now contributes over 27% to GDP (KESHODKAR, 2013, p. 71) – data for 2012 – which not only shows how the sector has increased within the economy but provides new challenges for its preservation (ZANZIBAR MAIL, 2020, p. 7).

In the fields of the philosophy, ethnology, anthropology or historiography of art, understanding the nature of a given artistic inheritance has frequently been rooted in a western way of thinking (PALMEIRIM, 2006, p. 14) but this has since been shaken up by postcolonial studies. What perhaps seems fundamental in this context is that, independent of trends, lines of thought or ethnocentric positions adopted, the cultural-artistic inheritance mapped in a certain territory is part of an aesthetic and symbolic genealogy that determines the present time and experience. In this sense, the visual research of a phenomenology of place constructed on various historical-artistic layers is fully realised in Zanzibar.

However, within the diaphanous and mellifluous palimpsest that is Zanzibar, this island jewel of Islamic and Swahili civilisation is today a tourist centre of choice that goes far beyond being merely a beach destination. The wealth of heritage and memory that comes from a narrative grounded in the miscegenation of Arab, African, Indian and also Portuguese cultures marks the territory as a reference destination for Indian Ocean culture. This circumstance presents a challenge for the archipelago's authorities since it centres on balancing an equation of great fragility and complexity: conservation, development and sustainability.

Recognition of Stone Town as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2000 was an important starting point. Finding the right balance between the quality of life of the local inhabitants and the quality of the experience enjoyed by visitors, ensuring above all that heritage values are not called into question, is always a challenge despite the fact that the potential of Zanzibar's resources is not only to be found in Stone Town but goes far beyond it. What remains is to believe that in the breeze coming off the Indian Ocean the legacy of a time when the Portuguese expansion was setting up trade emporiums and establishing trading agreements along its shores is a memory and a heritage that is capable of providing an in-depth historical dimension not only for those seeking reminiscences of a shared past but, primarily, for those who know that only by knowing the past can we envision the future because the final truth is that "we only exist in the mirror of others" (LOURENÇO, 2015b).

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