

Protagonists of the battles: Angola's black army

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Abstract: This article aims to analyze the black army, the largest contingent present in military campaigns in Angola in the eighteenth century. The importance of this troop was confirmed by the specialized historiography, which highlighted the need for recognition of local Central African forces and the establishment of political alliances for successful campaigns. The black army was the main demographic element of the military ranks, which made local warfare customs prevail, even in the campaigns initiated by the Portuguese government. Without this, it was impossible for Portuguese governments to form troops and wage wars. Considering the centrality of this troop, we aim to better understand the elements that compose it, the political titles, their hierarchies, the discourses, and memories about this military force.

Palavras-chave: Angola; Black Army; Military.

On September 30, 1793, in his “Diary of the Army of the Conquest of the Sertão de África”, the Portuguese military man Paulo Martins Pinheiro de Lacerda complained about the total lack of a “black war”, which he had deserted. He added that without it, any action in the the backlands of Africa was impracticable, it was not possible to “advance the Campaign”.¹ Paulo Lacerda, as a good part of the historiography about Angola (COUTO, 1972; FERREIRA, 2003; THORNTON, 2004; SANTOS, 2005; HEYWOOD, 2010, CANDIDO, 2011), recognized that the bulk of the “Portuguese” military force was formed by the Black War, an African military contingent allied with Portuguese subjects. Black War was not homogeneous but composed of different bodies and hierarchical. In the documents, those who alluded to it recognized the African military authorities, suggesting that the command of warrior expeditions was not just among those who enjoyed posts with Portuguese military

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¹ Overseas Historical Archive (AHU), Lisbon, Ultramarine Council, Avulsos Angola, Box 79, doc 59. This article is an integral part of my doctoral thesis entitled “Wars in the backlands of Angola: Sobas, Black War and Enslavement (1749-1797)”.

ranks. Furthermore, those words by Paulo Lacerda reveal that the military organization proposed by Lisbon and the Portuguese troops in Angola, at least in times of war in the backlands, necessarily had to consider African forces as a fundamental part of their contingent. As such, warfare in Africa was shaped by local customs and the adoption of African warfare tactics.

If the war took place in the African way, it is worth analyzing its main military detachment, the black war. We do not intend to elaborate a closed definition of what black war would be. If we know little about the black war, here, therefore, we try to better understand the elements that compose it, the political titles, its hierarchies, the discourses and memories about this military force, among other aspects.

These groups of African fighters were formed by sobas with their private armies and who were allied with the Portuguese, in addition to mercenary groups and slave regiments. As in the wars involving indigenous people in Brazil (GODOY, 2017), in Angola there were political and cultural exchanges between Europeans and Africans, so it was common to use slaves as soldiers, as well as the use of weapons such as swords, shields, bows, arrows, spears and javelins, concomitant with the incorporation, even if partial, of European firearms (MATTOS, 2010, pp. 442, 443).

The Black War was formed at the end of the 17th century, consisting only of black soldiers, a type of troop that was characterized by great mobility due to knowledge of the territory and the lighter clothing they used (FERREIRA, 2003, pp. 171, 173). Dependence on Africans was so great that there were fears of defections and consequent stoppages in military operations. According to Carlos Couto, the black war was a characteristic phenomenon of the Portuguese presence in Angola and the recruitment for this troop guaranteed the preservation of the established powers, constituting a relationship between the captains-majors and the african chiefs.² In this sense, the black war is defined as a second-line colored troop, commanded by indigenous chiefs, who collaborated with the Portuguese forces in the occupation struggles.³

² Carlos Couto wrote his work in the context of the Portuguese New State and, therefore, assumed the effectiveness of Portuguese sovereignty in Angola through occupation and colonization. Even so, he recognized the fragility of the Portuguese presence in Angola and the dependence on local political forces (COUTO, 1972).

³ Its origin dates to the beginning of the conquest and was motivated by the lack of Portuguese military personnel. Paulo Dias Novaes immediately tried to overpower the chiefs he conquered and they “waited for an opportunity to escape the dictatorship of the King of Angola, many of whom, by the way, had already taken refuge in the protection of the Jesuits [and] did not take long to recognize the authority Portuguese.” From this

Necessarily, for the recruitment of the black war there was the participation of overwhelmed sobas, dembos and macotas. According to Beatrix Heintze, one of the main duties of those who became vassals in the Portuguese monarchy was military support, as “they were personally obliged to take part, with a certain number of armed men, in the Portuguese army, whenever they were requested, forming together with the slaves of the Europeans, the black war” (HEINTZE, 2007, p. 413). Furthermore, the tentala, quilambas and quimbares, African agents of war, were also integrated into the Portuguese forces (SANTOS, 2005, p. 291). Thus, in the same army there was the presence of different cultures, or rather, the “Portuguese” military forces were constituted by different types of allies. In the same way that there was a technological coexistence through the use of weapons typical of African culture, such as bows and arrows together with weapons of European origin, such as firearms, the coexistence of leaders and authorities prevailed.

Although Carlos Couto informs that the black war was formed at the end of the 17th century, there are mentions of this military segment since the first half of this century. In the memoirs written by the military officer Antônio de Oliveira Cadornega, the support of the black war in the military campaigns undertaken was already in force in the government of João Correia de Souza (1621-1623) in the campaign against the Sobas de Ensaca. When dealing with the “escape” of the “enemies”, Cadornega reported that the Captain-General:

[...] pulling some 130 men from his camp, all young and on good terms with the captain-major of horses Luis Machado, with black war slaves of the Portuguese, and some quilambas, and vassal beatings, left in his wake, killing, and imprisoning many people of the fugitives passing behind them the rivers [...] (CADORNEGA, 1972, Volume I, p. 103).

The first captain-major of the black war known as Cadornega was Antônio Dias Mossungu, who held the post between 1620 and 1630. Thus, Mossungu probably held the post during the campaign against the sobas of Ensaca and in others, as he held the post for 10 years (CADORNEGA, 1972, Volume II, p. 580). In the description of the battle against Queen Jinga, at the time of Fernão de Sousa (1624-1630), Antônio Dias Mossungu appears again, but then as captain-major of the black war and tent of the Kingdom. In a note

adhesion, the black war was born, formed by *jaga* and *empacaceiros* (COUTO, 1972, pp. 256-259).

Cadornega draws attention to the fact that the tent serves as an interpreter between the sobas and the governor. The importance of this function can be affirmed by the fact that the Gentiles idolize him (CADORNEGA, 1972, Volume I, p. 185). The classificatory social vocabulary of color was used by Cadornega to describe Mossungo. In the words of the military chronicler, Mossungo was “a valiant man, even though he was black, [...] in whom our gentiles had great faith in their enterprises because they were valiant” (CADORNEGA, 1972, Volume I, p. 134). It was not just once that Cadornega's speech toned down Mossungo's color quality in relation to his virtues. In another passage Cadornega states:

The first is to say before we overlook the many merits that were in the Captain-Major of the Black War and Tendala do Reino, Antônio Dias Musungo a anga; I compare this black only in terms of color, which was mostly white, the one that existed in Flanders in the time of the Excellent Duke of Alva, who called himself El Negro valiente in Flanders so-and-so (sic) de Alva; but why do we have to look for strange comparisons when we have them in our Portugal and the State of Brazil of our time, the effortless and fearless Henrique Dias who with his Rosary of black people from Angola, as he was also, worked wonders like our stories tell it and now it again brings it [...] (CADORNEGA, 1972, Volume II, p. 183).⁴

In addition to attenuating his color quality and extolling his virtues, Cadornega also compares Mossungo to other black men who stood out militarily, such as Henrique Dias. The value of Mossungo and the black war was also underlined in the struggles against Ambuíla. In addition, Cadornega described important rites of black warfare as well as their hierarchies. The main captain and tent of the Kingdom was responsible for the war rites of the black war and the samba tentela was described as the second person of the black war:

[...] that only the Captain-General and Tendala of the Kingdom can play and in his absence, his Samba Tendala, who is the second person in the Government of the black war; to his beats, which are slow [sic] and measured, all the black war comes, and it is a signal for everyone to gather in that place, and through it the signal is given when to march; and in the afternoon, those blows are given so that all the black people who walk around there will come to the rescue and have understood that the night is fixed there, and it becomes the government by which we understand

⁴ In the Portuguese monarchy, the quality of color was not an indication of naturalness since color expressed social condition. For example, being white did not attest that a man was Portuguese (GUEDES, 2012).

whether this gentile of ours governs; besides this, there is much superstition in this instrument, and much more the Jagas and Gentiles who have no fire of faith; this Captain-General of the War is also given and allowed to bring small drums called capopos [...] (CADORNEGA, VOLUME I, p. 179).

For Cadornega, Mossungo always carried large disciples from his school with him, which indicates a military “training” for the men who would compose the black war. Furthermore, in addition to being responsible for war rites, the captain-major and tent of the Kingdom and the black people wore a baton as an insignia (CADORNEGA, VOLUME I, p. 182). Although much of the black war fought alongside Portuguese subjects, the existence of rituals and training of soldiers denote that this military force was not a creation of the Portuguese, it was just another element of African political and military culture incorporated into the and/or allied. of the Portuguese in times of wars in the backlands.

With the death of Antônio Dias Mossungo (CADORNEGA, TOMO I, p. 270), Diogo Dias Mendes took his place as captain-major of the black war. His patent was granted on February 8, 1649 by the then governor Salvador Corrêa de Sá e Benevides, who appointed him as captain-major of the black war of bow, tent and quiambol of the Kingdom of Angola. To justify the patent granted, the governor informed that Diogo Mendes had served in the conquests for a space of 38 years, was experienced, knew the Ambunda language and had served in several wars. Salvador Corrêa de Sá also ordered that all quilambas, quimbares and sobas “know, respect and obey him as the captain of the black war of Arco, Tendala and Quiambole”.⁵ It is important to note that in the cases of Antônio Dias Mossungo and Diogo Dias Mendes, in addition to being captains-major of the black war, clearly held the position of tent. Diogo Dias Mendes, in addition to being a tent, was captain-major of the black bow and quiambol war. According to Beatrix Heintze, quiambole or ngolambole was the military chief and commander of the Ambundo troops, a title widespread in Angola with different meanings (HEINTZE, 2007, p. 125). In the glossographic and toponymic dictionary of the documentation on Angola by Antônio Parreira, Golambole is the title of the commander of a Jaga army (PARREIRA, 1990, p. 49). Flávia Maria de Carvalho observed that the term ngolambole derived from “ngola a mbolem”, which means the Ngola of hunting. These men were responsible for military functions, that is, they held the position of head of the army.

⁵ Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute (IHGB), Angola-Brazil Digital Collection Project (PADAB), National Historical Archive of Angola (AHA), Codex 439-D-20-2, fl. 125.

With the increase in wars, this character began to gain more prestige in the Ndongo hierarchy (CARVALHO, 2015, p. 74). This was a post that continued in the political nomenclature of local positions in the 18th century, but no longer associated with the post of captain-major of the black war.

Unfortunately, we do not have information on the birthplace of the captains-majors of the black war, but there are some indications. By his name, Antônio Dias Mossungo was probably born in Angola. In Antônio Parreira's dictionary, *moçungo* (even if *musungo* or *mossungo*), performed the function of ambassador representing an authority.⁶ Furthermore, we saw that his color quality was attenuated by the services provided. He was black in color, but white for his "qualities". Both Mossungo and Diogo Dias Mendes were tents, a position often associated with interpreter, as we will see later. Diogo Dias' patent also highlights that he would be a "bow" captain, who perhaps suggests skill with this instrument. It was a *quiambole*, which is equivalent to the captain-major of the black people. We thus realize that functions and nomenclatures have changed over the centuries.

The Political Vocabulary of the Black War

Captains-majors of the Black War in the 17th century were also tents and *quiamboles*, however, in the 18th century, such positions were separated or at least the military appointments made by Portuguese agents separated them. In alluding to the black war, other agents were important and are often present in the sources, such as the *dembos*, *sobas*, *quilambas*, *quimbares*, *jagas* and *empacaceiros*. For recruiting and acting in military campaigns, they were integrated into the "Portuguese" forces and became the African agents of war (SANTOS, 2005, p. 291). Thus, in the same army there was the presence of different cultures, or rather, the "Portuguese" military forces were constituted by different types of allies. On the map by Paulo Martins Pinheiro de Lacerda, dated June 13, 1793, referring to the army destined to punish the rebels in the hinterland of Angola, there is information on the number of infantry, cavalry and artillery, as well as the contingent of the Black War. Lacerda was perhaps the military who most emphasized the impossibility of continuing the military campaigns under his command without the black war, as we will discuss in the following chapter

⁶ Antônio Parreira's reference for this definition was researched in Angola's Relations, a source that, according to the author, consists of a set of letters from the Jesuits, dating from 1562 and 1586. They are deposited in the Parisian National Library (PARREIRA, 1990, p. 235).

Table 1 - Map of Paulo Martins de Pinheiro de Lacerda's army – 1793 (Source: AHU, Angola, Box 79, doc. 6)

Map of the Army aimed at punishing the rebels of the hinterland of Angola, sent by the Most Illustrious and Excellency Mr. Manoel de Almeida e Vasconcelos, Governor and Captain General of the said Kingdom, and whose Commander is the Colonel of Infantry, and Governor of the Fortress of São Francisco do Penedo Paulo Martins Pinheiro de Lacerda

Arraial de Nossa Senhora da Nazareth, and Santo Antônio in Campo do Dande on June 13, 1793	Capital Infantry	Cavalry	Artillery	Prisons					Total Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery	Residents	Black War						Army Total
				Muxima	Cambambe	Ambaca	Stones	Massangano			Officials	Dembos	Souvas	Quilambas	Empacaceiros	Chargers	
Colonel Commander	1								1								
Sargeant Major	1								1	1							
Captains	3		1						4	4							
Master Barracks	1								1								
Assistant	1								1	2							
Lieutenants	5	2	1				1		9	1							
Ensign-cadet	3	1		1	1	1		1	8	2							
Chaplain	1								1								
Drum major	1		4						1								
Surgeon and Assistant	2								3								
Sergeants	4		1	1	1	1	1		9	1							
Furriel	4		1	1				1	7	1							
Flag bearers	4	1			1		1	1	8								
Head Squadron	16	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	31								
Drums and Fifes	10	1	2	1	1		1	1	17								
Soldiers	250	23	41	24	25	44	52	24	483	51							
Sum	307	30	51	30	31	48	58	30	585	63	10	5	238	24	2,003	2,525	5,453

It is worth noting that the person who signed the map was the colonel of the expedition himself, Paulo Martins de Pinheiro de Lacerda, whose count refers to the Arraial de Nossa Senhora da Nazareth and Santo Antônio in Campo do Dande. From the numbers presented, we found that Paulo de Lacerda's army was largely supported by the black war, formed by 4,805 (88.1%) men, which attests to its weight in the campaigns of conquest and reconquest in Angola. The black war was made up of officers, dembos, sobas, quilambas, empacaceiros and loaders, and its largest force was empacaceiros and loaders. Interestingly, there is another version of this map in which it is stated that more black war joined the army, and that the commander was still unaware of its quantity.⁷

The military chronicler Elias Alexandre da Silva Corrêa, when reporting the moment of march in a war, mentions the presence of jagas, quilambas, followed by the troop of the black war in line. In the rear would be the artillery and infantry, again the quilambas, women and children (CORRÊA, 1937, v. 2, p. 51). Lacerda and Silva Corrêa wrote in the 18th century, in consensus, a point about the important presence of the black war in the “Portuguese” armies. But it is important to point out that, over time, there have been changes in the meanings of the positions proper to the black war. One example was the separation between the functions of the captain-major of the black war and that of the tent, and other changes probably took place.

To find out about the positions of the Black War, it is also important to consult in dictionaries the definitions of the main political titles that recurrently appear in the sources as belonging to this troop. Obviously, the roles played, and the meanings of these African titles go beyond simple dictionary definitions and, therefore, we will cross-check the dictionary information with others in bibliographies and research sources. But we depend to a large extent on European accounts of the time on Kimbundu political titles. Thus, although Cadornega, for example, tries to describe in detail the history of Angolan wars, the narrative about the local political structure is probably incomplete and/or imprecise in several respects.

Despite there are gaps, we measure the functions performed, appropriations and possible transformations over time. In the Kimbundu-Portuguese dictionary authored by Assis Júnior, dembo or ndembo was an authority superior to the soba or it encompassed sobas under its jurisdiction (JÚNIOR, S/D, p. 2). In Héli Chatelain, Dembo would be an independent chief with many vassals, who maintained his domains between the Bengo, Dande and Loge rivers, hence the name Dembo for the entire official district of these

⁷ AHU, Angola, Box 60, doc. 1.

potentates (CHATELAIN, 1889, pp. 75, 81; TAVARES, SANTOS, 2002, p. 387). José Redinha identifies a relationship between the Dembos and the Congo, as they would be formed by congues, mahungos, babilis or vilis and luangos, ethnicities that at first were strange to the Kimbundu (TAVARES, SANTOS, 2002, p. 389).

The narrative of the military officer Antônio de Oliveira Cadornega alludes to other aspects of the geopolitics of the Dembo in the 17th century (CADORNEGA, 1972, Volume III, pp. 200, 207). Despite saying that he did not know the origins of these potentates, he affirmed that if the Dembos ever recognized the King of Congo, they always maintained their greatness and non-subjugation (CADORNEGA, 1972, Volume III, pp. 203, 205). Because of this grandeur, they had distinctive signs of political sovereignty such as “insignia, insignia and royal pomp, with other war instruments” that were only allowed to them. Sobas, nobles, and landlords did not use these symbols of distinction. When baptized by the Catholic Church, they received the title of Dom and those with greater power had chapels on their lands. The Dembos Ambuíla, Motemo Aquingengo and Nambuanguo would be the lords of greater grandeur and as a result, many noble chiefs ruled their vassals with lands and lordships. The power of Dembo Ambuíla, for example, was confirmed by the fact that he had more than 40 sobas in his domains and was still able to place 50,000 blacks with bows and firearms in the field in conquests and wars against their neighbors (CADORNEGA, 1972, Volume III, p. 206).

The Dembo lands were close to the Coango river, extending to the Zenza, Dande and Lumanha rivers, in addition to other streams. Their domains were protected by natural fortresses (CADORNEGA, 1972, Volume III, p. 200). According to Codernega:

Most of the Dembo chiefs have very strong stones, which serve them as their fortresses, in which they retreat when they are oppressed and infested with some great power of war of their opponents, who cannot resist them in campaign, they withdraw and make forts. in them, and some are so spacious that they have all the necessary sustenance in them, especially Dembo Ambuila who is the most powerful of them (CADORNEGA, 1972, Volume III, p. 202).

Hierarchically, below Dembo, would be the soba, a representative of gentile authority in a given region (JÚNIOR, s/d, p. 357). Father Antônio da Silva Maia defined soba as a landowner, inferior to dembo and superior to quilamba (TAVARES; SANTOS, 2002, p. 439). Joseph Miller claimed that the sobas were holders of ambiguous political titles,

currently heads of lineage. They were chosen as “native authority” by Portuguese officials in Angola, becoming responsible for the tributes and fees paid to the European administration. Since these sobas represented lineages, Portuguese officials ended up preserving their positions guaranteeing their political status (MILLER, 1995, p. 254).

In a glossary of African words by Beatrix Heintze, it is stated that the reference to sobas appears in older documents about Angola in the position of chieftains under Portuguese rule (HEINTZE, 2007, p. 127). An example of this is the definition given by Antônio de Oliveira de Cadornega, who stated that the chiefs were lords of land and vassals. Furthermore, Cadornega calls them a nobleman and compares them to counts and marquises. The chronicler's parameter, therefore, is of European origin, re-signified locally.

The Sovas and nobles in question are Lords of land, and Vassals, like Counts and Marquises, but they have a superior power that is, that in their lands they are Lords of the tether and cutlass, without dependence on their King, they alone determine the cases what happened among his Vassals with the oldest mobs or officials of his House and banza who have the same as the person of the King, such as Angola Ambole, tentela, Muene Lumbo⁸, Muene Mosete, Muene Quinzocole, and other officials as has already been stated when the King was failed, what these offices were and what they understood as; follow the gentile customs and rites in the worship of their idols, making offerings and sacrifices to them, requesting health from them for their ailments and migraines [...] (CADORNEGA, 1972, VOLUME I, p. 38)

What is also noted in this passage is that, despite being considered vassals, they maintained a certain independence in their lands, being able to decide with the macotas the occurrences between their vassals. But in Cadornega's account, not all sobas were considered nobles, only the "conquered". Sobas considered rebels by the Portuguese government in Angola did not receive this political title (CADORNEGA, 1972, VOLUME I, p. 47)

As we have already mentioned, one of the obligations of the vassal soba was to provide military support for the consolidation of the interests of the Portuguese monarchy

⁸ According to Assis Júnior, the word *muene* means “lord, gift, principal, possessor” and can refer to the “lord of the land where one is or works”. It is an “honorific title used by nobles and their families” (JÚNIOR, s/d, p. 296). Ana Paula Tavares and Catarina Madeira Santos draw attention to the variety of titles associated with *muene*, some with specific functions, such as the *Muene-pela*, a court dignitary who promoted justice. However, some *muenes* do not have a specific attribution. The authors state that the documentation provides us with their existence as institutions, but without an elucidation of their attributions: “This explanation can only be clarified by etymological research or by resorting to supplementary sources and bibliography.” (TAVARES; SANTOS, 2002, pp. 416, 417).

in Angola. According to Beatrix Heintze, the obligation to render military service, although not mentioned in the vassalage contract, was one of the main characteristics of vassalage, as “they were personally obliged to take part, with a certain number of armed men, in the Portuguese army, whenever they were requested, forming together with the slaves of the Europeans, the black war” (HEINTZE, 2007, p. 413). Therefore, soba was part of and supplied men for the black war.

Aida Freudenthal and Selma Pantoja state that at the base of the Ndongo's local political structure were the lineage chiefs - including the sobas - who exercised direct power over the free and slave population, but they were committed to delivering tribute to the ngolas. The payment of such tributes meant the recognition of the political power of the ngolas by the sobas. “Conquered” by the Portuguese Crown, they became vassals signing commitments, among them the payment of tributes, the *baculamento*,⁹ to the Portuguese administration (FREUDENTHAL; PANTOJA, 2013, pp. 16,17). If before the sobas paid tribute to Ngola, with the conquest and subjugation, this payment started to be received by the Portuguese monarchy.

Quilamba was another political title present in Paulo Martins Pinheiro de Lacerda's map as part of the black war. In Assis Júnior's dictionary, quilamba would be an exorcist, a person in charge of a “mister” that would result in the benefit of many. Furthermore, he would be patriarch, monitor, chief, subordinate authority of a State (JÚNIOR, S/D, p. 126). Joseph Miller states that the political title of quilamba was received by the Pende kings¹⁰ who ruled Baixa de Cassanje before the arrival of the Imbangala (MILLER, 1995, p. 296). However, the quilamba became the captain of the african auxiliary troops fighting in Portuguese armies. Fighting for the Portuguese earned them the receipt of land in the territory conquered by the Portuguese (MILLER, 1995, p. 215). Beatrix Heintze states that quilamba was an African officer of the black war who enjoyed special trust from the Portuguese (HEINTZE, 2007, p. 126). This fidelity is exposed in the narrative of Antônio de Oliveira de Cadornega:

Two Quilambas of ours who are Captains of the Black War and those who have shown themselves to be the most faithful Portuguese, and help us in the wars in the Sertão, and from them ammunition is made, and they have

⁹ Taxes that overpowered African leaders should formally pay to the Portuguese Crown (FREUDENTHAL; PANTOJA, 2013, p. 17)

¹⁰ The Ambundo group of the Pende had one of the largest territorial distributions, extending throughout the northern region of the Luanda plateau, east of Lenge, encompassing downtown Cassanje. (MILLER, 1995, p. 40)

them carried by the people of their party, for whose sake they are very hated by the Gentile enemy, and they wish them as much harm as we do [...]
(CADORNEGA, 1972, Volume I, p. 247).

The Cadornega report praises the fidelity of the quilambas to the Portuguese, but also the irritation that this caused to the so-called “enemy gentiles”, local authorities who were not overwhelmed. This irritation was possibly also related to the responsibility of the quilambas to collect the fillings from the sobas (FREUDENTHAL; PANTOJA, 2013, p. 34). Elias Corrêa, described the quilambas as cabo, ruled squadrons, had to obey the captain-major and be faithful companions of the whites. They were great warriors who only exercised that trade. They lived in tributaries of the sobas and had separate regencies in the sobados. According to Corrêa, they were blacks raised among whites, being their faithful companions and responsible for the army's ammunition (CORRÊA, 1937, v. 2, p. 50).

If the quilambas were considered officers of the black war and responsible for their command, the quimbares were also part of this troop, but in a subordinate position. Factor, butler, caretaker, and rural employee were the definitions given for the word quimbare in a Kimbundu-Portuguese dictionary (JÚNIOR, s/d, p. 129). However, with the European presence in Angola, they were in a position of subordination to the Portuguese, especially on occasions of wars in the backlands, acquiring, according to Carlos Couto, traces of Portuguese culture (COUTO, 1972, p. 282).

Beatrix Heintze informs that the quimbares were Africans obliged by a vassalage treaty of their chief to render service to the Portuguese, especially in the formation of the African military army, the black war. They could be slaves trained in making war, freedmen serving in the Angolan wars or freedmen subordinate to prisons (HEINTZE, 2007, p. 126). Aida Freudenthal and Selma Pantoja add that the quimbares were slaves trained in war, who positioned themselves in the vanguard against “enemies” so that the “white men” achieved victory (FREUDENTHAL; PANTOJA, 2013, p. 35).

However, the involvement of the quimbares in rural activities is evident in the narrative of Antônio de Oliveira de Cadornega. Only part of them were sent to wars, others remained in the sobados taking care of the land.

[...] the Quimbares, who are the farmers, free people who are also in the service of His Highness, and of his Fortresses, some of whom go to wars in the Sertão, those who are able to do so, which until our times [...] it had been very difficult to get rid of them in general being baptized and following the

customs and sacraments of Holy Mother Church [...] (CADORNEGA, Volume II, p. 407).

The term *empacaceiro* originates from the word *pakasa* or *Jipakasa*, a buffalo or wild ox (JÚNIOR, s/d, p. 75), because the professional hunters of this animal were called *empacaceiros* (MILLER, 1995, p. 157). However, they became soldiers of the black war, and this transformation was well explained by Joseph Miller:

The word '*empacasseiro*' was a Portuguese term for elite African auxiliary troops associated with European armies in Angola since the dawn of the 17th century. The Portuguese had formed the word from the Kimbundu *mpakasa*, a buffalo, plus the suffix *-eiro*, used in people associated with an object, since the elite status of these mercenaries derived from their skill in hunting big game, such as the *mpakassa*. But the concept of hunters specializing in dangerous big game was purely African. (MILLER, 1995, p. 157).

Being hunters, they knew the backlands well and knew how to skillfully handle arrows, a skill that probably led to their insertion in the black war on the side of the Portuguese (TAVARES; SANTOS, 2002, p. 400). But the arrows were left aside for the use of firearms which made them also known as shotguns. In the various “Angolan wars” narrated by Cadornega, the *empacaceiros* repeatedly appear as riflemen and/or using muskets (CADORNEGA, 1972, VOLUME I, pp. 439, 468 and VOLUME II, pp. 112, 118, 193, 195). They usually shared with the porters the post of the largest contingent in the black war. In the 18th century, they played an important role in most of the wars waged, being decisive in many of them, especially those against the potentates of northern Angola, their captains even receiving pay to be “animated”.¹¹

The term *carrier* was not part of the Kimbunda nomenclature, and it is likely that this was a function named within the scope of the Portuguese administration in Angola. Its function was important for the logistics of the black war and is frequently mentioned in the documentation of the time. The men destined to be porters in the black war came from the *sobados*. According to Carlos Couto, the *sobas* had the obligation to go to the presence of the captains-majors of their jurisdiction, at which time they received “requests” for slaves, porters, and subsistence items (COUTO, 1972, p. 244). Portuguese subjects needed carriers

¹¹ AHU, Angola, Box 60, doc. 1.

especially in times of war because, according to Elias Corrêa, the

[...]. carriers greatly increase the number of the Army. Sobas are constrained to give them away; but they are careful to avoid this painful work. The delay in the march of the armies is often attributed to their lack, although the cause is the increase in the profits that the Commander promotes in his trade. The porters are distributed one to each paid soldier, who, with the harshness of the marches, and the ailments of the climate, can only be carried to himself. So many are given to officers; how many are the volumes of your train; and to the Commander those that his baggage demands in abundance (CORRÊA, 1937, v. 2, p. 51).

Other political titles that frequently appeared related to the black war were those of macota and tentella. The Makotas would be the oldest counselors in age, knowledge, and wealth (JÚNIOR, s/d, p. 274). Makota is the plural of kota, an umbrella title referring to elders holding positions in the lineage. According to Joseph Miller, in the context of a kingdom, they served the king and were electors of the occupants of the royal position, in addition to being responsible for the welfare of the lineages (MILLER, 1995, pp. 52, 296). Beatrix Heintze adds that the Makota assisted the Ngola and various sobas in their rule. They gave advice to the king on all occasions important and played relevant roles in the choices of the new Ngola and sobas (HEINTZE, 2007, p. 221). In the armies, the macotas acted in the military campaigns in Angola because each company had its macota, which would be the same as captain (CORRÊA, 1937, v. 2, p. 51).

Makotas incumbência to elect new occupants to African political positions can be analyzed in a letter patent of confirmation granted by Governor Dom Antônio Álvares da Cunha. On July 30, 1754, he granted a letter patent of Dembo and Senhorio das Terras de Gombe Amuquiana to Dom Sebastião Manoel Silvestre, a native of these same lands.¹² It was a letter patent of confirmation, since the provision had already been carried out by all the macotas, sobas and quimbares of this Lordship, a provision that resulted in the deposition of Dom Francisco Manoel Silvestre for his bad behavior. Clearly, African powers appropriated Portuguese documental formality, and even archival practices to resolve their power conflicts (TAVARES; SANTOS, 2002).

The political importance of the Makotas can also be seen in the vassalage records. In 1789, in the term of fidelity and vassalage that the Jaga de Cassange swore, six bushmen

¹² IHGB, PADAB, AHA, Códice 301 – C – 20 – 2, fl. 8.

accompanied him to the Embassy to sign the term:

On the nineteenth day of December of one thousand seven hundred eighty-nine years in this Banza of the Potentate Jaga Cassange, Dom Pascoal Rodrigues Machado, Quitamba Quiaxiba, where the Ambassador Captain Marcos Pereira came, sent by the Most Illustrious and Excellency Baron of Mossâmedes, Governor, and Captain General of the Kingdom of Angola, and its Conquests, with me the Clerk below, and all His entourage and Traders, and as we are present there, before the same Jaga, and six undersigned Macotas, will have read the Articles of the Embassy, which were declared to you by the Language of the Earth, that you will understand and will understand; by which they promised to fulfill all that was declared therein, as Faithful Vassal of His Most Faithful Majesty [...].¹³

In turn, as we have seen, tentala was the political title that in the 17th century was associated with the black war and recognized by the Portuguese administration. However, there have been changes over time. Assis Júnior defines tentela as a counselor of state, corresponding to the position of president of the council or of the nation (JÚNIOR, s/d, p. 359). Joseph Miller asserts that the Imbangala probably brought from Libolo positions such as the lunda, the mani lombo, the ikota, the tandala and the ngola a mbole.¹⁴ According to Beatrix Heintze, the Portuguese adopted this title, attributing command of the black war. In addition to having the command of the black war, the tent of the Kingdom or tentala-mor also served as the governor's interpreter and had the authority to decide minor issues (HEINTZE, 2007, p. 221). Cadornega highlights the authority of the tentela as well as its role as an interpreter:

Tandala is the one who serves as an interpreter, and it was a very authoritative thing to see such a man, whom the Gentile had for an idol, kneeling at the Governor's feet in the canopy room, when some Sova came to be with him of this sort acting as an interpreter. (CADORNEGA, 1972, Volume I, p. 185).

¹³ Term of fidelity and vassalage that Jaga Cassanje swore in the presence of Ambassador Marcos Pereira Bravo, whose Excellency gave the director Paulo José de Loureiro for his further instruction when he left this capital. December 19, 1789. IHGB, PADAB, AHA, 3259-A-2-12, fl. 139-142.

¹⁴ Libolo was an Ambundo group that included a variety of little-known peoples on the southern bank of the Kwanza and were perhaps divided between the Libolo proper (west of the Luhinga River) and the Hako (east of the Luhinga). The province of Libolo later became Mbondo (MILLER, 1995, pp. 40, 103, 232, 296).

Describing governments and wars, Elias Corrêa also referred to the tentela as an “interpreter, who assists in embassies, treaties, and war pates, in complaints, representations and who exercises in everything the duties of assistant to the commander’s orders” (CORRÊA, 1937, v. 2, p. 49). The role of interpreter was performed by the main captain Nicolau de Nazareth. On February 25, 1768, Dom Calluete Cambande king Jinga de Dongo and Matamba signed the act of subjection, obedience, and vassalage, on which occasion Nicolau de Nazareth served as interpreter. Upon signing the treaty, he asserted:

And as I read, and explained to said Ambassadors the above articles, in the language of the land, and they promised in the name of their Lord to fulfill everything that is declared therein, I made this term which I signed in this City on the 25th of February, 1768.¹⁵

Nicolau de Nazareth was a tent captain named for the first time by D. Antônio Álvares da Cunha, on February 7, 1758,¹⁶ and later in the same post, awarded by Antônio de Vasconcelos on November 16 of the same year.¹⁷ Finally, received royal confirmation from D. José I on January 8, 1761.¹⁸

Jaga and Muxilundas were also frequently mentioned in the sources as part of the military contingent that acted alongside the Portuguese forces. In relation to muxiluanda, in the Kimbundu-Portuguese dictionary by Assis Júnior, it would be the native of any of the islands adjacent to the city of Luanda (JÚNIOR, s/d, p. 325). According to Carlos Couto, until the Dutch occupation, the Muxilundas were subjects of the King of Congo and inhabitants of the island of Luanda. As this sovereign allied with the Dutch, the Muxilundas had to follow such an alliance. After the reconquest of Angola by the Portuguese, they were subjected to forced labor (COUTO, 1972, p. 248). According to Alberto da Costa e Silva, when Paulo Dias Novais arrived in Angola, the island of Luanda belonged to the Manicongo and was inhabited by the Muxilundas. The muxilundas - or in the plural axiluanda - were skilled canoeists who were dedicated to fishing and whale hunting. With the reconquest of Angola, there was a change of forces between the powers of the region and the muxilundas

¹⁵ Act of subjection, obedience and vassalage made to His Most Faithful Majesty Dom Calluete Cambande King Jinga of Dongo and Matamba in the hands of the Most Illustrious and Excellency Dom Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho, governor and general captain of these kingdoms and their conquests, by its ambassadors Quimbambam quiagonga and Matumbi aquilunga. February 25, 1768. In: Angola Files, series I, vol. II, 1935.

¹⁶ IHGB, PADAB, AHA, Códice 301-C-20-2, fl. 52v.

¹⁷ IHGB, PADAB, AHA, Códice 308-C-21-3, fl. 15v.

¹⁸ Ibid., fl. 118v.

were compelled to work for the Portuguese as crew members of their boats and in public works (SILVA, 2011). Skills such as fishermen and canoeists were used in expeditions ordered by Portuguese governors. In March 1784, the interim governors of Angola, Friar Luis Bispo de Angola and Francisco Xavier de Lobão Machado Peçanha, reported that the lack of effective rowers was mitigated by the exercise of the “black Muxilundas” who served in exchange for flour and, in this case, received 1,200 réis each. Thus, there were always rowers for sudden cases.¹⁹

Governor Barão de Moçâmedes defined the muxilundas as people destined for royal service and free. Lieutenant Colonel Luís Cordeiro Pinheiro Furtado, alluding to the defection, reported the existence of jurisdictions and levels of allegiance to the Portuguese government:

The blacks in the service have equally and irrevocably deserted almost all of them, so that I have no more than 62 left with the Muxilundas, and it is necessary to come more, and the best are under the jurisdiction of Cuanza, which are those that have been preserved, while those of Golungo have deserted.²⁰

The recognition of the muxilundas by Portuguese political power in the second half of the 18th century was also due to the granting of letters patent. On June 3, 1763, governor Antônio de Vasconcelos appointed D. Francisco Matias de Domingos, a native of the Mosul site under the jurisdiction of the parish of São João da Cazanga, as governor of the black muxilundas on the same island and Nambios on the Cuanza River.²¹ The black man Manoel Luiz Francisco received the appointment to be sergeant-major of the muxilundas of the Island of São João da Cazanga and Nambios of the Cuanza River on July 6, 1763. The argument used for this nomination was that the people of the island of São João da Cazanga had made an election for the said post.²² In other words, the Portuguese governor only endorsed the local choice and, again, peoples of West-Central Africa appropriated *lato sensu* writing to resolve their political issues.

The Jaga were part of the armies and were described by Elias Corrêa as governors of warlike, traveling people from a variety of nations. The Jaga were divided into two companies commanded by Macotas subordinated to a Golambole. The alliance between

¹⁹ AHU, Angola, Box 68, doc. 57. Other aspects about the muxilundas in Carvalho; Guedes, in press.

²⁰ AHU, Angola, Caixa 60, doc. 1.

²¹ IHGB, PADAB, AHA, Códice 308 – C-21-3, fl. 180v.

²² Ibid., fl. 183.

these warriors and/or Portuguese subjects is interesting:

They swear to administer justice: to defend their people: not to forsake the whites: not to be a traitor to them; and die with them, when the success of the war is ill-fated; despite being helpless by their Troop. These courageous warriors have more than once given examples of their constancy and fidelity to their sacred oath.

Evidently, these jaga are very different from the jaga/imbangala of the 19th century. XVII. This excerpt above should be underlined because Elias Côrrea was one of the most critical voices of Portuguese subjects in Angola, and even more deleterious in relation to the African peoples of Angola, so a compliment on his part cannot go unnoticed. Although we don't know the Jaga's motivations for allying with subjects portuguese (white), as described by Elias Corrêa, this alliance must have been solid and stable at least in the 18th century.

But the definition of jaga has been widely debated, which indicates how controversial its meaning is. Jagas were mentioned in different ways by Portuguese subjects, sometimes as allies in military campaigns, sometimes as rebels, or as a great lord of lands like the Jaga of Cassange. The descriptions of the Jaga made by Portuguese subjects were always marked by imprecision, prejudice, and lack of knowledge about what this group would be. It was not uncommon for non-European populations to be described as cannibals or barbarians in European narratives. Cadornega, for example, stated that the Jaga descended from Sierra Leone to attack the kingdom of Congo, they were soldiers and used to eat human flesh (CADORNEGA, 1972, Volume I, p. II). Throughout his work, he highlighted other customs of the Jaga, such as the use of instruments of war, such as the *lunga*, a large iron rattle smeared with human blood, which all the Jaga quilombos had. They also killed the children who were born inside the quilombos. Only those born outside the quilombo, when already “rapagotes”, were brought to the interior of the village to be trained for war (CADORNEGA, 1972, Volume III, pp. 222-228).

It was based on representations of Jaga such as that of Cadornega that historians have tried to unravel this group. For Joseph Miller, the Jaga never existed in the way they were described, being just a myth. The author claims that the authorities described the Jaga as skilled warriors who expelled the king of Congo in 1568 and then attacked the *ambunda* populations that lived in the south of the Congo. They were ferocious marauders and bloodthirsty cannibals. However, Miller suggested that Jaga never existed outside the

imagination of missionaries, slavers, and government officials, responsible for creating this myth to justify or hide their own activities in Africa. Most of the descriptions were based on Portuguese “legends” about this “savage” nation thought to inhabit the unknown African interior. The vitality of such legends contributed to the extension of these beliefs to other peoples regarded as invaders, such as the Imbangalas (MILLER, 1973, pp. 121, 122).

Differing from Miller, John Thornton argued that in 1568 a group of rootless warriors invaded the Congo, sacked the city and forced the king and his entire court to flee in search of help from the Portuguese. For Thornton, the invaders were from a region of Kwango, east of Congo, currently inhabited by the Yaka (THORNTON, 1978, pp. 223-227). The author also states that the Imbangalas were called *jaga* by the Portuguese. They would originate from the central plateau, taking the form of marauding bands, led by military officers who lived off loot. They incorporated people into their band, especially adolescent boys captured in their incursions (THORNTON, 1999, p. 102). These boys were trained and integrated into the Imbangala units to be professionals and live off the war (THORNTON, 1999, p. 116).

With the narrative that *Jaga* never existed, Joseph Miller stated that the Imbangala were an Ambundo subgroup and constituted the main support of the Portuguese expeditions that took place in the 17th century.

The history of Imbangala contact with the Portuguese provides by far the best-documented example of state formation among the Mbundu. The mercenary armies of the Imbangala formed the backbone of the Portuguese expeditions that put Ndongo on the defensive and then replaced Mbande a Ngola with the *ngola a kiluanje* puppet in Pungo Adongo, leaving Nzinga free to claim title from her new base in Matamba. [...]. A very important Imbangala state emerged in Kasanje, which, together with Matamba, became the main supplier of slaves for the slave trade that supported the Portuguese state of Angola until the mid-19th century. [...]. They became the dominant states in 18th century Angola, completely replacing the earlier kingdoms of Ndongo, Libolo and Kulembe. [...]. Both the Portuguese and the Imbangala posed similar challenges of enormous proportions when viewed from the perspective of the Mbundu kinship groups, whose ancestors had preserved the autonomy of their lineages against such diverse threats [...]. Both arrived as strangers from far away from the Mbundu territories. Neither of them, unlike the Mbundu, made agriculture their way of life, and both stole or traded the products of local farmers (MILLER, 1995, p. 217).

Approaching the Joseph Miller thesis on the Jaga, Mariana Candido stated that, in the 17th century, in Benguela, the term “jaga” was used by agents of the Portuguese crown to refer to any group unknown or resistant to Portuguese power. In the “Kingdom of Benguela”, the Jaga would be a creation of the Portuguese who comprised groups that lived in different regions, with different political organizations, in addition to speakers of different languages. When dealing with the case of the sovereign of Caconda for the 17th century, the author indicates that the relationship between the local ruler and Portuguese authorities altered the references to the Caconda leader. If the principal of Caconda was at war with the Portuguese, he was called “jaga Caconda”, when the relationship was one of alliance, he was called soba. Unstable, the nature of relationships modified references to local potentates (CANDIDO, 2014, pp. 68-77).²³

Flávia Maria de Carvalho analyzed instances of power from the Jaga de Cassange to Angola at the end of the 18th century, when he undertook negotiations and conflicts with the governor of Angola. For the author, jaga and/or imbangalas had a history of conflicting relationships with Portuguese administrators and subjects since the 16th century. In her important investigation of the jaga of Cassange, the author did not fail to mention the debate over jaga holding that the Imbangala were Jaga, but not all the Jaga were Imbangala. Having as a contribution the research of Beatrix Heintze, he argues that the Imbangala were one of several groups that practiced a Jaga way of life because they assumed an identity not necessarily related to any common ancestor, that of a warlike group. According to the author, jagas and sobas occupied the same political position in the hierarchy of power in West Central Africa, even with a different political qualification (CARVALHO, 2017, pp. 227, 228, 230). Perhaps this was more related to changes in political appointments according to the nature of relationships, as Mariana Candido underlined. Political instabilities were recognized by Flávia Carvalho because African and Portuguese political elites established a series of compromises that maintained a “fragile balance of forces”, but also relations of revolts and insubordination “whose interests and motivations are not limited to the oppressed *versus* oppressors dichotomy” (CARVALHO, 2017, p. 234). Such political instabilities directly influenced the political status of the Jaga and/or Imbangala.

Such discussions about Jaga and Imbangalas are not limited to the aforementioned authors,²⁴ but what we know for the 18th century is that the Jaga were still important

²³ The way of naming based on the established political relationship has been analyzed by different authors. See: Guedes; Pontes, 2013; Carvalho; Guedes, 2014; Corrêa, 2019.

²⁴ For a more complete analysis, see: Birmingham, 1965; Vansina, 1966; Hilton, 1981; Heywood, Thornton, 2007.

elements in the military forces operating in Angola. For Elias Corrêa, there was a Jaga regiment, commanded by a chief who was part of the army, being inserted in a military hierarchy. Furthermore, still in the 18th century, at least one military rank was given to one of these warriors, D. André Antônio de Carvalho, the Jaga Calândula, as stated in the patent books of governors João Jacques de Magalhães (1738-1748) and Marquês do Lavradio (1749-1753).²⁵

With this miscellany, we realize that several political titles of African political culture were appropriated by the Portuguese administration in the formation of this crucial military contingent in the expeditions through the hinterlands of Angola. In an inventory of patents, provisions, bands and orders of governors made at the time of the governor of D. Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho, there are military appointments to several positions. Many of the documents listed in this codex no longer exist or have not yet been located by the researchers, however, we were able to know the nominees and their respective positions in the Black War. We reserve to mention in this article the appointments from 1748 to 1772.

Table 2 - Nominations for the Black War (1748-1772)

1	Manoel Gomes dos Reis	Captain-Major of the Black War of Benguela	Patents of the Honorable João Jaques de Magalhães and Marquês do Lavradio Year 1748, until 1753 Book 13	1748 to 1753
2	Mr. Miguel Afonso do Espírito Santo	Dembo Nambuango	Patents of the Honorable João Jaques de Magalhães and Marquês do Lavradio Year 1748, until 1753	1748 to 1753
3	Antônio Fernandes	Captain Tendala de Caconda	Patents of the Honorable João Jaques de Magalhães and Marquês do Lavradio Year 1748, until 1753 Book 13	1748 to 1753

²⁵ IHGB, PADAB, AHA, Códice 3261-182 G – 6-2-68. Patents, Provisions, Bands and Orders of Governors General, 1654 to 1764, fl. 92v.

4	D. André Antônio de Carvalho	Jaga Calandula	Patents of the Honorable João Jaques de Magalhães and Marquês do Lavradio Year 1748, until 1753 Book 13	1748 to 1753
5	Manoel Vicente Franco	Captain-Major of the Black War	Patents of His Excellency Antônio de Vasconcelos From the Year 1758 to 1764 Book 15	1758 to 1764
6	Simão Rodrigues Vidigal	Captain-Major of the Black War	Patents of His Excellency Antônio de Vasconcelos From the Year 1758 to 1764 Book 15	1758 to 1764
7	Antônio Alvares Sardinha	Captain Tendala de Encoge	Patents of His Excellency Antônio de Vasconcelos From the Year 1758 to 1764 Book 15	1758 to 1764
8	Antônio Bezerra	Captain Tendala de Ambaca	Patents of His Excellency Antônio de Vasconcelos From the Year 1758 to 1764 Book 15	1758 to 1764
9	Domingos Gonçalves Soeiro	Capitain Tendala de Massangano	Patents of His Excellency Antônio de Vasconcelos From the Year 1758 to 1764 Book 15	1758 to 1764
10	Nicolau da Nazareth	Captain Tendala, major of this Kingdom	Patents of His Excellency Antônio de Vasconcelos From the Year 1758 to 1764 Book 15	1758 to 1764
11	Vicente de Araújo	Captain Tendala de Caconda	Patents of His Excellency Antônio de Vasconcelos From the Year 1758 to 1764 Book 15	1758 to 1764
12	Bernardo Rabelo da Costa	Sergeant Major of Golungo Black War	Patents of His Excellency D Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho, from 1764 to 17 Book 16	1764 to 17
13	Caetano Carvalho Velho	Sergeant of the Black War of Benguela	Patents of His Excellency D Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho, from 1764 to 17 Book 16	1764 to 17
14	Manoel Dias Leite	Captain-Major of the Black War	Patents of His Excellency D Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho, from 1764 to 17 Book 16	1764 to 17
15	Mr. Miguel Silvestre Manoel	Dembo Motemo to Quinguengo	Patents of His Excellency D Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho, from 1764 to 17 Book 16	1764 to 17

16	Quingui Girahulo	Sova Golabol from Benguela Prison	Patents of His Excellency D Francisco Inocência de Sousa Coutinho, from 1764 to 17 Book 16	1764 to 17
17	Feliz de Abreu Vas dias	Capitain Tendala of Dande	Patents of His Excellency D Francisco Inocência de Sousa Coutinho, from 1764 to 17 Book 16	1764 to 17
18	João Nunes Viegas	Capitain Tendala of Muxima	Patents of His Excellency D Francisco Inocência de Sousa Coutinho, from 1764 to 17 Book 16	1764 to 17
19	João Pinto da Silva	Captain Tendala of Ambaca Prison	Patents of His Excellency D Francisco Inocência de Sousa Coutinho, from 1764 to 17 Book 16	1764 to 17
20	Paulo Duarte Coelho	Captain Tendala of Encoge Prison	Patents of His Excellency D Francisco Inocência de Sousa Coutinho, from 1764 to 17 Book 16	1764 to 17

Source: Codex 3261-182 G – 6-2-68 – Historical Archives of Angola section: Luanda – General Government: Patents, Provisions, Bands and Orders of the Governors General, 1654 to 1764; 288 sheets. (Archive inventory at the time of Sousa Coutinho).

For all the above, a large part of the command structure of the black war received a “Portuguese” charter. The men in charge of the black war were, in effect, the warlords in the Kingdom of Angola. As a result, we can affirm the protagonism of the black war, the main demographic and tactical element, which managed to impose its form of struggle, its weapons and logistics. In addition, men from the command of the Black War had their political titles recognized by the Portuguese government. This means that the art of war in Angola combined European elements such as artillery, infantry and musketry as well as African tactics, weapons and logistics. Africans used firearms and Europeans marched and camped respecting the practices of black warfare that they recognized to be most effective.

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