

# THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE TOURISTIC VALUE OF PORTUGUESE OVERSEAS MONUMENTS: THE CASE OF ANGOLA (1959-1974)

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## ABSTRACT

The present study aimed to evaluate the understanding of the touristic value of Portuguese overseas monuments during Estado Novo, having as case-study the then colony of Angola between 1959 and 1974, years marked by the creation of the Information and Tourism Centre and the fall of the regime. Thus, considering the reality of the metropolis, we aimed to identify and analyse the evolution of tourism in this territory, as well the understanding and use of historic monuments by a nationalist regime as points of touristic interest and legitimisers of the national colonialism. We argue that during two different but totally complementary moments devoted to the relation between tourism and historic monuments of Angola, there was a real understanding of their touristic value. Besides that we claim that the believers of the touristic value of those monuments were very often advocates of the preservation or restoration of their pristine characteristics, an idea that we can affiliate to the thought of António Ferro to whom the success of tourism was extremely dependent on preserving and emphasizing the picturesque and idiosyncratic characteristics of those tourist destinations. To achieve our goals we have identified and analysed some tourism-related periodicals, thematic studies and legislation.

Keywords: Angola, Historic Monuments, Tourism, Fernando Batalha.

JEL Classification: L83

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Since the 1940's or from the time when tourism came under the aegis of the Secretariat of National Propaganda, it became more common to use this activity as an instrument of propaganda especially by demonstrating the unique aspects of what Portugal had to offer to visitors and tourists. The "regional pousadas", some of them installed in historic monuments, were an important part of this differentiation strategy.

Around the same time tourism also started to grow in the Portuguese overseas colonies, mainly in Angola, Mozambique or Portuguese India, with the creation of the Information and Tourism Centres in 1959, a consequence of the gradual growth encouraged since mid-1930's and truly consolidated from the 1940's. In this context some public bodies or individuals, such as the Information and Tourism Centre of Angola or the architect Fernando Batalha, understood and promoted the touristic value of the historic monuments of this territory that, at the time, was a part of the Portuguese overseas universe. This understanding of the ancient churches and fortresses as tourist attractions along with landscapes, beaches or game reserves, is evident when we go through the pages of travel or tourism publications.

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Thus, in this paper we aim to evaluate the development and consequences of the understanding of the touristic value of the Portuguese overseas monuments, especially the ones from Angola, from 1959 to 1974, without forgetting the reality of the metropolis [i.e. mainland Portugal], where tourism and the national architectural heritage were clearly understood as instruments of a propaganda strategy that valued historic and idiosyncratic aspects. Regarding methodology we will give preference to the analyses of tourism publications.

## **2. TOURISM AND HISTORIC MONUMENTS IN THE PORTUGUESE OVERSEAS COLONIES**

Over the last few years we have studied the evolution of the safeguarding of the Portuguese overseas architectural heritage between 1930 and 1974<sup>2</sup>, a period marked by the *Estado Novo's* strong colonial component, by the full understanding of historic monuments as testimonies of the Nation's greatness and by their use as instruments of propaganda and legitimisers of an alleged right to discover, conquer, occupy and colonize. Within our research we understood that tourism was considerably connected to the materialization of several restoration works mainly from the 1940's, when this activity, understood as a "*source of richness and poetry*" (Ferro, 1949) came under the aegis of the Secretariat of National Propaganda<sup>3</sup>. However at this moment we are especially interested in the fact that during this phase marked by the understanding and utilization of tourism as an instrument of propaganda through the promotion of differentiation as a key to the development of tourism in Portugal, several "regional pousadas", small hotel units, were opened, precisely, in historic monuments restored and adapted for this purpose. This happened mostly from the 1950's in abandoned, ruined and disabled former conventual buildings or fortifications such as Óbidos castle (1950), the fort of Saint John the Baptist of Berlenga (1953), the Lóios convent (1965), the fort of Saint Philip of Setúbal (1965) or Estremoz castle (1970).

Meanwhile tourism started to grow also in the Portuguese overseas colonies. In 1934 there appeared the first action towards the strengthening of commercial relations between the metropolis [i.e. mainland Portugal], Angola and Mozambique and the promotion of products, a situation that indirectly promoted the activity/industry under study. We are now referring to the "Casas da Metr pole" organised in Luanda and Lourenço Marques and to the "Casas do Ultramar" installed in Lisbon and Oporto after the publication of the Decree-Law n 23:445 (1934). In 1959 these "Casas da Metr pole" were replaced by the Information and Tourism Centres created in Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese India, public bodies that were dependent on the overseas provincial governments even though they were guided by the General Agency of Overseas (Decreto-lei n 42 194, 1959). However it is important to underline that despite the exponential increase witnessed from 1959, tourism in the Portuguese colonies was far from being inexistent until then. Thus, we believe that the creation of these Information and Tourism Centres was merely a consequence of the gradual growth promoted by the strategy initiated in 1934 and truly consolidated from the 1940's, as referred before. After all, in 1947 the city hall of S o Tom  created a tourism service (*Boletim Geral das Col nias*, 1950, XXVI, n 301); dating from 1952, a preliminary project of the Overseas Urbanization Office for the Palace of Tourism of Cape Verde (*Boletim*

<sup>2</sup> Between 2012 and 2015 we wrote a PhD thesis precisely on the safeguard of overseas Portuguese architectural heritage from 1930 to 1974. The thesis project developed at ARTIS – Instituto de Hist ria da Arte da Faculdade de Letras (University of Lisbon) was awarded a grant from Funda o para a Ci ncia e a Tecnologia.

<sup>3</sup> On the subject of tourism during Estado Novo see Mariz, V., (2011), *O desenvolvimento do Turismo em Portugal pela 'pol tica do esp rito' de Ant nio Ferro*, *Turismo & Desenvolvimento*, n 16: pp. 35-48; Cadavez, M., (2013), *A bem da na o: as representa es tur sticas no Estado Novo entre 1933 e 1940*, tese de doutoramento em Estudos da Literatura e de Cultura apresentada   Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa; Pires, E. (2003), *O baile do turismo: Turismo e Propaganda no Estado Novo*, Casal de Cambra. *Caleidosc pio*; Lopes, F., coord., (2001), *90 Anos de Turismo em Portugal*, Lisboa, DL; Pina, P. (1988), *Portugal: O Turismo no s culo XX*, Lisboa, Lucidus; Cavaco, C., (1980), *O Turismo em Portugal. Aspectos Evolutivos e Espaciais*, *Estudos Italianos em Portugal*, n 40-42: 191- 279.

*Geral das Colónias*, 1952, XXVII, n°322). During the summer of the same year, 1952, the IV International Congress of African Tourism was held in Lourenço Marques (*Boletim Geral das Colónias*, 1952, XXVII, n°323). Another testimony of the increasing importance of this activity as an instrument of propaganda lies in the fact that in 1954, the year of the presidential visit of Francisco Craveiro Lopes to São Tomé and Príncipe and Angola, *Portugal País de Turismo* published an issue under the theme of the Portuguese overseas destinations (Andrade, 1954). In 1957, clearly as a consequence of the growing importance of tourism, the new General Agency of Overseas regulation incorporated a Tourism Services Office responsible for, among other duties, the inventory of the overseas touristic values of historic and artistic nature (Decreto n°41 407, 1957). The attempt of the Portuguese government to promote the development of tourism in the overseas territories in the late 1950's is also proven by the fact that in 1958 the *Boletim Geral do Ultramar* published a number of articles written by Pedro Banha da Silva (1901-?), general-agent for the Overseas department, entitled "Tourism in the African territories of south Sahara" (*Boletim Geral do Ultramar*, 1958, XXXIV, n°398; 1958, XXXIV, n°399-400; 1958, XXXIV, n°401). Even in Timor the number of international tourists, mainly Australians, increased during this period (*Boletim Geral do Ultramar*, 1966, XLII, n°494-495). We may also refer to the II National Conference of Tourism held in Lourenço Marques in 1966, during which it was possible to determine the different status of development of this activity in the different Portuguese overseas provinces. Later on, in 1967, eighteen tourist areas were created in Mozambique (Portaria n°20 288, 1967), a proof that, as noted by Carlos Pimentel Costa, one of the dominant topics in that province – where there was still an obvious deficiency of tourism infrastructures (*Boletim Geral do Ultramar*, 1967, XLIII, n°502) – there was precisely an evolution, or the need of evolution, of tourism (*Boletim Geral do Ultramar* n°497-498, 1966). It is also relevant to recall that in 1967 Cape Verde was visited by the general-agent for the Overseas department, the head of the Department of Public Relations and Tourism of the General Agency of Overseas and the director of the Studies and Planning Office of the Commission of Tourism (*Boletim Geral do Ultramar*, 1967, XLIII, n°509-510), a delegation that aimed to study the perspectives of tourism in this province. Likewise in 1969/1970 the general-agent for the Overseas department visited Angola with the purpose of orienting the planning of tourism infrastructures in this province (*Anuário Turístico de Angola*, 1971). To finish, we may refer the promotion of an exchange program by the General Agency of Overseas and the Information and Tourism Centres in late 1960's (*Boletim Geral do Ultramar*, 1968, XLIV, n°521-522).

However we cannot speak about an extraordinary number of cases in which tourism worked as an incentive towards the promotion of conservation or restoration of historic monuments in the Portuguese overseas colonies, nor of the existence of several cases in which this architectural heritage was understood as a tourist attraction. In this regard we can give the example of the minister of the Overseas department, Joaquim Silva Cunha (1920-) who in 1966, in appraisal of the touristic potential of the overseas provinces, did not mention the architectural heritage, but only the landscapes, the hospitality of the people and the variety of habits and customs (*Boletim Geral do Ultramar*, 1966, XLII, n°496). A year later José Fernandes Nunes Barata also mentioned recreational fishing, hunting and natural resources as the future of tourism in the overseas provinces (*Boletim Geral do Ultramar*, 1967, XLIII, n°503). On the other hand, the members of the delegation that travelled to Cape Verde in 1967 aiming to study the perspectives of tourism in this province, despite visiting the historic site of "Cidade Velha" and its temples and fortifications coeval of the first moments of Portuguese occupation of this insular territory, unlike what happened with the weather, beaches, landscapes and kindness of the inhabitants, did not give particular

importance to the multi-centenary architectural heritage (*Boletim Geral do Ultramar*, 1968, XLIV, nº511-512).

Nonetheless, as we will see when analysing the case of Angola, we cannot speak of a total lack of comprehension concerning the Portuguese overseas historic monuments touristic potential, whether as tourist attractions or possible hotel units, having identified mainly cases in which individuals, but also public bodies, have defended and promoted this quality. In this regard we can give the example of Maria Archer that in an article entitled “Zonas de Turismo em Angola” (i.e. Tourist Areas in Angola) published in 1938 in the propagandistic periodical *O Mundo Português*, gave special attention to the forests and deserts filled with animals to hunt, and to the natural beauties as the colony’s greatest attractions, but did not forget the architectural heritage. According to this author the “padrões” (i.g. monuments that were erected in the overseas territories to mark the arrival of the Portuguese navigators, explorers and conquerors) erected by Diogo Cão, the stones of Yelala, the fortress of Massangano, the ruins of the church built by queen Ginga in Matamba or the monument to Silva Porto in Bié, had the potential to satisfy the “*tourist thirsty for the glories of the Past*” (Archer, 1938: 213). Still regarding Angola, we may clarify straight away that the architect Fernando Batalha (1908-2012) understanding the tourist value of the historic monuments of this Portuguese overseas province, would be, for obvious reasons<sup>4</sup>, incomparably much more evident.

Like Fernando Batalha, the architect Luís Benavente (1902-1993) also understood the touristic potential of the Portuguese overseas monuments, such as the previously mentioned site of Ribeira Grande de Santiago in Cape Verde, or simply “Cidade Velha” (i.g. Old City), as an “*ideal site*” (Benavente, n.d. [c. 1970]) for tourism when at the time, during the 1960’s, this activity was mainly confined to the capital city, Praia (*Boletim Geral do Ultramar*, XLII, 1966, nº494-495). The same opinion was shared by the architect Pedro Quirino da Fonseca (1922-2001) regarding Mozambique and Macau, provinces where the development of tourism should be closely related to the protection of the historic monuments, the accentuation of its historic, picturesque, traditional and idiosyncratic character, since tourists were essentially seeking differentiation, “*the territories and places that give them something different, humane and cultural.*” (Fonseca, 1975). At the same time we may refer that the program of the IV International Conference of African Tourism held in Lourenço Marques in 1952 included a visit to the Island of Mozambique and its centenary monuments (*Boletim Geral do Ultramar*, 1952, XXVIII, nº326-327). For his part, in 1950, Renato Maya used the pages of the *Heraldo*, a periodical published in Goa, to present his idea of creating an association devoted to the social, touristic and economic development of the district, whose main goal was the artistic, ethnographic and historic inventory of the territory (*Boletim Geral das Colónias*, 1950, XXVI, nº301). After all, as recognized by the Statistic and Information Services, in Goa “*the Province was prodigal in accumulating the capricious gifts of artistic nature.*” (*Boletim Geral das Colónias*, 1950, XXVI, nº301: 143). To conclude, we can refer that two of the duties of the previously mentioned Information and Tourism Centres created in Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese India in 1959 were to “*promote, when required, the collection and conservation and protection of the artistic, historical and cultural heritage*” (Decreto-lei nº42 194, 1959: 312) and to make an inventory of the touristic values needed for the preparation of touristic maps that should have historic monuments as specific subjects of interest (Decreto-lei nº42 194, 1959).

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<sup>4</sup> Fernando Batalha was a Portuguese architect that spent most of his life in Angola. In this Portuguese overseas province, as architect of the Public Work’s Service of National Monuments and member of the Commission of National Monuments, Batalha was responsible for several restoration works of historic monuments, for their inventory, protection, study and promotion. On the subject see: Mariz, V. (2014), Fernando Batalha: a actividade na Comissão de Monumentos de Angola e a relação com o Brasil (1935-1974), De Viollet-le-Duc à Carta de Veneza – Teoria e Prática do Restauro no Espaço Ibero-Americano, Lisboa, ARTIS – Instituto de História da Arte e Laboratório Nacional de Engenharia Civil: 323-330.

### 3. TOURISM AND HISTORIC MONUMENTS IN ANGOLA DURING *ESTADO NOVO*

At least from the 1920's onwards, if not before, this is, during the government of José Norton de Matos (1867-1955), the understanding of the importance of tourism and of the touristic potential of Angola started to increase. In fact, the development of tourism was one the issues that caught the attention of Norton de Matos who, as High Commissioner or Governor General, understood that this activity could indirectly contribute to the colonization of Angola. Such colonization should be assured through the creation of several elements of civilization such as hotels and restaurants, strategically located in places visited by tourists that went to Africa looking for its natural beauties. Thus, we can explain the fact that Norton de Matos, as the first High Commissioner of Angola, created the Tourism Services and published several decrees that encouraged the construction of "*comfortable hotels*" (Matos, 1926: 44-45). However, in 1926, Norton de Matos himself noted that: "*These measures have failed*" (Matos, 1926: 44-45).

As noted by the ethnologist and anthropologist José Redinha (1905-1983) (*Anuário Turístico de Angola*, 1969) Angola tourism entered its modern phase in 1959 within the creation of the Information and Tourism Centre. This public body was created in March 1959 (Decreto-Lei nº 42 194, 1959) and regulated later on the same year, in November (Diploma Legislativo nº3:014, 1959). Later on, in 1961, there was an organizational restructuring of the centre (Diploma Legislativo Ministerial nº40, 1961). The creation of the Information and Tourism Centre is particularly relevant within the context under study because from then on the Portuguese government could say that Angola had a "*public body sufficiently qualified to guide and propel tourist activities*" (Diploma Legislativo nº3:014, 1959: 821). At the same time a network of local tourism bodies, such as city halls assisted by municipal commissions of tourism, tourism boards and regional commissions of tourism, was created.

In order to achieve its goals, the Information and Tourism Centre, which was dependent on the province's Governor General, was divided in two sections in addition to the technical services and secretariat: the Section of Information and Culture and the Section of Tourism, Hotel Industry and similar services. These sections were responsible, among other duties, to "*Promote, when required, the collection and conservation as well the protection of the artistic, historical and cultural heritage of Angola*" (Diploma Legislativo nº3:014, 1959: 823). The centre also had, in accordance with the guidelines provided by the General Agency of Overseas, the incumbency to identify the touristic value of the province needed for the elaboration of touristic maps regarding ethnography, linguistic, musical folklore, hunting and recreational fishing, landscapes, tourist areas and routes and, the most important aspect within this paper, monuments. Additionally, the public body created in 1959 was also responsible for the divulgation of the "*natural beauties, artistic richness, monumental heritage and the geographical picturesque of Angola, aiming to develop tourism by producing publications or by using the press, the cinema, the radio or the television.*" (Diploma Legislativo nº3:014, 1959: 824). It is also important to note that at that moment the creation of areas and regions of tourism was also predicted as a way of enhancing and protecting sites where there were beaches, hydrological, health, altitude, leisure or recreation resorts, national parks, public hunting concessions or sites especially suited to recreational fishing, and, once more, historic or natural monuments. Thus, we can conclude that in 1959 the Angolan provincial government had a true understanding of the touristic value of the historic monuments as well of the importance of promoting their protection within a more comprehensive development plan for Angola's tourism.

Regarding the activity of the Information and Tourism Centre of Angola it is interesting to note the presence of multiple references to historic monuments in their publications,

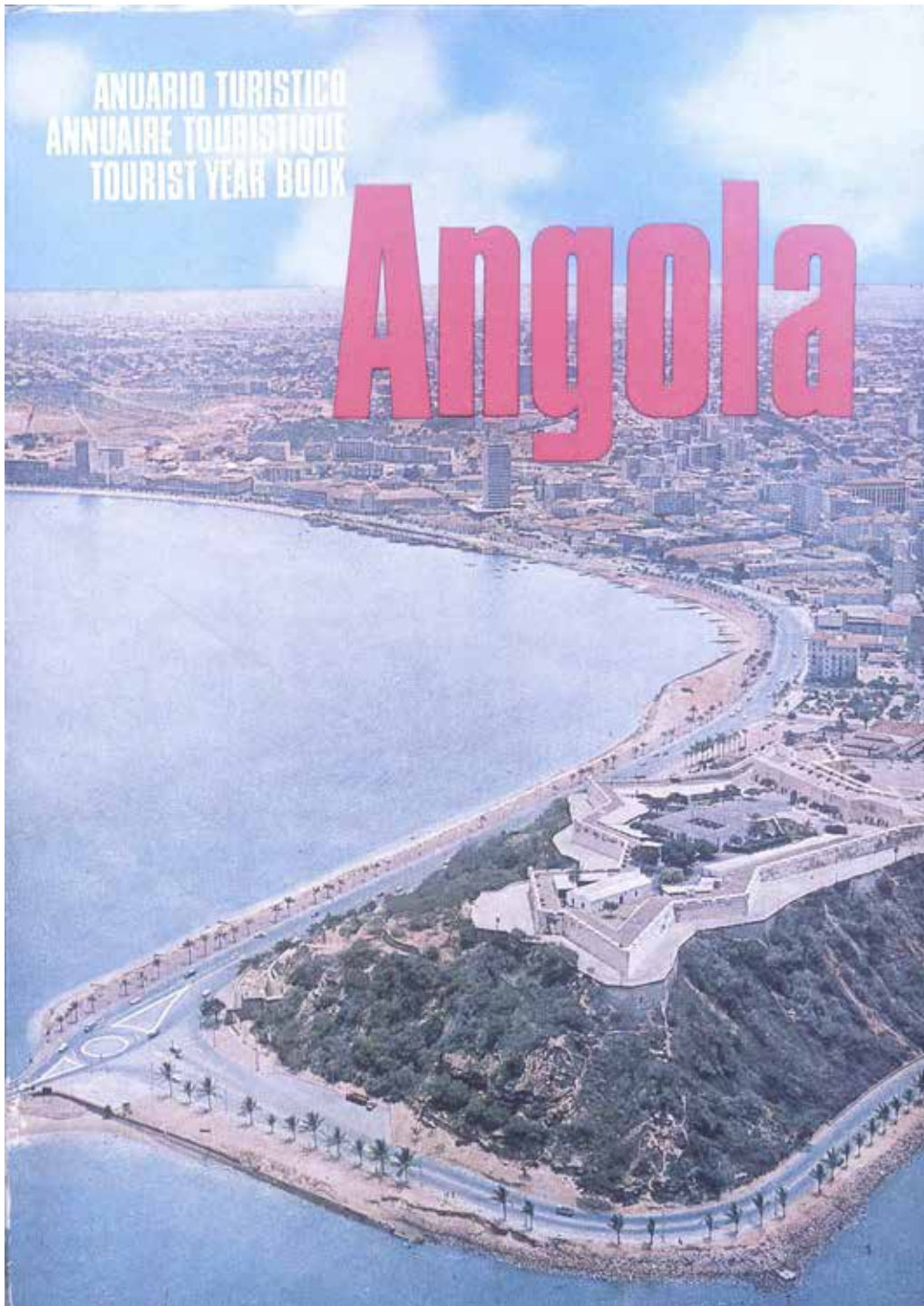
effective instruments of tourism promotion and propaganda. The undated *Angola, Portugal, Guia do Visitante*, a travel guide probably from the mid-60's, is an excellent example because it has a photography of a bulwark of the iconic fortress of Saint Michael (Luanda) on the cover and many other images of historic monuments illustrating the content. In this guide, as it was usual at the time due to the regime's nationalist and triumphalist mentality and its understanding of historic monuments as testimonies of the Nation's greatness and legitimisers of the Portuguese colonialism, the fortress of Saint Peter, the church of Our Lady of Nazareth, the church of Our Lady of the Cape, the former Jesuit church of Jesus or the church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel were presented and highly praised as evidences of the "faith of a People that wanted to be great." (*Angola, Portugal, Guia do Visitante*, n.d., n.p.). Obviously for this reason, these and other historic monuments were announced as tourist attractions along beaches, landscapes, dams, waterfalls, game reserves or coffee plantations. Thus, according to the Information and Tourism Centre guide when in Benguela the tourist could visit the church of Our Lady of Popolo, Catumbela village and the redoubt of Saint Peter which were identified as national monuments, which proves the importance of these ancient and highly symbolic constructions, and demonstrates the level of detail of this publication. As in other publications the Dondo, Massangano and Cambambe tourist triangle was highly recommend in this guide precisely because of the "incalculable historical value" (*Angola, Portugal, Guia do Visitante*, n.d., n.p.) of this area extraordinarily rich in monuments. Different monuments of Huambo, Zaire or Moçâmedes were also presented as tourist attractions and testimonies of the antiquity (and legitimacy) of the Portuguese colonial administration. Finally, we must mention the reference to the location of the temple of Our Lady of Nazareth and the fortress of Saint Michael in a Luanda map and the presence of a list of the national monuments and buildings of public interest along with other useful general information about the capital city.

In 1966 the Information and Tourism Centre of Angola published *Itinerários de Angola*, a guide of itineraries for tourists. Then the growth of tourism in this Portuguese overseas province was already perceptible, as shown by the "encouraging phase" of tourism between Angola, the Republic of South Africa, Southwest Africa and Southern Rhodesia, mainly due to the movement and activity of students, journalists, business men and public figures (*Itinerários de Angola*, 1966). The truth is that on this occasion the historic monuments of Angola were once again understood and disclosed as tourist attractions and, consequently, points of interest within some of the several options that were available. For example, route A, from Nóqui to Pereira de Eça, included stops to see the ruins of the Ambriz fortress, the monuments and museums of Luanda or the architectural heritage of the Cambambe, Oeiras and Massangano tourist triangle, among others (*Itinerários de Angola*, 1966). The fortress and church of Muxima, correctly (and proudly) identified as national monuments that played an important role in the 17<sup>th</sup> century conflict between Portugal and Holland, were, along the redoubt of Saint Peter of Catumbela, points of interest of route E that connected Luanda to Sá da Bandeira. Despite these examples that prove the understanding of the touristic value of historic monuments and the fulfilment of the Information and Tourism Centre of Angola, it is important to clarify that these itineraries comprised, mainly, other types of tourist attractions, such as beaches, local art, hunting or catholic missions.

Meanwhile the promotion of the tourism potential of Angola was also made in the metropolis through several public or private publications. One of these periodicals that had its first issue published in 1963/1964 was the trilingual (Portuguese, French and English) *Anuário Turístico de Angola* (i.e. Tourist Year Book) whose third number had on the cover an aerial photography of the previously mentioned fortress of Saint Michael (*Anuário Turístico de Angola*, 1969 - Figure 1). The contents are not particularly different from the ones published by the Information and Tourism Centre of Angola and, once again, we have identified

several proofs of the considerably disseminated understanding of the architectural heritage as a tourist attraction, such as the list of the main national and historic monuments with references to the location and, less frequently, epoch; or mentions of the historic monuments of Luanda as points of touristic interest within a number of excursions.

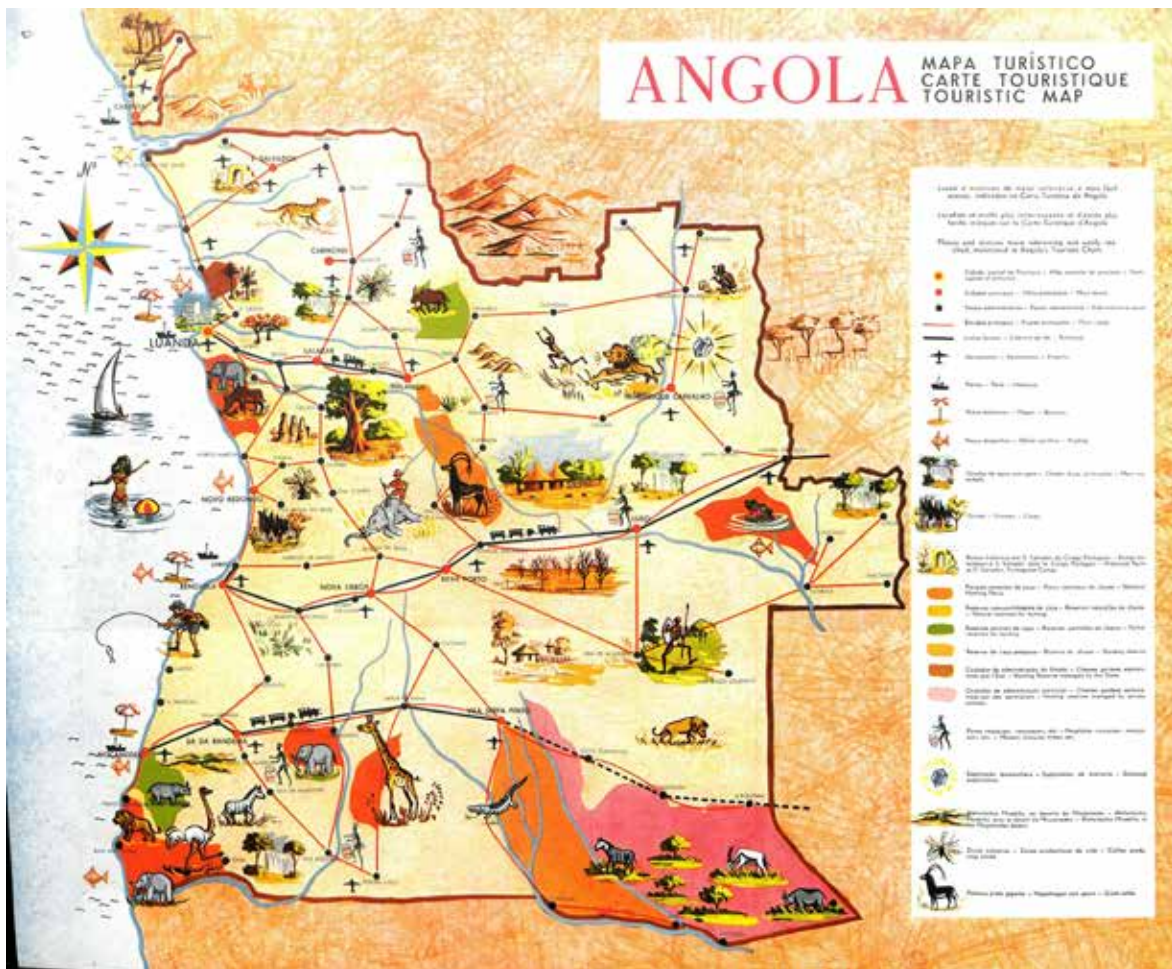
Figure 1. Cover of the *Anuário Turístico de Angola* (1969) with the fortress of Saint Michael



The architectural heritage of Portuguese origin existent in Cambambe, Massangano and Nova Oeiras was, once again, recognized and disclosed as “*historical ruins*”, “*relics from the Past*” (*Anuário Turístico de Angola*, 1966-1967: 237) and, consequently, tourist attractions of

North Kwanza. It is also fair to say that some of the references, such as the ones regarding the temples of Our Lady of Nazareth, Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Our Lady of the Conception or the church of Jesus, are considerably rich in historic/traditional details – original function, artworks, restoration works, etc. – that prove and improve the importance of these monuments as historic or artistic relics. Finally, we must mention the coloured touristic map of Angola (Figure 2) with a symbol and respective caption for the ruins of the former São Salvador do Congo's (or M'banza Congo) cathedral (*Anuário Turístico de Angola*, 1966-1967), the temple frequently known as the first church built in the Sub-Saharan Africa (1548) by Jesuit missionaries and, therefore, a testimony of the centenary Portuguese overseas evangelization mission.

Figure 2. Touristic map of Angola with the symbol and respective caption for the ruins of the former São Salvador do Congo's cathedral (*Anuário Turístico de Angola*, 1966-1967)



The architect Fernando Batalha raised the issue of tourism several times as we can understand, for example, from reading the numerous articles written in the *Boletim do Instituto de Angola* (1953, n<sup>o</sup>1; 1953, n<sup>o</sup>2; 1955, n<sup>o</sup>7), true travel guides at a time that tourism in Angola was still very incipient. In fact, as we have seen happening in Cape Verde or Mozambique, in Angola the potential of historic monuments as “*elements of tourist attraction*” (Batalha, 1963: 6) was understood, even though this was an aspect that without being properly explored until the 1960's, was constantly threatened by the new urbanization plans that caused in Luanda, for example, the demolition of centuries-old buildings, testimonies of the ancient Portuguese presence and of the distinctive character of the capital city. Thus,



according to Fernando Batalha: *“Instead of destroying the beauty, the picturesque and the character of the architecture and of the ancient urban sites, that gave to Luanda a unique and unmistakable feature, it would be better, therefore, that they were better used, esteeming and refining them”* (Batalha, 1963: 7).

However Luanda was not the only city whose architectural heritage, classified or not, had the potential to attract national and foreign tourists or to intensify the promotion of this overseas province, the qualities of the Portuguese civilizing mission and, last but not least, the growth of its economy. In fact, in our opinion, the restoration of the historic monuments of Massangano over the 1960's was always guided by a very clear intention of making this place – whose history was closely related to the Portuguese occupation and resistance in Angola – a major tourist site. After all, over this period the patrimonial services aimed not only to repair or restore the church of Our Lady of Victory, the fortress, the Courthouse, the Town Hall, the church and Hospital of Mercy, but also to recover all the surroundings, to intensify the historic ambiance through the placement of antique style lamps, the reparation of roads and popular houses according to the traditional methods and forms and, inclusively, the transformation of a building in a tourist inn (Batalha, 1968). This value of Massangano as one of Angola's most important tourist resorts was so obvious to Fernando Batalha that he even suggested that the III Development Plan for Tourism should benefit the restoration campaign to be held in this site (Batalha, 1968).

Another example of such understanding of the historic monuments and sites as tourist attractions is Dondo village, the former place of a well-known 17<sup>th</sup> century market and the most important commercial hub of Angola's hinterland region over the next century, which, however, in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as a consequence of the alteration of the commercial routes and the construction of the railway between Luanda and Ambaca (Batalha, 1962), started to decay. Therefore the architectural heritage coeval of the commercial prosperity epoch – the typical “sobrado” houses – were slowly abandoned or destroyed, a situation that led Fernando Batalha to defend the protection of Dondo, having insisted mainly in the importance of classifying the site as a *“village of historic, archaeological and touristic interest”* (Batalha, 1963b: 13). With regard of this suggestion it is important to observe that Fernando Batalha's main argument was the fact that this situation was already a reality in the metropolis, namely in Évora, but also in Ouro Preto, Brazil. Objectively, with the classification of the village of Dondo Fernando Batalha was expecting to stop the impetus of the construction sector that in several occasions had dictated the destruction of ancient buildings valuable not because of their refinement but because of their picturesque character, their *“impressive unity of style, maybe inferior and rudimentary, that gave them a personal and differentiated touch”* (Batalha, 1963b: 1945). Since this interest of Dondo was closely related to its touristic potential and with the unique character of its buildings, as far as Fernando Batalha was concerned, the safeguard of this site should be assured by the patrimonial services but also by the tourism services, therefore it was desirable that the official entities responsible for the safeguard of the historic and cultural heritage of Angola and the ones responsible for tourism did *“not forget to care a little for Dondo and to take the appropriate actions to stop the disfigurement that this village has been condemned to because of the general disinterest and foolishness”* (Batalha, 1963b: 14).

On the other hand, we have observed that regarding Dondo, Batalha, when in comparison with other sites, this village had unquestionably the greatest touristic potential of Angola. This because, despite the extremely hot weather and insalubrity – that itself could contribute to the fact that this idea may have seemed “a little pretentious and foolish” (Batalha, 1962: 11) – the localization of Dondo, near Muxima, Massangano, Cambambe or Nova Oeiras, gave this village the potential of being an important touristic destination.

It is also important to mention that, in 1967, Alfredo Diogo Júnior also insisted on the importance of tourism and the relation of this activity with the historic monuments of Angola. In his article entitled “Valores Históricos do Turismo de Angola” (i.g. Historic values of Angola’s Tourism) and published in the *Boletim do Instituto de Angola*, the author, by defending that the “*tourist of our time is no longer the man that spends holidays, but the one that goes – even for a single day – outside his country or home*” (Júnior, 1967: 93), presents Angola as a touristic destination rich in historic monuments and sites, such as the historic-touristic triangle of Muxima/Massangano/Cambame, a valuable testimony of “*a remarkable story of sacrifice and heroism*” (Júnior, 1967: 94). However, in our opinion, the most important aspect of this article lies in the focus on the museums, archives and libraries of Angola that were presented by Alfredo Diogo Júnior as elements of interest to several scholars, and in the necessity of organizing regular conferences and holiday courses, events that could have the potential to encourage the growth and deepen diversification of tourism in this Portuguese overseas province.

Despite these contributions, both public and private, tourism did not grow in Angola as expected and wished by the Portuguese administration. As noted in 1969 by José Redinha, “*Nothing lacks in Angola: primitive splendour, wild nature, interesting tribes, historical testimonies of a several centuries-old Portuguese presence*” that are “*profoundly evocative of an old colonization*” (*Anuário Turístico de Angola*, 1969: 8), but a bigger and more efficient investment in tourism, or in other words, the construction of roads, hotel facilities, restaurants and the inculcation of a so-called “tourist mentality” orientated towards the attraction and satisfaction of the visitor. On the other hand, Mário Pirelli (1964), for whom the safaris and game parks should be presented as Angola’s main attractions, noted several times during the late 1950’s and 1960’s that the lack of a well-thought tourism-oriented propaganda was a serious impediment to the development of this industry and business: “*The Germans, the British, the French, the Scandinavians (...) are not informed that Angola could suit them as well as Kenya, South Africa, Morocco, Egypt, the most visited countries by tourists. The reason is the complete lack of propaganda.*” (Pirelli, 1964, n.p.). Furthermore, according to Pirelli, the already existent but clearly insufficient instruments of propaganda – such as the previously mentioned official publications – should be totally re-evaluated and re-thought bearing in mind the United States of America’s example, and its potential as an “*integral part of our fight in the political arena.*” (Pirelli, 1964, n.p.). In fact, the understanding of the propagandistic potential of tourism in a context marked by the highly controversial colonial issue and the Portuguese colonial war is extraordinarily interesting and, in our opinion, deserves a separate study as a subject in itself.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

Altogether, it seems that we can accept that the development of tourism in the Portuguese overseas provinces, and especially in Angola, was accompanied by an increasingly wider understanding of the touristic value of the historic monuments existent in these territories. With regard to this topic of study, we have also come to the conclusion that the supporters of the touristic potential of historic monuments, mainly the ones classified as having national interest, were simultaneously defenders of the need to preserve the ancient characteristics, an idea that we can associate to the thought of António Ferro, to whom the success of national tourism was highly dependent on preserving and emphasizing the historic, picturesque and idiosyncratic characteristics of those ancient buildings. Thus, we can consider that this reality, that is, the development of tourism in Angola and other overseas provinces and the progressively wider understanding of the touristic value of historic monuments, was

substantially influenced by the example of the metropolis where from the 1940's onwards, when tourism came under the aegis of the Secretariat of National Propaganda, there was a strong increase of this activity as proven, among other aspects, by the restoration and adaption of former convents and fortifications to charming hotel units. Finally, even though we may accept that the modern phase of tourism in Angola has started with the creation of the Information and Tourism Centre of Angola that, in fact, was responsible for stimulating, when required, the collection, conservation and protection of the artistic, historical and cultural heritage, it is also imperative to recognize the importance of the major contribution of the architect Fernando Batalha in the development and deepening diversification of cultural tourism in contrast to the better-known fishing or hunting tourism.

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