Abstract

This dissertation studies the funerary, residential and religious architecture of Afro-Brazilian migrants who left Brazil and resettled within kingdoms in the Lagos Colony and what later became the Southern Nigeria Protectorate of the British Empire. Over a period of seven decades, thousands of Afro-Brazilians landed on the shores of the Bight of Benin and in Lagos, they deployed an idiosyncratic neo-baroque architecture, which was inspired by the churches and houses that they worked on, repaired or saw in city centers in Brazil. Not limiting their settlements to the West African coast, they also migrated further inland and built structures for monarchs, merchants, contractors, chieftains, and soldiers who were inspired by the foreigners’ architecture in Lagos. These buildings constituted the second wave of an architectural revolution.

This inquiry asks how the influx of these Brazilians affected the architectural and fashion tastes of Nigerian communities, as well as their social customs. The thesis argues that the Afro-Brazilians worked with other African settlers and indigenous elites in Colonial Nigeria to create a unique built environment. The research critically engages with historical-critical methods of art and architectural history and consequently gives accounts of people who used architecture -- in tandem with other expressions of culture -- to transform societies in ways that would have eluded the traditional historiographical approaches. To wit, the architecture of the Afro-Brazilians symbolized their desires to be at home in certain Southwest Nigerian societies, and create spaces where they could refashion their identities. Thus, the dissertation examines unconventional sources in order to produce an overall picture of the cultural lives of inhabitants who had limited freedom within their polities.
Overall, the dissertation argues that these Afro-Brazilians and others from the African diaspora, who were physically and psychologically displaced, used architecture to define both their shifting identities and what constituted “home.” Their material and spatial responses proved that they were dialecticians who wrestled with these issues and gave answers – provisional, experimental, and long lasting – that allowed them to feel grounded.
Dedication

To Elizabeth Abíødún Tërǐba: my mother and immeasurable gift. Your labors were not in vain.
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**Introduction**

In the past half century, historians have produced seminal scholarship on “retentions” of African visual cultures in the African Diaspora during the transatlantic Slave Trade. Examples include the sculptures of deities that African slaves in Brazil kept in their homes. These objects resembled similar figurines in West and South Africa.¹ Such research extended Melville Herskovits’ argument that the diaspora’s diverse mores and customs nevertheless conveyed “Africanisms” or habits from Africa to the Americas.² Yet this dissertation examines a reverse trend: how the Diaspora affected numerous local traditions in the built environment of West Africa. The thesis specifically studies the funerary, residential and religious architecture of Afro-Brazilian migrants who left Brazil and resettled within kingdoms in the Lagos Colony, and what in 1900 became the Southern Nigeria Protectorate of the British Empire.³

Nearly eight thousand Afro-Brazilians landed on the shores off the Bight of Benin between 1820 and 1899.⁴ In 1880 alone, Lagos had three thousand two hundred and twenty-one Afro-Brazilians and Afro-Cubans as well as one hundred and eleven Europeans out of a total population of thirty seven thousand, four hundred and fifty-eight.

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³ Britain had annexed Lagos in 1861, and in 1914 it amalgamated the Protectorates of Southern and Northern Nigeria.
residents. The Afro-Brazilians’ urban developments in Lagos and the Protectorate were part of an enterprise that encompassed the South of the Gold Coast, Togoland, and Dahomey in West Africa. The Lagosian Afro-Brazilians established commercial networks with their Gold Coast and Dahomian counterparts, and the construction of the El-Mina and Ouidah Catholic Cathedrals were some results of such partnerships. Little is known about these two churches beyond the fact that two Lagos-based Afro-Brazilian master masons, Lázaro Borges da Silva and Francisco Nobre, worked on them. Yet the breadth and variety of the Afro-Brazilians’ architecture in Lagos and Southwest Nigeria, and their impact on several societies in the two territories merits its own study.

Evidence of Afro-Brazilian travelers from Brazil to West Africa dates back to the latter half of the eighteenth century but a surge in the exodus occurred after the Brazilian authorities quelled a major uprising in Salvador in 1835. In the wake of this insurrection, also known as the Malê Rebellion, the municipal government deported two hundred instigators, both enslaved and freed Africans to the Bight of Benin. Furthermore, Bahia’s provincial magistrature passed a law that curtailed free Africans’ economic ascension and

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put all such individuals under surveillance.\textsuperscript{10} Hence, there arose an increasing number of Afro-Brazilians who applied for passports in Salvador and to a lesser extent in Rio de Janeiro.\textsuperscript{11} Their departures after the suppression of the revolt occurred in stages. In November 1835, the Brazilian slaver Felix de Souza agreed to help the Bahia State resettle intending emigrants in the Lusophone community in Dahomey.\textsuperscript{12} The second phase mainly consisted of men who in the 1840s went back and forth between Brazil and what the travelers called the “African Coast.”\textsuperscript{13} Lagos became the city of choice for the settlers two decades later.\textsuperscript{14}

In addition to da Silva and Nobre there were other Afro-Brazilian artisans, builders, architects, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, painters, and stonemasons.\textsuperscript{15} In Lagos, they deployed an idiosyncratic neo-baroque architecture, which was inspired by the churches and houses that they worked on, repaired or saw in city centers in Brazil. Not limiting their settlements to the West African coast they also migrated further to inland kingdoms, and built structures for monarchs, merchants, contractors, chieftains, and soldiers who found the new architecture of the Lagos foreigners attractive. These buildings constituted the second wave of an architectural revolution started by the Brazilian settlers.

Some of these immigrants also left Lagos for Ouidah, Porto-Novo, and Agoue in Dahomey as well as cities such as Lome in Togoland, and Jamestown, a borough of

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\textsuperscript{10} Ibid. \\
\textsuperscript{11} Lisa Earl Castillo, "Mapping the Nineteenth-century Brazilian Returnee Movement: Demographics, Life Stories and the Question of Slavery," 26. \\
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., 28. \\
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., 26-27. \\
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., 34. \\
\textsuperscript{15} In this thesis, these terms are used interchangeably, since they managed to design and build, even though they acquired their training by diverse means, which will be explored in the following chapters.
\end{flushright}
Accra in the Gold Coast. In Lagos, the Afro-Brazilians, also known as “Àgúdà” lived in a district known as the Brazilian Quarter or “Pópó Àgúdà,” This section was built on large swaths of formerly uninhabited land gifted to them by King Kọsọkọ in 1851. Yet, these foreigners were one of many immigrant groups of African descent that lived in the city. Some came from the Caribbean and settled in Òbúté Mètta, another borough in Lagos. In the 1870s, former slaves from Southern Africa also came via the island of Saint Helena. There were ex-slaves from Liberia and Sierra Leone. The latter, whose ancestors were from the Iléṣà, Aṣẹkúta and Ifẹ kingdoms of Southwest Colonial Nigeria, were called the “Sàró”, a corruption of the name Sierra Leone: in 1880, one thousand five hundred and thirty-three of them lived in Lagos. Their descendants in Lagos were also called Sàró. While the “Àgúdà” from Brazil spoke Portuguese, the Sàró were English-speakers like the Black Britons and Englishmen in Sierra Leone.

Between 1854 and 1857, the Christian Missionary Society and the British Government resettled one hundred and sixty-eight Afro-Cubans in Lagos. The Lagosians also called these Spanish-speaking newcomers Àgúdà, obscuring the cultural differences between the Afro-Brazilians and the Afro-Cubans. And, as Solimar Otero has correctly noted:

19 Spencer H. Brown, “A History of the People of Lagos State, 1852-1886,” 57. Spencer claims that many died in Lagos, often due to malnutrition.
“Though the Brazilian cultural aspects tend to dominate some visible forms of Aguda social performance (like the Boa masquerade held in Lagos every year), the emergence of the Aguda culture represents a unique synthesis of many social and cultural diasporic groups.”

In 1859 alone, the total number of Afro-Brazilian and Afro-Cuban families in Lagos was one hundred and thirty. That number would escalate. As the following pages will demonstrate, the Afro-Brazilians had a strong impact on the built environment of their new homes in Africa. Their edifices in Lagos and Southwest Nigeria exemplify the life and work of these individuals across ethnic and social boundaries.

I also use the term “Afro-Brazilian architecture” to describe the buildings of chiefs, patrons, architects and builders in the region mentioned earlier, who interpreted the Brazilian immigrants’ structures in unique ways. In the first wave of the Afro-Brazilian architectural style, the ex-slaves created idiosyncratic classical columns, broken pediments on mosques and other interpretations of building elements from civic and residential architecture in Brazilian city centers. The freedmen’s strategy communicated their nostalgia for the urban architecture in Brazil and their kinship with all those who came from Brazil in the Bight of Benin. Subsequently however, the indigenous elites of the new environment erected their own versions of the Afro-Brazilian architecture and hence, the style detached itself from a racial identity became a mark of the locals’ progressive ideals.

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Nonetheless, slavery started and influenced the architectural interventions of the Aguda and the indigenes of Southwest Nigeria in consequential ways. Like the Àgùdà, slavers had captured the Sàró’s forbears in their homelands, and kept them in temporary containment facilities in Sierra Leone before their final journey to the Americas. Moreover, once Abolition was promulgated, the British navy and American West Africa Squadrons increasingly scuttled trans-Atlantic slave shipments, freeing the human cargo and resettling them in Sierra Leone.²⁴ There, some of the freed slaves attended missionary schools and Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone, established in 1827 by The Church Missionary Society and Durham University to educate freed slaves, before relocating to Lagos. Yet the Sàró and Àgùdà’s ancestral ties to Southwest Nigeria did not prevent the indigenous peoples from despising them. The historian Spencer Brown cites an instance when both groups had better relations with the British colonists.²⁵ Moreover, in one of his dispatches to Lord Clarendon, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in London in 1854, Benjamin Campbell, the British Empire’s Envoy to the Bight of Benin (1853-1859), wrote:

The addition of these self-emancipated Africans from the Brazils and from Cuba to the population of Lagos is a great desideratum, as, by their habits of industry and their semi-civilized manners and condition, they form a good counter pose to the leaven of the Old Slave population of this place, as they will remain apart and unmixed with its old feuds and animosities.²⁶

²⁶ Quoted in Pierre Verger, Trade Relations Between the Bight of Benin and Bahia from the 17th Century to the 19th Century (Ibadan: University of Ibadan Press, 1968), 544-45.
In addition, the Lagosians called the Sàró “Òyín bó Dú dú”, meaning “White Black” because they thought that the Sàró’s manners, dress and buildings showed a disdain for local cultures. Furthermore, some city-dwellers called Mohammed Shitta Bey, one of the Sàró patrons of the architecture this dissertation investigates, “Olówó Pupa”: a Yorùbá pejorative phrase, which meant, “the wealthy one who is red or light skinned.”

Still, the Àgùdà did not fare much better, as their clashes with Lagosians during carnival parades in the city indicate. Such acts of violence, where indigenes of Lagos flung broken bottles at the Brazilian arrivals, erupted because the natives despised the foreigners’ public demonstrations on their home turf. The relationships between the Àgùdà and the Sàró were not amicable either. The acute doctrinal lines that separated Catholicism and Protestantism played out on the streets of Lagos as well, where some Catholic Àgùdà and the Protestant Sàró came to blows. Furthermore, the Muslim and Catholic Àgùdà had tense relations of their own because the Muslims had planned to kill the mulattos and Brazil-born blacks in the Malê riot of 1835 in Salvador. Yet despite these tensions, the Àgùdà and Sàró still collaborated on the design and construction of mosques, palaces, houses and tombs in Colonial Nigeria.

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28 I culled this phrase from an online message board from 2014 devoted to the remembrance of the “Shitta-Bey Mosque” that opened in Lagos in 1894. The link to the discussion is here: http://www.nairaland.com/1966561/lagos-personalities-opening-shitta-mosque
30 Ibid.
32 João Reis, author of *Slave Rebellion in Brazil* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 110 and 121.
33 Malé was another name for the Muslim Àgùdà.
Indeed, the persistent threat of attack by the native Lagosians caused the Àgùdà and Sàró put aside their squabbles. And there were precedents for the incomers’ fears beyond those cited above. In 1853 for instance, Consul Campbell asked the Colonial Office for permission to protect 130 Brazilian new arrivals in Lagos from King Kòsòkó.³⁴ The request was in response to the plunder of the visitors’ portmanteaux and murder of those who had resisted the onslaught by Kòsòkó’s warriors.³⁵ In 1855, Antonio Ôjó Martins, the chief of the Afro-Brazilian settlers, repaid Campbell’s goodwill by preventing an assassination attempt on the Consul’s life.³⁶ The Àgùdà-Sàró collaboration in aid of their mutual survival on the coast had a positive impact on their cultural lives; and the Sàró’s request for the Àgùdà’s expertise in architectural design and building construction, I argue, is an extension of this partnership.

Though the Àgùdà style of architecture offered visible proof of their adaptation to their new environment, its history has remained a lacuna in the scholarship. Writers and scholars such as A.B. Láotan (1943), Antonio Olinto (1964), Michael Echeruo (1977), Lisa Lindsay (1994), Milton Guran (1999), Òlábíyì Yai (2001), and Elisee Soumounni (2005) make cursory references to the Afro-Brazilian built environment when discussing the group’s passage from Brazil to West Africa.³⁷ A book co-authored by Marianno and

³⁴ Quoted in Pierre Verger, *Trade Relations Between the Bight of Benin and Bahia from the 17th Century to the 19th Century*, 544-45.
³⁵ Ibid.
³⁶ Castillo, ”Mapping the Nineteenth-century Brazilian Returnee Movement: Demographics, Life Stories and the Question of Slavery,” 36.
Manuela Carneiro da Cunha in collaboration with the ethnographer and photographer Pierre Verger (1985), is the only publication that focuses on some of the architecture built by the Afro-Brazilians and the local elites. Despite its immense contribution to our understanding of this subject, it remains silent on how or why the Àgùdà translated baroque architectural forms into the Nigerian context. Its strength lies in Pierre Verger’s extensive photographic documentation of buildings that no longer exist, in the Cunhas’ discussions of why the Àgùdà emigrated, and their focus on the individual families who settled in Lagos.

Within Nigeria itself, architects such as David Aradeon have researched the legacy of the Afro-Brazilians’ architectural heritage and how it can be restored for posterity. Architectural historian Marjorie Alongé documented the state of the Àgùdà buildings in the 1990s and developed a plan for the Nigerian government to preserve the structures still standing in Lagos. Both the urban historian Alain Sinou and Beninois historic preservation groups have done the same in Benin Republic. Alan Vaughan-Richards and King Akinsémoyn’ book on Lagos with drawings of the Àgùdà buildings by Vaughan-Richards himself, has the distinction of being an illustrated history of Lagos’ built environment from its origins in the eighteenth century to the end of the twentieth.

Likewise, historian Brigitte Kowalski’s dissertation on the Afro-Brazilian architecture of the Slave Coast sees the Àgùdà houses as embodiments of the immigrants’

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38 Da Cunha, *From Slave Quarters to Town Houses*, 1-185, with photography by Pierre Verger.


nostalgia for Brazil. Though the da Cunhas and Verger drew the same conclusions in their own book, these arguments stop short of showing how the urban development of the Àgùdà introduced new social and cultural norms in Colonial Nigeria. Undoubtedly, they were right to draw our attention to the relationship between the Àgùdà longing for Brazil after their harsh experience in their new home in Lagos and some of their building decisions; however, my dissertation goes further than this. It studies previously unexplored mosques, palaces and mausolea built by the Àgùdà and their fellow immigrants and local residents. It relates the Àgùdà designs, forms and ornamentation to the cultural innovations that they inspired, and explores how their built environment created new forms of indigenous knowledge in the region. My thesis also shows how the Àgùdà created the visual language for a modern architecture in Lagos from which other African foreigners and members of the local population in the province drew inspiration.

Yet the absence of written sources has plagued research into the history of Àgùdà architecture. One reason for the dearth of scholarship on this subject has been the difficulty of uncovering historical records as well as biographical information about the Àgùdà architects. In 2011, I interviewed Sylvanus Gançallo about Yoyo Aráròmi House, the home of his great great grandfather, Lázaro Borges da Silva, who was mentioned earlier for his work on the cathedrals of the Gold Coast and Dahomey. The residence was located in Pópó Àgùdà and was built in the 1880s. (Figure 1) Gançallo recalled living in the house as a child, constantly sliding down its spiral staircase, and being in awe of its “suspended oven.” Though the edifice was destroyed by fire in 1980, a visit to the site revealed that one of the exterior brick walls still stands even as the grounds have been

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transformed into a plot full of small, wood and corrugated zinc houses where most of da Silva’s descendants live. Gançallo’s picture of the structure, taken immediately after the fire, Pierre Verger’s 1940 photograph of it, and a photograph of Borges da Silva himself in A.B Láotan’s *Nigeria Magazine* article are the few facts of the history of this man and his home.\(^{43}\) (Figure 2) Gançallo saw da Silva’s face for the first time on the Internet.

This lack of information has stymied the writing of the history of the architecture of individuals like Gançallo’s ancestor. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, there were many builders named Silva in Lagos because Brazilian slave masters gave multiple servants they owned the same name, thus adding to the difficulty of distinguishing who built what.\(^{44}\) Moreover, one did not find the pattern books among the architects’ descendants that Justine Cordwell asserted were in their possession in the 1980s.\(^{45}\) Locating the architects’ birth certificates in Northeastern Brazil and even drawings in the region of Southwest Nigeria was also unsuccessful.

What some would have described as the impossibility of locating archival evidence—necessary materials for reconstructing the past—in fact opens up unexpected possibilities and methods that show that relying on archival sources alone is not sufficient in constructing a history of this built environment. This is a crucial point. The increasing incorporation of non-Western architecture within global discourses of architectural history needs to be consolidated by asking anew what is and is not historical evidence. Following Marcus Wood’s claim that the Afro-Brazilian slaves’ embodied and aesthetic responses to their captivity in Brazil constitute historical accounts and “visual archives”


from their vantage point, this dissertation will also use similar embodied and aesthetic archives to argue that the Àgùdà, Lagosians, and other citizens in colonial Lagos and southwestern Nigeria combined architecture with modern interpretations of local customs. Thus, this dissertation traces the many ways by which different communities forged a transatlantic history out of the shards of disparate pasts.

The history of the houses of former slaves such as Lázaro Borges da Silva show cultural exchanges of architectural styles between Afro-Brazilians and other non-westerners living in West Africa. Moreover, I show that the architecture built by ex-slaves for local elites in Lagos or the Bight of Benin gave rise to new spatial expressions that conveyed fresh ideas of political power, funerary practices, and forms of modern self-fashioning. The history and politics that the material culture and the ephemeral customs and rituals of both the immigrants and the local population articulate complex forms of history and politics that open up new avenues in the emerging field of the global history of art which has mainly focused on the transfer of culture between Western imperialists and colonial subjects.

Before the Àgùdà resettled in Africa, they renamed Brazilian neighborhoods after their hometowns in West and South Africa for nostalgic reasons. Examples include Ìjèṣà-Tedo and Nago after the names of cities in Colonial Nigeria. Saúde in the Nazaré borough of Salvador for instance, was formerly known as Ìjèṣà-Tedo in the Slave Trade era just like its older counterpart in Lagos. Additionally, Candomblé, the Afro-Brazilian

47 The source of this information was the Bahian historian Cid Teixeira whose books on Bahia include: Bahia, Caminhos, Estradas, Rodovias: Notas Para a História (Salvador: SINDUSCON-BA, 1998) and The
religion, has a temple entitled Ilê Axé Opó Àfôńjá, which is translated as the “House of Power sustained by Àfôńjá” in honor of the Òyó general who warded off the Fulani kingdom’s attempt to invade the Òyó Empire in the nineteenth century. These place-names attest to the manumitted people’s desire to claim West African polities and heroic personages as part of their history and heritage. Paradoxically, these settlers did the reverse when they established themselves in Lagos by, for instance, naming one borough Pernambuco, after a state in Northeastern Brazil.

This dissertation asks how the Brazilian incomers affected the architectural and fashion tastes of Nigerian communities, as well as their social customs. Did the settlers’ renaming of new neighborhoods and their highly idiosyncratic architecture, which underscored their multiple migrations, reflect issues of the continued search for self-identity? Answers to these issues form part of this dissertation’s central claim: that these foreign and local collaborators created new lives for themselves through real and imagined reminiscences of Brazilian urban settings. The memories involved were fragments of their experiences in both Brazil and Colonial Nigeria. And both the new Brazilian arrivals as well as the indigenous elites employed strategies of recollection and experimentation in their architectural and urban choices. Some of the freedmen did not talk about their past lives as slaves but touted their buildings as examples of prosperous livelihoods in Brazil. The merchants, monarchs and chiefs on the other hand, were

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*History of Oil in Bahia* (Salvador: EPP Publicações, 2009). He mentioned the information about Saúde’s older history in a personal communication.


49 Da Cunha, *From Slave Quarters to Town Houses*, 44.
influenced by the incomers’ structures and created edifices that displayed memories that were not their own.

Understanding how migrants and natives reconstructed their past and construed their futures through the structures they built while dealing with the scant evidence available also provides the occasion to ponder new approaches to non-Western architecture given the paucity of written records. The dearth of written sources limits what we know about these buildings. In this dissertation, I remedy this problem with oral histories, interviews with surviving family members, photographs, newspaper articles, art, religious customs, dance and on occasion masquerades. In the West, historians such as Elizabeth Castelli have used the oral descriptions of Byzantine icons by Christian saints as evidence for writing history. Closer to the subject of this dissertation in terms of geography is the work of Rowland Abíodún whose book *Yoruba Art and Language* argues that historians of African Art have not adequately incorporated the meanings of proverbs and local ideas inherent in African languages into writings on African art. Peter Garlake would partially agree with Abíodún while stressing that the use of orature in art history remains inhibited by the difficulty of verifying it by other means. On the other hand, Suzanne Blier rejects an anachronistic use of Yorùbá oríkì to analyze works

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of Ifé art in Southwest Nigeria and contends that historians should use oral sources from Ifé itself to analyze its art instead of oríkì elsewhere in the region.  

My reponse to the aforementioned debate is to use local Òwe of the buildings I analyze, which were some neighbors’ aesthetic judgements of the architecture as well as their idiosyncratic thoughts about human behavior. However, I also analyze iyèrè- Ifá of certain Yorùbá deities in the discussion of one religious shrine – an oríkì that only praises Orúnmila. It is difficult to categorize both types of oríkì as one category or another: philosophy or historical evidence. While part of the oríkì corpus narrates the past lives or ideal futures of individuals, kings and significant events – making clear that those oral sources are historical evidence of a particular kind - others do not. Hence, Blier’s call for the use of the oríkì to understand an object that an artist created in the same place and era is relevant as far as a royal bust may benefit from knowing details about the subject of the statue. Nevertheless, such an argument also reveals a tendency to think of historical evidence as merely a repository of names and events in history. Yet, all oríkì are historical even if some do not provide facts that other forms of chronological evidence corroborate. Even the morally instructive oríkì are historical because their authors created them at some point in history. This does not preclude the value of the oríkì that directly evoke a moment in history but I merely suggest that there are many types of historical evidence. That informed my use of iyèrè- Ifá to interpret the iconography of a temple in

54 Abiodún correctly identifies several types of oríkì namely: ọfọ, ọgèdè, àyájọ, iyèrè- Ifá, èpè, ẹsà, ewi egúngún, ọkún-iyawọ, Sàngó-pipè, and ğjájá. See Abiodún, Yoruba Art and Language: Seeking the African in African Art, 11-12.
Bàdágrì since I contend that aphorisms too can increase our historical knowledge of an artifact created in time.

Moreover, chanters of ògèdè evoke the past in order to bring it into their present, collapsing time in the process. These singers may attach more importance to the act of singing the ògèdè than encapsulating all the details of the life of their subject. These ògèdè reveal what significant events in the person’s biography the poets chose to include. Despite the difference in genre, I use òwe in the same way: as supplements to the other data about some of the buildings and their designers in this dissertation and verbal expressions of how the inhabitants, neighbors and worshippers perceived the buildings. My strategy starts from the premise that both local and regional oral sources may be valuable when available but others of a more reflective kind can also enrich the histories of architecture. This approach, as can be seen in the outline of each chapter below, tries to overcome these lacunae with different kinds of research materials and methods.

The first chapter, “The Aesthetic Education of Architects of African Descent in Brazil,” traces the processes through which ex-slaves of African heritage were trained in construction trades in Salvador and Rio de Janeiro, which then prepared them for work in the built environment in Southwest Nigeria at the turn of the twentieth century. In addition to providing biographical material on architects who worked and taught architectural design in Northeastern Brazil, this chapter also uses as evidence buildings, photographs, certificates of mastery in construction trades, paintings, and literature. I interpret these forms of evidence to deduce what the slaves and former slaves remembered about the baroque churches and houses that they saw. The chapter examines
in detail, the influence that their mastery of construction trades had on their future careers in the Bight of Benin.

The second chapter, “A Foreign Architecture for Lagos,” investigates the resettlement of former slaves and free persons in Lagos through the mosques, houses and shrines that they built. These structures show on the one hand how the newly arrived builders transformed marshy lands into new havens for theological ideas that were amalgams of Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Candomblé, Freemasonry, and Ifá of Southwest Nigeria. Moreover, the case studies also reveal the settlers’ successful co-habitation with the other African and European residents of the Nigerian metropolis. The British, Germans and Sardinian inhabitants saw the Àgùdà as useful intermediaries between themselves and the locals, and thus as resources that they could use to accomplish their financial and political goals. These buildings indicate that the Brazilian migrants were a modern and urban elite. By modern, I mean to suggest that the settlers patronized and appropriated Brazilian architecture, music and customs in order to emphasize that they like the Europeans were connoisseurs of material culture whose origins lay in Europe. These new arrivals from Brazil portrayed in these forms their progressive ideals - in the Europeans’ definition of that term. Nonetheless, the Afro-Brazilians preferred more sinuous and sculptural buildings to the British colonialists’ rectilinear urban structures in Southwest Nigeria; creating a distinct modern built environment in the process.

The Afro-Brazilians’ modernity was also evident in their appropriation of the iconography, architectural forms and material culture of the Brazilian Catholic Church, and civil authorities to adorn West African customs in new forms. In other words, the
Afro-Brazilians used such sources to create contemporaneous expressions for old Southwest Nigerian social norms. In the process, the Afro-Brazilians saw their use of such references as proof that they were more enlightened and cosmopolitan than the indigenous elites in the new region.

The chapter also reveals the migrants’ multi-faceted agenda by showing how didactic their architecture was. The patrons and designers erected edifices that reflected different aspects of the rise of a new African middle class in Lagos. Additionally, the chapter describes aphorisms about buildings and argues for their increased usage in the writing of the history of architecture. The built forms were translated into speech and some architects interpreted poetry in architectural forms, particularly in the case of palaces, houses and shrines. The Lagosians’ lyrical descriptions of the structures built by Afro-Brazilians led to the creation of adages, peculiar to the streets where the buildings were situated, showing the ongoing dialogue between language and architecture.

The third chapter, “Monarchs and Merchants: The Afro-Brazilians’ impact on Architecture in the Hinterland,” explores the imbrication of beliefs, customs, and uses that governed the erection of palaces, mausolea, official buildings, and merchants’ houses in the Lafiagi, Bàdágrí, Ìjèbu-Ôde and Ìkìrun polities in subsequent decades. In tracing the interaction of patrons, architects and communities it is possible to see how the ex-slaves’ influential urban interventions created a domino-effect: ornament and typologies associated with the Brazilians led to the evolution of civic customs and the representation of ideas that were central to the Nigerian towns’ continuing significance. This chapter also examines how these edifices were related to the convictions of the communities in

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56 Lafiagi is in a borough in Lagos, and the Bàdágrí kingdom is located forty miles West of Lagos. The other two realms are further North in Southwest Colonial Nigeria
which they were established. The structures embodied popular feeling, perceived rivalries (especially between the military advisor and the king, in the case of Ìjèbu-Ôde) and ideas about the after-life. I examine case studies in tandem with explications of numerous regional funerary traditions. The histories of the architecture surveyed here would have been insufficient without studies of the rituals. Such insights came from the author’s observations of Èyò, Egúngún and Candomblé ceremonies in Brazil and Nigeria. Additionally, I reconstruct floor plans and elevations of some of the buildings under discussion in order to highlight the new ideas of space that local elites introduced. It is clear that the designers and patrons retranslated hybrid Baroque architecture into local forms to crystallize ideas that had until then been articulated through other means.

What the Àgùdà built in Colonial Nigeria symbolized what they first saw in Northeastern Brazil and even in Lagos. Thus, the history of this urban environment shows how these actors revised and reconstructed their past. Despite the fact that Lagos was another foreign metropolis whose inhabitants viewed the newcomers with both curiosity and suspicion, it proved to be a place where the Brazilian sojourners could create a sense of home. Monarchs and merchants in other kingdoms appropriated these practices so as to challenge and redefine political offices, mores and institutions in their communities, thus leading to the insight that initial players of this history, peoples from the African Diaspora, were one of the many streams that helped modernize some cultures around the Bight of Benin through structure, building materials and space.
Chapter One

The Aesthetic Education of Architects of African-Descent in Brazil

This chapter offers an account of the training of Afro-Brazilian architects in construction trades and architectural design in the latter half of the nineteenth century. These individuals consisted of slaves, ex-slaves, as well as freeborn blacks. Their efforts influenced the architectural variety found in the built environment in the Bight of Benin studied in chapter two. Here, I examine how, before they left Brazil, the migrants mastered various construction trades in order to adapt building skills in different cultural settings through diverse strategies.

This chapter proposes an alternative to W. Murray Jack’s argument about the Afro-Brazilian architecture in Lagos:

“As opposed to the ‘Colonial’ style buildings more native to Lagos and comprising the majority are found within the second category, the ‘Brazilian’ houses. There again the term ‘Brazilian’ is used loosely. Although no trace remains today of the direct Portuguese contact of the fifteenth century, there is evidence that inspiration was later drawn from the architecture of the former Portuguese settlements in South America. Lagos was not in a position to choose in assimilating (architectural) ideas from abroad and it was by dint of circumstance that a South American style was established in the Colony.”

I will demonstrate to the contrary, that the Afro-Brazilian designers’ awareness of their race, their predicaments in Brazil, and the ways that they were taught prompted Lagosian elites to wholeheartedly commission them to erect buildings. Moreover, I argue that these

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architects were also involved with urban spaces by means of not only their
apprenticeships but also their memories of civic, residential and ecclesiastical
architecture in Brazil. This, I further postulate, shaped their future work in West Africa.

As African scholars in other fields have done before me, I have studied vignettes of
contemporaneous chronicles or family histories, and in chapters two and three, oríki that
shed light on the lives and architectural production of these builders.58 These sources
form the basis of my argument due to gaps in the historical record and the paucity of facts
of the specific slave and manumitted builders under discussion. I also survey paintings
for instance that depict the actions of the slaves in the Brazilian building industry whereas
their professions. This is because documents in Brazilian state archives rarely contain
information on such individuals, whereas paintings, reveal how slave builders worked on
actual construction sites.

European painters witnessed several scenes of African laborers working on
projects, which the observers then depicted in the privacy of their own homes or, at times,
in situ. The artists’ illustrations could thus have been the result of memory and the artists’
creative imaginations. More to the point, these portraits will supplement my discussion of
the few facts about the training of different classes of Afro-Brazilian architects and
builders by raising the possibility that slave laborers may have remembered details of
buildings in Brazilian cities.

However, birth certificates of the free and enslaved African population in Brazil,
and the knowledge of their personal possessions in wills in Brazilian state archives do not
by themselves grant one the insight into how these individuals were trained as architects

58 Rowland Abiódún, Yoruba Art and Language: Seeking the African in African Art, 1-386 and Niyí
Afólábí, Afro-Brazilians: Cultural Production in a Racial Democracy, 111-112.
nor how they constructed buildings. The painters, novelists and dramatic sketches of
slave laborers, design professionals and patrons provided tools that afford insight into
how the Afro-Brazilians acquired skills in a way that oral and written memoirs, invoices
and bequests do not disclose.

This chapter also investigates how the homes and workplaces of the Afro-
Brazilians swayed their aesthetic preferences. It argues that studio based and hands-on
training of slaves and freed men as well as slave laborers’ memories of construction sites
influenced the outcome of ex-slaves’ future architectural projects in the Bight of Benin.

Building Brazil

The colonization of Brazil started in the sixteenth century when King Manuel I of
Portugal sent Pedro Álvares Cabral and a flotilla to conquer other lands in order to enrich
the empire. The monarch’s dream colony was India because he had received reports of
that kingdom’s richness in spices. Disembarking in Brazil was therefore not part of
Cabral’s original mission. Yet as Portugal established its hold on a region they first called
the “Terra de Santa Cruz,” it permitted the Jesuit order, the first Catholic brotherhood to
be admitted into Brazil, to catechize natives in order to mold law-abiding subjects. Jesuits
eventually built Baroque cathedrals and convents from this century onwards. The
arrival of Guinean slaves helped the Portuguese settlers build praças and pelourinhos,
(columns used for whipping slaves in the praças), which symbolized and underscored the
colonists’ authority. Praças, where the main churches were situated, were often used for
open Catholic masses. (Figure 3) When Portuguese royals permitted other Catholic orders

59 James Hufferd, Cruzeiro do sul: a history of Brazil’s half millennium, 2 vols, vol. 1 (Bloomington, Ind.: AuthorHouse, 2005), 238 and 437.
to evangelize in Brazil, Franciscans taught the slaves construction trades in the colégios, the Portuguese schools, which arose in 1550 to prepare boys for the ecclesiastical life.\textsuperscript{60}

We know, for example, that early in the seventeenth century, the Jesuits taught African slaves various crafts in the Santo Alexandre College in Belém, Pará.\textsuperscript{61}

In colonial Brazil, the Portuguese used slaves of different ethnic groups in various industries such as lumber, agriculture, sugar, coffee, gold and the construction industry. The settlers singled out the West Africans for work on building projects because of their physical stature and aptitude for the projects. On the other hand, native Brazilian slaves were used on engenhos and fazendas, (farms), though in some cases the latter had African slave labor too.\textsuperscript{62} Traditionally, categories like “Brazilian Indian” and “African” denote merely cursory descriptions of the ethnic diversity of the indentured servitude of the Portuguese, Dutch and French frontiersmen in Brazil. During the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, the Portuguese warded off the Dutch and the French who at times conquered and held towns in Rio de Janeiro and Pernambuco. Similarly, the Portuguese waged wars against Indian tribes they encountered and drafted the vanquished into the army as they battled the French and the Dutch. The latter two nations did the same to the Portuguese. In some cases, these European militias conscripted African slaves into their ranks. When Dom Pedro I, Brazil’s first monarch, abdicated in 1831, his son Dom Pedro II became the new state’s first constitutional emperor.\textsuperscript{63} The young country’s invitation of

\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., vol. 1, 495.
\textsuperscript{61} Emanoel Araújo, A mão afro-brasileira: significado da contribuição artística e histórica = The hand of the Afro-Brazilian: the significance of its artistic and historical contribution (São Paulo, SP, Brasil: Impresa Oficial do Estado de São Paulo: Museu Afro Brasil, 2010), 25.
\textsuperscript{63} Ibid., vol. 2, 11.
German and Swiss farmers into the Northeastern part of the country also added to Brazil’s cultural diversity.⁶⁴

Yet none of this indicates how complex the slaves’ genealogies were, a fact that predisposed the way that Brazilian settlers used these people. With immigration, the gender ratio rose to ten Portuguese men for every woman. Consequently, these men cohabited with African women slaves as well as native Indian female captives of Portuguese military campaigns in Amerindian territories. This practice led to the rise of the mestiços and the mamelucos. There were also Brazilian-born Caucasians – known as the whites - who lived in the country and had never been to Europe.⁶⁵ The European immigrants in Brazil considered the other colonists who had even a tint of color that differed from “white” as inferior. The whites also begrudged the immigrant Swiss and German farmers whom the Portuguese royal house invited, exacerbating the competition for economic prosperity. Furthermore, the whites felt that they were natives of Brazil in contrast to the Europeans, whom they viewed as invaders stripping them of the abundant opportunities in the new nation.

Black individuals in Brazil encompassed different types both from Africa and within Brazil itself. The African-born were ranked according to unique physical features that they had beyond their physiognomic build, including such distinguishing characteristics as facial marks. The German explorer Johann Rugendas’ paintings of slaves’ facial and body scarifications in the nineteenth century indicate one European’s knowledge about the ancestral origins of the Africans, to which the symbols on the slaves’ skin referred. (Figure 4 and Figure 5) Different African communities devised

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⁶⁵ Ibid., vol. 1, 287.
distinct scarifications on their faces and bodies in order to identify with their homes. As Figure 5 indicates, dictionaries detailing particular configurations of scars denoting towns emerged later, and have increased our knowledge of this phenomenon. All the faces illustrated in the image are in a Yorùbá dictionary authored by the missionary R.C. Abraham, and show the “Ilà” (Yorùbá word for facial scarifications) in various realms in Southwest Nigeria.66

Born into a family of painters in Augsburg in 1802, Johann Rugendas studied under Albrecht Adam, and later at the Munich Academy of Art.67 (Figure 6) At nineteen, he joined Baron Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff’s expedition to the Americas, financed by the Czar of Russia. Rugendas parted ways with the Langsdorff group when the party landed in Brazil, and he spent the next four years touring Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, Mato Grosso, Espírito Santo and Bahia.68 He returned to Europe and published a collection of his paintings in a book entitled A Picturesque Voyage of Brazil, which won him fame and led to a future collaboration with Alexander von Humboldt. His observation skills were on full display in his paintings of slaves of different ethnic groups in Brazil. Rugendas also wrote the names of the slaves’ ethnicities directly underneath each headshot if he depicted a tableau with several faces. Otherwise, he placed such information at the bottom of the picture. Slavers, who could afford his book, may have used such information to choose the best candidates for manual labor. For example, the

68 Ibid., 4.
Portuguese surmised that Angolan slaves were among the best for such occupations. In all these cases, the whites used their color as a sign of superiority over the blacks, who were seen as the “dregs” in towns like Minas Gerais in the Northeast.

Nevertheless, in the eighteenth century there were instances when the lighter blacks achieved a level of financial self-sufficiency because of their skin tone. The reasons for this comparative autonomy stem from the tutelage in design and crafts they received from their Portuguese relatives. A widely held belief that bolstered their status was the colonists’ view that the lighter blacks were not as belligerent as the darker skinned African slaves. Antônio Francisco Lisboa, more commonly known as Aleijadinho, the famous sculptor and architect of Ouro Preto, was a case in point. Born to a Portuguese father and an African slave mother, Aleijadinho became one of the most significant designers in Northeastern Brazil at the turn of the nineteenth century. Manoel Lisboa, Aleijadinho’s father, taught his son sculpture and architectural design on construction sites. According to the art historian Tania Costa Tribe, Aleijadinho helped African slaves by delegating work for them to do. Her assertion that his two assistants left their Angolan artistic imprint on the soapstone statues of the twelve biblical prophets in the church at Congonhas in Minas Gerais, built between 1757 and 1875 however, is more difficult to prove. Tribe’s argument is that the figures’ unrealistic torsos align with

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69 Hufferd, *Cruzeiro do sul: a history of Brazil’s half millennium*, vol. 1, 285.
70 Ibid., vol.1, 479.
the non-figurative sculptural traditions of the slaves’ ancestral heritage. (Figure 7, Figure 8 and Figure 9) Tribe’s thesis presupposes two things: first that the slaves hailed from present day Northern Angolan towns like Saurimo and Dundo. Second, that they were descendants of families who had carved Chokwe sculptures for generations and had inherited those traditions. It is hard to conclude that Tribe is right or wrong because of the lack of personal details about the two assistants. Moreover, there are no formal similarities between the Congonhas and Chokwe figures. The Congonhas and Chokwe carvings have different proportions and the former have more realistic treatment of individual parts of the human body than the latter.

Disputes on the authorship of work within Aleijadinho’s studio aside, his storied career remains unparalleled among Afro-Brazilian artists in Brazilian history. It reveals the height some mulatto artisans attained in the nation’s colonial and early post-colonial era. Aleijadinho, however, was not the only professional of African descent who achieved fame in Brazil’s inchoate construction industries. For instance, Valentim da Fonseca e Silva, the son of a Portuguese scion and African slave mother, probably studied sculpture in Portugal, and created figurines and urban projects for the Catholic Church and city government in Rio de Janeiro, between the 1770s and 1810s. Still others, as Alan Vaughan-Richards indicates, taught their sons a trade so that their progeny could have a means of livelihood.

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Manuel Querino was another mulatto architect of a similar social background who lived in Salvador in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Additionally, he was an historian, political activist and chronicler of Afro-Brazilian culture who had witnessed the abolition movement in his country first hand. (Figure 10) He may have been the only mulatto lecturer of architecture and design in Bahia as all attempts to find others in the same era have been unsuccessful. He was born in Santo Amaro da Purificação in Bahia, Brazil, in 1851. His father, José Joaquim dos Santos Querino – a carpenter – and his mother, Luiza da Rocha Pita, died when Manuel was very young.\footnote{Museu Afro Brasil, “Manuel Querino.” Accessed September 22, 2016. http://www.museuafrobrasil.org.br/pesquisa/história-e-memória/historia-e-memoria/2014/07/17/manuel-querino.} Manuel Correia Garcia, a white Brazilian teacher at the Escola Normal in Salvador, became the boy’s guardian and ensured that young Manuel received an education.\footnote{Ibid.} Manuel later worked as a painter by day while he enrolled in a nighttime humanities course at the Liceu de Artes e Ofícios da Bahia in Salvador where he became a professor later on in his career.\footnote{Maria das Graças de Andrade Leal, Manuel Querino: entre letras e lutas, Bahia, 1851-1923 (São Paulo: UNEB: Annablume, 2009), 20, 354.} His literary work included biographies of contemporary artisans, both black and white, and a critical examination of their works. His intellectual labors subsequently affirmed the dignity of Afro-Brazilians through an analysis of customs inspired by imagined antecedents in Africa.\footnote{Ibid., 47.} Eager to fight for the rights of free and slave Afro-Brazilian workers alike, Querino established the Fundação da Liga Operária Bahiana in 1876.\footnote{Ibid., 48.} He
also worked extensively with painters and interior decorators on building projects, and taught a night course on the humanities to the first class of students at the Liceu.\textsuperscript{82}

Querino also lectured on industrial design and authored books such as \textit{Desenho Linear das Classes Elementares} (1903) and \textit{Elementos de Desenho Geométrico} (1911).\textsuperscript{83} The first paragraph of his second text reveals how significant he felt the creative task was: “As manifestações artísticas no homem são anteriores a toda aprendizagem humana.” (The artistic manifestations in humans precede all human learning).\textsuperscript{84} Taken as a whole, his endeavors championed a cultural history that emphasized the importance of the material culture that an African Diaspora produced for Brazil. Though it is difficult to determine the exact extent of his influence on Afro-Brazilian builders who travelled from Salvador to the Bight of Benin during his years as a teacher, it is hard to imagine, given the political climate in Brazil at the time, that he did not have ex-students who relocated to Accra, Lagos, Porto-Novo and Lomé. It is in that light that one could conjecture that he influenced the international export of architectural styles by the Afro-Brazilian graduates of the Liceu.

One of Querino’s former students at the Liceu may have been Manoel Friandes, an ex-slave (1823-1904) and whose biography Querino penned in a book on white and black Brazilian artisans.\textsuperscript{85} Manoel Friandes’ will states that his mother was a slave from the coast of West Africa.\textsuperscript{86} Manumitted in 1861, Friandes was a Catholic and a

\textsuperscript{82} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{83} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{84} Manuel Querino, \textit{Elementos Desenho Geometrico: Comprehendo Noções de Perspectiva Linear, Theoria da sombra e da Luz, Projeções e Architecutura} (Bahia: Baptista Costa, 1911), i.
\textsuperscript{85} Manuel Querino, \textit{Artistas Bahianos: Indicações Biograficas} (Bahia: Officinas da Empreria “A Bahia”, 1909), 208.
\textsuperscript{86} See Friandes’ Will. The manuscript is labeled as Documento 7, Folha 283, Caixa 2888, and Estante 7 under the Tribunal Acervo e Revista section of the Arquivo Público da Bahia in Salvador, Bahia.
competent stonemason. Though the facts surrounding his apprenticeship remain a mystery, he learnt architectural design at the Liceu, which opened in 1872 – after he acquired his freedom. The Brazilian scholar J. da Silva Campos met Friandes at the end of the nineteenth century and said that the builder was a member of a Benedictine order, as well as an elder of his church. Friandes, in Campos’ words, was “a dark man, tall and thin, who wore a goatee” and a creator of elaborate church fiestas. We know that he organized a Catholic festival in Salvador between 1887 and 1888. Querino states that Friandes’ architectural commissions included convents, commercial and municipal buildings as well as hospitals. Nevertheless, Querino’s list did not include the Igreja da Lapinha, a church in Salvador once thought to have been Friandes’ handiwork, even though the edifice opened in the 1860s long before Querino assembled his list.

Furthermore, historian João Reis claims that Friandes did not write the Arabic calligraphy found around the nave of the church, but rather that the inscriptions reflect the priest’s fluency in the language. Proof of this, Reis says is the existence of a label inside the building that mentions the priest’s name and his eloquence in the Middle Eastern tongue. (Figure 11)

Friandes was also active in various philanthropic organizations of artisans. At one time, he was the president of the Artist Philanthropic Union, while holding memberships in the Sociedade Protectora dos Desválidos, Monte-Pio de Artistas and the

87 Ibid.
88 Querino, Artistas bahianos : indicações biográficas, 208.
90 Querino, Artistas bahianos : indicações biográficas, 208.
91 João Reis, “Information about Igreja da Lapinha.” Email interview by author. September 1, 2011.
São Benedito Brotherhood. His memberships in the black Catholic confraternities exemplify how widespread such entities were in Salvador. The sodality known as Nossa Senhora da Soledade Amparo dos Desvalidos supported poor ex-slave black Brazilians financially and even built a church.

Bahian Catholic and philanthropic societies were exclusive: white ones barred free blacks from becoming members. Free blacks formed their own groups and excluded slaves who consequently started their own slave sodalities. All such religious groups of artisans focused on alleviating the sufferings of their racial kin and did not use their meetings to train members in crafts or secure building contracts. This however does not preclude the possibility that these builders discussed construction ideas with one another. The Muslims’ participation in the Malé revolt in 1835 may indicate that there were Muslim slave builders who were also Catholics. This is due to the fact that the Brazilian Catholic Church baptized all black slaves, including Muslim slaves who came from Africa. Hence, even if Manoel Friandes did not write the Arabic calligraphy around the Igreja da Lapinha’s nave, the parish priest may have found Catholic slaves – who were also Muslims - who wrote the Arabic around the church’s nave. The presence of Moorish design elements on some of the interior walls and arches of the Lapinha church may have been the result of discussions between those Muslim slaves and their strictly Catholic counterparts in the slave sodalities. (Figure 11)

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94 Ibid.
95 João Reis, Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 73-128.
Manoel Friandes’ biography shows how some slaves mastered one construction trade and amassed supplementary design skills after they acquired their freedom. Though the details of how these manumitted slaves learnt their various trades are few, Friandes’ life reveals that slavery in Brazil influenced the ex-slaves’ training in building construction in many ways. One could even suggest that some first learnt more physically demanding construction knowledge as manual laborers and added more academic, design-oriented instruction to their skills once free. Hence, the social status of Aleijadinho, Valentim, Querino and Friandes—at different moments in their lives—influenced the tutelage they received. The first two were born free and mastered art and design in their youth. Querino may or may not have been born a slave, but he benefitted from the largesse of a white Brazilian middle-class citizen. Friandes’ hands-on construction knowledge and subsequent design acumen were the direct result of his own transition from a life of slavery to one of freedom.

Friandes’ eclectic list of architectural commissions may have emerged from his practical and academic background as well as his discussions with other manumitted slave artisans in his sodalities. He could have even visited the sites where fellow members of his Catholic Brotherhood of Artisans worked and studied various aspects of the masonry construction or other aspects of the building process. His diverse projects—ecclesiastical, medical, civic and commercial—showed his ability and success with white patrons who wanted innovative designs. A premium on novelty stemmed from the tastes of clients of the Catholic Church and the elites, who desired an ostentatious architecture. These buildings, so they thought, encapsulated success. Friandes’ architectural portfolio
also indicates his heterogeneous taste and expresses his unique approach among the few ex-slave black designers of the nineteenth century.

Another religious artisan and fellow native of Salvador was Martiniano do Bonfim (1859 – 1943) who may have been both a Catholic and a Babaláwo. (Figure 12) Facts about his early childhood are rare and it is possible that he was a former slave. 96 One of the case studies in the next chapter explores the likelihood that he designed a religious building in Bàdágrì. In 1940, he told one interviewer that he worked on another religious edifice, the Holy Cross Cathedral in Lagos that opened in 1881. 97 He too was a black Brazilian artisan who acquired his skills in Salvador either as the result of a slave apprenticeship or as a free man. 98 Do Bonfim may have been another Afro-Bahian artisan whose devotion to two or more religions – like the artisans who worshipped Allah in private – influenced his eclectic approach to architectural design later on in his career.

Yet, how did the aforementioned free and ex-slave black Brazilian designers and artisans win jobs in the Brazilian economies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when slavery and racism thrived? How did the Slave Trade hinder the ability of many manumitted slaves to use their skills to fend for themselves? Moreover, how did the white Brazilian professionals treat their black counterparts in the construction industry?

The Slave Trade and the white Brazilians’ racism towards manumitted slaves impacted Recife’s building industry. In 1757 for instance, the city’s municipal chamber prevented African slave builders from taking proficiency tests to execute projects for

their slave masters until the latter lodged a formal protest. The municipal board changed the law soon thereafter. Less than a century later, the city’s mameluco ex-slaves of a lower economic class became skilled workers in construction. Construction trade examiners of the Pernambuco Chamber of Commerce also barred slave and free black artisans from taking the city’s construction trade examinations in the late 1700s.

The Jesuits in Olinda on the other hand—just like their counterparts in Pará—taught mestiços and mamelucos construction skills in workshops within the Jesuit College and other monasteries. In the seventeenth century, the Jesuit priest Serafim Leite’s book *Arts e Ofícios* cites few instances where Jesuits praised some African slaves for their good work (without mentioning the slaves’ names) in workshops. Nonetheless, Leite did not describe the slaves’ training. Even before the 1820s when freed blacks and their slaves could take them, Jesuits and other white building professionals sat for the examinations cited earlier in order to practice their craft. Portugal initiated such proficiency tests in the sixteenth century for one hundred and one different trades, awarding diplomas to the successful candidates. Colonial Brazil adopted the Portuguese practice with one exception: the Brazilian examiners rarely issued certificates and instead, called those who qualified ‘master artisans’.

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100 Ibid.
102 Ibid.
103 Ibid.
104 Ibid.
105 Ibid.
106 Ibid.
municipalities had trade examiners who administered the tests. Hence, the ex-slave mamelucos learnt blacksmithing, gold and silver smithing, carpentry, cabinet making and masonry from those who had the mandate to build under municipal law.\(^{107}\) The rare written documents that have come down to us, however, do not reveal how the Jesuits taught the ex-slave artisans or the nature of the Jesuits’ workshops. In 1810, the scholar José Menezes states that mameluco builders taught their own slaves building professions in Recife. In 1841, the Bahian resident Antonio Arves wrote a letter to Mr. Luiz Xavier de Jesus in Ouidah in Dahomey, thanking the latter for the Dahomean slaves Arves had just received in Salvador.\(^{108}\) The purpose of the Dahomeans’ trip was to learn the art of masonry. Arves’ letter also states that he taught the slaves the skill himself.\(^{109}\) The details of how Arves, who might even have been an ex-slave mameluco himself, tutored the slaves in the trade itself however, remain unknown.

There were class distinctions between the European and white building professionals who worked in Brazil. Portuguese architects—like Aleijadinho’s father, Manoel Lisboa—were richer than the white Brazilian skilled construction workers were. Some Portuguese studied design in Portugal while others enrolled in the Imperial Academy of Fine Art that sixteen French men started in Northeastern Brazil for the Portuguese Royal Court in the 1826.\(^{110}\) Eleven years earlier, Brazil gained a co-equal

\(^{107}\) Lorenzo Turner, “Some Contacts of Brazilian Ex-Slaves With Nigeria, West Africa,” *Journal of Negro History* 27, no.1 (1942), 61. (Marcos Cardoso, an Afro-Brazilian carpenter and missionary learnt his craft from an “African” in Salvador. It was also noted in this article that he accompanied his father to Lagos in 1869).

\(^{108}\) Quoted in Cunha, *From Slave Quarters to Town Houses: Brazilian Architecture in Nigeria and the People’s Republic of Benin*, 70-72.

\(^{109}\) Ibid.

status with Portugal and both were part of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and Algarve.\textsuperscript{111} Rio de Janeiro became the empire’s new capital and there arose the need to found a royal school of the artists within the city to train artists, designers and artisans.\textsuperscript{112} Such professionals, the kingdom thought, would transform Rio de Janeiro into a center worthy of one of the largest European sovereignties. The kingdom invited French experts in naval architecture, mechanical engineering, blacksmithing, carpentry, carriage making, and architectural design. The total number of the Imperial Academy’s first set of students was thirty-eight who took one of six classes: drawing, painting, sculpture, engraving, architecture and mechanics.\textsuperscript{113}

The Frenchman who taught painting was Jean-Baptiste Debret whose \textit{Paveurs} (1821) shows slave laborers in the midst of buildings that lined the streets where they worked. (Figure 13) Debret (1768-1848) studied in the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in Paris, and even won the Rome Prize in 1791.\textsuperscript{114} (Figure 14) After creating court paintings for the French empire (Figure 15), Debret joined the 1816 French Artistic Mission – another name for the Frenchmen’s agenda – and later organized Brazil’s first and second public expositions in 1829 and 1830.\textsuperscript{115}

Most relevant here are Debret’s many depictions of slave artisans in Rio de Janeiro. (Figure 13, Figure 16 and Figure 17) Likewise, the French painter’s \textit{Desembarque de telhas} (1823) shows slave roofers carrying tiles to a project site from a beach. (Figure 18) The slave laborers in these paintings may have supplemented their

\textsuperscript{111} Ibid., 55.
\textsuperscript{112} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{113} Rafael Cardoso Denis, “Academicism, Imperialism and National Identity: The Case of Brazil’s Academia Imperiale De Belas Artes,” 56.
\textsuperscript{115} Ibid.
artisanal training from Jesuits by remembering details of structures they saw while working on construction sites. One cannot speculate further however since the paintings only show that slaves worked on construction projects in cities. Yet, there is a possibility that a slave artisan’s vague or vivid recollection of buildings while working on a construction site may have influenced the future projects he erected if he became an ex-slave builder or designer. Additionally, slaves may have studied urban facades and corridors in their spare time on a Sunday when they attended the Catholic mass or when they participated in processions on the feast days of Catholic saints within the city centers.

In addition to the possibility of the parades providing the opportunity for Afro-Brazilians to remember their urban settings, the cultural historian Níyi Afolábí even argues that the Afro-Brazilians participated in religious and secular festivities within metropolitan and rural areas to escape the hardships of daily life.116 (Figure 19 shows Rugendas’ painting of a popular Afro-Brazilian extravaganza known as Capoeira). Debret’s *Marche funèbre pour l’enterrement d’un roi ou fils de roi nègre africain catholique* (1826) portrays one such march by Afro-Brazilians from the Brazilian countryside and the city. (Figure 20) As will be seen later on in the text, the Catholic parades in city centers influenced the performance of specific masquerades in and around certain residences and palaces in West African cities in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The disparity between the homes of slaves and freedmen and the cathedrals and Brazilian gentry’s homes during their processions in urban contexts also probably

heightened slaves’ conceptions of the metropolitan architecture in Salvador and other cities in Northeastern Brazil.

Such processions may have also initiated the Candomblé liturgical forms in Northeastern Brazil in this era. Pierre-Michel Fontain and Mikelle Omari-Tunkara for instance claim that Candomblé devotees created material culture that in its form rebelled against Catholicism by covertly appropriating its visual imagery.117 And Elisée Soumonni argues that Muslims married one wife like their Catholic counterparts, showing that their imitations of the practice of other religions extended beyond architecture.118

Thus far, in this text, I have suggested that the lives of the free, ex-slave and slave artisans imply that members of these groups interacted and influenced one another. Aleijadinho delegated work to the two slaves in his studio. Some freedmen taught their slaves what they had learnt and in some other cases acquired design education in schools. Even white Brazilians and Jesuits taught slaves building crafts. Yet the span of time witnessed many changes in the lives of slave and ex-slave builders of African origins more specifically. Later on in the dissertation, I will discuss several cases where slaves and freedmen designed buildings. However, details remain obscure about how these changes affected their training. Whatever training builders received—and there were many forms and many changes over time—some of the architectural details we see in Brazil reappear in different forms in the Bight of Benin.

The architectural commissions of ex-slaves like Friandes as well as the free born Brazilians like Aleijadinho could have personified the success of one black Brazilian over another or even over white Brazilians who were favored in the Brazilian construction industries because of their skin color. Free born and manumitted Afro-Brazilians created details of Brazilian Baroque into the nineteenth century. After 1889, these builders’ projects tested and criticized the newly inaugurated Brazilian Republic’s rhetoric of equality by creating forms of prestige that had formerly been associated with the Portuguese Crown.

All of these aforementioned biographical profiles show how some enslaved and free Afro-Brazilians developed skills that they or their students and descendants used in West Africa. One must acknowledge the difficulty of writing about individuals’ conscious and unconscious acts within a historiography of architecture when there is a dearth of written sources. Nevertheless, one must entertain the notion that the work of these black designers and builders was informed, both tacitly and programmatically, by a number of factors—academic and artisanal training, social, economic, religious circumstances—that influenced their own designs.

Yet, the nineteenth century was a tumultuous era for Brazil. Salvador had nine anti-slavery uprisings in this period, and none was more consequential to the exodus of Afro-Brazilians to West Africa than the botched Malê riot of 1835.119 And, as was mentioned earlier, the Brazilian government implemented laws that prevented Africans

119 Pierre Verger, Trade Relations Between the Bight of Benin and Bahia from the 17th Century to the 19th Century, 294-309. The main source is João Reis, Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 73-129.
from entering the country after that event. Additionally, the authorities placed all the Afro-Brazilians in Salvador under surveillance. The rest of the country was in an uproar as well. Twenty revolts occurred nationwide between 1831 and 1848.

Disenfranchised Afro-Brazilians, Amerindians and mestiços led the most popular mutiny, known as the Cabanagem in Grão Pará in 1835. The Brazilian government conscripted freed Africans and slaves alike into its military for the Brazil-Paraguay war (1864 -1870) in the South, and the Brazilian government’s desire to return slave soldiers to their owners inspired the Abolition movement of later decades.

Paraguay had amassed a strong military presence, and barred Brazil’s ships from docking at Rio de la Plat, while Brazil on the other hand, wanted to take that region away from the Spanish Empire’s jurisdiction. Though there is no visible evidence to suggest that some Brazilian blacks relocated to West Africa in order to dodge the ensuing national draft, it is a possibility. From the eighteenth century onwards, the ports of Accra and Lagos were under the control of the British Empire, and had favorable immigration policies towards the African Diaspora. Besides, sea travel to West Africa was an easier route than the one to Angola where Brazil had economic interests. The eighteen degrees differential in latitude between Salvador in Northeastern Brazil, and Lagos, also aided maritime transport across the Atlantic Ocean. The response to the increasingly volatile situation of the new South American nation thus led many to leave and rediscover their roots in Africa.

121 Ibid.
123 Mark Harris, Rebellion on the Amazon: The Cabanagem, Race, and Popular Culture in the North of Brazil, 1798-1840 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 279-286.
124 Hufferd, Cruzeiro do sul: a history of Brazil’s half millennium, vol. 2, 125.
The deportation of some of the Malè revolt ringleaders, and ensuing emigration of freedmen, thus marked the beginning of the blacks’ desire to rediscover their roots in an Africa that some had construed in their minds. Like the slaves’ work on construction sites, the idea of a motherland also unified their disparate ancestral allegiances. João Esan da Rocha was one such Afro-Brazilian traveler leaving Brazil. Da Rocha was born in the Iléṣà kingdom around 1830. Slave raiders captured and transported him to Brazil when he was ten years old. Thirty-one years later, he gained his freedom and settled in Lagos with his wife and infant son. Another sub-group in this myriad family of voyagers was the native-born of Brazil whose connection to the continent was due to their adaptations of Fon, Bantu, Hausa and Yorùbá, to mention just a few African languages. Antônio Olinto’s Water House portrays the life of Aina, a matriarch whose uncle sold her into slavery in Abèòkúta, as a teenager in the 1800s. When she turned sixty, she sought black Brazilians who could speak Yorùbá in Pernambuco before she boarded a ship bound for Lagos. Some migrants like the fictional Aina spoke a type of Portuguese that incorporated Yorùbá into it as is evident in the Catholic Hymn titled “Nossa Senhora” (“Our Lady”) sung at the Holy Cross Cathedral in Lagos even at the

125 In 2005 and 2007, the artist Christine Meisner created a cinematic reenactment of the life of João Esan da Rocha. Christine Meisner, "Recovery of an Image: A Video Tale," in AfricAmericas : itineraries, dialogues, and sounds, ed. Ineke Phaf-Rheinberger and Tiago de Oliveira Pinto (Madrid; Frankfurt am Main: Iberoamericana ; Vervuert, 2008), 69-76. Meisner created a video about João Esan da Rocha that was shown in Musée des Beaux-Arts de Nantes, the Pinacoteca São Paulo and the Museu de Arte Moderna in Recife in 2005. It was also shown at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London in 2007. The video’s narrator was Michael Ojaike, a Nigerian actor who impersonated Senhor da Rocha.

126 Cunha, From Slave Quarters to Town Houses: Brazilian Architecture in Nigeria and the People’s Republic of Benin, 52.

127 Ibid.


129 Olinto, Water House, 56.
dawn of the 1900s. The first line of the song is in Yorùbá and states: “Ka kọ̀nrin ogo fun Maria”, which means, “Let us praise Mary.”

This linguistic hybridity echoes the merger of Pópó and Àgùdà, which is a combination of a Yoruba word, Pópó, which means “street” and Àgùdà, a Yoruba rendering of the Portuguese word ajudar, which means, “help.” They called the sector Pópó Àgùdà to identify it as the land of the settlers. From an architectural standpoint, the newcomers from Brazil built houses that shared walls with the adobe architecture of the locals revealing a mixture of forms analogous to the “Nossa Senhora” hymn. (Figure 21)

The influx of European immigrants into Brazil was the third significant event that influenced the departure of black Brazilians. The European entry further limited the blacks’ employment opportunities in urban Brazil. The Afro-Brazilians who could afford it had the choice of moving to rural areas or go abroad. Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis published a novel about the plight of one man whose former status as a slave may have been the reason why he remained in Rio de Janeiro despite the dwindling economic prospects for blacks. In Machado de Assis’ book of 1878, Iaïá Garcia, Raimundo, an ex-slave in Rio de Janeiro, chooses to serve Luís Garcia - the son of Raimundo’s former master - instead of work elsewhere. Raimundo did not know what to do with his freedom. In fact, he almost tore his letter of enfranchisement – as if to annul his liberty – and subsequently became Luís’ steward. This scene may reveal Machado de Assis’ attempt to dramatize how some former slaves found the prospect of starting their lives

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132 Ibid. 
afresh as freedmen psychologically unnerving after their emancipation from slavery in Rio de Janeiro. It is also possible that Raimundo’s story was the author’s way of showing how some ex-slaves returned to the families of their former masters when the liberated blacks did not have the financial resources to migrate to the rural areas or even go abroad.

Nevertheless, the Afro-Brazilians who could leave departed for evangelical reasons as well. Marcos Cardoso’s biography illustrates this point. A Catholic carpenter and educator endowed with missionary zeal, we noted previously that he was born in Salvador and resettled in Lagos with his father, Augusto, in 1869. Marcos told the linguist Lorenzo Turner that an African taught him carpentry in Brazil.¹³⁴ Marcos and Augusto travelled several times back and forth between Salvador and Lagos selling Brazilian retail goods in Lagos.¹³⁵ Augusto was an ex-slave who was born in what is presently Southwest Nigeria. In 1882, Marcos married Fortunata Marinho who had resettled with her family from Salvador.¹³⁶ Martiniano do Bonfim, the Babaláwo and carpenter mentioned earlier, was Cardoso’s friend.¹³⁷ Both Marcos and Martiniano worked on the construction of the Holy Cross Cathedral in Lagos (Figure 22) while the former also built other churches and schools North of Lagos as well as in Dahomey. His certificate in carpentry and joinery attests to the acclaim his work received within the Catholic Diocese in Dahomey. (Figure 23) In fact, the Archbishopric appointed Cardoso as the Mission’s carpenter.¹³⁸ Cardoso’s famed curving stairs in a house in Lagos showed

¹³⁵ Ibid.
¹³⁶ Ibid.
¹³⁷ Ibid.
that ex-slaves transferred technology from Brazil to that city.\textsuperscript{139} Hence, Cardoso’s staircase and da Silva’s suspended oven in his own residence were among the many different traits and technologies introduced by Afro-Brazilians into their new environment.

\textbf{Conclusion}

Overall, the free, ex-slave and slave architects and builders developed a body of design and construction knowledge in Brazil due to their—not always egalitarian—interactions with one another as well as white Brazilians of different social classes. These collaborations supplemented the individual training that the slave, manumitted and freeborn Afro-Brazilians received through classrooms, studios, workshops and construction sites. Yet, the role of slavery and the municipal laws restricting what opportunities the Afro-Brazilians cannot be overstated. Aleijadinho and Valentim in the eighteenth century as well as Manoel Querino benefited from the financial and psychological support that their white Brazilian fathers provided. They acquired positions of influence and architectural commissions because of that affirmation. However, such cases were exceptions, and most of the other aforementioned Afro-Brazilians’ developed skills through a diverse array of means. At times, those ways of learning were a response to the limits that slavery and prejudicial municipal laws imposed on the Afro-Brazilians.

This chapter also raised the probability that some slaves remembered grand ecclesiastical and residential architecture around piazzas in Salvador, Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro and some other Northeastern cities. Perhaps the Afro-Brazilians even

\textsuperscript{139} Turner, "Some Contacts of Brazilian Ex-Slaves With Nigeria, West Africa," 61
memorized intangible qualities of these sites, such as the sounds of church bells tolling, of liturgical or carnival music, or even festivities around praças in the city centers where they. The din of the bells did not just announce the commencement of a mass; it evoked in later years reminiscences of the grandest buildings that the ex-slaves remembered. These brassy sounds also signaled the stateliness of the Portuguese empire. It might not be too farfetched to suggest that the Afro-Brazilian returnees discussed in this chapter attempted to recreate abroad an architecture that evoked what they remembered, including the sounds and textures of the places where they had previously worked and lived.

Such achievements occurred in specific settings that involved a colonial power in which the students were slaves, ex-slaves or citizens being molded into suitable and docile subjects for the society in question. It is possible that many manumitted Afro-Brazilian artisans aspired to the success of their free and wealthier counterparts who were lighter in complexion. (Even if there may have been others like the fictional Raimundo who balked at the prospect of freedom and continued to serve the families of their former masters). If some of the ex-slave skilled workers wanted to emulate Aleijadinho and Valentim, perhaps both architects also wanted to surpass the eminent white Brazilians designers of their day. In his own way, Manuel Querino’s documentation of the Afro-Brazilians’ contribution to the country’s national culture reveals the case of an Afro-Brazilian architect who merged the pedagogy of design with a concern for social justice. Hence, Querino may have instilled the same ideas in others who may and may not have borne that in mind as they erected buildings.
As will be seen in the next chapter, these educational milieux influenced the works of Afro-Brazilian ex-slave builders in Colonial Nigeria. It is true that some were born in Brazil, thus limiting what they knew to a largely Brazilian experience. Their ancestral heritages persisted to the extent that it was interpreted in the languages that their parents spoke as well as the customs they observed and the food they cooked. In the first half of the nineteenth century, for instance, their scarifications were still visible, although few still remembered their original meanings.

Yet this diaspora’s sojourns in former European colonies helped them conceive of a unique sense of place that they wished to establish in the Bight of Benin. Both ex-slave and middle class group of Afro-Diaspora designers, and possibly exiled slave artisans, who participated in revolts, translated their memories of urban corridors in Brazil into new environments across the Atlantic Ocean. The Afro-Brazilians’ multisensory incorporation of skills served purposes in their new chosen environment that even they could not have foreseen.
Chapter Two
A Foreign Architecture for Lagos

This chapter will examine how the Afro-Brazilian and Sierra Leonean immigrants influenced the architectural designs of mosques, private homes, and religious shrines in Lagos. My analyses of these case-studies explore how the immigrants’ structures may have embodied attempts to create structures that provided them with psychological comfort in the midst of their harsh interactions with Lagosian and European residents. In what follows I also suggest that this architecture of Muslim, Catholic, Protestant and Ifá worshipping patrons and architects were interpretations of Brazilian residential and ecclesiastical architecture at the turn of the twentieth century – and that the immigrants used those memories to ease their settlement in Lagos. Moreover the chapter will also discuss how the immigrants’ preoccupation with comfort may have created avenues for the articulation of new theological trends in Islam and the Ifá religion.

Despite the paucity of information on architects, builders and patrons I stated at the beginning of this dissertation, there remains fragments of knowledge about patrons in Lagosian newspaper articles of the nineteenth century; in scholarly books about Lagosian immigrant elites of the same era; at least one recently created cinematic interpretation of one Àgòdà’s biography (João Èsan da Rocha) and even oral aphorisms and adages about the Àgòdà’s houses. These are the historical sources I use to advance the chapter’s argument.
Brief History of the City

According to the oral history of Lagos, King Ògúnfúnminire, a hunter, founded a settlement called Iṣeri that is 12 miles North of the present-day ruler’s palace in the fifteenth century. Ògúnfúnminire claimed he was a descendant of the royal family in Ifè and had come from the heart of the Ôyó Empire. Iṣeri became the “dispersal center” for the formation of other areas within Lagos including Èkó, which became the headquarters of the future royals. Gabaro who reigned from 1669 to 1704 and was one of Ògúnfúnminire’s progeny, chose Èkó, which lies on the Northwestern tip of a peninsula, because of its fertile land. (Figure 24) He planted a pepper farm and his wards called his dwelling “Īgá Idungaran” which means “the pepper residence or palace,” because it was located next to his crops.

In 1852, Akítóyè, the Oba(monarch) of Lagos gave the Olówógbówó borough to the Sàró (the Sierra Leonean immigrants). Otherwise called “Sàró Town,” it was located in the Southwestern part of the city. (Figure 25) Portuguese merchants who traded with Akítóyè’s ancestors in the fifteenth century initially named the entire city “Lago de Curamo,” – the first word being the Portuguese word for lake - which the British later called Lagos when its Empire annexed the territory in 1861. Akitóyè had requested the British Crown’s aid in order to reclaim his throne, which Kòsókó, his cousin, had usurped

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143 Ibid., 9. However, the natives called the town Èkó or Oko, which means “farm” in Yorubá, since their ancestors had moved to the location to grow food. Èkó was originally comprised of the king’s palace and the market located south of it. Historically, markets have had a religious function among the Yorübá. Kings situate markets south of their palaces.
in the 1850s. The British drove Kòsókò into exile in another town known as Èpè.\textsuperscript{144} His banishment also led to the enactment of a ban on the city’s slave trade, because he had exported slaves to Portugal and Brazil.\textsuperscript{145}

Subsequently the British government in Lagos implemented an “Indirect Rule” policy which kept Akitóyè in place as a titular sovereign who could allocate land to citizens notwithstanding his diminishing governing powers. Such was the political climate that greeted the Sàró and Àgùdà (Afro-Brazilian immigrants) who settled there between 1850 and 1900. The colonial administration’s presence in Lagos and the swampy nature of the areas outside of Akitóyè’s realm gave the immigrants the latitude to make changes to the landscape that would not incur the Òba’s wrath.

The colonial government in Lagos, in conjunction with the Òba, divided Lagos into four zones. The Northeast part of the Colony - Ìsàlè Èkó - was where the Òba of Lagos resided. Consisting of the king’s palace and the market, it was also called “Old Lagos.”\textsuperscript{146} To the North was Pópó Àgùdà, which as we noted earlier, the Òba gave to the Afro-Brazilians.\textsuperscript{147} The British settled in Marina which was East of Olówógbówó or Sàró Town.\textsuperscript{148} (Figure 25 and Figure 26)

Some of the Sàró and the Àgùdà spoke Ìjèbu, Ègbá and other dialects with common etymological roots, which Samuel Johnson (1846 -1901), a Sàró Protestant clergyman streamlined into a pan-Yorùbá language. Other immigrants spoke the Igbo and

\textsuperscript{145} Robert Sydney Smith, The Lagos Consulate, 1851-1861, 40ff.
\textsuperscript{146} “Ìsàlè Èkó” literally means “the bottom of Èkó” or metaphorically the origins of Èkó in Yorùbá. Èkó is the Yorùbá name of the original town of what eventually became Lagos.
\textsuperscript{147} Pópó Àgùdà literally meant the “Area of the Àgùdà” in Yorùbá. It could also mean “Àgùdà Street.”
\textsuperscript{148} Historically Lagosians had left Marina empty because it had served as a burial ground for outcast individuals. See Liora Bigon, “Tracking ethno-cultural differences: the Lagos steam tramway, 1902-1933,” Journal of History Geography, no. 33 (2007), 607.
Delta-Cross languages that originated in a region now known as southeastern Nigeria.\textsuperscript{149} The Lagosians’ connection to the area around the Òba’s realm shaped their attitudes towards the Sàró and the Àgùdà, and vice-versa. Ògúnfúnminire’s descendants may have thought of themselves “Ọmọ Ilé” (“children of the earth”) and viewed the new arrivals from Brazil and Sierra Leone as intruders. Consequentially, the indigenes chose not to live elsewhere. Some Àgùdà and Sàros’ contempt for Ifá further soured their already tense relationships with the locals.\textsuperscript{150} There were other immigrants however, who worshipped Yorùbá gods while remaining Muslims or Catholics. In fact it was not uncommon for some to be devotees of three faiths (Islam, Catholicism and Ifá) at the same time. Yet the Sàró and the Àgùdà saw this clash of faiths as an impetus to distinguish themselves from Ọmọ Ilé. The Àgùdà also cooked Afro-Brazilian dishes and sang serenades in Portuguese to highlight their belief that they were more cultured than the Ọmọ Ilé.\textsuperscript{151} The need to assert one’s space in these boroughs due to the often-contentious nature of the other residents became habitual.

Lower-ranking Òba in other parts of the city like the king of Oto recognized the supremacy of Ògúnfúnminire’s throne.\textsuperscript{152} Even within his kingdom, as custom dictated, Akitóyè rarely appeared in public and had a veil over his face when he did.\textsuperscript{153} His invisibility added another layer of mystique to his kingship.


\textsuperscript{150} Iragbiji is one of the indigenous dialects in Akitóyè’s realm.

\textsuperscript{151} The Àgùdà introduced dishes such as feijão de leite and mingao in Lagos. In Olinto, Water House, 77, one female Àgùdà boasted that the Afro-Brazilians taught the locals numerous construction trades and introduced cassava and cashew nuts into the Lagos Colony.

\textsuperscript{152} O.A. Akinyeye, Eko: Landmarks of Lagos, Nigeria (Lagos: Mandilas Group Limited, 1999), 65. Oloto Ajayi’s subjects built his palace in 1805.

\textsuperscript{153} This was typical of Òba whose subjects did not dare to subject themselves to his gaze.
Marina, the colonial government-reserved area, consisted of the residence of the Governor-General, the colonial offices, as well as European and foreign African retail stores. Samuel Pearse’s “Elephant House” of 1907 was an example of how a Sàró’s residence conveyed in the minds of locals, the blurred distinctions between the colonial buildings’ facades and those owned by the descendants of Sierra Leonean immigrants. (Figure 27, Figure 28, Figure 29 and Figure 30) Born in Lagos in 1866, Pearse was educated in the city’s Christian Missionary Society Grammar School. In 1883, he became an apprentice salesman in the Messrs. W.B. MacIver & Company, a British outfit that sold general merchandise in Lagos and England. 154 Five years later he resigned and co-founded a firm known as Messrs. Pearse & Thompson, which had offices along the Marina as well as in Leadenhall Street in London. 155 Additionally, Pearse produced a report on the state of rubber resources in Benin City for the colonial government in 1907. As the secretary of the Lagos Auxiliary of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines’ Rights Protection Society, he led a delegation of Yorùbá chiefs to London to contest the Foreshore Decision of the Lagos Supreme Court of 1911. 156 That ruling had given the British Crown control of all the land in the Lagos Colony. The Lagosians called the Sàró and even the Àgùdà “Ọyìnbò Dúdú” (Ọyìnbó in Yorùbá means “the Europeans”), since the visitors dressed like the colonialists. 157 The Sàró use of ashlar masonry construction—which is specific to European design and construction—also reinforced their desire to be favorably compared with the colonialists. (Figure 31 a - c). This

155Ibid.
aspiration to Òyinbó tastes among the Sàró contradicts Níyi Afólábi’s observation that ex-slaves in Brazil and West Africa created artifacts that were solely reconstructions of their “ancestral” pasts. Moreover, the indigenes read the buildings of the Sàró and the Àgùdà as emblems of the visitors’ cosmopolitan heritage, which the newcomers had the wherewithal to create. As will be shown, the Sàró and the Àgùdà urban interventions showed an “ancestrality” that used Baroque architectural forms and motifs to re-imagine local customs to serve their aspirational goals as “black Europeans.”

The Sàró and Àgùdà were part of a large contingent of black Europeans—including those who came from the West Indies such as the bi-racial Jamaican Robert Campbell who founded the Anglo-African newspaper in Lagos in 1863—that argued that Victorian ideals needed to be embraced to advance the black Lagosian society of the future. The immigrants propagated their agenda through a slew of English language newspapers they established in the 1880s. One must hasten to add however, that their media outlets also served as platforms for debates over what aspects of Victorian culture and ancestral customs immigrants and natives should emulate or discard. Three thousand Sàró and West Indians were probably half of the total number of readers of the Anglo-African.

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160 Ibid., 3-4. Almost twenty years after Robert Campbell founded the Anglo-African, other Sàró established five more newspapers. These were the Lagos Times and Gold Coast Advertiser (1880), Lagos Observer (1882), Eagle and Lagos Critic (1883), the weekly Mirror (1887) and the Weekly Record (1891).
161 Ibid., 37-39. On March 25th 1896, the Lagos Standard published a letter from one of its immigrant or native readers suggesting that immigrants who had foreign names should adopt their parental names and additionally that native converts to Christianity should be baptized with their original native names. Between 1882 and 1890, the Lagos Observer published letters arguing for and against the need for immigrants and educated natives to wear European clothes.
162 Ibid.
The remaining readership consisted of educated natives who Echeruo speculates were another three thousand in the 1870s and 1880s.\textsuperscript{163}

In literary and dramatic circles within the city, black Lagosian elite often worked with missionaries and European residents to produce concerts, dramas and open the first schools.\textsuperscript{164} While at least one immigrant saw himself as a middleman between the Europeans and the natives in the region, there was a female Sàró whose status ranked even higher than the British Governor-General of her time.\textsuperscript{165} Her name was Sarah Bonetta Forbes whose guardian was Queen Victoria and who lived in Lagos from approximately 1863 till 1880.\textsuperscript{166} (Figure 32) Returning to West Africa as Sarah Davies because of her marriage to the Sàró Captain James Davies in 1862, she contributed to the

\textsuperscript{163} Ibid., 30.
\textsuperscript{164} Echeruo, "The Musical Culture." In \textit{Victorian Lagos: Aspects of Nineteenth Century Lagos Life}, 73-76. In 1882, the Brazilian Dramatic Company, which most likely consisted of Àgùdà staged a play in honor of Queen Victoria’s Jubilee. The company’s patron was the German Consul of Lagos, Heinrich Bey. In 1884, the Lagos Melodramatic Society organized a concert in Faji. Echeruo suggests that the society consisted of Sàró members. Furthermore, the Sàró ex-seaman and entrepreneur James Pinson Labulo Davies financed the Church Missionary Society Grammar School in Lagos, which opened in 1859. For more about the school, see Adéyemo Élèbuté, \textit{The Life of James Pinson Labulo Davies: A Colossus of Victorian Lagos} (Lagos, Nigeria: Kachifo Limited, 2013), 190. Élèbuté is a former professor of Surgery at the Lagos University Teaching Hospital and an alumnus of the Grammar School.
\textsuperscript{165} Echeruo, “The Intellectual Context.” In \textit{Victorian Lagos: Aspects of Nineteenth Century Lagos Life}, 35. The author cites a letter from a Sàró (John Craig) to the English Reverend Henry Townsend stating that Sàrós were middlemen between people like Townsend and the Egbas.
\textsuperscript{166} Walter Myers, \textit{At Her Majesty’s Request: An African Princess in Victorian England} (New York: Scholastic Press, 1999) and Élèbuté, \textit{The Life of James Pinson Labulo Davies: A Colossus of Victorian Lagos}, 41 -81. The second Sàró was Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther. The British naval commander Frederick Forbes rescued a four year old Sarah Forbes from King Gezo of Dahomey and presented her before Queen Victoria in England. The ruler then supported Sarah Forbes financially for the next fifteen years of her life - asking the commander to raise her. Sarah Forbes eventually married the Sàró Captain James Davies and lived in Freetown, Sierra Leone before settling in Lagos. Sarah received private lessons within the Forbes household in England and later, briefly, at the Church Missionary Society Female Institution in Sierra Leone in 1851. She continued her education when Queen Victoria recalled her to England in 1855. Even when Sarah resettled as a married woman in Lagos in 1867, she was one of two Sàrós that Queen Victoria ordered her royal navy to evacuate if a state of emergency was ever declared in the city. The British queen also became godmother to Sarah’s first child, Victoria. Sarah was also one of the bridesmaids in Princess Alice’s wedding in 1862. Princess Alice was Queen Victoria’s second oldest daughter.
emerging class of educated female natives in the region by teaching in the Female Institutions in Freetown and Lagos.¹⁶⁷ (Figure 33)

Thus, the Sàró and educated natives in Lagos included those who saw themselves as British subjects slightly beneath the European residents in terms of social status as well Sarah Davies, who at least the teacher sat the Female Institution in Freetown treated as royalty because the things Queen Victoria sent to the school for Sarah.¹⁶⁸ Within the black Victorian citizenry of Lagos then were individuals with varying degrees of influence and relations with their European counterparts and the ‘uneducated natives.’

The black Victorian class in Lagos also included Muslims who were as committed as their Christian counterparts to ‘civilize’ the Lagosians—but in an Islamic way. Mohammed Shitta Bey was one Sàró Muslim resident who commissioned a mosque in Olówógbówó. His endeavor complemented the efforts of the Trinidadian educator Edward Blyden to nurture an Islamic Lagosian elite in the 1890s.¹⁶⁹ Mohammed Shitta Bey’s enchantment with the city, its diverse moods and impressions presented an opportunity to create a lasting legacy for Sàró Muslim incomers. What follows is an account of what prompted Shitta Bey to build a mosque that changed Lagosians’ conceptions of African Islam in the metropolis. Since his land was not within view of the Qba’s realm, he could build a structure that did not fit into the neighborhood’s existing urban fabric.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 57.
¹⁶⁹ Michael Echeruo, Victorian Lagos: Aspects of Nineteenth Century Lagos Life, 84-87. According to Echeruo, Blyden had published a book entitled Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race in 1887, which many black immigrants and educated natives in Lagos read. Blyden also established a Muslim school system in Lagos that the colonial government sponsored. He also founded in Lagos Muslim School in 1899. The ratio of Muslim to Christian conversions among Lagosian natives was 20:1 in the 1880s.
Shitta Bey Mosque in “Sàró Town,” Lagos

Shitta Bey was a wealthy kola nut merchant who settled in “Sàró Town” from Sierra Leone with his family in 1844.\(^{170}\) (Figure 34) His mosque’s architectural form was a mosaic of different stylistic references that was analogous to the diverse cultural tastes of other black Victorians. The following illustration is one example of the settlers’ various preoccupations. It shows some immigrant thespians who commemorated Brazil’s abolition of slavery by staging a play in 1888. (Figure 35) The urbanity of the Sàró and the Àgùdà and their experience abroad also influenced their structural designs. Shitta Bey himself had previously lived in Freetown in Sierra Leone and Bàdágy kingdom – which was forty miles West of Lagos - before finally settling in the city where he was to spend the rest of his life.

Ọba Akítóyè’s gift of land did not carry with it explicit zoning laws for residential and public buildings in the vicinity. One decree stated that residents could not build houses that were taller than the Ọba’s palace. Most immigrants from other African countries—men like Shitta Bey, for instance—did not expect any penalization for developing land that was beyond the vicinity of the palace.

A reporter writing in the Lagos Weekly Record claimed that Mohammed Shitta Bey hired the Àgùdà artisans, Martin and Porphyrio to build a structure at a cost of three thousand pounds.\(^{171}\) Little is known about them in part because it is difficult to trace their genealogy without their surnames.\(^{172}\) (Figure 36, Figure 37, Figure 38, Figure 39, Figure


\(^{171}\) “The Consecration of Mr. Shitta’s Mosque,” *Lagos Weekly Record*, July 7\(^{th}\) 1894.

\(^{172}\) It was customary to refer to people by their personal names rather than their surnames. A.B. Láotan on the other hand claims that another Afro-Brazilian artisan known as João Baptista da Costa built Shitta Bey Mosque. See A.B. Láotan, “Brazilian Influence on Lagos,” 163 for that reference. I am inclined to think that the unnamed reporter who wrote the article about the inauguration of the mosque in the *Lagos Weekly*
What is certain is that Àgùdà architects had developed a stellar reputation in the city’s construction circles. Even so, this collaboration between a Sàró patron and Àgùdà designers is noteworthy, for it masked a rivalry between the two groups that resulted in clashes during the Àgùdà Catholic street processions. It is likely that one of the duo—Martin and Porphyrio—was a Catholic despite the lack of evidence to confirm this: most Muslim Àgùdà had Arabic names or their local versions. Though the name Martin suggests that the builder may not have been an Àgùdà like his partner Porphyrio—Martim was the Portuguese version of the name—John Payne Jackson, the editor of the Lagos Weekly Record introduced the builders to Governor-General Sir Gilbert Carter of Lagos as Brazilian repatriates during the opening ceremony of the mosque. The possibility of Shitta Bey’s employment of two artisans (one of whom may have been a Catholic) to erect a mosque follows a trend where people of different religions worked together to erect sacred houses of worship for each other. For example, there were Protestant and Muslim Sàró partnerships in the restoration of

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173 Cunha, From Slave Quarters to Town Houses, 44.
174 “The Consecration of Mr. Shitta’s Mosque,” Lagos Weekly Record, July 7th 1894. Rodolfo Manoel Martins de Andrade was an ex-slave who moved to Lagos from Salvador in 1873. His use of “Martins” and not Martim suggests that the former was also adopted in nineteenth century Brazil. His descendants consist of the Bamboṣe-Martins and more specifically Paul Lolá Bamboṣe-Martins, amateur historian of Ægùdà culture in Lagos. For more on Rodolfo Martins de Andrade, see Lisa Earl Castillo, “Bamboxê Obitökô and the Nineteenth-Century Expansion of Orisha Worship in Brazil,” Tempo (Niterói, Online) 22, no. 39 (January-April 2016), 135. Accessed December 9, 2016.
175 The contemporary Àgùdà artist Yusuf Grillo (b. 1934), a devout Muslim, continues this tradition. He, more than any Nigerian artist of his time, has been commissioned to create major stained glass windows for Christian churches in Lagos and elsewhere.
mosques and churches elsewhere, specifically in Freetown, Sierra Leone. Shitta Bey’s sponsorship of the Fourah Bay Mosque’s roof in that country in 1892 may have exposed him to the two religious groups’ building program. His numerous European and Christian Sàró friends equally showed an ability to transcend ideological and religious quandaries that building a mosque within a Protestant Sàró borough entailed. Shitta Bey’s desire to improve the social well-being of Muslims in the city attracted Edward Blyden, the Trinidadian pan-Africanist who co-founded an Islamic School in Lagos with one of Shitta Bey’s relatives.

A photograph, quite possibly taken during the inauguration of the mosque by Neils Walwin Holm (1865 – 1927), a photographer, barrister and native of the Gold Coast shows the extent of his standing among the Lagos cultural and social elite. Holm’s photograph is of a meeting between Edward Blyden, Shitta Bey, Oba Oyekan of Lagos and other notable individuals in the Lagosian community. (Figure 43 and Figure 44) The person wearing a top hat who stood on Shitta Bey’s left hand side was Captain James Davies, the husband of Sarah Bonetta Davies who we mentioned earlier in the text. Davies’ son-in-law, John K. Randle financed the launch of the Lagos Weekly

176 Fyfe, A History of Sierra Leone, 498.
177 Ibid., 498-99.
180 Neils Holm traveled to Lagos for the first time in 1886, and settled there ten years later. The subjects of his portrait met between April and July of 1894. Neils Holm’s career as a photographer was near its peak when he photographed Shitta Bey’s august gathering. Less than two years later Holm became the first African member of the English Royal Photographic Society. See Olúbùkọlọ Gbádégeşin, “Photographer Unknown”: Neils Walwin Holm and the (Ir)retrievable Lives of African Photographers,” History of Photography 38, no. 1 (2014), 27.
182 Ibid.
Record, which commemorated the mosque’s opening.\textsuperscript{183} Moreover, Davies introduced Sierra Leonean carpenters and bricklayers to Lagos from Sierra Leone. The meeting reflected the fact that between 1866 and 1874 Sierra Leone, Lagos and the Gold Coast were a single British territory known as the West Coast Settlements.\textsuperscript{184} Hence, the free-flow of these professionals within the region bolstered the development of the province’s numerous cities. Davies was also the corresponding secretary of the Lagos Auxiliary of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Rights Protection Society, whose main secretary, as we noted earlier, was Samuel Pearse.\textsuperscript{185}

Standing next to James Davies in Holm’s portrait is J.S. Adélabu: the Liberian Consul in Lagos at the time.\textsuperscript{186} On Adélabu’s left was Richard Beale Blaize, a Sàró editor of the Lagos Times and a prominent entrepreneur.\textsuperscript{187} Though the photograph demonstrates Shitta Bey’s membership among the Lagosian and Sàró elite, it obscures his complex relationship with King Oyekan. For instance, the Sàró Muslim community in Lagos elected Shitta Bey as the Seriki Musulumi— the secular equivalent of the Imam of the mosque and consequentially, Oyekan’s new chief Islamic advisor.\textsuperscript{188} Such a title meant that Shitta Bey was to be the head of all Lagosian and Sàró Muslims.\textsuperscript{189} Oyekan’s reaction to this decision was to declare that Shitta Bey’s appointment was illegitimate.


\textsuperscript{184} Gore, “Neils Walwin Holm: Radicalising the Image in Lagos Colony, West Africa,” 295.


\textsuperscript{186} Ibid., 294.


\textsuperscript{189} Ibid.
because no commoner should receive any kind of honor. Only Oyekan himself, so the sovereign said, could receive awards. It would take the intervention of the Governor-General Carter to persuade Oyekan to accept Shitta Bey’s appointment. It is thus quite possible that the Holm photograph did not just mark the unveiling of the mosque but also the public demonstration of Oyekan’s acceptance of Shitta Bey as the Seriki.

Despite that Oyekan’s action might have been out of concern over Shitta Bey’s increasing authority in the realm, the two were old friends. Fourteen years earlier in 1880, Shitta Bey had even urged the British colonial government to increase Oyekan’s stipend without success. Oyekan followed his public rebuke of Shitta by asking the latter to provide a turban, which the office of the Seriki required. Normally it was the Lagosian royal who presented each new Seriki with a headgear, and it may be that Oyekan’s unprecedented act in this particular case was to show the public that he was still the supreme leader in the kingdom.

Governor-General Sir Gilbert Carter praised some similarities between Islam and Christianity in his speech during the mosque’s opening ceremony and also cautioned Lagosian Christians to accept the male Muslims’ tendency to marry more than one wife. (Figure 45) Carter may have made that recommendation to encourage the peaceful co-existence of all the residents of Lagos. It is equally possible that the

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191 Ibid.
192 Ibid.
193 Ibid.
194 Carter’s speech highlighted the fact that despite his Christian faith, he felt that Islam was really suited to the customs of the Lagosians. See “The See also ”Address of His Excellency Sir Gilbert T. Carter K.C.M.G.,” *Lagos Weekly Record* July 7, 1894.
building’s mélange of different architectural stylistic details that cohered seamlessly into a whole also inspired Carter’s remarks.

After Carter delivered his remarks, he sat next to a thirty-eight year old Englishman who had boarded the SS Cabenda steamship that left Liverpool for Lagos on June 6th 1894, arriving on June 26th, a week before the festivities. This man, Henry Abdullah Quilliam, was the British Isles’ Advisor of Sultan Abdul Hamid II of Turkey. (Figure 46) Quilliam’s Lagos mission was two-fold: first to deliver a speech on behalf of the Ottoman emperor that applauded Shitta’s feat. (Quilliam’s address was the next item on the agenda of the mosque’s opening ceremony). Second was to award Shitta Mohammed the Turkish noble title Bey, and a Third Class Order of the Medijiye medal. Furthermore, both Martin and Porphyrio, the Àgùdà builders were also publicly acknowledged. Four months after the event in Lagos, Quilliam appointed Shitta Bey the Vice-President of the Liverpool Muslim Institute Quilliam had founded in 1893.

The Building’s Structure

The mosque’s façade is made out of brick and clad with ceramic tiles. (See Figure 38, Figure 39 and Figure 40) It is hard to ascertain whether the building had a

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197 “The Consecration of Mr. Shitta’s Mosque,” *Lagos Weekly Record* July 7th 1894.

198 Ron Geaves, *Islam in Victorian Britain: The Life and Times of Abdullah Quilliam*, 2-3. See also “The

199 From 1857 onwards, the Àgùdà bought bricks from kilns established by the Sardinian Consul-General, as well as missionaries like Joseph Harden and James Vaughan who were stationed in Lagos. The Àgùdà had previously built their homes with adobe clad with stucco. See Kunle Akinsemoiyin and Alan Vaughan-Richards, *Building Lagos* (Lagos: F & A Services, 1976), 18 and 26. The Àgùdà builders plastered many residential houses with ceramic tiles, as was the case in the Elias House.
dome, as a newspaper article that covered its opening ceremony indicated. Its rectangular square plan and barrel vault suggests that the journalist may have mistakenly called the vault a dome. In any case, the vault is capped with a gable roof, which is now made of aluminum. Seven stone pilasters laid in ashlar masonry divide the mosque’s façade.

A horizontal stone cornice separates the pediment proper from the arcade below protruding beyond the surface of the pilasters. The pediment’s cylindrical pilasters are crowned with pinnacles embedded with intertwining red vine crockets and are capped with a star under a lunar crescent, which rests on a ball. The arcade’s chamfered pilasters align with the cylindrical pilasters above creating a visual continuity despite the difference in surface: with its allusions to the Baroque, that is, to the language of classicism used according to a more relaxed syntax. The cornice consists of a fillet, cyma recta, cyma reversa, as well as a corona and is devoid of other features found in traditional cornices. The pediment’s pilasters rest on two bases: a cylindrical base on top of a cubical one. The corners of the square bases have slits that reveal cyma recta underneath. Two oculi carved in stone lie side by side with the central pilaster within the upper half of the façade. Underneath each oculus is a plaque. The sloping sides of the front pediment are emphasized by a cornice that cuts across the pilasters and is capped by a Baroque twirl.

The arcade has wooden doors leading to the foyer. Male and female ablution rooms flank the north and south facades. (See Figure 38 and Figure 39) Inside, the ceiling is lined with wood. (See Figure 40 and Figure 41) The mihrab, is located at the center of

200 “The Consecration of Mr. Shitta’s Mosque.” Lagos Weekly Record July 7th 1894.
the qibla wall. This opening always faces east and Muslims use it to orient themselves towards Mecca, their spiritual homeland when they pray. The curved staircase to the right of the mihrab, within the space serves also as a minbar, from where the Imam delivers his sermon. The conflation of the mihrab and minbar into a single space in this mosque is an unusual departure from the Islamic architectural canon. One explanation for this feature might that it was Shitta Bey’s way of asserting that his authority (and by implication that of all future Imams of the mosque who speak from the podium) is sanctioned by Mecca and the Islamic faith, rather than from royal mandate of the Oba of Lagos. In other words, Shitta Bey’s expansion of the Imam’s powers serves to further his own social goals within the context of Lagos. Equally important, by broadening, as he did, the Imam’s duties beyond the strictures imposed by Islam he redefined the Sàró Muslim community in the new environment.

The minbar’s wall has hexagonal and circular windows surrounded by cornices. (See Figure 42) The anthropologist Justine Cordwell’s claim that Àgùdà architects bequeathed pattern books to their descendants may be evidence of Martin and Porphyrio’s selective use of the aforementioned classical features on the mosque’s façade and the interior. It is also possible that Àgùdà builders loaned pattern books to others who needed to refer to a particular manual in order to execute a commission. If Látoan’s account of the building team of the Holy Cross Cathedral is to be believed, Àgùdà construction workers also constantly worked together in and out of Lagos. The

201 Justine Cordwell states that Joanne Nagel Shaw, who researched Lagos’ historic buildings in the 1980s, had discovered pattern books among the descendants of some Àgùdà builders. See Justine M. Cordwell, “The Art and Aesthetics of the Yorùbá,” African Arts 16, no. 2 (1983), 94. Shaw does not mention this fact in her research paper titled Historical Architecture of Lagos.

202 A.B. Láotan, The Torch Bearers or Old Brazilian Colony in Lagos, 7, 9, 11 and 14.
mosque’s size indicates that the Martin and Porphyrio may have supervised a similar team of artisans during its construction.203

If so, Martin and Porphyrio’s team probably consisted of ex-slaves who had worked on structures owned by the Portuguese in Brazil or Europeans and freedmen in Sierra Leone. The builders’ work on the Shitta Bey mosque—owned by an African immigrant in a British Colony—revealed the change in their fortunes. This transition from slaves to fully employed professionals in control of their destinies must have fueled their creativity on the mosque and accounts for some of their idiosyncratic translations of the building’s classical architectural features.

Shitta Bey’s fame after the mosque’s consecration seems to have given him the power to ask the Governor General and the colonial court for permission to start a Sharia court in the Olówógbówó borough of Lagos.204 His sponsorship of a mosque and social programs for the Sàró Muslims then, were part of a single enterprise. The mosque’s form transformed the undeveloped swamp of Olówógbówó into an ideal urban enclave projecting Islam as a religion that could catalyze the emergence of an African Muslim elite. Yet it could not have found expression without layers of mediation, including the residents’ impressions of the city, the colonial government, and its monarchs.

Mohammed Shitta Bey’s mosque was the culmination of his attempt to strengthen an elite class of Sàró Muslims in Lagos. The building’s emulation and transformation of Luso-European architectural styles mirror his adaptation of Islamic practices to the needs of his peers in a foreign city. The mosque’s use of a single space for both the mihrab and

203 For a description of a building team of Afro-Brazilian immigrants artisans who built the Holy Cross Cathedral in Lagos in 1881 see ibid., 14-15.
204 “Petition from the Muslims to His Excellency the Governor,” Lagos Weekly Record July 28, 1894.
the minbar is another example of how architects and designers in West Africa have, for centuries, tended to deviate from canonical mosque design. Among such structures are: the central mosques at the Futa Djallon region in Guinea (probably built in 1883), at Djenné (1200s) and Agadez (constructed around 1515) of the Songhai Empire and at Zaria (1800s) as well as the mosques at Chinguetti (1200), Timbuktu and Kumbi Saleh (built between 900 and 1400) (Figure 47, Figure 48, Figure 49, Figure 50, Figure 51 and Figure 52) Rather than contraventions of mosque designs in Mecca, it is conceivable that these West African mosques were the architects’ conceptions of what mosques should look like and that some, such as the Zaria and Futa Djallon mosques, may have placed their mihrabs and minibars in a single room. If the supposition that the Zaria and Futa Djallon structures may have had similar multi-purpose rooms for their mihrabs and minibars is true, it may also reveal that Martin and Porphyrio’s placement of the two

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206 Mallam Mikhaila designed the Great Mosque of Zaria between 1817 and 1837. Monica Visona argues that he may have traveled to Mecca to see other mosques, which if true, may suggest that Mikhaila wanted to create his own style of mosque. It could also prove Mikhaila created his design in spite of knowledge of other types of Islamic architecture. Mikhaila’s open chamber on the eastern wall of the Zaria mosque may be the mihrab but Dmochowski’s floor plan, sections and isometric drawings of the structure do not necessarily show that the room was used for another purpose e.g. for the minbar. In many Middle Eastern mosques, the minbar is a podium on top of a small staircase that the Imam ascends in order to preach his sermon. The absence of an earthen staircase in that part of the floor plan may suggest that Mikhaila either wanted the space to serve both of those functions or one of them. See Monica Visona et. al, A History of Art in Africa, 93 and Zbigniew Dmochowski, “Northern Nigeria.” In An Introduction to Nigerian Traditional Architecture. Vol. 1 (London: Ethnographica), 2.15 – 2.33, for information about Mikhaila and the drawings of the structure. Fulani builders built the Futa Djallon mosque though information about the chief architect or builders remain unknown. The floor plan of the Futa Djallon mosque consists of a square within a circle and it is unclear where in the plan the architect placed the mihrab and minbar. The first Djenné mosque on its present site was built in the thirteenth century and Ismael Traore – a Sorko mason - designed the current structure in the nineteenth century. Arab and Berber patrons employed Harratin or Soninke builders to erect the stone Chinguetti mosque in Mauritania. Abu es Haq es Saheli was an Andalusian architect who designed the Djinguereber Mosque in Timbuktu, which was built in 1327. The earliest level of the mosque at Kumbi Saleh, which was in the Ghana Empire (not to be confused the modern nation state of the same name) dates to the tenth century. The qibla of Kumbi Saleh mosque reveals a space that could have been the mihrab and minbar. The architect of this structure remains unknown.
functions in one space was an appropriation of a trend done elsewhere on the sub-continent.

It is equally reasonable to suggest that Martin and Porphyrio did not know of other Islamic architectural traditions and chose to put the mihrab and minbar in the center of the qibla, because of the builders’ memories of altar-pulpit spaces within churches in Northeastern Brazil or Sierra Leone. (Figure 53) Additionally, the artisans’ probably wanted to direct the gaze of Muslims towards the middle of the rear wall as soon as the worshippers entered the interior space – for the mihrab/mihrab faces the main doors and it probably was the first thing that the Muslims saw. Perhaps the mihrab/minbar’s position created an imaginary spine or corridor, which divides the area where Muslims into two different areas i.e. on the right or left side of the aisle.207

The pilasters of the front façade and on both sides of the mihrab/minbar on the qibla of the Shitta Bey Mosque strengthen the barrel vault that is the basic volumetric shape of the entire building. But such pillars may not support the gable roof that rests on top of the edifice. After all, the posts stabilize the front and rear walls, avoiding contact with the roof (Figure 54). The scholar Marjorie Alongé’s sectional drawing of the mosque even shows a void between the roof and the edge of the barrel vault, begging the question: what may be carrying the gable’s load? (See Figure 39) Steel beams that run across the length and width of the mosque’s interior creating matrices where at least one fan is hung, are probably not the gable’s structural support. The beams protrude out of the

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207 In 2011, I visited the mosque on a day other than Friday and therefore did not observe how Muslims sat on the floor of the main space in prayer on Jumu’ah. Yet the clear line of sight between the main doors and the Mihrab/Minbar raises the question of whether a Catholic or Protestant builder may have tried to order the seating of the Muslim believers during a worship service to leave room for a central aisle in the middle of the space.
walls on just below the beginning of the vaulted ceiling, further strengthening the volumetric structure. Alonge’s drawing may have omitted the purlins and rafters that typically support a gable roof, which could be assembled in such a way to fit into the void between the roof and the curved outer surface of the vaulted ceiling. The result may have been a parabolic roof truss. On the other hand, the edges of both sides of the corrugated zinc gable roof could have been joined to the front façade and qibla with mortar.

According to Alonge’s floor plan, the breadth of the mosque is approximately ten and a half meters (35 feet). The slight dip in the center of roof in Figure 39 may indicate that the roof was not resting on purlins in the 1970s, when the anthropologist John Michael Vlach photographed the edifice.

Laying aside the possible ways Martin and Porphyrio created a structurally sound mosque, the building was unique among the immigrant mosques that the settlers built in Lagos at the turn of the twentieth century and followed a long tradition of ingenuity in Islamic architectural design in West Africa. Mohammed Shitta Bey’s mosque was symbolic of the popularity of Islam in Lagos at the turn of the century and that people like Shitta Bey and Edward Blyden encouraged.

**Other Immigrant Mosques in Lagos**

The earliest mosque on record in Lagos is the Masallaci Olosun, otherwise known as the Brazilian Olosun Mosque, which opened in 1856. (Figure 55) Its interior has a mihrab that is framed by pilasters, and capped with a barrel vault. (Figure 56) The building’s clerestory emerges out of its gable roof at the center of its front elevation. The clerestory’s large window with rounded edges at the top and a flat base was the most
popular type used by the Afro-Brazilians for their architecture in Colonial Nigeria. The architect and builders of this structure remain unknown.

A more impressive structure is the Central Mosque, which was located on Victoria Road and just North of the Sàró Quarter, opened in 1913. (Figure 57, Figure 58 and Figure 59 a and b) According to A.B. Láotan, João Baptista da Costa laid the mosque’s foundation but abandoned the project after a misunderstanding with his clients.208 Sanusi Aka, his apprentice completed it, and the building remained in use until it was demolished in the 1980s, due to what Alan Vaughan-Richards described as the Muslim community’s desire for a mosque with a dome.209 The Muslims’ rejection of the Central Mosque’s architectural format at the end of the twentieth century amplifies how the Lagosians Muslims of two generations had different perceptions of what a mosque should look like. The demolition of the first edifice may also suggest a shift from one way of promoting Islamic enculturation within Lagos to another. Blyden and Abdullah Quilliam promoted the first ideal: a marriage of Victorian habits, customs with Islamic practices and learning.210 The architectural tastes of a later generation of Lagosian Muslims on the other hand, may indicate their desire to rediscover an ‘authentic’ Islam that domes and minarets represented. That I would suggest was the second ideal that replaced the first. The later generation of Lagosian Muslims’ rejection of the Sàró Muslims’ appropriation of Victorian culture and Brazilian ecclesiastical architecture may lead one to conclude that the later Muslims saw Victorianism and Àgùdà culture as

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208 Láotan, The Torch Bearers or Old Brazilian Colony in Lagos, 7.
210 Henry Abdullah Quilliam even encouraged Mohammed Shitta Bey and other Muslims to ensure that the Lagos Muslims schools taught Western subjects as well as knowledge of the Koran. Governor-General Gilbert commented on this “The Consecration of Mr. Shitta’s Mosque,” Lagos Weekly Record, July 7th 1894.
antithetical to the growth of a contemporaneous Lagosian Islamic society. If so, it is also possible that the Muslims also demolished Aka’s Central Mosque because of Aka’s appropriation of Brazilian ecclesiastical architecture, which may have made the more recent Muslims conclude that the earlier immigrant Muslims were heretics of the Islamic faith.

Aka’s use of a pediment for the North façade of the older Central Mosque even shows a greater homage to Brazilian baroque façades than what Martin and Porphyrio did with the Shitta Bey Mosque – probably even provoking more instances where Muslims in the last half of the twentieth century judged the history of the immigrant Muslims as one where heterodox Islam flourished. Nevertheless Aka’s division of the façade’s lower pediment into four windows equi-distant from each other echoes the symmetry that was characteristic of all the immigrant mosques’ façades. Alan Vaughan Richard’s sketch of the Tairo Èkó Mosque’s exterior is all that remains of another mosque with scrolls along the edges of its exterior. (Figure 60) The patron of this building was the Àgùdà Muslim, Papae Ribeiro, also called Alfa Tairu Èkó and the edifice opened for worship in 1882. 211

These mosques, built by Brazilian immigrants and their assistants, make use of elements of the Baroque syntax—pediments, arches, scrolls, pilasters—were unprecedented. In Salvador, Àgùdà Muslims had prayed in the houses of freedmen, or when the Àgùdà were still slaves, in the homes of their slave masters. 212 Elsewhere within the same city, there was another instance in the nineteenth century when Abraham, an

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211 A.B. Láotan, *The Torch Bearers or Old Brazilian Colony in Lagos*, 17.
Englishman, allowed two slaves (James and Diogo) to build a mosque on his property that was a hut.  

Artisans like Sanusi Aka as well as Martin and Porphyrio before him, constructed Baroque architectural elements on the immigrant mosques in Lagos at a smaller scale than the churches in Salvador. The site of Aka’s Central Mosque was smaller than the Saint Francis Cathedral in Pelourinho. The height, length and width not to mention the property boundary of Saint Francis Cathedral was larger than the site of the Central Mosque on what became known as Nnamdi Azikwe Street in Lagos. In some ways then, Aka adapted the scale of the pediment of the Central Mosque to fit the length of the building’s front façade. Moreover, the Saint Francisco church in Salvador probably had at its disposal more building materials (in the case of the Saint Francisco church, gold, marble, brick etc.) that the Lagos Central Mosque did not have.  

Overall, the immigrant mosques carried symbolic weight, denoting a foreign origin, prestige, and a drawing apart from the common herd. We know little about the circumstances surrounding their commission, building, and reception by the public. Despite these missing links the immigrant mosques are traces of that architectural dialogue, fraught with ambiguity, between the Afro-Brazilian immigrants and their ancestral homeland.

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213 Ibid.
214 Little is known about how much the Central Mosque cost and where Sanusi Aka obtained the brick used on the building. Businessmen like the Sardinian Consul Scalia and the African American missionary James Vaughan established brick kilns in Lagos in the 1850s. See Kunle Akinsèmòyìn and Alan Vaughan-Richards, *Building Lagos* (Lagos: F & A Services, 1976), 18 and 26 for the reference on Scalia’s kiln.
**The Residential House: “The House that makes you remove your Hat when admiring its Height”**

According to the architectural and urban historian Witold Rybczynski, in the Western world, the ideas of an individual or family owning a home or a house where they could conduct private affairs away from the public’s view took centuries to evolve.\(^{215}\) Some of the external factors that influenced some people’s realizations that they had private lives as well as public ones may have included a desire for stability in their rapidly changing world and dissatisfaction with their current surroundings and predicament.\(^{216}\) According to Rybczynski, from the medieval era to the present day, homeowners have consequentially invented or reenacted traditions within their residences that achieved the comfort that the people were hoping for but were unable to find away from home.\(^{217}\)

The previous reference to some Lagosians’ harsh treatment of the Àgùdà and Sàró may be pertinent to this current discussion, because the immigrants’ tastes in architecture in their new home may have been the result of a need to create an environment full of structures that seemed familiar and reflected their new cultural, and religious values. Put differently, the settlers may have surmised that the solidity of their structures projected a

\(^{215}\) Witold Rybczynski, "Nostalgia." In *Home: A Short History of an Idea* (New York: Viking, 1986) 9-43. In this book, the author argues that the Middle Ages was the first era where wealthy individuals first conceived that their homes could be spaces that mirrored their “interior” lives. These interior lives consisted of activities that the owners and inhabitants concluded were not to be seen in public. That was, in Rybczynski’s words a novel notion in that era, for he claims that the residences of citizens in medieval city-states had multi-purpose rooms where furniture was movable and family members slept, worked and entertained themselves in the same rooms.


\(^{217}\) Rybczinski, “Intimacy and Privacy.” In *Home: A Short History of an Idea*, 39. Certain bourgeoisie in seventeenth century France for instance, began to decorate the interiors of their houses with furniture that was not merely functional but was also decorative. Probably for the first time in that era, the French used their interiors as showcases of cabinets, tables, chairs etc. The French wanted their visitors to surmise from the furniture within the homes that the owners were wealthy. Rynczinski argues that the French people’s conception of how their interiors could project their desired personalities to the outside world was new.
visual stability in the midst of their clashes with the natives who viewed the immigrants as enemies.

The unhappiness of some of the immigrants with colonial rule also fueled their sense of alienation within their new urban environment and influenced their use of Àgùdà artisans to create interpretations of pediments and other sinuous exterior elements found on Brazilian Baroque cathedrals. Both the Sàró and Àgùdà may have used the latter to create ornate façades that were a contrast to the rectilinear quality of most of the Europeans’ structures, such as the German House, which may have been built in the latter half of the nineteenth century.\(^{218}\) (Figure 61) Only in the highly decorative mosques that the Àgùdà and Sàró built—and that showcased their modernity—could they be themselves and feel centered. But houses too carried a lot of weight, as representations of their patrons’ ideals and aspirations, cultural and religious choices, as well as historic circumstances. One Sàró, as will be seen, created a place that embodied his religious faith, ancestry, and a need to project an image that both colonialists and locals would understand and respect.

In 1913, the auctioneer Andrew Wilkinson Thomas hired his cousin, Herbert Macaulay, a Sàró architect/surveyor, and Balthazar dos Reis, an Àgùdà carpenter, to build his “Èbùn” house in Lagos. (Figure 62, Figure 63 and Figure 64) Kunle Thomas, the patron’s descendant and author of his biography notes that the auctioneer ordered the inscription “Èbùn House” to be engraved on an arch leading to the entrance because he

saw it as a gift from God.\textsuperscript{219} The house was destroyed by fire in the 1980s.\textsuperscript{220} Situated on 85 Ọđùnfá Street in Olówógbówó and close to the Shitta Bey Mosque, its owner entertained King Akitóyè’s successor and his chiefs in the house.\textsuperscript{221} Born in 1856, Andrew Thomas was the grandson of the Alààfin, the king of the Òyó Empire and his father was an ex-slave who resettled in Ibadan from Sierra Leone.\textsuperscript{222}

Macaulay’s role in the formation of Nigeria’s independence from the British in the middle of the twentieth century has occupied historians’ attention more than his career as an architect. Among other projects, he designed Sâró homes. The owner of one of such houses gave it a Jewish name. The client did that to associate his experience of slavery and freedom with the plight of the Jews in Egypt according to the Old Testament. The Sâró was Phillips H. Williams and his residence, “Hephzibah House,” was built in 1924.\textsuperscript{223} (Figure 65, Figure 66 and Figure 67)

Macaulay came from a succession of influential Sâró who shaped the modern Nigerian state at the turn of the twentieth century. His maternal grandfather was Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther who Fulani raiders sold into slavery as a twelve-year-old. The British Royal Navy rescued him and he became the first black bishop in the Anglican Church. (Figure 68) Crowther studied at Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone, and had relocated to Lagos in 1841. In 1859, Herbert Macaulay’s father, Thomas Babington

\textsuperscript{219}Thomas, \textit{The Colourful Black Auctioneer: Biography of Andrew W. Thomas (1856 – 1924)}, 65. “Ěbùn” means, “gift” in Yorùbá and is usually used in a phrase known as “Ěbùn Olúwa,” which means “Gift of God.”


\textsuperscript{222} Thomas, \textit{The Colourful Black Auctioneer: Biography of Andrew W. Thomas (1856 – 1924)}, 19. The details of Thomas’ biography and ancestry are unclear.

Macaulay, inaugurated the first Christian Missionary Society Grammar School in the region, which young Herbert attended.\textsuperscript{224} As a juvenile, Macaulay accompanied Bishop Crowther and his father on missionary trips up the River Niger.\textsuperscript{225}

In 1881, Herbert Macaulay worked as an indexer and clerical assistant in the Public Works Department in Lagos.\textsuperscript{226} Three years later he was promoted to the rank of draughtsman and clerk of Crown Grants, and drew the attention of his superiors who sent him to England for further training on a government scholarship.\textsuperscript{227} The Crown Grants office earmarked land for various functions in the Lagos Colony, and Macaulay’s expertise in developing land surveys of the city served as a foundation for the engineering and architectural skills he would later acquire. In fact, he may have been the most accomplished architect practicing in the Colony in that era. From 1890 to 1893 he studied civil engineering under G. D. Bellamy, a Briton in Plymouth.\textsuperscript{228} Bellamy, the borough surveyor of the town, and a consultant engineer to the Plymouth Corporation, was an expert in civil engineering and surveying.\textsuperscript{229} Macaulay’s training under Bellamy encompassed all that was typical of an apprenticeship in engineering or architecture in nineteenth-century England: a competence in architectural drafting and a discriminating eye for good design.

Apart from Herbert Macaulay, the man in charge of the construction of Ẹ̀bùn House was Balthazar dos Reis who also built the Balógún’s house in Îjèbu-Òde, a

\textsuperscript{228} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{229} Institution of Municipal Engineers, "Proceedings" (London, 1895), 208.
Adept at many construction trades dos Reis received a medal for cabinetmaking at the Colonial Exhibition of India held in Kensington, England, in 1887. His membership in the Black Catholic Brotherhood of Artisans in Salvador before resettling in Lagos showed a concern for the plight of ex-slaves in that city. He also built the Bishop’s throne and the high altar piece at the Holy Cross Cathedral in Lagos, which opened in 1881.

The caption beside A.B. Láotan’s image of Èbùn House in his article entitled “Brazilian Influence on Lagos” says: “This fantastic plaster work at Odúnfá Street was executed by the last of the Brazilian craftsmen about 1913.” Contrary to Láotan’s claim, I argue that Balthazar dos Reis, not João Baptista da Costa, supervised the construction of the Èbùn mansion. First, the historian Olúyomi MacGregor, the head of the Brazilian Descendants Association told me in an interview in 2011 that, local oral history suggests that dos Reis executed the project. According to him, Àgùdà oral traditions are clear about the legacies of dos Reis and João Baptista da Costa.

However, this line of thought does not disprove Láotan’s claim that the house’s plasterwork was erected by the “last of the Brazilian craftsmen.” Nor does it refute his mention of João Baptista da Costa as the artisan, whom he mentions as the youngest bricklayer elsewhere in his essay. Da Costa could have worked under dos Reis during the completion of the architectural commission. The popularity of dos Reis’ name in the

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230 Balógun is a Yorùbá chieftancy title.
231 Cunha, From Slave Quarters to Town Houses, 74.
district after a hundred years may constitute oral evidence of who the chief builder of this particular dwelling was or a fictional tale that some Àgùdà created to bolster dos Reis’ reputation and keep his memory alive. Other types of evidence do not exist that could verify MacGregor’s testimony. Yet as noted earlier on in the text, some creators of oral tradition may not have wanted to establish historical accuracy – in the academic sense of the term—but may have been more interested in preserving the memory of specific people and certain events. If that is true, then the Àgùdà who started the story of dos Reis’ involvement with Èbùn House may have wanted to connect his name with the grand edifice since that connection would cement dos Reis’ reputation as a builder in the neighborhood.

If dos Reis actually built the residence, his building team took care to clad the Èbùn House with brick dressed with stucco and used wooden louvers on the windows. Its West-oriented façade had a five-sided projection like a three-story oriel window flanked by two receding equidistant walls. The five-sided projection also had three rows of large Venetian windows facing Qdùnfá Street. The arched windows on the upper floors had plaster bas-reliefs with floral motifs. That pattern was placed on almost all the windows, including one molded on top of an arch built along the fence, which also faced Qdùnfá Street. (Figure 69) A Star of David molding and an excerpt from the Twenty-Third Psalm in Yorùbá written on the wall next to the front façade’s left flanking wall underscores Thomas’ translation of a Judeo-Christian heritage into a local context. (Figure 70) The writing on the building envelope says: “The Lord Is My Shepherd, I shall not want.” Other walls were clad with ashlar stone facing and had moldings of other star designs,
which signified that Andrew Thomas had Ìràwọ̀ - a reference to his royal ancestry. The crowns of the Òòní, monarch of Ifè, the ancestral land of the Yorùbá, have Ìràwọ̀, as seen in fourteenth century busts of the ruler. (Figure 71) Embedded in the center of each window jamb was a flower and different bas-relief flower patterns adorned other parts of the building as well. Pilasters flanked the windows on the receding walls of the front façade; on top of these walls there is a small parapet, meeting at the foot of another receding wall above. (See Figure 62, Figure 72 and Figure 73) A terrace edged with a balustrade crowned the central wall and once enshrined a cupola that was later removed. (Figure 74)

The building team erected an arcade of three columns and a pilaster, with spherical bases of chamfered rusticated plaster. (Figure 75 and Figure 76) The columns’ composite capitals (part Ionic and part Corinthian) had volutes jutting out at four corners; in between them was a flower with two leaves, partly resting on the cornice above. Their spherical shafts had thin grooves that joined the capitals to the bases while each end terminated with a leaf decoration. Below the volutes were leaf-like shoots interspersed with petal-like features. Some of the windows had pilasters of rusticated plaster that mirrored the pattern of the columns’ bases. Both were similar to the ashlar stone facing of the colonial government’s General Post Office mentioned earlier in the text. (See Figure 31 a-c)

The arches of the arcade originally had fanlights although only one was extant when the images of the edifice were taken in 1977. The staircase in the interior justifies

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the claims of a contemporary Àgùdà who said that Àgùdà freemasons built grand staircases in the center of their houses at the turn of the twentieth century.\(^{237}\) (Figure 77) One can infer, despite the absence of the house’s floor plans that might have been a central corridor running along the staircase’s axis. What cannot be questioned is the popularity of central staircases in the homes of the Àgùdà and the Sàró. Prior to this current discussion, I revealed how a descendant of Lázaro Borges da Silva, one of the most prominent master masons in nineteenth-century Lagos, even recounted how he constantly slid down a curved staircase as a child.\(^{238}\)

The Àgùdà’s plasterwork on the Èbùn House reveals the continuous usefulness of classicism even as the columns in the arcade deviated from all classical norms and orders. The homage to Corinthian capitals evident in the volutes was not extended to the shafts, which were not fluted. The pillars show how immigrants distinguished their buildings from the Greek-Revival style buildings of the European residents, such as the aforementioned German House. (See Figure 61) We also noted earlier that around the turn of the twentieth century, the Àgùdà and Sàró created terraced houses that consisted of brick and adobe homes of locals next to one another. (See Figure 21) This juxtaposition heightened the differences between the immigrants’ structures and those of both colonialists and indigenes.

Neighbors called Èbùn House “Pètési Anduru” (“Andrew’s upstairs” in Yorùbá) and “Ilé Àwòṣífíllà” (“The house that makes you lose your cap when admiring its

\(^{237}\) Káyòdé Gançallo, “Interview about Lazaro Borges da Silva and his house.” Personal interview. August, 20 2011. This interview took place at the site of da Silva’s house in the Brazilian Quarter in Lagos.

\(^{238}\) Sylvanus Gançallo, "Another interview about Lazaro Borges da Silva and his house." Personal interview. October 19, 2011. The interview took place in Lagos. He too is the great great grandson of Lázaro Borges da Silva, the Àgùdà mason. As was mentioned earlier in the text, Sylvanus grew up in his ancestor’s house before it burned down in 1980. He talked about what it was like to live in the structure as a child. Káyòdé and Sylvanus are cousins.
They even coined the aphorism, “Alamoga bi Pètésì Anduru,” (“If something is great it will be like Andrew’s House”) which implied that the structure’s height fully expressed the importance of authority in Ifá. Most of the surrounding houses consisted of one-story structures capped by steep roofs. Thus, the contrast with these houses must have reinforced the grand impact of the Èbùn mansion on the street. Even some Òbas’ thrones were raised to emphasize this spiritual principle, for example, the kings of Efon Alaye and Ila-Orangan sat on thrones on top of stepped podiums or footstools that had steps so that the rulers’ feet did not touch the ground. In these kingdoms, which are in present-day Southwest Nigeria, the rulers’ subjects may have understood that the monarch’s elevated seat symbolized his rulership, a sense of divinity—for his feet no longer touched the earth—perhaps, even a greater kinship with the gods above. Lifting the Oba’s sightline above his wards when he sat on his throne also ensured that his figure was the tallest of all those who were seated in his court or when he appeared in public. The urban planner G.J.A. Ojo argues that royal palaces in many kingdoms in Southwest Nigeria were the most impressive in the region. One could suggest that some Òbas’ used height as one of the ways that their royal structures could be more grandiose than the rest of the built environment under their rule. This raises the possibility that the rule establishing the heights of the sitting king may have had influence on the law concerning palatial architecture or vice-versa. One may conclude then that there could have been

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239 For an alternative translation of the phrase, see David Aradeon, "Architecture." In The Living Culture of Nigeria, edited by Saburi Biobaku (Lagos, Nigeria: Thomas Nelson, 1976), 44 who renders the saying as the “House of secrets, remove your hat.” Both interpretations communicate the terseness of the statement and imply that the nickname was also an urgent command.


some law that undergirded the native Lagosians’ association of height with political power, which determined both the raised nature of an Oba’s throne and the loftiness of his mansion. Another reference to the importance of height can be seen when men greet their elders by lying on the ground. The phrase “Ilé Àwọṣífilà” suggests that Andrew Thomas’ neighbors thought that he redefined the expression of authority through architecture.

Thomas capitalized on his neighbors’ perceptions of the Sàró to communicate his way of life to the public, melding his religious beliefs with his royal roots in the process, and showing that he was indeed unique among them. His house’s idiosyncrasies embodied his uniqueness, that exotic and exalted persona that the locals bestowed upon him due to his connection to a Yorùbá monarch. Unlike other Sàró, he was thrilled about the idea that neighbors thought he came from another place, even as he also embraced his roots. Thus, the history of Èbùn House embedded in a Sàró’s response to his sense of difference by affirming both his status as an immigrant and his ancestral past.

The Èbùn House was another instance of how the immigrants sought solace for their sense of uprootedness in religion and re-invented themselves in their new land. What set Thomas apart from other immigrants however is the fact that he capitalized on his royal ancestry in order to re-think how it could be seen in Lagos. The height of Thomas’ building, which was taller than the palace of the king of Lagos may have challenged to the Oba’s preeminence in Lagos, which the royal mansion had represented. Yet Thomas held both versions of himself—his Sàró and Yorùbá heritage -- in tension. The house, more than the other residences of settlers in the metropolis, showed the two lines of Thomas’ ancestry in conversation with one another.
Other “Brazilian” Houses

The oldest Lagosian Àgùdà home on record is the Casa do Fernandez built in Lagos Island in 1846 by Fernandez, a bi-racial Àgùdà slave merchant who may have been an ex-slave himself.243 (Figure 78, Figure 79, Figure 80, Figure 81 and Figure 82) His father was a Portuguese slaver in Brazil while his mother was an African.244 The younger Fernandez lived in the edifice and used it as a “punishment house” for his own slaves.245 Ọmojọlá Ọláìyá dwelt in the residence in the 1990s and was a descendant of Fernandez’ godson (Alfred Ọmolọ̀nà Ọláìyá). Ọmojọlá told the architectural historian Marjorie Alonge that Fernandez abandoned the structure after the British colonial administration ordered all Portuguese slavers to leave Lagos in 1862.246 The Portuguese had dwelt in what later became the Brazilian Quarter at the turn of the eighteenth century.247 King Akitóyè of Lagos thus gave to the Àgùdà those parts of that area that were vacant.

Fernandez moved to Bàdágríy and his Lagos home remained empty for several years until Andrew Thomas auctioned it off to Ọmojọlá’s fore-father, Alfred.248 Ọmojọlá also revealed that Fernandez kept his slaves in the backyard and in some of the smaller quarters on the first floor. (Figure 83) When Marjorie Alonge surveyed the edifice in

245 Ibid.
247 Ibid.
1991, the partitioned spaces along the left and rear façades on the same level had been transformed into shops. Similar to what Debret depicted in *Mercado de escravos na rua do Valongo* (1828) as a large room where one slave trader kept and sold his slaves within a building in Rio de Janeiro, the impluvium in Fernandez’ mansion may have been a transitional space where Fernandez’ slaves were displayed before merchants purchased them. (Figure 84) Both the yard’s square footage and slightly off center location in the overall design scheme create an impression that the other chambers revolve around it. Fernandez and his family lived on the second floor, which also had a terrace where Ṫọọjọlá said Fernandez hosted parties.\(^{249}\) (Figure 84, Figure 85 and Figure 86) A feature that distinguishes this mansion from other Àgúdà residential architecture is its parapet, whose openings mirror the Gothic-pointed windows below. (See Figure 78 and Figure 82) This balustrade also partly conceals the edifice’s gable roof. A terracotta human figurine in a classical pose rests on the parapet above the central pilaster lining the front elevation. The builders, who remain unknown, used brick for the rest of the building.

One Àgúdà house owner and trader in Lagos was João Francisco Devodê Branco (1856-1924). (Figure 87) A native of the Mahi ethnic group in Dahomey, he was sold into slavery at the age of eight.\(^{250}\) Láotan states that Branco moved from Brazil to Dahomey first and then settled in Lagos.\(^{251}\) Branco amassed a fortune from selling shea butter, kola nuts and bitter kola. Two of his houses were located on Kakawa and Massey

\(^{249}\) Ibid., 271.
\(^{251}\) Láotan, *The Torch Bearers Or Old Brazilian Colony in Lagos*, 16.
Streets in the Brazilian Quarter.²⁵² (Figure 88 and Figure 89) Both residences had large arched windows with a floral motif in the middle of the arched window frames that was used by Àgùdà builders throughout Southwest Colonial Nigeria. The home on Kakawa Street was one of three Àgùdà structures in Lagos whose upper windows had wrought iron balconies. (Figure 90 and Figure 91) One of the other two was the Fernandez House. (Figure 92) The French sinuous balustrades on Branco’s building differed from the linear terraces of the Fernandez home. The identities of the ironworkers, who executed the work on both structures, remain unknown, despite my interviews of the descendants of a nineteenth century resident Àgùdà goldsmith, Senhor Vera Cruz.²⁵³ Like Branco, Vera Cruz was a fellow Dahomean who had first left Brazil for his homeland in Dahomey before settling in Lagos.²⁵⁴

The balusters of the Branco and Fernandez duplexes may reveal the designers’ intention to echo the Brazilian colonialists’ patronage of such hand railings on buildings in Salvador or British architects’ decorative ironwork on structures in that country in the nineteenth century. (Figure 93) These balconies also showed Branco’s preference for curvilinear ornament over the box-like terraces of the European residences in Lagos, such as the ones seen in an early twentieth century colonial residence in Lagos. (Figure 94) If the architect or builders of Branco’s homes received their training in Brazil, Branco’s

²⁵³ Emma Nathan, “Nigeria’s First Indigenous Samba School Visits Afro-Brazilian Returnee’s Home in Lagos.” The Guardian (Lagos), April 9, 2016 and Mr. Vera Cruz, “Information about Senhor Vera Cruz and his house.” Personal interview. November 26, 2011. The interview took place in the Vera Cruz residence in the Brazilian Quarter. There are no documents about nineteenth or early twentieth century Lagosian and immigrant builders and designers. I culled builders such as Vera Cruz from one of three sources: a Government Gazette jury list, a directory of Àgùdà families, which the Brazilian Consulate in Lagos gave me and who I interviewed and articles such as David Aradeon, “The Unmaking of Tradition,” Glendora Review 3, no. 1 (1996), 72-85.
²⁵⁴ Láotan, The Torch Bearers: Or, Old Brazilian Colony in Lagos, 16.
aesthetic tastes and patronage of such individuals may echo Tundonu Amosu’s assessment that some Àgùdà intentionally created material culture to keep their memories of Northeastern Brazil alive and to distinguish themselves from the British residents in the city. While it is possible that the builders who participated in the building of this house could have been influenced by English ironwork, Branco himself does not seem to have had any connection to England. Kristin Mann’s short outline of Branco’s life indicates that he frequently traveled to Brazil and hired an agent to handle his trading business there. More pertinent for our discussion here is the lack of information stating that Branco traveled to England. Hence, if the balusters on his houses were appropriations of English ones, then the design team may have acquired their competence from the Lagos Training College and Industrial Institute, which started in 1896, the Public Works Department or even through apprenticeships in England.

The first floor of Branco’s Kakawa Street home was the seat of his cleaning and dyeing enterprise whereas the residential component was on the upper level. Its front façade had two rows of five windows, the last one serving as the main entrance, and possibly the access to the second story (Figure 95). It is difficult to ascertain the structure’s age, as it was demolished in the 1950s. Embossed flowers in stucco crowned the summits of the window frames. Alan Vaughan-Richards’ sketches of floral

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257 See Echeruo, "The Education of Lagos." In Victorian Lagos: Aspects of Nineteenth Century Lagos Life, 63 for that reference on the Lagos Training College and Industrial Institute. One was not able to uncover any more information about the Institute beyond in the Lagos Weekly Record’s publication of the Institute’s Prospectus on July 4, 1896. Conducting research on who the major actors who created the school were and how many graduates the institution produced needs to be done to know more about the development of native Lagosian building professionals.
258 Kunle Akinsėmoyin and Alan Vaughan-Richards, Building Lagos, 19.
patterns such as the one on Branco’s property on Massey Street in the 1960s reveal the Ògùdà builders’ visual lexicon of ornament for their built environment in Lagos. (Figure 96) Figure 91 shows an interior image of the central corridor, which divides the Branco House on Kakawa Street into two halves. The Massey Street property was narrower, its entrance in the middle of its frontal elevation. One must thus conclude that access to the second story lay along the central corridor of the building. (See Figure 89) Branco’s housing projects and his burial within an Ògùdà cemetery in Lagos demonstrate his assimilation into the Ògùdà culture that was emerging in the city, despite his ancestral ties to Mahi in present-day Benin Republic.

The mansion of João Œsan da Rocha, otherwise called “Casa da Agua” or “Water House” by the Ògùdà, was located across the street from João Branco’s Kakawa street residence. It was the source of inspiration for Antonio Olinto’s novel of the same name. Marianna, the main protagonist in the book, digs a well within her property as João da Rocha did for his home in Lagos. For da Rocha such wells reminded him of the ones he saw within residential compounds in Salvador. Subsequently, da Rocha sold water to his neighbors in Lagos. Christine Meisner’s cinematic interpretation of da Rocha’s life suggests that da Rocha lived on Kakawa Street with his young family and started selling trinkets, textiles, groceries and that he even opened a restaurant on Customs Street nearby. (Figure 97 and Figure 98) João’s son Cândido expanded his father’s business in the gold trade and financed the second version of the da Rocha residence in the same location, which was built in 1875 and still stands today. (Figure 99, Figure 100, and

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Figure 101) Cândido was also the treasurer of the Lagos Auxiliary of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines’ Rights Protection Society.  

The upper wall of the front façade of the “Water House” was clad with tiles echoing the practice of Dutch residents in Brazil in the seventeenth, particularly in the city of São Luis. (Figure 102) Cândido’s father João owned a parrot that visitors saw in the hall on the first floor when they entered the home. If Meisner’s portrayal of the da Rocha household is to be believed – and she had interviewed da Rocha’s descendants – the da Rocha household showed all their guests their recherché tastes through the cats and parrot they kept there. The first thing that their guests heard was the parrot reciting João’s name. Additionally, the hallway was also the thoroughfare to get to the well, which was at the back of the house. Part of Meisner’s text even records that one of the kings of Lagos, probably Ọba Oyekan, drank clean water from it. Near the well, da Rocha’s garden had aviaries that included crown birds, turkeys, guinea fowls and partridges. The similarities between the pilasters with volutes at the corners of the façade’s front elevation and the ones in Branco’s residence lead one to conjecture that the same artisans worked on the piers of both structures. What is not in doubt however is how da Rocha’s hallway projected the family’s embrace of modernity in Lagos. Their gallery was a novel space within Lagosian architecture at the time, which had used such rooms for communal activities.

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264 Ibid.
265 Ibid.
266 Ibid.
Diagonally across the street from the da Rocha edifice and on the same side as the Branco mansion is the home of James Churchill Vaughan, an ex-slave from Camden, South Carolina. (Figure 103, Figure 104 and Figure 105) He had relocated to Lagos in the 1850s and had established himself as a Baptist minister, carpenter, and retailer. 267 James was the son of Scipio Vaughan, an Ègbá native of Abéokúta kingdom in Southwest of present-day Nigeria, who became a slave in 1805. 268 A planter in South Carolina known as Willie Vaughan purchased Scipio who later mastered the art of carpentry, brick masonry, as well as wrought iron gates and fences. 269 There is no doubt that he was James Vaughan’s teacher. James owned a brick kiln and probably hired Àgùdà builders to construct his dwelling on Kakawa Street in Lagos. He was one of the few settlers to start the production of masonry units on a large scale, when he arrived in the city. It is possible that he provided the building blocks for the erection of the Branco and da Rocha construction projects. Vaughan’s workshop would have been in the house’s yard alongside its rear elevation where he trained many apprentices who adopted his last name. 270 (Figure 105)

The asymmetrical plans of the Vaughan mansion allowed the owner to stand on the corridor of the upper level and watch the work that was taking place in the yard below. That too was a novel feature in the domestic architecture of the African immigrants. The wrought iron grill underneath the arch on the fence of the property showed that the Vaughan, da Rocha and Branco residences had more metal decorations

269 Ibid.
270 Ibid.
than other houses in Lagos. (Figure 106) Vaughan’s iron trade and hardware store in another part of the city, suggests that he might have been the source of construction material for all three houses. A sphere on top of a base with volutes that echo classical architecture embellishes the portal along the boundary of Vaughan’s place. Worthy of note too is the fact that Kakawa Road was the only district where the Sàró, Àgùdà and African Americans collectively transformed their structures into mixed-use edifices for residential and commercial purposes. Yet, though James Vaughan’s businesses flourished, he had enemies in other realms in the region. When he first arrived in the 1850s, he enlisted as a sniper for the Ìjàyè ethnic group in the Ìjàyè-Ibadan war from 1859-1861. Ibadan soldiers plundered Vaughan’s other home in the Ìjàyè kingdom twice as revenge for his role in the battle. Vaughan also had conflicts with W. J. David, a fellow Baptist missionary from Mississippi who was also a resident of Lagos. Vaughan left the church he and David attended and co-founded a non-missionary Christian group in the city around 1888. In summary, the Brancos, da Rochas and Vaughans’ life in Kakawa shows how immigrants from different parts of the African diaspora mingled and adjusted to their new lives in the region.

In 1880 the Àgùdà Santan da Silva built a residence in the Brazilian Quarter that became known as the Elias da Silva Duplex, and it is the third house in Lagos with a wrought iron terrace. (Figure 107 and Figure 108) There is no evidence to suggest that Santan and Elias da Silva were relatives, but Láotan (1943) states that Elias was one of

271 Ibid.
273 Ibid., 57.
the heads of the leading families and tradesmen in the Brazilian community. Elias’ residence was made out of stone and, like the “Water House,” had tiles on part of its front façade. The heraldic sculptures of lions perched on both sides of the fence’s entrance would inspire other statues on buildings in kingdoms North of Lagos for the next sixty years. Between the two lion figurines is an arch that recalls the entryways of the Èbùn and Vaughan residences, although the one presently under scrutiny does not have the embellishment in the center in the other two. Nevertheless, its carved wooden door provides a colorful contrast to the floral tiles on the exterior. Its framed Gothic windows display the disparate architectural sources from which the designer of the Santan da Silva house borrowed.

The narrow length and width of the perimeter are a direct consequence of the relatively small size of the property itself. (Figure 109) Unlike the aforementioned houses at Kakawa, the Elias da Silva mansion orients its main face inwards beyond the portal leading into its inner compound. If square footage indicated the wealth of the tenant, Elias da Silva was not as rich as the occupants of Kakawa Road. After all, Joaquim Branco alone bequeathed over eighteen properties and lands to his descendants and Láotan said that João da Rocha was the wealthiest Àgùdà “of his time.”

Further down Kakawa is the Pereira family’s bungalow, which was also erected in the second half of the nineteenth century. (Figure 110 and Figure 111) In the late 1990s, an unnamed occupant of the dwelling informed the historian Brigitte Kowalski that his

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275 Láotan, The Torch Bearers: Or, Old Brazilian Colony in Lagos, 14.
276 Marianno Carneiro da Cunha, From Slave Quarters to Town Houses: Brazilian Architecture in Nigeria and the People’s Republic of Benin, 182-184 where the author publishes the entire text of Joaquim Branco’s will of 1919. Additionally, see Láotan, The Torch Bearers Or Old Brazilian Colony in Lagos, 14, for a statement about João da Rocha’s wealth.
grandfather, a merchant, had built the structure.277 A comparison of the jury list of the
*Government Gazette* of January 7, 1905 with an excerpt from Láotan’s *Torchbearers Or
Old Brazilian Colony in Lagos* shows that the owner’s name was Benedicto Florêncio
Pereira.278 Moreover, there is proof that in 1864 Lieutenant-Governor John Hawley
Glover of the Lagos Colony awarded Benedicto Florêncio Pereira the property.279 (Figure
112) Benedicto Pereira’s other title was Papae Ọba, and to this day, the property
is known as the Ọba Compound.280 The phrase “Ọba,” means the “chief that
challenges the authority of the king.”281 Equally significant is the first word of Benedicto
Pereira’s other name because it describes a specific type of Àgùdà immigrant.

“Papae”/“Mamae” connoted a male/female Àgùdà who was born in West or South Africa
and had returned to the continent.282 Other terms such as “Yoyo” and “Yaya” denoted
Brazilian-born Àgùdà men and women in Lagos.283 Hence Benedicto Florêncio Pereira
was part of the African-born rather than immigrant Àgùdà.

The corridor on the right hand side of the Pereira House floor plan led to the hall
at the back of the residence, which lies in a secluded spot, and shows the diminishing

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PhD diss., (L’Ecole du Louvre, 2004), 177.
Bearers Or Old Brazilian Colony in Lagos*, 13.
279 Marianno Carneiro da Cunha, *From Slave Quarters to Town Houses: Brazilian Architecture in Nigeria
and the People’s Republic of Benin*, 52.
280 Ibid. Additionally, Francesca Yétündé Emmanuel is the great great granddaughter of Benedicto
Florêncio Pereira. Born in 1933, she became the first female Permanent Secretary of the Federal Republic
of Nigeria in 1975. She talked briefly about the Pereira family in an interview about her singing career with
the Steve Rhodes Voices choral group of Nigeria. For the full interview see Bola Adewara, ”While on
Stage, You Dare Not Take Your Eyes and Attention off Steve,” www.steverhodessigeria.com. Accessed
April 22, 2016.
http://www.livingprojectslimited.com/steverhodes/francesca-Emmanuel.htm
281 R.C. Abraham, “Olù,” “Ọba,” “Ṣẹ̀tẹ̀,” and “Tẹ̀” in *Dictionary of Modern Yoruba*, 471, 500-501, 615 and
633.
283 Ibid.
importance of such a room for communal activities in Lagos. (Figure 113) Thus from a visual standpoint, the corridor reduces the hall’s square footage. Though the living room is smaller than the gallery, it replaces the latter as the Pereira family’s gathering space. (See Figure 111) The architect’s division of the interior chambers—where four spaces of approximately the same square footage lie beyond the parlor in an L-shaped configuration—judiciously uses the overall square footage where the large living room and hall do not dwarf the sizes of the smaller rooms. What aids this impression is that the two chambers next to the parlor resemble two halves of that same room projecting outwards, creating a duplicate space with a wall dividing the second space into two. Visually, it resembles a designer’s projection of lines from the walls of a ground floor plan to create a sectional or elevation drawing underneath the plan. One could say that the L-shaped chambers appear like small modules that constitute the basic spatial unit of the floor plan: a specific number of them could equal the total area of the house. Three semi-circular windows flush with the main entrance that has an arch of its own creating a sense of balance – four openings along the street – and a sense of rhythm. Inside the window frames are wooden lattice screens that have a diagonal cross-hatched appearance that stands as a contrast to the curvilinear window frames. Each of these screens appear on the upper half of each window while the lower part have two wooden doors that can open inwards to admit air and allow the inhabitants to see events on the street. (See Figure 110)
Before the Sàró architect Herbert Macaulay designed the Òbùn Residence cited earlier, he drew plans for the Maja House, which was built between 1890 and 1895.\textsuperscript{284} (Figure 114 and Figure 115) The first owner of the edifice was the merchant prince Oni Gbaragbo.\textsuperscript{285} Subsequently, Dr. Akinòlà Maja, a Lagos politician acquired the property in 1932.\textsuperscript{286} The following year Maja became one of the leaders of the Nigerian Youth Movement, the first nationalist organization in colonial Nigeria.\textsuperscript{287} In this home Maja entertained kings such as Oba Adénijì Àdèlé of Lagos (1893 -1964) and Oba Ládàpò Samuel Adémówá II, who ruled Àbèòkúta from 1920 until 1962.\textsuperscript{288}

Macaulay’s design of Maja House maximized the area of the plot of land by creating two separate structures that were linked by a terrace on the second floor: the main residence and a smaller two-story building full of rooms. (Figure 115) As in the Pereira house, the hall in the Maja home lies along the rear façade on the upper story of the first structure in the compound. The increasing seclusion of this space in the Àgùdà and Sàró residential architecture mirrored the privatization of family activities, which visitors could no longer see. Prior to the nineteenth century, central courtyards within the dwellings in the region were close to the entrance. Once occupants of these quarters in Southwest Colonial Nigeria allowed their guests to proceed past the foyer, the visitors beheld the performance of household chores in the atrium. This is suggested by the plan

\textsuperscript{285} Akinyeye, Eko: Landmarks of Lagos, Nigeria, 89.
\textsuperscript{286} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{287} James S. Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 218.
\textsuperscript{288} Akinyeye, Eko: Landmarks of Lagos, Nigeria, 89.
of the Aronmaye family home in Ifé, drawn in 1974 by the anthropologist John Michael Vlach, though the house itself is likely to be more than a century old. (Figure 116)

The sense of secrecy in the Maja edifice does not stop with the gallery. Next to that enclosure is a staircase that leads to a loft lit by three clerestories. (See Figures 114 and 115) This hideaway is akin to the cupola that was initially installed on top of the Ėbùn house. (See Figure 74) In both cases, Oni Gbaragbo (the original owner of the Maja property) and Andrew Thomas of the Ėbùn mansion seem to have thought that there was a relationship between height and concealment—the higher one created a pent-house, the more invisible it would be. Even the presence of an exterior access to the upper floor of the second building in the Maja complex suggests that Gbaragbo wanted a retreat away from the main house. (See Figure 115) The stairwell on the right side of the first building’s entrance has columns on the second floor with visually disaligned vine and volute capitals, which, together with the balustrades, embellishes the interior. (Figure 117) It also exposes the structural elements for aesthetic purposes in the interior, in a way not seen elsewhere in Sàró and Àgùdà houses in Lagos.

There was another bungalow, of which little is known, that exhibits floral motifs that Alan Vaughan-Richards (1977) did not document but were still popular among Àgùdà builders in the Brazilian Quarter after World War I. (Figure 118) The architect and historian Joanne Nagel Shaw described the floral motif on the bungalow as the “Flower of Lagos”: a style that African immigrants used to distinguish themselves from other peoples in the city. The “Flower of Lagos” appears three times in different

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variations across the house’s front façade in rhythmic fashion. The pediment above the
doorway encases the central vegetal motif, and imbues it with a sense of grandeur despite
the fact that the other “Flower of Lagos” moldings to its left and right have more leaf
shoots. The principal reason that the central white “Flower of Lagos” commands one’s
visual attention here is because it rests on the darker colored pediment. The Star of David
above each pilaster shows that Andrew Thomas was not the only immigrant in the city to
decorate his home with that particular icon in order to liken his estrangement from his
Lagosian neighbors to the Israelites’ hardships at the hands of the Egyptians in the
biblical era. (See Figure 70) The fact that the archaeologist Ekpo Eyo told Joanne Nagel
Shaw that Lagosian Muslims also put the six-pointed star on their building to evince their
Islamic faith and financial prosperity reveals that different groups used the hexagram for
purposes.290

The bungalow presently under scrutiny has a gentle gable roof, which shows how
the designer wanted the onlookers to focus their gaze on the ornament on the front
elevation. (Figure 118) A residence made out of brick on Herbert Macaulay Street in the
Èbúté Mètta borough of Lagos has a similar set of “Flower of Lagos” moldings above its
entrance and windows of its front elevation. (Figure 119) The chamfered bases of the
piers are a replica of the foundations of the columns on Andrew Thomas’ Èbùn House
and suggest that Balthazar dos Reis or his protégés executed both works. (Figure 120) A
closer inspection of the Èbúté Mètta property and Èbùn House reveals even more
similarities. Both structures have walled columns with the same flutings, bands of
crenellations, chains and capitals with leafs. (Figure 121)

290 Ibid., 22-23.
Charles Jenkins Lumpkin (1851-1919) was a Sàró surgeon and owner of a house on Abibu Òkí Street in Lagos that was built in 1890 with brick and stucco.\textsuperscript{291} (Figure 122) He was born in Freetown, Sierra Leone, and received his primary education in the city’s Christian Missionary Grammar School. Afterwards, he migrated to Lagos with his older brother, and returned to work as a clerk in the Governor of Freetown’s office when his sibling died.\textsuperscript{292} In 1874, Lumpkin obtained degrees in Medicine from the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh and the University of Brussels and resettled in Lagos ten years later.\textsuperscript{293} He applied for the vacant Assistant Colonial Surgeon position in the Lagos Colony shortly after his arrival without success.\textsuperscript{294} The historian E.A. Ayandélé argues that the European residents in the metropolis only wanted European physicians and did not have any confidence in the African doctors.\textsuperscript{295} In 1887, Lumpkin’s second application for the medical post was denied. It took the death of a woman called Adéọlá for the Colony to employ African immigrants as surgeons in the following year.\textsuperscript{296} The Assistant Colonial Surgeon at the time was Dr. Cecil Digby and after the Sàró cleric James “Holy” Johnson campaigned for the colonial government to investigate the circumstances of Adéọlá’s death, the administration concluded that Digby misdiagnosed the woman’s ailment and that Digby should be prosecuted.\textsuperscript{297} Afterwards, the Colonial Hospital hired two Sàró Assistant Colonial Surgeons: Obadiah Johnson and John K.

\textsuperscript{292} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{294} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{295} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{296} Ibid., 176-178.
\textsuperscript{297} Ibid., 178.
Randle. Randle, as we noted earlier, financed the launch of the *Lagos Weekly Record*. He also treated Africans and the workers of the French firm of Regis Ainé in his private clinic.

Jenkins Lumpkin was the third Sàró Assistant Colonial Surgeon. He also treated Africans and the workers of the French firm of Regis Ainé in his private clinic.

The top part of the Lumpkin house frontispiece has moldings that mimic blades of grass held together by a thin band. (Figure 123 and Figure 124) Longer grass-like moldings rest on the pilasters and have flowers at both ends. All these motifs accentuate the main entrance of the mansion, which is on the right hand corner. Next to the frontispiece is an arch that leads into the premises. Sash windows line the third story while true arch openings are found on the two levels below. Godwin and Hopwood Architects, a Lagosian firm, restored the house in 1990. The original architect and builders of the project, however, remain unknown. (Figure 125 and Figure 126)

The history of the next building shows a further expansion of the immigrants’ role in shaping cultures in the region. Unlike the previous case studies, the following example shows how the settlers’ forms influenced the emergence of new shrine architecture, as well as liturgical forms.

“Ọrìṣà Temple”

Brazilian immigrants often wanted to pursue their own religion. What follows exemplifies J. Lorand Matory’s argument that African Diasporas create their homelands or “motherlands” and moreover, that local religious faiths in Colonial Nigeria in particular, were the result of “Afro-Atlantic dialogue(s)” between immigrants and

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298 Ibid.
indigenes in the region.\textsuperscript{302} One photograph in Pierre Verger’s collection of Àgùdà and Sàró buildings in this region and Dahomey between 1940 and 1970 shows an Òrìṣà temple in Bàdágry, the principal slavery port in the region in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.\textsuperscript{303} (Figure 127 and Figure 128) Popo refugees from the wars between the Fon people in Dahomey, and the Òwóris, an ethnic group that settled in Lagos, moved into Bàdágry or Gbagble in the 1720s.\textsuperscript{304} They were from Grand Popo, a place in Dahomey and Aného (Little Popo) located in present day Togo. The king of the Bàdágry people was the “Akran” and their first monarch, Gbafoe, had founded the town as early as 1425. European missionaries described Bàdágry in the 1840s as a place where polytheism flourished even though it later earned the distinction of being the first town in the region to receive Christian missionaries.\textsuperscript{305} As a principal slave port it was also a disembarking point for immigrants coming to this region from other parts of Africa. Some Àgùdà and Sàró used the town as a way station before settling in Lagos. Others settled in the town.

Martiniano do Bonfim, the Afro-Brazilian builder who worked on the Holy Cross Cathedral may have designed Bàdágry Òrìṣà temple in the 1890s, though the client who commissioned it remains unknown. When the linguist Lorenzo Dow Turner interviewed do Bonfim in Salvador in 1940, he told Turner that he learnt the art of “mọlémọlẹ” (“knowledge of making houses”)—which according to him the Àgùdà also called

\textsuperscript{302} J. Lorand Matory, \textit{Black Atlantic Religion: Tradition, Transnationalism and Matriarchy in the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé}, 1-4, 7-9, 15-17 and 28-35.

\textsuperscript{303} An Òrìṣà denotes a deity or ancestor in the Ifá, Candomblé and Santeria religions. Òrìṣà is spelled as “Orixá” in Candomblé and “Orichá” in Santeria.

\textsuperscript{304} Gbagble is the Ogu word for Bàdágry and its inhabitants were the Ogu people and even their language was Ogu.

“pedreiro” (mason in Portuguese)—in Lagos. To earn a living Martiniano worked as a carpenter on the city’s Holy Cross Cathedral. (See Figure 12 and Figure 129) Later on in the early 1900s, he established many terreiros or Candomblé temples in Salvador during frequent trips there. His exposure to the baroque ecclesiastical architecture in Brazil and Candomblé thrones for the Mães must have given him sources of inspiration and a repertoire of visual images.

The Òrìṣà Temple in Bàdágy was made with adobe and stucco. Its front façade had a verandah consisting of two pilasters at its ends and two pillars in the middle of the wall, all four being equidistant. Supporting a beam, which upheld a gable roof, the four supporting uprights had cornices that served as capitals; their rectilinear shafts rested on similarly shaped bases. The shafts had strips of colors running down their length and two concentric circles placed in the middle. Their bases had an axe motif, the primary symbol Sango, the Yorùbá god of thunder. The shafts of the pilasters also had a rectangular pattern the corners of which feature concave cuts. The decoration on these piers is similar to those on the walled columns of the Masallaci Olosun mosque, which reminds us of the adaptation of Catholic architecture in the Shitta Bey Mosque. (Figure 130) Two curves were cut out of the pattern in the middle of the temple’s pillars suggesting a circle. The

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306 Félix Omidire and Alcione Amos, "O Babaláô Fala: A Autobiografia De Martiniano Eliseu Do Bomfim," Afro-Ásia, no. 46 (2012), 239. Do Bonfim’s business card of 1940 displays his knowledge of different artisanal work including painting and carpentry. His father was an Ègbá ex-slave from Abèòkùta, and a resident of Salvador who acquired his freedom in 1842. He purchased Martiniano’s Yorùbá mother and co-habited with her and with four other women. Martiniano’s parents sent him to Lagos in 1873 to be the apprentice of a Babaláwo (Yorùbá for “father of secrets”) that is an Ifá priest. See E. Franklin Frazier, “The Negro Family in Bahia, Brazil,” American Sociological Review 7, no. 4 (1942), 474 for a short biography of Martiniano do Bonfim.


308 “Mãe” is the title of the most senior priestess in a Candomblé temple in Salvador.

309 In Yorùbá cosmology Sango and his priests and priestesses have small axes they wield to symbolize their allegiance to the deity.
bases of the pilasters had a larger version of the same motif with the exception that it also
contained two concentric circles within it. The detail was also repeated in a series with
concentric circles at the skirting of the right side of the verandah’s wall. Next to this
skirting and jutting out from the wall was a raised stage decorated with diamond
striations, almost spanning the verandah’s width.

The iconography is related to Yorùbá (and Ifá) history and religion. A pair of
elephants facing each other and perching over Ìràwọ (star) was part of a framed, painted
relief on the wall flanking the stage. In Ifá religion, elephants symbolize both royalty and
Ọrúnmílù, the highest-ranking Yorùbá deity in the universe. Thus, regalia of the Òba and
chiefs often show elephant motifs, for, as a proverb states: “Ọmọ erin jogun òla” (“The
young elephant inherits honor”). 310

The Òrìṣà temple’s verandah wall also had an icon of two lions resting on a
crown. One proverb alluding to the royal significance of lions states that “A ti Dade
Kiniun Ko sehin Olódùmaré” (“The coronation of a lion has the support of Olódùmarè”).
Devotees also associated the lion’s mane with a crown. 311 Hence, the artist who painted
the image of the lions with a royal headgear on the wall of the shrine may have done so to
underscore the god’s dual divinity and royalty. The lion and elephant icons may have
been placed on the wall above the stage where a priest or priestess sat in order to protect
him/her from malevolent spirits.

The building’s main entrance was on the left side of the front façade and above its
door was a crown with a vegetal motif identical to the ones that adorned the front façade

311 Ibid.
of one of the Àgùdà single-story homes. The pattern below the windows is a vertical orientation of the same motif on the bases of the columns (See Figure 11830).

Both coronets -- the one above the front door and the other supporting two lions on the verandah’s wall—differed in design from those that the Akran, the king of Bàdágrý wore. The appearance of symmetrical and curvilinear royal headgear on structures in this area showed that the Afro-Brazilians’ custom of wearing European-style jeweled headdresses to pretend that they were European rulers became part of their architectural iconography.

In 1828, Debret depicted a scene where the former slaves donned such costumes as they distributed food to the less privileged in Porto Alegre, Brazil. (Figure 131) The queen’s crown is similar in form to the icon of the coronet on the face of the Òrìṣà shrine. (Figure 132) Furthermore, some citizens of Bàdágrý had houses with comparable symbols of regalia joined to vines over their entrances. Examples include the Ölú Olú Home built in 1938 and the Possu Residence erected in 1947. (Figure 133, Figure 134, Figure 135, and Figure 136) Both the Òrìṣà temple and these residential quarters have distinctive pilasters that frame the doors. Thus, the Àgùdà designers and their disciples developed a Bàdágrý style of decorating their doorways that distinguished it from the Àgùdà architectural innovations in Lagos.

Chamfered pilasters were placed at the temple’s door jambs to accentuate the entrance. The verandah had a raised adobe floor clad with concrete, which was added later on in the twentieth century. In Verger’s photograph, raffia mats for congregants to sit on are seen in front of the building. This may show that the people sat down there while waiting for their turn to consult the temple’s priest or priestess.
Bonfim’s Bàdágry temple design was part of the Àgùdà’s new style of Candomblé architecture and religious objects in Salvador and Lagos that characterized this era. Such objects included costume designs for all the Yorùbá deities except Olódùmarè and Candomblé priestly vestments that were more elaborate than those of Lagos.\(^{312}\) Though images of what Candomblé priests and priestesses wore in rituals at the turn of the twentieth century are difficult to find, it is conceivable that these priestly attires became more extravagant as the twentieth century wore on. If so, one may speculate that Bonfim’s design of the Bàdágry temple and the Afro-Brazilians’ aesthetic choices of sacerdotal robes for the Candomblé religion reflect some Àgùdà’s desire to create contemporary forms of expression for their religious truths.

The Ôrìṣà temple’s inner sanctuary was larger than the Ôrìṣànlá shrine (Figure 137, Figure 138 and Figure 139) in Ifẹ, because it required and accommodated more participants for the rituals.\(^{313}\) The Ôrìṣànlá temple by contrast had two buildings. The earliest survey of this structure on record is the one that the Nigerian Department of Antiquities conducted in 1962, though it was several centuries old.\(^{314}\) One of the buildings was surrounded by a fence and had the altar in its center. The second building was within the shrine’s compound and had a courtyard space where only priests could enter. The outdoor space in front of the Bonfim temple on the other hand introduced a public dimension to the Ogu people’s rituals. Bonfim’s experience of open Catholic masses in Salvador helped him to conceive these new Candomblé spaces.

\(^{312}\) Olódùmarè is the principal deity that is according to Ifá unknowable. This god ranks even higher than Ôrùnmílà and remains shrouded in mystery.

\(^{313}\) Ôrìṣànlá is another name for Ôbàtálá. It means the “big Ôrìṣà” in Yorùbá.

Olódùmarè and Accomodationism in Modern Candomblé Architecture

One factor that may have inspired the new Candomblé practices and temple designs such as Bonfim’s Òrìṣà temple was the Àgùdà’s interpretation of the Catholic doctrine of Accomodationism. Father Matteo Ricci may have been the originator of the teaching. He was an Italian Jesuit priest who had used Confucian concepts to explain Christianity to the Chinese in the sixteenth century, telling the Chinese that they had always believed in God. As far as Ricci was concerned, the Chinese religious beliefs of his era complemented and did not oppose faith in monotheism. Despite the Catholic Church’s denunciation of this movement, Accomodationism’s call for a dialogue between Catholicism and local cultures wherever Jesuit missionaries went was to reverberate in subsequent centuries. As we noted earlier, Jesuit missionaries trained African slave artisans in Belém, Brazil who may have served as the incubators of this doctrine in the North and the Northeast. Perhaps the renovation of the Igreja da Lapinha in the 1860s, which was originally built in 1771, extended that ideology even further.

As was noted earlier, the church’s interior had Arabesque arches, interior walls with Moorish ornament and Arabic calligraphy written around its nave. (See Figure 11 and Figure 140) Translated into English, the writing states, “Behold, This is the Miracle of God and This is the Door of Heaven.” If slaves rebuilt the Igreja, its interior décor of Islamic tiles, traditional Catholic altarpiece and calligraphy may indicate the builders’

316 Ibid., 96.  
317 Araújo, A mão afro-brasileira : significado da contribuição artística e histórica = The hand of the Afro-Brazilian : the significance of its artistic and historical contribution, 25.  
318 Ibid.
application of the Accommodationist doctrine to this edifice by experimenting with different forms from various religious buildings. It’s influence may have reached Lagos where former slave artisans settles and even though Martiniano do Bonfim learnt his constructions skills in Lagos, he may have hired construction workers who had imbibed the heretical Catholic doctrine in their work on the temple.

The Òrìṣà Temple shows how some immigrants decided to re-invent a religion that had its roots in both the Americas and in Africa through its novel use of classical architectural ornament. Unlike the previous case studies, Candomblé architecture in the Bight of Benin shows that patrons and builders alike inspired the liturgical reforms of a supposedly African religion that bore the traces of diasporic dislocation, with all the cultural and syncretic baggage that this entailed.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the connections between immigrants’ mosques, homes and shrines in Lagos, underscoring the ways in which they changed the various stakeholders’ perceptions of the city as well as local religious customs. The lack of missing details about patrons and architects of the African diaspora during the trans-Atlantic slave trade, the colonization of the Americas and the Bight of Benin, led me to rely on unconventional sources to illuminate the history of the individuals’ complex, syncretic architecture. Generally the chapter emphasized the importance of specific types of data, which have not been historically thought of as being essential to the historiography of modern architecture. Neighbors of the Sàrò and Àgùdà communities developed new aphorisms that stamped the architectural forms onto local discourses and fed the citizens’ urban imaginaries. No doubt, the British Crown’s takeover of Lagos
ruptured the residents’ settled opinions of architecture, authority, identity and connection to the land. However, it also provided the impetus for new forms of speech in Lagos, which equipped both immigrants and other African residents alike with tools to make a home out of an urban environment that they perceived as alienating.

The next chapter will show how immigrants, chieftains, monarchs and merchants tried to re-define the link between mortality, royalty and prestige through their architecture. These collaborations happened mostly in other cities where their architecture re-invented cultural institutions that were critical to the survival of these societies and their traditions. Immigrants and locals worked together on architecture that heralded the immigrants’ immersion in local cultures and consolidated their power as shapers of local societies for subsequent generations.
Chapter Three

Merchants and Monarchs: The Afro-Brazilians’ impact on Architecture in Southwest Nigeria

The last chapter focused on Àgùdà mosques, shrines and Sàró residences in Lagos. The present one will examine the architectural patronage of mausolea, palaces and residences by local elites, first in other parts of Lagos and then in the hinterland. The case studies analyzed here reveal how chiefs and merchants in these areas commissioned Àgùdà designers to create structures that revised representations of ideas and institutions central to the survival of the Lafiaji society, and the Bàdágry, Ìjèbu-Òde and Ìkirun kingdoms.\(^\text{319}\) I show how the proprietors’ own ideas guided the Àgùdà architects who designed some of the buildings. Moreover, this chapter will show how the urban environment in Lagos of the Afro-Brazilians inspired these structures; and how these new commissions were modern symbols of immortality and political power in their communities. More broadly, the key claim I make in this chapter is that the novel representations of timelessness, and influence by the Southwest Nigerian elite resulted from their critical engagement with the urban development of the Àgùdà and the Sàrós in Lagos, which had in turn emulated metropolitan neighborhoods the immigrants encountered in Brazil, Sierra Leone and even England.

Some of the patrons of the edifices did not see or directly experience the Àgùdà’s construction projects in the Brazilian Quarter in Lagos. This partly accounts for the experimentations in ornament and architectural forms in the hinterlands. Subsequently, this part of my inquiry will determine how clients in areas beyond the Sàrós and Àgùdà

\(^{319}\) We noted earlier in the text that Lafiaji is a borough in Lagos; Bàdágry is forty miles to the West of the city. The last two realms are located North of the metropolis.
enclaves in Lagos challenged the authority of their rulers and created new narratives about the relationship between the dead and the living. Additionally, I explore how the histories of these new urban worlds describe the modernization of chiefdoms and of statecraft in certain communities. It will argue that the Lagos environment of the new immigrants spawned new symbols whose architectonic qualities articulated developments in specific local religious and political contexts. The chapter will also illustrate how in some cases, patrons and designers from Lafiaji and kingdoms in Southwest Nigeria jointly decided what the buildings were to look like, and also how this accounted for the differences between local Yorùbá patrons’ architecture in Lagos and that of the settlers.

The architects’ designs of mausolea, palaces and homes of the elites emulated images of grandeur, crystallizing prestige in solid forms that magnified the social standing of the patrons. The three parties under scrutiny in this chapter—clients, builders and neighbors—certainly had different impressions of the buildings. The architects often interpreted what the owners of the structures wanted in light of their own experiences, and it is plausible that though the neighbors’ impressions of these buildings differed, both designers and locals knew that the habitations would be read as symbols of the patrons’ wealth and political power. The landlords’ translations of the architecture of the Àgùdà and of the Sàró achieved that objective through the use of novel construction techniques and building ornament prevalent in the region.

While this chapter’s analyses of the tombs and palaces benefitted from biographical information about their patrons and makers, the discussion of one of the houses was more speculative due again, to the paucity of hard facts about its original owner and builder. Family memoirs and pictures, supplemented with onsite investigation
and archival research as well as studies of nineteenth century Òyò, Ìgunnuko, Onídán masquerades and Òpósí /Àkó burial rites formed the basis of the examinations of the tombs. The analysis of one mansion on the other hand relied on visits in situ and an interpretation of the building’s relationship to the larger urban fabric of Ìkìrun, where it was located.

**Tombs by the Àgùdà: Meanings and Associations**

Standing at a height of about twenty feet is a distinctive monument in a sea of flagstones in the Àbàrí Muslim cemetery in Lafiaji (Figure 141).320 The remains of Buraimah Affinnih and his mother Rabiyatu are buried underneath the tomb. It may have been built in 1898 when Rabiyatu died since she had to be laid to rest according to the Islamic custom of burying one’s dead within three days of the time of death. Born in Benin in 1843, Buraimah relocated to Lagos and became a trader of European goods and crops for Ọba Kòsòkò and remained in the city after the monarch’s exile.321 The economic historian A.G. Hopkins included Buraimah in a list of the richest African merchants resident in Lagos at the turn of the twentieth century but little is known about whether he was one of the king’s slaves or freeborn merchants.322 He was also the monarch’s “Ọtun’ Balógun,” (Balógun’s right-hand man), the Yorùbá title for one of the “veteran warriors” in a Yorùbá army. A “Balógun” was the military advisor to the Ọba.

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320 The only other exception is the minaret-like tower of the tomb behind it, which looks as if it was built recently.
Buraimah had several wives and properties and, according to the Onípópó of Pópó Àgùdà, commissioned João Baptista da Costa, a renowned master mason, to build the tomb.

When pressed on why he thought that da Costa built it, the Onípópó stated that the structure’s broken pediment, baroque scrolls and vine ornamental forms bore the hallmarks of da Costa’s handiwork.323 One of da Costa’s later commissions which had similar features was the city’s Central Jamiu Mosque, described in the last chapter.324 (See Figure 57) João da Costa became part of the famed Àgùdà master mason team in Lagos, which, as noted in the introduction, also included Francisco Nobre and Lázaro Borges da Silva. (Figure 142) Local Lagosians believed that Nobre was more talented than the older da Silva although the latter won more construction management assignments due to his experience. One in particular was da Silva’s appointment as the “foreman bricklayer” for the Holy Cross Cathedral project mentioned earlier, and which was built in 1881.325 Nobre’s erection of one of the Cathedral’s towers prompted the Colonial government to sponsor Lagosian builders to study Civil Engineering at the Public Works Department and in England.326

The tomb was made out of brick and clad with stucco. Its unusual structure consists of a rectangular base capped with a barrel vault that reads as a dome on the exterior. Pediments resting on two sets of pilasters crown its front and rear facades. Both

323 Olúyọmí MacGregor, “Information about Aguda architects.” Personal interview. November 26, 2011. As mentioned earlier in the text, “Onípópó” is an honorary title for the head of the Brazilian Descendants Association in Lagos. Mr. Olúyọmí MacGregor occupied the position at the time of my interview.
326 Between 1897 and 1898 the British Governor-General Henry McAllum sponsored the training of some Àgùdà builders in England as well. See Láotan, *The Torch Bearers or Old Brazilian Colony in Lagos*, 7.
pediments are symmetrical and have sloping sides that curve outwards at the bottom and at the top. (Figure 143) Each pediment is capped by a trophy made out of brick and clad with stucco. Underneath the vase is a star that is also depicted in the middle of the base’s vault. (Figure 144 and Figure 145) The vault has wrought iron gates on its front and rear façades; resting on top of the arch is the upper half of the tomb, which consists of a four-sided wall that supports arches on all of its sides. Pilasters encase these arches and a cupola crowns the structure. (Figure 145) The tomb’s two doors enable access into the inner space, indicating that the Affinnih family made occasional Ziyarat -- visits that Muslims make to the graves of notable Islamic saints -- to the structure. There they would have said a prayer invoking the presence of the two deceased family members. (Figure 146 and Figure 147) It is noteworthy that elaborate tombs were commissioned by Sufi Muslims, adherents of the mystical dimensions of Islam, while Sunni Muslims abhorred the construction of family mausolea which they considered idolatrous.

The Affinnih tomb follows the tradition of the visually ostentatious Sufi shrines built for revered Muslims in many parts of the Muslim world: Iran, South Africa, China,
India, and Turkey. It is not by chance that the Affinnih funerary construction also bears more than a little resemblance to the Prince Albert Memorial in Kensington in England, which was built in 1861 (Figure 148). It is possible that some members of the Affinnih family visited the memorial and decided to erect a tomb that was similar to it given the fact that many Lagosians travelled to England from the 1880s onwards. Yet many Muslims travelled within West Africa partly to witness the grand openings of mosques like the Shitta Bey Mosque, and ideas for the designs of their own structures may have been recorded on these journeys. At the very least, since Buraimah Affinnih was born in Benin, he heard about the Malian structures in his travels as a merchant in the region. A famous example is the Askia mausoleum in Gao, Mali, built in 1495 by Askia Mohamed, ruler of Songhai empire, albeit in a wholly different style. (Figure 149)

The height of the tomb may suggest a link between heaven and earth. Devotees of Abrahamic religions who borrow architectural forms from one another have an extensive history, which is partly explained by the constant interaction among many ethnic groups in Southwest Nigeria. Even the idea of the afterlife was the common heritage of the local religions as well, and may have made the idea of appropriating different symbols for the purpose of making tombs and places of worship palatable to the Lafiaji community in Lagos. The co-operation of the Muslim and Catholic Àgùdà in building, alluded to in the last chapter, may have given the Affinnih family the impetus to choose the tempietto as a suitable architectural element to cap the tomb.

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328 “The Consecration of Mr. Shitta's Mosque,” *Lagos Weekly Record* July 7th 1894.
Recently, the Àgùdà of Afro-Cuban origins, have erected tombs to commemorate their ancestors. The anthropologist Solimar Otero asked two Lagosians Òlá Vincent and Catherine Adérêmí Gooding-King about their grandfather, Hilario Campos, in 1999 and 2001. (Figure 150 and Figure 151) Figure 152 shows the obituaries of Campos and his sister Johanna Cecilia Munis on the memorial that Vincent and Gooding-King built for both grandparents within the Ìkòyí Cemetery in Lagos shortly after Otero’s first interview.³²⁹ Campos was born in Matanzas, Cuba in 1878 and moved to Lagos as a young man.³³⁰ (Figure 153) He was a carpenter as well as a babaláwo (Ìfá priest) and he erected the Cuban Lodge, which became the hub for Spanish-speaking Afro-Cubans to interact.³³¹ (Figure 154) The facility also had an apprentice workshop and a gallery where the Afro-Cubans sold works of art to the European residents in Lagos.³³²

The Muslim Àgùdà’s appropriation of Catholic Àgùdà funerary architecture capped with busts of the deceased and an angel (as in the tomb of Joaquim Devodê Branco, the Àgùdà businessman and Mahi native we mentioned earlier), showed how immigrants from the Americas affected the urban landscape of Lagos in different ways (Figure 155). Yet the Affinnihis’ resting place reveals how rich Muslim locals hired the Àgùdà builders to create their own funerary architecture and consequentially changed how their own cultural institutions were perceived.

Other tombs of rich local residents built in the same era include the Olówó Mausoleum on Broad Street in Marina, as well as other examples in Bàdágrí. (Figure 156, Figure 157 and Figure 158) In the Olówó edifice lie the remains of Chief Daniel

³²⁹ Solimar Otero, *Afro-Cuban Diasporas in the Atlantic World*, 95.
³³⁰ Ibid., 95 and 101.
³³¹ Ibid.
³³² Ibid., 100.
Conrad Táiwò (1781 -1901). He was a trader of palm oil and moneylender who arrived in Lagos in the 1840s and was called Olówó because of his wealth.\(^{333}\) The British Consul General J.H. Glover (1829 -1885) even used Táiwò to oversee the affairs of indigenes in other areas within Lagos such as Iṣẹ́ri and Èpè. Hence Lagosians called Táiwò “bàbá isàlè,” which meant “the junior in command.”\(^{334}\) His full “oríkì” or praise name was “Olówó élé.” (“The owner of money lent at interest”). It was not possible to determine whom the Táiwò family hired to design the sepulture. Its location is significant because it is the only example of local elites’ final resting places that was built in the Marina, the headquarters of the Lagos Colony. The colonial government’s implementation of a law restricting the number of Lagosian merchants who could acquire property in Marina did not prevent Táiwò from owning land in the district, a fact that showed his popularity amongst British government officials.\(^{335}\)

The French anthropologist Pierre Verger photographed a remarkable structure in Bàdágry in the 1970s. (Figure 158) He could not however, ascertain what the structure’s function was. Yet one can deduce that it was a mausoleum from its passageway into an inner chamber where the remains of the dead person could be laid. That door is similar to the Olówó structure’s portal. Moreover, the pinnacles in Verger’s picture also resemble those on the Olówó monument and are capped with stars resting on Islamic lunar crescents: indicating that it was a Muslim tomb. Hence, the Bàdágry structure shows the diversity of Islamic funerary architecture in this region. Information about the identity of


\(^{334}\) Ibid., 109.

the occupant of the Bàdágry sepulture, its patron and architect remain unknown.

Verger suggests that the Yorùbá had already had a tradition of burying their dead within their houses as the immigrants’ elaborate construction of tombs steadily increased.336 One can conjecture that tombs of the Àgùdà, Sàró and local Lagosian elites reflected the groups’ views that the dead relatives could no longer intervene in the affairs of men. There were however, other world-views about the destinies of the dead in Southwest Nigeria differed from such a perspective. For instance, people started customs which they believed enabled the return of ancestors and deities to various communities in the region. Rowland Abiodun and the playwright/scholar Bòdé Òsanyin cite examples such as the Òpósí-Àkó and the Òyọ festivals, which started in Southwest Nigeria in the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries respectively.337 What these rites had in common was the practitioners’ beliefs that they were a transitory and participatory manner of welcoming the return of the spirits. Contemporaneous examples of customs where the living and the dead interacted included the, Ìgunnuko, and a small part of the extensive Egúngún masking ceremonies.338 While most of the Egúngún are not involved in funereal

336 Marianno Carneiro da Cunha, From Slave Quarters to Town Houses: Brazilian Architecture in Nigeria and the People's Republic of Benin, 44.
activities per se, my analysis will focus on how a particular Egúngún ritual (the Onídán) embodies the return of a recently deceased member to his community. What follows are examinations of the aforementioned regional funerary traditions in order to highlight how through the tombs, some individuals added a different view of the dead to the numerous concepts of the relationships between ancestors, deities and the living that were already present in Southwest Nigeria.

**The Cyclical Appearance of Immortal Ancestors in Egúngún, Òyò, Ìgunnuko and Òpósi/’Àkó Rituals**

In the early 1800s, inhabitants of Měkọ, a town North of Lagos, donned garments to impersonate spirits who, they thought, frequently visited them from the afterlife. These people chose the metaphor of a moving human skeleton—hence the word Egúngún (“bone” in Yorùbá) - to capture the paradoxical mortal and immortal nature of the deceased relative.\(^{339}\) In 1880, the British military officer and writer Alfred Burdon Ellis saw different types of Egúngún costumes including some made out of grass with grotesque masks as well as others consisting of strips of cloth with slits for eyes.\(^{340}\) (Figure 159) Images of nineteenth century Egúngún garments have not survived, and this photograph shows a mask from the 1930s. Only men were allowed to wear such costumes. They danced in the streets on the first day of their “appearance.”\(^{341}\)

Additionally, people avoided touching the masqueraders because doing so, they believed,

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\(^{341}\) Ibid.
would result in death. Many different ethnicities living in the region such as the Hausa, the Fon, and Asante had similar ways of depicting and venerating their ancestors. Thus these groups’ similar views of immortality inherent in the Egúngún account for why these rituals remained pervasive despite what the differences in media were.

Within the same period, the Àgùdà community in Lagos had set up a house on Igbóṣere Street in the Brazilian Quarter of Lagos that became a hub for Egúngún masquerades. (Figure 160) The Àgùdà may in fact have introduced the Egúngún tradition into Lagos--that is, on the coast -- since as we noted earlier, the custom originated in the hinterland. This possibility may even underscore J. Lorand Matory’s contention that the religions and social practices of the indigenes were translocal, transnational and circum-Atlantic in the middle of the nineteenth century.342 The Layewu, Alàtẹ and Ago masks, even exemplify how different towns had variations of a particular type of Egúngún.343 (Figure 161, Figure 162 and Figure 163) Henry Drewal specifies other kinds of Egúngún that embody Òrìṣà, and incarnated spirits who—so some communities believe - return to advise the living.344 The beliefs in some kingdoms in the region that there were Egúngún that supernaturally transformed into animals or even enemies from other societies, accounts for the designs of the Iyawó, Onídán, Alábala, Aṣẹwó, Idán, and Èja.345 (Figure

345 Ibid., 28-39. These specific Egúngún dance in an open square in a procession and participate in a seventeen day Egúngún festival, which an Egúngún cult organizes around June in the Ìlä Òràngún kingdom. See John Pemberton, "Egun Masquerades of the Igbomina Yoruba." African Arts 11, no. 3 (1978), 41-42 for more information on the aforementioned procession. Nevertheless, there were other Egúngún who embodied certain living people in the society like prostitutes, Hausa and Dahomean enemies who had fought various kingdoms in Southwest Nigeria, and even the Alubata – Egúngún who enforce law and order in various societies. Some Egúngún masquerades had facial marks carved out of wood. Others had headrests that sat on top of garments with rectangular patchwork insets of various designs. There are
Pertinent for our discussion is the instance when an Egúngún cult commissions an Onídán - to perform burial rites for a member who just passed away. On such occasions, several Alábala masquerades support the Onídán to enhance the spectacle.

In that particular Egúngún ceremony it is acknowledged that the cultist has departed on a journey to ẹ̀hìn-èwà and is returning to visit the Egúngún cult.

Another practice, which started approximately five centuries ago, reinforces the understanding of immortality that an Onídán embodies when he takes on the soul of the deceased Egúngún cult member. Indigenes of Òwò perform two burial ceremonies (in tandem) for individuals known as Òpósí and Àkó. According to Rowland Abiodun, if an Òwò chief became wealthy, had a large family and died peacefully, his wives and children would conduct the two rites for him. The first took place eight days after the chief’s repose while the second rite, was done to usher the man into ẹ̀hìn-èwà.

Apart from ẹ̀hìn-èwà, Yorùbá cosmology also articulated concepts about what living individuals were made of. For example, there was the idea that each human being even those masquerades that have tufts of white hair that hearken to the Patas monkey. See Margaret Drewal and Henry Drewal, "More Powerful than Each Other: An Egbado Classification of Egungun," 28-39 and Marilyn Houlberg, "Notes on Egungun Masquerades among the Oyo Yoruba," 56-61.

Margaret Drewal and Henry Drewal, "More Powerful than Each Other: An Egbado Classification of Egungun." African Arts 11, no. 3 (1978), 31. An Egúngún cult consists of members who embody different types of Egúngún masquerades and perform in the annual festival. The Onídán Egúngún masquerade is distinctive for the numerous garments the masker puts on – one on top of the other. The dancer manipulates the garments and dances in a manner to recall the Patas monkey due to the belief that the first Egúngún was Ijimere, a Patas monkey who was the offspring of an ape and a woman.

Ibid.


Ibid., 5. Ẹ̀kó occurred nine days later or whenever the family had the financial werewithal to conduct the ceremony. Abiodun also states that the family of the deceased commissioned an artist to sculpt a realistic effigy of the person in question, which they believed, reconstructed the social, physical and psychological identity of the deceased and helped the person’s passage into ẹ̀hìn-èwà. Only the families of wealth chiefs had the werewithal to perform both rites.

Ibid.
had three souls. In the late 1800s for instance, diviners in the towns of Iganna and Měkọ claimed that a person’s breath, shadow and a guardian-ancestor were the three souls. 352 Though different societies in the region emphasized one of these spirits as being more “senior” in terms of its role in shaping the destiny of the individual, there was a consensus that every individual had three. 353 Most people believed in reincarnation and that the ancestors inhabited some of their descendants. Thus, they named their children either Bàbátúndé (“the father has returned” in Yorùbá) or Yétúndé (“the mother has returned”). Consequently, tombs were placed in their homes and the occupants put food in front of them. They believed that this practice ensured that their ancestors would help them fight their enemies. 354

Alfred Ellis indicated that the shadow is called “òjìjì” in Yorùbá and is the same word used to describe an apparition or shade. 355 Perhaps, as the masker danced in a ceremony, where he embodied an ancestor, the Onídán’s shadow, heightened the awareness of this “ghost-man” and made onlookers understand that the performance had many meanings. Each part of the spectacle created an impression of the deceased that relied on fleeting manifestations of a form followed by its disappearance. As they danced to the music, the impersonators performed mystifying dancing moves, then the figure faded away leaving nothing but a memory, an impression. The dynamic effect of the shadow of a twirling Onídán conveyed to the community the paradoxical sense that the

353 Ibid., 401.
354 Ibid., 403.
355 A. B. Ellis, The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa Their Religion, Manners, Customs, Laws, Language, Etc., 127.
deceased was alive again. To summarize then, one could speculate that the Onídán’s
dramatizations of dead ancestors and the prevailing notion that a man’s shadow, head and
breath were his three souls, implied a worldview according to which the populace learnt
about the ancestors’ continuing relevance in their society. Additionally, the performances
emphasized collective knowledge about the different spirits of these ancestors through
the material quality of the masquerade costumes and the performers’ moving bodies,
dexterous gestures, and rhythms.

Communities passed on knowledge and beliefs about ancestors and spirits to
subsequent generations through masking. They created embodied representations of the
spiritual world that required imaginative interpretations of the music and Onídán
masquerade performance in order to evoke different aspects of the ancestors and impress
them on the viewers. They, moreover, explored the possibilities that differences in tempo
in performance heightened and deepened, for the spectators, the mystical encounters with
the ancestors. Such insights were familiar to the architect of the Affînnih monument, João
Baptista da Costa, who may have seen analogies between the visually dynamic ornament
of Baroque cathedral façades, and the energetic dances of Candomblé and Capoeira in
African slaves slavery introduced in Brazil in the sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{356}

The transient poses of the Onídán’s dancing, i.e. his ability to convey, ever so
fleetricly, the character of the deceased, stood in stark contrast to the static Affînnih,
Olówó, and Bàdágrì tombs, which created more permanent memorials to the dead.
Spectators may have seen in the tombs different visions of death and the afterlife that
relied more on their sense of sight than on the other senses, though it is equally possible

that the sepultures did not eliminate aforementioned regional burial rites completely. But the Onídán as well as the Òpósí and Àkó were not the only expressions of immortality shown in performative representations. There were two other funerary customs that were part of complex ceremonies that featured the cyclical return of ancestral beings. In order to continue the analysis of the complexity and variety of the context in which the sepultures emerged, and in part responded to, we need to turn to the Òyò and Ògunnuko masquerades. While the Ògunnuko traditions pervaded a region now known as Southwest Nigeria and parts of Benin Republic, the Òyò spirits were confined to Lagos. Many Lagosians’ knowledge of death and the destiny of human souls integrated different religious and cultural traditions whereas their counterparts in smaller towns and cities may have done so, but to a less obvious extent.

The word “Òyò” in Yorùbá has several meanings depending on what syllable is emphasized. One rendering refers to a cluster of towns in the Òyó Empire where the people speak the Ànàgó dialect. Additionally, Òyò refers to the dialect of the Àwóri who, as alluded to in the last chapter, were the ancestors of the Òba of Lagos and had previously lived in several towns close to Ifé.

Òsanyin suggests that Òyò also became the name of several types of incarnated

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357 Bòdé Òsanyin cites Igbe as an oral source for his suggestion that Òyò may have originated from Ibefun, a kingdom in Southwest Nigeria. Òsanyin further estimates that the Òyò festival may have relocated to Lagos because the ancestral beings followed a princess known as Olugbani who married King Ado of Lagos (Ado reigned in Lagos from 1630 till 1669). Igbe also states, so Òsanyin claims, that the Òyò followed Olugbani to cure her of her barreness. Additionally, Òsanyin refers to a Bini oral tradition that suggests that a king of Lagos (Òsanyin does not cite who the monarch was) passed a law that prevented the Òyò from leaving Lagos, which is the festival is only celebrated in Lagos today. See Bòdé Òsanyin, "A Cross-road of History, Legend and Myth: The Case of the Origin of Adamuorisa,” 411 & 432


spirits who visit Isale Eko periodically, which may have started appearing within the region on or before the 1600s. Later in 1805, the royal court of Oba Ológún Kutere of Lagos staged an Òyò funeral rite in the monarch’s honor, and Òyò rituals ushering in the passage of deceased Lagosian monarchs and chiefs into Òhin-ìwà became the norm after Kutere’s own ceremony. Different Òyò masquerades had distinctive costumes. Osanyin notes that the highest ranking Òyò known as “Adímún Òrìṣà” wore an overall of coarse material because citizens in Lagos perceived that the spirit was the scape-goat of the community. The Òyò of chiefs, monarchs as well as others that were part of the Òyò social group of masquerades appeared as imposing face-less figures in white costumes and hats. One informant told Osanyin that the rationale behind the design of the garments of the latter two types of Òyò was that such spirits imitated the occasion when Ògún hid his face in a white veil in Ìpērù. According to that oral account, Ògún emerged from a tree, after three years of absence from the Ìpērù community. The Lagosian perception that some Òyò such as Adímún were orìṣà may be the reason why onlookers removed their shoes in reverence in the presence of the masks. Osanyin also asserts that the Ìsàlè Èkó community knelt down before Adimun and asked for his blessing during the spirit’s

360 Osanyin, "A Cross-road of History, Legend and Myth: The Case of the Origin of Adamuorisa," 417-444. There may have been three types of Òyò masquerades at the turn of the twentieth century namely: the Òrìṣà, the Òyò masquerades affiliated with the palaces of the king of Lagos and his chiefs and lastly the Òyò masquerades who were a social group. It may be that the last category of Òyò entertained onlookers. 361 Osanyin, "A Cross-road of History, Legend and Myth: The Case of the Origin of Adamuorisa," 432-433. 362 Ibid., 429-430. According to Osanyin, Adímún becomes the sacrificial lamb of the community, taking on the people’s faults and purifying the community in the process. Hence the community thought that Adímún should not assume a visually striking or appealing form. 363 Osanyin, "A Cross-road of History, Legend and Myth: The Case of the Origin of Adamuorisa," 444-445. Osanyin’s informant was Gbádámọṣi Pakerike, a descendant of the founder of Ìpērù. Pakerike’s testimony was another oral source, which put forward a different genealogy of Òyò. In Pakerike’s account, the Òyò migrated from Ìpērù to Lagos and not from Ilebùn as other oral sources claim. Moreover, Pakerike claims that Ògún transformed himself into Òyò and hence, Ògún was – in Pakerike’s words - the source of Òyò.
procession on streets in the area. The masqueraders’ broad-rimmed hats complemented an already imposing demeanor that they presented to onlookers. Moreover, the Èyò’s headgear underscored that they were from another world because the attire did not reflect the dress fashion on the ordinary mortals, the spectators.

**Speech and Spectacle: How Obituaries in Stone Complemented Prevailing Worldviews of the Cyclical and Diachronic of Ancestors and Deities**

The inscription of Buraimah and Rabiyatu’s names on the Affinnih tomb as well as the bas-relief portrait of Chief Daniel Conrad (Olówó) Táiwò on his mausoleum showed that bereaved families wanted monuments that contained images or texts explaining who the deceased were. (Figure 169 and Figure 170) Perhaps it also alludes to the possibility that no longer could it be taken for granted that a community would know who died by finding out which family sponsored an Onídán or an Èyò ceremony. The spectacles engaged the communities’ imaginations and spurred discourses on mortality. Onlookers formed impressions of the dead by integrating local gossip with what they witnessed. These discourses assumed different dimensions because of the ephemeral nature of the dramaturgies. The Àgùdà’s funerary architecture on the other hand, symbolized their diachronic views of death instead of the cyclical ideas of immortality and reincarnation prevalent among the aforementioned ceremonies we have discussed thus far. As the examples of the Affinnih tomb and Olówó tombs show, the respective

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365 It is possible that the Àgùdà Catholics and Muslims saw death as the end of a person’s physical existence until the era when the resurrected soul begins a spiritual existence. Thus, in such a scenario the remains of the deceased would be entombed until the day of the resurrection. The Àgùdà’s beliefs of the future of the human soul were diachronic in the sense that they believed that the soul passed from one age to another. Hence, the Àgùdà placed human remains in a grave to acknowledge the individual’s journey and as a testament that the relics may not be necessary in the coming age. On the other hand, specific
families wanted the names and portraits of the deceased to figure on memorial monuments. (Figure 170 and Figure 171)

Nevertheless, mausolea in Lagos did not completely erase transient funeral practices. A closer inspection of the location of the Affinnih tomb within the cemetery indicates that accommodations may have been made for these theatrical commemorative rituals around the grave. The edifice’s egress before its front and rear façades suggests that the Affinnihs may have commissioned the Onídán to dance around it during memorial rites to the mother and son. And there was a precedent for this idea within Southwest Nigeria. It was a feature of the Ìgunnuko spectacle in the village of Olute, North of Lagos, where a masquerader danced around, and behind Muslim graves in honor of the people buried there. (Figure 172) Nupe immigrants from the middle-belt of Nigeria introduced this masking practice into this province around 1805.\(^{366}\) As the aforementioned image indicates, the Ìgunnuko’s costume is a cylindrical structure with many fabric flaps. The performer within manipulates it so that it rises in quick succession up to twenty-six feet and and back to a few feet during the performance.\(^{367}\) Right from its inception, the oral tradition of the Ìgunnuko cites a Nupe child, Landuji, who lived in the palace of King Èsìnlnókùn of Lagos whose reign started in 1780.\(^{368}\) Landuji became the monarch’s military strategist and his renown allowed more Nupe to immigrate to the

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Onídán and Òpóṣí /Àkó rituals signified a world-view that acknowledged that immortal beings constantly returned in the form of masquerades, effigies and even in the guise of children. In other words, the ideas about immortality in some of the kingdoms in Southwest Nigeria were cyclical and synchronic.


\(^{367}\) Adéšòla Adéyemi, “Itan Oginintin, the Winter’s Tale: Shakespeare meets the Yoruba gods,” 56.

The new arrivals brought a deity that they called Ìgunnu and thus they created an activity that honored the spirit as well as their ancestors. The name Ìgunnuko means the “family of Ìgunnu, the deity.”

The Ìgunnuko ceremony is the most participatory funereal activity out of the three discussed thus far. The spectators serve as a chorus, which completed the ritual drama. During the spectacle, the masker sings to the audience who in turn reply, in a call-and-response format. Additionally, the Ìgunnuko masquerade in Lagos—which is particularly unique—takes place in four sites namely, the Iba, a sacred courtyard where the power of Ìgunnu is invoked; the palace of the ruler of the Nupe settlers in Lagos; a bush close to the Ikoyi cemetery, which is in a suburb of the city; and the streets of Lagos.

It is possible that locals and babaláwos who knew about the existence of Ẹlẹ̀dá in every person may have also interpreted the gestures of the Onídán, Èyò and Ìgunnuko as visual representations of the Ẹlẹ̀dá’s journey to and from Èhin-iwà. Perhaps urban corridors, buildings and landscapes also influenced some individuals’ impressions of the spirits. In a scene from Antonio Olinto’s novel Water House, Marianna commissions an Egúngún to honor her late husband in their matrimonial home. Though fictional, the passage shows how the Egúngún uses architectural form as a setting in which to memorialize a specific individual. Hence, from a visual standpoint the architecture of the Àgùdà became theatrical backdrops for the dynamic movements of the Egúngún.

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369 Ogunko, The Iggunuko Masquerade Play in Lagos State, 1.
370 Ibid., 14.
371 Ibid., 10-11.
372 Ibid., 3.
373 Bascom, "Yoruba concepts of the soul," 405. Bascom claims that the idea of a third human soul was a popular one in spite of the fact that the word was another name for Olódumáre. Bascom asserts that some babaláwó viewed the practice of calling one’s third soul Ẹlẹ̀dá as sacrilegious.
masquerade in order to make manifest the presence of the deceased.

Architecture had become a useful tool with which to accentuate this experience, and one should see the Affinnih tomb’s egress setting the stage for a commemoration of Buraimah and Rabiyyatu that combined a static edifice with the theatrical performance of the masquerades. If funeral dances were performed in front or behind the Affinnih tomb, the contrast between the multi-colored fabrics of the masquerades and the immobile tomb may have provided onlookers with a multi-sensory experience. There are also photographs of Gẹlẹ̀dẹ̀ masquerades posing before the Bálẹ̀’s palace in Lagos in the 1970s to validate the masquerades’ use of architecture in order to heighten the dramatic effect of their performances. (Figure 173) The emergence of tombs and mausolea had already shown a widespread respect for the human body and soul among many cultures. The Affinnih’s tomb demonstrates that the Àgùdà Catholics may have expanded the repertoire of tostone design that possibly existed already in simpler forms in the Ajele and Atan Cemeteries in Lagos.375 The Àgùdà’s contribution to funerary structural forms in Lagos may have been the result of what they saw in church catacombs in Brazil. (Figure 174) The Muslim Àgùdà emulation of this tradition as well as their construction of mosques that looked like Brazilian churches was part of the same desire to show their cosmopolitan tastes. It was within this context that the Affinnih family created a structure

375 Robert Sydney Smith, *The Lagos Consulate, 1851-1861*, 167. Smith implicitly suggests that the Ajele Cemetery may have existed on or prior to 1859 when he states that he did not find Consul Benjamin Campbell’s grave there. (Campbell died in 1859). Smith also claims that Ajele was a British Consular cemetery. The cemetery does not exist anymore because the Military Governor of Lagos State in 1971 – Brigadier Bọ́laji Johnson – ordered its destruction. Hence, one was not able to find pictures of the cemetery’s tombstones. The colonial government in Lagos also established the Atan Cemetery in 1868, so claimed the Director of the Cemetery, Jude Aisuebeogun in an interview in 2015. See Segun Adebowale, “150-year-old Atan Cemetery has enough space for new corpses – Director.” The Eagle Online, January 29, 2015. Accessed February 18, 2017. [http://theeagleonline.com.ng/150-year-old-atan-cemetery-has-enough-space-for-new-corpses-director/](http://theeagleonline.com.ng/150-year-old-atan-cemetery-has-enough-space-for-new-corpses-director/)
that showed their urbanity even as they sought to invent newer forms of commemoration for their dead. In other words, they appropriated elements of Brazilian, Cuban, or British architecture, as well as Christian and Muslim funerary traditions to simultaneously change and recast older local customs.

The Àbárà́í, Ajele and Atan cemeteries may reveal how citizens, immigrants and Europeans alike created burial grounds alongside the royal ones of monarchs that already existed in the Oyo and Ìjèbú kingdoms in past centuries. Yet another public space existed in Lagos where the remains of individuals who had transgressed some laws in Lagos lay. The urban historian Liora Bigon suggests that Marina was that place, which later became the district where the British colonial government established offices and retail stores from 1861 onwards. Additionally, Bigon claims that the locals thought the place was a land of taboo. (Figure 175)

Cemeteries also showed how wealthy Lagosian families expressed their modern sensibilities in their funerary practices. The fact that the Affinnih family hired da Costa to erect the vertical structure exemplified many wealthy African merchants’ appreciation for baroque scrolls, broken pediments and floral motifs on residential and funerary architecture in the city. Patrons like the Affinnihs were different from the African immigrants since unlike the settlers they had lived in the city for generations. Yet the Affinnihs, like the incomers, wanted public architectural symbols to express their

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377 Liora Bigon, “Tracking Ethno-Cultural Differences: The Lagos Steam Tramway, 1902-1933,” Journal of Historical Geography, no. 33 (2007), 607. I was unable to ascertain when the practice of burying such outlaws began.
379 Ibid.
prestige. The scroll and the vegetal forms of the front façades of the Àgūdà and Sàró buildings, which had become symbols of their sojourn abroad in turn changed into tools for the Affinnih household to declare their status as a wealthy family to their neighbors. The Affinnih’s multiculturalism, encoded in their monument, was their interpretation of the idiosyncratic architecture of the Àgūdà and Sàró. The result was a new type of edifice within Lagos.

Finally, the Affinnih edifice captured a moment in the Lagosian community in which wealthy clients’ static representations of the deceased supplemented pre-existing knowledge of the reincarnation of ancestors and deities in many kingdoms in the region. Some of these citizens thought that this relationship between the living and the dead guaranteed the population’s survival because they received guidance on how to live from their forbears. With time, multi-sensory experience increasingly gave way to pure visuality. Other royals North of Lagos visited the city in order to see structures of prestige like the Affinnih, Olówó and Bàdágrì tombs, and to hire builders to design their own homes.

**Evolution of Àgūdà-style layout as an architectural genre in Southwestern Nigeria**

Àgūdà designers also left Lagos and resettled in the Southwestern Nigeria and inspired the rise of a regional architecture that other local architects and builders emulated. The following case-studies will analyze how these Àgūdà developed distinct approaches to interior and exterior architecture in the region by comparing their own buildings to older Southwest Nigerian palatial and residential architecture. Subsequently, it will suggest the features that became known as the Àgūdà-style type Southwest Nigeria.
Balógun Bello Kúkù’s Palace in Ìjébu-Òde

In Ìjébu-Òde, a kingdom sixty-eight miles northeast of Lagos, Bello Kúkù, King Fidipọtẹ’s military advisor i.e. the Balógun, built a palace from 1897 to 1900 that local chiefs saw as a challenge to the monarch’s authority. In addition to chronicling this incident, this section of the chapter will explain how the design of the war chief’s residence envisioned new monuments for his descendants, that is, how the Balógun created permanent memorials that expanded what the Affinnihs started in Lagos.

The word Balógun, which is a conflation of Qba and Ológun, means “the king’s brave warrior” in Yorùbá, and designated the highest-ranking army commander in any kingdom in Southwest Nigeria. The Muslim forces’ conquest of Ìlọrin (one hundred and eighty miles North of Lagos) between 1823 and 1824 as well as their need to create a hierarchy of fighting men with distinct functions gave rise to the demand for such a title. The Balógun’s duties included leading his “veteran warriors” who consisted of the Òtún (the Balógun’s right hand man), Òsíi, Èkêtaa, Èkerein and Àṣípa. Bello Kúkù (1845-1907) therefore was the second Balógun in Ìjébu-Òde and adviser to Awùjalè Fidipọtẹ, the ruler of the town, on security issues.

According to Ìtàn Ìgbésí Aiyé Ològbé: Olóyè Bello Kúkù, Balógun Keji, Ìlu Ìjébu-Òde, the authorized biography of the warrior chief published during the seventieth

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381 Margaret Thompson Drewal, Yoruba Ritual: Performers, Play, Agency (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1992), 137.


383 Awùjalè is the title of the monarch of Ìjébu-Òde.
anniversary of his death, Bello Kúkù’s grandmother raised him after his mother died while he was still very young.\textsuperscript{384} The grandmother also gave him the iwọfà” (slaves) he needed to start what was to be a successful career in selling salt and ammunition.\textsuperscript{385} He had moved to Ìjèbu-Òde from Orù, an adjacent town where, under the orders of the Awùjalè, he had assisted Balógun Nafowokan in managing the Ìjèbu military camp.\textsuperscript{386} During this period he held the lower rank of Séříkí, which gave him authority over the “younger warriors.”\textsuperscript{387}

The Balógun’s troubles began while organizing a lavish burial for his late matriarch. Many chiefs were jealous of this ceremony because he had outdone their own contributions to the officiation. On the third day of the event the Balógun held an umbrella, which historically had been used to cover kings in public.\textsuperscript{388} The Ìjèbu populace respected him for it while some leaders advised the Awùjalè to kill him. Balógun Kúkù’s public personae as a wealthy figure had already been established with his inauguration of the fancy Id al-Kabir Muslim festival within the town, locally known as Iléyá.\textsuperscript{389} His enemies interpreted the incident with the umbrella as one of many ostentatious acts that the Balógun had committed and thus ensured that the court fined him.\textsuperscript{390} Kúkù heard about the chiefs’ subsequent plans to eliminate him and decided to move to Ibadan, capital of the Ôyó Empire, even though his warriors wanted to stay and

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{384} Quoted in Drewal, \textit{Yoruba Ritual: Performers, Players, Agency}, 139. The translation of the title of the Yoruba biography quoted in the text is “The history of the most distinguished messenger of the king, Chief Bello Kúkù, the Second Balógun of Ìjèbu-Òde.”
\item\textsuperscript{385} Ibid.
\item\textsuperscript{386} T.G.O. Gbadamosi, \textit{The Growth of Islam among the Yoruba} 1841-1908 (Atlantic highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1978), 96.
\item\textsuperscript{387} Abraham, “Balógun,” 95. The description of “Séříkí” is under article (2) of “Balógun.”
\item\textsuperscript{388} Drewal, \textit{Yoruba Ritual: Performers, Players, Agency}, 139 -140.
\item\textsuperscript{389} Ibid., 136.
\item\textsuperscript{390} Drewal, \textit{Yoruba Ritual: Performers, Players, Agency}, 140.
\end{itemize}
On his return, he built a new mansion in place of the house his adversaries had destroyed. This edifice, which opened in 1902, became the most significant landmark in the town especially since the colonial military had destroyed the Awùjalè’s palace in the Anglo-Ìjèbu war of 1892. Thus Kúkù’s grand new home, along with the annual Iléyá celebration and his public display of wealth, in the chiefs’ view, confirmed his plans to claim the Awùjalè’s throne.

Kúkù had already built another palace while on exile in Ibadan, possibly as a precursor to the one that is under scrutiny in this chapter. In a twist of fate, his foes called for his aid against the British Auxiliary Military force who wanted to invade the kingdom. After his family begged the Balógun to decline the Awùjalè’s request for help he stayed in another town nearby called Ìjèbu-Ìfè until the British’s takeover of Ìjèbu-Ôde was complete. It is possible that Kúkù also refrained from battling the English to weaken the king’s power and increase his own in the city. His descendants even claim that the British occupiers offered him the kingship after the war, which he refused. Yet such a demurral of the Britons’ offer could have been the war leader’s strategic ploy to show the Awùjalè’s loyalists that he posed no threat to the throne. Perhaps the Balógun’s decision even bolstered his esteem in the eyes of the local populace while he plotted to win the seat of power at an opportune time.

What the Balógun did not decline, however, was a salary from the colonial government. The war-chief’s assignment was to rule side-by-side with the Awùjalè when

392 Drewal, Yoruba Ritual: Performers, Players, Agency, 140.  
393 Ibid.  
394 Ibid.
the British auxiliary force withdrew. The foreign administration tasked Kûkû with the oversight of “native” affairs in the area and Ìjèbu-Òde was added to the Lagos Colony.\textsuperscript{395} There is no evidence concerning the exact nature of the Awújálẹ’s relationship with the Balógun at that time, and his reaction to the latter’s increasing influence in the town. To this day, however, there is a rivalry between the Kûkû family and the current Awújálẹ’s household which may stem from oral traditions about the Ìjèbu soldier’s conduct when the British laid siege to the kingdom.\textsuperscript{396}

Yet it may be equally true that the monarch needed to maintain cordial ties with the Balógun to ensure Ìjèbu-Òde remained a stable community in the wake of the British invasion. The prospect of a civil war was the last thing that the kingdom needed at that time. Besides, the colonial government still viewed the monarch as the head of the realm because they paid him higher wages than the Balógun.\textsuperscript{397} Thus, the Awújálẹ had the support of the colonial powers. But in the eyes of the society, the warlord’s leadership within the city, the grandeur of his palace and his inauguration of a Muslim festival had cemented his status.

Balógun Kûkû also introduced Bàtá drum music into the kingdom, which increased his prestige and created a distinct Ìjèbu-Òde sound.\textsuperscript{398} His entourage played the instrument when he returned to the city after his first exile. The percussionists’ rhythms venerated the gods and ancestors such as Šàngó, Èṣù, Ọya, as well as the Egúngún.

\textsuperscript{395} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{396} This the information I obtained from an indigene of Ìjèbu-Òde on December 10, 2015 via email.
\textsuperscript{397} Drewal, \textit{Yoruba Ritual: Performers, Players, Agency}, 140.
\textsuperscript{398} Ibid.
masquerades. Other instruments honored royals, and music often greeted their processions in the city. Through these societal creations, the Balógun became the interpreter of cultural symbols in Ìjébu-Òde, even as he introduced new traditions.

Kúkù hired Balthazar dos Reis, the same builder who had worked on Èbùn House in Lagos, to build the residence, possibly after hearing about dos Reis’s fame as a builder. Kúkù called the palace Òlórunsogo, meaning “Glory to God.” (Figure 176 and Figure 177) He organized an extravagant event to commemorate its completion. Still standing to this day, the mansion, built in brick, is announced by an arch along Ìta Ntebo Street, which opens inwards into a courtyard and is flanked by two one-story structures. Resting on the top of the arch’s summit is a bronze statue of the Balógun on horseback, emphasizing the warrior-chief’s most important function within Ìjébu-Òde. The forecourt ushers visitors into the Balógun’s property and serves as the first foyer of the palatial complex.

The front façade of the Balógun’s quarters has a central entrance that is encased by an arch. Engaged columns frame five windows on the second floor and are capped with capitals that consist of tiny flowers. (Figure 178) To the left of the center of the foyer is a space where Balógun Kúkù received his visitors. Along the external wall facing the room just mentioned is a cat door through which the Balógun could secretly watch arrivals in the piazza. (Figure 179) Next to it and at the center proper is a wooden spiral

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400 Margaret Thompson Drewal,”Portraiture and the Construction of Reality in Yorubaland and Beyond,” African Arts. no. 23 (1990), 41.
401 Ibid.
402 It is difficult to ascertain the age of the sculpture and portrait mural on the arch and it is more than likely that both were later additions, which the Kúkù family put in place in order to emphasize their ancestor’s memory.
staircase that opens to another foyer above and ultimately leads into a parlor full of imported furniture and a chandelier. (Figure 180, Figure 181, Figure 182, Figure 183, Figure 184 and Figure 185)

It is likely that the Balógun appropriated the Àgùdà free masons’ central placement of grand staircases in their homes for his own purposes. As the previous chapter had already mentioned, in the 1940s Martiniano do Bonfim told the linguist Dow Lorenzo Turner, that an Afro-Brazilian carpenter - Marcos Cardoso - built the first spiral stairs in Lagos at the turn of the twentieth century. Taking into consideration A.B. Láotan’s account of the construction of the Holy Cross Cathedral in Lagos, one can infer that do Bonfim, Cardoso and dos Reis worked on that project together. The absence of Cardoso and do Bonfim’s names from Láotan’s book titled Torch Bearers Or Old Brazilian Colony in Lagos (1942) does not refute the hypothesis of the three men’s collaboration. Láotan’s register of Àgùdà designers and professionals in Lagos at the turn of the twentieth century was not exhaustive. Thus, it is not out of the realm of possibility to suggest that dos Reis’ knowledge of Cardoso’s feat in Lagos inspired the stairway built in the Balógun’s palace in Ìjêbu-Ôde.

The interior arrangement of the spaces within Kúkù’s mansion suggests that one popular feature of many Àgùdà styled multi-story houses was the symmetrical floorplan with a central staircase. Still, the following comparison between the Balógun’s edifice

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405 Ibid.
406 The off-center position of the staircase in the Balógun’s building however shows that Àgùdà architects did not always adhere to the rule of the central stairs. Some of the pre-nineteenth century royal architecture in Southwest Nigeria, in the pages that follow, also had symmetrical façades but the Àgùdà used stairs to
with that of the king in Ìjèbu-Óde will also show to what extent the warrior’s home was unique. Yet in order to reveal the distinctiveness of the Kúkù residence, one must also summarize how the Awùjála’s palace is part of a tradition of palatial structures in Southwest Nigeria. The following two-pronged analysis—the chronicle of royal headquarters in the province and the dissimilarities between the mansions of the two most powerful men in the kingdom—may reveal that the head soldier’s house symbolized his visual supremacy over the king of Ìjèbu-Óde and suggests how the Àgùdà style of chieftain architecture emerged in Southwest Nigeria.

Two words denoted a potentate’s estate in Southwest Nigeria in the nineteenth century. The first was used for only one palace, namely Ìgá Idungaran, the house of the king of Lagos, which as we mentioned earlier means the “dwelling of the pepper farm” in Yorùbá. (Figure 186, Figure 187, Figure 188, Figure 189 and Figure 190) Zbigniew Dmochowski, a Polish architectural historian, saw little of the original Lagosian royal residence when he surveyed the edifice in 1959. (The first mansion was built in 1705, and the term “Ìgá” was used even then).\footnote{Zbigniew Dmochowski, “South-West and Central Nigeria.” In An Introduction to Nigerian Traditional Architecture. Three vols. Vol. 2. (London: Ethnographica, 1980), 2.53.} He concluded that Àgùdà artisans built the engaged fluted columns around the atria in the latter half of the nineteenth century.\footnote{Ibid.} The other phrase for a monarch’s palace, which became widely used in the rest of Southwest Nigeria, was Ààfín, and consequently, the ruler was known as the Alààfín i.e. the “lord of
the royal palace.  

History of the Ààfin

The long-lasting debates between Reverend Samuel Johnson, J.S. Ojuadé and the Bini historian Jacob Egharevba on the histories of the Yorùbá, the Ilé-Ifẹ monarchy and the Benin kingdom have affected local perceptions of specific ààfin in Southwest Nigeria. A Sàró cleric and historian, Samuel Johnson integrated the local records of the kingdoms in the region into a single narrative, and was informed by court historians at Òyó that Odùduwà was an influential ruler within the realm. In Johnson’s chronicle, Odùduwà was the son of King Lamrudu who also fathered the first sovereigns of the Gogobiri and Kukawa ethnic groups. Johnson further noted that Gogobiri and Kukawa’s descendants became citizens of what is now Northeastern Nigeria. The families of the royal griots in the Òyó Empire ensured that their chronicles were passed down for posterity, and the presence of parallel accounts of Odùduwà’s biography was inevitable. One chronicler told Johnson that Odùduwà was the son and emissary of

411 Johnson, ”Origin and Early History,” in The History of the Yorubas: From the Earliest Times to the Beginnings of the British Protectorate, 3-5.  
412 Ibid., 5. Johnson subsequently traces the Yorùbá’s ancestry to peoples in the Middle East, making the supposition that Lamrudu might have been Nimrod of Nineveh. Furthermore, he argued that some Yorùbá terms were transliterated Arabic words. For a rebuttal of this hypothesis see Robin Horton, “Ancient Ifẹ: A Reassessment.” Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria. 9, no. 4 (June 1979), 70-71, where he says that the Yorùbá dialects have more in common with other West African tongues than with Arabic.
Olódùmaré, the creator of the universe. Johnson interprets the last bit of information as metaphorical since “Odùduwà” in Yorùbá means “the great container of existence.” The constituent parts of the word Olódùmaré instantiate another link between him and his son: “Olódù” means the “lord of Òdù” while “ma ré” signifies “cannot go beyond.” Thus the royal bard’s message to Johnson was that Odùduwà had divine origins. J. S. Ojuadé’s more secular account of Ifé’s past claims that Odùduwà migrated from the Niger-Benue confluence, which is presently in the middle of Nigeria, earlier than the tenth century. Ojuadé further argues that Odùduwà overwhelmed and supplanted an agrarian community present in Ifé when he arrived. The accuracy of Odùduwà’s genealogy, whether celestial or mortal, does not affect the argument in this chapter, and for our purposes only one fact is crucial: the royal griots thought that he was godlike. Odùduwà’s heavenly status is pertinent because it led to the transformation of royal palaces, the residences of his heirs, into sacred spaces. Johnson claims that five of Odùduwà’s children became crowned heads of different kingdoms, and that Odùduwà’s third descendant founded the kingdom of Benin. Jacob Egharevba, on the other hand, argues that the Bini populace settled in Ilé-Ifé in 900 A.D., and founded Benin before Odùduwà’s rule of Ilé-Ifé. Johnson’s chronicle states that Odùduwà’s fourth child, Òrangun, became king of Ìlá. The fifth was Onísábẹ, the first monarch of the Sábẹs. The sixth was Olúpopo, which is translated as the “lord of the Popos.” Johnson states that

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414 Ibid.
415 Ibid.
417 Ibid., 153.
Odùduwà’s seventh and last offspring became the founder of the Òyó Empire and his name was Òranyan or Òranmiyan.¹⁴¹ Like Odùduwà himself, these five princes wore beaded crowns with screens, while the senior chiefs (the Àkó́ró) put on coronets.⁴²⁰ These were headgear made out of embroidered silver, and did not have the fringes of the royal crowns.

Odùduwà bequeathed wealth, provinces and wives to his other sons, but gave Òranyan, his youngest, the land of Ilé-Ifé, where Odùduwà had established his realm.⁴²¹ The potentate of Ilé-Ifé became known as the Qòní of Ifé. Most important of all was Odùduwà’s coronation of Òranyan as his successor.⁴²² Òranyan left Ilé-Ifé and founded the Òyó Empire at Òyó-Ilé in the thirteenth or fourteenth century.⁴²³ Òranyan’s connection with the thrones of Ilé-Ifé and Òyó resulted in subsequent generations viewing them as the highest-ranking rulerships among Yorùbá monarchies. Thus, the connection between Odùduwà’s divinity and Yorùbá palaces was established.

While Odùduwà’s other sons had crowns with fringes like the kings of Ilé-Ifé and Òyó, the latter two—compared to the palaces of the kings of Ìlá, the Sábés and Popos—had the largest ààfin.⁴²⁴ This point needs to be stressed because royal buildings of vassals were not called ààfin; rather they were called Ilé Qólójà—the houses of the lords of the market.⁴²⁵

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⁴²⁰ Ibid.
⁴²¹ Ibid., 10.
⁴²² Ibid.
⁴²⁵ Ibid.
One difference between the Ààfin at Òyó and the one at Ìlé-Ìfẹ̀ was that the former was the only one in its own realm.⁴²⁶ Within Ìlé-Ìfẹ̀ on the other hand, were the king’s palace and the ààfin of second-tier rulers, his children. In the 1820s, the Scottish naval officer and explorer of West Africa Hugh Clapperton had estimated that the palatial complex at Òyó was a square mile in area (640 acres).⁴²⁷ It contained, like all the other palaces that were built after it, spaces where the ruler adjudicated disputes, addressed members of the community, and hosted athletic contests. The account about the Òyó palace that Johnson received described the first king’s settlement in Òyó, the kingdom’s origins and the development of its identity. This oral communication had two components: the Oríkì Orílè and Ìtàn. (These two phrases mean “praise poetry” and “history”; the royal griots often chant an interwoven form of the two). All official quarters of rulers in Southwest Nigeria had these two oral sources of the past, and Òba Solomon Bàbáyémi was one sovereign who transcribed the Oríkì Orílè and Ìtàn of his residence in order to reconstruct the structure in another place.⁴²⁸ He also researched the Ìtàn of other palaces in this region, and argued that the ààfin was “the material manifestation of royalty, of the òba and office….”⁴²⁹

In the mid-nineteenth century, the Ààfin at Òyó did not have a forest next to it, as was characteristic of all ààfin that were subsequently built in other parts of the larger

⁴²⁶ Ibid., 18.
⁴²⁹ Ibid., 148 -149. Quoted in footnotes 2 and 18 of the article. Òba Bàbáyémi also published a book titled Content Analysis of Oríkì Orílè (Ibadan: Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, 1980s).
region. And it was not because other kingdoms instituted this tradition after Òyó.

When Balogun Kúkù erected his residence in the 1890s, the Ààfin at Òyó was the second version of an original that the Nupe nation destroyed in its first location in the middle of the seventeenth century. The initial Ààfin had a forest, where some of the coronation activities of the king took place. Moreover, it was the ruler’s custom to visit the royal mausolea also located in the woodlands. The rulers’ herbalists prepared potions in total secrecy in this area as well. While the sovereigns also hunted in their grounds, the Alààfin hunted in another expanse of land away from the palace.

Despite its reduction in size, the Alààfin’s palace, situated on an elevated site in the center of Òyó, was still the largest in the kingdom. The kings of Adó-Èkìti, Iléșà and Òwò emulated this trend, as one can see from the settlement plans of those realms (Figure 191, Figure 192 and Figure 193). A large defense wall circumscribed Òyó’s radial city layout. According to the anthropologist John Michael Vlach, the location of the royal residence ensured that royal rituals, the exchange of goods and ideas between citizens in the king’s market, as well as his contact with his wards occurred in the middle of the capital.

From the hub of the metropolis to the impluvia of the smallest living quarters, the average resident of Òyó conducted his or her most important functions within the heart of

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430 Òjó, Yoruba Palaces: A Study of Afins of Yorubaland, 27.
432 Òjó, Yoruba Palaces: A Study of Afins of Yorubaland, 46.
433 Ibid., 56.
434 Ibid.
435 Ibid.
436 Ibid., 30.
437 The geographer and urban planner G.J.A. Òjó created these plans in the 1960s, though the last describes the state of the Òyó Empire in 1937. It was not possible to find descriptions of the territories that preceded these dates.
each enclosure, emulating the practice of the sovereign’s residence whose middle forecourts enshrined the most important functions. Most families in Ọ̀yọ had a residential compound and a farmhouse.⁴³９ These two building types consisted of ten by twenty feet rooms. (Figure 194, Figure 195 and Figure 196) The second structure fused rooms with small windows in linear or perpendicular configurations.⁴⁴⁰ (Figure 197) The reason for the tiny fenestrations in some of these rooms was that the farmer only stored crops and rested there.⁴⁴¹ In summary, the multi-room residential compounds in Ọ̀yọ consisted of combinations of ten by twenty feet rooms in different patterns from the smallest house to the Ààfin.

The Ààfin of Ọ̀yọ was the owner of the realm and his servants could confiscate the acreage and belongings of any resident who had committed a crime.⁴⁴² All the citizens in the kingdom were responsible for maintaining the palace.⁴⁴³ His chiefs, who were leaders of sections of the kingdom, built their houses around the Ààfin, and they adjudicated disputes in their own domains.⁴⁴⁴ (Figure 198) The houses of individual families surrounded that of the chief, the head of that ward.⁴⁴⁵ Even this was duplicated on a domestic level where an orbit of rooms encircled the patriarch of the household’s bedroom.

Each chief’s residence had fewer courtyards than the Ààfin’s palace to emphasize their subjection to his rule.⁴⁴⁶ The main entrance of the structure belonging to

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⁴³⁹ Ibid.
⁴⁴⁰ Ibid., 52-53.
⁴⁴¹ Ibid.
⁴⁴³ Ibid.
⁴⁴⁵ Ibid.
⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.
the king’s senior chief—the Àkóórò—ushered one into an open-air assembly hall called Aganjú. The following indicates the scope of the typical ceremonies carried out within the quads of the Ààfin of Òyọ.

All the outdoor spaces had names that started with the phrase “káà”, which meant “backyard” in Yorùbá and underscored the secrecy of all royal ceremonials done in the complex. (Figure 199. Note “káà” in the legend of the drawing) One of three central impluvia housed male servants who plaited one side of their heads in preparation for a festival known as Qdún Imolè (“the day of the earth spirits”). The sovereign’s wives used the second middle courtyard to sit around the Alààfin whenever he entered that space. These women also reserved the last central space for their own purposes and had a third quadrangle elsewhere for leisure during the day. The Alààfin met with the senior chiefs in one patio while his horsemen stayed in another. The king’s court made sacrifices to deities and organized his meetings with influential personalities in the remaining atria. The layouts of other ààfin demarcated enclosures in a similar fashion and only differed in the chambers for deity-worship that were peculiar to the specific kingdom. As in individual farm houses, the impluvia in palatial designs contained the most important functions while walled partitions served as rooms for sleeping and storage.

The palace of the king of Ìjẹbu-Ôde, (the Awújalè) within Balógun Kúkù’s

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449 Òjó, Yoruba Palaces: A Study of Afins of Yorubaland, 47 and 101.
450 Ibid., 101.
451 Ibid., 100-103. These pages contain a complete list of the names of the rooms and their uses.
domain, encompassed nineteen acres, including a twelve acre forest. It was also the second palace built for the throne in a new location. The palace was called Ààfin Itorò. (Figure 200) The previous one was already in a dilapidated state in 1882 when Fidipọtẹ, the ruler at that time fled the realm to avoid an insurrection. In 1886, Tuwase the succeeding monarch converted his living quarters into the new palace. The placement of the mausolea of Fidipọtẹ’s forbears within the walls of his palatial complex may have been the first time that any leader did such a thing in the commonwealth, since royal mausolea containing the relics of the emperor’s forbears were traditionally located in the imperial forest.

The rectilinear plan of Balogun Kúkù’s residence did not have a centrally located courtyard within nor did it have rooms around impluvia that is characteristic of ààfin architecture. Nevertheless, the rear court with the monuments of Kúkù’s ancestors served the purpose of royal courtyards. His residence had already surpassed the magnificence of those of other Baloguns’ and high chiefs; only that of a Bálẹ, a high-ranking ruler of a town in Lagos rivaled his. (Figure 201 and Figure 202) The arcade on the front façade of the Bálẹ’s headquarters suggests that the Afro-Brazilians designed and supervised its construction even if it was a one-story structure like all the ààfin in the region. Hence, despite the fact that the Bálẹ and Balogun were peer chieftaincy titles in different polities, the latter’s two-floor house superseded the modern Bálẹ’s edifice. The reason for juxtaposing the official building of the Balogun of Ìjèbu-Ôde’s house with the ààfin is not

452 Òjó, Yoruba Palaces: A Study of Afins of Yorubaland, 27. Figure 200 is a reconstruction based on G.J.A. Òjó’s interview of former palace slaves who were still alive in the 1960s.
453 Ibid., 52.
454 Òjó, Yoruba Palaces: A Study of Afins of Yorubaland, 52.
455 Ibid., 54.
456 Figure 173 shown earlier depicts a Geledé masquerade in front of the Bálẹ’s residence in 1978.
due exclusively to the fact that there was no architectural equivalent to the former within the territory. To be sure, King Fidipoțe’s exile in 1882 created a power vacuum within the realm that even Tuwase’s modest palace did not fill. The void had to do with the cultural significance of Fidipoțe’s palace, besides the fact that it was an imposing structure. In a sense therefore, the people of Îjèbu-Ôde saw in the vertical profile of Kükù’s house a project that filled the need for a display of Îjèbu-Ôde’s prominence among Yorùbá kingdoms.

What Kükù’s residence did not possess in square footage, which had been the means to communicate an ààfin’s stateliness, it projected through its verticality, clerestories, engaged columns, as well as the window frames on its front façade, not to mention the quadrangle that separated the anterior perimeter fence from the main house. All the same, Kükù did not reject all the typical design elements of chiefly or Yorùbá royal architecture. For instance, the forecourt after the main gate and the transitional spaces where servants queried guests before escorting them into the main quarters were recurring features of the ààfin. Houses like that of Chief Fáwòle Onitiju of Ilé-Ifẹ had porches (“kòbì” in Yorùbá), which served as the first point of entry.457 (Figure 203) The designer dos Reis introduced the square facing the sobrado and the igreja (“two story house” and “church” in Portuguese) from Brazil into Îjèbu-Ôde through his work on the Kükù Residence. He thus invariably transformed the traditional kòbì into a more spacious, roofless enclosure.

The planning of the interior spaces by dos Reis ensured that Balógun Kükù entertained the most distinguished guests, including the British District Officers, in his

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457 Figure 203 is a 1974 drawing of the structure. My research yielded no earlier documentation of it; it is thus not possible to ascertain its age.
parlor on the second level. (See Figure 183, Figure 184 and Figure 185) He received the townsfolk while reclining on the space beside the staircase. (Figure 204) This controlled, linear flow of human traffic differed from the restrictive, yet perambulatory movement of citizens within the Awùjalè’s ààfin, where the maze of corridors and courtyards as well as edicts barring the king from receiving visitors limited popular access to certain areas. 

One other distinction between the Ìjèbu ààfin and Balògun Kúkù’s house was that the former had large thatch roofs that obscured the exterior walls from view at the street level. Though there are no images of the Ìjèbu monarch’s palace, an extant photograph of the palace of the ruler of Ôwu, a town close to Ìjèbu-Ôde, reveals that most of the palaces had similar roof structures. (Figure 205) Moreover, dos Reis created walls that were clearly seen from all angles and which served as canvases for the embossed Islamic star decorations. In other words, he decorated both the interior and exterior walls of the house. (See Figure 177 and Figure 185). With this last act, he more or less brought to an end the royal custom of beautifying the insides of the aafin, with the external walls bare.

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459 In Òyó, the ruler only left the palace three times a year for certain festivals, and other sovereigns must have followed suit. Therefore, the community rarely saw their potentates. Furthermore, the king’s infrequent appearances in public must have heightened the dread that the people felt if they transgressed the spatial restrictions in place within the ààfin. The beaded tassels that protruded out from the bottom of an Òba’s crown and covered his face completed the level of secrecy necessary for a king. And to reiterate what was mentioned in the last chapter, a royal decree as old as the beginning of the commonwealth of kingdoms stipulated that the crown had to conceal the sovereign’s countenance. This was done to eliminate the ruler’s identity and present the “divine power of the dynasty” to his people. For further information on ààfin and the royal crown, see R.C. Abraham, “Ààfin” in *Dictionary of Modern Yoruba* (London: University of London Press Ltd., 1958), 17; Ulli Beier, *Yoruba Beaded Crowns: Sacred Regalia of the Olokuku of Okuku* (London: Ethnographica in Association with the National Museum, Lagos, 1982), 24.
The Mausolea behind the Palace

Kúkù instituted a law that required that his heirs be buried within his compound. (Figure 206) In doing this, he emulated his king, the Awújalè, who, as we noted earlier, was the first monarch in the region to bury his forefathers, the past sovereigns of Ìjèbu-Òde, within the palace grounds.

Situated ten meters away from the rear of the palace are several mausolea. The oldest, in the middle of the row, held the remains of Balógun Bello Kúkù who died on November 13th 1907. (Figure 207 and Figure 208) The structure, made out of concrete and brick, is crowned by a soldier on horseback. All the monuments have doors that open into small chambers. On the right of the Bello Kúkù tomb is that of Chief Kadiri Adéfuye Kúkù who died in 1949. On the left is that of Chief Gbadamosi Kúkù who died in 1929. (Figure 209) Between Balógun Bello and Balógun Gbadamosi’s is a smaller tomb of Bello’s wife, Ayisat Kúkù who died in 1944. (Figure 210) On the right of Gbadamosi’s is Chief Aṣiru Kúkù’s who died in 1952, its relatively smaller scale indicating that he was not a Balógun. (Figure 211) The façades of these tombs have pediments with baroque twirls, and are framed by pilasters. A statue of the Virgin Mary—clearly copied from an European model—on top of Gbadamosi Kúkù’s tomb shows that despite the fact that Balógun Bello Kúkù was a muslim, some of his heirs were Catholics. To this point, the tomb of Balógun Stephen Kúkù, directly behind Gbadamosi Kúkù’s, features two crucifixes on the obituary plaque, thus emphatically designating him as a Christian. (Figure 212 and Figure 213)

The proliferation of imagery from different religions further underscores the syncretism of the Kúkù lineage. Additionally, tombs of Balógun Bello Kúkù’s heirs redefined each succeeding Balógun’s conception of how his ancestors authorized and
aided his rule. Yet the appropriations of different religious symbols and royal customs created a visual language that helped perpetuate the Kúkù dynasty and may have been in response to changing the political situation. Indeed the Balógun’s palace and grounds were new cultural symbols that marked the Ìjèbu Balógun’s rise as an even more powerful leader than his ruler. This tendency was remarkable in its capacity to assimilate aspects of Catholic and Islamic visual culture in order to redefine itself.

Kúkù’s prior banishment from the city in the wake of plots to assassinate him made the erection of his stately home of 1902 all the more remarkable. It shows that the populace’s perception of the Balógun’s increasing powers was the result of his impact on the city’s urban fabric. His building played a central role in the re-configuration of his office, and we can only conclude that the Ìjèbu-Ôde community’s experiences of architecture coincided with changes in the political history of the kingdom. The lesson of the Kúkù house, in sum, is that influential individuals refashioned their public personae through their construction projects. Another house, built around the mid-twentieth century, shows the extent to which the idea of residential architecture as site for expression of social status and ideals was widespread in southwestern Nigeria.

The Ebenezer House in Ìkùrun

This section analyzes the “Ebenezer house” and the ways in which it reinforced the owner’s status as an influential Muslim in his town. My analysis here, which relies on my reading of the features and layout of this structure, is also partly speculative, given a total lack of information about its original patron and the designer/builder. What we know is that owner, whose name is inscribed on one of the front arches, was called
Ebenezer; and that the house was completed on January 1, 1944. (Figure 214 and Figure 215) The house is located in a town called Ìkìrun, 47 miles North of Ifè, where, in the nineteenth century, Fulani warriors from Ìlọrin (another town forty-two miles away) sold slaves. (Figure 216 and Figure 217) To the East of Ìkìrun is Iragbiji in the present-day Boripe Local Government Area, and on its Western border is Eko-Ende in the Ifèlòdun Local Government Area. Ìkìrun, like the neighboring Igbajo and Irele towns, had its own administrative headquarters. (See Figure 216) These towns are important for our discussion and analysis of the common style of masonry construction that pervaded this part of southwestern Nigeria.

Ebenezer House is a two-story building with a tower that projects outward, slightly off-center from the front façade, and is capped by a heraldic sculpture of a lion. (Figure 218) Many artisans distinguished themselves as builders of such statues on window ledges and roofs of homes in this area. The most renowned figurines were created in the 1960s, by Adébísí Àkanjí, who also made wall screens, flattened versions of his three dimensional statues. (Figure 219 and Figure 220)

The sculpture on top of the highest point of the Ebenezer house is reminiscent of the lions flanking the entrance to the da Silva residence, built in Lagos by the Àgùdà artisan Santan da Silva in the 1880s. (See Figure 107) Ebenezer’s emulation of da Silva’s statues on his own residence may have ushered in the practice of putting sculptures on buildings in Ìkìrun and the region at large.

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460 Imprinting the owner’s name on the front façade of a house was a common practice in the region in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.
The choice of a lion on the tower of the Ebenezer house tower and elephants on top of the two arches at both ends of the compound was not haphazard. For whereas the lion denoted royalty, the elephant symbolized the deity known as Ọbàtálá in Ifá. As mentioned earlier, Ifá emerged as a corpus of religious thought practiced in one form or the other across Southwestern Nigeria since the ancient Ifē kingdom. The number of gods in Ifa, according to some studies, exceeded four hundred.463 However, Ìkìrun natives venerated Ọbàtálá; its emblem, the elephant, also signified that the deity was very old and wise.

The upper half of the tower breaks the balcony’s horizontal plane. A photograph of the structure taken in the 1940s indicates that what might be cement vases were placed on both ends of the balcony. (See Figure 214, Figure 221, Figure 222 and Figure 223) The house was built with brick and clad with a mixture of sand and stucco to give the walls a rough, rusticated effect as well as the appearance of ashlar stones masonry. (Figure 224) The wall finish was popular in the communities close to Ìkìrun and constitutes what one might call a regional style. For instance the Central Mosques at Erìnle and Òsogbo, and a residential structure in Òsogbo built in the 1940s by a construction manager and merchant known as Kadiri, – had similar surface finishes. (Figure 225 and Figure 226; Figure 227, Figure 228, and Figure 229)464 Before he designed and supervised the construction of the Òsogbo house, Kadiri had developed a

464 Femi Abodunrin "Iconography of Order and Disorder: Femi Abodunrin in Conversation with Ulli Beier." In Character Is Beauty: Redefining Yoruba Culture and Identity (Iwalewa-Haus 1981-1996), edited by Femi Abodunrin (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 2001), 265. The house that Kadiri built in Òsogbo is still there. Susanne Wenger, an Austrian artist and priestess acquired the property in the 1950s and commissioned Adébísí Àkanjí to sculpt the fence which is seen in Figures 236 and 237. Àkanjí executed the project in the 1960s.
reputation of a master builder in his hometown, Ibadan, in Southwest Nigeria. The Òṣogbo house was made out of stone blocks and its interior contained a central corridor and a staircase that led to three floors. This spine divided the entire structure into two halves with rooms on either side. (See Figure 228) Kadiri’s client, whose name is long forgotten, had originally requested a two-story building, but changed his mind when he saw Kadiri’s other commission in another part of the city. Kadiri’s second building, the original owner also impossible to trace, stands next to a free standing arch that carries three heraldic sculptures echoing once again the work of the Àgùdà artisans. (Figure 230)

The Ebenezer residence’s tower has a five-sided volumetric space and an oculus underneath its roof, as well as two rectangular windows below that. (See Figure 224) The top of these windows aligns with the summit of the others on the recessed wall of the upper story. All are covered with a hood, which is supported by ogee moldings. An Arabic inscription is engraved in between the first and second rectangular windows on the tower, and it says “Al-hamdu li-llah” (“Praise be to God”). (Figure 231) A flat parapet roof carried on brackets, caps the tower, in contrast to the rest of the house, which is covered with a gable roof. (See Figure 224) In between the oculus and the first window is a cornice band that encases a series of diamond motifs that are full of gravel stones. This cornice band runs along all the sides of the tower. A Yorùbá inscription below this band, which says “I give thanks to God”, shows that Ebenezer wanted the same statement in Arabic and Yorùbá on his tower.

It is not uncontroversial to say that some of Ìkírun’s citizens would not have been able to decipher Ebenezer’s Arabic and Yorùbá exhortations to Allah on the front façade.

\textsuperscript{465} Ibid. Kadiri, according to Beier, designed the house by drawing its plan in the sand with a stick next to the project site, and directed the work his bricklayers and sub-contractors based on the sand drawing.
Even so, the indecipherability of text must have cast it as exotic and powerful; powerful because it is a mark of literacy, which in turn signaled the owner’s access to and mastery of the modern, colonial world. Only the town’s Imams and their students as well as other residents literate in the written form of Yorùbá and Arabic might have been able to read the texts. To these, and to the Hausa and Fulani settlers in Ìkirun, most of whom were literate in Arabic, the engraved words must have been seen as proof of the owner’s pious Islamic faith. Comprehensible or not, the words must have made an impression on all the onlookers who visited or just merely saw the structure.

The building’s side elevations have, as in the frontage, a sand-stucco plastering, but here the builders added a different touch: they laid a continuous course of half-circles in rows that resembles the arched balustrade in the front balcony; these arabesque-like designs, further imbues the house with another strikingly Islamic design motif. (Figure 232)

It is significant that the Ebenezer House is located on the same street as the town’s Central mosque. This closeness to the religious structure, we could speculate, validated Ebenezer’s self-imposed status as an Islamic leader in the community. (Figure 233) Moreover, the juxtaposition of the two buildings seems to establish Ebenezer’s dwelling as a harbinger of a new type of Islamic residential architecture in this region. The care and the materials lavished on the house proclaim that Ebenezer had the clout of an influential Muslim in the neighborhood. It may not be an exaggeration to say that the mosque gave the visual cue to the designer, who is here grafting onto the domestic structure a tower smaller than, yet no less reminiscent of, the one in the mosque.

The craftsmanship on the house’s walls and balconies bears the handiwork of the
Àgùdà and their protégés who resided in the region. Lázaro Borges da Silva (who worked on the Holy Cross Cathedral in Lagos) moved to Ibadan – seventy miles South of Ìkirun—at the turn of the twentieth century. He and a fellow Àgùdà carpenter known as Bernardo built several houses and trained numerous apprentices in the region.\(^{466}\) Some of these students were simply known as Şódëindé, Samuel, Julius, and Alhaji Rafiu Ọdúnlàmi who was born in 1903 and trained at Ilé-Ifè in 1928.\(^{467}\) (Figure 234) Originally a bricklayer, Ọdúnlàmi mastered bas-relief patterns on wall surfaces as well as carpentry. According to the architectural historian Cordelia Osasona, Ọdúnlàmi built ten churches and six mosques in the region.\(^{468}\)

The Àgùdà mentors did other things as well. As far back as 1886, one “Brazilian creole” carpenter, known as “Abeh,” had even tried to negotiate peace treaties between the warring Ibadan, Ìjẹṣà and Èkìti kingdoms.\(^{469}\) That conflict started in 1877 and unbeknownst to Abeh, it would end in the year that he was trying to achieve a stalemate. He was part of the Lagos Èkìti-Parapò Society, an organization of Sàró, Àgùdà and Afro-Cubans with ancestral ties to the Ìjẹṣà and Èkìti kingdoms. These associates had maintained contacts with their kinsmen in the interior.\(^{470}\) Ironically, some members also supplied their hometowns with “more efficient weapons” while the mediations were taking place.\(^{471}\) The British colonial government supported these initiatives even when

\(^{466}\) Marianno Carneiro da Cunha, From Slave Quarters to Town Houses: Brazilian Architecture in Nigeria and the People's Republic of Benin, 80.

\(^{467}\) Cordelia O. Osasona, Ornamentation in Yoruba Folk Architecture (Ibadan: Book Builders, 2005), 18.

\(^{468}\) Ibid., 18-19.


\(^{470}\) Ibid., 195.

\(^{471}\) Ibid.
they proved to be unsuccessful.\footnote{Jean Herskovits Kopytoff, \textit{A Preface to Modern Nigeria}, 196.}

Collaboration between the immigrants and the Europeans may have jettisoned the peace talks because the warring parties thought that the African arbitrators were “white,” echoing Lagosian attitudes towards the Àgùdà and Sàró. As stated in the last chapter, Lagosians called Sàró elites like Mohammed Shitta Bey “Ôyìnóbó Dúdú” and “Olówó Pupa,” meaning “white-black” and “the rich individual whose complexion is red.” The first term was an insult, while the other phrase evinced a mixed feeling of awe and disdain for the Sàró who were wealthy.\footnote{Spencer H. Brown, “A History of the People of Lagos State, 1852-1886,” PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1964, 38.} Moreover, the locals distrusted Sàró residents in Ìjèbu-Òde who promoted European values.\footnote{Jean Herskovits Kopytoff, \textit{A Preface to Modern Nigeria}, 198-199.} What is evident here is how Sàró and Àgùdà influence on local politics and cultures in the hinterland were manifold.\footnote{Níyí Afolábí, \textit{Afro-Brazilians: Cultural Production in a Racial Democracy} (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2009), 108-126.}

Not all the prominent local designers and builders learnt their crafts from the Àgùdà in this region however. When slave-artisans to Bahia from Dahomey for training returned home, they contributed their skills to a construction industry that encompassed Dahomey, Southwest Nigeria, and the Gold Coast.\footnote{Antonio Olinto, \textit{Water House}, 172-190. In the book, Marianna commissions an Afro-Brazilian immigrant architect to design a shop in Ouidah, Benin Republic. For information on itinerant builders in between Nigeria, Benin Republic and Ghana in this era see Alan Vaughn-Richards, "Le Nigéria," in \textit{Rives Coloniales: Architectures, De Saint-Louis à Douala}, ed. Jacques Soulillou (Marseilles: Editions de l’Orstom, 1993), 265.} They not only mastered their crafts, they introduced novel features in their buildings.

For example, the artisans made door panels, balustrades, goat gates, window screens, and fascia boards. (Figure 235, Figure 236, Figure 237, Figure 238 and Figure 239) The railing pattern on a house in the town of Àkúrẹ resembles lattice motifs on lace.
and “Àdírẹ” textile designs of Southwest Nigeria, and shows how both art forms might have influenced one another. (Figure 240 and Figure 241) “Àdírẹ” means tie and dye in Yorùbá, and emerged as an art form in Abéòkúta at the turn of the twentieth century.477

(Figure 242) The Austrian artist Susanne Wenger, who first moved to Òṣogbo in 1950 created batik work that emulated the two artistic traditions. (Figure 243)

People wanted to transfer the intricate compositions on these garments, which evinced their owners’ status, onto their walls. Though Kodilinye Igwe argued that women wore Àdírẹ with circular patterns while men wore angular patterned cloths, there is no evidence that such a rule applied to the embellishment of domestic architecture.478 Yet this last assertion could be amended if one unearths information on Ìkìrun women who owned homes in the town in the 1940s. Such a scenario would open the possibility that female patrons hired architects to construct properties with railings reflecting feminine motifs.

Both the regional builders and fabric designers used a repository of motifs that included images of animals, plants as well as geometric and abstract shapes.479 While gecko patterns denoted peace, the other motifs were visual commentary on objects found in everyday life.480 The reptile was an emblem of tranquility, because it ate insects and termites, which were harmful to adobe houses. (Figure 244)

One can infer from this analysis that the arabesque balusters on the Ebenezer House’s front façade did not solely testify to the owner’s Muslim faith. (See Figure 221)

479 Ibid.
480 Ibid.
They may also have embodied configurations of basic shapes that were already part of a common palette of ornament that designers of different media appropriated for their own work. Moreover, the side elevations of the Ebenezer residence reveal the superimposition of signs onto the sandstone plastering finish. (See Figure 232) The upended arcs on these walls and the balustrades are Islamic visual cues as well. Here then may be another instance of the designer’s desire to surpass the ashlar stone facing tradition, and create a wall veneer that also expressed the house owner’s faith. Perhaps then, the design and building crew produced surface patterns that simultaneously echoed and outdid an older masonry technique that had long been a source of inspiration for the African immigrants in Southwest Nigeria. Speculating even further, one could conjecture that the Àgùdà and the locals had associated ashlar walls with the British colonialists and the Ìkìrun community wanted to expand the visual possibilities of its appearance to suit local tastes.

I drafted plans of the Ebenezer mansion based on my visit to the site in 2011. The following illustrations and observations are the result of my study. The first and second floor plans of the structure reveal a corridor that serves as a spine and divides the areas of each level into two sets of rooms. (Figure 245 and Figure 246) The hallway terminates at the rear façade, and steps that lead to the upper deck are encased within the tower. (Figure 246) This again attests to the practice, inspired by Àgùdà freemasons, of placing a flight of stairs in the center of the house, although here access to the higher compartment is slightly off the main axis. The design decision to project the tower outwards beyond the surface of the exterior wall, expresses the location of the stairs on the exterior. (See Figure 222 and Figure 224) The openings also partly illuminate and

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ventilate the common chambers next to the stairs though the airy quality of the impluvia in other residences is absent.

The two levels of the Ebenezer house also indicate the owner’s rejection of the central courtyard space. From the beginning, the Ebenezer family may have cooked its meals behind the house, which also limited the need for a central and open quadrangle. One must hasten to note however, that the Ebenezer residence contains communal spaces close to the staircase on both the first and second stories.

**Oláyinka House in Ifé**

Another residence that an Àgùdà architect may have designed is the house of the Oláyinka family in Ifé, which integrated an atrium with the corridor system—perhaps so that the Oláyinkas could assert that they were modern. (Figure 247 and Figure 248) In 1929, J.S. Oláyinka was part of a contingent of Ifé cocoa farmers who competed against each other to build the grandest accommodation owned by a wealthy commoner in the kingdom. Their rationale was that such an endeavor would benefit their cocoa trade. John Vlach’s drawing of the first floor plan reveals a central spine that flows into a courtyard in the middle of the house. Resting on the roof on the building’s exterior are two clerestories that provide natural daylight into the atrium, which otherwise remains enclosed. The rooms on the first floor gradually reduce in size on both sides of the corridor and around the courtyard as one proceeds from the front of the building to its rear. That design strategy, which may have been duplicated on the upper floor of the

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483 Ibid.
house probably, alludes to the possibility that rooms lying along the rear façade of both levels (with the exception of the stairwell) may have been for the most private activities. If so, the flow of human traffic from the more public rooms along the front façade to the rooms nearer the house’s rear elevation may reveal in what direction the building’s designer’s wanted to lead the inhabitants from public to private spaces. Perhaps, the architect’s strategy also used the courtyard to bar visitors from proceeding beyond that space.

The mansion’s exterior has a finish of stucco, which more than likely overlays brick masonry walls. Pilasters and an arch embellish the main entrance, which hearkens to Àgùdà architects’ use of that design element in the Lagosian Àgùdà houses. The floral motif that crowns each window frame is also reminiscent of the Lagosian Àgùdà architecture. The moldings beneath the upper windows on this façade are similar to others found on Àgùdà houses in Lagos as well and are horizontal versions of the icons on the bases of the pilasters framing the Mihrab of the Lagosian Masallaci Olosun Mosque. (See Figure 247 and Figure 56) At the mid-way point of the two pilasters that are at each end of the front façade are vertical engravings of the same molding underneath the windows: replicas of the icons in the Mosque, which differ only because these engravings are incisions in the stucco and not paintings like their counterparts in the Mosque.

Comparison of Ebenezer and Oláyinka Houses

There were variations in the Àgùdà architects’ residential designs created in Southwest Nigeria and a comparison of the Ebenezer and Oláyinka residences will illustrate this point. (Figure 249) The logic of the plans of the Ebenezer House deviate
from the piecemeal addition of ten by twenty feet rooms to form the Yorùbá residential and farm structures alluded to earlier. Where a typical indigene’s residence consisted in a series of enclosures added sequentially, using adobe as the basic building material, the designer(s) of the Ebenezer residence pre-determined a specific number of rooms that would serve as appendages to a central core. In other words, the interior organization of this house gave no consideration for further expansion. Its axial corridor even prevented the addition of more chambers to the house. The only way that more partitions could be added to the building’s scheme was if smaller hallways were created within the existing configuration that would lead to the creation of new enclosures. The tediousness of this last possibility further gives the architectural design a sense of finality, and postulates that Ebenezer’s family did not want to increase its size.

The preservation of a sun-lit quad in the center of the Oláyinka house on the other hand, highlighted the collective function that it played, and reinforced traditions passed down from Oláyinka’s Yorùbá ancestors. In other words, the atrium echoes the courtyard space that was a hallmark of the Yorùbá houses in past eras. Yet it is necessary to note that it was an enclosed space, which suggests that the architect wanted to maintain the sense that no part of the Oláyinka House was open to the sky. A distinction that may also allude to two design ideas that the architect tried to hold in tandem: the atrium where communal activities could occur and the structure’s gable roof, which caps the entire building and from a visual standpoint, resists the perforation in its covering that an open courtyard on the interior of the house would foster.

The architect’s decision therefore, to forego the central courtyard in the case of the Ebenezer’s House showed how far he wanted to project Ebenezer’s image as a rich
and culturally sophisticated Muslim businessman in Ìkirun. Through his mansion
Ebenezer refashioned himself as an individual with the clout of an Imam, by using his
tower to declare Allah’s beneficence.

At the same time, both Ebenezer and Oláyinka Houses exemplify how the
progressive vision of African immigrant architects indirectly strengthened and expanded
the influence of certain people in the hinterland that affected the conduct and lives of
individuals in communities. Such positions were reinforced or even created by the
builders’ and owners’ aestheticism which were forged in a competitive atmosphere. The
two residences crystallized influence in tangible forms that incorporated insignia from
diverse cultural origins and exceeded the vocabulary of the Àgùdàs’ modern built
environment.
Some Unique Features: Comparisons of Àgùdà Architecture with Traditional Yorùbá and British Colonial Architecture

Cordelia Osasona argues that one difference between Àgùdà style homes and Yorùbá traditional architecture was in the design of doors. Yorùbá builders created bas-relief sculpted doors in their palaces while some of the Àgùdà style homes had doors that with incisions of shields. The doors of the latter had entablatures above, architraves, mullions on the surface and engravings like battle shields. Perhaps the Àgùdà’s used such symbols to communicate a visual form of power that the indigenes of the kingdoms were unfamiliar with because they had not seen those icons on doors before.

As the examples of the floor plans of the Ebenezer and Olàyinka residences exemplify, Àgùdà architects tailored their designs according to the needs of their clients. Yet the outlines of the Àgùdà floor plans in the hinterland show the architects’ preference for basic geometrical shapes such as squares and rectangles. The labrythine plans of Yorùbá palaces and houses – that allowed for the gradual addition of spaces that John Vlach argues, was central to Yorùbá architectural planning in former eras – and was a method of design that the Àgùdà did not pursue. It is possible that the Àgùdà erected multi-story structures as an icon of power in height that rivaled – in a different plane - the horizontal sense of grandeur that the clusters of conglomerations of spaces around courtyards created in Yorùbá traditional architecture.

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484 Ibid., 4. Osasona uses both the phrases “modified traditional” Yorùbá architecture and Yorùbá folk architecture to describe Yorùbá traditional design. She uses the terms to describe the Yorùbá builders’ ornament design, which evolved as the Yorùbá encountered the Àgùdà but nevertheless created local variations of the icons on the Àgùdà’s architecture.

485 Ibid., 93-95 110 and 114.

A cursory look at the rooms of both the Ebenezer and Oláyinka Houses may lead one to conjecture that Àgùdà designers in the hinterland as well as Lagos created spaces that reflected the decreasing size of families and the increasing importance of the nuclear family as a single unit. Even the colonial residential designs of the Public Works Department – the apparatus within the British colonial government that oversaw the types of structures the British officers lived in. (Figure 251) Nonetheless, the plans of the multi-story colonial residences in the aforementioned figures reveal a progression from spacious public foyers to narrower spaces in the rear. It seems that the Àgùdà houses in contrast, maintain basic shapes such as the square and rectangle as the foundational form for the floor plan – a compact form that allows for a centralized atrium, for families such as the Oláyinkas to perform semi-private, perhaps familial activities. The Àgùdà’s mouldings on their structures differ from the near absence of such features on the colonial houses.

**Conclusion**

This chapter explored how royal and mercantile patrons and their designers created monumental symbols that reflected, among other things, their own public dilettantism and attachment to African migrants’ domestic architecture and material culture in Lagos. In this vein by creating structures that incorporated the Àgùdà and Sàró variations of architectural features that the black settlers experienced abroad, the patrons in the hinterland created new structures that communicated to their neighbors that they were connoisseurs of both colonial and local cultures. The last chapter argued that the

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487 Examples of such activities could be a mother plaiting her daughter’s hair.
new settlers’ blended different construction methods into coherent structures that reflected their merger of multiple religious traditions to create new ones. This chapter argued that elites in the hinterland became shapers of new cultures through buildings that were inspired by the urban fabric of the Àgùdà and Sàrós in Lagos.

Another underlying theme embedded in these histories concerns the builders’ sense of pride in their design solutions. It is possible that dos Reis and da Costa surmised what would be appropriate residences for monarchs and wealthy persons, basing themselves on ideas that stemmed from their exposure to Catholic architectonic forms. The African immigrants’ ceremonial architecture that arose from their sense of foreignness in Lagos resulted in commissions that the locals admired.

The chiefs and merchants saw opportunities to do two things. Wishing to build houses that embodied their sense of pride, they derived inspiration from the immigrants’ edifices and in the process displayed their own socio-political power. Second, they mimicked the incomers’ sense of play by creating new expressions of the cultural institutions that would perpetuate traditions in the decades to come. These patrons and designers then, modernized aspects of their customs in order to appear savvy in a region that had undergone a great amount of change as a result of colonization and wars.

The case studies show how architecture became a form of self-fashioning in the hands of immigrants who deployed forms and symbols from Luso-European architectural traditions, often via Brazil, to enhance their status in their communities. By doing so, they modernized the architectural idioms of both funerary and domestic buildings, and thus reconfigured traditional typologies. That is to say, the Affinnih and Táfwò tombs epitomized how some individuals in Southwest Nigeria added a synchronic
understanding of the destiny of human souls to the prevalent knowledge of the cyclical return of ancestors with gods in the region. Similarly, by hiring Balthazar dos Reis to use his experience and training in Brazil to erect a residence, Balógun Kúkù ultimately created a form of architectural rhetoric that challenged the Awùjalè’s authority in Ìjèbu-Òde. And finally, the Ebenezer and Oláyinka houses exemplified the families’ devotion to Islam and to the idea of an Àgùdà style of architecture that drew upon elements of the Lagosian Àgùdà-Baroque structures.

These buildings reflect the owners’ pursuit of a hybridized aesthetic of different European, American and African architectural traditions that the immigrants had developed in Lagos. The patrons gave the builders an interpretive license that ultimately encoded the grandeur they discerned in the colonial and immigrants’ structures. The edifices also brought new ways of looking at age-old institutions. Though each of the societies in which these properties were located had their own customs, all were perceived to emanate from the same common “Yorùbá” root. The Onídán funeral rite embodied knowledge about the cyclical visitations of ancestors and deities known in many of the kingdoms in Southwest Nigeria. The same cannot be said of the Òyò masquerade, which confined itself to Lagos after it migrated from the Ìpérù or Ìbèfun kingdoms according to the different oral accounts Ôsanyin consulted. Thus the translations of different aspects of the cultures in the kingdoms also showed tendencies of modernization that were specific to particular locales.

Undeniably the peculiar issues that the patrons faced within their communities shaped their appropriation and transformation of Àgùdà and Sàró houses into large-scale, tangible embodiments of immortality, political power, and influence. Nonetheless, what
unifies these examples is the stakeholders’ openness to redefine the most visible things that represented their culture’s built environment. Ironically, while the antecedents of the case studies examined in this chapter embodied the imperial might of European colonies in other places, these hybrid buildings were reformulations that projected a different sense of power in this region. The most salient feature of the case studies presented in this chapter lies in the fact that they were modern insignia in societies that wanted to be progressive. And this clientele knew of no greater public gesture by which to achieve their aims than to erect an ornate and grand architecture that embodied, in the eyes of their contemporaries, their lofty status and sense of self-worth.
Conclusion

To revisit the inquiries that prompted this research is to "arrive where we started... And know the place for the first time."\textsuperscript{488} This dissertation asks why Afro-Brazilian immigrants—who were part of a large contingent of African Diaspora settlers—built architecture for themselves and for local elites in Southwest Colonial Nigeria. It investigates how they created new identities, ideas of immortality, new royal practices and religious expressions in this region. How were the Afro-Brazilians' exploits different from what other people of African descent did in the Americas – such as the "Africanisms" that Melville Herskovits and some art historians argued were in African diasporic cultural habits?

Methods of communication and record-keeping of the Portuguese and British colonies in Brazil and Nigeria transformed and in some cases, erased the different ways in which Africans made their pasts continuously relevant in the present. Slave artisans adopted the names of their masters rendering the ability of future historians to reconstruct the history of the slaves extremely difficult in the absence of birth certificates, inventory lists of slaves, and letters of freedom. In the nineteenth century, Jean-Baptiste Debret and Johann Rugendas' paintings depicted African slave labor in Brazil for the European royal courts and later for the Brazilian empire. Likewise, Colonial dispatches and field reports from the Lagos Colony to the Secretary of the State of Foreign Affairs in London condensed untold quantities of information into "observations" about kingdoms in present-day Southwest Nigeria.

\textsuperscript{488} T.S. Eliot, "Little Gidding." In The Poems of T. S. Eliot, edited by Christopher Ricks and John McCue (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015), 208.
Similarly, such a perspective haunts writings on architecture that have relied exclusively on details of building plans, invoices of materials during the construction process, biographical data on patrons and architects alike, statistical data about the community or city where the building was situated, the politics of the region – the list of information could go on infinitely. This is not to deny that this dissertation used such information where it existed. Yet the historical-critical approach that has shaped art and architectural history has yielded, in the case of Africa, a positivistic approach and occasionally, an essentialist one.\footnote{For an overview of how some art historians grafted the historical-critical method of hermeneutics into historiography in general and the historiography of art in particular, see Mathew Ramaley, \textit{The Vienna School of Art History: Empire and the Politics of Scholarship, 1847-1918} (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013) and Thomas Howard, \textit{Religion and the Rise of Historicism: W.M.L. De Wette, Jacob Burckhardt, and the Theological Origins of Nineteenth-century Historical Consciousness} (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 15.} Too often, scholars have concentrated on the images of the architecture of the Àgûdà, the Sàró, and local elites with little or no information about them. Photographs, in other words defined the extent of one's knowledge about this architectural history because they were perceived as the only tangible records.

This dissertation critically engaged with historical-critical methods and consequently gave accounts of people who used architecture, and other expressive cultures, to transform their societies in ways that would have eluded the traditional historiographical approaches. The thesis determined how Afro-Brazilians and indigenes alike fulfilled their dreams and ideals in material terms. To wit, the architecture of Afro-Brazilians symbolized their desires to be at home in certain kingdoms in Southwest Nigeria, and to create spaces where they could refashion their identities.

The paintings of Debret and Rugendas provided opportunities to reflect on how African slaves in Brazil were trained as architects and appropriated the architectural
forms of their masters under very harsh circumstances. Relationships between the Afro-Brazilians’ socio-religious activities and their mastery of building trades were explored. Some received formal and private tutelage. Some oral sources suggest that ex-slaves may have trained their companions in construction trades. Thus it was necessary to apply some of the aforementioned strategies to understand how individuals changed the direction of their lives through the acquisition of design and construction skills.

Some of the nontraditional historical sources included the adages of the buildings the Afro-Brazilians constructed in Lagos. Encoded in such proverbs were the inhabitants’ conflations of structures with power. These forms of knowledge provided invaluable insights about what the architecture meant to different people. The dissertation's scrutiny of motifs, icons, and the ornament of some of the buildings in Lagos reveal some of the ways in which clients and architects crossed religious boundaries to erect buildings that reflected monotheistic faiths. The examples included Mohammed Shitta Bey's employment of Martin and Porphyrio to erect his mosque—rewriting the tenets of Islam in spatial terms—and the Protestant Sàró Andrew Thomas and Catholic builder Balthazar dos Reis' construction of a house that embodied Thomas' dual Anglophilic-Ọ̀yọ identity. Another example was Martiniano do Bonfim’s construction of a Candomblé Temple in Bàdágrì that drew not only on classical architectural elements but also on the merger of the Candomblé and Catholicism with the local context of the Bàdágrì kingdom: a place known for its eclectic religions.

In some areas, appropriations of the African diaspora's architecture sparked power tussles. In others, the African immigrants and local elites conveyed the link between the living and the dead in static, built forms for the first time. Chiefs and commoners alike in
Ìjèbu-Òde perceived that Balógun Kúkù waged a visual and spatial war – carried out in a new language of palatial architecture - to usurp his king's authority. People began to prefer static monuments over oral and performance-based genres. Furthermore, we saw how builders in the hinterland created their own interpretation of what the Afro-Brazilians did in Lagos, and created a regional architectural aesthetic in the process.

Hence, the interventions in the built environment by the Àgùdà, the Sàró, and the local societies within Colonial Nigeria was a microcosm of what happened in the "West Coast Settlements" (Gold Coast, Lagos Colony and Sierra Leone) and Liberia. Architects and builders of African descent created towns and influenced other cultural norms throughout the West African region. The common thread in all these examples is that architecture was one of the ways in which new settlers wanted to start their lives afresh. A task that remains to be undertaken is to write an integrated cultural history of the African Diaspora's impact on architecture and customs in all the colonial territories in West Africa in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

This dissertation deepens our understanding of the global trend of migrant architects and builders who "return" to their "homelands" from foreign territories and create structures that were their interpretations of the places that they left behind. It suggests that these people from the African diaspora, who were physically and psychologically displaced, used architecture to define both their shifting identities and what constituted “home.” Their material and spatial responses proved that they were dialecticians who wrestled with these issues and gave provisional, experimental, and long-lasting answers that allowed them to feel grounded.
Figure 1: Yoyo Arárômi House built and owned by Lázaro Borges da Silva in the late 1800s. Source: Taken by Pierre Verger in the 1940s.
Figure 2: Yoyo Aráròmi House destroyed by fire in 1980. Source: Sylvanus Gançallo’s private collection.
Figure 3: Praça in Pelourinho, Salvador. The front façade of the São Francisco Catholic church is in the background. Source: Author, 2011.
Figure 4: African slaves by Johann Rugendas, 1852. Source: Johann Rugendas, *Viagem Pitoresca Através do Brasil* (São Paulo: Ed. da Universidade de São Paulo, 1985).
Figure 5: Dictionary of Yoruba showing tribal mark patterns and indicating the hometowns they indicate. Source: R.C. Abraham, *Dictionary of Modern Yoruba* (London: University of London Press Ltd., 1958).
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Figure 7: Front View of Igreja da Congonhas, Minas Gerais in the 2000s. Source: Humanities Division’s academic image archive, Santa Fe College.
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Figure 14: Jean-Baptiste Debret. Source: Jean-Baptiste Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil* (Arles : Actes sud, 2014).
Figure 15: Première distribution des décorations de la Légion d'honneur dans l'église des Invalides by Jean-Baptiste Debret, 1812. Source: Julio Bandeira, Debret e o Brasil: Obra Completa, 1816-1831 (Rio de Janeiro: Capivara, 2007).
Figure 16: Sieurs de Long by Jean Baptise-Debret, 1821. Source: Julio Bandeira, Debret e o Brasil: Obra Completa, 1816-1831 (Rio de Janeiro: Capivara, 2007).
Figure 17: Detail of Paveurs. Source: Julio Bandeira, *Debret e o Brasil: Obra Complêta, 1816-1831* (Rio de Janeiro: Capibara, 2007).
Figure 18: *Desembarque de telhas* by Jean-Baptiste Debret, 1823, Rio de Janeiro. Source: Julio Bandeira, *Debret e o Brasil: Obra Compléta, 1816-1831* (Rio de Janeiro: Capivara, 2007)
Figure 19: *Capoeira or the Dance of War* by Johann Rugendas, 1825. Source: Johann Rugendas, *Viagem Pitoresca Através Do Brasil*. Translated by Sergio Milliet. (Brasilia: A Casa Do Livro, 1972).
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Figure 21: A Street in Lagos in 1900 showing a characteristic settler’s house next to the neighboring ones built according to local customs. Source: Tekena Tamuno, *Herbert Macaulay, Nigerian Patriot* (London: Heinemann, 1975).
Figure 22: Holy Cross Cathedral, Lagos, built in 1881. Source: Alcione Amos, *Os Que Voltaram* (Belo Horizonte: Tradição Planalto, 2007).
Figure 23: Marcos Cardoso’s Certificate of Work, 1907. Source: Lorenzo Dow Turner, Some Contacts of Brazilian Ex-Slaves With Nigeria, West Africa, "Journal of Negro History 27, no. 1 (1942).
Figure 24: Map of Lagos before 1850 showing the king’s palace at the Northern tip of the peninsula. Èkó consisted of the royal’s residence and his market. Source: Akin L. Mabogunje, *Urbanization in Nigeria* (New York: Africana Pub. Corp., 1969).
Figure 25: Map of Lagos, around 1850. Olówógbówó (The Sàró Quarter) is in the Southwestern part of the city while the King’s Palace and Market is Northwest. The British Governmental offices bordered the Atlantic Ocean in the South, where the piers for ships can be seen in the image. Pópó Àgùdà (Afro-Brazilian immigrants’ town) was North of it. Source: A.B. Adéríbigbé, *Lagos: The Development of an African City* (Lagos: Longman, Nigeria, 1975).
Figure 26: Lagos Marina in 1895, showing British colonial offices with the piers on the left hand side. Source: Tekena N. Tamuno, *Herbert Macaulay, Nigerian Patriot* (London: Heinemann Educational, 1976).

Figure 31 a, b and c: (In ascending order) of General Post Office, Lagos. Source: Kunle Akinsemoloyin and Alan Vaughan-Richards, *Building Lagos* (Lagos: F & A Services, 1976).
Figure 34: Photograph of Shitta Bey taken in the 1890s. Source: Abdur Rahman I. Doi, Islam in Nigeria (Zaria, Nigeria: Gaskiya Corp., 1984).
Figure 36: Shitta Bey Mosque, Lagos, 1894. Source: Photo taken by John Michael Vlach in 1977.
Figure 37: Enlargement of Pinnacle above Cornice. Source: John Michael Vlach.
Figure 38: Plan of Mosque showing North and South ablution rooms. Source: Marjorie Alonge, "Afro-Brazilian Architecture in Lagos State: A Case for Conservation," PhD diss., (University of Newcastle, 1994).
Figure 40: Interior of Mosque: Source: Author, 2011.
Figure 41: Center of Vault. Source: Author, 2011.
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Figure 43: Mohammed Shitta Bey is the man in the turban close to the center in the back row. Oba Oyekan is the figure sitting on the left. Next to him is Edward Blyden, the Trinidadian pan-Africanist who attended the opening ceremony. The picture was taken in 1894 by Neils Walwin Holm. Source: Charles Gore, “Neils Walwin Holm: Radicalising the Image in Lagos Colony, West Africa.” History of Photography 37, no. 3 (2013).
Figure 44: Neils Walwin Holm, the photographer and barrister-at-law in Lagos. His first trip to Lagos was in 1886, and he settled there permanently in 1896. Source: Allister Macmillan, ed. *The Red Book of West Africa* (London: Frank Cass and Company Ltd., 1968).
Figure 47: Central mosque in the Futa Djallon region in Guinea. (Built in 1883)
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Figure 50: Minaret of a Mosque at Chinguetti in Mauritania after the thirteenth century. Harratin builders may have built it for Berber patrons. Source: Monica Visona et. al, *A History of Art in Africa*. 2nd ed (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2008).
Figure 51: Interior of Central Mosque in Zaria. It was initially built in early part of the nineteenth century. Source: Monica Visona et. al, A History of Art in Africa. 2nd ed (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2008).
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Figure 53: The altar of São Francisco Catholic Church in Pelourinho, which enslaved may have seen, especially since the builders of the edifice completed most of the interior decorations in the 1755. The church was built between 1708 and 1723. Source: Wikipedia.
Figure 54: Aerial view of the Shitta Bey Mosque in 1970s or 1980s showing the way the pilasters stabilize the front (and possibly the) rear façades. Source: Alan Vaughan-Richards, "Le Nigéria." In Rives Coloniales: Architectures, De Saint-Louis à Douala, edited by Jacques Soulillou (Marseilles: Editions de l'Orstom, 1993).
Figure 57: Central Mosque Lagos opened in 1913. Source: John Michael Vlach, 1977.
Figure 58: Central mosque showing the front and right facades with a minaret at the building’s rear. Source: Alan Vaughan-Richards, "Le Nigéria." In *Rives Coloniales: Architectures, De Saint-Louis à Douala*, edited by Jacques Soulillou (Marseilles: Editions de l'Orstom, 1993).
Figure 60: Tairu Èkó Mosque in Lagos founded in 1882. Source: Kunle Akinsẹmoyin and Alan Vaughan Richards, *Building Lagos* (Lagos: F & A Services, 1976).
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Figure 64: Herbert Macaulay, the architect of Èbùn House. (1864-1946) Source: Abiyamo, an online website about the history of Nigeria.
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Figure 70: Wall of Èbùn House Star of David and excerpt from the Twenty-third Psalm in Yorùbá. Source: Photo taken by Pierre Verger in 1977.
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Figure 87: João Branco at the turn of the twentieth century. Source: Marianno Carneiro da Cunha, *From Slave Quarters to Town Houses: Brazilian Architecture in Nigeria and the People's Republic of Benin* (Sao Paulo: Livraria Nobel S.A., 1985).
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Figure 97: João Esan da Rocha on the left with his wife Louisa Angélica and son Cândido on the right. These pictures were taken before 1870. Source: Catholic African Missions Archive, Rome.
Figure 99: The da Rocha residence on Kakawa Street in the Brazilian Quarter. It was built in 1875. Source: O.A. Akinyeye, *Eko: Landmarks of Lagos, Nigeria* (Lagos: Mandilas Group Limited, 1999)
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Source: Alan Vaughan-Richards, "Le Nigéria." In Rives Coloniales: Architectures,  
De Saint-Louis à Douala, edited by Jacques Soulillou (Marseille: Editions de  
l'Orstom, 1993).
Figure 118: Bungalow in Lagos, in the 1940s. Source: Yale University Photographic Archive.
Figure 119: Front Façade and window detail on a bungalow on Herbert Macaulay Street in Èbútè Mé́tta in Lagos. It was built around 1913. Source: Joanne Nagel Shaw, “Historic Buildings of Lagos,” (Research Paper, Northwestern University, 1980).
Figure 120: (Left) Front façade of the bungalow at Herbert Macaulay Street in Èbútë Mëtta, Close up of the arcade at Andrew Thomas’ Èbùn House. Source: Joanne Nagel Shaw, “Historic Buildings of Lagos,” (Research Paper, Northwestern University, 1980).
Figure 121: (Top Left) Front façade of the bungalow at Herbert Macaulay Street in Èbúté Mé́tta, Lagos. (Top Right) Side wall at Andrew Thomas’ Èbùn House showing pilasters with flutes and crenellations on its surface that are identical to the property on Herbert Macaulay Street. (Below) Close-up of pilaster on house on Herbert Macaulay Street. Sources: Joanne Nagel Shaw, “Historic Buildings of Lagos,” (Research Paper, Northwestern University, 1980). Pierre Verger photographed the Èbùn House image in 1977.
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Figure 129: Martiniano do Bonfim’s business card in 1940. Òjëládé was his Yorùbá name. Source: Félix Omidire and Alcione Amos, "O Babalàò Fala: A Autobiografia De Martiniano Eliseu Do Bomfim," *Afro-Ásia*, no. 46 (2012).
Figure 130: Comparison of the pilasters of the Mihrab of the Masallaci Olosun Mosque in Lagos with the piers of the Òríṣà temple in Bàdágrí, Lagos. The mosque was built in 1856 and the temple around the turn of the twentieth century. Sources: Zbigniew Dmochowski, *An Introduction to Nigerian Traditional Architecture*. Three vols. vol. One, London: Ethnographica, 1980 and Pierre Verger who took the picture on the left in the 1940s.
Figure 131: Coleta de esmolas para a Igreja dos Rosários. Porte Alegre by Jean-Baptiste Debret (1828). Source: Julio Bandeira, Debret e o Brasil: Obra Completa, 1816-1831 (Rio de Janeiro: Capivara, 2007).
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Figure 133: Olá Olú House in Bàdágrì, Lagos, which was built in 1938. Source: Brigitte Joubert Helene Kowalski, "L'Héritage Architectural Afro-Brésilien Sur La Côte Des Esclaves," PhD diss., (L’Ecole du Louvre, 2004).
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