

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-63471-8 - The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300–1589

Toby Green

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300–1589

The region between the Senegal River and Sierra Leone saw the onset of the first trans-Atlantic slave trade in the sixteenth century. Drawing on many new sources, Toby Green challenges current quantitative approaches to the history of the slave trade. New data on slave origins can show how and why Western African societies responded to Atlantic pressures. Green argues that answering these questions requires a cultural framework and uses the idea of creolisation – the formation of mixed cultural communities in the era of plantation societies – to argue that preceding social patterns in both Africa and Europe were crucial. Major impacts of the sixteenth-century slave trade included political fragmentation, changes in identity, and the reorganisation of ritual and social patterns. The book shows which peoples were enslaved, why they were vulnerable and the consequences in Africa and beyond.

Toby Green is currently a Leverhulme Early Career Fellow at King's College London. He has published several books, the most recent of which is *Inquisition: The Reign of Fear* (2007). His books have been translated into ten languages. He is a director of the Amilcar Cabral Institute for Economic and Political Research. His articles have appeared in *History in Africa*, the *Journal of Atlantic Studies*, *Journal of Mande Studies*, and *Slavery and Abolition*. Green has also written widely for the British press, including book reviews for the *Independent* and features for *Financial Times*, the *Observer*, and the *Times*. He has given lectures at various institutes, including the Universities of Cambridge, Lisbon, Oxford, and Paris-Sorbonne as well as Duke University and the School of Oriental and African Studies in London.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-63471-8 - The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300–1589

Toby Green

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-63471-8 - The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300–1589

Toby Green

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

African Studies

The *African Studies Series*, founded in 1968, is a prestigious series of monographs, general surveys, and textbooks on Africa covering history, political science, anthropology, economics, and ecological and environmental issues. The series seeks to publish work by senior scholars as well as the best new research.

Editorial Board

David Anderson, *University of Oxford*

Catherine Boone, *University of Texas at Austin*

Carolyn Brown, *Rutgers University*

Christopher Clapham, *University of Cambridge*

Michael Gomez, *New York University*

Nancy J. Jacobs, *Brown University*

Richard Roberts, *Stanford University*

David Robinson, *Michigan State University*

Leonardo A. Villalón, *University of Florida*

A list of books in this series will be found at the end of this volume.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-63471-8 - The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300–1589
Toby Green
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-63471-8 - The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300–1589

Toby Green

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300–1589

TOBY GREEN

King's College London



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-63471-8 - The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300–1589

Toby Green

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York NY 10013-2473, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107634718

© Toby Green 2012

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2012

Reprinted 2012 (twice)

First paperback edition 2013

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Green, Toby, 1974–

The rise of the trans-Atlantic slave trade in western Africa, 1300–1589 / Toby Green.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-01436-7

1. Slave trade – Africa, West – History. 2. Slave trade – America – History. 3. Creoles – Africa, West – History. I. Title.

HT1331.G74 2012

306.3'620966–dc22 2011015312

ISBN 978-1-107-01436-7 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-107-63471-8 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-63471-8 - The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300–1589

Toby Green

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

*For Emily, Flora and Lily, whose love and support made this
book possible, and for Paulo, without whose
generosity of spirit it would not exist.*

*In memory of those whose suffering
is the subject of this book*

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-63471-8 - The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300–1589

Toby Green

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Since God created this world,
wherever prosperity is found,
people will follow it,
and in turn they will have relations.

*Sayo Mane*¹

¹ NCAC/OHAD, Cassette 550A: an elder from Kolda, Casamance; interview and translation by Bakary Sidibe.

Contents

| | |
|--|----------------|
| <i>List of Maps</i> | <i>page xi</i> |
| <i>Acknowledgements</i> | xiii |
| <i>Abbreviations</i> | xix |
| <i>Glossary</i> | xxi |
| Introduction: Rethinking the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade from a Cultural Perspective | I |
| PART ONE THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN ATLANTIC CREOLE CULTURE IN WESTERN AFRICA, CIRCA 1300–1550 | |
| 1. Culture, Trade and Diaspora in Pre-Atlantic Western Africa | 31 |
| 2. The Formation of Early Atlantic Societies in Senegambia and Upper Guinea | 69 |
| 3. The Settlement of Cabo Verde and Early Signs of Creolisation in Western Africa | 95 |
| 4. The New Christian Diaspora in Cabo Verde and the Rise of a Creole Culture in Western Africa | 120 |
| 5. The New Christian/Kassanké Alliance and the Consolidation of Creolisation | 149 |
| PART TWO CREOLISATION AND SLAVERY: WESTERN AFRICA AND THE PAN-ATLANTIC, CIRCA 1492–1589 | |
| 6. The Early Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade from Western Africa | 177 |
| 7. Trading Ideas and Trading People: The Boom in Contraband Trade from Western Africa, circa 1550–1580 | 208 |

| | | |
|----|--|-----|
| x | <i>Contents</i> | |
| 8. | Cycles of War and Trade in the African Atlantic, circa 1550–1580 | 231 |
| 9. | Creole Societies and the Pan-Atlantic in Late-Sixteenth-Century Western Africa and America | 260 |
| | Conclusion: Lineages, Societies and the Slave Trade in Western Africa to 1589 | 278 |
| | <i>Bibliography</i> | 287 |
| | <i>Index</i> | 325 |

Maps

| | |
|--|---------------|
| 1. Map of Western Africa: Rivers of Guinea and Cabo Verde Islands | <i>page 6</i> |
| 2. Map of Peoples and Cultures in Upper Guinea, and the Zones of Their Territories | 32 |
| 3. Map of Extent of Kaabu Federation | 47 |
| 4. Atlantic World Circa 1550 | 190 |

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-63471-8 - The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300–1589
Toby Green
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-63471-8 - The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300–1589

Toby Green

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgements

This book would not have been possible without the consistent support of many institutions and people. Over the years I have been overwhelmed by the generosity of intellect and belief, which so many friends have shown in this work as it has evolved. It is my hope simply that I may in the future be able to respond in kind.

I would never have written this book if I had not first researched and written a travel book called *Meeting the Invisible Man*, which was published in 2001. My thanks to Ion Trewin for commissioning that book and giving me the chance to think properly for the first time about West African peoples and histories; to Ian Rakoff, who helped me greatly on that book, and whose own decades-long engagement and work on pre-colonial Africa certainly influenced me; and, as always, to my friend in Guinea-Bissau, El Hadji Mamadou Kabir Ndiaye.

Many years later, initial drafts of this book were diligently read in their entirety by Paulo Farias and Walter Hawthorne; Bruce Hall, José Nafafé and Konstantin Richter also read substantial sections, and the advice of all of them has been extremely valuable in helping to shape the final version. To all of them, my utmost thanks. Eric Crahan has been a wonderfully supportive and insightful editor at Cambridge University Press, and this book has benefited immeasurably from his shrewd guidance; it has been a great experience to work together with him, Abigail Zorbaugh and the team at Newgen Publishing and Data Services to see this book through to publication.

I was also extremely fortunate to be able to receive important feedback at seminars given at the African Studies Association Conference in San Francisco of November 2010, at Duke University, at the German

Historical Institute in London, at King's College London, at the School of Oriental and African Studies, and at the Centre des Études des Mondes Africaines at Paris-Sorbonne Panthéon. To Walter Hawthorne – whose support throughout this project has been immense – David Wheat, Bruce Hall, Silke Strickrodt, Catherine Boyle, Rhiannon Stephens, and Hervé Pennec and Thomas Vernet, who arranged these events, I owe a great debt of thanks. The three anonymous readers of this book for Cambridge University Press and the series editor, Richard Roberts, all gave me extremely valuable reports which have immeasurably improved the final text. All in all, the process of finishing this book has reminded me of what a collaborative enterprise the production of academic scholarship is and how lucky I am to work in such an environment; at a time when everyone is supposed to look out for themselves, these collaborations are reminders of how much we always owe to others.

My research first took shape during my PhD at the Centre of West African Studies (CWAS), University of Birmingham. It would never have begun had it not been for my doctoral supervisor, Paulo Farias. I well remember our first meeting, one autumn's afternoon in 2001, in Birmingham; we spoke for over two hours, and it was I who had to leave in order to catch my train. This was just a foretaste of the immense generosity of spirit and intellect which it has been my lasting privilege to receive from Paulo. Subsequently, it was Paulo who also provided the key recommendation that I focus this manuscript on the formative sixteenth century and leave the seventeenth for a subsequent work. In every way, this book could not and would not now exist without his input: I can only hope that it in some way measures up to the extraordinary confidence and belief which he has always shown in me.

The Centre of West African Studies at Birmingham University was a wonderful place in which to base myself for eight years. The sense of interdisciplinary comradeship there helped to mould an exciting sense of the possibilities of research. I thank Shola Adenekan, Noel and Ayaanakai Amherd, Karin Barber, Sue Bowen, Stewart Brown, Lynne Brydon, Christian Campbell, Reg Cline-Cole, Maggie Egginton, Conrad James, Webster Kameme, Dave Kerr, Juliana Mafwil, Tom McCaskie, Insa Nolte, Tolu Ogunlesi, Katrien Pype, Farouk Seesay, Keith Shear, Ange Slater, and Kate Skinner for helping to build this remarkable and unique atmosphere. Also at Birmingham, I was very lucky to have the comradeship, camaraderie and intellectual support offered by José Lingna Nafafé. Specialists in pre-colonial Upper Guinea are very few in the world, let alone the UK, and to be with such a wonderful specialist at such close

Acknowledgements

xv

quarters has indeed been a privilege and has helped me greatly in formulating the ideas presented here.

The bulk of the research and writing for this book took place while I was at Birmingham, but in the final stage I was welcomed by the Departments of History and of Spanish, Portuguese and Latin American Studies at King's College London. I am very grateful to Marie Berry, Federico Bonaddio, Frank Bongiorno, Catherine Boyle, Amber Burrow-Goldhahn, Patrick Chabal, Richard Drayton, Anne Goldgar, Ludmilla Jordanova, Rachel Lawlor, Chris Machut, Linda Newson, Adrian Pearce, Paul Readman, Alice Rio, David Rojinsky, Sarah Stockwell, Adam Sutcliffe, David Todd and AbdoolKarim Vakil for helping me to feel at home so swiftly. In particular, I owe a great debt to Francisco Bethencourt, who has supported me in all manner of ways for many years, and from whose boundless intellectual curiosity and breadth I have learned enormously.

In terms of actually conducting the research, this would have been utterly impossible without the financial support of the now-defunct Historical School at Birmingham University, the Arts and Humanities' Research Board, and the British Academy and the Leverhulme Trust, who have all supported me most generously with grants and fellowships over the years. Friends and colleagues in countries all around the world have been immensely generous with their time and help. I would like to make a special mention of Antonio de Almeida Mendes, Konstantin Richter, Filipa Ribeiro da Silva and Maria Manuel Ferraz Torrão: all four demonstrated the sort of generosity which should be the foundation of all academic research, sharing with me their path-finding unpublished work on closely related fields and thereby helping me to track down crucial sources. I would also particularly like to thank the following, for replying to my inquiries, supporting me with my work and putting me onto all sorts of exciting pieces of material: Ralph Austen, Jean Boulègue, George Brooks, Vince Brown, René Millar Carvacho, Carol Castiel, David Cohen, Wayne Dooling, Alma Gottlieb, Nick Griffiths, José da Silva Horta, Bart Jacobs, Yosef Kaplan, Moshé Liba, Richard Lobban, Anthony Macfarlane, Peter Karibe Mendy, Malyn Newitt, Linda Newson, Hilary Pomeroy, Jonathan Schorsch, Armin Schwegler, Ibrahima Seck, Maria João Soares, Silke Strickrodt, Ruth Watson, and David Wheat.

In Lisbon, I owe great debts to several colleagues. In 2008 José da Silva Horta generously chaired a seminar for me at the Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, and has subsequently become a dear friend: over the subsequent years, José, his colleague Peter Mark and myself have had good-natured and supportive exchanges of ideas and

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-63471-8 - The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300–1589

Toby Green

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xvi

Acknowledgements

information which have been of great intellectual and personal benefit to me. Gerhard Seibert arranged that seminar, and has over the years been a great friend in many ways; this project has undoubtedly benefited much from his knowledge and generosity. I was also very fortunate to meet Philip Havik at an early stage in this project; he has always shown great enthusiasm for my research, and his peerless knowledge of the period and region and hospitality in Lisbon have been very supportive. I was most fortunate to spend several delightful periods in Cabo Verde. Here I would like to thank the staff of the Arquivo Historico Nacional de Cabo Verde and of the Biblioteca Nacional. I must also thank Anildo Cruz for putting me into contact with the journalist and writer José Vicente Lopes. Vicente and his wife Marilene were immensely welcoming and helpful on several occasions in Praia, as were Antonio Correia e Silva and Zelinda Cohen. All of them made my visits to Cabo Verde so rewarding, and helped me to learn a lot. In Praia, I would also like to thank Januário Nascimento, president of the Cabo Verde Israel friendship society, for showing me some of the Hebrew tombstones in Praia's cemetery. On Fogo, Monique Widmer was most helpful and willingly shared local knowledge, and E. Akintola Hubbard put me onto many interesting factors.

As this is a book which draws heavily upon archival material, one of the greatest debts which I have incurred has been to archivists. In Colombia, Doris Donado and her daughter Manuela offered me wonderful and undeserved hospitality and help in many ways, and Tim Dowling, many insights. Mauricio Tovar and all the staff of the Archivo General de la Nación in Bogotá were most helpful and provided the necessary documents with extreme speed and professionalism. Additionally, I would like to thank all the staff at the following institutions: in Portugal, the Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais da Torre do Tombo, the Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, the Biblioteca da Ajuda, the Sociedade de Geografia; in Spain, the Archivo General de las Indias; in the Vatican State, the staff at the Archivio Secreto Vaticano. I have also been helped greatly by the professionalism and assistance of staff at the British Library, Cambridge University Library, and the Main Library at the University of Birmingham. The job of being an archivist and librarian is a painstaking and an exacting one; I was always impressed by the vast erudition and care which these remarkable people brought to the priceless collections and documents in their care.

Shortly before this book went to press, I was fortunate enough to be able to make a last-minute research visit to Gambia, Casamance and

Acknowledgements

xvii

Guinea-Bissau, where in addition to the pleasure of reacquainting myself with many old friends, I came upon new sources which have been vital in piecing together the final draft of this book. This visit would never have been as successful as it was without the prompting of Walter Hawthorne. Bala Saho, Director of the National Centre for Arts and Culture in Banjul, Gambia, was extremely helpful in offering hospitality, making connections and putting me in touch with his brother, Buba, who was a priceless help. Assan Sarr of the College of Charleston, South Carolina, also gave me much useful advice prior to my journey to Gambia. Once there, Baba Ceesay, Director of Cultural Heritage, put himself out greatly on my arrival, as did the historian Hassoum Ceesay, and my research at the Oral History Archive in Fajara would have been thankless without the sustained input and support of Bakary Sanyang and his staff. Here indeed I must also acknowledge the extraordinary work carried out by Bakary Sidibe, whose innumerable recordings of interviews conducted in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, now stored at the Oral History Archive, are a priceless asset for researchers. In Casamance and Guinea-Bissau, El Hadji Mamadou Kabir Ndiaye and his brother El Hadji Omar Ndiaye were wonderful hosts and guides, arranging countless interviews which materially improved the evidence I am able to offer here. Ibrahima Mansaly, Headteacher of Goudomp-3 Primary School in Goudomp, Senegal, encouraged me to photocopy a special issue of the journal *Éthiopiques* on Kaabu which for years I had been trying to track down without success. This research visit was also greatly assisted by Seydhou Fall, Ami Jatta and her daughters, Mamadu Jao, director of the Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisa in Bissau, Ismaili Lam, Ansumane Manga, Antonio da Silva Mango, Carmen Neto, Célia Neto, Peter Thompson and João Vieira. To them all, my deepest thanks for their conviviality, generosity, and humanity.

My most enduring debt is to my family. My parents, Charlotte and Chris, educated me in the value of humanistic knowledge – to them, a million thanks. My sister, Abigail, has offered me much support over the years, as I embarked on this project and as it evolved. My wife Emily's parents, Robert Fowke and Caroline Glanville, have also encouraged me often and offered great help to our family during my research absences. And none of this work would have been possible to the slightest degree without the love and joy of Emily, Lily and Flora. They have always been there for me, and I hope this project has not been too burdensome for them. Their support has indeed lightened my own burden of researching a

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-63471-8 - The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300–1589

Toby Green

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xviii

Acknowledgements

saddening process in the history of the world. They have always reminded me of the essential humanity which I try to bring to my work, and which I hope manages to emerge along with the many emotions which surround, and have surrounded, the subject of this book.

Cambridge, May 2011

Abbreviations

| | |
|----------|--|
| AG | As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo (1960–1975) |
| AGI | Archivo General de las Indias |
| AGN | Archivo General de la Nación, Bogotá |
| AHNCV | Arquivo Histórico Nacional de Cabo Verde |
| AHP | Arquivo Histórico Português (Freire, Anselmo Braancamp et al. (eds.)) |
| AHU | Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino |
| ANS/NP | Archivo Notarial de Santander, Notaria Primera de Pamplona (documentary resource in the AGN) |
| ASV | Archivio Segretto Vaticano |
| BA | Biblioteca da Ajuda |
| CEA | <i>Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West African History</i> (Hopkins/Levtzion eds.) |
| CGSO | Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício (documentary resource in IAN/TT) |
| CN | <i>Colecção de Notícias para a Historia e Geografia das Nações Ultramarinas, que Vivem nos Domínios Portuguezes, ou lhes são Visinhas.</i> |
| CRP | <i>Crónicas de Rui de Pina</i> (Almeida ed.) |
| HGCV: CD | História Geral de Cabo Verde: Corpo Documental |
| IAN/TT | Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais da Torre do Tombo |
| MMAI | <i>Monumenta Misonária Africana: Primeira Série.</i> (Brásio, António ed.) |
| MMAII | <i>Monumenta Misonária Africana: Segunda Série.</i> (Brásio, António ed.) |

| | |
|-----------|--|
| NCAC/OHAD | National Council for Arts and Culture, Oral History and Antiquities Division, Banjul |
| NE | Negros y Esclavos (documentary resource in the AGN) |
| NGC | <i>A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels: Consisting of The Most Esteemed Relations, Which Have Hitherto Been Published in any Language: Comprehending Every Thing Remarkable in its Kind, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America.</i> |
| NPB | Notaría Primera de Bogotá (documentary resource in the AGN) |
| NT | Archivo Histórico de Boyacá, Notaría Primera de Tunja (documentary resource in the AGN) |
| PV | <i>Primeira Visitação do Santo Officio Às Partes do Brasil: Denúncias da Bahia, 1591–1593.</i> |
| RD | <i>Raccolta di Documenti e Studi Pubblicati Dalla R. Commissione Colombiana del Quarto Centenario della Scoperta dell’America</i> |
| SG | Sociedade da Geografia |

(Note: AHU documents are usually without folio numbers, so it is only possible to refer to the document in the reference).

Glossary

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| Alcalde | Mayor (in Portuguese: <i>alcaide</i>). |
| Alforria | Act by which masters freed slaves in their wills. |
| Almadía | Word of Arabic origin used by Portuguese to refer to canoes in West Africa in the fifteenth century and by Columbus when he first reached the New World. |
| Almoravids | North African warriors, many of them Berbers, who swept into Spain in the late eleventh century and took over control of the affairs of the land, which had formerly been controlled by the Caliphate of Córdoba. |
| Almoxarifado | The institution handling state finances in a particular locale (in Spanish: <i>Almojarifado</i>). |
| Almoxarife | Administrator of royal domains. |
| Arrobas | Measure of weight equivalent to approximately fifteen kilogrammes. |
| Asiento/Asentistas | Contract/Holders of the contract (in this book, related to the slave trade). |
| Auto da Fe | Inquisitorial procession culminating in the reading of sentences and the punishment of the condemned. |
| Barafula | Measure of cloth made in Cabo Verde used as a measure of exchange in Guiné and known as far away as Cartagena. |
| Buur | Jolof kings. |

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| Câmara | Council, Assembly |
| Capitanias | Captaincies; used to refer to administrative units of the <i>Ultramar</i> apportioned to the supervision of a captain. |
| Carrera de Índias | Spanish system developed in the 1560s of exporting looted goods back from the New World to Europe in convoys of ships rendezvousing in key ports in America and the Caribbean. |
| Cimarrones | Escaped slaves in the New World. |
| Consejo | Council (of state). |
| Conselho Ultramarino | Arm of Portuguese government charged with supervising affairs in Portuguese overseas possessions in this period. |
| Contratadores | Holders of the contract to ship slaves to Spanish America. |
| Conversos | Converted Jews; the term is associated with Spanish converts to Christianity, especially in the fifteenth century. |
| Convivencia | The period of life in the Iberian peninsula when the faiths of Christianity, Islam and Judaism co-existed; the phrase is generally taken to refer to those territories under Christian control. |
| Corregedor | Local governor. |
| Creole | Language of mixed African and European roots developing as a vernacular in Western Africa during the sixteenth century. |
| Creolisation | The cultural and linguistic processes through which Creole developed. |
| Cristãos Novos | The Portuguese term for Jews who had converted to Christianity (in Spanish: <i>cristianos nuevos</i>). |
| Cristãos Velhos | The Portuguese term for Christians who had no Jewish or Moorish ancestry (in Spanish: <i>cristianos viejos</i>). |
| Cruzados | Portuguese currency: a gold coin. |
| Crypto-Jew | Someone who keeps secretly to the Jewish faith while professing to be a Christian. |

Glossary xxiii

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| Diaspora | A group of people forming a community in spite of extensive geographical dispersion. |
| Dyula | Diaspora of Mandinka traders in West Africa. |
| Encomienda | Parcel of land given to colonists in the New World under Spanish administration. |
| Escrivão | Scribe or registrar. |
| Escrivão do Almojarifado | Registrar of the royal exchequer. |
| Escrivão da Correição | Registrar of the local governor. |
| Ethnonym | Literally, “ethnic name”: ethnic designation used for a group in Upper Guinea. |
| Feitor | Factor. |
| Feitoria | Depot for the organising of exports (principally slaves) from the African coast. |
| Fidalgos | Nobles, often minor and in straitened circumstances; also used by Caboverdean authors to describe lineage heads in Upper Guinea. |
| Fueros | Local charters of rights in towns in Aragón and Castilla. |
| Griot | Praisesinger in Senegambian and Upper Guinean communities. Thought by some to derive from <i>criado</i> , Portuguese for “retainer”. |
| Grumetes | Term for servants/shipmates commonly used by Caboverdeans and <i>lançados</i> of African retainers/servants in Upper Guinea. |
| Ingenio | Sugarcane plantation (Portuguese: <i>Engenho</i>). |
| Judiaria | Jewry. |
| Juiz dos Orfãos | Judge responsible for assigning homes to orphans. |
| Kriolu | Creole language of Cabo Verde and Upper Guinea. |

| | |
|-------------------|---|
| Ladino | Non-Iberians (e.g. Jews, slaves) who speak Spanish. |
| Lançados | People of Portuguese origin living in Guiné in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These people were also known as <i>tangomãos</i> . |
| Limpeça de Sangue | Purity of blood, i.e., absence of Jewish or Moorish antecedents (in Spanish: <i>limpieza de sangre</i>). |
| Lusophone | Portuguese-speaking. |
| Mandinguisation | Process by which decentralised communities on the Upper Guinea coast absorbed elements of Mandinka culture from the thirteenth century onwards. |
| Manuelline | The adjective referring to King Manoel I of Portugal (1495–1521). |
| Maravedí | Spanish coin, derived from Arabic; its value declined progressively from the medieval through to the early modern periods. |
| Matrilinear | Society where inheritance passes through the maternal line, e.g., societies from Upper Guinea, Jewish societies. |
| Meirinho Mor | Chief bailiff. |
| Mestiçagem | The process of the mixing of races (in Spanish: <i>mestizaje</i>). |
| Mestiços | People of mixed racial background. |
| Moradores | Residents; in this period used to signify residents with certain rights. |
| Ouvidor | Special Magistrate. |
| Ouvidor Geral | Chief Magistrate. |
| Panos di Terra | Cloths woven on Cabo Verde and used for exchange in Upper Guinea. |
| Panyarring | Common phrases used across Guinea Coast for “man-stealing” in the eighteenth century. |
| Parecer | Opinion, often legal. |
| Patrilinear | Society where inheritance passes through the paternal line, e.g., Senegambian societies and Iberian societies. |
| Pidgin | Bartering language, a prototype for Creole, used as a means of trade and communication in early Atlantic Western Africa. |

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| Pieza de Esclavo | Literally, a “piece of slave”; slaves were not accounted as individuals but against the benchmark of the <i>pieza</i> , which was equivalent to one able-bodied healthy male slave (in Portuguese: <i>peça de escravo</i>). |
| Procurador | Prosecutor. |
| Provedor | Supplier, Purveyor. |
| Provedor da Fazenda | Supplier to crown property. |
| Real/Reais | Unit of currency in Portugal. |
| Reconciled | A term for a penitent of the Inquisition who has been punished in a variety of ways but readmitted to the church. |
| Reconquista | Reconquest of Iberia from Moslem rule. |
| Relajado | Someone condemned by the Inquisition to be burnt or, if they repented and died as a Christian, garrotted by the secular authorities (in Portuguese: <i>relaxado</i>). |
| Rendeiros | Tax collectors. |
| Resgate | Originally meaning “ransom”, comes to refer to the process of trading goods in exchange for slaves in Upper Guinea. |
| Reyes Católicos | King Ferdinand of Aragón and Queen Isabela of Castile, who united the kingdoms of Aragón and Castile at the end of the fifteenth century. |
| Rua Nova/Vila Nova | Areas where converted Jews lived in Portuguese towns and cities. |
| Sanbenito | Penitential cloak worn by those who had been penanced by the Inquisition. |
| Sargento Maior | Sergeant-Major. |
| Senhores | Portuguese for “[slave]masters” |
| Sistema de Castas | System developed in the New World in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which categorised people according to the proportion of their European ancestry. |
| Tabanka | Term used for fortified village in Upper Guinea by end of the sixteenth century. |
| Tangoma | Creolised Upper Guinean woman associated/ married to <i>lançados</i> . |

| | |
|----------------|--|
| xxvi | <i>Glossary</i> |
| “Tierra Firme” | Literally “firm land”: phrased used by Spanish to distinguish the American continent from the Caribbean islands in the sixteenth century. |
| Ultramar | Overseas Portuguese possessions. |
| Vadios | Escaped slaves in the highlands of Santiago, Cabo Verde, who forged the nucleus of Caboverdean society in the seventeenth century: the Caboverdean equivalent of <i>cimarrones</i> . |
| Vintena | Tax owed to the Portuguese crown in the early years of the Caboverdean colony, equivalent to one-twentieth of takings. |