

Index

- Abba-Manko, King, 155
 Abdallah Mohammed ben Abdallah, 171
 Aboubacar, 371
 Aboubakr ben Amar, 61
 Abron, 120
 Abyssinia, 94
 accommodation, 9, 11, 19, 191, 217, 277
 Adam, M. G., 63
 Adanson, Michel, 159–160, 222, 226–229, 250, 254, 262, 291, 302, 331, 348, 351–353, 393–394, 401
 Adrar, 59
 Africa House London, 390
 African agency. *See also* resistance
 abstract forms of, 416
 Bacili royal houses and, 8, 18
 captives and, 417
 categories of, 417–418
 ecological violence and, 257
 European imperial violence and, 4–11, 18, 254
 French imperialism and, 222
 resistance as expression of, 418
 African slavery. *See also* social integration; social stratification
 African agency and, 5
 Atlantic slave trade and, 9, 42, 415–417
 collective servitude, 100, 118, 121–122, 134, 138
 compared to merchant slavery, 43, 45, 99–143, 286–287, 320, 410, 411, 415
 demographic categories and, 414
 ethnic identity and, 28
 growth of Gajaaga and, 285–286
 internal production and, 72
 Islam and, 101
 jonya, 116–123
 trans-Saharan slave trade and, 10, 129–131
 agriculture. *See also* famine; food shortages
 British aristocrats and, 383
 ecological violence and, 254–265
 imperial culture of violence and, 222, 223, 364
 inter-clan kinship and, 245–247
 kinship and land, 234–241
 matriarchy and, 195, 223–224, 234, 238–247
 slavery and, 132, 194, 315
 social disruption and, 253
 stability in, 7
 women's role in, 18, 237, 241–245
 Ahmeth Bou-Abdallah, 334
 Ahmeth Labe, 93, 168
 Akan, 121, 240, 242, 285
 Al'sadi, 57
 Al-Bakri, 153
 Albreda, 316, 356, 400, 415
 Algeria, 61
 Algiers, 174
 Ali Mané, 324
 Aly-Sandor, 149
 alliances
 Bambuxu, 194, 320
 Banmana, 364
 between ethnic states, 81, 273, 313, 319, 327
 Dramané, 293, 328, 347, 350
 French, 90, 93, 185, 186, 203, 205, 209, 212–213, 216, 279, 307, 312, 324, 331, 339–342, 358–360, 363, 365–366, 405, 406
 Fuuta-Tooro, 402, 406

- resistance and, 208, 308
 Soninke, 77, 289
 Almada, André Álvarez de, 86
Almamy, king of the Futanke, 332
Almamy of Bundu, 164, 390, 394
 al-Mansur, 149
 Almoravids. *See also*
 Arabo-Almoravids
 ethnic identity, 27
 invasions by, 31, 64, 364
 Islam and, 65, 295
 merchant slavery and, 44, 129, 134
 Aly-Sandor, 149, 167, 169, 171–174,
 180, 216
 Amadiume, Ifi, 244, 245
 Amady Kanny Bacili, 205–206
 ambergris, 393, 394
 American colonies, 14, 44, 226, 274,
 286, 288, 358, 412–414. *See also*
 Louisiana
 Amselle, Jean-Loup, 20–24, 52, 62, 100
 Amsterdam, 157, 158
 Andalous, 174
 Anderson, James, 161, 390
 André, 249
 Anglo-French rivalry, 388–404
 alliances and, 405
 military conflict, 396–399
 Angola Company, 291
 animals. *See* fauna
 animism
 conflicts with Muslims, 53, 201, 378
 defined, 195
 ethnic identity and, 24
 matriarchy and, 238–241
 Antwerp, 20, 157
 Arabic, 390
 Arabo-Almoravids. *See also* Almoravids
 alliances with the French, 203,
 212–213
 invasions by, 2, 8, 218
 Islam and, 239
 Arabo-Amazigh, 1, 18, 68, 92–94,
 147–153, 166n78. *See also*
 Arabo-Amazigh mercenaries
 attacks by, 183, 193, 254, 258, 314,
 320, 324, 360, 373
 British traders and, 393–402
 colonial rivalries, 163, 168
 French attacks on, 398
 French colonial expansion and, 171
 gum trade, 397
 invasions by, 32, 59, 64, 258, 319,
 340
 slave trade and, 151, 165–168, 308
 Soninke and, 61
 Soninke markets and, 273
 trade and, 14
 in Upper Senegal, 203
 Arabo-Amazigh mercenaries, 19
 Arabs
 invasions by, 30, 258, 319, 340,
 364, 373
 Islam and, 295
 merchant slavery and, 44, 134
 nations in Upper Senegal, 203
 traders, 15, 153
 Arguin Island, 301, 389, 390
 aridification, 7, 258
 Armenian merchants, 94, 157–163,
 390, 395
 artisans, 72, 253
 Askia Daoud, 162
 Aslan, Sebouh David, 157
 Assaba, 60–65
 Atlantic coast
 ethnic states, 203
 political groups, 29
 Atlantic economy, 13–20, 163, 191
 disenclavement of Gajaaga, 87–97
 essential aspects of, 16
 gold and, 290
 Jula trade networks and, 95
 military and, 137
 rise of chiefdoms and merchant
 towns, 51
 on Senegal River, 165
 Soninke relationship with, 272–275
 Atlantic slave trade. *See also* American
 colonies; Caribbean colonies;
 merchant slavery; slave trade
 Banmana kingdoms and, 214
 control over, 196
 economic power of Soninke and, 51
 ethnic seclusion and, 54
 ethnicity and, 2
 Gajaaga and, 277–279, 419–420
 political assemblies and, 81
 survival of colonies and, 274–275
 violence in, 43, 191

- Aubin, Cathérine, 295–296
 Aussenac, 407–408
 Awdaghost, 89
 Azores, 301
- Baad soxodi slaves, 72
 Babu, 60
 Bacili royal houses. *See also* Gajaaga;
 Maxana; resistance; Soninke of
 Gajaaga; Tuabo; tunka
 agency of, 8, 18
 attitudes toward Atlantic system,
 282–284
 Bacili Sempera, 30, 65
 Bacili-Jankanmeakaara, 74
 Bacili-Mahankaara, 74
 Bacili-Maxankaara, 74
 Bacili-Suntukaara, 74
 Bacili-Wurinkaara, 74, 205
 Bambuxu and, 155
 borders and, 68
 civil war between, 81
 conflicts with marabout traders, 88
 control over trade, 328
 diplomacy towards French Empire, 10
 domestic servitude and, 136–138
 established as ruling dynasty, 51
 Guoye, 406
 information control, 289
 Islamization of, 239
 legitimacy of, 34
 opposition to French imperialism,
 194–206, 236
 political conflicts, 205, 216, 297,
 324, 341, 359, 402
 political leaders, 202
 rejection of Atlantic slave trade, 415
 ruler of (tunka), 73
 sovereignty, 15
 surveillance of the French, 68,
 184, 194, 202, 204, 292, 300,
 340, 353
 territory and, 31
 trade relations with the French, 181
 use of slaves, 319
 values of, 219–220
 warrior position of, 71
 Bacili, Amady, 204
 Bacili, Bâ-Dalla, 78, 205, 361
 Bacili, Bukary Saane Bacili, 406
 Bacili, Demba, 75
 Bacili, Konco Golla, 75
 Bacili, Macande, 78
 Bacili, Masuntu, 181
 Bacili, Maxa, 205, 347
 Bacili, Moussa, 338, 361–362
 Badibu, 56
 Bafing River, 196, 275
 Bafour, 59
 bafta fabrics, 393
 Baga, 378
 Bakel, 164, 198, 277, 296, 307,
 419–420
 Bakhonu, 56
 Bakhti, Amina Ben, 26, 65
 Bakiris (warriors), 71
 Baldé, Mamadou Saliou, 134
 Baléa, 56
 Bamba, Mohammed Sekou, 23
 Bambuxu, 56, 68
 agriculture, 234, 255–256
 attacks on, 373
 Bacili and, 155, 194, 320
 colonial expansion in, 182
 geography, 275
 Islam and, 280, 378
 negotiations with French empire, 210
 political system, 155, 211
 slave trade, 88, 277
 Soninke identity and, 305
 traders, 200
 under Soninke dominion, 236
 warfare, 257
 Bambuxu gold mines, 15, 45, 153–156,
 163–165, 187–191, 213, 271
 British imperialism and, 391–392,
 408
 French imperialism and, 283, 290,
 292, 339–359
 Gajaaga and, 273, 289, 299, 328
 Bandiagara, 307
 Banmana. *See also* Malinke
 agriculture, 234
 alliance with the French, 364
 assassinations, 161
 attacks on Gajaaga, 311
 British traders and, 391
 captives, 214, 215, 277, 320
 economic ties with Gajaaga, 89, 200
 ethnic identity, 24, 53, 55, 57

- Fulani and, 299
 matriarchy, 239
 social stratification, 117–120, 140
 territory, 68–70, 81, 200, 203, 206
 baobab fruit, 159, 227
 Baongo (or Baogho), 162
 Bar, 56
 Baramandougou, 307
 Barham, Henry, 234
 Baroueli, 307
 Barra, 405
 Barrat, Maurice, 155
 Barry, Boubacar, 5
 Bassari, 201
 Basse Douai, 165
 Bathily, Abdoulaye, 5, 123, 129, 285, 294, 303, 306
 Bawol, 29, 39, 413
 Bayly, C. A., 300
 Bazin, Jean, 117, 121, 138
 Beafaes, 86
 Becker, Charles, 7, 258, 304, 364
 Beledugu, 56
 belonging, 121, 369
 Benin, 53
 Beni-Hasen, 149
 Benoist, 346, 349n203
 Bertrand, 334
 Bir, 59
 Bîru camp, 60
 Bissau, 94, 280, 323, 326, 356, 378
 blacksmiths, 63, 72, 125, 253, 337
 Blanchot, 165
 blockades. *See* embargoes
 Bluett, Thomas, 370, 381
 borders. *See also* territory
 ethnic state and, 1, 15, 24, 32, 215, 409
 political conflicts and, 68, 81
 resistance and, 2, 68
 Senegal River as, 68
 Senegalese-Mauritanian, 1–2, 19
 Bornu, 249
 botany, 230, 382
 Boubacar, 151
 Boubacar Siré, 170, 175, 183
 Boubou, Oumou Bin, 377
 Boubou, Sulé, 170
 Boucard, 319, 340–346, 393
 Boucard de Beaufort, 189, 190
 Bouland, 346, 349n203
 Bouna, 120
 Buré, 68, 70, 153–154
 Boutillier, Jean-Louis, 120
 Brakna, 68, 165, 172–173, 175, 203, 213, 218, 365, 389
 Brazil, 20, 366
 British aristocracy, 382–383, 388
 British imperialism. *See also*
 Anglo-French rivalry; Fort James
 competition with the French, 179, 391–408
 development of trade networks, 276
 geostrategic position in the Gambia, 196
 gum trade, 407
 information control, 300
 Soninke resistance to, 303
 British slave trade, 375, 397, 399–400.
 See also Gambia; Royal African
 Company (British)
 Brüe, André
 alliances against Bacili, 279, 406
 Aly-Sandor and, 174
 on Armenian merchants, 159, 160
 on Bambuxu, 155
 as director of French trade company, 149–150
 on fear of slavery, 54, 410
 French colonial expansion and, 186, 187, 190, 195–220, 302
 on Gajaaga geography, 66
 on Gajaaga's population, 67
 Gelaajo-Jeegi family and, 175, 179–181, 371, 377
 gold mines and, 166, 271, 356
 on imperial violence, 410
 mercenaries and, 320
 on naturalizing Africans, 314, 316
 on resistance of Soninke, 325n147
 slave trade and, 94, 172, 182, 308, 310, 413
 Southern River states and, 325
 Wolof and, 76
 Bumusa, 170, 183, 184, 374, 402
 Bundu, 29, 37, 39, 66–68, 70, 81, 155, 161, 164, 182, 189, 190, 311, 377–378
 agriculture, 235, 315

- Bundu (cont.)
 alliance with French, 307, 331, 363, 365–366
 attacks on, 373
 British trade and, 390
 colonial expansion in, 182
 conflict with Fuuta-Tooro, 333
 conflict with Gajaaga, 294–295
 Diallo and, 370–371, 390, 403
 French imperialism and, 210, 419
 geography, 275
 political conflicts, 222, 359–360, 404
 slave trade, 88
 traders and, 328, 405
 warfare, 257
- Buré, 15
- Burkina Faso, 95
- Cachau, 94, 378
- Cadiz, 157, 158
- Camara, 62–64, 102, 125
- Camara, Gana, 62–64
- Cany, Mady, 86
- Cap-Blanc, 396
- Cape Verde, 301
- capital punishment, 380
- capitalism. *See* mercantile capitalism
- captives. *See also* Atlantic slave trade;
 dispersion of captives; escapees
 from slavery; slave trade; trans-
 Saharan slave trade
 agency of, 417
 French attempts to recover, 326–327
 Galam and, 36
 gender of, 413–414
 from the hinterland, 19, 31, 167,
 196, 206, 215, 254
 merchant slavery and, 101
 mortality rates, 322–323, 411–412,
 414
 numbers of, 41, 172, 184, 186, 191,
 207, 208, 217, 219, 260–261,
 303–307, 313, 318, 323, 326,
 347, 380, 412–415
 price of, 317, 325
 prisoners of war, 183, 186, 191,
 205, 217, 380
 production of, 175–181
 caravans, 87, 88, 154. *See also*
 Gambia: caravans rerouted to;
 slave trade
 attacks on, 209, 277, 321, 362,
 374, 420
 confiscation of, 34, 209
 economic reach of, 94
 French imperial policy and, 196
 led by Jula traders, 201, 380
 rerouted to Gambia, 94, 206,
 209–210, 221, 274, 304,
 314–318, 323, 325–326,
 362, 368, 375, 399, 406
 routes, 198, 203
 tolls and tariffs on, 273
- Caribbean colonies. *See also*
 Guadeloupe; Jamaica;
 Martinique; Saint-Domingue
 African traditional medicine in,
 230–234
 slave trade, 14, 412–414
 survival of colonies in, 274
- Carpinel, Catherin de, 322
- Casamance, 394
- caste system, 72, 83, 114, 417
- Castelnaut, 326
- ceddos* (warrior slaves), 92, 415
- centralized political structure, 29, 44,
 52, 92
- Chad, 100, 116
- chain of societies, 21, 24, 28, 29, 52,
 100. *See also* social stratification
- Chambre des Communes (France),
 357
- Charpentier, Pierre, 71, 76, 78–79,
 84, 86, 87, 151, 182, 187, 202,
 223, 235, 305
- Chastanet, Monique, 235, 241, 243,
 285
- chiefdoms, rise of, 30, 50
- Chocó, 275
- Chrétien, Jean Pierre, 20
- Christian identity, 54
- Ciré, Samba, 170
- Cissé family, 78
- Cissibé, 165, 311
- civets, 249, 251
- civil society, 34, 77
- clans, 28, 57. *See also* kinship
 systems
- clerics, 36, 51, 358. *See also* Jula
 trade and, 217
- cobblers, 72
- Collé, Jean-Baptiste, 207, 209

- collectivity, 3, 71, 82, 245
 Colombani, Jean, 62
 Colombia, 14, 275
 colonial rivalries, 163, 165–169, 175
 commodities. *See* trade goods
 Compagnie de Guinée, 369
 Compagnie de l'Angola, 369
 Compagnie des Indes, 14, 78, 168, 175, 181–183, 188, 190, 193, 196n7, 213, 222, 270–272, 275, 293, 317, 363, 396, 401.
See also Compagnie du Sénégal;
 French trade company
 administrative crisis, 345
 alliances, 324
 Bacili relations with, 276
 correspondence, 309
 Diallo and, 403
 finances, 290–292
 French rights to trade in West Africa, 369
 gum trade, 395, 407
 Jula traders and, 379
 military vessels, 398
 Moroccan mercenaries and, 333
 patent letters, 288
 Pelay's expedition and, 339–358
 treaties, 220
 Compagnie des Indes Orientales, 250, 255–256
 Compagnie du Sénégal, 54, 81, 159, 195, 196n7, 197, 213, 276, 279, 291, 314, 369. *See also* Compagnie des Indes; French trade company
 Compagnie française, 305
 Company of Merchants Trading to Africa, 408
 Comte de Repentigny, 223
 Conco-Bumusa, 170, 174, 179, 184–186, 216, 295, 312, 327–328, 333–335
 confederations, 34, 51, 80, 92, 155
 consumption
 European, 18, 195, 246, 252
 West African, 249
 Coq, 171
 Coquery-Vidrovitch, Catherine, 100
 Côte d'Ivoire, 120, 285
 cotton trade, 7, 150, 225, 241, 389, 394
 Coulibaly, 102
 Council of Senegal, 290
 couriers, 333–336
 criminal justice, 380
 Curtin, Philip, 303
 customs, 208, 211, 322, 355. *See also* tariff barriers and taxes
 Daalunqaare, 240
 Daniokho family, 63
 Darmakour (or Darmantes), 171
 David, Pierre Félix Barthélemy, 163–164, 206, 255–256, 263, 326–327, 399
 Dazille, Jean Barthélémy (doctor), 191, 229, 286
 de Jaspas, Melchior, 160–162, 386, 390, 395, 400, 402, 405–406
 de la Brüe, Estoupan, 206, 257, 259, 261, 265
 decentralized political structure
 Bambuxu, 156
 Gajaaga, 3, 34, 40, 52, 74, 84–87, 208–211, 217, 269, 310
 public opinion and, 300
 slave trade and, 92
 social stratification and, 137
 Deherme, Georges, 307
 Delcourt, André, 291
 Delisle, Guillaume, 203
 Delisle, Ms., 203
 Demba Sega Jallo, 337
 democratic system, 74
 Denaulx/Devaulx Langlois, 184, 193, 218, 229, 283–284, 326, 349–357, 394
 Dendi, 24, 53
 Denianke/Déniyanké/Denyanke, 64, 71, 296
 Deniyankobé, 298
 Denton, 376, 381
 dependency theory, 5
 destabilization, 167, 186, 187, 191, 203, 213, 215, 222, 294, 320, 360–365, 391
 Dia (blood money), 3, 71
 Diabé, 324
 Diabou, 310
 Diabu, 60
 Diafonu, 66

- Diagne, Pathé, 100, 116, 122
 Diakha-Bambuxu, 154
 Diallo, Ayuba (Job Ben Solomon), 44,
 148, 159, 161, 230, 324,
 367–408
 aristocratic status, 383
 arrest and imprisonment, 401–404
 diplomacy and, 404–408
 economic identity, 379
 freedom from slavery, 381
 kidnapping and deportation of, 373,
 411
 political and diplomatic identity,
 376–379
 Royal African Company and,
 388–404
 social capital of, 376–378, 381,
 385
 social origins, 370–371
 Diallo, Ibrahima, 370, 377
 Diallo, Suleiman, 371, 378
 Diamé (or Diané), 28
 Diawara, 66, 68
 differentialist society, 114–116, 119,
 124–128
 Diomboko province, 68
 Diongas, 219
 diplomacy, 10, 34, 42, 75, 76, 190, 351
 Diallo and, 404–408
 matrimonial, 16, 377
 diseases, 226, 286. *See also* epidemics;
 medicine, traditional
 disenclavement, 13, 49, 87, 95, 209,
 272, 378
 dispersion of captives, 321, 420.
See also resistance
 diversion, 272, 284, 287, 290, 293,
 321, 326. *See also* resistance
 division of labor, 113, 114, 121
 agricultural, 237, 241, 245
 social disruption and, 253
 Djallonké, 155, 201
 Djenné, 198, 235
 Douaïche/Douaïche/Dowiche, 68, 203,
 420
 Dramané, 89, 156, 200–201, 205,
 306, 358
 alliance with Bacili, 293, 328, 347,
 350
 gold trade, 352, 357
 marabouts, 150, 282, 309, 328,
 329, 339, 405
 Maxana and, 363
 peace-making, 350–351
 Drissa Diakitè, 23
 drought, 7, 255, 264, 364
 dubagandi komo, 127
 Dubellay, Julien, 175, 183, 187
 Duc de Choiseul, Étienne François,
 Marquis de Stainville, 226, 250,
 291
 Duplex, 188, 271
 Durand, Jean Baptiste, 76, 168, 222,
 223, 235, 251–252
 Dutch East India Company, 158
 Dutch United Provinces model, 86
 duties, 309, 357
 dyarchy, 90
 East Africa, 94
 ecological violence, 17, 194, 364.
See also environment and
 ecosystem
 agriculture disruption and, 254–265
 crises caused by, 7
 European consumption and, 249–252
 social disruption and, 252–254
 Egypt, 94
 Elbach, 174, 334
 elephants, 250, 253–254, 306, 381.
See also ivory trade
 Elomwen, 23
 Ely-Abdallah, 333
 embargoes, 34, 288, 329–330, 334
 endogamy, 114, 126, 138
 England, 157, 162. *See also* British
 imperialism
 environment and ecosystem, 222, 223,
 249. *See also* ecological violence
 beliefs about fauna and flora,
 246–247
 material conditions and, 222–225
 matriarchy and, 46
 traditional medicine and, 225–231
 epidemics, 322, 323, 364, 375.
See also diseases
 escapees from slavery, 204. *See also*
 dispersion of captives
 in Farabana, 164–165, 203, 277
 Mandinka, 4, 102

- Établissements du Sénégal (Senegalese Concession), 206
- Ethiopia, 94
- ethnic conversion, 17, 28, 52. *See also* social integration
- ethnic identity, 211, 418. *See also* Soninke ethnic identity
- borders and, 215
- fluidity of, 24, 26, 29, 52, 58
- historiographical debate, 20–25
- in precolonial Senegambia, 25–30
- religious identity and, 53–54
- resistance to slave trade and, 1–4, 29, 218, 296
- slave trade system and, 369–370
- ethnic state, 13–20, 44. *See also* borders; state formation; territory
- borders, 1, 15, 24, 32, 215, 409
- geographical space of, 43
- identity and, 409
- incorporation of foreigners, 285–286
- Islam and, 295
- kinship systems, 28
- protection against slavery in, 25, 31–36, 385, 410
- religion and ethnicity, 378, 383–385
- survival of, 272
- territory, 1, 15, 29, 30, 54, 217, 383, 409
- wars and, 217
- ethnonyms, 54, 56–58
- eunuchs, 95, 162–163
- Europe. *See also* Atlantic economy; British imperialism; French colonial expansion in Gajaaga; mercantile capitalism; Portuguese imperialism
- African traditional medicine and, 228
- consumerism and consumption, 18, 195, 246, 252, 254
- exclusiveness, 29
- execution. *See also* resistance
- of British agents, 318, 408
- of French agents, 39, 42, 79, 161, 184, 205, 229, 273, 297, 325n147, 332–336, 348, 361
- political conflicts and, 97, 297
- public assemblies and, 3
- as resistance strategy, 11, 34
- exogamy, 114, 138
- Fadiga, 57
- Fage, John Donnelly, 115, 129, 131
- Faidherbe, Louis, 55–58, 277
- Falémé River, 55, 66, 196, 200, 209, 275
- Fall, Yoro, 23, 27
- family names, 57
- famine, 7, 18, 248, 255–264, 285, 364. *See also* food shortages
- Farabana, 102, 156, 161, 339, 392, 405
- escapees from slavery in, 164–165, 203, 277
- French fort in, 163
- gold mines, 276, 344, 347, 356
- farmers, 72. *See also* agriculture
- fauna, 246, 249–252, 381
- Fez, 95, 158, 168
- Finley, Moses, 35, 82
- firearms, 92, 304, 324, 392–393, 398, 402
- fishermen, 72, 253, 258
- Fleuriau, 238
- floods, 255
- flora, 247, 249–252. *See also* agriculture
- food shortages, 18, 255–264, 315. *See also* famine
- Fort James, 161, 196, 390
- Fort Joweol, 407
- Fort of Bakel, 277, 296, 307, 419–420
- Fort of Basse Douai, 360
- Fort Saint-Jacques, 316
- Fort Saint-Joseph, 13, 81, 89, 137, 182
- assaults on, 351, 393
- Atlantic slave trade and, 277
- Bacili power and, 319
- Berber traders and, 151
- communication with Saint-Louis, 332
- construction of, 198–201, 272
- duties and taxes paid by, 308
- French departure from, 198, 260, 419
- location of, 200, 329
- as refuge from enslavement, 363
- sovereignty over, 282–284
- taxes and, 309
- tolls on slave-caravan routes, 211
- Fort Saint-Pierre, 201, 209

- forts
 establishment of, 340, 350, 357
 expenses, 288
 Fouladougou, 68, 70
 Foutankés, 173
 France. *See* French colonial expansion
 in Gajaaga
 Francophone African scholars, 20
 fratricide-based conflicts, 85
 free trade, 220, 357–358
 freedom, 3, 387, 420. *See also* escapees
 from slavery
 French colonial expansion in Gajaaga,
 7, 31, 181–192, 211–222, 287,
 361–362. *See also* Anglo-French
 rivalry; Arabo-Almoravids;
 Brüe, André; Fort Saint-Joseph;
 Gajaaga; imperialist culture
 of violence; Louis XV, King
 of France; Louis XVI, King of
 France; Moroccan mercenaries
 early trading missions, 196
 imperial rivalries and slave trade,
 165–169
 objectives of, 213
 political conflicts and, 82
 trade routes, 157
 translocality and, 339
 violence and, 171
 French Marine Ministry, 343, 345,
 348, 353
 French scholars, 20
 French trade company. *See also*
 Compagnie des Indes; Compagnie
 du Sénégal
 alliances, 91, 175–181, 185, 186,
 208
 French monarchy's policies and, 212
 information gathering, 38
 rivalries and tensions in, 351–355
 slave trade, 15, 20, 88, 149–153, 198
 Fula, 377, 384–385, 389
 Fulani, 58, 100, 295, 299
 Fulbe, 1, 31, 58, 66, 200
 escaped captives, 102
 ethnic state, 203
 geography, 206
 migrants from Atlantic coast, 4
 traders, 200, 328
 Futa-Damga province (Fuuta-Tooro), 68
 Futa Jallon, 19, 70, 134, 181, 190,
 200, 299, 320
 British traders and, 391
 ethnic state, 203
 formation of, 378
 prisoners of war, 205
 Futanke, 335
 Fuuta-Tooro, 29, 37, 39, 68, 81, 165,
 168, 377–378
 agriculture, 260
 alliance with Bacili, 402
 alliance with French, 406
 alliances, 313
 anti-slavery tariffs, 312
 assassinations in, 332–335
 Bundu and, 370–373
 ethnic state, 203
 ethnic and religious identity in,
 384–385
 military conflicts with Gajaaga,
 216–217
 political conflicts, 222, 360, 363
 political conflicts and instability,
 169–171, 404, 407
 production of captives and, 175–181
 refugees from, 294
 Soninke identity and, 298
 taxes, 332
 war in, 184
 wars of succession, 206
 Gajaaga. *See also* Bacili royal houses;
 decentralized political structure;
 French colonial expansion in
 Gajaaga; political assemblies;
 social stratification; Soninke of
 Gajaaga; sovereignty; territory
 administrative networking, 71, 80,
 84–87
 aristocracy, 71
 creation of ethnic state, 49–54,
 65–67, 236
 economic production, 15
 economic relations, 320
 emic perceptions of, 36
 etic perceptions of, 36
 Futa-Toro's political instability and,
 169–171
 geographic features, 54, 67, 222
 geographic neighbors, 68–71

- geostrategic position, 19, 43, 214, 275, 368
- global encounters, 11–20
- historical origins, 49–54
- as hub of trading networks, 137
- political conflicts and violence, 169–171, 204–206, 217–222, 311, 349, 359–365, 373, 404–408
- political structure, 51, 71–73, 238
- rivalries between royal families in, 74–84
- sixteenth-century provinces, 66
- size and population, 67
- social stratification, 115, 124–128
- sovereignty, 284
- wealth accumulation, 286
- Galam, 27, 36
- Gallium Fullu, 66
- Gambia
 - Atlantic slave trade, 42, 101
 - British Empire in, 196
 - caravans rerouted to, 94, 206, 209–210, 221, 274, 304, 314–318, 323, 325–326, 362, 368, 375, 399, 406
 - French slave traders, 347
 - Jula traders and, 318, 375, 379
 - marabout traders, 198
 - territory, 200
- Gambia River, 19, 56, 95
 - connections to hinterland, 388–404
 - famine and slave trade, 258
 - trade networks, 235, 276, 390
- Gangaris, 62
- Garallo, 62
- Garnier, 355
- Gassama family, 63
- Gauthier, 346, 349n203
- Gaye, Ali, 335
- Gayssiri, Boubou, 170
- Gelajajo-Jeegi (father of Samba Gelajajo-Jeegi), 170, 175, 179, 371–374
- Gelajajo-Jeegi, Samba, 41, 92, 170, 174–186, 191, 216, 312, 327, 333–335, 340, 363
 - attacks on Gajaaga, 373, 407
 - Diallo and, 370–371, 377, 402, 404–407
- gender of captives, 413–414
- gender relations, 100
- Gêne, 94
- George II, King of England, 383
- gerontocratic political system, 74, 75, 83–84, 269
 - advantages of, 86
 - political conflicts and, 85
 - social stratification and, 137
- Ghana, 121, 198
- Ghâna Empire (Wagadu), 11–13, 21, 25, 36, 50
 - collapse of, 89
 - formation of, 129
 - gold mines and, 154
 - Guidimaka and, 63
 - Soninke and, 49, 56, 59–61, 66, 278
- Gharb, 149
- Gidyume, 73
- global economy, 19, 81. *See also* Atlantic economy
- Golbéry, Sylvain-Meinrad-Xavier de, 153, 224, 247, 255, 302, 378
- gold
 - ethnic identity and, 26
 - kingship and, 40, 247–248
 - production and consumption of, 7, 290
 - resistance against French empire and, 269–276
- Gold Coast (Elmina), 94
- gold mines, 31, 339–358
 - assessment of, 344
 - captive laborers, 149–150, 166, 254
 - control of information and, 336
 - French imperialism and, 14, 18, 31, 34, 40, 45, 69, 70, 81, 93, 163–165, 187–191, 201, 212–214, 272, 274–275, 292–294, 307–308, 339–358, 365, 366, 420
 - in Gajaaga, 36
 - resistance strategies and, 323
 - slave trade and, 187
 - Soninke and, 66, 273, 301, 305
 - trade networks and, 153–156
- gold trade, 150
 - as alternative to slave trade, 369
 - British traders and, 392
 - French traders and, 394
 - Jula and, 13, 379
 - Soninke networks, 365

- Gomes, Diogo, 131
 Gonnin, Gilbert, 23
 Gordon, David, 22
 Gordon, Thomas, 63
 Gorée
 Atlantic slave trade and, 101, 175, 182, 196, 313, 323, 412
 commodities imported to, 257, 263n190
 migration to, 262–264
 numbers of captives, 219, 400
 trading post, 356
 Gorgol River, 66
 Gourma, 307
 Greek city-states, 82
 Green, Sandra, 22
 Green, Toby, 6, 9, 212
 Grewu, 125
 Guadeloupe, 14, 102, 191, 214, 274
 Guéoul, 333
 Gueye, MBaye, 132–133
 Guiana, 226
 guides, 344
 Guidimaka, 56, 62–65, 68, 73, 84
 Guidimaxa, 230, 285
 Guinea, 42, 198, 301, 394
 Guinea Society, 291
 Guinea-Bissau, 274
 Guiongas, 219
 Guirobés (Guiró family), 70
 Gulf of Guinea, 314
 gum trade, 15, 36, 159, 165, 171, 175
 as alternative to slave trade, 369
 botany and, 382
 British traders and, 389–390, 392–401
 development of, 381
 Franco-British, 326–327
 French monopoly over, 213
 hunting and, 249
 Gunjuru, 182, 205, 339, 350, 353, 373
 Guoye, 171, 193
 Guoye province (Lower Gajaaga), 66, 68, 70, 73, 74, 85, 238, 284, 298
 Gyaman, 120
 Haal-Pulaar, 37, 58, 64, 68, 70, 311
 escaped captives, 102
 ethnic identity, 217, 296
 slave trade and, 308
 social stratification, 115, 140
 Haire, 64, 66
 Haji El-Mouctari, 400
 Hashimi, 57
 Hausa, 55, 135
 Haut-Sénégal et Niger (Haut-Fleuve), 68n65
 Hayes, Charles, 382
 hierarchy, social, 71. *See also* social stratification
 Hilal, 61
 historiography, 23
 Hodh, 60
 Hofer, Ferdinand, 235
 Hola, Jaay, 170
 Holland, 157
 Holle, Paul, 69, 89, 155, 164, 277
 horse trade, 394, 395, 403
 hospitality, 338
 Houghton, Major, 161
 Huart, Jean-Baptiste, 188, 189, 363
 Hull, Richard, 382
 Hull, Thomas, 388–391, 394–395, 397, 401
 Hunt, 382
 hunting, 249, 253, 258, 381, 394
 hypogamy, 120
 Ibn Battuta, 60, 130, 153, 239
 Ibn Hawqal, 130
 Ida’Ou Al-hadj Moors, 171
 identity. *See also* ethnic identity; religious identity; Soninke ethnic identity
 of Ayuba Diallo (Job Ben Solomon), 376–379
 concentric circles of, 369–370
 formation, 15, 46
 relativity of, 418
 slavery and, 418
 Île Bourbon (Réunion), 191, 347
 Île de France (Mauritius), 191
 Ile Maurice (Mauritius), 347
 impediment, 321–332. *See also* resistance
 imperialist culture of violence, 7–11, 194–195. *See also* Atlantic slave trade; ecological violence; French colonial expansion in Gajaaga

- Atlantic slave trade and, 46, 196, 211–222, 373–375, 409–412, 419–420
 impacts of, 364
 mercantile capitalism and, 320
 production of captives, 175–181
 use of term, 8, 18
- India, 300, 394
- indigo, 225, 241, 245, 249, 394
- information
 communication systems, 3, 80
 control over, 289, 300–301, 332–358, 379
 impediment as resistance strategy, 321–332
 public opinion in France, 300
- inheritance laws, 61
- Inikori, Joseph E., 10, 252
- inland kingdoms, 200, 388, 393
- interpreters, 332, 336, 344, 345, 353, 375, 387–388
- Ipsen, Pernille, 7
- iron ore, 70
- Islam. *See also* clerics; Muslims
 development of African slavery and, 101
 Diallo and, 377
 ethnic identity and, 28, 53
 globalization of, 295
 patriarchy and, 195
 as protection against slavery, 385
 social inequality and, 10
 Soninke and, 59, 239
 traders and, 88, 95
 as umbrella identity, 26
- Italy, 157
- Ivory Coast. *See* Côte d'Ivoire
- ivory trade, 150, 168, 175, 249, 250, 379, 381, 389, 395
- Jaara, 29, 68, 69, 81, 102, 203
- Jakhanke
 French traders and, 201, 209–211, 217
 Jula, 38, 207
- Jamaica, 230, 382
- Jara, 89
- Jaxanke, 51, 70, 154, 221, 355
 alliance with French, 374
 gold traders, 328
- Jula, 94, 312, 314–317, 325–326, 389
 merchants, 190, 280
 slave traders, 134, 206, 294, 299, 361, 397
- Jewish traders, 151, 250
- jihads, 130, 134, 201, 205
- Joal, 20, 94, 157
- João II, King of Portugal, 95
- Joar, 389, 391
- Jobson, Richard, 303, 370
- Jogu, 97, 181, 349, 351
- Jolof, 334
- Jonboxo, 66
- jon-kurunko*, 124–127, 286
- jònya*, 100, 116–123, 132–136
- Jowol, 166n76
- Judaic colonies, 61
- Jula, 13, 15, 38, 53, 60, 88–95, 137, 201, 306–307
 alliance with Bacili, 293
 alliance with French, 358–360, 368
 Armenians and, 159
 attacks on, 374
 British traders and, 391–393
 Diallo and, 379, 389
 economic power, 207
 in Gambia, 318, 375
 gold and, 290, 342
 protectionism, 303
 taxes and, 311
 Wangara and, 57
- Kaabu, 61, 378
- Kaajor, 29
- Kaarta, 29, 50, 56, 65, 68, 69
 Banmana in, 70, 89, 311
 political conflicts, 81, 360
 slave trade, 181, 214, 299, 307, 320
- Kabba, 235
- Kabi, 135
- Kabinne, 62
- Kafundo* (assembly), 83–84
- Kagoro, 136n74
- Kahone, 390, 391
- Kajoor, 39, 413
- Kajoor-Bawol, 37, 211, 216, 413–415
- Kamisokho, Wa, 123
- Kanoja, Kalle, 228
- Kane, Oumar, 169, 179, 191
- Kane, Ousmane, 58

- Kañeba, 70
 Kanel, 333
 Kankan, 198
 Kanmera province (Upper Gajaaga),
 66, 68, 156
 political conflicts in, 85
 political structure, 73, 238
 Kanté, 102
 Kantora, 56
 Kañura, 68, 165, 182, 189, 190, 200,
 201, 209–211, 310, 314, 325,
 346, 365, 391, 406
 Bacili royal houses, 74
 Kassi, 228, 230
 Kassonke, 200
 Kati, Mahmud, 25–26, 55, 57, 65, 154
 Kaya Maga (or Kaya-Maka), 86
 Kayes, 299, 346
 Keïta, 102, 123, 377
 Kenieba, 70
 Kénimaly, 408
 Khassanké, 38
 Khasso, 29, 200, 203–206, 214, 406
 Khassonke, 37
 ethnic state, 203
 French traders and, 201,
 209–211, 217
 geography, 206
 gold traders, 328
 Jula, 207
 slave traders, 299, 361, 397
 trade with French, 355
 wars, 205, 256
 of Xasso, 311
 Kibi, 57
 kiiti kuta, 73
 Kingi, 73
 kingship. *See also* sovereignty
 agriculture and, 234–241
 gold and, 40, 247–248
 textile industry and, 225
 kinship systems. *See also* matriarchy;
 patriarchy
 agriculture and inter-clan kinship,
 245–247
 clans, 28, 57
 ethnic identity and, 298
 ethnic state and, 28
 matrilineal, 240
 migration and, 286
 safeness through marriage, 142
 slavery and, 415
 social stratification and, 113,
 119–120, 140
 Kismis, 56
 Ki-Zerbo, Joseph, 409–411
 Klein, Martin, 4, 101, 130
komaxu (slave), 124, 136
 komo nanuma, 127–128
 komo sardo, 127
komo-khasso (social category of
 slaves), 124, 136
 Konate family, 63
 Konco-Bumusa, 402, 407
 Kong, 51
 Konyagi, 201
 Kotera, 74
 Kouanda, Assimi, 95
 Kower, 316
 Kriger, Colleen E., 5
 Kuassi, 230
 Kuuto, Musa, 72
 La Courbe, 171, 201, 413, 414
 La Jaille, André-Charles de,
 67, 69, 83, 88, 163,
 238, 239
 La Rochelle, 20
 Laani-Tunka, 74
 Labat, Jean-Baptiste, 302
 Labé, Ameth, 151
 Labourdonnais, 188, 271
 Lagrandcourt, 184
 Laidley (traveler), 160, 161
 Laidley, John, 387
 Lake, Bibye, 382
 Laobés, 381
 laptots (slaves employed in French
 navigation), 84, 336
 Lat-Sukaabe Faal, 356, 413–414
 La-Violette, 335
 lawbés, 253
 Le Bègue, 343, 345
 Le Bourgeois, Jean, 414
 Le Brasseur, Joseph Alexandre, 92,
 173
 Le Pigeon, 399
 Leach, Captain, 392
 leatherworkers, 253
 Leblanc, 420
 Le-Cordier, 184
 Lefebvre, Henri, 284

- Legrand, 322, 343
 Lejuge, Mr., 221, 327
 Leluc, 349n203
 Lemtuna, 65
 Lentz, Carola, 22
 Leo Africanus, 163, 249
 Leprince, Maurice, 230
 Levant, 158
 Levantine merchants, 160
 Le-Vauz, 188, 271
 Levens de la Roquette, 84, 91, 96,
 187, 188, 218, 282, 314,
 316–317, 320, 338–339,
 343–349, 352, 357, 361, 380
 Levy, Asher, 386
 Leyden, John, 249
 Libya, 61
 Limba, 56
 lineage, 28. *See also* kinship
 systems
 linguistic fusion, 30
 Lisbon, 157, 158
 Livorno, 158
 locust swarms, 255
 London, 157, 382
 Louis XV, King of France, 40, 184,
 203, 250, 254, 270, 290, 300,
 339
 Louis XVI, King of France, 153, 224
 Louisiana, 14, 102, 191, 214, 274,
 347, 363, 412
 Lovejoy, Paul, 4, 101
 lower social classes, 83, 381

 MacDonald, Randall, 382, 387
 Madagascar, 102
 Madden, Richard, 234
 Madeira, 301
 Madinka, 31
 Madrolle, Claudius, 236
 Maka family, 63
 Makhan, 297, 312
 Makhan-Kaya (or Magan-Kaya), 86
 Mali, 68n65, 299
 Mali Empire, 21, 50
 collapse of, 30, 81, 89
 ethnic identity formation and, 25–27
 gold mines and, 154
 Guidimaka and, 63
 matriarchy, 239
 national color of, 225
 social stratification in, 122
 Soninke and, 49, 56, 59, 60
 Malick Sy, 70
 Malik Si, 294
 Malinke, 23, 28, 51, 56, 61, 81,
 200, 239, 285, 328. *See also*
 Banmana
 Malte-Brun, V. A., 278
 Manchuelle, François, 136
 Mandinka, 57
 in Bambuxu, 156
 captives, 102
 Diallo and, 375, 378
 escapees from slavery, 4, 102
 ethnic identity, 1, 24, 27, 53, 154
 gold trade, 357
 Islam and, 295
 Jaxanke merchants, 280
 matriarchy, 239
 migrations, 27
 New Christian Diaspora merchants
 and, 9
 social stratification, 100, 134
 Soninke and, 55
 territory, 200
 trade with Portuguese, 94
 Wangara and, 55
 Manning, Patrick, 132
 marabouts, 15, 37, 75
 control over trade, 88–97, 328
 French imperialism and, 198
 Jaxanké, 154
 Morocco and, 150
 political power of, 72, 90–97
 protection of allies, 219
 support for French, 189
 taxes and, 81, 311
 Marka, 24, 53, 60, 89, 134
 Marks, Peter, 7
 maroons. *See* escapees from slavery
 Marseilles, 157, 158
 Martin, Richard, 7
 Martin, Victor, 258, 304
 Martinique, 14, 102, 191, 214, 230,
 274, 326, 412
 Maryland, 376
 Massassi, 128
 Massassis royal family, 69, 71
 Masuntu, 349, 351
 Massufa Berbers, 61
 material conditions, 222–225

- matriarchy, 16, 60
 agriculture and, 195, 223–224, 234, 238–247
 ecology and, 17
 matrimonial diplomacy, 16, 377
 Maurepas, Count, 348
 Mauritania, 1–2, 19, 68
 Mauritanian desert, 165, 171
 Mawlay Ali, Sultan of Morocco, 174
 Mawlay Isma'il, Sultan of Morocco, 149–152, 157, 166, 169, 171–174, 203, 215
 Mawri, 135
 Maxana, 74, 155, 181, 182, 186, 189, 200, 337, 347
 Bacili royal houses, 205, 306, 332, 363, 374
 French support for, 361
 resistance to French imperialism, 205
 slave caravans and, 202, 277
 strategic significance of, 198
 tolls, 211
 tunka, 406
 MBagnick, Biram Yérim, 214, 313
 M'Bokolo, Elikia, 20
 Mecca, 89, 151, 168
 medicine, traditional, 18, 223, 225–231
 Mediterranean trade networks, 94, 157–158
 Meillassoux, Claude, 51, 88, 92, 100, 116, 117, 129, 136, 212, 419
 Më-Isa Tend Weej, 414
 Mercadors, 280
 mercantile capitalism, 16, 34, 191
 mass labor and, 133–134, 140
 rejection of, 358
 resistance to, 286–288
 slave trade and, 9
 Soninke perceptions of, 281
 values of, 220
 violence and, 222, 320, 419
 mercenaries, 20, 216, 218–219, 254.
 See also Moroccan mercenaries
 merchant slavery
 about, 136–138
 associated with cannibalism, 410–412, 414
 emergence of, 128–136, 409
 master-slave class relationship, 134
 rejection of, 2, 286, 356
 warfare and, 141
 Meyerowitz, Eva Levine-Richter, 240
 Middle Passage, 102, 368, 412, 413
 migrations, 64
 after collapse of multiethnic empires, 58
 disasters and, 248
 famine and, 285
 slave violence and, 254, 261–264
 state formations and, 69
 militarization, 25, 29, 44, 92, 304
 mining resources, 42. *See also* gold mines
 Mississippi, 102
 Modibo, 387
 Mohameth Abdallah, 174
 Molinard, 323
 Mollien, Gaspard Théodore, 384–385
 Montagu, John, Duke of Montagu, 368, 376, 382, 383, 385–386
 Monteil, Charles, 50, 86, 224–225
 Montesquieu, 269
 Moore, Francis, 147–148, 370, 373, 376–380, 384, 389, 391, 411
 Moriscos, 174
 Moroccan mercenaries
 attacks on Gajaaga, 314, 315, 320, 333, 360–365, 373, 374
 Black soldiers, 149–152
 Morocco
 colonial rivalries, 163
 French trade company and, 20, 92
 Fuuta-Tooro and, 171
 migrations, 61
 military conflicts with Gajaaga, 166–169, 183, 216, 218
 political crises in, 171–174
 trade with Europe, 157
 trade with Gajaaga, 147–153
 mortality rates, 263, 322–323, 411–412, 414
 Mossi, 24, 53, 95, 162–163
 Musa (tunka), 96
 Muslims. *See also* Islam
 in Bundu, 371
 conflicts with animists, 53, 201, 378
 formation of congregations, 65
 religious identity, 24
 Muusala, Bacili of, 74

- Nalou, 378
 Ñamé (tunka), 96, 198, 204, 205, 361
 Natacon/Natako/Nittiko, 165,
 189–190, 201, 348, 385, 391,
 392, 405, 406
 gold mines, 276, 341–345, 350,
 359
 natural disasters, 255, 264
 nature
 relationship with, 241, 246
 symbiosis with, 224
 Ndenye, 285
 N'Diaye, Lamine, 346, 368, 375,
 386–388
 New Orleans, 102
 Newton, Isaac, 383
 Ngolo Jaara, King of Segou, 114
 Ngolo Jara, King, 118–119
 Nguikon, 60
 Niani, 56
 Niger, 100, 116, 135, 198
 Niger River, 56, 95, 153, 160, 235,
 364
 Niger River valley, 147
 Nigeria, 135
 Nijdid, 60
 nomads, 253
 Ñominca, 27
 Nonat, 297
 Normandy, 20
 North Africa trade networks, 94
 Nouameline (Tagant), 64
 Nubia, 94
 Nunez River, 198
 Nyame, 240

 Obi (or Obeah), 230
 Oliver, Roland, 131
 Olivier Colombani, 229
 oral traditionalists, 72
 Orfeur, Charles, 221, 327, 386, 399,
 405
 Ormans, 92, 173, 174, 182, 185, 219,
 323, 329, 333–335, 364
 Oru-N'galam, 36
 ostrich feathers, 249
 Ouakore, 25, 55, 57, 65
 Ouakore Ben Taras, 26, 65
 Ouidah, 366
 Oulad Delim, 172

 Park, Mungo, 55, 80, 160, 235, 299,
 337, 387–388
 pastoralists, 253
 patent letters, 284, 288
 patriarchy, 28, 195, 239
 patronyms, 56
 Patterson, Orlando, 116, 117
 Pelay, 79, 93, 184, 188, 189, 222,
 271, 339–358, 393
 arrival in Gajaaga, 289, 339, 343
 Bambuxu gold mines mission, 290,
 307, 337
 execution of, 283, 300, 302, 322,
 348–358, 401
 Perez, Admiral, 148
 Perley, Bernard C., 339
 Perrot, Claude-Hélène, 285
 Peru, 14, 274
 Petit-Portendick, 401
 Peuls, 55, 68, 70, 201
 agriculture, 235
 artisans, 253
 ethnic state, 203
 invasions by, 65
 matriarchy, 240
 migrations, 242
 Pierre Leluc, 346
 Plotnicov, Leonard, 112
 Podor, 173, 260
 poison, 229–231
 political assemblies
 private advisers to tunka, 83–84
 public debates in, 3, 34, 77–83, 218,
 300, 310
 political organizations, types of, 62
 political power. *See* alliances;
 decentralized political structure;
 gerontocratic political system;
 kingship; sovereignty
 politicization, 25
 Pollet, Eric, 85
 Pommegorge, Pruneau de, 291
 Pontret, 332
 Portendick, 389, 390, 395–401, 407
 Portudal, 20, 94, 157
 Portugal, 157
 Portuguese imperialism, 19, 54, 152,
 164, 276
 gold mines and, 69
 Lançados, 180

- Portuguese imperialism (cont.)
 resistance to, 301–303
 slave trade, 131
 Pouprière, 355
 production, systems of
 domestic servitude and, 136
 slavery and, 129, 134
 traditional, 290
 professional endogamous groups, 113,
 139, 253–254
 protectionism, 13, 321, 342
 provincial chiefs, 359. *See also* Soninke
 provinces
 Prunier, Gerard, 20
 public opinion, 34, 77
 Pulaar language, 71
 Pyke, Captain, 368, 375, 381
- Quiñala, 86
 quinine, 228–230
- religious identity, 24, 192, 370, 418.
See also animism; Islam
 conversion and, 28, 52, 58
 defining provinces by, 56
 traditional African, 28, 65
 religious syncretism, 195, 239, 244
 religious tolerance, 158
 republic model, 86
 resistance, 269–365. *See also*
 assassinations; dispersion of
 captives; diversion; impediment;
 tariff barriers and taxes
 alliances and, 208, 308
 asphyxiation strategy, 329–330
 by Bacili royal houses, 2–4, 17–20,
 90, 96, 137, 164–165, 207,
 217–221, 259–261, 276–365,
 340
 borders and, 68
 communal participative, 300
 community solidarity and, 194
 ethnic state and, 2, 49, 215, 216,
 409
 as expression of African agency, 418
 in Farabana, 164–165
 firearms and, 392
 in Gajaaga, 277–279, 368
 goals of, 259, 272–275
 gold mines and, 163, 247, 339
 impact of, 304–307, 324
 information control and, 332–358
 limits to, 358–360
 marabouts and, 88
 methods of, 44, 45, 184, 289
 physical violence against the French,
 328–330
 political power and, 76
 to Portuguese imperialism, 301–303
 religion and, 192
 safeness and, 142
 Soninke ethnic identity and, 2–4, 10,
 28–36, 321
 spatial control and, 273
 traditional medicine and, 230
 retribalization, 17, 25, 211, 295
 rice, 241, 243, 245
 rituals, 241
 rivers. *See also* Gambia River; Niger
 River; Senegal River
 southern, 198, 203
 trade networks, 235
 Roberts, Richard, 51, 294
 Rodney, Walter, 99
 Rouen, 157
 Royal African Company (British), 6,
 88, 148, 159–162, 303, 356
 administration, 405
 Diallo as representative of, 368,
 382, 385, 388–404
 duties paid to, 180n123
 Jula traders and, 96, 316
 trade with French, 326
 treaties, 220, 221
 Rubault, 222–225, 227, 234,
 249–251
 Rufisque, 20, 94, 157, 159
- Saalum, 61
 Safara, 307
 safeness
 kinship systems, 142
 precautions for, 376
 social stratification, 141–143, 416
 Safiata, Ali, 333
 Sagalia, 56
 sagalle (state treasury), 73, 309
 Sahara, 13, 64, 94
 Sahelian migration, 285
 Sahelo-Sudanese zones, 101, 122, 123,
 129, 154
 Saïbobé, 298

- Saint-Adon, Jean Claude de, 173, 185, 229, 322–325, 327–331, 333–334, 356, 391, 392, 396, 402–407
- Saint-Benoist, 334
- Saint-Domingue, 14, 102, 186, 191, 214, 220, 274, 291, 323, 326, 347, 412
- Saint-Joseph, 356. *See also* Fort Saint-Joseph
- Saint-Lô, Alexis de, 157, 158
- Saint-Louis, 133, 175, 182
- Arabo-Amazigh and slave trade, 168
- Atlantic slave trade, 101, 196, 323, 412
- British takeover of, 408
- communication systems, 332, 335
- food shortages, 259
- migration to, 262–264
- numbers of captives, 219
- overland routes to, 223
- resistance to slavery in, 142
- trading post, 356
- Saint-Malo, 157
- Saint-Olon, François Pidou de, 152, 157, 167
- Saint-Père, 248
- Saint-Pierre trading outpost, 200, 209
- Saint-Robert, Charles de, 180n123, 182, 208, 253, 374
- Saldé, 331
- Salé, 93, 158
- Salétins, 93
- Saloum, 28, 39, 210, 316, 391
- salt trade, 168, 210, 282, 316, 393
- Samarina, 402, 403
- Samarina-Couta, 339, 345, 348, 356
- Samba Diama, 244
- Sancho, Ignatius, 385
- Sandor, Ali, 92
- Sanhaja Berber family, 65
- Sankaran, 198
- Sano, Buckor, 303, 380
- Santiago Cape Verde, 301
- Saracolets. *See* Soninke of Gajaaga
- Saracounda, 392, 402
- Sarakhollé, 27, 34, 36, 38, 54, 55, 240
- Sarr, Assan, 243, 258
- Satigui, 191
- Saugnier, M. de, 67, 80, 142–143, 150–152, 173, 278, 281, 331–332, 335
- Sawa Lamu, Boubacar, 371
- Sawa Lamu, Siré, 371
- Saybobes (aristocrats), 71
- Sébire, Father, 228
- secondary states, 30
- sedentarism, 195, 224, 238, 244
- Seega Dua, 341–342
- segmentary states, 30
- Segu, 29, 50, 56, 69, 70, 89, 181, 198, 203, 307
- domestic servitude in, 117–120, 132, 134–136
- slave trade, 620
- traders, 200
- Sélimane Jaara, 208
- Sempera, 30
- Senegal
- English occupation of, 310, 317–318
- Senegalese-Mauritanian borders, 1–2, 19
- Senegal Basin, 275
- Senegal River, 13, 19, 43, 56, 59
- as border, 68
- branches of, 196
- connecting hinterland to Atlantic coast, 175
- ecology, 252
- geostrategic importance of, 171
- slave trade along, 165–169
- trade using river transport, 235
- Senegambia
- economic policies in, 216
- location of, 19
- precolonial ethnic identity formation in, 25–30
- seniority, 85
- Sénoudébou/Sennudubu, 70, 165
- Sénou-Kolé (River of Gold), 55
- Serer, 23, 27, 115, 203, 210
- servitude. *See* social stratification
- Seven Years War, 310, 317, 401
- Shaw, Rosalind, 8
- Shumway, Rebecca, 7
- Sidiqih, Penda Bin, 377
- Sierra Leone, 42, 94, 198, 274, 314
- Signares (Euro-Africans), 53, 262
- Siima, 30, 65
- Siin, 39, 61
- Siin and Saalum, 389, 393
- Siise, Jaabe, 248

- Sijilmasa, 61
 silk trade, 158
 Sinsanding, 70
 Sissibes (clan), 70
 slave trade. *See also* Atlantic slave trade; captives; caravans; imperialist culture of violence; merchant slavery; slavery; trans-Saharan slave trade
 Atlantic system and, 13–20
 caste system and, 83
 competition between Saharan and Atlantic routes, 173
 continuity between Saharan and Atlantic, 212
 control over routes, 213
 decrease in, 331, 369
 ecological impact of, 17
 ethnic identity formation and, 29
 ethnonyms and, 58
 expansion of, 356, 373
 political conflicts and, 360
 slave villages, 132, 133, 135
 slavery. *See also* African slavery; Atlantic slave trade; captives; merchant slavery; slave trade; trans-Saharan slave trade
 Aristotelian theory of, 122
 fear of, 376, 410
 outsiders sold into, 141, 264
 political instability and, 222
 protection against, 25, 31–36, 83, 385, 410
 roots of, 99
 Sloane, Hans, 230, 368, 376, 382–383, 387, 389, 404
 social integration. *See also* ethnic conversion
 agriculture and, 246
 of conquered ethnic groups, 135, 299
 into European cultures, 180
 of lower social groups, 72
 in multiethnic empires, 50
 of outsiders, 29, 115, 416
 reproduction and, 120
 slavery and, 2, 3, 10, 101, 119, 124, 126, 128, 132, 137, 162, 172, 285–287
 social stratification and, 135, 136, 141–143
 in Soninke society, 66, 102
 in universalist societies, 113
 of Wolof, 296–298
 social mobility, 113, 118–120, 123
 social stratification, 2, 9, 43, 100–116, 136–138, 415–417. *See also* chain of societies
 disruption of, 128–136
 ethnic differences and, 28
 exposedness and, 141, 416
 geographic and spatial changes, 132, 136
jònya, 100, 116–123
 power and domination within, 139–140
 safeness and, 141–143, 416
 types of, 113
 Sokolo, Bacili of, 65
 Soleillet, Paul, 68, 71, 87, 94, 235, 241
 Solin-Baron, Jacques Noël, 221, 326, 397–398
 Solomon, Job Ben. *See* Diallo, Ayuba (Job Ben Solomon)
 Sonboucou, 349
 Songhai, 28, 57, 65
 Songhai Empire, 21, 25–27, 50
 Askia of, 162
 collapse of, 30, 81
 gold mines and, 154
 Morocco and, 147
 Soninke and, 56
 Soninke diaspora, 36, 56, 59–61
 Soninke ethnic identity, 25–30.
See also resistance
 control of information and, 338
 internal conflicts in, 296–301
 names and, 4
 religious identity and, 24
 retribalization, 211
 territorial sovereignty and, 191, 304
 Soninke of Gajaaga, 68, 203. *See also*
 Bacili royal houses; Gajaaga
 in Bundu, 70
 diversity in, 19, 23
 emergence of princely families, 64
 geographic neighbors, 206
 Islam and, 295
 Marka and, 53

- migration, 4
 slave trade and, 44.
See also resistance
 social stratification, 100, 115,
 124–128, 140, 143
 solidarity among, 71
 use of name, 55
 Soninke provinces
 Atlantic trade and, 306
 French colonial expansion and,
 208–211, 310
 political structure, 83
 Soninke religious authorities, 201. *See also* Julia
 Sonrai, 23, 24
 Sose, 23, 27
 Sosso, 59, 72, 81, 114
 Soudan français, 68n65
 Soumare, 63
 Soumare, Make Male Douo, 64
 Soumare, Maka Malindouho, 62
 Southern Rivers states, 314, 316,
 325–326, 347
 sovereignty. *See also* kingship
 assassination and, 351
 borders and, 29
 French ideas of, 189, 284
 Gajaaga ruling dynasty and, 51
 gold and, 3, 247–248, 269–272
 territory and, 10, 15, 32, 236–237,
 284
 Spain, 157
 Spear, Thomas, 22
 state formation, 30. *See also* ethnic
 state
 role of slaves in, 138
 theories of, 62
 Sudan, Western, 100, 116. *See also*
 Sahelo-Sudanese zones
 Sule Njaay, 165n73
 Sulimana, 56
 Sumanguru Kante, 59, 72, 114, 123
 Sunnis, 61
 syncretism, 195, 239, 244
 Tagant, 59, 64, 65
 tamaka, 159
 Tambadou (clan), 70
 Tambagni, 75
 Tambouara, 165, 201, 275, 359
 Tambukaani, 182, 309–310, 313, 324,
 346, 359, 373, 391, 402, 405
 Tandjigora, Abdou Karim, 194
 Tangier, 157
 Tankroval trading post, 316
 tapade slaves, 142
 tara, 127
 Taraware, 102
 tariff barriers and taxes. *See also*
 customs; tolls
 conflicts over, 201, 355, 363
 decrease in, 331
 gold mines and, 340
 Julia and, 306
 negotiations with French officials,
 39
 by provincial chiefs, 359
 as resistance to slave trade, 13, 34,
 81, 90, 180, 207–211, 221, 273,
 288, 305, 308–321, 325, 328,
 379, 415
 revenue from, 16, 284, 317–319
 on ships, 322
 Ta'rikh al-sūdān (Al'sadī), 57
 Terray, Emmanuel, 35, 82, 287
 Terrier Rouge, 171
 territory, 211, 215. *See also* borders
 ethnic state and, 1, 15, 29, 30, 54,
 217, 409
 integrity of, 79–81
 as protection against slavery, 25,
 31–36
 sovereignty and, 10, 15, 32,
 236–237, 284
 Tétouan, 157
 textile industry, 7, 223–225, 389, 393
 Thompson, George, 161, 303, 370
 Thornton, John, 5, 131
 Timbuktu, 57, 148, 151, 160, 198,
 235, 276, 377
 Timisso, 56
 Tishit, 89
 tobacco, 159, 249, 282, 389
 tolls, 16, 34, 59, 208, 209, 211, 273.
See also tariff barriers and taxes
 Tolsey, 376, 381
 Tomga, 377
 tonjòn, 117–119, 134, 136, 138
 toponyms, 56, 58
 Torobe refugees, 294

- totem animal, 246
 Tougué, 307
 Toumbara, 70
 Touré, Amady-Kandé, 405–406
 Touré, Tumani, 182, 190, 209–210, 341–342, 347, 392, 405–406
 trade barriers. *See* tariff barriers and taxes
 trade goods, 94, 157, 159, 168, 249–252, 273, 292, 306
 trade networks. *See also* Atlantic economy; trans-Saharan economy
 agriculture and, 235
 gold and, 365
 interpreters and, 387
 Jula and, 53, 358
 Upper Senegal, 368
 West African, 13
 traders. *See* Jula; marabouts
 trading posts, 200, 201, 209, 350, 356, 406
 transatlantic slave trade. *See* Atlantic slave trade
 translocality, 339
 trans-Saharan economy
 Atlantic system and, 13–20, 169, 283
 Bacili preference for, 305, 321, 365
 historical origins of, 49
 precolonial era, 1
 Soninke and, 49, 358
 trans-Saharan slave trade. *See also* merchant slavery; slave trade
 African domestic servitude and, 129–131
 captives sent to Morocco, 172–173
 ethnicity and, 2
 French imperialism and, 212
 Gajaaga and, 419
 Islam and, 295
 linking Morocco and Gajaaga, 147–153
 Trarza, 68, 165, 167, 171–173, 175, 203, 213, 216, 218, 365, 389, 401
 treaties, 350
 Franco-British, 220–221, 326, 399
 Tuabo, 57, 155, 182, 184, 186, 201, 281, 347
 alliances, 327–328
 attacks on slave caravans, 374
 autonomy, 330
 Bacili royal houses of, 70, 96, 306, 309–311, 319, 327–328, 330, 332, 358, 359, 374, 406
 founding of, 236
 French colonial expansion and, 209–211
 information control, 289, 332
 political conflicts, 359, 406
 political leaders, 202, 204, 208, 283, 319, 330, 347, 357
 resistance to French imperialism, 205
 taxes on slave trade, 309–311
 tolls, 211
 Tubabunkaani, 74, 78–79, 97, 202, 205
 Tuden, Arthur, 112
 Tunis, 174
 Tunisia, 61
 tunka, 183, 296
 administrative networking and, 84
 defined, 73
 elections, 90–91, 204, 338, 361–362, 406
 gold and, 247, 272
 lineage and, 298
 political structure of royal houses, 73–84
 power of, 211, 220
 social stratification and, 125
 sovereignty and, 284
 tunkara, 73
 Tura (Win), 23
 Turkey, 94, 95, 160, 162
 Turner, Samuel, 327
 Ummah, 152
 universalist society, 113, 119
 Upper Ethiopia (Abyssinia), 94
 Upper Niger, 198
 upper Niger River, 59
 Upper Senegal
 British trade in, 388–404
 ecological crises in, 7, 252
 ethnic identity formation in, 15
 food shortages, 259
 geographic situation of, 275
 gold mines, 153, 163
 Moroccan domination of, 147
 political groups, 29
 Soninke and, 13

- Upper Senegal-Niger, 314
 upper social classes, 374
 usuru (taxes), 73, 309
- vassal provinces, 30
 Venice, 157, 158
 village chiefs, 85
 Violaine, Dominique, 166, 181, 204, 208, 279
 violence. *See also* assassinations; imperialist culture of violence; warfare
 as driver of slave trade, 191
 ethnic identity formation and, 17, 53
 French policies of, 186
- Waalo, 29, 37, 39, 165, 167, 213, 260, 301, 313, 346
 Wadan, 89
 Wagadu. *See* Ghâna Empire (Wagadu)
 Walata, 60–61, 89
 Walckenaer, Charles-Athanase, 235
 wanakunko, 126
 Wangara, 11, 26, 55–58, 57, 65
 Wangari, 57
 Wangharâta, 153
 War of the Austrian Succession, 401
 warfare
 environmental impacts, 255
 famine and, 257
 impact on trade, 359
 increase in slave trade and, 132, 183, 311, 409
 institutionalization of, 141
 royal slaves and, 162
- Wassalu, 155
 wax trade, 381, 389, 395
 weapons. *See* firearms
 weaving industries, 258
 Webb, James, 7, 172, 258
 West Africa. *See also* ethnic state
 ethnic diversity in, 6
 European arrival in, 50
 port cities, 157
 precolonial era, 1
 West African hinterland
 access through Gajaaga, 19
 British trade and, 388
 captives from, 19, 31, 167, 196, 206, 215, 254
 Senegal River and, 175
 trade networks, 44, 162
 West African multiethnic empires, 25, 50, 56, 58, 410. *See also* Ghana Empire (Wagadu); Mali Empire; Songhai Empire
 Williams, Eric, 291
 Williams, Francis, 385
 Windus, John, 152
 Winter, Grace, 85
 Wolof, 1, 23, 31, 66, 68, 70, 356
 artisans, 253
 British traders and, 395
 centralized government, 210
 escaped captives, 102
 ethnic identity, 27, 217, 296–298
 ethnic state, 203
 Euro-Africans in, 53
 interpreters, 332
 migrants from Atlantic coast, 4
 political conflicts, 414
 politics, 179
 slave trade and, 37, 308, 415
 social stratification, 100, 115, 122, 135, 140, 142, 143
- women
 agricultural practices, 18, 237, 241–245
 gold jewelry and, 248, 290
 inter-clan kinship, 245–247
- wood trade, 389
 woodworkers, 253, 258
 Wuli, 56
- Xasan-Mariyan, 65, 72
 Xasso, 29, 68–69, 155, 156, 190, 299, 311, 325, 337, 339
 disputes with, 81
 political conflicts, 222, 359–360
 in sixteenth century, 66
 Xassonké, 349
- Yafera, 125
 Yarse, 24, 53, 95
 Yemen, 25, 65
- Zenata Berber tribes, 61