

## Index

---

- abolition of slave trade, 10, 20–21, 72–74,  
 88, 142, 166, 183, 222, 229  
 and cash-crop economy, 268, 274–75  
 and commerce, 266, 271  
 flights after, 159  
 and imported goods, 255  
 and pawnship, 162  
 and plantation economy, 62  
 population replacement, 225  
 and value of land, 33
- abolition of slavery, 23, 73  
 adaptation to, 24  
 and apprenticeship, 23  
 and colonialism, 8, 154  
 debates on, 170  
 kidnapping after, 154  
 legal, 25, 153  
 and liberal revolutions, 22  
*libertos*, 153, 167–68, 195–97  
 pawnship after, 139, 162  
 pressures for, 169, 172  
 sale of slaves after, 25, 153  
 slavery after, 73, 153, 186  
 and social inequality, 24
- Abreu, Antónia Rodrigues de (Dona), 117,  
 212
- Abreu, Francisco António da Luz, 103
- Abreu, Isabel António da Luz (Dona), 127,  
 135, 190
- Abreu, Joaquim Martins Ramos (Dona),  
 127, 202
- Acaputu, 66
- accumulation of dependents *See*  
 dependents, accumulation of
- African Atlantic Coast, 1, 26, 185
- African market, 245
- Agostinho a Ndala Quitamba (*soba*), 205
- Almeida, Estanislau de, 184
- Almeida, Guiomar Pacheco de, 161
- Almeida, Inês Xavier (Dona) de, 152
- Almeida, Januário Correia (viscount of São  
 Januário), 227
- Almeida, João Duarte de, 223
- Almeida, José Gonçalves de, 131
- Alves, Manoel Ribeiro, 164
- Alves, Manoel Ribeiro, 210
- Alves, Manuel Ribeiro, 133
- Amaral, Aristides Urbano do, 90, 227
- Amaral, José Joaquim Geraldo do, 85–86
- Amaral, Mariana Rosa do Carmo (Dona),  
 213
- Amaral, Miguel Luis Duarte do, 213
- Ambaca, 8, 66, 77, 136, 201, 205, 239, 247  
 women owning land in, 16
- Ambriz, 90, 255
- Americas, the, 2, 5, 22, 33, 73, 88, 104,  
 115, 138–39, 143, 148, 157, 167, 170,  
 173, 183, 206, 220, 222, 252, 267  
*amos*, 55–56
- Andrade, Joaquim José de, 60
- Andrade, Pedro Ferreira de, 217
- Anduro, 161
- Angola, Kingdom of, 8, 54–55
- António, Pedro, 129
- Antunes, Ribeiro, 130
- Antunes, Tomé Ribeiro, 165, 224
- Antunes, Tomé Ribeiro de, 146
- Apolinário, José, 116
- Araújo, Catarina Barros, 190
- arimos* (agricultural plot), 81, 203, 208
- Asian markets, 33
- Atlantic market, 140
- Axiluanda  
 land occupation, and colonial officials, 38  
 rights of first occupant, 39
- Azevedo Ramos, Manoel de, 82
- Azores, 75, 88
- Bahia *See* Salvador da Bahia
- Baía Farta, 267
- Bailundu, 115  
 paucity of records on, 63
- Bandeira Marquis Sá da (Minister), 169
- Bango A Kitamba (*soba*), 60

## 314 Index

- Bantu, 38, 218  
 Barbosa, João, 191  
 Barbosa, José Guilherme Pereira, 179  
 Barbosa, Manuel de Paula, 189, 212  
 Barros, Francisco de Santa Anna, 114  
 Barros, Gregório Soares de, 203  
 Barros, Maria Domingos de (Dona), 145  
 Barruncho, Teresa Ferreira Torres (Dona), 86–87, 119, 130, 135, 189, 208, 212–13, 223–26  
 Barruncho, Vicente Ferrer, 86, 208, 224  
 Bastos, António Pereira Barbosa, 177–78  
 Bastos, Augusto, 94, 160  
 Bastos, Eduardo Ferreira Pinto, 206  
 Bastos, J. C. Carvalho (shop), 251  
 Batista, Lourenço Carlos Marques, 88  
 Bengo River, 42, 186, 209, 216–17, 222  
 Benguela  
   business partners in, 146  
   colonial society in, 107  
   market, 250  
   women commercial activities in, 124  
   women owning land in, 16  
 Benguela public market, 159  
 Benguela, Kingdom of, 8, 10  
 Benguela-Velha, 61, 178  
 Benites, Captain, 104  
 Benites, João Batista, 152, 243  
 Benites, Maria de Menezes, 156  
 Berlin Conference, 34, 102, 112, 123, 227–29  
 Bernardo, Pelegrino, 242  
 Bienes, 31, 63, 68, 94, 223, 255  
 Bihé, 68–71, 133, 138, 163, 192, 222, 236, 238, 240, 244–45, 247, 253–54, 259, 272  
 Bimbi, Luisa Cordeiro, 165  
 Bisova, 103  
 Black Africans, 258  
 Bomba (*soba*), 69  
 Bowdich, Edward, 259  
 Brandão, Manuel Oliveira, 191  
 Bravo, Joaquim António, 153, 185  
 Braxel, Maria, 129  
 Brazilian market, 144, 222  
 British  
   abolitionists, 151  
   colony, 111, 178  
   Commissioner, 183  
   influence, 173  
   merchandise, 231, 272  
   Navy, 72  
   pressure, 73, 221, 229  
 Brito, Domingas Francisca de, 216  
 Brito, Luis Augusto de, 190  
 Britos, Micaela Ferrera de, 216  
 Bumba Danla (*soba*), 60  
 Bumbo, 220  
 Cabir, 70  
 Caciata Cacavungu (*soba*), 59  
 Caconda, 8, 28, 77, 80, 118, 133, 146–48, 156, 164, 201, 219, 227, 232, 239, 242, 247, 255, 259, 265–66, 270, 272  
   women owning land in, 16  
 Caconda fortress, 125, 133  
 Caculo Cacabasa, 66, 69  
 Caculo Cahenda, 2, 6, 10  
   archives, 18–19, 28, 41, 99  
   complaints, 61  
   expansion to Humbe, 61  
   land rights, 37, 50, 79  
   recognition of rulers of, 45  
   recognition of ruler, 42  
   ruler of, 44, 56  
   war of, with other vassals, 62  
 Cadaval, Florencia José do (Dona), 125, 219, 259–61, 266, 270  
 Cadaval, Florinda José do (Dona), 125, 262  
 Cahanda, 69  
 Caicoix, Eugenio, 119  
 Caldas, Joaquim da Silva, 240  
 Caldeira, Carlos, 256  
 Calumbo, 59, 90  
 Calundo (cemetery), 87  
 Cambambe, 185, 201  
 Camixe, 214  
 Canha, António Muene (*soba*), 150  
 Cape Verde, 227  
 Capelo, Hermegildo, 68, 232, 236  
 Caporolo River, 209, 212  
 Caputo Cazombo (Chief), 45–46  
 Caquenha, 70  
 Carneiro, António José, 256  
 Carreira, João Maria, 210  
 Cartagena de Índias, 56  
 Carvalho Velho, Caetano de, 128  
 Carvalho, Elena Ferreira de (Dona), 135  
 Carvalho, Josefa de, 106  
 Carvalho, Luis Bernardo de, 224  
 Carvalho, Mariana António de (Dona), 124, 130  
 Carvalho, Tito Augusto de, 155  
 Cassaco, 210  
 Cassange, 8, 60  
 Castelo Branco, Garcia Mendes, 55  
 Castelo Branco, Nicolau Abreu, 73  
 Castro, António Martins, 212  
 Castro, Felipa Martins de, 127

- Catholic Church, 77–78, 128, 157, 231  
 Catumbela, 126  
   accumulation of material things, 272  
   business partners in, 146  
   colonial administration in, 107, 152  
   flight of enslaved women to, 158  
   fortress of, 133  
   freed people move to, 187, 190, 195  
   imported goods in, 255–56, 266  
   market, 254  
   ownership over people dispute in, 189  
   runaways in, 187  
   salt mines in, 82  
   as a small trading market, 254  
   theft in, 245  
   women and colonial law in, 103, 106, 129  
   women as loaners in, 129  
   women commercial activities in, 124  
   women owning land in, 16, 118, 212, 219  
 Catumbela River, 212, 219, 222  
 Cavaco River, 122, 210, 212  
 Cazengo, 126, 180, 186  
 César, Joana Luiz Borges, 125  
 César, Manuel Vida, 191, 268  
 Cesária, Felícia, 181–83  
 Céu, Rufina Angelica do, 131  
 Chacahanga, Domingos, 70  
 Chamires, Rosa, 129  
 Chatelain, Héli, 50, 91–92  
 Chaves, Floriana Pires, 242  
 Childs, Gladwyn Murray, 68  
 Cipala, 68  
 civilization *See* civilizing mission  
 civilizing mission, 4, 18, 72, 74, 101, 159, 172, 177, 186, 193, 196–97, 221–28  
 communal land, 17, 61, 89, 201, 218  
 Conceição, Floriano José Mendes da, 136  
 Conceição, Florinda Perpetua da (Dona), 87  
 Conceição, Joana Maria da, 216  
 Conceição, Joaquim Correia da, 87  
 Conceição, Marcos Vaz da, 163  
 Conchoix & Freres, 119  
 Congo River, 11  
 Congress of Vienna, 72  
 Cordeiro, Martinho Lopes, 190, 212  
 Costa da Mina, 72–73  
 Costa e Silva, Francisco João da, 225  
 Costa e Souza, Manuel da, 219  
 Costa e Souza, Rita da, 219  
 Costa, Catarina da, 115  
 Costa, Clementina Eugénia Rodrigues da (Dona), 127, 206  
 Costa, Francisco Cardoso da, 187  
 Costa, Isabel Rodrigues da (Dona), 146, 210  
 Costa, Joana Rodrigues da (Dona), 125, 130, 147, 266, 270  
 Costa, Joaquim Inácio da, 116  
 Costa, Vicente Prazeres da (Bishop), 122  
 counterhistory, 38  
 Coutinho, Domingos Soares Rodrigues, 223  
 Coutinho, Manuel Barbosa, 117  
 Coutinho, Maria Inocência Barbosa, 206  
 Couto, Joaquim Inácio de, 106  
 Cruz, Miguel de Gonçalves da, 177–78  
 Cuba, 51, 148  
 Cuio, 86, 90, 125, 130, 192, 207, 212–13, 227  
 Cuionja, 70  
 Cunha, Dona Maria Joaquina da, 152  
 Cunha, Governor, 174  
 Cunha, Manuel de Barros e, 130, 149, 203  
 Cunha, Pedro Alexandrino da, 80, 158  
 Cunha, Serafina Barros, 87  
 Cunha, Teresa de Jesus de Barros e, 256, 265–66  
*Curador dos Escravos Pobres e Libertos*, 156, 177, 180  
  
 debt enslavement, 162–63  
*dembos See sobas*  
 dependents, *See also* wealth in people  
   accumulation of, 1–2, 4, 7, 24, 31, 46–51, 62, 122, 130, 167, 224, 272  
   as an ambiguous term, 184  
   as collateral, 163  
   becomnig, 182  
   enslaved, 161, 165  
   transfer of, 166  
   vulnerable position of, 179  
 Dias, João, 216  
 Diniz, Domingos Pereira, 125  
 Dionísia, Maria dos Reis (Dona), 130  
 Dom Pedro (King), 169  
 Dombe Grande, 116, 122, 126, 150, 156, 161, 164, 207, 212  
   abuse of *sekulos*, 118  
   agents enslaved in, 243  
   baptism records in, 189  
   building of new fortress, 85  
   business in, 129–30, 133, 146, 152, 224  
   considered as wasteland, 136  
   cotton transport from, 224  
   credit in, 164  
   importance of slave holdings, 133  
   inheritance in, 194, 212, 219  
   invisibility of, population, 86

## 316 Index

- Dombe Grande (cont.)  
 land, 133, 136, 212, 217, 220, 223  
 people removed from their lands in, 225  
 plantations, 31, 186, 227, 255  
 refusal of inventory of property, 66  
 slave woman caught in, 159  
 women controlling plantations in, 135  
 women operated agricultural businesses in, 133
- Duri, 220
- Egito, 85, 133, 135, 177–78
- emancipation  
 age of, 21  
 colonial discourse of, 8  
 and freed individuals, 191, 196  
 gradual, 169, 196  
 as a moving target, 197  
 of captives, 173  
 petition for, 22  
 women and self-, 167
- England, 51, 242
- Enlightenment, 4, 17–18, 58, 221
- enslavement  
 as punishment for crimes, 163
- Equimina, 156, 217
- European markets, 26
- Evangelista, João Correia, 164
- external markets, 223, 267
- Fañony, Domingos, 214
- Farias, Mariano Augusto César de, 212
- Fátia, Vicente António, 107
- Fernandes, Joaquina, 141
- Ferreira, Joaquim, 130
- Ferreira, Roquinaldo, 266
- Flores, Francisco António, 88, 207
- Forjaz, Manuel Pereira (Dom), 56
- former slaves, 170, 177–78, 184, 191–92,  
*See also* liberated (*libertos*), freed  
 people / individuals
- França, Luis Teodoro de, 210
- France, 51, 250
- free markets, 186
- freed men, 165, 175, 183, 195
- freed people / individuals, 31–32, 76, 153,  
 156, 168–70, 173, 176–77, 182–97,  
 271, *See also* freed men, freed women,  
 liberated (*libertos*)
- freed status, 32, 153, 169, 181, 196–97
- freed women, 179, 182–83, 188, 192
- Galangues, 60, 124
- Galdinho da Rocha, Carlos José, 219
- Galvão, Domingos Marcelino, 131
- Ganguela, 155, 162, 268
- Gaspar, Andre, 160
- Gaspar, Florinda Josefa (Dona), 126, 238
- Gaspar, Joanes José, 126, 160, 238–39
- Giblet, Isabel de Brito (Dona), 185
- Ginga, 60
- global markets, 250, 266, 271
- Glória, Catarina António de, 104
- Goa, 100, 227
- Gold Coast, 111
- Golungo Alto, 123, 209
- Gomes, Eugénia Manuel, 163
- Gomes, Francisco Ferreira, 126, 238–39,  
 242
- Gomes, José, 213
- Gomes, Vicarta Aires (Dona), 186
- Gonçalves, Caetano, 5
- Gonçalves, Catarina Simoa, 152
- Gongo, José, 133
- Great Britain, 250
- Gueulete, Josefa Antónia (Dona), 217
- Guifandongo, 209
- Guimarães, 125, 269
- Guimarães, José Rodrigues, 145
- Gujarat, 253
- Gurgel, Francisco Ferreira, 217
- Gusmão, Joaquim Militão de, 178
- Hanha, 133
- Haworth, Guilherme, 206
- Huila, 90, 226
- Humbe  
 claim of territory, 42, 60  
 conquest by Dembo, 61  
 in the dynastic origins of Bihe, 69  
 land, 61, 93  
*soba* of, 60  
 union with the Bomba, 69
- Ilamba, 44, 58, 100
- importance of land, 16
- imported goods / items  
 access to, 132, 161, 262  
 box for, almonds, 257  
 by coastal merchants, 254  
 circulation of, 34, 238–39, 243, 246, 251,  
 254, 260, 271  
 clothing, 262  
 consumption by locally born, 25, 33, 233,  
 236, 247, 271  
 and credit, 246  
 demand for, 253, 262, 272  
 desire for, 246, 250, 271  
 and elites, 237  
 and end of slave trade, 255, 271

- as a form of cash advancement, 164
- from Brazil, 252–53, 265
- from France, 250
- from Portugal, 249, 252, 265
- from the United States, 254
- furniture, 265
- and global economy, 240, 255
- in probate records, 255
- investment in, 260
- local tastes, 240
- luxury, 262
- machinery, tax waived on, 207, 227
- manufactured goods, 269
- offered in stores, 250
- people sold for, 266
- and prestige, 240, 257
- project power, 47
- recorded by administration, 237
- tables, 256
- textiles, 257, 259–60
- tracing, 237
- imported ideas
  - shaped taste, 234
- India, 242, 266–67, 270
- Ivens, Roberto, 68, 71, 232, 236
  
- Jamaica, 51, 56
- Jardim, Josefa Gonçalves (Dona), 216
- Jesuits, 42, 55–56
- Jesus Maria, Teresa, 219
- Jesus, Constância de, 188
- Jesus, Maria Dias de (Dona), 135
- Jews, 257
- João Batista da Silva, 268–69
- Joaquim, Ana Freire, 129
- Joaquim, Josefa Manuel, 106, 124, 258
- Joaquim, Pedro, 129
- Jorge, Rita, 129
- Junta Protetora dos Escravos e Libertos*, 174, 176, 181, 193
  
- Kakonda, 2, 4, 6, 56, 63, 100
- Kasanje *See* Cassange
- Katyavala, 68
- !Khu, 138
- Kikuco, 213
- Kilengues, 31, 63, 94, 114, 128, 138, 160
- Kilombo Kiacatubia (*soba*), 60
- Kiluanji (*soba*), 60
- Kimbundu, 11, 41, 66, 194
- Kisama, 8
- Kissange, 244
- Kitata, 242
- Kizamba, 88
  
- Kongo Kingdom
  - accumulation of instruments of power, 47
  - acquisition of slaves in, 142
  - captives of war in, 141
  - as a centralized state, 138
  - King as legitimate occupant of the territory of, 52
  - named as a kingdom, 11
  - Portuguese in, 8
  - ruler of, 8
- Kunene River, 71
- Kwadi, 138
- Kwanyama, 16, 37
- Kwanza River, 2, 4–5, 8, 10–11, 14, 36–38, 53, 61, 66–67, 69, 91, 186, 262
  
- labor, 64, 161, 197, 205, 231, 275
  - African, 21, 25, 91, 177, 186
  - agricultural, 158
  - cheap, 74, 186, 222
  - colonial, 24
  - control of, 4, 122, 138–39, 141, 148, 150, 155, 170, 223–24
  - dependents, 2, 24, 48, 122, 272
  - exploitation of, 76, 223
  - forced, 8, 23, 32, 34, 56, 89–91, 153, 158, 162, 170, 172, 176, 184, 196, 223, 231, 244, 272, 275–76
  - and land rights, 37, 64, 66
  - and legitimate trade, 14
  - and liberal ideas, 222
  - mobilization, 2
  - of liberated, 167, 179–80, 183, 186, 189, 195, 229
  - and pawnship, 139, 162
  - precarity, 195
  - protest, conditions of, 244
  - provided by rulers, 59, 80
  - regulation, 195
  - scarcity of, 12, 53, 229
  - skilled, 31
  - slave, 4, 21, 23, 49, 74–75, 121, 135, 138–39, 150, 158, 163, 166–67, 174, 178, 180, 220, 262, 271
  - soldiers, 172
  - unfree, 23, 74, 122, 139, 168, 272
  - women, control of, 122, 153, 224
  - women's, 122–23, 151, 179, 186
- Lage, Joaquim Afonso, 90, 226
- Lages, Narcisco José Pacheco, 256
- Lagos, 111
- land
  - dispossession of, 4, 6, 14, 16, 19–20, 25, 29–34, 58, 63, 69, 81, 89, 96, 102,

## 318 Index

- 136–38, 140, 166–67, 190, 196–97,  
199–200, 205, 221, 226, 272–73  
unoccupied, 2, 12, 30, 44, 53, 81–82,  
106, 136, 201, 229  
unproductive, 17, 136, 200–1  
unused, 30, 52–53, 229  
vacant, 5, 13, 75, 82, 89, 200–1, 203–4,  
212, 214, 227–29  
land abundance, 1–2, 12, 58, 229  
land access, 14, 19, 36, 39, 42, 47, 69–70,  
79, 90, 95, 102, 113, 127, 138, 184,  
193–94, 204, 206, 208, 220, 230, 276  
land alienation, 33–34, 90, 199–200, 213,  
226, 229, 276  
land charts *See* land grants  
land claims, 18, 30, 41, 52, 65–66, 69, 197,  
199, 205, 274  
land commodification, 17, 30, 33, 60, 65,  
83, 85, 92, 139, 198, 204, 206, 221,  
229  
land concessions *See* land grants  
land conflict, 62, 76, 90  
land control, 8, 13, 15, 79, 228, 275  
land deeds, 14, 31, 33, 137  
land enclosure, 17, 38, 59, 62, 82–83, 201,  
274  
land expropriation, 2, 5–6, 25, 38, 57, 61,  
93, *See also* land, dispossession of  
land for cultivation, 39, 41, 52, 70, 81–82,  
106, 193, 202, 208, 226, 229  
land grabbing, 35, 74, 275, 277  
land grants, 6, 30, 46, 54–56, 58, 82–83,  
85, 88, 203, 212, 223, 227, 229  
land market, 77, 106, 215, 221  
land occupation, 6, 15, 30, 33, 36, 38, 41,  
53, 57, 64, 71, 82, 93, 99, 200–1, 203,  
205, 217, 229  
land ownership, 4, 19, 33, 63, 85, 87  
absence of, 49, 57  
and colonial settlers, 199  
commodification of, 32, 218  
debate over, 197  
exclusion from, 226  
and jurists, 199  
recognition, 83  
registration of, by women, 115  
strategies to protect, 221  
structured relationships, 123  
land possession, 38, 60, 64, 99  
land regimes, 20, 30, 53, 59, 62,  
65, 80, 87, 92–93, 95, 100, 198–200,  
277  
land registration, 8, 14, 78, 98–99, 126,  
204, 228, 274  
land resources, 5, 19, 25, 35  
land rights, 2, 4–6, 10, 12, 15, 28, 30,  
37–39, 41, 46–47, 50, 54–55, 58,  
62–63, 66–67, 69, 71, 75, 77–80,  
90–96, 100, 112, 114, 168, 199–201,  
204–5, 218, 228–29, 232, 274  
land rush, 7  
land sale, 14, 106, 204, 229  
land scarcity, 4, 15  
land seizure, 27, 41, 53, 95, 201, 275  
land tenure, 12, 14, 18, 27, 37–39, 42, 44,  
57–58, 60, 63, 80, 92, 95–96, 199–200,  
219, 228–29  
land titles, 30, 66, 81, 83, 89, 96, 200, 214,  
274, 277  
land transfer, 15–16, 33, 66, 85, 200–1,  
205, 218, 229  
land use, 2, 4–5, 7, 17, 30, 36–39, 41, 46,  
51–53, 62, 69–71, 74, 76–78, 80, 82,  
89, 96–98, 198, 200, 205, 213,  
216–17, 222, 229, 271, 274  
land value, 15–17, 33, 52, 74, 95, 198, 204,  
206, 217, 256, 275  
landed property, 1, 63, 76–77, 79, 91, 95,  
133, 204, 217–18, 223, 229  
Lapa, José Roberto Amaral, 266  
Largo de São Felipe, 83  
Leão, Manuel da Silva Pilartes Pena, 83  
Lezano, Manuel Peres, 207  
liberated (*libertos*), 32, 153, 165, 167,  
169–71, 173–80, 182–97, *See also* freed  
people / individuals, freed men, freed  
women  
Libolo, 126, 185, 260  
Lima, Diogo Vieira de, 151, 156  
Lima, Vieira de, 151  
Loango, 11, 247  
Lobato, Lucrecia Ferres (Dona), 116, 239  
Lobito, 124–25, 133, 150  
Lopes, Bento Augusto Ribeiro, 153, 189  
Lopes, Joana Martinho, 121  
Luacho, 85, 130, 209, 223  
Luanda  
business partners in, 146  
women owning land in, 16  
Luando (river), 69  
Macau, 227, 253, 256  
Machado, Luis Antonio de Oliveira, 216  
Machado, Mendes, 136  
Madeira, 75, 88–89  
Magalhães, Joana Coelho de (Dona), 103  
Magalhães, Joana Rodrigues (Dona), 124  
Magalhães, João Jacques de, 42  
Magyar, Lazlo, 68, 158  
Mandika, 71

- Mani Calunda, 88  
 Mani Capembe, 88  
 Mani Mama, 88  
 Manikongo, 8  
 Manoel, Florência, 210  
 Manoel, João, 265  
 Manuel, Lucrecia, 216  
 Margarida (Dona), 159  
 Maria Antonia Gomes Pereira, 210  
 market, 87, 106, 201  
   Bihé, 247, 253  
   global, 233–34  
   inland, 242–43  
   land, 212, 215–21  
   local, 236, 248  
   rise of, 273  
   slave, 240, 243, 246, 259  
   urban elite, 263  
 market demands, 17  
 market value, 48  
 markets, 161, 232, 249, 268  
   coastal, 246, 272  
   competition for, 246  
   control, 139, 246–47  
   distant, 7, 13, 237, 250, 253, 262  
   gendered, 27  
   global, 51, 250  
   inland, 11, 132, 145, 160, 203, 209,  
     237–40, 242, 246–48, 254, 267–68,  
     272  
   long-distance, 236  
   overseas, 49  
   *presídios* as, 247  
   slave, 145, 161  
 Marques, Manoel de Sousa, 129  
 Martins, Manuel António Vieira, 220  
 Martins, Maria José, 270  
 Massangano (*presídio*), 44, 201  
 Massi, Eugénio Felipe Tomas, 148  
 Matamba, 2, 8, 138, 141  
 Mateus, João, 213  
 Matias, Manuel João, 151  
 Mbailundu, 68–70, 180, 240, 244, 255,  
   259, 272, 276  
   debt among, 160  
   land rights among, 94  
 Mbonga, 68  
 Mbulu (ruler), 68  
 Mbundu, 16, 24, 58, 66–67, 91  
   ownership systems existed in, 4  
   wealth in people in, 16  
 Meireles, José Augusto de, 191  
 Melo Madureira, António Teixeira de, 188  
 Melo, Dionísio Barbosa de, 116  
 Melo, Manoel Candido de, 115  
 Mendes, Joana, 203  
 Menezes, Eugénia Ferreira da Silva (Dona),  
   212  
 Menezes, Joaquim Antonio de Carvalho e,  
   153  
 Menezes, Madalena de Carvalho (Dona),  
   256  
 merchants  
   African, participation in global economy,  
     273  
   agents, 142  
   and freed women, 193  
   and Atlantic trade, 231  
   attacked, 245  
   Benguela, merchandise, 255  
   coastal, 254, 272  
   controlled by colonial law, 231  
   and credit, 239  
   debt, 127  
   determine offer, 232  
   and displacement of people, 227  
   disputes, 179  
   foreign, 199  
   foreign-born, 267  
   French, 250  
   inland, 29, 184, 255, 268, 271  
   Liverpool, 248  
   local, 23, 213  
   men, 120, 269  
   Muslim, 246  
   offers in exchange for captives, 248  
   and pawnship, 161  
   protection of, 247  
   rise of, 50  
   slave trade, 73  
   United States, 253  
   women, 86, 125, 127–28, 145, 209,  
     242–43  
   women, accumulation of dependents,  
     236  
   women, and link to interior, 128  
 Merenda, Francisco Martins de, 181  
 Miers, Suzanne, 48  
 Mística, Rosa, 243  
 Moçâmedes *See* Mossamedes  
 Mocoacha, António, 152  
 Mocoacha, Hamba, 152  
 Moll, Herman, 8  
 Monpala (*soba*), 66  
 Monteiro, António Joaquim, 257  
 Monteiro, Joachim John, 158, 182, 207  
 Monteiro, Leonor da Costa, 104  
 Moraes, Joana Mendes de, 260, 263,  
   267–68  
 Moraes, Manoel Monteiro de, 178

## 320 Index

- Morais, Caetano de, 129  
 Mosange, 213  
 Mossamedes, 23, 84, 88–90, 106, 130, 136, 179–80, 186–87, 207, 209, 213, 223, 226, 228, 245  
   business partners in, 146  
 Moutinho, Francisca Gomes (Dona), 127  
 Moutinho, Joana Gomes (Dona), 127–28  
 Mozambique, 100, 121  
 Muslims, 15, 257  
 Mussuço Hembo (*soba*), 60  
 Mutahucamba (*soba*), 60  
 Mutolo, 214  
 Muxixi (*soba*), 44
- N’dalatando, 180  
 Nantes, 253  
 Nascimento, Vitória do, 203  
 Nazaré, Felizarda de, 159  
 Nbangó Acaputu (ruler), 66, 69  
 Ndembu, 36  
   archives, 12, 41, 99–100  
   Kimbundu speakers, 36  
   landlords, 36–37, 41  
   slavery as wealth accumulation in, 2  
 Ndombe  
   access to sulfur mines, 88  
   aspiration to own items, 272  
   blamed for continuation of slave trade, 225  
   claim of lack of law and courts in, 103  
   consumption of meat, 113  
   debt among, 160  
   erasure of information on, 83, 85  
   exclusion from Benguela area, 83  
   first settler rights, 39, 94  
   and global economy, 276  
   goods provided to the Portuguese by, 249  
   land not commodified in, 37  
   land occupation, 38  
   land rental, 94  
   landlords, 36, 94  
   move to Dombe Grande, 86  
   opposed Portuguese conquest, 74  
   outside of colonial areas, 212  
   ownership systems in, 4  
   participation in global economy, 255  
   as pastoralists, 113, 138, 207  
   paucity of records on, 63  
   property challenge by, 6  
   resistance against the Portuguese, 212  
   Umbundu speakers, 36  
   wealth in people in, 2, 4  
   women, 111, 114, 218  
   written evidence in, 31
- Ndongo, 2, 141  
 Nene River, 90, 226  
 Neves Júnior, António Rodrigues, 184  
 Ngalangue, 242  
 Nganguela, 160, 247  
 Nkhumbi, 38  
 Nkumbi, 42, 93  
 Nogueira, Eduardo A. de Sá, 107  
 North America, 26, 73–74, 88, 134, 269  
 Nova Oeiras, 58  
 Novais, José Maria de, 187  
 Novais, Paulo Dias de, 54, 57  
 Novo Redondo, 130, 136, 145, 185, 256  
 Nyaneke, 38
- Oliveira Barbosa, José de, 45  
 Oliveira, João Mendes de, 128  
 Oliveira, Vanessa, 204  
 Ouidah, 73  
 Ovimbundu, 50, *See also* Mbailundu, Bihé, Wambu  
 ownership over people/human beings, 140–55, 157, 167, 189, 192, 274, *See also* slavery  
   claim, 106  
   claim, by slave owners, 32  
   claim, protected by colonial courts, 106  
   who depended on land, 19
- Pacata, Bento Joanes, 130  
 Pacheco, Manuel Francisco, 256  
 Paiva, João Martins de, 82  
*panyarring*, 139, 159–66  
   dependents held as collateral, 165  
 Pataca, Bento Janhes, 83  
 Paula, António de, 216  
 pawns  
   treatment of, 162  
 pawnship, 159–66  
   and access to imported goods, 161  
   and debt-enslavement, 162  
   dependents held as collateral, 159, 164–65  
   expansion of, 139–40, 161  
   and exploitation of young women, 162  
   and *panyarring*, 159–66  
   as a punishment, 247  
   and trade, 161  
*penhor*, 159, 162, *See also* pawnship  
 Pereira, Cosme Lopes, 161  
 Pereira, Francisca Lopes, 124  
 Pereira, Júlia Miguel (Dona), 127  
 Pereira, Luis, 216  
 Pereira, Maria Antonia Gomes, 210  
 Pereira, Rita, 243



- Pinheiro, Bernarda, 219  
 Pinheiro, Bernardo Ferreira, 164  
 Pinheiro, Lucas Luis, 219  
 Pinheiro, Maria Lucas (Dona), 219, 257, 265  
 Pinheiro, Vitória, 243  
 Pótilo, José, 124  
 Porto Amboim, 178  
 Pungo Angongo, 247
- Queen Njinga, 60  
 Quicembo, 150  
 Quicombo, 125  
 Quicuxi, 219  
 Quiera, 217  
 Quilengues, 75, 77, 124, 133, 149, 156, 201, 213, 247, *See also* Kilengues  
 Quinpunduca, Joaquim, 166  
 Quisanga, 185
- Raimundo, Captain, 104  
 Ramos, Agostinho António, 192  
 Ramos, Francisca Xavier, 116  
 Reis, Justiano José dos, 239  
 Reis, Justiniano José dos, 124  
 rights in persons / people, 4, 12, *See also* :  
   ownership over people / human beings,  
   wealth in people  
 rights to land, 16, 76, 218, *See also* land  
 Rio de Janeiro, 11, 127, 224, 240, 242, 249, 251, 253, 268  
 Roboredo, João de, 174  
 Rocha, José Pinto da Silva, 188  
 Rodrigues, Amália, 210  
 Rodrigues, Joaquim António, 193–94  
 Rodrigues, Josefina, 193  
 Rodrigues, Maria Rosa (Dona), 216  
 Rodrigues, Tomé, 114  
 Royal Foundry, 44, 58–59  
 Ruas, Ambrozina Ismânia, 123  
 Ruas, António Ignácio, 123  
 Russia, 250
- Sacramento, Andreza Leal do, 116, 129, 133, 158, 258  
 Salinas, André das, 104  
 Salvador da Bahia, 11, 240, 251  
 Sampaio de Melo, Lopo Vaz de, 5, 94–95  
 Santa Ana, Martins de (Dona), 125, 133  
 Santana, Ana Martins de (Dona), 150  
 Santana, Lourenço Mendes de, 245  
 Santos e Silva, Ana Joaquina dos (Dona), 130, 136  
 Santos, Bento Pacheco dos, 164  
 Santos, José dos, 224  
 Santos, Justina Luiza dos (Dona), 250  
 Santos, Manuel António dos, 212  
 Santos, Maria do Carmo (Dona), 260  
 Santos, Simão Dias dos, 260  
 Santos, Telma, 266  
 São Francisco (River), 85, 223  
 São Tomé, 110, 153, 174, 183–86, 191, 255  
 Sebastião Francisco, (Dom), 42  
 Senegal, 132  
 Senegambia, 71  
 Serpa Pinto, 70–71  
*sesmaria*, 39, 55–56, 78, 83, 202, *See also*  
   land grants  
 settlers  
   colonial, 1, 10, 14, 29, 57, 75, 80, 83, 89–91, 153, 184, 190–91, 194, 198–200, 203, 206, 213, 217, 220, 222, 226–27, 234, 276  
   first, claim, 28, 36, 39, 41, 64, 66, 68–69, 78–79, 83, 91, 94–95, 136, 274  
   ransomed, 185  
 Silva Correa, Elias Alexandre da, 121  
 Silva Porto, António Francisco Ferreira da, 70, 118, 122, 149, 157, 161, 163, 210, 222, 244, 259, 268  
 Silva Viana Costa, Teresa de Jesus da, 225  
 Silva Viana, José Luiz da, 82, 87, 225  
 Silva, Carolina Joana da, 135  
 Silva, Catarina João Gonçalves da, 260  
 Silva, Francisco Pacheco de Sousa, 262, 268–69  
 Silva, Gola Quimbi Antonio da (*soba*), 59  
 Silva, Isabel Soares da, 131  
 Silva, João António Pilarte da, 190  
 Silva, João Batista da, 125  
 Silva, José Ferreira da, 127  
 Silva, Josefa Manoel Pereira da (Dona), 179, 181, 263  
 Silva, Manoel Rodrigues da, 82, 216  
 Silva, Maria António da, 132  
 Silva, Mariana Pilarte, 152  
 Silva, Nazario Marques da, 128  
 Silva, Vitória Gonçalves da (Dona), 242  
 slave labor, 4, 21, 23, 49, 74–75, 121, 135, 138–39, 150, 158, 163, 166–67, 174, 178, 180, 220, 262, 271  
 slave market, 259  
 slave trade, 11, 56, 72, 154, 174, 185, 222, 225, 233, 246, 248, 271, 276  
   illegal, 225, 267  
   and *sobas*, 72  
   transatlantic, 7, 12–13, 24–25, 51, 57, 103, 132, 142, 201, 221, 228, 231, 237  
   and violence, 13

## 322 Index

- slavery, 6, 13, 20–25, 31–32, 49, 51, 53, 88, 115, 139, 141–44, 148–49, 151, 153–55, 158, 167–68, 173, 177, 181, 185–86, 193, 271. *See also* ownership over people / human beings
- abolition of, 24, 139
- and apprenticeship, 170, 179
- and archival numbness, 143
- before Europeans, 1, 140, 154
- change in, 140
- and colonialism, 8, 24, 142–43, 154, 167, 184, 225
- and concubinage, 118
- debate on, in Africa, 139, 157
- defense by colonial officers, 74
- and displacement, 186
- expansion of, 21, 23, 159, 196, 206
- and freed people, 193
- and gender, 138
- and individual property rights, 186
- justification of, 177, 220
- lack of rights, 167
- legal, 142, 171
- and other forms of control, 50–51
- persistence of, 138, 148, 154–55, 167, 187, 196
- resistance to, 155
- separation, 151, 167
- and violence, 157, 166, 184, 276
- smallpox epidemic, 166
- Soares, José Gonçalves da Silva, 119
- Soares, Josefa, 125
- sobas*
- African women vassals of, 118
- arbitration, 42, 49, 66, 95
- archive creation, 66, 100
- as a category of rulers, 107
- colonial adjudication as a replacement of, 121
- control of population, 78, 80, 107, 138, 140, 187
- diminished power, 227
- as dispensable, 226
- displacement of, 198
- extortion of, 56
- fortresses in lands of, 85
- and global economy, 276
- judges lack of authority over territories
- rules by, 107
- and land, 1, 12, 44, 65, 75, 77, 82, 89, 198
- opposed to Portuguese conquest, 74
- push backs, 72
- recognition of, as lords of their lands, 42
- recognition of, 57, 59, 80, 228
- register land, 1
- replaced by colonial judges, 223
- reporting *panyarring*, 163
- requests to administration, 233
- resisted land expropriation, 38
- responsibilities, 80
- several, subjected to one owner, 227
- shift of rights from, to individuals, 19
- targeting women traders, 243
- taxation of caravans, 244
- textiles offered to, 248
- as traders, 254
- under direct control of the crown, 56
- and vassals, 56
- women protected their belongings from, 125
- somas* *See sobas*
- sorcery, 163, 165–66
- Sousa Coutinho, Francisco Inocêncio de, 44, 101
- Sousa Lopes, Maria Caetana de, 189
- Sousa, Ana Teixeira de (Dona), 117, 133, 164
- Sousa, Diniz Vieira de, 258
- Souza, Antônia José Coelho de (Dona), 219
- Souza, Christovão Antunes de, 206
- Souza, João da Silva, 189
- Souza, Manoel de, 115
- Spain, 250
- Tapado (river), 125
- Tarracão, Tomás António, 181–82
- Tavano, Luis Bernardo, 190
- Tavares, Manoel Pereira, 239
- Teixeira, João Henrique, 82, 130, 165
- Thornton, John, 53
- Torres, Manoel Ferreira, 85–86
- Torres, Manuel Ferreira, 156, 212
- trade, 48, 249, 254, 268–69
- agents, 133, 244–45
- Atlantic, 231
- caravan, 247
- coastal, 246, 251
- control, 8, 56, 85, 139, 161, 239
- and credit, 247
- expansion, 238, 253
- free, 222, 231, 253
- global, 250, 252
- imperial, 8
- in natural resources, 268
- inland, 209
- internal, 237–38, 244, 246
- legitimate, 14, 21, 75, 123, 225, 272, 275–76
- long-distance, 8, 27, 50, 103, 164, 239–40, 246, 248, 253, 257, 267

- network, 256  
 petty, 129, 244  
 protection, 160  
 routes, 26, 246  
 rules, 35  
 Treisse, Eleutério, 130  
 Trindade, Bento Pereira, 203  
  
 Umbundu, 11, 16, 18, 24, 68, 116, 118,  
 149, 157, 194, 233, 252  
 uncultivated land, 78, 82, 86, 205, 221,  
 228, *See also* land  
 Union Theological Seminary, 68  
 United States, 22, 253–54  
  
 Van Dunen, Guilherme,  
 181, 265  
 Vandelli, Domingos, 201  
 Vandunen, Manoel de Barros e Cunha,  
 265  
 Vansina, Jan, 49  
 Vasco, Joaquim Gomes, 183  
 Veiga, José Tavares, 250  
 Velasco, Justiano, 216  
 Velloso, Custódio José de Sousa,  
 212  
 Veracruz, 56  
 Viana, Teresa de Jesus Ferreira Torres  
 (Dona), 156, *See also* Barruncho,  
 Teresa Ferreira Torres (Dona)  
 Viana, Tomé Rodrigues, 206  
 Vieira, Aurelio Veríssimo, 127  
 Viera, Isabel Francisca Antónia,  
 133  
 Vili Kingdom, 11  
  
 Wambu, 239–40, 272  
 Wandu, 56  
  
 wealth in people, 30–33, 47–51, 122, 141,  
 168, 232–33, 237, 272, *See also* rights  
 in persons / people; ownership over  
 people / human beings  
 and conflicts, 12  
 and labor, 1–2, 51, 229  
 and land, 4, 167, 197, 274  
 as reproduction of colonial knowledge,  
 276  
 and slavery, 50  
 and transition to wealth in material  
 goods, 27  
 women as, 49  
 wealth in things / goods, *See also* land  
 ownership  
 accumulation of, 237  
 and movement of, 233  
 and transformation of West Central  
 African societies, 232  
 before contact with Europeans, 51  
 connected to wealth in people, 51, 141  
 converted into followers, 49  
 immovable, 47  
 investment in, 262  
 West Africa, 267  
 West Central African markets,  
 250  
  
 Xavier, António, 105  
 Xavier, Inácio Teixeira, 131, 212–13  
 Xavier, Rosa, 152  
 Xequê, Sebastião Miguel Francisco (Dom),  
 42, 45, 65  
  
 Ytier, Jean Baptiste, 250  
  
 Zanzibar, 246  
 Zurarte, Romana Antónia, 140