Material Culture and Commerce in Precolonial Africa

"Bini, Vidi, Vici" – On the Misuse of "Style" in the Analysis of Sixteenth Century Luso-African Ivories

Peter Mark

Abstract: The Luso-African [or Afro-Portuguese] ivories from West Africa include hunting horns (so-called "olifants" or "oliphants"), spoons, and lidded bowls (salt-cellars) embellished with human figures and animals. These objects, first imported into Europe at the beginning of the sixteenth century, have engendered debate over dating and provenance. While scholars agree that the early sixteenth-century pieces were produced by "Sape(s)" (or "Sapi") artists from the Upper Guinea Coast ("Serra Leoa" in Portuguese sources), there is substantial disagreement whether post-1550 ivories came from "Serra Leoa" or Nigeria. This article argues for Serra Leoa, based on a methodological approach whereby Portuguese written documents, establishing the socio-historical context, and demonstrating continued production by "Sape" artists, are a necessary pre-condition to any stylistic comparison of objects.

Résumé: Les ivoires luso-africains (ou afro-portugais) de l'Afrique de l'Ouest comprennent des défenses d'éléphant, utilisées comme cors de chasse ("olifants"), des cuillères et des bols à couvercle décorés de figures humaines et d'animaux. Ces objets, importés en Europe à partir du début du XVIème siècle, ont provoqué de nombreux débats sur leur signification et leur origine. Si les chercheurs s'accordent

History in Africa, Volume 42 (2015), pp. 323–334

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doi:10.1017/hia.2015.13

sur le fait que les pièces datant du XVIème siècle furent produites par des artistes dit "Sape(s)" (ou "Sapi") originaires des côtes de la Guinée (dans les sources portuguaises, "Serra Leoa"), des désaccords importants subsistent sur la question de savoir si les ivoires postérieures à 1550 proviennent de "Serra Leoa" ou du Nigéria. Cet article favorise la première hypothèse. Pour ce faire, il prône une approche méthodologique reposant sur l'étude des sources écrites portugaises afin de retracer le contexte socio-historique, ce qui donne des éléments de preuve sur la continuité de production des artistes "Sape," jusqu'à la première moitié du XVIIème siècle.

Introduction

> "In fact, there is no similarity between Afro-Portuguese and Bini work, and I cannot discover that any piece or fragment in this style has been found at Benin, or indeed anywhere in Africa in modern times. It is easy to rule out Benin…" (William Fagg)[1]

Modern scholarship about the Luso-African ivories begins with the writing of William Fagg who, in 1959, first discerned the existence of a *corpus* of carved ivory hunting horns (so-called olifants), spoons with decorated handles, and vessels (saltcellars) decorated with human figures and animals. Fagg suggested a provenance on the Upper Guinea Coast, while at the same time specifically rejecting on stylistic grounds any connection to the Kingdom of Benin. This view was radically revised by Curnow in her PhD dissertation and subsequent articles.[2] Following references in early sixteenth-century Portuguese sources, she attributed many of these objects to the "Sape" peoples of Sierra Leone. However, relying on the then widespread – but now discredited – assumption that "Sape" society was destroyed by an invasion by so-called "Manes" about 1550, Curnow proposed another possible center of production – the Kingdom of Benin, in Nigeria – for post-1550 carvings. The dual provenance argument was revised by Bassani (1988) in a work that relied as well heavily on stylistic comparisons[3] – and, some scholars allege, on Curnow's work.[4] Bassani attributed pre-1530 works

[1] William Fagg, *Afro-Portuguese Ivories* (London, Batchworth Press, 1959), xix.

[2] Kathy Curnow, "The Afro-Portuguese Ivories: Classification and Stylistic Analysis of a Hybrid Art Form," PhD dissertation, Indiana University (Bloomington IN, 1983).

[3] Ezio Bassani and William Fagg, *Africa and the Renaissance, Art in Ivory* (New York: Prestel/The Center for African Art, 1988). Although Fagg's name appears as co-author, at the time the book appeared he was ill and incapacitated; this work should not be seen as a repudiation, by Fagg, of his earlier views on the provenance of the ivories.

[4] Ezio Bassani had published several articles (in Italian) on Luso-African ivories in Italian journals in the 1970s, before he wrote his *Africa and the Renaissance* for the important exhibition *Africa and the Renaissance, Art in Ivory*. Bassani curated this exhibition under the directorship of Susan Vogel. This led to a discussion on

https://doi.org/10.1017/hia.2015.13 Published online by Cambridge University Press

to the "Sape" peoples and post-1530 pieces to Benin. Some of his argument is circular. He asserts that the more dynamic pieces all come from Benin, which hypothesis he then justifies in part on the grounds that "Sape" carvings are more static when, in fact, the corpus of "Sape" art comprises nothing more and nothing less than those ivories which one attributes to the "Sape." I challenged Bassani's thesis in 2007, when I revisited the work of the great Portuguese historian Avelino Teixeira da Mota, and then analyzed abundant sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Portuguese accounts (Pacheco Pereira, Fernandes, Almada, Donelha, Alvares, Lemos Coelho) to document continuous ivory production by the "Sape" from 1506 to at least 1669.[5] My revised dating and provenance also takes into account advances in pre-colonial West African historical studies. It is now understood that "Sape" society was *not* destroyed by invasion in the mid-sixteenth century. I was able to reattribute most of the ivories to the "Sape," excepting an undetermined number of the ivory spoons that are probably from Benin, as was suggested by Curnow and Bassani.

The Debate: On Style and the Premises of Artifact Production

Several observers have remarked that the Luso-African ivory saltcellars are not all carved in the same style. And on this basis they have suggested that the ivories must not all come from the same place. I have argued that almost all of the ivories should be attributed to artists whom sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Portuguese writers refer to as "Sapes." Here, I shall demonstrate that the argument for Nigerian origins for the saltcellars has several flaws. First, it is based on the misunderstanding of who the "Sapes" were and where they lived. Second, it entails an oversimplification of stylistic analysis as method and a misunderstanding of its potential efficacy.

The provenance debate stems in part from terminological confusion. The "Serra Leoa" of sixteenth-century Portuguese sources is not the same as modern Sierra Leone. Serra Leoa extended from present-day Sierra Leone northwest along the coast, to the Rio Grande (in Guinea-Bissau). And the "Sape" were not an ethnic group. The word was an umbrella term that encompassed several ethno-linguistic groups who in turn inhabited the Upper Guinea Coast from northern Sierra Leone, through Guinea-Conakry, possibly into southeastern Guinea-Bissau (to use the

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plagiarism, and mutual recriminations regarding similarities in some of Bassani's and Curnow's respective conclusions, published in 1989 and 1990 in the journal *African Arts*. For a historiographic overview of this discussion, see: Eugenia S. Martinez, "Crossing Cultures: Afro-Portuguese Ivories of Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Sierra Leone," MA thesis, University of Florida (Gainesville, 2007).

[5] Peter Mark, "Towards a Reassessment of the Dating and the Geographical Origins of the Luso-African Ivories: Fifteenth–Seventeenth Century," *History in Africa* 34 (2007), 189–211.

https://doi.org/10.1017/hia.2015.13 Published online by Cambridge University Press

post-independence appellations). The "Sape" comprised several groups – Bulom, Temne, Nalu, Landuman, some Baga, and, by the late sixteenth century, a cultural admixture of "Manes" (Mande-speaking people).

The argument for Nigerian provenance of the post-1530 ivories (Bassani) or the post-1550 pieces (Curnow) is also chronologically flawed. It disregards the fact that "Sape" ivory carving, as documented by contemporary Portuguese and Cape Verdean sources, lasted for a period of over one hundred and fifty years. Written documentation exists, in the form of five reliable eyewitness observers (four merchants and one missionary), plus a sixth writer who himself relied upon informants who traveled on the Upper Guinea Coast. These men, Portuguese and Luso-Africans,[6] wrote, respectively, in 1505 and 1506,[7] 1593–1594,[8] 1615,[9] 1625,[10] and 1669/1684.[11] All of the writers through 1625 used the present-tense to describe the society of the "Sapes" and their commerce in ivory. Four of them specifically described ivory carving.

Arguments derived solely from apparent stylistic similarities cannot serve to refute dated, definitively located evidence provided by multiple primary written documents. The argument for Benin origins lacks all but the most cursory contemporary written documentation (see below), while documentation for "Sape" origins is detailed and precise. "Sape" artists carved ivory for export by the Portuguese, who highly prized the work, from the late fifteenth century through at least the early seventeenth century.

For stylistic comparisons to tell us anything meaningful about provenance, it is necessary first to establish the specific historical and cultural context that gave birth – and meaning – to the objects in question. Where contemporary written documents directly address the historical and cultural context and even discuss the artworks themselves, those sources *must* be given priority in establishing provenance and chronology

[6] And one German living in Portugal (Valentim Fernandes).

[7] Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 27, MF 1282 363 Aüfn 1282 363, "Códice Valentim Fernandes, Codex hispanicus."

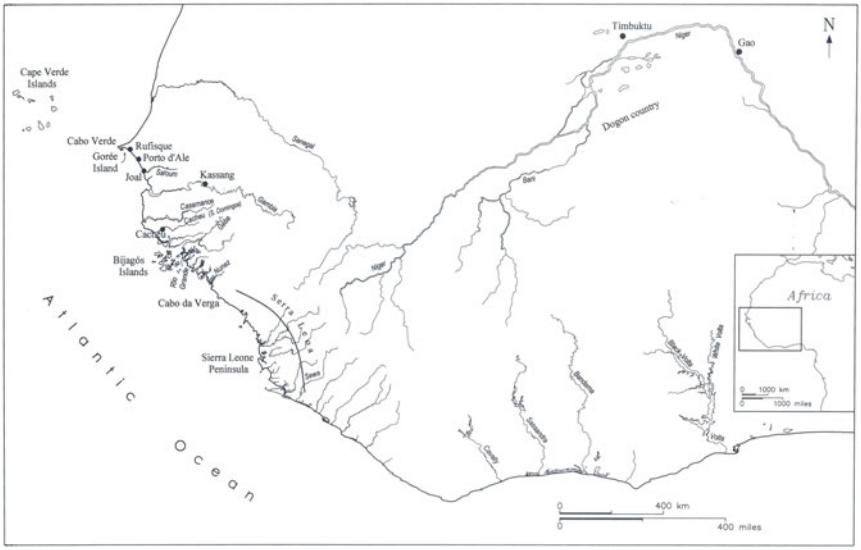
[8] Paul E.H. Hair and Jean Boulègue (eds./trans.), *An Interim and Makeshift Edition of André Alvares de Almada's Brief Treatise on the Rivers of Guinea* (Liverpool: Department of History, University of Liverpool, 1984).

[9] Manuel Alvares et al., *Ethiopia Minor, and a Geographical Account of the Province of Sierra Leone (c. 1615)* (Liverpool: Department of History, University of Liverpool, 1990). See also: Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, Res. 3, E–7, "Manuel Álvares, 'Etiópia Menor e Descripção Géografica da Província da Serra Leoa' [c. 1615]" (manuscript copy, eighteenth century).

[10] André Donelha, *Descrição da Serra Leoa e dos Rios de Guiné do Cabo Verde (1625)* (Avelino Teixeira da Mota [ed.], Paul E.H. Hair [ann.]) (Lisbon: Junta de Investigacões Cientificas do Ultramar, 1977).

[11] See: Francisco de Lemos Coelho, *Description of the Coast of Guinea (1684)* (Paul E.H. Hair [ed.]) (Liverpool: Department of History, University of Liverpool, 1985).

The Upper Guinea Coast with "Serra Leoa" broadly indicated



of the artworks in question. When, furthermore, multiple independent written sources exist, enabling us to corroborate the individual descriptions, it would be both ahistorical and irresponsible to ignore those sources.

As art historical method, stylistic comparison dates to the late nineteenth century; its classic expression is in Bernard Berenson's lists, which attribute Italian Renaissance paintings to individual artists on the basis of style. Berenson, however, began with a firm body of work: the paintings were Italian, "trecento" and "quattrocento," their provenance and dating already broadly known, and many of the works were firmly documented. So there already existed a scaffolding, to which Berenson attached additional works using stylistic analysis. Berenson does not use style to compare unknown to unknown; he begins with broadly identified works.[12] Thus, *only* given sufficiently precise contextual documentation, stylistic comparison can be a highly effective art historical tool.[13]

[12] The classic example is the case of "Ugolino Lorenzetti," an unidentified artist (later identified by Millard Miess as Bartolomeo Bulgarini) whom Berenson discovered by tracing the development of a body of paintings from early works influenced by Ugolino da Nerio, through later pieces influenced by Pietro Lorenzetti.

[13] The most brilliant stylistic analysis I have ever witnessed relates to Raphael's last, unfinished commission, his 1519–1520 masterpiece "The Transfiguration." The artist's sudden death left the completion of the work to Giulio Romano. In a "tour de force" of stylistic comparison, Sydney Freedberg, my mentor, distinguished between the hands of these two masters.

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No such historical information exists to frame a stylistic analysis of the saltcellars. More important, existing historical data does not confirm the theory of Benin origins, except for some spoons. In a recent publication, Jean-Michel Massing, author of catalogue essays for the Smithsonian and for other major museums, attempts to document the export of Benin ivory carving to Portugal, citing the early sixteenth-century Portuguese traveler Duarte Pacheco Pereira. Or rather, Massing cites Ezio Bassani, who, in 1988, referred to Pacheco Pereira – Massing does not cite the original source. As Luís Afonso and José da Silva Horta have recently observed, what Pacheco Pereira actually writes in *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*, is: "There are many elephants in this land, and we often buy their teeth, which are called ivory ('marfim')."[14] Afonso and Horta observe that Pacheco Pereira also gives this same passage, verbatim, for Fernando Pó, but he observes that in Serra Leoa "[t]he most refined [spoons] are made here of ivory, the best work that is to be found anywhere."[15]

As the Governor and Captain of the Portuguese trading fort at El Mina, Pacheco Pereira was the official responsible for commerce throughout the region. He had also visited Benin. If any European observer was familiar with the production of carved ivory, it was he. As Afonso and Horta state: "He clearly prizes the quality of Serra Leoa carving, while for Benin he only mentions the availability of raw ivory."[16]

Massing points out that two contemporary sources (1588 and 1621) mention ivory spoons from Benin.[17] It is likely, as he asserts, that some surviving spoons did originate among Bini carvers. However, the inherent weakness of arguing solely on the basis of "style" becomes clear when Massing rejects a late-sixteenth or seventeenth century "Sape" origin for *any* surviving spoons, this despite the eye witness account of Father Alvares (1615), the evident high regard the missionary held for these objects, and the fact that Alvares offers iconographic interpretations that fit some of the spoons.[18] Massing writes: "That the later surviving spoons, of a homogenous type, were produced in Sierra Leone cannot be accepted, as one of them (…) is directly related to a figure on a Bini-Portuguese saltcellar."[19] Massing refers here to a group of seventeen saltcellars for which he argues,

[14] Quoted in: Luís U. Afonso and José da Silva Horta, "Afro-Portuguese Olifants with Hunting Scenes (c. 1490 – c. 1540)," *Mande Studies* 15 (2013), 79–97, 83.

[15] Quoted in: Afonso and Horta, "Afro-Portuguese Olifants," 84.

[16] Afonso and Horta, "Afro-Portuguese Olifants," 84.

[17] Jean-Michel Massing, "African Ivories and the Portuguese," in: Gauvin Bailey, Jean-Michel Massing and Nuno Vassalo e Silva (eds.), *Marfins no Império Português/Ivories in the Portuguese Empire* (Lisbon: Scribe, 2013), 10–85.

[18] Peter Mark and José da Silva Horta, *The Forgotten Diaspora: Jewish Communities in West Africa and the Creation of the Atlantic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 145–146.

[19] Massing, "African Ivories," 43fn.

https://doi.org/10.1017/hia.2015.13 Published online by Cambridge University Press

on stylistic grounds, for Nigerian origins. However, no contemporary source establishes the date or provenance of any of these works.[20]

Quite aside from the fact that the saltcellar (in the Ethnologisches Museum in Berlin, see Figure 1) to which he compares the spoons has no documented origin,[21] there is a fundamental fault in Massing's logic. He attributes a large group of spoons to Benin. I find the argument (including the shape of the bowl of the spoons) weak.[22] But even were he correct in this attribution, he has no basis for arguing that this group of "Benin spoons" comprises all surviving late sixteenth/early seventeenth century spoons. Here is an example of the logical difficulty the art historian faces, who would have the argument from style trump existing, contemporary written documents.

I recently spent time at Berlin's ethnographic museum, comparing the Benin leaded-bronze images (one free-standing figure and one plaque) of horsemen, and a saltcellar depicting cavalrymen (see Figure 1). I could see no close stylistic similarities between the two Benin pieces and the saltcellar. The Benin animals and riders are hieratic, frontal and immobile, images of royal authority. The saltcellar cavalry are, in marked contrast, dynamic. The horses' heads thrust diagonally across the surface, energizing the composition. As for the figures – who, with their beards and long hair, may represent Europeans – it is difficult to compare a subtractive medium (ivory) to an additive medium (the plaques were made using the lost-wax process, so that details are built up). For this reason, a close comparison of such details as eyelids or nostrils is almost impossible. The eyes in the ivory are outlined and defined by incised curving lines, while the eyelids on the bronzes are thin, tubular protrusions. I see no close similarity between the treatment of the bronze faces, and the hatchet-faced Europeans on the ivory. Fagg is correct!

The Argument for Serra Leoa ("Sapes") Provenance

We know that some of the spoons and saltcellars are from Serra Leoa because they are documented in the Lisbon customs records (only the records for 1505 survived the earthquake and fire of 1755), and because

[20] One of these seventeen objects is documented to 1674, but that source does not identify the origin.

[21] I would argue that "style" is a far more subjective criterion than written historical documentation.

[22] More likely, the shape of the bowl was based upon early sixteenth century Portuguese metal spoons. See, for example, the metal spoon depicted by Jorge Leal in his 1520 altarpiece representing "The Death of Saint Roque," Lisbon, Museu de São Roque.

https://doi.org/10.1017/hia.2015.13 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Figure 1. Saltcellar, ivory, Serra Leoa, sixteenth or early seventeenth century. © D. Graf. Ethnologisches Museum der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Identi. Nr. III C 4890 ab.

they are described by Pacheco Pereira (who spent time as the Governor of the Fort of El Mina), and by Valentim Fernandes (his informants were Portuguese ship captains who had been to Guinea). Both sources also date to 1505–1506. The stylistic similarity of figures on some of the saltcellars to the "nommoli," stone figures, of unknown date, which are

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occasionally unearthed in coastal Sierra Leone, also supports a Sierra Leone provenance.[23] The stylistic comparison, once made, allows us to consider both saltcellars and olifants, because of close similarities in the treatment of human form, especially the exaggerated details of faces – eyes and nostrils – that are common to all of these works.

I have reattributed the post-1550 works to Serra Leoa and specifically to the "Sapes." Bassani and Curnow attribute them to Benin. My re-attribution relies on and is made by reference to: a) the context of Portuguese-West African commercial contact and of Luso-African settlement in Serra Leoa; b) an apparent absence of direct commerce between Portugal and Benin from 1520 to about 1580; and c) contemporary Portuguese eyewitness accounts that clearly document the continued production and trade of Serra Leoan ivories into the seventeenth century.

Contemporary documents written by observers who were in Serra Leoa (especially Father Manuel Alvares) are paramount. Stylistic comparison is reliable only after one can delimit the chronological and spatial connections. Without any documentation of a connection, perceived stylistic similarities could be due to any of a number of factors: 1) coincidence; 2) our perception of "style" as opposed to the artists' different aesthetic criteria; 3) historical factors such as common influence by other, perhaps lost, intermediary objects. To give two examples of reasonable stylistic comparison, I can safely and with good results compare Mantegna to early Giovanni Bellini, or an ivory hip mask from Benin to a bronze plaque from Benin. In both cases, the chronological and spatial ties are independently established.

If one looks at the process whereby the initial Benin attribution was made, it becomes clear that Curnow failed to consult Portuguese-language historical sources, and failed to establish an *a priori* case for why the ivories should have stopped coming from Serra Leoa. In fact, on that point she is dead wrong. The historical reinterpretation of the "Mane invasion" – once thought to have destroyed "Sape" society ca. 1550, now understood to have been a migration followed by cultural assimilation of the "Manes" into "Sape" society – cuts the legs out from under her argument, which Alvares' testimony then completely disproves.

Let me return to the matter of apparent similarities in the representation of "Portuguese" in Benin plaques and in some of the ivories from Serra Leoa. The sudden appearance in two cultures, that have little or no direct connection with one another, of strangers with a strange physiognomy may engender similar – or superficially similar – artistic representations. The same aspects of the foreigners' visage appear most extraordinary, and hence worthy of depiction. The resulting images may emphasize or exaggerate the same elements. In late medieval representations of Black Africans in the Rhineland and in Italy, for example, there are representations

[23] Massing describes well these similarities. However, he focuses on the discovery of these presumably ancient stone carvings, not on their production.

https://doi.org/10.1017/hia.2015.13 Published online by Cambridge University Press

of Africans with exaggerated thick lips and with similar treatment of the hair. And the reason is not surprising: European artists in diverse locales depicted Black Africans in similar manner, because they were most struck by the same elements in an unfamiliar physiognomy. One could say the same of West African depictions of Europeans during the first hundred or hundred-and-fifty years of contact.

All of us who study African art are familiar with the stereotype of pre-colonial or "traditional" art as unchanging or static. And none of us would deny the existence of regional, if not local, or even individual stylistic variations. Yet, in the case of the Luso-African ivories, some scholars have argued that there is an anomaly. The ivories were carved by "Sapes" peoples, that is, Bulom, Temne, Nalu, Landuman, Baga, but to explain stylistic variation among the ivories, some scholars have felt it necessary to attribute them to a distant and completely different culture. And this is despite abundant contemporary eye-witness documentation that the works come from Serra Leoa, that is, from Sierra Leone, Guinea-Conakry, and southern Guinea-Bissau. These scholars argue that all of these ethnic groups should/would have developed one common carving style. Their implication is that this one homogenous style should/would have remained static over a period of hundred-and-fifty years. To the contrary, I argue in this aricle, it would be inconceivable that all of these groups shared only one style across the period from 1500 to 1650.

The Ivories as Images of Global Commerce

A key to the stylistic differences that may be observed in some of the Sierra Leone ivories, and which have led observers to attribute some works to Benin, may be found in one of the olifants discussed by Bassani.[24] This piece is number 105 in his 1988 catalogue raisonné. It was in the Kugel Collection, in Paris. The bell of the hunting horn is adorned with a relief of an elephant with a howdah[25] on its back.

The Indian theme is probable evidence of a date after 1580. Bassani, however, who attributes all post-1530 pieces to Benin, engages in intellectual contortions to ignore that evidence. He writes: "The elephant with the howdah that appears near the wide end is typically Indian. No Indian miniatures predating 1600 with this subject have been found."[26] To avoid the later dating, he proposes earlier European engravings as models, even though these engravings do not show a convincing similarity of motif to the ivory. This association allows him to identify the piece as "Sapi-Portuguese, ca. 1490–1530." In his desire to fit "Sapi" pieces into his chronology of

[24] Bassani and Fagg, *Africa and the Renaissance*, 118–119.

[25] In South Asia, a seat for riding on the back of an elephant or camel, typically with a canopy and accommodating two or more people.

[26] Bassani and Fagg, *Africa and the Renaissance*, 118–119.

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"pre-1530 = 'Sapi;' post-1530 = Benin," Bassani misses the historical evidence that the howdah provides.

The Portuguese sea route to Asia, the "Carreira da India," included a stop for water on the return voyage in Sierra Leone. Commerce from India also flourished to Senegambia and Cacheu, where Indian swords and tapestries were highly prized and are documented on at least three occasions between 1610 and 1620.[27] Father Manuel Alvares, in 1615, writes that the King of Bussis, who was the largest slave trader on that part of the coast, owned some of these Indian silk tapestries, known as "colchas."

The ivory elephant with a howdah on its back does reflect Indian influence. Most probably that influence was conveyed through "colchas." These textiles were imported from India to Upper Guinea beginning around 1580. The ivory horn, with its distinctive style, is indeed from Sierra Leone.

This olifant may also help us to correlate stylistic variation with dating. Adjacent to the elephant is a hunter blowing an olifant and walking beside a quadruped. These "Sape" artists clearly enjoyed a visual joke; they frequently use ivory, as here, to represent itself. The face of the hunter is in a style that is frequently assumed to reflect extra-Sierra Leonean origins. This style is characterized by incised eyes, integrated features, and a "Greek" nose profile. This olifant is probably nearly a century later than the "Sape" style of flared nostrils, bulbous eyes, and protuberant facial details. Here then, by correlating the subject matter and the style, we may have a key to the later chronology of the "Sape" ivories.

Beyond the Debate over Provenance: Creole Art and Intercultural Mixing

Ironically, the debate over provenance – Nigeria vs. Serra Leoa – may itself be an oversimplification. The Luso-African ivories are indisputably the product of inter-cultural mixing. All scholars of the ivories acknowledge the presence not only of local African imagery, but also of European themes, including Portuguese royal *insigniae* and Christian subject matter. Further, the presence of themes from Indian "colchas" reflects the fact that this is an art of globalization. Yet, the possibility of inter-African cross-fertilization is excluded by the effort to establish a single, specific ethnic origin for all the ivories, or one for the early ivories and another for the later works.

These objects were highly portable, and they travelled. Throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, Portuguese and Luso-African traders or *lançado* traders engaged in coastal traffic that linked different African communities. We know that "Sape" ivories traveled north to The Gambia; it is conceivable that some pieces were brought to Benin. The Portuguese,

[27] Linda Newson and Susie Minchin, *From Capture to Sale: The Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish South America in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Mark and Horta, *The Forgotten Diaspora*, 123.

https://doi.org/10.1017/hia.2015.13 Published online by Cambridge University Press

who were responsible for the growth of an overseas ivory market from Serra Leoa by 1506, may actively have encouraged the development of ivory carving elsewhere in West Africa to meet European demand. Clearly, the Portuguese brought illustrated prayer books to Serra Leoa to serve as models for "Sape" artists. If we accept the predominant – but to date undocumented – view that indigenous Benin ivory carving already existed by the sixteenth century, then might not Portuguese merchants have brought examples of "Sape" ivories to Benin, to serve as models for local carvers? We might even go so far as to hypothesize the movement of individual artists, under Luso-African patronage, between Nigeria and Upper Guinea, or between both places and the Cape Verde Islands. The field for future research – or at least for hypothesis – is wide open.

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