

The Relationship Between the Formation of Cabo Verdean Society and Upper Guinea

ABSTRACT: The historical narratives in the context of colonial exploitation generally seek to show that the (re)configuration of national identities—and consequently the formation of societies in the region formerly called Upper Guinea—has resulted from socio-cultural interactions of different ethnic groups that are characterized by their fluidity and, at the same time, ambiguity of belonging. This article uses a sociohistorical approach to understand narratives of the role of the institutionalization of slavery in the process of the formation of Cabo Verdean society, highlighting sociocultural, political, and economic influences in its relationship with Upper Guinea. The article also critically explores the historical factors or milestones of, perhaps, a colonial “modernity” of Upper Guinea, which effectively succeeded in pursuing its own expansion project of imperialism and institutionalization of slavery in other parts of the world, particularly in the Atlantic and in the “Americas.” In this sense, the main research question becomes: How was the institutionalization of slavery in Cabo Verde and its relationship with the Upper Guinea triggered for the configuration of Cabo Verdean society? After a systematic analysis of the available data, the results show that the configuration of Cabo Verdean society, marked by its specific identity, resulted from slavery and, of course, from resistance to it, and from a common history, correlated by sociocultural and linguistic phenomena and processes of this region.

KEYWORDS: Sociohistorical approach; institutionalization of Slavery; Upper Guinea; formation of Cabo Verdean society.

RESUMO: As narrativas históricas existentes no contexto da exploração colonial procuram geralmente mostrar que a (re)configuração das identidades nacionais e - consequentemente a formação das sociedades na região, outrora designada de Alta Guiné - resultaram das interações socioculturais de diferentes grupos étnicos caracterizados pela sua fluidez e, ao mesmo tempo, ambiguidade de pertença. O estudo emprega uma abordagem sócio-histórica para compreender as narrativas do papel da institucionalização da escravidão no processo da formação da sociedade cabo-verdiana, destacando

as influências socioculturais, políticas e económicas na sua relação com a Alta Guiné. O estudo também explora criticamente os fatores ou marcos históricos de, quiçá, uma “modernidade” colonial a partir da Alta Guiné que, efetivamente conseguiu imprimir um projeto próprio de expansão do imperialismo e institucionalização da escravidão nas outras partes do mundo, em particular no Atlântico e nas “Américas”. Neste sentido, procura-se questionar como a institucionalização da escravatura em Cabo Verde e a sua relação com a Alta Guiné despoletou-se numa identidade própria para a configuração da sociedade cabo-verdiana? Após uma análise sistemática dos dados disponíveis, os resultados mostram que a configuração da formação da sociedade cabo-verdiana marcada pela sua especificidade identitária resultou graças à escravatura e naturalmente à sua resistência, de uma história comum correlacionada por fenómenos e processos socioculturais e linguísticos desta região.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: colonização, institucionalização da escravidão, Alta Guiné e a formação da sociedade cabo-verdiana.

Introduction

Understanding the formation of Creole society from the institutionalization of slavery is a pertinent topic in African studies. The formation of Cabo Verdean society is closely related to the process of the institutionalization of slavery in the Upper Guinea region where the Portuguese slave trade occurred, and this trade played an important role in increasing cycles of violence and political instability. This process had already begun with the expansion of the Mandinka, which is considered one of the first steps toward establishing the inseparable link between creolization and slavery. The continuities between intra-regional long-distance slave trade routes contributed significantly to the large-scale political and social changes that culminated in the formation of Cabo Verdean Creole society (Green 2012).

The article aims, therefore, to understand how the institutionalization of slavery in Cabo Verde and its relationship with Upper Guinea was triggered, shaping the identity of Cabo Verdean society. Consequently, this document raises the following research question: Are ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States) member countries opposed to the migration of people from other member states? To explore this issue, the article uses a sociohistorical analysis to understand the narratives of the role of the institutionalization of slavery

in the process of the formation of Cabo Verdean society, highlighting sociocultural, political, and economic influences in its relationship with Upper Guinea through a qualitative methodology and a comprehensive case study.

Brief Overview of the Role of the Institutionalization of Slavery in Upper Guinea

In the fifteenth century, the Portuguese arrived in the region of Senegambia, which at the time included the Senegal and Gambia river basins, and this gave great geopolitical importance to Europe. The Senegambia then became a point of entry and axis of economic and political domination, which would later have a strong influence on the (re)definition of the slave trade policy on the African Coast (Silvério 2013).

The history of Cabo Verde's relationship with Upper Guinea falls within the context of Portuguese colonial exploration. The Portuguese primarily managed trade from the islands, the interregional trade of the region from the Southern rivers to Gambia and the diverting of trade to the Atlantic, and the trade of Sudan and Senegambia, which was traditionally directed to the north by the Saharan route (Silvério 2013). Besides the commercialization of products such as gold, ivory, hides, spices, slaves, wax, iron, and leather, which were diverted to the trade in the Atlantic, the settling of the Portuguese on the Cabo Verde islands allowed slaves to be brought there from the African Coast in order to develop a plantation economy based on sugar, salt, cotton, and indigo fabrics (Carreira 2000).

The cycle of exploration and the diverting of trade to the Atlantic strengthened the Portuguese crown's economy, but it also weakened the economic dynamics of the region. Consequently, after the sixteenth century, profound social, economic, and, above all, political changes had, on the one hand, resulted in the collapse of the Jolof confederation and, on the other hand, favored the strengthening of the power of Kabuu to control the entire territory between the Gambia River and the Futa-Djalon. In addition, the Bijagos started to play an important role in the slave trade between the Gambia and Senegal Rivers (Lopes 2003; Silvério 2013).

However, the Portuguese monopoly would begin to decline in the seventeenth century with the successive arrival of the Dutch, British, and French (Rodney 1965; Carreira 2000). Other European powers invaded the region and through the slave trade they heightened the political, economic, and social crisis in the region known as Upper Guinea of Cabo Verde.

Theoretical Framework and Research Methodology

The theoretical framework guiding this article is based on a sociohistorical approach. The focus is on the relationship between the formation of Cabo Verdean society and the Upper Guinea region of West Africa. The approach adopted is essential to analyze the relationship between the configuration of Cabo Verdean and Guinean societies in the context of colonial exploration. The study shows that the formation of Cabo Verdean society is marked by its specific Creole identity (re)produced from the narratives of institutionalized slavery in the region.

Although economic motives were the principal factor for the expansion of colonization in the African countries belonging to Upper Guinea, the complexity of factors present in their evolution and the resistance and variety of operational fields of trade or slave trade involved sociocultural and political interactions and other forms of sociability in a mobility network that later resulted in the formation of Creole society in Cabo Verde. Hence, the factors and mutual influences that led to the formation of Creole society were correlated to geography and history (Teye et al. 2015).

Although the idea of a metropolis was of colonial interest, the evolution of this context tended to widen other ties that allowed the strengthening of the (re) negotiation of cultural identities through exogenous and endogenous factors (Diallo 2016).

The concept of identity in general is quite problematic. However, in this article, cultural identity is understood to refer to the result of a set of sociocultural, political, and economic factors tied to slavery to a shared history with the region of Upper Guinea (Hall 2003). It should be noted that although Western nations have exercised cultural hegemony over colonized Africans, there are neo-imperial spheres which have also been influenced by the colonized, that is, “modern nations are all cultural hybrids” (Hall 2003, 62). Therefore, Cabo Verdean society and Creole identity emerged in the context of institutionalized slavery, marked by the strong cultural interaction that took place in the Upper Guinea region. Thanks to a set of sociocultural representations, (re)produced by different peoples as an effect of resistance and political friction, structures of social organization were built, linked to the action and conception of the Creole being (Hall 2003).

This work is defined by the qualitative methodology supported systematically by the documentary analysis necessary to understand the main factors intrinsic to the Portuguese slave trade in the Upper Guinea region, which later resulted

in the formation of Cabo Verdean society. The study employs a comprehensive analysis approach, critically exploring the historical factors or milestones of, perhaps, a colonial “modernity” from Upper Guinea that effectively succeeded in establishing a project of imperial expansion and institutionalization of slavery in other parts of the world, in particular in the Atlantic and the “Americas.”

The main method used to collect secondary data was the analysis of documents, books, and academic journals that discussed in some way the institutionalization of slavery in the context of Portuguese colonization in the Upper Guinea region, with a focus on the formation of Cabo Verdean society as a result of its relationship with Upper Guinea.

The Formation of Cabo Verdean Society and the Relationship with Upper Guinea

In the context of European maritime expansion, especially that of the Portuguese, Cabo Verde, due to its strategic position, was “founded” in the fifteenth century, but was colonized only after an arduous process of the institutionalization of slavery. This process was potentially favored by the depopulated setting in which these islands were found. This factor, which is seen as having significantly enabled the establishment of Portuguese sovereignty, helped the development of a mercantile class under the unstable political situation of the kingdoms of the coast and rivers of Guinea or Upper Guinea (Horta 2002; Ribeiro 2011).

Ribeira Grande de Santiago played a fundamental role in this process because it was endowed with a port with sheltered areas where ships could anchor. It was there that colonization began. The first settlers were attracted by favorable conditions, such as the proximity to land where the foundations for the development of profitable agriculture would be laid (Carreira 2000). Over time, the village of Ribeira Grande grew considerably, and in 1533 it was upgraded to the status of a city and became the seat of the first bishopric of Africa (Rodney 1965; Carreira 2000).

This situation was relevant for the development of Cabo Verde’s relationship with Upper Guinea. This relationship was further strengthened in 1466 with the signing of the “Letter of Privileges” by the crown, which granted the residents of Santiago the right to practice the slave trade in all regions of the so-called Coast of Guinea (that extended from the Senegal river to Sierra Leone), with the exception of the Arguim trading post, which was reserved for the crown (Carreira 2000; Jesus 2010; Ribeiro 2011).

The signing of the “Letter of Privileges” of 1466 allowed many slaves and merchants to come to the island of Santiago, which helped contribute to the increase in population, especially in the coastal areas. Within this framework of greater flexibility for the movement of people, goods, and services, there were free Blacks, namely *banhuns*, *cassangas*, and *brâmes*, who, because they spoke Portuguese, accompanied the merchants, mercenaries, and captains of ships and who would also become Christianized (Rodney 1965; Jesus 2010).

Likewise, the presence of *reinóis*—gentlemen who came from Portugal to assume administrative positions in the colonies and to invest in the construction of ships for trade with the Coast of Guinea—contributed to the expansion of the administration and its occupation of the interior of the Santiago island. This kind of expansion also contributed to the occupation of the other islands, such as the island of Fogo, and enabled a diversification of the economy, including the breeding of horse and the cultivation of cotton—the most coveted commodity of trade on the Guinea Coast along with cloth made in Santiago (Carreira 2000).

In this sense, the law of 1466, which, however, was restricted in 1472, is understood as marking the beginning of the (re)configuration of the national identity, as well as favoring a change in the organization of Cabo Verde society, since the inhabitants felt obliged to pursue effective settlement on the islands and to strengthen productive activities through the exploitation of land (Carreira 2000; Pereira 2006).

The context inherent to the commercialization of slaves reinforced Cabo Verde’s relations with Upper Guinea, as did the decision of the Portuguese crown to expel from Cabo Verde anyone who tried to operate outside of its control (Lopes 2003). Moreover, since the environment was unfavorable to the slave trade and the interests of the first elites that emerged in Cabo Verde diverged from those of the crown, which restricted the trade with the African Coast,¹ many Cabo Verdeans in general began to (e)migrate to other places within the region of Upper Guinea. This, consequently, led to a decrease in the number of white people, specifically Europeans, on the Cabo Verde Islands, which contributed to a change in the structure of Cabo Verdean society. This can be seen, for example, in the fact that *mestiços* began to hold public offices (Cabral 2000; Cabral 2012; Carreira 2000).

In addition, successive droughts and famines on the archipelago caused the emigration of some royal administrators, including *Crioulos* and Europeans who no longer had sufficient resources to maintain their servants/slaves and, as a

result, had to migrate to the West African Coast, namely, to Cachéu and Guinala (Carreira 2000). This was because migration/mobility provided an interaction between networks that transformed ideological structures and structural conceptualizations into forms of organization (Green 2011; Horta 2014).

In fact, migration played an essential role in the reconfiguration of national identities and in the formation of societies, by promoting the transfer of ideals or forms of organization of social entities not only to the African coast, but also to the Americas and Europe (Green 2011; Horta 2014). In this sense, we highlight the privileged position the island of Ribeira Grande de Santiago in internal and external economic activities that connected the African, American, and European continents, known as triangular trade, which allowed it to play an important role in Cabo Verde's identity formation and society-building.

Therefore, the relationships built were not restricted to economic ties (by the area of commerce connected to the archipelago and its "head" island, Santiago), which was all inseparable from the familial and personal ties that established the connection between the islands and the coast; but it also included political ties (by the jurisdiction that the representatives of the crown had on the islands) and religious ties (by the area of influence of the episcopal power) (Horta 2002; Pereira 2006).

The relationship with the African coast, which was initially connected more to the economic interests of the metropolis, was nevertheless acquiring a socio-cultural dimension, with the formation of its own identity and specific lifestyles. As a result of miscegenation,² the geostrategic and economic interests of the metropolis, and the forms of resistance, the *modus operandi* and *modus vivendi* of the African slaves from a number of different areas, the distinct Creole Cabo Verdean identity was born.

The limitation of the commercialization of various products, guaranteed by the charter "limiting the privileges of the residents of Santiago" in 1472, to the African coast led to the formation of an intermediate mercantile class that played an important role in shaping the formation of the first Cabo Verdean elite called "White, Honorable and Powerful Men" (Cabral 2012, 1; Carreira 2000).

The contours of the institutionalization of slavery that served the Atlantic contributed to the (re)construction of the infrastructures leading to the formation of Cabo Verdean society. In the wake of these changes, Cabo Verdean identity gained a new dimension, along with new ideological and cultural influences. It is important to note that it was thanks to the resistance to social, cultural, political,

and economic changes in Upper Guinea that the the internal social dynamics on Cabo Verde were transformed. With its inhabitants opposing the oppressive action of the Portuguese crown, the settlement of the archipelago gained its own dynamics for the construction of Cabo Verdean society (Carreira 2000).

This is why the early modern histories of the Atlantic and the West African Coast cannot be studied in isolation from one another. The different contexts of Cabo Verde's relationship with Upper Guinea have shaped to some extent the very project of the institutionalization of slavery and, consequently, "the initial phase of the colonial period in Cabo Verde of the 16th century as the reference point for what would follow" (Green 2011, 232). In any case, the interests of the emerging Creole society prevailed, bringing a new order to the world that had formed on both sides of the Atlantic.

Therefore, these new cultural, economic, and geographical spaces of the Atlantic were fundamental to help transform existing ideologies and structures into something new (Green 2011). Barros refers to this new development as "colonial modernity," which consists of the transformation of men (i.e., slaves) into a marketable product, and then, through the process of *laidinização*, they became more highly valued and were taken to the Americas, Brazil, Spain, and the West Indies/Antilles (Carreira 2000; Green 2011). For Barros, it is important to question the universality of the theory of modernity, if, after all, it had begun in the Americas in 1492 or with the institutionalization of slaves in Ribeira Grande of Santiago between 1461 and 1462 with the process of Portuguese colonization in Cabo Verde (Barros 2017).

Generally, the scholarship of Atlantic history does not seem to be aware that "the Atlantic world has begun in West Africa" (Green 2012, 69). Specifically, there is a need for deconstruction, that is, a new perspective on the beginning of the Atlantic world in the phase before Spanish expeditions to America. Even though "neither Africans nor Europeans saw this world as being revolutionarily new ... effectively elements of continuity enabled the first steps towards the creation of a mixed society to be taken on the coast of West Africa" (Green 2012, 70).

It turns out that the role of slavery, or its institutionalization and mutual influence on trade in the region, has been vital to the development of the Atlantic and of European, American, and African societies. The pre-existing political formation on the African continent per se constitutes extremely relevant data for understanding the influences that played a role in the design of the new Atlantic trade (Green 2012).

Slavery in this sense is a product of colonization, and it exerted an influence both on the functioning of the colonized, in this case Africans, and on the colonizer. In other words, it is a deeply interdependent relationship that has significantly influenced the formation of Creole society and the way it was structured. One cannot deny, much less hide, the Black-African influences on Cabo Verdean culture. There were many different ethnicities that participated in this process. The identity configuration and formation of Cabo Verdean society results from slavery and, of course, resistance (Carreira 2000).

The (De)Construction of Historical Narratives on Slavery

The structure of scholarly knowledge necessarily passes through the process of the (de)construction of historical narratives. Reflecting on the formation of Cabo Verdean society and its relationship with Upper Guinea requires, at a minimum, a questioning of the (re)production of the history of this society and, of course, of the Upper Guinea region. In the context of colonization, in which the European continent appears as the holder of power and knowledge, it becomes imperative to “distrust” scholarly history itself.

The debate around the history of Cabo Verde itself is important and relevant to questioning the power of science in the context of colonization and the effect that the production of the history of a certain reality had and has in the extension of the relations between the ex-colonized and former colonizer. The official documents point to the “discovery” of Cabo Verde by the Portuguese. However, historians have consistently questioned this “discovery,” and prefer a hypothesis of “finding.” This is because Cabo Verdean history is significantly limited by official written documents and has been given little importance because of its oral tradition.

Certain scholars, such as Carreira (2000), have shown that the Black Jolofs had already set foot on the island of Santiago and defend the thesis that Cabo Verde had been “discovered” by Black Africans who were possibly escaping from the persecution of the Falupos when storm currents or strong winds pushed their vessels to this island’s shore. According to Carreira:

In any case, although the old documentation presents the islands as deserted at the arrival of the discoverers, it should not at all be excluded that Santiago was a refuge for a small group of shipwrecked Jolofs or other inhabitants of Cabo Verde (Lêbus or Sèrère, etc.), before the arrival of the Portuguese. But

this would have occurred by purely accidental circumstances with no deliberate purpose or continuity of settlement—they had no living conditions, no other contacts³ (Carreira 2000, 297, my trans.)

Therefore, this hypothesis can only be accepted if, at some point, the Black Jolofs landed on the islands by accidental causes. Because the islands lacked conditions for survival, and without other types of contacts, it would be impossible for them (Jolofs, Lebus, Sèrères or others) to have developed the process of organized settlement before the arrival of the Portuguese (Carreira 2000).

Another important factor for the (de)construction of historical narratives is the way in which Eurocentric readings of slavery make reference to historical milestones from Europe. It is understood that, in fact, “modernity” in colonial times may have its beginning in Africa, more concretely in Cabo Verde, between 1461 and 1462, with the process of *laidinização* of slaves from Ribeira Grande de Santiago—much earlier than beginning in 1492 in the Americas, which has been the conventional historical reference point (Varela 2017). For “there is not enough reason to assume that modernization, an addition of Western society, is only an ‘original’ variant of the West” (Højbjerg et al. 2012, 3). Therefore, it is still necessary to work hard to deconstruct academic thought, not least because “the first slave societies of the Atlantic world existed in the African Atlantic, and not in the Caribbean or in the Americas” (Green 2011, 228).

Cabo Verdean identity was formed in a process of miscegenation, the result of physical and symbolic violence that was an inherent part of this process, involving the region in a cycle of internal instabilities driven by the exploitation and trade of slaves and other goods used in commercial exchange on the coast of the Upper Guinea region (Anjos 2003; Green 2011). The lack of official records does not allow for full knowledge of the ethnic origins of slaves who came from the African coast since they were treated as commercial products. However, it is thought that the majority of the slaves came from Guinea from a plurality of ethnic identities, such as Pepel, Manjacos, Mancanha, Beafada, and Balanta (Højbjerg et al. 2012). In other words, they came from the area formerly known as the Upper Guinea Coast, which stretched from the southern Senegal River to the Orange River, to the northern border of Sierra Leone. They came from several ethnicities such as Banhus, Cassangas, Jabundos, Manjacos, Felupes, Ariantas, Balantas, Papéis, Naluns, Bijagós, and Burames (Rodney 1965; Carreira 2000; Green 2011 and Silva 2014).

In this sense, perhaps the history itself needs studies that demonstrate the controversy of slavery's influences in Africa, that is to say, from the great works made by the hands of slaves, from the linguistic and ideological influences that circulated through migration and that were carried by the Europeans themselves, in addition to the large numbers of slaves who moved to Europe as well as to the Americas for several reasons: "the importance of these early slave societies and the early transatlantic slave trade was underestimated by historians" (Green 2011, 228).

Another striking event was the treaty of Guinea, signed on October 24, 1512, which stipulated that all slaves from Guinea territory should be taken directly to Lisbon and settled in Portugal (Carreira 2000). These events show that slaves were traded to Europe and to America, notably the "Creoles and Creolities in the region who have played and still play an important role in building the postcolonial nation on different continents because they symbolize modernity, civilization and education—all of which are conceptually linked to the construction of national identity and the configuration of society itself in this region" (Højbjerg et al. 2012, 17).

Likewise, there is a certain tendency toward the universalization of perspectives on African culture and, in this case, Creole culture as a process of assimilation with predominantly European elements of analysis. In fact, the nomenclature "Africa" is a European product (Varela 2017). However, the mutual influences demonstrate the reflected historical ambiguity.

Although several of the studies cited in this article focus (Anjos 2003; Cabral 2012; Carreira, 2000) on the reflections on institutional analytical aspects inherited or imported from the metropolis, we believe it is essential to highlight some elements in order to complement this analysis, focusing on African sociocultural aspects present in Cabo Verdean daily life: in gastronomy, we emphasize Kachupa, a typical Cabo Verdean dish that uses corn and that is also prepared in Guinea-Bissau; in music, we emphasize Tabanca, which resisted the harsh repressive measures exercised by the slave regime and which is currently celebrated in the capital of the country, constituting an element of national immaterial patrimony. Tabanca is also a cultural event celebrated in Cabo Verde where it arrived with the first Black people from Guinea. Likewise, Batuque has a strong presence, especially on Santiago Island. In addition, the Creole language itself, which is spoken by almost all the regions that were part of Upper Guinea (Senegal, Guinea Bissau, Sierra Leone, and Cabo Verde), is the most pervasive element inherited from slavery.

In addition, in daily practices, there is the custom of women carrying children on their back. Moreover, there is a rich oral tradition, embodied in myths, stories, riddles, and proverbs, which were brought by the slaves who were came from the coast of Africa. Therefore, “Cabo Verde was the first place in the Atlantic where slavery adopted an exclusively racial character, with all the slaves of Saharan Africa” (Green 2012, 227 apud Silva 2014, 265).

Final Considerations

This article has argued that the (re)configuration of national identity and the formation of Cabo Verdean society emerged in a context of permanent (re)negotiation between the Portuguese crown and the colonized societies, among which we highlight the relationship between Cabo Verde and the Upper Guinea Coast and also with other continents, namely America and Europe. These relations implied matrices of diverse economic and political relations and new social orders whose influence was crucial in the formation of Cabo Verdean identity and society.

In the context of the slave trade, which enabled both the passage and the permanence of African slaves, a number of important heritages have endured and these should not be reduced to insignificant phenotypic aspects. Nevertheless, despite all forms of violence resulting from the practice of slavery, which for centuries entailed the subjugation of African cultural values by the colonial powers, there is a set of sociocultural traits that reveals its distant African origin, especially from the so-called Upper Guinea of Cabo Verde. They are cultural manifestations that have significantly influenced Creole identity and the construction of Cabo Verdean society.

Therefore, Cabo Verdean national identity is formed in a context of socio-cultural diversities built in the Upper Guinea Coast region and which over time asserted itself through the Creole language, as one of the greatest “heritages” of the slavery process. It is a heterogeneous process, in which power relations remain present to this day.

NOTES

1. The restrictions stated that they could only bring slaves to work on the islands but not sell them and they could only trade goods produced on the islands. These restrictions were motivated, in part, by the successive damages caused to the Portuguese Crown due to disobedience in relation to the area demarcated by free trade and the competition they had with the Crown at the African coast (Pereira 2006).

2. Understood in this article as a result of “physical and symbolic violence that destroyed a large part of the ethnic memory of the enslaved”, but which, in the reading of most Cabo Verdeans, restricts to the simplistic idea of a “cultural fusion of Europeans and Africans” (Anjos 2003, 581).

3. See the original quote: “em qualquer caso, embora a documentação antiga apresente as ilhas como desertas à chegada dos descobridores, não se deve excluir de todo, a hipótese de, Santiago, ter sido refúgio de um pequeno grupo de naufragos Jalofos ou outros habitantes do Cabo Verde (Lêbus ou Sêrère, etc.), antes da chegada dos portugueses. Mas, isso ter-se-ia dado, por circunstâncias puramente acidentais, sem propósito deliberado, nem continuidade de povoamento - não tinham condições de vida, sem outros contatos” (Carreira 2000, 297).

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