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Introduction: What is Global about Global Enslavement?

The study of enslavement has become urgent over the last two decades. Social scientists, legal scholars, human rights activists, and historians, who study forms of enslavement in both modern and historical societies, have sought – and often achieved – common conceptual grounds to forge a new perspective that englobes historical and contemporary forms of slavery. What could certainly be termed a *turn* in the study of slavery has also intensified awareness of enslavement as a global phenomenon, inviting a comparative, trans-regional approach across time-space divides.

But what does global enslavement mean? Does it mean that enslavement appears in most societies and periods, transcending spatial and temporal boundaries? Is it enough to broaden the range of areas and periods studied to earn the title "global"? Or does global mean that whenever and wherever enslavement existed, it had a universal essence that can be defined in terms and concepts valid for all its occurrences and manifestations? Should the study of global enslavement lead us to an ahistorical/metahistorical view of the subject? Or should we adopt a historical approach, taking into consideration change, diversity, fluidity, and differentiation? In other words, is enslavement constant and applicable to any region or period, an aggregate of various forms, processes, and narratives? Alternatively, are these really "either-or" questions, or can they be reconciled as "both"?

These questions, which still occupy contemporary scholarship, gave rise to several theories and models that aim to understand the world-wide institutionalization of enslavement. Societies may share common practices of bondage and enslavement, but also diverge in their definitions of these phenomena. While the ways and means by which such societies acquired and enslaved humans were often relatively similar, the ways enslaved persons were exploited and treated, the ways they negotiated their condition, and the ways out of slavery were often historically different. Nevertheless, both the enslavement of people and their maintenance as enslaved over time always included the use of various degrees of violence. They connect and separate societies in applying economic and political powers and ideologies. The study of forced migration and human trafficking, as well as other features of enslavement, may bring different approaches, closer to the study of enslavement as a global phenomenon. Demand for unfree labor often generated forced migration, with its local and global economic, political, and cultural implications. Gender, origin/ethnicity/race, property, and domination also played a major role in the relationships formed in the framework of enslavement. These were shaped by both the interests of enslavers and the agency of the enslaved, by the political, religious, and legal practices of enslaving societies around the globe throughout history up to the present day.

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Most of the chapters in this volume are based on papers delivered at the workshop *What is Global About Global Enslavement*, held at Tel Aviv University on December 29–30, 2019. The workshop was a joint project of the faculty of humanities at Tel Aviv University and the Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies at Bonn University. It brought together scholars who work with different theoretical approaches and study the diverse manifestations of enslavement in various regions, periods, and aspects in order to interrogate the concept of global enslavement and what was global about it.

In addition to the issues raised above, the workshop also posed the following preliminary questions: were practices associated with enslavement a product of the encounter between local cultures and global notions of domination and exploitation? Does the use of overlapping categories and the translatability of terms/concepts hamper our understanding of the global dimension of enslavement?

Though discussing different aspects of enslavement in different societies and eras, each of the volume's chapters contributes to, and has benefitted from, a global perspective of enslavement. The first three chapters propose to frame the global examination of the theoretical, ideological, and methodological aspects of the "global," "local," and "glocal," while the following two chapters present regional and trans-regional perspectives of the global through analyses of historical case studies, the link between connectivity and mobility as a fundamental aspect of the globalization of enslavement. Finally, the last two chapters deal with personal points of view of the global, local, and glocal. *Grosso modo*, the contributors not only present their case studies, but attempt to demonstrate what insights and added-value explanations they gain from positioning their work vis-à-vis a broader "big picture."

Michael Zeuske's opening chapter, "Slavery and Slaves as 'Global and Globalizing'?", provides an overarching discussion of the global and globalizing character of slavery as it frames the main question contributors were expected to address: can a global approach advance our understanding of human enslavement and can a cross-continental and trans-hemispheric perspective help us interpret the history of slavery. Alternatively, should we discuss slaveries in the plural, where the divergences outweigh the convergences, and make regional comparative studies more insightful than global ones? Zeuske argues that some elements of slavery are truly global, while others are regional and local. Thus, he distinguishes between *structural* domination and the slave trade *system*, on the one hand, and the enslaved humans subjected to that organized and systematized practice, on the other. What is being referred to in recent scholarship as the Second Slavery turned enslavement in the Atlantic world from around 1800, mostly but not exclusively, into a massive, coercive, and race-driven exploitive agricultural "mode of production." At the same time, he adds, truly global and globalizing life histories of enslaved persons did not exist.

To Zeuske, "the only really global phenomena are biological (plants and some animals, viruses, diseases, pandemics – often bound to climatic factors), and elements of global value exchanges (silver, gold, sugar, tobacco, cotton)." Only nineteenth-century slave and coolie trades, imperial colonialisms, collective slaveries, slavery as capitalism

(Second Slaveries) in the Western hemisphere, colonial and local slaveries until around 1960 elsewhere, and global migrations are truly global phenomena.

Roberto Hofmeister Pich's "The Ideology of Black Slavery: Philosophical, Juridical, and Theological Accounts by Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Scholastic and Catholic Thinkers on the Justification for Enslaving People and the Continuation of Slavery Systems" gives a theoretical framework for black slavery in the early modern era. It considers the emergence of the ideology that supported the permanence of black slavery in the transatlantic area from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, and its criticism. Exploring the little-known debate on Black slavery conducted by early modern scholastic thinkers, Hofmeister Pich highlights the role played by the Peruvian Jesuit master Diego de Avendaño, especially with regards to the connection the latter made between the doctrine of moral probabilism, the licitness of slavery, and the rising ideology that endorsed slavery as a trade system and a social institution. Against Avendaño's views Hofmeister Pich analyses the criticism of moral probabilism and black slavery made by Francisco José de Jaca O.F.M. Cap. and Epifanio de Moirans O.F.M. Cap., who formulated theses on slavery in the law of peoples and on the singular value of freedom as a natural right, rejecting moral probabilism.

In her chapter "Mobilization as Dependency: The Case of Mitimaes in the Inka State as a Hotspot of Early Glocalization," Karoline Noack examines mobilization and dependency both as an internal political power and an economic strategy of the Inka government. Considering the Inka Empire as a "mobilizing state," this chapter takes as a case study the policy of the Inka government on labor division in the central valley of Cochabamba (modern Bolivia). An analysis of the *mitimaes* as a socioeconomic institution of the Inka exemplifies the Inka's policy of mobilization and the dependency of local populations. The Inka rulers globalized this institution by systematically resettling families, groups, or even entire communities in new, strategic locations that became hotspots of state formation. The globalization of this institution enabled the Inka to use population mobilization and asymmetric dependency as complementary methods that became the means to organize and sustain the Inka state and act as an engine of expansion. Through multilayered interactions between the local and the global, multiple centers and changing peripheries became culturally and economically fragmentated and integrated simultaneously.

Moreover, the institution of the *mitimaes* led to "depersonalizing operations" for the requisition of foreigners following the European conquest. Indigenous peoples were enslaved across the Americas with catastrophic consequences, including the extermination of large populations, especially in the Caribbean. The Spanish legal basis for this approach was withdrawn after bitter ideological and religious disputes with the so-called New Laws of 1542. This process, in turn, paved the way for the growth of the African and Atlantic slave trade, which eventually provided the largest proportion of slaves across Latin America. Noack's analysis invites us to consider the *glocalization* perspective on the Inka state as an integral part of globalizing processes in "fragile states," and to connect modern world-systems to pre-Hispanic ones.

Adopting a regional perspective, Daniel Hershenzon's chapter, "Slavery and Religious Violence in the Early Modern Mediterranean: A Regional Perspective," explores seventeenth- and eighteen-century cases of religious violence against slaves in Iberia and the Maghrib. It argues first that outbursts of violence against slaves (such as forced baptisms or the desecration of slaves' bodies) seem to mark the religious Christian-Muslim divide, but in actual fact indicate notions regarding slaves' rights shared by both Christian and Muslim slaves and rulers. Hershenzon also argues that in the long run, violations of these rights led to their codification. Looking from a regional, Mediterranean perspective at the dynamics of violent challenge and response, Hershenzon shows how by regulating slaves' religious privileges (designed to prevent violence), negative reciprocity was transformed over time into positive reciprocity. Hence, he concludes that religious violence had regionalizing effects upon slaves and that such violence shaped the region in which it occurred.

Gül Şen writes about "Enslavement and Labor in the Early Modern Ottoman Navy," focusing on galley bondage. Although she argues that the employment of men on naval ships was a global phenomenon, her comparative study looks at the Mediterranean region, especially its eastern waters. All naval powers in these parts responded to the need to operate their war vessels by recruiting rowers, whom they employed with several forms of unfree labor, including legal enslavement. Despite the diversity of the workforce, all rowers and galley crews shared the same harsh living conditions. The chapter describes the networks of recruitment that straddled Eastern Europe, the Balkans, and the Mediterranean hinterlands, with Galata in Istanbul as the hub for the Ottoman Navy. It then delves into the labor market that developed during the off season, when naval forces were not out at sea waging battle. The city, the arsenal, the prison within its bounds, and the galleys all served as venues where mostly coerced laborers performed a variety of tasks and formed an integral part of a dependency-based economy. The engine that made all this operation work was the state.

Christoph Witzenrath's chapter, "Negotiating Early Modern Transottoman Slaving Zones: An Arab in Moscow," presents a transregional-comparative study in nature, but stresses semi-global, cross-imperial, and transottoman aspects. This is a micro-historical case study of a Greek Orthodox Arab-Ottoman from Jerusalem attempting to ransom two enslaved children held in Muscovy, the children of a woman who came into the Ottoman Empire as a captive. Witzenrath embeds the story at the crossroads of interpretative theories, at the heart of which lies Jeff Finn-Paul's slaving zones and the Bonn-developed notion of asymmetric dependencies. He positions the trip made by *khadzhi* Ivan (Mikhailov) in the web of trading routes encompassing the north-south Muscovite-Ottoman traffic in goods and humans and extending to the Silk Road routes brought together under the Mongol Empire.

This fascinating story features a manumitted female Russian slave in Jerusalem, who married a prominent member of the Greek community there, had two children, and, following her husband's death, converted to Islam. The children were tutored by a Greek Orthodox teacher, the brother of *khadzhi* Ivan, who placed them in a monastery

in Nazereth to avoid their conversion and education within the Ottoman Muslim system. The plot thickened when the brother got his family and himself entangled in heavy debt, incurred by a fine for trying to take control of the children. *Khadzhi* Ivan then set out to Russia to collect money and backing from top religious figures and highly placed members of the Muscovite elite.

Examining parish registers, census lists, and inheritance records (among other material), Douglas C. Libby's chapter, "Family Connections: Slaveholding among African and Afro-descendent Women in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Brazil," is part of the massive surge in women's and gender studies over the last few decades that has also impacted the field of enslavement studies. Libby explores the less researched phenomenon of Brazilian women as slaveholders in their own right. He argues that in a fully established slave society such as Brazil's, gender distinctions in slaveholding generated specifically feminine features in the prevailing slave society. Thus, women (especially Africans and those of African descent) seem to have encouraged family formation among their slaves, with the result of modest levels of natural increase that contributed to perpetuating small-scale slaveholdings. Moreover, evidence points to connections of enslaved families with those of their owners, above all by way of fictive kinship formed through godparenthood. These phenomena may gauge the effects of gender upon enslavement, slave ownership, and slave culture. And since similar phenomena are also witnessed in other societies, both ancient and modern, Libby's contribution calls for wider transregional comparative studies.